Community Engagement as a New and Contested Ritual: An Ethnographic Study of Five Pentecostal Congregations in El Salvador

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ABSTRACT

There is growing evidence that more Pentecostal congregations and adherents are participating in new ways to address poverty and justice worldwide. Pentecostals are starting their projects as well as partnering with international and local NGOs and FBOs to implement development programmes. The increased participation in social engagement has generated new discussions among scholars on whether the shift in practice reflects a change in beliefs within some Pentecostal congregations. It has also renewed older debates on whether Pentecostal beliefs, practices and organisational cultures can contribute to or hinder development interventions. This thesis provides an ethnographic study of five traditional Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador that partner with community leaders, local associations, and public and private entities to identify and implement community-wide development initiatives. For these congregations, the practice of engaging with their communities to address individual and structural issues through collective action is a new and contested church practice. The thesis examines why pastors and leaders choose to introduce the new practice and how they use available cultural strategies to ritualize community engagement into their congregations. By studying community engagement as a rhetorical, embodied, and creative ritual practice, the thesis argues that the new practice reinforces, challenges and transforms Pentecostal adherents' sense of identity, sociality, and way-in-the-world. The in-depth ethnographic examination of how Pentecostal congregations participate in development initiatives contributes both to understanding the importance of ritualization for Pentecostals and to discussions about the role of Pentecostal congregations in development. The thesis suggests that the role of Pentecostal congregations in community development is contingent upon pastors' authority to introduce and ritualize new development practices as well as their ability to create and sustain relationships of trust with non-church, community members to catalyse stable linking networks needed for a community to thrive.

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DECLARATIONS

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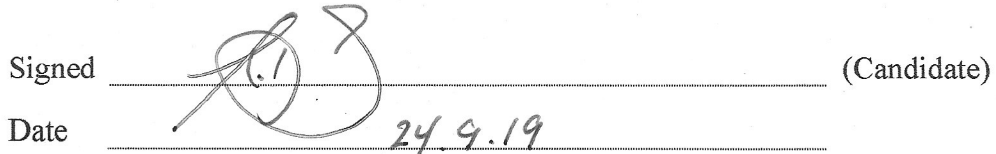

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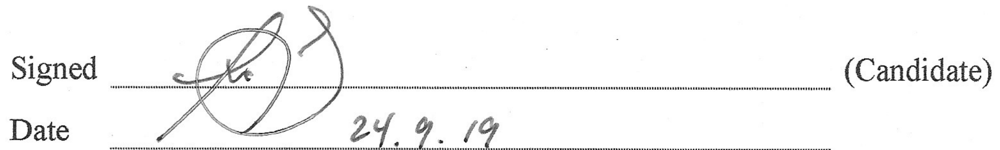

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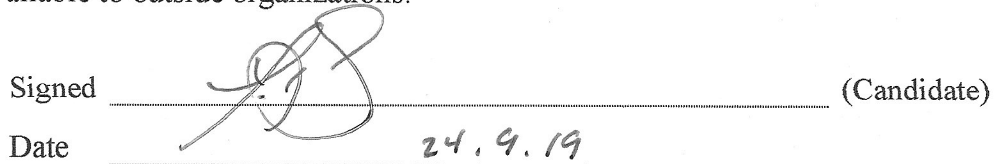

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DEDICATIONS

To Pastor Miguel Duran and family

To all my birds, Michelle, Jack, Mica and Grey

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I have looked forward to writing this section for many years. The thesis is the result of over twenty-five years of relationships with Pentecostal pastors and church leaders in El Salvador. It has been the absolute honour and privilege of my life to know and walk alongside these pastors and church leaders who have heroically worked to improve the lives of their fellow community members. Their stories of arduous work and perseverance have inspired and informed this research project. Their honesty and transparency allowed me to understand how hard it was for them to introduce community engagement into their congregations. Their willingness to allow me to join them on this journey helped has transformed my life. I look forward to continuing to discuss and celebrate the results of our work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	*Asambleas de Dios*
ADESCO	*Asociación de Desarrollo Comunitario*
AG	Assemblies of God
AIC	*Asambleas de Iglesias Cristianas*
CBO	Community-based Organizations
Elim	*Centro Misionero Elim*
ENLACE	*Entidad Natural Latinoamericano de Cooperación Estratégica*
FBO	Faith-based Organizations
IFBO	International Faith-based Organizations
INGO	International Non-governmental Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PTO	Parent-teacher Organization
SAL	Structural Adjustment Loans
WB	World Bank

Chapter One: Ritualizing Community Engagement

1. PENTECOSTALIZING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It was eleven a.m. in the morning when I arrived at the remote village of La Montaña[1] in the north-eastern mountains of El Salvador. I had been invited by the local church and community leaders to the inauguration of a newly built pedestrian bridge. As soon as I exited the truck, I heard the acoustic guitars ringing out across the valley and immediately recognized the familiar Pentecostal worship song. The musicians from the local Pentecostal congregation *El Cimiento* concluded the song as I approached the gathering of over a hundred church and community members.

The church's pastor, Salvador, stood on the riverbank and addressed the crowd. He introduced a guest speaker who preached for twenty-minutes on the love of God. Pastor Salvador then introduced local community leaders, the mayor, representatives of the Ministry of Health, and staff from *ENLACE*[2]. Each guest praised the hard work of the church and community leaders. They thanked the organizations present for their assistance in completing the project that would provide hundreds of people a safer way to travel to and from homes, markets, schools and places of work. Pastor Salvador closed the event with a fervent prayer and then invited everyone to the bridge for the ceremonial ribbon cutting.

The format and flow of the inauguration was a combination of elements that met the requirements of a successful civic event and a Pentecostal evangelistic service. The inauguration included the structure and protocol that corresponded to public activities, such as the playing of the national anthem, the presentation of the flag, and the participation of recognized civic leaders. The programme and flow also included elements

[1] The proper names of all communities, churches, pastors, and church and community members interviewed have been replaced with pseudonyms to ensure anonymity and to protect the rights of the research subjects.
[2] *Entidad Natural Latinoamericana de Cooperación Estratégica (ENLACE)* is a registered non-profit organization in El Salvador. *ENLACE's* mission and approach will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

common to evangelistic church services, such as prayer, worship songs, and preaching. There were, however, some marked differences. Unlike typical Salvadoran civic events, there was no loud, 'secular' music played, nor alcohol served. And unlike most evangelistic events, the pastor did not provide an opportunity for participants to respond to a message of salvation by repenting and 'giving their hearts to God'.

At this inauguration, as with others observed during the research, pastors and church leaders integrated Pentecostal rites into the format of civic activities after many years of collaboration. The *El Cimiento* church had worked on community service projects for many years; however, they had not worked with non-church, community leaders to identify and implement projects that benefited the entire community. With encouragement from *ENLACE*, the pastor and a few church leaders had begun to build relationships with community leaders and partner together to implement development initiatives. Nevertheless, it had not been easy for the pastor to convince church members to participate in the new practice. Nor had it been easy for the pastor and a few leaders to build relationships with community leaders. After many years of working together, community leaders asked Pastor Salvador to help them design and lead the inauguration. The active participation of church leaders, the presence of church members, and the introduction of Pentecostal rites into the civic event signified a profound change in the role of the pastor and congregation in community development.

I stood holding a portion of the ceremonial ribbon. Pastor Salvador and *El Cimiento* church leaders were standing on one side and the mayor and civic leaders on the other. Glancing at those present, I was aware of who was not present at the celebration. Many of the *El Cimiento* church members had not come, and neither had the church leaders who were not on the *El Cimiento* community engagement committee. Many church members and leaders did not recognize the inauguration as a vital church activity or practice. But I knew that many of those absent still believed in helping their neighbours.

Indeed, for many years, the *El Cimiento* church had participated in what they called community service projects. They had provided relief or immediate assistance to families from the church and the community. They had also participated as beneficiaries and as partners in other community development initiatives offered by international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and international faith-based organizations (IFBOs). Within this framework of community service, the *El Cimiento* church, like most traditional Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador, understood service as one more strategy to share the gospel with non-believers and recruit new members to the church. Nevertheless, the practice of working with non-church, community leaders and community-based organizations (CBOs) to identify, design, and implement community-wide development initiatives was a new practice.

Church leaders and members called the new practice '*acercamiento*' or 'coming close' – what I refer to as community engagement throughout the thesis - to describe both the strategy and the desired outcome. Church leaders described the new practice as a new set of activities that allowed them to build trusting relationships with non-church entities. It also allowed them to address the physical and spiritual needs of their communities. Encouraged by *ENLACE*, church leaders met formally and informally with non-church, community leaders, community-based organizations, mayoral offices and with NGOs to identify and address community problems.

Along with the challenge of being accepted by the community and civic leaders within the development process, the *El Cimiento* pastor and leaders had to convince church members to adopt the new practice. Despite the challenges that the new practice represented, Pastor Salvador chose to introduce the new practice into his congregation. Some church leaders resisted the new practice by leaving and opting out of participating in community engagement. Other leaders and members participated in community

engagement activities at different levels and ascribed different meanings and importance to the new practice.

Like other Pentecostal pastors who have begun to partner with their communities, Pastor Salvador chose to introduce and embed the new practice through ritualization. Like most Pentecostals, Pastor Salvador did not understand or discuss church practices as rituals, much less the process as ritualization. Nevertheless, he used available Pentecostal cultural strategies and meaningful church activities such as prayer, worship, and preaching to signify to church members that community engagement was acceptable and important. Pastor Salvador chose whether consciously or not, to embed community engagement within existing discourses, meanings and experiences. He did so to differentiate community engagement from previous community service activities, as well as to prioritize it as meaningful to the adherents' transformation, to strengthen the church community, and to fulfil the mission of the church. Thus, for Pastor Salvador and a few of his church leaders, the inauguration was not just a celebration of a bridge that increased the safety of the most vulnerable in their community, nor was it just an opportunity to 'share the gospel' with the unconverted. It was also another moment to convince both church and non-church community members that community engagement and civic participation was an acceptable and important church practice.

The *El Cimiento* church represents a small but growing number of Pentecostal churches both in rural and semi-urban areas of El Salvador that have begun to partner with non-Pentecostal, community leaders and CBOs to identify and develop projects that address community-wide issues (see Huff 2016; Garrard-Burnett 2016; Bueno 2015). Over the last twenty years, I have worked with and researched several Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador through the Salvadoran faith-based organization (FBO) called *ENLACE*. Pentecostal churches were selected that are actively engaged in their local social fields of development. These congregations are mobilizing church and non-

church resources to implement projects identified and managed by the community. An in-depth, ethnographic study of these congregations within their social fields of development can contribute productively to debates about the potential of Pentecostal congregations to contribute to development interventions in Latin America.

The following thesis examines why and how pastors and church leaders from five traditional Pentecostal churches in El Salvador introduce and ritualize community engagement within their congregations. It discusses how the new practice is understood and experienced within the congregation as well as how community engagement exposes tensions that both reinforce and challenge the adherent's sense of identity, sociality and way-in-the-world. The examination of community engagement from a ritual perspective can contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the form and content of Pentecostal social engagement in El Salvador as well as further discussions on the role of Pentecostalism in development.

2. Pentecostal Social Engagement in El Salvador

The rapid and sustained growth of Pentecostal churches in El Salvador over the last five decades offers a rich opportunity to explore empirically if and how Pentecostal congregations are participating in broader social change (Coleman et al. 1993). In El Salvador more than a third of the population (over 2.7 million people) identify themselves as '*evangélicos*'[3] (IUDOP 2009). Of the over six thousand Evangelical churches and one hundred and thirty denominations scattered throughout the country, the majority are affiliated to Pentecostal movements[4] (IUDOP 2009; Wadkins 2008). The most significant

[3] In El Salvador, Pentecostals use the term *evangélico* (translated as evangelical) to define themselves as Christians in contrast to belonging to the Catholic Church and usually does not include Mormons (see Annis 1987: 76; Brusco 1995: 14-15; Kamsteeg 1998: 9-10).

[4] It is difficult to define what constitutes Pentecostalism because its traditional characteristics have merged with other Christian traditions and it continues to grow, experiment and transform itself in multiple contexts (Offutt 2015: 18; see Martin 2002: 6). Pentecostalism is usually considered a 'supernatural and experientially robust' form of Christianity (Robbins 2004a: 120). Pentecostal beliefs and practices are usually characterized by an emphasis on a strict moralism and exuberant and ecstatic ritual practices, such as corporate prayer and worship. It is also recognized that most forms of Pentecostalism share, to some degree, four key elements of doctrine which are: 1) Jesus offers salvation,

Evangelical associations are Pentecostal and include *Asambleas de Dios* (AD), *Misión Cristiana Elim* (Elim), and *Iglesia de Dios*; the membership of these movements alone account for thirty-seven per cent of all Evangelical/Pentecostal Christians in El Salvador (Wadkins 2008). The steady growth of Pentecostalism in El Salvador has shaped the religious landscape, both among charismatic groups within the Catholic Church as well as other non-traditional Pentecostal groups such as Baptist and independent congregations.

Despite the sustained growth of Pentecostalism in El Salvador, there has been relatively limited research until recently on the how Pentecostal congregations and adherents engage or not in political and civic life. Earlier works describe the tendency of Pentecostal movements in El Salvador to retreat from political and civic life. Wilson (1983) and Williams (1997) provide an excellent historical overview of the beginnings and growth of the Pentecostal movement in El Salvador. They suggest, along with other scholars studying Pentecostalism in Latin American (see Lalive d'Epinay 1969; Gill 1990, 1994; Bastian 1993), that Pentecostal movements separated themselves from formal civic and political engagement in the initial decades of the movements (Williams 1997: 196). Moreover, in response to Martin's (1990) claim that Pentecostal congregations are proto-democratic capsules wherein political and civic skills are developed, Wilson adds that Pentecostals are unable to apply 'acquired political skills' to participate in secular associations (Wilson 1983: 186).

The edited volume by Petersen, Velasquez and Williams (2001) also describes the tendency of Pentecostals in El Salvador to focus on self-reform at the expense of participating in the community or broader social change. They argue that Pentecostalism ultimately focuses upon the 'reconstitution and redemption of the self' (Petersen et al. 2001: 7). They suggest that Pentecostals in El Salvador do not display much interest in

2) Jesus heals, 3) Jesus baptises with the Holy Spirit, and 4) Jesus is coming again (Robbins 2004a: 121; see Anderson 2004).

understanding the social and economic sources of or solutions to family problems (Petersen et al. 2001: 10). Much less do they explicitly train or encourage their adherents to contribute formally to a shared understanding of the 'common good (Petersen et al. 2001: 11). Rather, Pentecostalism tends to focus on addressing everyday problems at the individual and local level (Petersen et al. 2001; Huff 2016). They conclude that Pentecostal congregations face great challenges and limitations in being able to foster a 'culture of citizenship' that can bridge the micro and macro, between the politics of everyday life and formal political life (Petersen et al. 2001: 16). Moreover, the duality between the divine and 'the world', sectarianism and intra-ecclesial socio-economic stratification make sustained, large-scale mobilization difficult for Pentecostal movements (Petersen et al. 2001: 16).

Newer research, however, paints a different picture of the role of Pentecostals in political and civic life in El Salvador. There is growing evidence that more Pentecostal congregations and adherents have become socially engaged in new ways in El Salvador (see Street 2013; Offutt 2015; Wadkins 2017; Brenneman 2012). Offutt (2015) discusses the religious social forces, both internal and external to Pentecostalism, that shape and inform the new ways that congregations and adherents are participating in social engagement in El Salvador. He argues that Salvadoran Pentecostals are 'becoming more socio-economically diverse, better connected internationally, and increasingly socially engaged' (Offutt 2015: 2). He describes how some Pentecostal adherents (referred to as 'social entrepreneurs') are creating and using their national and international networks to acquire and mobilize resources for under-resourced communities. He suggests that these social entrepreneurs, whether or not affiliated with local congregations, operate in a competitive context and focus primarily upon providing services in an isolated and unsystematic manner. Offutt concludes that while most Pentecostals remain focussed

primarily upon evangelism, many prefer to do so while caring for the widows and orphans (2015: 56).

Lindhardt's (2016) edited volume also describes how Pentecostals are participating in social and political engagement in new ways in Latin American. Lindhardt (2016) explores the intrinsic developments within Pentecostal movements such as increased education, generation dynamics and theological rewards that have paved the way for a greater political and civic commitment. He discusses how increasing levels of education have contributed to broader political conversations, following political news, and to be more concerned with civil responsibility (see Fediakova 2010). Fediakova (2016) argues that many younger Pentecostals are supplementing their interests to participate in social engagement by joining or volunteering with NGOs and FBOs. Lindhardt (2016) also discusses how neo-Pentecostal sensitivities or theological beliefs, in contrast to traditional Pentecostalism, have allowed some congregations to 'imagine' political and civic engagement as less 'unthinkable'. Unlike traditional Pentecostals, neo-Pentecostals focus less on upon eschatology and more on the responsibility to usher in the Kingdom of God in the here and now (Lindhardt 2016).

In the same volume, Garrard-Burnett (2016) discusses how third-party organizations such as *ENLACE* in El Salvador and Centro Esdras in Guatemala could promote a Pentecostal hermeneutic that encourages some churches to go beyond their institutional boundaries to build relationships with non-church entities, creating new ways of reflecting upon and participating in social engagement (see Huff 2016; Bueno 2015). She concludes that if personal transformation and participation are to be translated into a more fungible social capital for society at large, then the new hermeneutic of social engagement requires that Pentecostals expand their prerogative to bring the world to the church in their terms (Garrard-Burnett 2016).

Wadkins' (2017) new monograph also provides a comprehensive discussion of the historical and cultural factors that have shaped the growth of Pentecostalism and social engagement in El Salvador. Within a historical overview of the origins and growth of the Pentecostal movement, Wadkins (2017) attempts to draw links between liberationist movements and Pentecostal social engagement[5]. He presents case studies of several local Pentecostal churches working in and with their communities (some of which also partner with *ENLACE*). He suggests that these congregations see themselves as important actors in the resolution of their communities' problems. And yet, he suggests, along with Miller and Yamamori (2007), that Pentecostals ultimately see personal and societal reform coming from mass conversion to Jesus Christ. He further argues that 'emotionalism, spontaneity, consumerism, and fissiparous patterns of growth' continue to supersede and impede the development of a centralized theological perspective or social consciousness (Wadkins 2017: 162). He concludes that Pentecostal movements are still 'the best way through which individualized Salvadorans find it possible to navigate their way, in a modernized country that is still on the economic periphery of the global economy and find a way to close the distance between their life on earth and their hope in heaven' (Wadkins 2017: 199).

The newer literature on Pentecostalism in El Salvador highlights a potential shift in the social position of adherents in society as well as suggests changes in how Pentecostals understand and engage in the world. They discuss the internal/intrinsic and external factors that shape the form and meaning of political and civic engagement for Pentecostals in El Salvador. They also provide a more nuanced understanding of how Pentecostal congregations and adherents adopt and transform beliefs and practices that allow them to add social engagement to evangelistic goals and strategies. Moreover, they address the resources and also challenges or limitations that Pentecostals have in participating in

[5] Robeck's (2016) dissertation provides an insightful analysis of how Liberationist theologies have shaped and informed Pentecostal social engagement in El Salvador.

broader, long-term processes of social change. The following section discusses how scholarship on Pentecostalism in El Salvador is shaped by and contributes to broader debates within the burgeoning field of religion and development.

3. PENTECOSTALISM AND DEVELOPMENT

Over the past several decades, there has been a shift in the awareness and interest in the role of religion in development from 'estrangement' to 'engagement' (Clark & Jennings 2008: 2). The increase in interest is due in part to the 'discovery' by scholars and development practitioners that religious beliefs and affiliations have not decreased or retreated to private spaces as 'secularists' had predicted. Instead, the modernization project has given way to a 'post-secular' age where religious beliefs and organizations grow up and interact with secular political and development discourses and institutions (Berger 2014). Moreover, the tepid and unequal results of 'development' since the 1970s has also led scholars and practitioners to question the philosophy and goals of development. The rethinking of development goals has challenged the belief that development would (or should) take a linear path towards a commonly shared and desired future (Rakodi 2015: 17). The goals of development have expanded beyond economic development to include a more 'holistic' understanding of human development that includes social, economic and even 'spiritual' characteristics (Tomalin 2008, 2015).[6] Additionally, increased dialogue between Southern and Northern scholars and development practitioners has also created space for discussions about how 'local' and 'traditional' beliefs and values enhance or deter community-led social change (Ver Beek 2002).

The increased participation of Pentecostals in addressing issues of justice and poverty has renewed interest among scholars and practitioners to examine how and when

[6] The World Bank conducted research on the role of religion and development which resulted in three volumes that highlight the importance of religion to people's sense of well-being: 'the poor often mention turning to God for comfort, solace, and support' (Naranyan et al. 2000: 38).

Pentecostal beliefs, practices and organizational cultures enhance or hinder development interventions. Scholars have conducted ethnographic studies of how Pentecostal beliefs and practices shape their participation in development initiatives (Freeman 2012a; Freston 2015; Deacon 2012; Haynes 2005), start their own Pentecostal NGOs/FBOs (Burchardt 2013), and partner (or not) with other actors within their localized social fields of development (Huff 2016, 2017; Bueno 2015). The diversity of research highlights the variety of approaches and meanings ascribed to social problems, development interventions and broader visions of change by Pentecostals. Pentecostal engagement is shaped by historical factors such as colonization and civil war (Smith 2012; Skinner 2010; Piot 2012), beliefs and practices (Jones 2012; Hasu 2012), the social location of its adherents (Freston 2015; Hasu 2012), and the geographic location of Pentecostal congregations (Sundness Dronen 2015). And as will be highlighted in this thesis, particular forms of engagement are also shaped by the authority of church leadership, organizational structures and structures of power within Pentecostal congregations.

Scholars are returning to older theoretical discussions as well as exploring new lines of enquiry about the potential of Pentecostal congregations and adherents to contribute to social change through development interventions. Scholars such as Comaroff (2012), Freeman (2012a) and Freston (2015) have returned to earlier debates on how Pentecostal beliefs and organizational cultures form new ‘subjects’ or ‘subjectivities’ that further, challenge or mitigate the costs of neoliberal development agendas and strategies. While scholars have framed their analysis within the field of religion and development asking questions about whether Pentecostal adherents, congregations and FBOs have particular resources and limitations or challenges that could enhance or deter their effective engagement in localized development (Haustein et al. 2015).

3.1. Pentecostal Entrepreneurs and the Spirit of Neoliberal Development

Over the last few decades, scholars have examined how Pentecostal movements are growing up within and being shaped by the neoliberal moment. Scholars such as Freeman (2012a) explore how Pentecostal congregations form new 'subjects' or 'subjectivities' adept at moralizing, challenging, and navigating neoliberal development capitalism. And while these scholars tend to agree that Pentecostals focus on and are efficient at cultivating and embodying new subjects, they disagree on how personal transformation translates into social transformation.

Freeman (2012a, 2012b) suggests that the cultural mechanisms of ritualization unique to Pentecostal congregations form new 'empowered' and 'entrepreneurial' citizens necessary for the advancement of neoliberal development goals. She argues that Pentecostalism, especially among neo-Pentecostals in Africa, contributes to the formation of a new economic ethos for the neoliberal 'spirit of capitalism' (Bialeki et al. 2008: 1149-1150; see Bernice Martin 1995; Robbins 2004a). In Freeman's analysis of Weber's Protestant ethic, Protestantism unintentionally contributed toward a shift in 'people's values and subjectivities to motivate new behaviours and to make the new economic system seem moral' (2012a: 20). For Freeman, the outcomes of Pentecostalism and Protestantism are the same: hard work, saving, and limitations on certain types of consumption (2012a: 20). She states, '[w]hereas Calvinism moralized hard work and saving as an ascetic practice in itself to avoid sin and confirm salvation, the new ethic for Pentecostals is moralized within a divine plan and purpose for your life: to become rich and abundant here on earth' (Freeman 2012a: 21).

Freeman (2012a) further suggests that Pentecostals' holistic ontology, charismatic/ ecstatic rituals, and active and creative marketing make them more popular and powerful than mainstream Protestant denominations in legitimizing and spreading neoliberal capitalism. Pentecostalism's propensity to acknowledge the existence and power of spirits

and demons, while providing a mechanism to 'distance' and 'protect' its adherents from their effects is a better fit for African 'sensibilities' (Freeman 2012a: 22-23). She argues that Pentecostals' emphasis on charismatic and ecstatic experiences transform 'embodied subjectivities' and form a sense of newness which makes the rhetoric of rebirth feel 'actual' (Freeman 2012a: 22; see Csordas 1994, 1997; Maxwell 2005). She adds that Pentecostal rituals serve to create a 'fundamental rupture in the social order and the reconstitution of a new order' (Keyes 2002: 249, quoted in Freeman 2012a: 23). Freeman suggests that Pentecostal rituals are especially effective in creating new subjectivities and socialities than Protestant sober words, stories and prayers (2012a: 23; see Csordas 1994, 1997; Lindhardt 2011a).

Freeman (2012a) concludes that neo-Pentecostal congregations in Africa could be understood as a third approach to development that is different from mainstream or post-development models. Unlike mainstream development models that focus on addressing community or national issues through some form of collective action, neo-Pentecostal congregations focus on forming 'empowered' and 'entrepreneurial' citizens capable of navigating and propelling neoliberal development capitalism. Pentecostal congregations are capable of appreciating local values, traditions and relationships (as post-structuralist development models[7] aim to do) while transforming them to encourage participating in economic activities that could lead to the accumulation of wealth and upward mobility. She concludes that neo-Pentecostal churches should be understood as vital development partners in localized development. However, Freeman does not clarify how Pentecostal congregations could partner with other development actors. Moreover, she does not consider explicitly how the social location and structural position of Pentecostals within

[7] Escobar (1995) argues that the development discourse and philosophy developed in the mid-twentieth century required the '"othering" and homogenization of the Third World,' and 'had led to the exploitation, control and perversion of local culture, grassroots interests and perceptions' (Rokadi 2015: 26). Post-structuralists posited an alternative model to development that is local, self-reliant, and egalitarian.

the economy shapes the form and meaning of their social engagement nor their ability to contribute to broader social transformation.

Comaroff (2012) agrees with Freeman (2012a) that Pentecostals form individualized and entrepreneurial subjects capable of navigating neoliberal development capitalism but argues that Pentecostal subjectivity ultimately challenges the nature and site of politics and modernist notions of development. She suggests that Pentecostal renewal movements are especially 'adept at using technology, international networks and demand-based practices and organizational structures' to form new individualized subjects and entrepreneurs adept at navigating late modern capitalism (Comaroff 2012). Moreover, she argues that the neoliberal moment has created unique divine arenas of influence for Pentecostals. Neo-Pentecostal congregations have replaced the role of the decentred state to develop 'citizens' (Comaroff 2012: 55)[8]. She also suggests that as neo-Pentecostals enter into new public spaces, they tend to blur the boundaries between the sacred and the secular ultimately challenging the nature and site of politics and development.

Comaroff (2012) argues that neo-Pentecostal renewal movements introduce and validate new ways of knowing the truth that provide an 'authentic' experience for its adherents. Neo-Pentecostalism counters the 'relativism and the loss of authoritative meaning' generated by late modern capitalism by positing a theology of revealed truth and a culture of affective realism' (2012: 53). For many Pentecostals, she argues, the reality of shared metaphysical forces is more palpable than 'intangibles like "society", "economy", and "history" whose structures of plausibility seem seriously undermined' (Comaroff 2012: 57). She states,

> The Spirit of Revelation is alive and well in many Pentecostal congregations as they reach out to save those left behind by the logic of the modern project. Pentecostal movements embrace the world-

[8] Comaroff builds upon Foucault's analysis of neoliberalism. Foucault emphasized the transformations in the relationship between the state and the economy (2012: 55). Previous to the neoliberal turn, the state directed and monitored the economy; whereas, within neoliberalism, 'the market itself is the organizing and regulative principle underlying the state' (Comaroff 2012: 53). Comaroff adds, '(e)nhancing profitability and promoting entrepreneurial citizens have become both the end and the measure of good governance, in state and in the church' (2012: 55).

making enterprise of addressing the desires, dis-ease, violence, and poverty of this modern moment transforming them into signs of redemption (Comaroff 2012: 62).

Comaroff (2012) further suggests that the ways in which Pentecostals tend to engage in world-making challenge the logic, values and meaning of modernization and development. She states that many neo-Pentecostal congregations tend 'to take the form of theocracies, to embrace a wide array of once secular activities and regulatory functions in the quest to reclaim the world' (2012: 53). She suggests that 'mass conversion endorses an evangelical theology and mode of worship that is less and less in sync with secular social and political theory – or with the rationalist telos of modernization and development' (2012: 56). She concludes that revivalist faiths offer a 'privatised, materially indexed salvation, and more immediate returns on spiritual investment' which is usually accompanied by a move away from 'civic participation and collective mobilization to more a personal and partisan visions of securing the future' (2012: 56).

Freston (2015), on the other hand, argues that Pentecostalism does not form an economic ethic that propels forward neoliberal development capitalism, but rather provides skills and dispositions that might allow some of its adherents to 'survive' the costs of the neoliberal moment. Unlike Freeman (2012a) and Comaroff (2012) who focus their research on neo-Pentecostal congregations in Africa, Freston (2015) concentrates his research on traditional congregations in Brazil. He argues that Pentecostal's impact on capitalist development requires a historical analysis of the social location of its adherents, their structural position within the economy and of the particular ethic they embody (Freston 2015). He argues that in Latin America, many traditional Pentecostal groups have operated within the 'periphery of established global capitalism and cannot have the same macro-economic effect that Weber's (1958) Puritans had on the spread of industrial capitalism' (2015: 147). He further suggests that Pentecostalism has a different theological impetus, work ethic and consumption patterns than Protestantism. He concludes that for Weber's Calvinists, religion led to an economic ethic; whereas, for

Pentecostals in Brazil today, ‘the need for an economic ethic encourages a religious option, because it needs not a doctrinal justification but personal and communitarian motivation’ (2015: 152).

Freston argues that instead of forming a new true petty bourgeoises people actually join Pentecostal congregations to be transformed personally in order to survive the effects of neoliberal capitalism (2015: 148). Traditional Pentecostal congregations might develop important disciplines and skills such as planning, self-motivation, and managing interpersonal relations that can help adherents start small businesses (see Martin 2002) or gain and sustain employment, but that their overall influence in shaping or pushing forward broader development capitalism is limited (Freston 2015: 147). Freston also highlights the fact that there is evidence that for all the training and encouragement, Pentecostal entrepreneurs do not seem to be particularly successful (see Smith 2012). Pentecostalism does not necessarily contribute directly to upward mobility (Gill 2004; Hasu 2012)[9].

Freston concludes that traditional Pentecostal congregations are not inimical to development but might not be an effective or useful partner that Freeman proposes (2015: 154). He suggests that Pentecostal beliefs and practices encourage ‘self-development’ while simultaneously disincentivizing participation in social transformation through collective action. Pentecostals do not talk about ‘empowerment,’ but rather about ‘power.’ Divine power is very efficient for personal transformation but has its limits in social transformation. Social transformation, argues Freston (2015), requires ‘empowerment’ that can only come from others or through the collective action of some sort. He adds that Pentecostalism does not recognize the ‘hardness and durability of

[9] Gill (2004) argues that upward mobility is contingent upon many intervening factors such as age, gender, and socio-economic status. She argues that these variables matter more than religious affiliations. Hasu (2012) also illustrates that the shifts in economic status among Pentecostal adherents appear to be inconclusive. She states that there is some evidence of uplift among the middle class but not among poor Pentecostals in Tanzania.

cultural forms and social structures, but tend to generalize, spiritualize and retreat from addressing social realities' (Freston 2015: 154). Finally, he argues that Pentecostals' 'self-belief and pragmatism discourage a humble and teachable perseverance through long learning processes' (Freston 2015: 153-154) that is usually required to partner effectively with community and other development partners.

Freston's (2015) analysis of the historical and cultural context of traditional Pentecostal congregations in Brazil contributes to a broader analysis of how colonization, social location, and religious beliefs and practices shape economic and development subjects. However, unlike Freeman, his analysis does not include the cultural mechanisms and techniques used by Pentecostals to form new subjects and subjectivities. Moreover, similar to Comaroff (2012) and Freeman (2012a), his reflections do not discuss how the participation of Pentecostal congregations in development initiatives with multiple development actors could serve both to reinforce but also to challenge existing beliefs and practices that could lead to new forms of collective action. A closer examination of how and why subjects participate in specific forms of social engagement could challenge and transform Pentecostal beliefs and practices. Moreover, a closer look at how Pentecostals ritualize new development activities within their congregations could also provide insight on how they could contribute (or not) to localized development.

3.2. Pentecostal Congregations and Localized Development

Along with debating whether Pentecostal beliefs and organizational cultures form new subjects and subjectivities, scholars are also exploring if and when Pentecostal congregations (Smith 2012; Piot 2012) or FBOs (Burchardt 2013; Burgess 2015) could contribute to localized development (Haustein et al. 2015). Scholars argue that Pentecostal congregations can mobilize the participation of skilled and motivated volunteers that can enhance localized development interventions. Scholars also suggest that Pentecostal congregations are more responsive to constituent needs because they are

embedded in relationships that allow them to identify problems and respond effectively with their own or acquired resources. Other scholars propose that Pentecostal organizational culture can generate and sustain social capital both within and outside their local social fields of development that mobilize human and financial resources to development initiatives. However, each one of these potential resources also exposes tensions or challenges within Pentecostal congregations that can limit their participation in localized development.

Freeman (2012a), along with others (see Burgess 2015; Clark 2015; Smith 2012), argues that Pentecostal congregations, unlike NGOs and FBOs, have a moral mandate, organizational culture and authority structure to mobilize greater numbers of adherents to participate in development initiatives. Pentecostal beliefs, practices and organizational culture encourage great numbers of adherents to participate actively in church activities. The belief that all adherents have direct access to the divine- the theological framework of 'priesthood of all believers'- and therefore are responsible at some level for their transformation, encourages members to participate actively in congregational rituals and life. Thus, many Pentecostal adherents chose to 'participate' in church rituals and activities because they believe them to be important and powerful to facilitate their transformation, to strengthen the church community, and to further the mission of the church. Moreover, the mobilization of church members is also important to maintain the primary functions and infrastructure of the church.

Pentecostal churches are ultimately voluntary associations that require church leaders to incentivize and train volunteers to maintain and grow the congregation. Church leaders mobilize volunteers to maintain the infrastructure, implement programs and provide leadership and governance for the congregation. In the majority of Pentecostal congregations, especially in rural areas where pastors are the only compensated staff, the majority of members are encouraged to and are actively participating in the church at

some level depending upon their status as members in the church. Therefore, one of the primary roles of Pentecostal pastors is to be able to mobilize and manage large numbers of volunteers.

Within the volunteering process, Pentecostal practices and organizational culture are also believed to form adherents with skills that could contribute to localized development. Scholars suggest that Pentecostal adherents learn 'soft skills' such leading a meeting, taking notes, accounting, long-term and short-term planning, reporting, and vision casting (see Jones 2012) that could translate into more significant participation in development initiatives. Scholars also suggest that these leadership and management skills could serve to strengthen the capacity of community leaders and CBOs to identify and develop community-wide initiatives. These skills could also strengthen the capacity of CBOs to identify and partner with other development organizations and state entities. Along with leadership and management skills, Pentecostal congregations are believed to create motivated and committed volunteers.

Burgess (2015) suggests that Pentecostal congregations generate and sustain spiritual capital. He defines spiritual capital as the 'motivating basis of faith, belief, values that shape the concrete actions of faith and communities and individuals' (Baker 2009: 112, quoted in Burgess 2015: 179-180). Spiritual capital, or what Poloma and Hood (2008) and Poloma and Green (2010) call 'god-love', is generated from the transforming experience with a divine encounter that shapes and motivates adherents to serve others. Miller and Yamamori (2007) add that Pentecostals refer to the life of Jesus as a 'model of' and 'for' their personal and social lives (see Robeck 2016). For many Pentecostal adherents, it is spiritual capital or god-love that encourages them to give of their limited financial and human resources, both in time and skills, toward development efforts that benefit both church and non-church members. It also encourages some Pentecostal adherents to commit to community development processes despite being discouraged and

or criticized by denominational leaders, church members and community and state actors. And, as will be discussed further in the thesis, god-love or the sense of divine purpose allows some Pentecostals to engage in long-term learning and development processes with multiple development actors to create community-wide initiatives. Moreover, the thesis also suggests that Pentecostal leaders and members do not always provide the same explanations for why they chose to engage (or not) in development initiatives.

For these reasons, some scholars suggest that Pentecostal churches could be seen as ‘reservoirs’ of impassioned and equipped volunteers ready to engage in development initiatives (Clarke 2015). Scholars state that Pentecostal church leaders can mobilize church members to join NGO/FBO programs to implement development initiatives and to belong to CBOs. A closer examination of why church members chose to participate in church rituals and activities could also provide a more nuanced understanding of whether church leaders can mobilize greater numbers of volunteers to engage in development initiatives.

A careful examination of how Pentecostals talk about why they are engaged or not can reveal how leaders and members appropriate, adapt and resist moralized or theological concepts, principles and beliefs to explain their engagement in different ways over time. Additional research is needed that explores if there is a shared understanding of social engagement between and among church leaders and members within the same congregation. Are Pentecostal ‘entrepreneurs,’ as Elisha (2011) suggests, ‘moral’ prophets to their congregations who encourage or convince the rest of the members of the importance of social engagement? Or are they reflecting deeper changes occurring in the beliefs and practices of Pentecostal congregations? Finally, a careful examination of Pentecostal congregations’ social engagement over time could provide a more nuanced understanding of how values and beliefs shape and inform development activities and how new development interventions reinforce, challenge or transform values and beliefs.

Scholars also suggest that Pentecostal congregations' ability to foster greater participation allows them to become quickly 'embedded in local communities' and to be 'seen as moral and meaningful institutions (Freeman 2012a: 26; see Burgess 2015). Physical proximity, the longevity of residence, and existing networks of families and friends can help the local Pentecostal congregation to become deeply embedded in its geographic community. In rural areas, the majority of church members reside within walking distance from the church. Their geographic proximity allows them to generate and influence local relationships in ways that NGOs, which come and go based on short-term project cycles, find it difficult to create. Pastors, even if they were not born in the community, usually live in and interact, at some levels, in the daily life of the community. However, there is evidence that many Pentecostal pastors and members tend to distance themselves from relationships and activities in the community.

As will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters, many Pentecostal congregations require adherents to be 'holy' or to separate themselves from 'past' relationships and activities that hinder their personal transformation. Some congregations discourage and even discipline their members for participating in civic activities or in CBOs. Thus, for many Pentecostal congregations, reconnecting to relationships or 'embedding' themselves within community processes becomes a moral and practical problem. Some adherents might not understand and even challenge their church leaders' 'call' to rebuild relationships or to participate in community activities. Moreover, many adherents hold on to prejudices and fears about approaching and partnering with CBOs and other secular development actors.

Jones (2012) and Clarke (20015) also suggest that Pentecostal congregations' capacity to become an integral and natural part of the landscape can serve to strengthen the capacity of CBOs and help development actors to identify and implement effective interventions. Jones argues that Pentecostals' emphasis upon breaking from the past, their

moral notions of proper behaviour, and new forms of sociality provide a sense of permanence and meaning to congregations within their community (Jones 2012; see Hasu 2012). Jones suggests that Pentecostal congregations build their institutions upon a 'mission' or 'vision' that is bigger than that of NGOs and FBOs, which usually focus upon implementing a project or program. He suggests that Pentecostal congregations, unlike NGOs and FBOs, can 'borrow' from their shared experience of personal transformation through a divine encounter to provide legitimacy in the community. Nevertheless, many Pentecostal leaders talk about having to overcome prejudices, frustration, and anger from community leaders and other development actors because they have remained at the margins of civic action for the most of their church's history.

Scholars also suggest that Pentecostal congregations' 'closeness' to and 'permanence' in their geographic communities can also help them as well as other development actors to be more responsive to the community's needs. Freeman (2012a) suggests that Pentecostal congregations are more responsive to their constituents because they are embedded within communities and self-fund their development initiatives. She argues that unlike Southern and Northern NGOs that are responsive and accountable to foreign stakeholders, Pentecostal congregations are more responsive to their 'religious constituents' because they respond immediately to the perceived needs in the congregation or community. Moreover, they are also able to raise their own funds and mobilize skilled and unskilled labour to respond quickly and without external constraints. However, as has already been discussed, the level of responsiveness depends, in part, on the adherent's understanding of participation and the congregation's level of embeddedness in the community. Congregations that disengage from community relationships and processes are not aware of nor can respond effectively to community-specific problems. Moreover, the size and social location of the congregation's adherents

also determines the amount and kinds of resources they can mobilize to address community problems.

Pentecostal congregations and adherents from different social and geographic locations have different financial and technical resources to contribute to localized initiatives. Larger, urban Pentecostal congregations can mobilize more resources from their congregations than smaller, rural churches. Pentecostals adherents, especially from middle-class, urban churches, are also able to acquire resources from or partner with international and national organizations to implement larger development programs that usually extend beyond their congregation (Miller & Yamamori 2007; Offutt 2015). They are also able to mobilize funds and labour from mission teams from North America churches to implement development programs and projects. Whereas, smaller congregations from remote or under-resourced communities are less capable of mobilizing their own financial resources or leveraging relationships to acquire funds.

Pentecostal social engagement is also influenced, to different degrees, by external stakeholders. Small and large congregations receive funds and training from national and international stakeholders. Smaller congregations join or partner with national and international FBOs to address problems that were identified and designed without the support of local constituents. Larger congregations also join programs or collaborative efforts that shape the understanding of the problem and its solution. Many church leaders and members from larger congregations also attend international or local conferences where they are exposed to 'global issues' and 'best practices' from NGOs and FBOs. A closer examination of how Pentecostals identify, design, fundraise, and implement projects and programs within their social fields of development could provide further data on whether they are more responsive than other development organizations.

Finally, scholars suggest that Pentecostal churches can generate and sustain social capital inside and outside their congregations that could enhance localized development

(Candland 2000; Farnell 2001; Smith 2002; Swart 2006; Petersen 2004). Building upon Putnam's (2000) understanding of social capital as the building and sustaining of relationships of trust, scholars argue that the 'close' relationships of 'trust' cultivated within Pentecostal congregations could be extended to strengthen relationships outside the church with community members. The 'closeness' with non-church, community leaders and members, both geographically and relationally, could facilitate relationships of 'trust' or social capital that could lead to new forms of collective action (Freeman 2012a; Long 2012). Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the thesis, Pentecostal church members struggle to extend the same level of trust required between church members to those outside the church. Moreover, church leaders strive to create new kinds of relationships in communities that are often profoundly fragmented by civil conflicts, poverty and emigration.

Pentecostal congregations are also believed to be able to generate resources or social capital from national and international networks. Bourdieu (1980) defines social capital as the exchange of resources through extended networks. Scholars have argued that Pentecostal churches can mobilize national and international networks to acquire resources to provide local services (Offutt 2015). Here again, the size, social location, denominational or movements affiliation, and theological focus (Sundness Dronen 2015; Hasu 2012; Freeman 2012a) of the church shapes the number of resources and strength of the network's ties. Smaller, under-resourced congregations might not be able to mobilize as many resources as larger congregations from relationships of people from similar social locations. Moreover, many Pentecostal church leaders struggle to generate and maintain these network ties after the completion of projects or programs.

Many Pentecostal congregations and adherents also struggle to understand and partner effectively with other entities within the shifting and complicated social fields of development. In many countries like El Salvador, governments have created local

development strategies that shift the responsibility of identifying and implementing initiatives to local community organizations and mayoral offices. Many of these strategies are underfunded and therefore contribute to under-resourced community-based organizations, unaccountable mayoral offices, and multiple NGOs/FBOs providing social services independently (if not in competition) to communities.

In this very complicated and shifting social field of development, NGOs and FBOs approach Pentecostal church leaders and members to participate in development initiatives. Without broader participation in community activities or organizations, many Pentecostal congregations pick and choose which programs will benefit their congregation and help them to 'spread the gospel'. Other congregations struggle to understand how to partner effectively as NGOs and FBOs come and go from their communities with new approaches, requirements and promises. These struggles are not exclusive to Pentecostal churches because they affect all other religious and civic organizations trying to engage in localized development, but the shifts in strategies and activities make it more difficult for pastors and leaders to convince their adherents of the importance of participating in the activity. Moreover, the continuous change in development actors makes it difficult for church and community leaders to build social and bridging capital needed to mobilize and sustain resources for long-term development.

An in-depth-ethnographic study of why and how pastors and church leaders from five traditional Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador are choosing strategically to build new forms of social interactions with non-Pentecostal entities to address structural issues through collective action can contribute to discussions regarding the role of Pentecostalism in development. Moreover, this thesis addresses a need in the literature to examine how Pentecostal congregations introduce and ritualize development initiatives within their congregations. More specifically, the thesis examines how the new development practices create a problematic or argument within Pentecostal congregations

that expose tensions, challenge and transform existing notions of Pentecostal identity, agency, sociality and mission in the world.

4. Studying Pentecostal Practice from a Ritual Perspective

Until the early 1990s, scholars had understudied Pentecostal religious activities from a ritual perspective. Scholars have previously focused their attention on why people convert to Pentecostalism and what it does for them as individuals (Chestnut 1997, 2007; Gooren 2007, 2010). They have studied how Pentecostalism provides marginalized and vulnerable people with a haven (Lalive d'Epinay 1969) or with skills and dispositions to address difficult situations (Willems 1967; Mariz 1994). Scholars have also focused on how Pentecostalism empowers women to address gender inequality in their homes and the church (Brusco 1995; Burdick 1993; Mariz & Machado 1997). Other scholars have discussed how Pentecostalism could potentially contribute to formal processes of democratization and development in Latin America (David Martin 1990, 2002; Bastian 1993; Smilde 1998; Smith 1994; Gill 1994; Freston 2001, 2008) as well develop entrepreneurial skills that could lead to upward mobility (Bernice Martin 1995, 1998; Freeman 2012a).

More recently, a group of anthropologists and sociologists have moved beyond studying what Pentecostalism does for people to a focus on how Pentecostal practices shape identity, sociality, and way-in-the-world (Lindhart 2011a, 2011b, 2014, 2016; Csordas 1990, 1994, 1997, 2011; Robbins 2011; Albrecht 1999). These scholars suggest Pentecostal experiences, dispositions, and practices should be studied from a ritual perspective (Lindhardt 2011a). Lindhardt proposes that the careful study of Pentecostal ritual as a practice can shed new light on how Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity 'reproduce and renew themselves while at the same time contributing to processes of social and cultural transformation everywhere, they are found' (2011a: 30).

Lindhardt (2011a) suggests two possible reasons for why scholars have understudied Pentecostalism from a ritual perspective. First, Pentecostals themselves do not understand their religious practices to be 'ritual' or 'ritualized'; entirely on the contrary, they describe their church as absent from ritual practice or even as 'anti-ritual' (Pfeil 2011). Many traditional Pentecostals in Latin America define their church practices and experiences in contrast to what they understand to be a static, bounded and unauthentic Catholic liturgy. Many Pentecostals believe that repeating pre-determined liturgical phrases from the past is 'an inadequate way to articulate personal experience, open oneself to spiritual in-filling, or sincerely expressing individual here-and-now desires of closeness and communion with God or Jesus' (Lindhardt 2011a: 4). For many Pentecostals, spontaneous behaviours that emanate from divine inspiration, instead of human emotions, are believed to be more genuine and therefore more effective in self-transformation and worship (Shoaps 2002: 41-42; see Lindhardt 2004; Csordas 1994, 1997).

Many Pentecostals also believe that rituals impede or confine the spontaneous, authentic expressions of the Holy Spirit in worship and service (Shoaps 2002; Lindhardt 2004, 2011a). Pentecostals believe in a living God who actively moves among them and intervenes in human affairs (Lindhardt 2011b). Too much 'human-made' liturgy is seen to impede God's intervention and movement. And so, church services and religious practices are intended to be loosely guided and spontaneous to allow for the intervention and guidance of the Holy Spirit (Shoaps 2002: 42). However, as Robbins (2011) argues, we should not limit our academic analysis to purely emic uses of the term ritual and that it does make sense to regard many Pentecostal/Charismatic cooperative and spiritually oriented church activities as rituals (see Albrecht 1999; Lindhardt 2011a, 2014).

Lindhardt also provides a second reason for why scholars have understudied Pentecostalism from a ritual perspective. He suggests that previous understandings of the analytical concept of ritual did not allow scholars to explain the dynamic, diffuse and

particular religious expressions and socialities of Pentecostalism (2011a: 2). Classical anthropological and sociological approaches, much like Pentecostals themselves, understood ritual to be a 'formal, prescribed, and essentially public behaviour with little scope for spontaneous responses' (Lindhardt 2011a: 2). Ritual or 'rites' were understood to be a solely religious phenomenon that was confined to 'sacred' spaces or events and directly addressed or confronted the divine (see Rappaport 1979; Leach 1964; Bateson 1986). Ritual performances were representations or enactments of formal and prescribed thoughts and structures (Bell 1992)[10]. And more often than not, a ritual was the 'social glue' that guaranteed that in these '"simple" societies, structure would triumph over inherent tensions and even over the forces of history' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993: xv).

With the rise of historical anthropology and its focus on the dialectics of social life, scholars have challenged the understanding of the nature of ritual and its study[11] (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993: xv). Rather than studying ritual as a static and bounded performance or event, ritual is studied as a 'creative strategy through which human beings continually reproduce and reshape their social and cultural environments' (Bell 1997: 76). Ritual practice is understood to be rhetorical and embodied within interpretative schemes or structured environments that render meaning but also allows for creativity and change (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993).

The following section discusses the shift in the understanding of the nature and study of ritual and how it has contributed to the study of Pentecostalism. The first part of the section discusses the changes in the study of ritual from static, bounded and

[10] Bell (1992) argues that much of the early scholarship on ritual built upon Durkheim's (1965) imagined duality where thoughts, beliefs, and myth were necessary precursors and determined the form and content of action or ritual. Among these scholars, ritual reflected and was the product of thought or belief. Ritual did not shape or define thought or belief, but rather was representational and constitutive of thought.

[11] Comaroff and Comaroff (1993) highlight how the trend in rethinking the nature of ritual extends beyond anthropology and sociology. They suggest that the study of ritual as signifying practice and the 'meaningful construction of social worlds' has shaped the historical analysis of Thompson (1963) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). Moreover, they state that concept of ritual as 'intentional communication' or 'signifying practice' has also shaped the analysis of politics and history in unconventional subcultures of British cultural scholars such as Hall and Jefferson (1976) and Hebdige (1988) (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993: xvii).

representational religious performances to embodied, rhetorical and creative practices that shape and reshape social life. It then examines how the new understanding of ritual has shaped scholars' examination of Pentecostal practice as a self-creating process that shapes adherents' relationship to the divine, to each other, and to the world (Csordas 1997; Lindhardt 2011a). The study of Pentecostalism from a ritual perspective allows scholars to examine why and how Pentecostals use cultural strategies to signify practices as important and powerful to personal transformation, to strengthening the church body, and to fulfilling the mission of the church.

4.1. Ritual as Signifying Practice

The understanding of the nature and study of ritual has shifted drastically since the 1970s. Catherine Bell (1992, 1997) argues that earlier scholars created and used the concept of ritual to resolve the imagined duality between thought and action and in the process reified the concept of ritual and privileged its study as essential to understanding 'culture'. Durkheim's work (1965) established a duality between belief and structure that served theoretically to separate thought from the action but also determined that thought preceded and was necessary for action. Thus, for early ritual theorists, religious ceremonies or rites were studied as a fixed set of beliefs and formalized practices that did not extend beyond the event, nor varied in meaning or structure (Bell 1997)[12]. Moreover, for many of these scholars, the study of ritual was a privileged window into the study of culture. Ritual revealed synchronic cultural beliefs and social structures. However, with the work of anthropologists such as Turner (1967) and Geertz (1973) in the 1970s,

[12] Scholars, such as Levi-Strauss (1963, 1967) and Leach (1964), took Durkheim's duality to an extreme, establishing that myth, or thoughts, were pre-structural and provided a template for all action and society (Bell 1997: 62-64). Other scholars built upon Durkheim's duality to study the syntax and semantics of ritual and language (see Austin 1975; Searle 1969; Staal 1989). These scholars focused on the grammatical rules that govern ritual, which authorize its form and content. These scholars tend to study ritual less like an action or human activity a more like a text to be decoded or exegeted (Bell 1997: 68-72).

scholars began to study how ritual served to integrate and make dynamic the duality between thought and action.

Turner (1967) and Geertz (1973) suggested that ritual not only revealed beliefs but also served as a cultural mechanism to integrate thoughts and actions. Turner and Geertz[13] focused on how cultural performances such as rituals, festivals, and theatre enabled people to appropriate, adapt and transform cultural values and ideas. They focused upon what performances meant to the participants but also on what ritual does – how it reveals, exposes tensions and reshapes cultural systems (Bell 1997: 72-76). Turner (1967) argued that ritual performances were essential to revealing complex and 'unconscious' basic values and moral truth to its participants. He also suggested that ritual ceremonies were public arenas where contested values and orientations were systematized and institutionalized within social life (see Ortner 1978; Geertz 1973; Leach 1964). He argued that in ritual ceremonies, different beliefs and tensions were reconciled within a social structure to create 'communitas'[14] (Turner 1969). Although Turner suggested that there could exist different meanings and tensions between cultural elites and other ritual participants, rituals, more often than not, ultimately served to maintain and replicate society.

Like Turner, Geertz saw ritual as a mechanism to resolve the duality between thought and action, belief and ritual- what he called the 'hermeneutical gap'[15]. Geertz described religion as a system of cultural symbols that provides people with a general worldview of

[13] Other scholars have also contributed to the study of ritual as performance (see Bateson 1986; Goffman 1967; 1974; Block 1974) Bateson (1986) introduced the concept of frames which are forms of meta-communication that allow ritual actors to understand the meaning of actions, such as ceremonial blows as acts of war or peace making. Goffman (1967) also introduced the idea of ritual units that structure social interactions that formed the basis of Collins's (2004) analysis of interaction ritual chains.

[14] Turner describes *communitas* as emerging 'recognizably in the liminal period. …(a)s an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *comitatus*, community, or even communion of equal individuals that submit together to the general authority of the elders (Turner 1969: 360).

[15] Geertz added a third dualism to the thought and action paradigm, which is between the observer and observed or participant. To Geertz, the thoughts and beliefs of the participants cannot be fully understood without the aid of an interpreter. Thus, the observers or researchers become a critical and necessary player in interpreting the ritual (Bell 1997).

the order of existence that influences people's moods and motivations (Bell 1997: 66). Religious beliefs and symbolic activities provide a 'model of' the ways things are and 'model for' the way they should be. Ritual can project images of the actual social structure while providing a template to maintain or reshape the social situation. For Geertz ritual did not merely reflect thought and social structure, but rather it is a social arena where the world as imagined and lived are fused under a set of symbols that constitute a general worldview and mood (Bell 1997: 66).

Turner, Geertz and other performance theorists introduced several new and important elements to the understanding and study of ritual. First, they expanded the scope of the study of ritual to include secular and new forms of ritual or ritual-like activity such as theatre, sports, play and public speeches to enhance their understanding of the dynamics and nature of ritual. Second, they suggested that ritual performances, like cultural systems, are enacted by active rather than passive participants continuously generating and modifying symbolic systems in the community. These scholars focused upon the human creativity and physicality of ritual performances: 'ritual does not mold people; people fashion rituals that mold their world' (Bell 1997: 73). They explained how ritual could generate a physical-emotional response that can alter people's moods and motivations. Third, more specifically, through the work of Geertz, ritual performances can also create a reflexive moment for participants to negotiate personal actions and identity. Ritual performances were seen as public arenas, where participants could negotiate and reconcile multiple meanings and tensions within the social structure to restore a 'natural' sense of order.

While Turner, Geertz and other performance theorists shifted the understanding of the nature of ritual from static and essentialist to dynamic and creative, their analysis was ultimately ahistorical and continued to reify the analytical concept of ritual. Turner and Geertz embedded their cultural analysis and 'thick description' of specific ritual

performances within specific historical and cultural contexts. However, they did not interrogate how historical and cultural factors shaped the meaning and significance of specific practices at different times to individual populations (Kelly & Kaplan 1990: 119). Performance theorist also did not discuss what was happening in the ritualized act itself: How does ritualization differentiate and prioritize specific actions as more important and powerful than other forms of human activity in different historical moments (Bell 1992, 1997). Moreover, performance theorist usually focused on how ritual serves to maintain and reshape perceptions and moods of the social situation but not how ritualization itself can be a practice that challenges and transforms experiences and social structures.

Heavily influenced by the work of Bourdieu (1977), Sahlins (1985) and Comaroff (1985), a group of practice theorists began to understand ritualization as a historical and cultural phenomenon that reinforces, challenges and transforms existing beliefs, values and structures (see Ortner 2001; Block 1989; Asad 1993; Keene 2007; Tomlinson & Engelke 2006; Engelke 2007). Much like performance theorists, practice theorists examine ritual as an inherently creative and productive human activity. However, they focus on the ways that human activity, as formal religious rituals or mundane daily activities, is a creative strategy to reproduce and reshape social and cultural environments. They argue that ritual action does not mean the same thing everywhere, nor does it work in the same way at different moments in history. Ritual is never universal; it must always be understood and studied within the historical and cultural conditions that allow for certain practices to be acceptable or 'effective' communicative and embodied events (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993). Ritual should be also be studied as a 'real' moment of human activity in which agency and structure are merely theoretical constructs of human practice (Bourdieu 1977; Bell 1992: 79).

For Sahlins (1985) and Comaroff (1985), as for many other practice theorists, ritual or ritualization has almost become synonymous with 'signifying practice'. Rituals or

signifying practices are studied as a human activity that is shaped and informed within interpretive schemes or structured environments (i.e. habitus) that generate meaning but also allows for creativity and change (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993; Bell 1992). Keene describes signifying practices as 'vehicles of meaning and inhabitable dispositions' which shape subjective experiences and our awareness of them, that are also 'concrete, publicly accessible forms' that can help one navigate a person's world as well as create anxiety that leads to resistance and transformation (2007: 14). Kelly and Kaplan add that ritual should be understood as signifying practice that not only shape or define human action, but that can also authorize new meanings and human activity (1990: 141). Moreover, formalized ritual performances or 'rites' should be studied alongside everyday 'routines', 'as just one form of symbolic practice, part and parcel of the more embracing "discourses" and "technologies" that establish or contest regimes of rule' (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993: xvi).

Comaroff and Comaroff (1993) also suggest that ritual should be returned to history to examine the pragmatic and innovative qualities of the ritualized activity. They suggest that if ritual is the unification of diverse, shifting symbols and meanings, then it ought to be fertile ground for the creation of new meanings and experiences (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993: xxi). They state that the creative power of ritual stems from the fact that:

> (i) the ritual practices exist in continuing tensions with more quotidian or routine modes of activities that produce and communicate meanings and values; (ii) its constituent signs and meanings are ever open to new associations and referents; and (iii) that ritual practice has the capacity to act or react in diverse ways at different times on shifting or contradictory social worlds (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993: xxi)

They conclude that these elements are what make ritual so responsive to history.

Along with the shift in the understanding of the nature of ritual, practice theorists have proposed a more reflexive use of the analytical concept of ritual (Asad 1993; Bell 1992). Bell suggests that instead of trying to impose analytical categories on what is or is not ritual on different activities, scholars should focus on how ritual actors use cultural strategies to distinguish certain practices as more important and powerful than others

(1992: 74). For Bell, to examine ritualized practice there are several core questions: Under what circumstances are such activities distinguished from other forms of activity? How and why are they distinguished? What do these activities do that other activities cannot or will not do (1992: 70)?

Bell suggests that in order to avoid studying ritual as a reified object removed from its historical and cultural contexts, scholars should examine ritualized practice as a 'nonsynthetic and irreducible form of human activity' (1992: 81). Bell proposes that all human activity shares four basic features: 1) situational; 2) strategic; 3) embedded in misrecognition of what it is actually doing; 4) able to reproduce or reconcile a vision of the order of power in the world, what Bell calls 'redemptive hegemony' (Bell 1992: 81). Therefore, she suggests that ritualized practices should be understood as inherently strategic and manipulative. She proposes that ritual practice is produced with an intent to order, rectify or transform a particular situation (Bell 1992: 108). Ritualization, states Bell, has external strategies, that can be seen, such as what it aims to accomplish and the mechanisms through which it is ritualized. Ritualization also has internal strategies that order, rectify or transform the situation without being seen or recognized (Bell 1992: 108). Ritualization is also able to reconcile or reproduce a vision of the order of power in the world and has to reconcile, on some level, diverse meanings and experiences into a sense of 'whole' or 'natural order' for it be successful and sustained (Bell 1992: 82-83).

Practice theorists' conceptualization and analysis of ritual as a rhetorical, embodied, and creative human activity has proven fruitful to the study of Pentecostalism. Scholars such as Csordas (1997, 2011), Lindhardt (2011a) and Robbins (2011) have examined how Pentecostals use accepted cultural strategies or frames, such as prayer, fasting, testimonies, and deliverance services, to shape and inform identity, sociality and way-in-the-world. Moreover, the study of Pentecostal practices from a ritual perspective provides a theoretical entry point to examine beliefs, experiences and activities without reifying

them. Pentecostal practices can be understood as being shaped and informed within structured environments that reinforce, challenge, and transform beliefs and experiences.

4.2. Pentecostal Experiences as Ritualized Practice

Since the innovative work of Csordas' (1990, 1994, 1997, 2007a, 2007b, 2011) on Charismatic rituals in the Catholic Renewal movement in North America, other anthropologists and sociologists have studied Pentecostal religious activity as ritualized practice. Scholars such as Albrecht (1999), Lindhart (2011a, 2016), Robbins (2011), Smilde (2011) and Coleman (2000, 2011) suggest that Pentecostal ritual practice should be understood as a 'creative process through which people act upon their social environment and negotiate identities and meanings' (Lindhardt 2011a: 30). These scholars propose studying Pentecostal practice as an embodied self-process through which 'new dispositions and senses of self, agency, community and mission are cultivated' (Lindhardt 2011a: 8).

4.2.1. Pentecostal Sacred Self

Csordas (1994, 1997) argues that the primary purpose of all Pentecostal-charismatic ritual is self-transformation. Csordas (1997) suggests that for Pentecostals the primary aim is not one of conversion from nonbeliever to believer, as perhaps is the goal among other evangelical Christians but rather is a cultural creation that produces a sacred self[16]. The Pentecostal-charismatic renewal process is one in which you are not so much becoming a 'new person', but instead submitting yourself to the divine to 'remake the self, to reconstitute it in profundity' (Chagnon 1979: 91, quoted in Csordas 1997: 64). He adds that Pentecostal/Charismatic ritual performance is a:

[16] Csordas' defines the self to have an 'indeterminant capacity to engage or become oriented in the world, characterized by effort and self-reflexivity' (1997: 64). His use of the term 'self' does not favour the individual standpoint over the collective, psychological processes over social processes, nor does he theoretically privilege self over the world as the locus of analysis. Csordas (1994, 1997) develops a working definition of self that is general enough to be applied to various cultures while avoiding an 'intellectual commitment to cultural presuppositions of substance, entity or Cartesian autonomy of consciousness as a priori defining features' (1997: 64).

> rhetorical apparatus by means of which the attention of participants toward their own experience is redirected in such a way that their very capacities for orientation in the world are altered, thus creating a sacred self in a charismatic world (Csordas 1997: 262-263).

Csordas (1997) suggests that through ritual performance and everyday social practice, a charismatic sacred self comes to inhabit a deeply taken for granted cultural world or what he calls a charismatic habitus[17]. For Csordas, the charismatic habitus is the 'ways of inhabiting space, ways of projecting oneself into the world, taking it up and making it a sacralised human space' (1977: 74). Pentecostals/Charismatics, he suggests, 'aspire to a culturally coherent world of ritual experience, language, value, interaction and presuppositions that transform their everyday practices into sacred arenas of influence' (Csordas 1997: 42).

For Csordas, the charismatic self-process is a rhetorical and embodied experience in and beyond the religious event or practice (1997: 108)[18]. Traditional Pentecostal practices such as prayer, worship, testimonies, are physical and discipline the body beyond the event into daily life, what Csordas calls the 'ritualization of life' (1997, 2011). The ritualization of life is the process through which charismatics move from an everyday habitus to a distinctly charismatic habitus, taking it up and making it a sacralised human space (Csordas 1997: 74). Csordas (1997, 2011) demonstrates how the ritualization of life not only pervades the daily routines and domestic space of Charismatic Catholics but also transforms their sense of interpersonal, civic and public space. (Chapter Five provides greater detail of the Pentecostal habitus and how it shapes a sense of space and time.) Csordas (1997) suggests that the social body or

[17] Csordas, along with other scholars inspired by his work, such as Coleman (2000b), Collins and Coleman (2000), and Lindhardt (2004, 2011a), applies Bourdieu's concept of habitus to analyse the entrenchment of ritual effects. These dispositions form part of what Collins and Coleman refer to as an 'all-pervading aesthetic consistency or a habitus, which is always a potential arena for inspired action' (2000: 318, 320, 324-25, quoted from Lindhardt 2011: 19).

[18] Asad (1993) also studies ritual as rhetorical and embodied within structured environments. Inspired by Mauss (1973), Asad pleads for a phenomenological approach to ritual performance where certain embodied and linguistic skills are presupposed and acquired. In a study of disciplinary rites in medieval monasteries, he argues that embodied practice including 'language in use' is a precondition for religious experiences and that the ability to enter into communion with God is the ability of an experienced or taught body (Asad 1993: 76).

congregation is not just the place where ritual activity is enacted but that ritualization also generates a shared sense of reality and of group membership.

4.2.2. Pentecostal Community

Pentecostal ritualization creates a shared sense of reality among its adherents but also cultivates a shared sense of group membership and bonds of trust. Albrecht stresses how ritual enactments can lead participants to discover a common spirituality and nourish a sense of being in a charismatic community (1999: 205) [19]. He adds that the strong emotional union during church services helps to enhance solidarity and create and sustain a community of believers (1999: 212-213). McGuire (1982) and Lindhardt (2011a) add that ritualized acts such as witnessing, or the narrating of testimonies of salvation/conversion create and reaffirm a shared sense of community (see Smilde 2011; Pfeil 2011; Luhrmann 2004).

Robbins (2011) and Smilde (2011) draw on Collins's (2004) work on interaction ritual chains to illustrate how Pentecostal ritualized practices also serve to build a sense of group membership. Robbins (2011) argues that the knowledge that Pentecostal adherents share of the basic ritual frames such as prayer, praise, and worship orient much of their social interactions. He adds that,

> Pentecostals maintain these frames open enough to include many kinds of content to arise within them, but their purposes and basic organization are fixed enough that as soon as the frame is in place, people possess an immediate mutual awareness of their shared purpose and interactional focus: they know that they are praying, praising, worshipping, and healing together (Robbins 2011: 58).

Robbins concludes that 'Pentecostals can draw upon their trained ability to fall into states of mutual attention and push such states forward through bodily synchronization, they go through life producing an unusually high percentage of social occasions that qualify as successful interaction rituals' (Robbins 2011: 59). These successful

[19] Albrecht defines spirituality as a lived experience that actualizes a fundamental dimension of the human being, the spiritual dimension, namely 'the whole of one's spiritual or religious experience, one's beliefs, convictions, and patterns of thought, one's emotions and behavior in respect to what is ultimate, or God' (1999: 23).

interactional rituals, argues Robbins (2011), is what also make Pentecostal congregations so efficient at institution building in multiple settings and allows them to grow beyond their local contexts.

Robbins argues that doing ritual together also produces strong bonds of trust, among which adherents counteract the 'corrosive effects of dissimulation and mistrust in social life' (2011: 61). Robbins builds on Rappaport's (1999) semiotic argument that the performative nature of rituals 'produce secure knowledge' because they are 'inextricably linked to the things to which they refer' (2011: 61). Robbins argues,

> those who can successfully perform rituals together come to treat each other as trustworthy and find it possible to coordinate action to achieve all manner of tasks. The Pentecostal ritualization of everyday life then further serves to routinely reinforce these bonds of trust as people pray and perform other 'quotidian rituals' in the course of working together. The ability to ritually forge bonds of trust across barriers of disagreement or less than fully shared cultural or linguistic understanding is thus another important link in the chain that connects Pentecostals to one another across the globe (Robbins 2011: 62).

Doing ritual together cultivates tight bonds of trust between adherents that define the community and also shapes their understanding of the kinds of relationships they should have with those outside of the church body.

4.2.3. Sense of Mission in the World

Albrecht (1999) argues that for Pentecostals, ritual practices contribute to the congregation's self-understanding, its principal reasons for being and its sense of mission. He states that the main theological functions of the liturgy are to celebrate (worship God), to edify the members and to send them out as ritualists into the world in mission. These purposes reflect the three primary theological relationships for what it means to be and behave as a Pentecostal: 'the congregant's relationship with the divine, the internal relationships with their congregation, and the relationship to the 'world,' their society and others' (Albrecht 1999: 203). Thus, the process of personal transformation within a congregation serves to demarcate the kinds of relationships you should have with the world, while at the same time blurring the boundaries between the 'sacred' and 'profane'; faithful adherents transform every place they go

into sacred spaces where the divine can intervene and change people's lives (Lindhardt 2011b). For the majority of traditional Pentecostal adherents, the divine's mission for the church is seen as going into a contaminated and corrupting world to 'save' the unbeliever and graft them into the new church community.

5. Research Framework and Outline of the Thesis

The central research question of the thesis is as follows: why and how are some Pentecostal congregations choosing to engage in new activities that go beyond their traditional, institutional boundaries and practices to address broader social issues in their communities through new forms of collective action? In order to address this central question, a five-year, in-depth ethnographic study of five Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador within their social fields of development was conducted. Five congregations were selected that were already actively partnering with community, civic and state entities to identify, design and implement community development initiatives. Hundreds of hours of participant-observation of church and community meetings were conducted. 86 church and community leaders were interviewed. The thesis argues that community engagement is a new and contested ritual practice among traditional Pentecostals that both reinforces, challenges and transforms their sense of identity, sociality and way-in-the-world. Moreover, the thesis suggests that examining how Pentecostals introduce and ritualize development initiatives can contribute to discussions on when and how Pentecostal congregations and adherents could enhance or deter localized community development initiatives.

The following chapters discuss the research framework, describe the new practice and use Bell's (1992) reflexive framework of ritualization to analyse how pastors choose to introduce and ritualize community engagement within contested church environments. Chapter Two outlines the theoretical and methodological framework that guided the research project. The chapter provides additional details on the

sampling techniques used to identify and select the five churches and participants interviewed. It also discusses how data was gathered, analysed and interpreted.

Chapter Three provides the ethnographic context of the new practice of community engagement. Following Bell's theoretical framework of ritualization, the new practice of community engagement is situated within the broader historical and cultural conditions of social engagement in El Salvador. The chapter discusses how different forms of social engagement have been shaped and informed by the social position of Pentecostal adherents within shifting political, economic and social conditions. Community engagement is understood and studied as a particular historical and cultural practice. The chapter ends with a short ethnographic profile of the pastor, church, community and community engagement activities of each of the five churches studied.

Chapter Four provides a more detailed analysis of community engagement as a new ritualized practice. The chapter explains how pastors and church leaders talk about community engagement as a new practice. Pastors and church members have developed a new language to differentiate the new practice from previous community service activities. The chapter also discusses how the new practice has led to new forms of social interactions. The social interactions are analysed using Collins's (2004) model of interaction ritual chains to examine how they cultivate a shared purpose, mood, and energy among some church and community leaders that have led to relationships of trust and collaboration.

Chapter Five examines how pastors and church leaders choose to use external cultural strategies to introduce and ritualize the new practice of community engagement. Bell (1992) suggests that ritualized practice, like all human activity, is strategic; ritual actors uses internal and external cultural strategies to ritualize practice. This chapter discusses why Pentecostal pastors and church leaders introduce the new

practice of community engagement: what they aim to reform or transform? It also examines the cultural strategies and techniques used by pastors to ritualize community engagement within their congregations. Pentecostal pastors embed the new practice within existing discourses of service and the liturgy and organizational structure of the church. They use accepted cultural mechanisms and techniques to differentiate the new practice as important and powerful for the believer's personal transformation, sense of community, and mission in the world.

Chapter Six discusses how the new practice of community engagement is introduced by ritual actors within a Pentecostal habitus. Bell (1992) proposes that the process of ritualization also includes internal cultural strategies that are not seen or are misrecognized by ritual actors. Pastors and church leaders misrecognize how ritualizing community engagement reinforces, challenges and transforms beliefs and experiences within the Pentecostal habitus. More specifically, pastors and church members do not see how community engagement reinforces the highest levels of binary oppositions while creating new arguments that challenge Pentecostal adherents' sense of interpersonal, domestic, civic and geographic space.

Chapter Seven examines how church leaders and members resist, negotiate, adapt and reconcile community engagement. The chapter discusses how some church leaders and members resist the new practice, while other leaders and members use different explanations to interpret the meaning of community engagement. The multiple and ambiguous meanings among members from the same congregation are reconciled, to various degrees, to restore or maintain a sense of moral order within the congregation. The chapter also analyses how ritualization alters the relations of power within the church and between church and community members. The chapter concludes by examining the internal and external conditions that influence church leaders' ability to ritualize the new practice successfully within traditional Pentecostal congregations.

The conclusion discusses how the ritualization of the new practice of community engagement reinforces, challenges and transforms the sense of Pentecostal identity, sociality and mission in the world for some church leaders. It then discusses how the study of community engagement from a ritual perspective can contribute to the debate about Pentecostal subject formation and development. It concludes by exploring how the particular form of community engagement practised by the five Pentecostal congregations could contribute or not to localized development.

Chapter Two: Research Framework and Methodology

1. INTRODUCTION

For the last twenty years, I have worked with and conducted exploratory research of Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador through an organisation called *Entidad Natural Latinoamericana de Cooperación Estratégica (ENLACE). ENLACE* is a Salvadoran FBO founded in 1993. *ENLACE* partners with churches that are already actively engaged in community development initiatives. Pastors and church leaders usually approach *ENLACE* to explore how they might work together to implement development initiatives. *ENLACE* facilitates theological reflection on the Biblical basis of the mission of the church, trains and coaches church leaders on how to mobilize church members to approach and work with community associations to identify, design and manage community-wide projects. At the beginning of the study, *ENLACE* was partnering with eighty-five churches that were implementing development initiatives in over two hundred rural and semi-rural communities throughout El Salvador.

To understand why and how these particular traditional Pentecostal congregations choose to participate in new forms of community engagement, I conducted in-depth, ethnographic research of five churches that had partnered with *ENLACE* for at least five years. These local congregations were actively engaged in building new relationships with non-Pentecostal, community leaders and entities to identify and develop community development initiatives. The church leaders brought together staff from FBOs, representatives of local community development associations *(Asociación de Desarrollo Comunitario* or *ADESCO)*, members of public-school communities, health promoters from the Ministry of Health, and members of the local Catholic congregations, among other social actors to deliberate over community problems and to develop community-wide initiatives. These churches are choosing to enter into new forms of social

interactions that lead to collective action at the community level that extends beyond their institutional boundaries. They work with non-church entities in a new social space where established structures and practices of authority, power and control are outside of their traditional purview.

Although these congregations are not necessarily representative of the majority of traditional Pentecostal churches in El Salvador, an in-depth, ethnographic study of these churches can contribute productively to debates about the potential of Pentecostal congregations to effect social change in Latin America. This chapter explains how practitioner-based field experience and exploratory research informed the primary and secondary research questions. It also describes how the research questions guided the theoretical framework and methodology of the thesis. It explains the iterative ethnographic process of how data was collected, analysed and interpreted for each theoretical domain of analysis. Finally, the chapter discusses how I ensure the safety and privacy of research participants and how my subject position as researcher shaped the research process and final written thesis.

2. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Years of working with and conducting exploratory research of more than one hundred Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador generated primary and secondary questions that guided the research process. There were two central hypotheses that informed the thesis: 1) some traditional Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador are choosing to work with non-church entities in community development initiatives that generate new forms of social relationships and networks that could contribute to broader social change; and 2) some Pentecostal congregations are reshaping their moral frameworks to go beyond self- and family-reform to include community transformation as essential to the church's mission. These hypotheses shaped my central research question which was: why and how are some Pentecostal congregations choosing to engage in new development activities

that go beyond their traditional, institutional boundaries and practices to address broader social issues in their communities through new forms of collective action?

The primary research question led to the exploration of other important questions, such as: what are the historical and cultural conditions, both external and internal to local Pentecostal congregations, that shape the decisions by church leaders to participate in community engagement? What are the cultural strategies used by church leaders to introduce and institutionalize the new development practices into their congregations? Do church leaders base their social engagement on a shared system of meanings and values about the role of the church in their geographic community? Is there ethnographic evidence that church leaders are broadening their vision of change to gain agency over relational contexts that exist beyond the scope of the immediate, the personal and the familial? Do certain forms of engagement in development initiatives create changes both inside and outside a Pentecostal congregation that reinforce, challenge or transform their sense of identity, sociality and purpose or mission in the world? Moreover, could the historical and cultural form of community engagement contribute to development or social change in the community?

To address these questions systematically, I created three, interrelated domains of inquiry: moral frameworks, networks/publics, and ritualization. The first domain explores whether the Pentecostals involved in the study share moral frameworks that inform their understanding of and engagement in community development activities. Smilde suggests that Pentecostalism can generate a moral framework or ‘a package of meanings and practices’ that adherents creatively appropriate to make sense of life problems and ‘gain agency over aspects of their immediate life circumstances’ (2007a: 220). He adds that a religious frame is a ‘bundle of interpretive schemata’, which has as its ‘central organizing feature a belief in the supernatural’ (Smilde 1998: 290). This research explores how Pentecostals involved in the study talk about and envision the good society and identify

concrete strategies to achieve social change (Smith 2001: 178). More specifically, it examines if and how Pentecostals use religious language or moral frames to interpret local social problems and to direct their engagement in community development activities (Steigenga & Cleary 2007a: 25). Finally, it addresses whether Pentecostals borrow religious language and metaphors to discuss publicly, collective life that could lead to broader social changes (Smilde 2007b: 107; see Lackoff & Johnson 1981).

The first domain explores how Pentecostals talk about their participation in community development initiatives. It includes questions such as: how do church leaders comprehend and articulate the role of the church in the community at large? How do they conceptualize its mission and relationship to neighbours who do not profess Pentecostal Christian belief? Do church members use Pentecostal meaning systems to describe the causes of local political-economic and social problems? How do they comprehend the significance of inter-organizational collaboration between their church and other non-church institutions around problems of local development? Are these relationships also framed by particular theological and biblical concepts? Finally, what evidence is there for a shared Pentecostal social concern across all of the churches involved in the study?

The questions included in this domain consider that Pentecostal actors participate in development activities for various reasons and that their motivations are likely an amalgam of 'progress and development, material and spiritual' (Bornstein 2005: 60). Oliver de Sardan (2005) adds that entangled social logics always constitute the actual practice of development. Moreover, these social logics can shift over time based upon new experiences (Bueno 2015). Consequently, I did not assume that church members' explanations of their participation in community development would lead to a coherent Pentecostal 'social ontology' (Milbank 1990). In effect, my previous research suggested that there would most like be significant differences between each congregation in the images and references used to explain the church's engagement in community

development. Nevertheless, it was critical to explore to what degree and under what circumstances are Pentecostal actors drawing upon shared, religious logics to articulate their visions of the good society or the 'changed community.'

The second related domain of inquiry explores what Pentecostals do with their visions of social change. More specifically, it focusses on the relational contexts within which Pentecostals work alongside non-church actors to implement community development activities. It is within these contexts that Pentecostal actors are 'reflecting on and discussing collective life and alternative futures' (Smilde 2004: 195) with their non-Pentecostal neighbours, with non-government organizations and with public health officials, among other organizational actors. It is also within these contexts that church leaders potentially form new relationships and intersect normally segmented networks in new ways. This domain focuses on how Pentecostals work with and mobilize other non-church actors to articulate and realize their 'positive visions' of society (Smith 2001: 43). It aims to examine if and how Pentecostal churches are going 'beyond the confines of fixed institutions' and going public (Meyer 2004: 94).

I use the complementary analytical concepts of publics and social networks to document and analyse the new relationships between church and community leaders and how they contributed or not to new forms of collective action. Smilde defines publics as 'relational contexts in which normally segmented social networks and their associated discourse come into contact in open-ended ways' (2007b: 105). Ikegami (2000: 1003) adds that publics are 'sites of motion for social change.' In this study, I use the concept of publics as a heuristic device to explore if and when these churches within their social fields of development are becoming 'sites wherein distinct networks are bridged, new understandings develop, and coalitions are formed' (Smilde 2007b: 105). I explore whether the Pentecostal churches involved in the study were going beyond merely being a 'protective social capsule' (Martin 1990) with a focus on personal and family-reform,

to becoming actors engaged with non-church actors to shape and enact broader visions of social change.

The related concept of networks was also helpful to explore the role that Pentecostal churches play in generating and extending relationships in local social fields of development (Ikegami 2000). I study networks as both the concrete, observable social ties that link individual actors and groups and as the cognitive network or 'social relations as perceived by actors involved in them' (Mardsen 1990: 437). I addressed the following relevant questions: What are the essential characteristics of the social networks, in terms of their size, density, tie strength and range, that Pentecostal churches help facilitate as they engage in local development projects? Moreover, in what ways do these networks open (or close) access for Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal actors to differential opportunities in the form of social support and social capital (Mardsen 1990: 436)? What evidence is there that Pentecostal churches can attract resources for economic development to a particular community by making use of non-economic resources (i.e. social capital networks)? Are these Pentecostal churches, in other words, emerging as 'social bridging' institutions that link the 'micro-structural contexts' of economically vulnerable households to a broader array of local and non-local resources (Foley & Edwards 1999: 165-166)?

I also examined the cognitive and affective dimensions of social networks, and especially as they relate to the 'stories' and 'associated discursive signals' (Mische & White 1998: 703) embedded within individual and group relations. The conceptualisation of social networks as stories proposes that 'two people have a network tie…. because they have some history of interactions which they can narrate to themselves and to others' (Smilde 2007b: 99). Various scholars have emphasized that Pentecostals generally 'keep themselves separate from the surrounding social world by adhering to an ascetic moral code that prohibits most of its pleasures and figures it as a realm governed by Satan'

(Robbins 2004: 127). From my own experience, I concur that such relational patterns continue to be prevalent among many Salvadoran Pentecostal congregations. Nevertheless, the Pentecostal churches involved in this study are deliberately attempting to change these relational conditions as they work alongside other non-Pentecostal actors in local development projects. Consequently, I was interested in examining what kinds of stories emerged within Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal actors regarding their network ties, and especially among those actors who collaborate in development projects. How do Pentecostal actors describe their new relationships and do these narratives subsequently facilitate increased collaboration among actors who belong to different social networks that can contribute to social change at a community or regional level?

As I began to collect and transform the data for the first two domains, I realized that there was a need to examine a possible third domain of inquiry: ritualization. The more I poured over the data from the first two domains, the more I realized I needed to understand what was occurring within and among church leaders and members to understand the first two domains. I began to observe that church leaders were using similar cultural strategies to introduce and institutionalize new development practices. Moreover, it became clearer that the pastors and leaders were aware of the tensions felt and resistance generated among some leaders and members as they engaged in the new practice of community engagement.

After months of reflection, I used Catherine Bells' (1992) conceptualization of ritualization to create a third domain of analysis. I returned to the data to answer a new series of questions such as: what are the historical and cultural conditions that shape and inform the new forms of community engagement? How are pastors and church leaders using Pentecostal cultural strategies to introduce and ritualize the new practice? How do church leaders and members understand, adapt, or resist the meanings of the new practice? Finally, how does the ritualization of the new development practice reinforce

and challenge the Pentecostal notions of identity, sociality and mission-in-the world (Lindhardt 2011a)? To explore these domains of analysis, I chose to conduct ethnographic research of five traditional Pentecostal churches located in rural and semi-rural areas of El Salvador that are actively engaged in their social fields of development.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I conducted a five-year ethnographic study of five Pentecostal churches within their social fields of development in El Salvador. I used an ethnographic approach that combined several methods, whose design evolved over a series of stages, and focused 'on the meaning of individual's actions and explanations rather than their quantification' (Savage 2000: 1400). Although the definition of ethnography, both as an approach and as a final product, varies among researchers, there are a 'number of fundamental criteria' or 'critical minimum markers' (Oommen 1997) that delimit it as a methodology. O'Reilly (2005) consolidates the definitions of Hammersely and Atkinson (1995), Savage (2000), and Willis and Trondman (2000), along with others, to begin to define the minimum criteria of ethnography. She states,

> Ethnography at least is iterative-inductive research (that evolves in design through the study), drawing on a family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human agents, within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions and producing a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience, that acknowledges the role of theory, as well as the researcher's own role, and that views humans as a part object/part subject (O'Reilly 2005: 2).

The ethnographic study of how Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal actors talk about and partner together in community development activities provides a more nuanced and rich description of how pastors and church leaders introduce and ritualize the new development practice into a contested church environment. Moreover, the study reveals how new practices expose tensions and challenge notions of self and the church's purpose and role in the geographic community. Finally, the research also provided an understanding of how some Pentecostal churches are or could contribute to social change in their communities.

3.1. The Sampling of Churches and Research Participants

I used a combination of purposive and quota sampling techniques to select the five churches for the study. I purposively selected churches that I knew from my work and research with *ENLACE* were actively engaged with non-church agents in community development activities for at least three years before the beginning of the research. I realize that the congregations selected were not representative of the larger sample of traditional Pentecostal movements. As was suggested previously, the vast majority of traditional Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador do not choose to build new forms of relationships with non-Pentecostal actors to identify and implement development initiatives. I realized that by using a purposive sample to select the five Pentecostal churches, I decreased the external validity of the study. Nevertheless, I chose to study the five Pentecostal congregations as 'negative' case studies to explore why and how pastors and church leaders were forming new relationships that contributed to changes inside and outside the church.

I also realize that there were advantages and challenges to selecting churches where I had had already been actively engaged with church leaders and conducted considerable participant-observation. My previous relationships with pastors, church leaders and members as well as community leaders enabled to formulate culturally relevant questions for research participants and to maximize the likelihood of making valid analytical statements of project findings (Bernard 1995: 140-142). Moreover, by going deep with these specific congregations, I was able to conduct a 'micro-contextual' analysis of how church and community leaders and members explain and interact together as they envisioned and attempted to change their local contexts. The relationships I had previously established with church and community leaders also went beyond research to include friend, counsellor, development worker and fundraiser. I had to navigate these multiple identities explicitly to ensure a degree of separation between the research

subjects and me. Instead of these challenges, I trained research assistants to conduct some of the interviews and observations to maximize my rapport with the research participants while creating some analytical space between participant and researcher. I further discuss the advantages and disadvantages of my privileged position as a researcher in the last section of this chapter.

I also used a quota sampling technique to select the five Pentecostal congregations for the study (Bernard 1995: 85-86). I selected churches that represented significant subpopulations or categories of interest (strata) that included: size, geographic location and denomination. As discussed in the previous chapter, the AG has the most significant number of congregations affiliated to its denomination. Moreover, the vast number of AG adherents attend congregations with fewer than two hundred and fifty members in rural or semi-rural contexts. Thus, I selected two churches that had a weekly attendance of fewer than one hundred adults. I selected two churches that had a weekly attendance of between one hundred and five hundred adults. I also selected one church that had a weekly attendance of greater than five hundred adults. I further categorized the sample by selecting three (sixty per cent) churches located in rural areas and two (forty per cent) churches located in semi-rural/urban contexts. Finally, I selected churches affiliated to two different traditional Pentecostal denominations. I selected three (sixty per cent) churches affiliated with the AG and two (forty per cent) churches affiliated with smaller, traditional Pentecostal denominations called *Asambleas de Iglesias Cristianas (AIC)*. I provide a complete ethnographic profile of each congregation at the end of Chapter Three. (See Appendix A for a complete list of the churches studied in the thesis.)

I also used a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques to identify and select the church leaders and members to be interviewed. Interview participants were selected through purposive sampling to ensure that I had identified a group of individuals that varied in terms of demographic and social variables such as age, gender, and years

residing in the community. I also selected research participants in terms of their time as members of the congregation, role in the church and level of participation in community engagement. I conducted forty-five semi-structured interviews which included pastors, volunteer church leaders and members. Given that the congregations involved in the study differed in membership size, my sampling frame for each church varied in the number of participants interviewed.

I also used purposive and snowball sampling techniques to identify and select community leaders and members who were involved in community development efforts with members from the Pentecostal congregations. I used snowball sampling 'to find out who people know and how they know each other' (Bernard 1995: 97). I asked church leaders to introduce me to community leaders with whom they had worked and built a relationship. I then asked community leaders to refer me to other non-church leaders who were involved in community engagement activities. In all, I conducted thirty-one semi-structured interviews of community leaders from the five communities. Like with church leaders, I selected community leaders that varied in gender, age, and role in the community. I also interviewed a representative number of community leaders from each community.

3.2. Data Collection and Analysis

I gathered, analysed and interpreted data throughout the iterative stages of the research project. O'Reilly (2005) describes ethnographic research as an iterative process in which you rotate between research, data collection and analysis. Likewise, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) describe ethnographic research as 'recursive analysis' in which you begin analysing and interpreting data before, during and after you collect it (1999: 12). Agar explains that in ethnography,

> you learn something ('collect some data'), then you try to make sense of out of the it ('analysis'), then you go back and see if the interpretation makes sense in light of new experience ('collect more data'), then you refine your interpretation ('more analysis'), and so on. The process is dialectical, not linear (1980: 9).

For these reasons, I used a combination of ethnographic methods to collect, analyse and interpret data throughout each stage of the research for all three domains of inquiry: moral frames, networks/publics, and ritualization (Wolcott 1994).

In the first domain, I combined participant-observation of church gatherings, content analysis of church discourse, and semi-structured interviews of church leaders to identify components of local Pentecostal religious frames. I observed and documented church gatherings such as weekly services, church leadership meetings and church/community meetings and celebrations (Agar 1980; Wolcott 1995). I observed church bulletin boards, brochures and other church materials to identify fundamental aspects of a public articulation of Pentecostal social engagement that might inform their participation in development efforts. I organised and coded my observations by themes as they emerged throughout the research project. I used the observational data to refine the structure and questions of the interview schedules for church members (Bernard 1995: 140-142). Direct and participatory observation also helped to identify and interpret unexpected results (Fetterman 2010). The observations also provided a detailed description of church and community interactions and events that provided clarity on how Pentecostal leaders were using accepted cultural strategies to ritualize the new practice in public spaces.

I also recorded and conducted content analysis of sermons, church leadership meetings, and conversations generated during church social outreach committee meetings to examine how Pentecostals utilise religious discourse (i.e. biblical references, testimony narratives) to explain their rationales for social engagement and the aims of church participation in development activities. Content analysis also allowed me to create logical explanations across the distinct domains of moral frameworks and networks/publics. Krippendorff states, 'abductive inferences which proceed across logically distinct domains, form particulars of one kind to particulars of another kind' (2004: 36.).

I addressed the questions in the first domain by conducting semi-structured interviews with church leaders and members. The interview schedules for church leaders and members contained socio-demographic questions (i.e. gender, age, residence) along with a series of questions regarding their roles in the church and level of participation in community development initiatives. The schedules also included questions such as: what they believe to be the mission or purpose of the church; what they believe are the primary needs or problems of the community and how best to resolve them; and what is the role of the church in responding to community problems. (See Appendix B and C for the church member interview schedule in Spanish and English, respectively.)

The semi-structured interviews were conducted, transcribed, and analysed in Spanish. Each interview was analysed and coded by themes and patterns. The first level of analysis included evaluating the interview as a whole. I focussed on understanding how the socio-demographic characteristics and level of engagement of the interviewee contributed to how they talked about the churches' role in community engagement. I then compared and contrasted the interviews of each church member by question and themes. I focussed specifically on whether they used similar biblical or theological concepts to explain the mission of the church and their role in community service. Finally, I compared and contrasted the concepts, themes and patterns that emerged between all interviewees regardless of congregational affiliation. I then translated the interviews into English for the final report. (See Appendix F for a sample of a transcribed interview in English.)

The second domain of analysis likewise included participant-observation, content analysis of public discourse, and semi-structured interviews. I conducted direct and participatory observations of publics events that included: problem identification forums, project planning and evaluation meetings, project worksites, and post-project celebration and inaugurations. I concentrated on documenting the discourses and social interactions that were generated by actors participating in these project-related publics. I conducted

content analysis of these discourses by comparing and contrasting how project stakeholders 'frame local problems' of development in these relational contexts and 'how they structure options or solutions' (Nolan 2002: 215). I also focused on have how local projects were identified and developed (Nolan 2002: 214). The direct and participant-observations and analysis of these dimensions provided significant data regarding what the Pentecostals in this study were doing when they collaborated with others in social change efforts. The observations also helped to clarify how Pentecostal leaders described the difference between their previous service activities and the new community engagement practice.

The second domain also included semi-structured interviews of church members and community leaders. The church member interviews also included questions that elicited egocentric or personal survey network data (Mardsen 1990: 438). The structure of the questions and subsequent analysis of personal network data focused on the direct ties that interviewees had with alters that are stakeholders in local community development activities (i.e., fellow church members, non-Pentecostal community leaders). I was especially interested in how interviewees conceptualized and described their social ties in terms of tie strength, frequency of contact, and role relationships (Mardsen 1990: 440). These emic descriptions of alter ties allowed me to delineate the stories embedded within their interpersonal relations, and subsequently, better understand the cognitive dimensions of the social networks that comprise local social fields of development.

Church leader interview schedules also contained questions concerning their assessment of the social relations that constitute specific development projects. For this component of the interview, I adapted the operational measures of 'entrepreneurial social infrastructure' (Flora & Flora 1993) to develop relevant interview questions. Following Flora, Sharp, Flora and Newlon (1997: 628-630), I asked interviewees to evaluate particular qualities of project social relations, including the diversity and acceptance of

the various symbolic meanings among project stakeholders (i.e. legitimacy of alternatives); the level of collective and individual investment in project implementation (i.e. mobilization of diverse resources) (see Granovetter 1983; Bian 1997); and diversity of network ties that constitute project stakeholder relations (i.e. network qualities).

The second domain also consisted of semi-structured interviews with community leaders. The community leader interviews were similar to those conducted with church leaders but did not include questions about the church. The questionnaires elicited their perspectives on the following analytical domains: identification of significant social problems in the community and explanation of their principal causes; perception of Pentecostal churches involved in projects; rationales and motivations for collaborating with Pentecostal church leaders in project design and implementation; description of the aims and outcomes of development projects. Likewise, I also utilised the interviews to obtain personal survey network data from community leaders. I subsequently analysed personal network data to describe how community leaders conceptualize their ties with Pentecostal alters. Finally, community leader schedules also included a component related to the assessment of community social infrastructure. (See Appendix D and E for the community member interview schedule in Spanish and English, respectively.)

As explained in the previous section, I created a third domain midstream in the research project to serve as a heuristic device to interpret the data collected from the first two domains. Bells' (1992) conceptualization of ritualization provided a series of questions to interpret observations and interview data. Moreover, I conducted additional informal and formal conversations with church pastors and members to clarify my interpretations of the data. The analysis of the third domain also served as the organizing structure for the final written product.

4. Protecting Human Subjects and the Ethics of Ethnographic Fieldwork

The design and implementation of the research project ensured the protection of human subjects and community sites as well as maintained the highest ethical standards of conduct by the researcher. I discussed with all of the pastors and church leaders the purpose, population to be studied, and methods to be used in the study previous to their consenting to participate in the study. The pastors and church leaders all agreed to allow the researcher to attend church and community activities, to enter into informal conversations with members, and to conduct semi-structured interviews with church members.

All individual research subjects agreed voluntarily to participate in the research study. I advised all of the pastors and church leaders to allow research subjects to volunteer freely to participate in the study. All subjects agreed voluntarily to participate in the semi-structured interviews. The researcher explained the purpose of the study, how the data would be handled and disseminated, and ensured to protect their identity. Pseudonyms replaced the names of all participants, churches, and communities to protect their privacy and ensure confidentiality. Each subject interviewed also signed informed consent. The researchers read the informed consent to each subject before they signed them to guarantee that they understood the document. The researchers also asked all participants for verbal consent to record the interview. We did not interview any child under the age of legal consent, nor any person with mental health, cognitive disabilities, or physical conditions that would generate risk for any participant.

The researcher and research assistants also conducted themselves appropriately, meeting both professional and personal standards of conduct. Although the information gathered did not pose a high level of physical or emotional risk to the participants, all data were collected, analysed, and stored in a safe place to ensure the privacy of the participants. I was the only one that had access to all stored data. The researchers were

also especially careful not to discuss or divulge personal information of participants to church leaders or other participants (see Agar 1980; Spradley 1979). The researcher had detailed and sustained conversations with each pastor individually to discuss general data from their congregations. The preliminary results were presented to church leaders, *ENLACE* staff, and other organizational leaders to be discussed and interpreted without providing personal information.

Finally, the researchers attempted to cultivate and maintain meaningful and ethical relationships with pastors, church members, and community members. My privileged position allowed me to develop ongoing and intimate conversations with many participants. I also shared crucial moments in the lives of the participants' families and congregation. In effect, the pastors and members extended me honorary membership which allowed for relationships that were both ethically challenging and ethnographically productive (Borstein 2011).

5. Privileged Position

I love to read the required section of every ethnography where the researcher, usually an anthropologist, understands the importance of explaining their position as subjects within their research. For many years, anthropologists have suggested that the subject position of a researcher shapes the information they have access to as well as structures the knowledge they produce (Bornstein 2011). Anthropologists, especially ethnographers, attempt to mitigate the social and theoretical tensions that arise when trying to establish 'closeness' to the research participants while ensuring enough 'distance' to interpret the phenomena beyond the understanding of the participant. Managing this tension requires establishing enough of a relationship with the research subject to create a shared understanding of their perceptions and experiences while creating enough space to make their experiences relevant or significant beyond the participant's context. Moreover, a careful, sustained reflection on this tension can help ethnographers as a social being,

‘develop new insights into the context of their research and topics of inquiry (Bornstein 2011; see Parnell 1992).

Many scholars that have conducted ethnographic research on Pentecostalism discuss how they responded to multiple inquiries from research participants regarding their ‘beliefs’ or membership in a Pentecostal congregation (see Elisha 2011; O’Neil 2009; Bornstein 2011). These scholars struggle to explain how they were able to build ‘close’ relationships with their subjects without committing to or divulging their own beliefs. They describe how they were able to demonstrate respect for the congregant’s beliefs and experiences while not having to share or embody a Pentecostal experience. My problem was quite the contrary. I had to create space between myself and my research subjects for them to see me as a researcher, not co-believer, friend, collaborator, and development worker.

I was born and raised in El Salvador to US Pentecostal missionary parents. I spent the majority of my life attending and participating in Pentecostal worship services and activities. I returned to El Salvador in 1993 as a missionary sent by the US Assemblies of God to cofound a community development organization now called *ENLACE*. I have spent the last twenty-five years befriending, working alongside, and learning from Pentecostal pastors and church members. I have spent countless hours in meetings and discussions with Pentecostal church leaders who are trying to build new relationships to partner with community leaders to build solutions to poverty in their communities. Thus, I am embedded deeply in the stories of my research subjects.

My privileged position and long-term relationships with the research subjects determined the purpose, structure and results of the research. As previously mentioned, I had cultivated personal and professional relationships with pastors and church members through my work with *ENLACE* over many years. We spent many hours in cars, church and community meetings, and church activities. Many of these relationships, especially

with the pastors and some leaders, had also developed into intimate friendships. We celebrated together birthdays, weddings, and anniversaries. With many of the leaders, I also shared the death of family members and other challenging moments that served to deepen our relationship.

The close relationships with research subjects shaped the theoretical framework for the thesis. My role with *ENLACE* as coach, trainer, and facilitator shaped my initial interest to study why some Pentecostal pastors were choosing to engage in community development and how the new relationships could contribute to social change. The ongoing relationships also helped me to understand the tensions and resistance that many church leaders and members expressed or demonstrated when engaging with the new practice. In effect, my position and relationships allowed me to begin to inquire about the complicated processes of change that were being negotiated, adapted, and resisted at that particular historical moment within these Pentecostal congregations. Moreover, my position also shaped the level of access I had to gather data both in informal and formal settings.

After I explained the purpose of my research, pastors and leaders granted me unlimited access to their members and church activities. Pastors met with me on multiple occasion to discuss the research. They also allowed me to interview leaders and members. I felt like church leaders and members were more open to talking to me about their concerns or frustrations because they were not worried about talking bad about the church to a 'non-believer.' Church leaders also allowed me to look at financial and other documents that they might not have done for someone from outside of their congregation.

The ongoing access to leaders, members, and institutional documents also was instrumental in helping me to analyse and interpret the data. As I poured over the data, I returned many times to ask participants what they meant by specific informal comments or statements made in their semi-structured interviews. The ongoing and transparent

conversations also allowed me to reflect upon and eventually discuss with individual pastors and leader why and how they were introducing and ritualizing the new practice of community engagement into their congregations. I say eventually, because of my privileged position and the 'closeness' of relationships almost kept me from examining community engagement from a ritual perspective.

My subject position as researcher directed me to focus on other questions that were of interest to the research participants and *ENLACE* but not necessarily to understand what was happening inside the congregation. The Pentecostal pastors, leaders and members did not understand their religious practices as rituals. Much less did they describe the process of introducing and institutionalizing the new practices as ritualization. Moreover, *ENLACE* does not have the stated goal nor understands its role as facilitating a process of ritualization. It was not until I create enough separation from my subject position and relationships that I was able to analyse how leaders were using accepted cultural strategies to introduce the new practice into contested environments. It was not until I was able to remove myself from the research context by leaving the country for a block of time that I was able to interpret and explain the data.

The other challenge of being so closely identified to the research topic, which is shared by many practitioners, is the struggle to make the research relevant to broader theoretical debates. I had completed all of my coursework as an anthropologist ten years before I started my fieldwork. Thus, I struggled for close to three years after collecting the data to find the theoretical framework that would help me interpret it. Most ethnographers struggle to analyse their data, but for practitioners, it is sometimes more challenging to stay active in theoretical discussions and therefore harder to contribute to a broader discussion in academic fields.

Chapter Three: Situating Pentecostal Community Engagement in El Salvador

1. Introduction

Bell (1992) argues that the first feature of all human activity, and thus ritualized practice, is that it is situational. Bell suggests that ritual practice cannot be understood as universal; it must always be seen and analysed within its historical and cultural context (Bell 1992: 81). Ritual practice may be shaped by and embody determinative influences from other situations, but it is not constitutive nor merely representational of these influences. She argues that it is only in the study of the act itself that these influences (i.e. structures and sources) can be understood and analysed. Ritual activity should be understood as a 'real' moment of human activity in which agency and structure are merely theoretical constructs of human practice (Bell 1992: 78-81). Thus, ritual action does not mean the same thing everywhere, nor does it work in the same way at different moments in history. Ritual practice must always be understood and studied within the historical and cultural conditions that allow for specific practices to be acceptable or 'effective' communicative and embodied events (Comaroff & Comaroff 1993; Lan 1985).

This chapter provides the ethnographic context that shapes and informs community engagement among some traditional Pentecostal churches El Salvador. The first section focusses on how the shifts in political, economic, and religious life shape the kinds and meanings of Pentecostal social engagement for the last century. More specifically, it discusses how community engagement is shaped by the current neoliberal moment in El Salvador. The chapter concludes by contextualizing social engagement within the Pentecostal congregations studied. The final sections provide a brief description of the Pentecostal pastors, churches, and communities studied in the thesis.

2. PENTECOSTALISM AND SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT IN EL SALVADOR

Pentecostal social engagement has shifted in form and meaning as the historical and cultural conditions have changed in El Salvador since the 20th century. The Pentecostal movement began in El Salvador toward the end of the 1800s during a turbulent re-ordering of social and economic relationships. The earliest Pentecostal adherents were displaced and marginalized peasants who were looking for safe relationships in order to survive. They restricted their public activities to evangelism. As broader historical changes occurred, such as the eroding of the Catholic canopy, the entrenchment of neoliberal development capitalism, and shifts in the social locations of some of its adherents, more Pentecostals began to develop and manage community development initiatives. The following section discuss how social, political and economic changes shaped the growth, demographics, and social engagement of Pentecostals over the last century.

2.1. Displacement and Social Withdrawal (1887-1930)

The transition to a cash-crop, export-led economy led to dramatic shifts in the political, economic and religious lives of people in El Salvador from 1887 to 1930. The changes in economic goals and policies led to the displacement and loss of land for peasants throughout the country. Some of these peasants found refuge in the newly founded Pentecostal congregations. The small, fledgling Pentecostal congregations focused on providing church services and caring for their members. They limited their public life to small evangelistic events or activities with the goal of 'sharing the gospel' and growing their congregations.

2.1.1. From an Encomienda to a Hacienda Economic System

The transition from an encomienda to an export-led, cash-crop economy resulted in a dramatic re-ordering of the socio-economic system, the growth of urban centres, and the growth of larger, international businesses in El Salvador (Wilson 1983; Offutt 2015).

Shortly after the Spanish conquest, the Crown established a system whereby Spanish conquerors and merchants were encomendado or provided with indentured servants to work their private farms or estates (Robeck 2016: 78-79). Under the encomienda system, indigenous populations cultivated their small plots of land at the estate (a form of sharecropping) and continued to work their common ancestral land (Anderson 2001).

By the late 1880s, most of the landed elite, backed by government policies, moved toward an export-led, cash-crop economy. The government conscripted and privatized common lands to increase agricultural production of cash-crops such as coffee, sugarcane, and indigo[20]. The landed elite established large plantations called haciendas that created two new classes: the peasant labourers with inadequate land to support their families that worked on the hacienda during and beyond the harvest season and the colonos, or resident labourers whom landlords provided with land in return for labour services (Gould & Lauria-Santiago 2008: 2-3). With limited access to credit and legal recourses, many peasants lost their common lands to a group of wealthy families which by the 20th century owned 80 per cent of the arable land in the country (White 2001: 66).

Peasant populations were displaced from fertile common land, which they had cultivated for subsistence and economic growth, and were forced into exploitative labour on the haciendas (Lauria-Santiago 2004). Some peasants, who had worked as encomendados were also forced to move to remote, less-arable locations to live, obligating them to travel for three months during the harvest season to work on the large plantations as day or seasonal labourers. Other peasants stayed close to the large plantations in order to find work and lived as squatters with limited access to land to

[20] Lauria-Santiago (2004) states that the privatization of land was part of a larger shift in liberal policies in which common and government land were converted into private property to incentivize economic growth. He argues that although there were some injustices and violence related to the privatization of land, most peasant farmers did receive enough land to maintain viable agricultural production and incomes- what he calls a smallholding class (see Gould & Lauria-Santiago 2008). He concludes that what contributed to the growth of larger haciendas was the access by the elite to financing, owning the processing plants, and access to international markets.

cultivate for their subsistence. Other peasants became colonos on the haciendas. As a result of these changes, many peasants were removed from the social and economic relationships that allowed them to subsist.

Peasant populations were also purposively excluded and disenfranchised from social and political life. The Catholic Church, with its priest and elite leaders, controlled much of social, religious, and economic life. They set the agenda and controlled social investment and community leadership. Moreover, the elites, backed by Catholic authority and the government, usually identified projects that favoured economic growth or benefitted the more influential and powerful in the community. For example, landed elites identified and designed water projects to benefit public and private institutions such as schools, Catholic churches, and businesses. Many of these same marginalized and displaced peasants were among the first converts and adherents to Pentecostal gatherings in El Salvador (see Wilson 1983; Williams 1997).

2.1.2. Apparitions, Foreign Missionaries and Denominations

The origin stories of Pentecostalism in El Salvador include sovereign apparitions of the Holy Spirit, the leadership and financial commitment of local converts, and deliberate strategies to discipline local congregations by international denominations. Robeck (2016), along with Mixco (2013), describes the original appearance of the 'infilling of the spirit' (a distinctive marker of Pentecostalism) as having occurred before or at the same time as the revival at the Azusa Street Mission (1906) in the US, suggesting a simultaneous and autochthonous arrival of Pentecostalism in El Salvador (Robeck 2016: 89-90) [21]. He states that the first report of Pentecostalism in El Salvador was in 1905 by Central American missionary Robert Bender (Robeck 2016: 73-76). Although Bender

[21] Wadkins (2017), on the other hand, points to the advent of Pentecostalism in 1914 with the arrival of the North American Pentecostal missionaries Mebius (see Anderson 2007). However, the date of Mebius' arrival is debated among scholars. Some scholars argue that Mebius arrived much earlier in 1904 (see Robeck 2016: 77).

never considered himself to be Pentecostal, in one of his missionary communiques to his constituents back home stated,

> On the last day of our meetings there we taught them the condition for the reception of the Holy Ghost with power. Some thirty remained to an aftermeeting [sic.]. We together waited upon God for the infilling of the spirit and all of a sudden, the power came upon us, and we were all filled with the Holy Ghost to which all testified. God has most graciously visited us with salvation (Bender 1905, quoted in Robeck 2016: 73).

Although it is unclear what Bender meant by being 'filled with the Holy Ghost to which all testified', it is clear from his reports that he was preparing people for the 'infilling' and yet was surprised by its occurrence (Robeck 2016: 73-74).

Bender's description of the event echoes Teresa's testimony of the arrival of the Holy Spirit in El Salvador. Teresa (pc 1995) was a member of one of the earliest Pentecostal churches in a rural village outside of Santa Ana, El Salvador. She recounted that the first missionary that arrived to share the Gospel in her village did not come to talk about the Holy Spirit. However, she recalled how during one the meetings 'the promise' (the Holy Spirit) descended surprisingly upon the missionary and those present. She said that the missionary asked those present not discuss with others what had occurred. She then described how they started meeting every couple of months for a weekend in different locations. She said that over a three to four-day period they would wait for 'the promise' to arrive and when it did many were 'slain in the spirit', spoke in tongues and prophesied (Teresa pc 1995).

Teresa's account also resonates with Wilson's (1983) description of the earliest church meetings. He describes the meeting of a small congregation on the Santa Ana volcano among the coffee plantation workers. Wilson describes these meetings.

> Worship in the rustic church on the Volcano of Santa Ana was simple and spontaneous. Meetings often were extended prayer sessions, developing occasionally into boisterous displays of emotion, tongues, and ecstasy. Members perceived these episodes of visions, weeping, and healings, accompanied by a sense of prophetic power, as self-authenticating evidence of divine presence (Wilson 1983: 189).

In these accounts, Pentecostalism comes to El Salvador as a sovereign act of God to a willing, but unsuspecting missionary and to a group of peasants.

Informal and spontaneous gathering characterized the earliest days of Pentecostalism in El Salvador until the arrival of Frederic Mebius between 1911 and 1913. Mebius was a Canadian independent Pentecostal missionary who was instrumental in planting several early congregations in towns and villages that led to the formation of the largest traditional Pentecostal denominations in El Salvador: *Asambleas de Dios, Iglesia de Dios* and *Apóstoles y Profetas.*

By 1927, there were several hundred congregants scattered in twenty-four loosely organised congregations throughout the country (Anderson 2007, Robeck 2016). Mebius established and supervised a group of independent congregations led by lay-members (Robeck 2016: 98). The churches operated without a formal governing structure, doctrinal statements, or a process to credential pastors. One of these local lay leaders, Francisco Arbizu, approached Mebius about the possibility of exploring a potential relationship with the AG from the US.

Francisco Arbizu was a shoe cobbler and lay-leader of a fledgling Pentecostal congregation in Santa Ana, El Salvador. He read about the AG in a Pentecostal magazine (Robeck 2016: 98-100). He approached Mebius with the idea of asking the AG to help them to bring structure and stability to the group of churches. Arbizu sold a piece of land to finance his trip to meet with H.C. Ball in San Antonio, Texas. H.C. Ball was the Superintendent of the Latin District of the AG. After several failed attempts, Arbizu was able to convince the AG to send a missionary to El Salvador named George Blaisdell (Robeck 2016: 98-100).

The AG sent missionary Blaisdell to El Salvador to inspect the national Pentecostal work. He convened the first general assembly to vote on whether they would join the AG. Those who attended the first general meeting voted unanimously to join the AG movement as a part of the Latin District of the AG and that Arbizu serve as the leader or

presbyter of the district. Soon after the conference, Ralph Williams was sent to oversee the new district in El Salvador (Wadkins 2017: 71-72).

Mebius, however, chose not to attend the conference. He feared that the orderliness of the worship service required by the AG would impede the spontaneous movement of the spirit. He also feared that he would lose his status as a credentialed minister with the AG because he had been divorced, a status that was not accepted for ordained ministers at that time. He not only abstained from attending the conference but held his meetings with a group of churches that maintained their status as Free Pentecostal Churches. These churches later became the founding churches of the traditional Pentecostal denominations *Iglesia de Dios* and *Apóstoles y Profetas* (the second and fourth-largest traditional Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador today).

Arbizu and Ralph Williams worked together to create a set of rules that would regulate the conduct of pastors and members as well as lay the foundation for the organizational structure of the new churches called the Reglamento Local. The Reglamento Local established the Bible as the foundational authority, outlined a set of beliefs and practices that should be shared by all members, and created the standards for church governance (Wadkins 2017: 74). Ralph Williams' wife Lois explained that the document became a 'screening' for church membership. She added,

> There were those who would not accept the new biblical standards and we lost members. No one [of us] said they were lost souls. They were accepted as believers, but as those unwilling to accept the Bible standards of faith and conduct' (Lois Williams n.d., quoted in Wadkins 2017: 74).

After considerable discussions and unanimous consent, church leaders introduced and institutionalized the *Reglamento Local.*

2.1.3. Withdrawal, Self-Care and Evangelism

The original Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador, as in other Latin American countries (see Lalive d'Espinay 1969; Willems 1967; David Martin 1990), followed a pattern of social withdrawal through much of the twentieth century. US missionaries

introduced the holiness tradition that encouraged Pentecostal converts to separate themselves from the 'corrupting' world (see Anderson 2004; Kamsteeg 1998). Conversion meant a radical break from previous relationships and cultural practices that impeded their personal transformation. The church leaders also insisted that new members be grafted into a new community - the local Pentecostal congregation. The more embedded converts became in their Pentecostal congregations, the more they disconnected or abandoned their traditional religious affiliations with the Catholic Church, family, and friends, further isolating and marginalizing them from their communities of origin.

The voluntary retreat and imposed segregation from previous relationships further drove them away from social and political events, processes, and activities at the community level. Pentecostals removed themselves from existing cultural practices and newly objectionable public spaces such as bars and communal houses. Moreover, they retreated from formal political and civic processes because they believed that they were corrupt or corrupting to their primary goal of 'personal transformation' (Offutt 2015; Wadkins 2017). Many Pentecostals also felt that participating in political or civic processes was unsafe and 'ineffective' (Offutt 2015: 6). Rather, Pentecostals chose to retreat into their 'safe' communities and focus on self and family reform.

The Pentecostal focus on personal transformation and the eschatological belief that Christ's return was imminent encouraged believers to concentrate on evangelistic activity as their primary strategy for engaging society (Offutt 2015: 131). Pentecostals focused on caring for their members by sharing financial resources and food to members in need (Wadkins 2017: 76). They also concentrated their efforts outside the church upon one-on-one discussions with non-believers and in public meetings on street corners and plazas. The aim of these activities was primarily to convert new believers and increase the size of their congregations.

2.2. Civil Unrest, Urbanization and Self-Preservations (1930-1992)

The global economic depression of the 1930s pushed down the prices of coffee and other exports which led to mass unemployment and social unrest among peasant populations. The state violently repressed civil unrest and installed a military dictatorship that lasted until 1980. A series of protest movements continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s that culminated in the start of the civil war in 1980 that ended in 1992. During the civil war, Pentecostal congregations grew, especially in urban areas, to comprise fifteen per cent of the population. Most adherents were still from lower social locations and did not participate politically during the civil war. The majority of congregations restricted their social engagement to evangelistic efforts, but there is some evidence that a few Pentecostal congregations participated in relief and development initiatives during this period.

2.2.1. Depression, Repression and Civil War

The rapidly decreasing coffee prices in the 1930s resulted in massive unemployment and civil unrest in the countryside. Subsequent repression from the state forced poor peasants to flee to cities to find work and safety. Unemployment, landlessness and political marginalization led many peasants to challenge policies which were met by state-sanctioned violence (Anderson 2001; Perez-Brignoli 2001; Ching 2001; Lauria-Santiago 1999). Large numbers of peasants from the western regions of the country, many of whom were indigenous people, were arrested and killed, the government having accused them of being communist sympathizers (Gould & Lauria-Santiago 2008). The landed elite further strengthened the military class to protect them from internal threats by supporting the instalment of a military dictatorship. The military, bolstered by the oligarchy, ruled the country until the late 1980s.

The lack of arable land available for peasants to cultivate food for subsistence, the exploitative labour practices on haciendas, and limited public investment in education

and public health all led to a series of protest movements that included student, labour unions, and teachers throughout the 1970s (Bindford 1996: 5-6). The government violently suppressed each movement by killing or 'disappearing' leaders and shutting down marches and other public meetings with excessive violence. The majority of the protest movements were non-violent, but eventually, a few groups that favoured the violent overthrow of the government rose to prominence.

By 1979, El Salvador was plunged into civil war[22] which lasted until 1992 in which over two hundred and fifty thousand people lost their lives, and the entire landscape of the country was transformed (Wood 2004; Kowalchuk 2004). The unofficial policy of the government was to protect the most precious lands and investments cutting off all public services to the north-eastern and eastern regions of the country. These regions did not have access to public education, medical services, or other basic services throughout most of the civil war. Moreover, the primary battles of the war were fought in these regions, leaving entire villages destroyed. Many people from these regions emigrated to the US, Canada, and Australia. More people migrated to the cities or villages in the central and western regions of the country. By 1987, more than five hundred thousand people were internally displaced and living in the marginalized zones of San Salvador (Wood 2004: 128). Another five hundred thousand people became refugees in other countries (Wadkins 2017: 62).

Amidst the civil strife in the 1970s, a group of Catholic priests and peasant catechists working in the rural areas developed a sensitivity and a theology aimed to reflect the plight of the poor in El Salvador (Wadkins 2017: 60-61). In many of the remote, rural areas of the country, a group of Liberationist priests and peasant catechists, encouraged by the Archbishop of San Salvador Monsignor Romero, established Ecclesial Base

[22] The civil war is considered by many to have been a proxy war of the cold war (Offutt 2015: 48). The US government never officially declared war in El Salvador but provided military training and funding to the military regime through several large non-profits that protected the investments of the rich so that they could allocate resources to the war effort (Rosa 1993).

Communities to care for the abandoned and destroyed areas (Binford 2004). Whereas, in the capital and other major cities, the Catholic Church remained connected to the elite and other conservative, 'apolitical' movements like Opus Dei and other charismatic and non-charismatic groups (Wadkins 2017).

The elite sought to destabilize the authority of the leadership of the Catholic Church by dividing it into political and apolitical church movements (Wadkins 2017). The division and retreat of some Catholic Churches into urban areas left the rural Catholic Churches understaffed and underfunded. As a result, many of these Catholic Churches lost their full-time priests. Itinerate priests travelled from one church to next to officiate the sacraments. Lay-catechist leaders led many local perishes or chapels. They focused upon biblical reflection and providing basic services to their communities with some help from outside organizations.

2.2.2. Urbanization and Rapid Growth of Pentecostalism

The number of Pentecostal adherents grew steadily through the first decades of the 20th century and increased rapidly during the civil war from five to fifteen per cent of the population (Coleman et al. 1993)[23]. The majority of growth came from adherents who joined Pentecostal churches affiliated to traditional denominations in the central and western regions of the country. Moreover, it was during this period that larger congregations were founded in the capital city of El Salvador by US missionaries and Salvadoran leaders.

In 1960, a small group of AG leaders started the *Centro Evangelistico* church in the centre of San Salvador. Soon after its founding, John and Lois Bueno, an AG missionary couple, arrived from the US in 1961 to pastor the church. John and Lois Bueno pastored the church for thirty years. By the 1980s the *Centro Evangelistico* church with over

[23] The IUDOP 2009 survey reported that by 1988 seventeen per cent of the population self-reported to be Protestant of which the vast majority were considered to be Pentecostal.

twenty satellite congregations had grown to over twenty thousand congregants (Wadkins 2017: 81). Church leaders established a couple of satellite churches in middle-class neighbourhoods of the city. Many of the church buildings were partially funded and built by delegations from AG congregations in the US (Wadkins 2017: 81). The *Centro Evangelistico* church sustained all of the satellite congregations until they became self-sufficient and separated themselves from the mother church.

Within this period, the *Centro Misionero Elim* church was founded by Sergio Diego Solórzano Aldana in 1977. *Elim* was a church plant of the founding congregation in Guatemala City. Soon after Solorzano visited Paul Yongi Cho's church Yoido Full Gospel Church in Seoul, South Korea, he incorporated their cell group structure of ten to fifteen people organised into larger zones and then districts. In the same year, they also broke ties with the *Elim* Guatemala over doctrinal issues. In 1995, Solorzano was replaced by Mario Vega who was an *Elim* pastor from the Santa Ana region of El Salvador. In 2000, the *Elim* church gathered over one hundred and fifty thousand people to worship in five soccer stadiums simultaneously (Wadkins 2017: 20). *Elim* is now considered to be among the top ten largest churches in the world with more than one hundred and ten thousand people who attend weekly in many small groups spread across the country.

In 1977, Dr Edgar Lopez Beltran, known as Hermano Toby, founded the *Tabernáculo Bíblico Bautista 'Amigos de Israel'* church in the capital city of San Salvador. Hermano Toby started the church in his living room with several families. The church experienced rapid growth during the civil war, especially after Toby began to broadcast television programmes from the Christian Broadcasting Network such as Pat Robertson's 700 Club dubbed into Spanish (Wadkins 2017: 17). The church, located in the centre of San Salvador on two-square blocks in a middle-class neighbourhood, has grown into a congregation of thousands with over four hundred and twenty satellite churches scattered throughout El Salvador and in the US (Wadkins 2017: 17). Although the *Tabernáculo*

started as a Baptist ministry, Hermano Toby's church has incorporated many charismatic/Pentecostal rites such as healing services as well as elements of the prosperity gospel (Offutt 2015).

2.2.3. Self-Preservation and Limited Social Engagement

Amid the oppressive regimes and war-torn social contexts, the majority of Pentecostals avoided formal civic and political engagement and restricted their public activities to evangelism. While the majority of Pentecostals remained apolitical and nondescript, there is some evidence that a few Pentecostal leaders and US missionaries supported the repressive actions of the state (Binford 1996: 93-94). A few US missionaries were able to convince local pastors that they should fear the communist ideology because it would eliminate freedom of religion (Binford 1996: 93). This fear continued for the better part of the 20th century and is still echoed among Pentecostals today. As the civil war became more pronounced, Pentecostals also rejected the countermovement against the state because of its relationship with Catholic Liberationists. Many Pentecostals claimed that they rejected the Catholic Liberationist's stance that favoured the use of violence. Moreover, many Pentecostals took contrary positions to the Liberationists because they had historically defined themselves in contrast to the Catholic Church.

Although the majority of Pentecostals continued to focus on evangelization, there are some examples of congregations participating in addressing social issues on their own and in partnership with other organizations. In 1962, John Bueno and the *Centro Evangelistico* church began a private, Christian school to address poverty in San Salvador. After much persuasion and limited support from US constituents, Bueno and church leaders founded the school to provide a faith-based education to children from economically marginalized communities. By 2010, the *Liceo Cristiano* system provided primary and secondary education to over seventeen thousand students in thirty-seven schools spread throughout the country.

There is also evidence that Pentecostal congregations partnered with IFBOs and INGOs during the civil war. Although there is limited data on how many Pentecostal churches were engaged in relief or community development programmes during this time, two of the churches in this study joined World Vision programmes to implement relief efforts in marginalized communities. The *El Cimiento* church mentioned that they had also worked with an IFBO called *Alfalit* to implement literacy circles.

2.3. Pentecostal Growth and Social Engagement (1992-Present)

After the signing of the peace accords in 1992, the neoliberal development programme has created new spaces for Pentecostal congregations to participate in development initiatives in El Salvador. There is evidence that a growing number of Pentecostal congregations are implementing projects and programmes that address poverty issues (see Street 2013: Offutt 2015; Wadkins 2017; Huff 2016, 2017). Pentecostal congregations are creating their programmes that address the needs of individual families or groups; they are also partnering with international and local FBOs to implement the organization's goals and programmes. Moreover, there are a few Pentecostal congregations that are working with local civic or public entities to identify and address structural issues through collective action (see Bueno 2015; Wadkins 2017; Huff 2017, Garrard-Burnett 2016).

2.3.1. Neoliberalism, Local Development and the Erosion of the Catholic Canopy

By the late 1980s, import-substitution was failing, and the state was unable to repay its national debt. As part of the neoliberal development package, the World Bank offered to refinance national debt with structural adjustment loans (SALs) under the conditions that the government would promote an export-led economy by removing all trade tariffs and subsidies, deregulating currency and investing in public infrastructure (World Bank 1995). Since the SALs penalized governments that sustained a fiscal deficit, the state reduced public spending. It privatized all public services and reduced (or maintained)

public spending in education, health and other public services (Glower 1997: 106-107). The result of the SALs was increased public investments in transportation, communications, and the production of factories or large-scale agricultural export which were usually in the hands of the wealthy- at least until multinationals pushed them out of the market (Walter 1997a: 51-52). The reduction in public spending on the social safety net and on human development adversely affected the majority of the population, especially the poor (Glower 1997: 122-125). The conditions imposed on the state by the SALs also undermined the government's promises to invest in the rehabilitation and reinsertion of the ex-combatants of the civil war and in agricultural sectors that were negotiated in the peace accords.

Another consequence of neoliberal development capitalism in El Salvador was the decentralization of the role of the state and the implementation of a local development strategy. In 1994, the government launched a new strategy to re-allocate development investment from federal funds and programmes to municipalities and mayoral offices (*Red para el Desarrollo Local* 2006). Although the state has not implemented the strategy fully, it provides block grants and access to federal funds to municipalities and mayoral offices for them to implement local development initiatives through certified community development associations (*ADESCO*). Mayoral offices were tasked with training and resourcing the *ADESCO* to identify, design and implement community development initiatives. Nevertheless, mayors often complain that they do not have sufficient resources to train the leadership and members of the *ADESCO* in community development. The lack of public funding also puts pressure on local mayors to respond to their constituents by seeking out and partnering with NGOs and other civic actors such as churches.

The decentring of the state, along with changes in the role and authority of the Catholic Church in rural and semi-rural areas of the country, have created new public spaces for Pentecostal social engagement. The Catholic Church's role and authority over the

relations of power and resources in rural communities have diminished drastically (Wadkins 2017). While the majority of community leaders are still self-professed Catholics, the role of the priest and the Catholic Church as an institution have diminished in civic affairs. Wadkins argues,

> hierarchical and corporately organised social structure in El Salvador, which was dominated by the aristocracy, military and the Catholic Church, has given way to a more democratic social order, a market economy, and the opening of free social spaces for greater levels of civic participation' (Wadkins 2017: 39).

Neoliberal development policies and goals have also not addressed many of the structural issues of poverty and violence that existed before the war began. The neoliberal package has led to stagnant growth, suppressed wages, and hidden inflation. Although some Salvadorans have been able to shift social locations, many are still mostly poor, striving to survive as urbanized wage earners or independent entrepreneurs in the informal sector. Many Salvadorans consider emigration to the US or Canada as their only viable option to survive. Moreover, the increase in gang violence has also continued to put pressure on Salvadorans to find refuge in other countries (see Brenneman 2012).

2.3.2. Dynamic and Complex Pentecostal Marketplace

Pentecostalism in El Salvador has continued to grow in rural and urban settings as well as among different socio-economic sectors of society. Wadkins (2017) describes the religious change in El Salvador as far more complex than a movement from Catholic to Protestant or Pentecostal. As Wadkins highlights, polls indicate that along with the 'massive spread of pneumatic spirituality, El Salvador has become a modern, pluralized, religious marketplace where voluntary choice and competition for souls is as frenetic as it is in the newly emerging capitalist economy' (2017: 15-16).

Along with the continued growth of Pentecostals congregations affiliated to traditional denominations, several independent, restoration-minded churches are emerging. Newer groups of churches are actively distancing themselves from what they consider to be the antiquated Evangelical styles of the past. Younger, entrepreneurial charismatic leaders

have emerged that are ‘contextualizing and repackaging the message into the cultural modes of neoliberal consumerism’ (Wadkins 2017: 119). While they vary in their liturgical expressions, Pentecostal rites, alignment with the prosperity gospel, and political orientation, these churches feature technological sophistication and high-energy music. They also embrace in some form the ‘ethos of global economic culture and promote a kind of spiritual capitalism that pedestals charismatic power brokers and persuades congregants to follow their strategies’ (Wadkins 2017: 119-120).

The increase in number and influence of Pentecostal congregations has also shaped the liturgical rites and organizational cultures of the Charismatic Catholic movement[24]. The Charismatic movement in El Salvador is ‘vibrant, highly organised, rapidly growing, and despite firmly held Catholic beliefs’, has ‘uncanny similarities to Spirit-filled Protestants’ (Wadkins 2017: 24). Much like Pentecostalism, the movement encourages lay preaching, lively worship, dancing and singing in the Spirit, speaking in tongues and an emphasis on healing (Wadkins 2017: 24). According to the 2014 Pew survey on Latin American religion, some fifty per cent of all Salvadoran Catholics claim to be Charismatic (Wadkins 2017: 25).

Despite the growth of larger, independent Pentecostal congregations and renewal movements during this period, the majority of Pentecostal adherents still attend small, rural and semi-rural congregations of less than one hundred members. Larger congregations located in urban locations might have members from multiple social locations, but the majority of Pentecostals remain poor and congregate locally in one of the thousands of congregations throughout the country (Wadkins 2017: 22). The majority of these congregations are affiliated with traditional denominations such as the *AD*, *Iglesia de Dios, Apóstoles y Profetas* and *Príncipe de Paz*. Pastors tend to lead

[24] The Catholic Charismatic movement, which is a part of the wider Latin American movement known as *Renovación Católica Carismática*, grew up in the 1960s in the US and was heavily influenced by Protestant Pentecostalism (Wadkins 2017).

congregations with limited theological and biblical training who learn and are 'called' to pastor as lay leaders of congregations. They also come from the same social positions as those people whom they lead (Wadkins 2017: 22).

2.3.3. Increased Programmatic Social Outreach

Pentecostal congregations and adherents, with different levels of affiliation with local congregations, are participating in greater numbers to address social issues in El Salvador. Pentecostals run programmes designed to alleviate poverty, protect the environment, recover from disasters, provide medical care, and develop businesses. They are also involved in skills-building workshops, drug and rehabilitation programmes, HIV/AIDS ministries, orphanages, and work with gangs and prisons (Offutt 2015: 141-142; see Brenneman 2012). A study conducted by World Vision of over one hundred and eighty-five evangelical congregations concluded that sixty-three per cent of these churches were involved in some form of social outreach (World Vision El Salvador 2002). In particular, twenty-two per cent of the churches reported offering literacy programmes, forty-five per cent provided immediate assistance to the poor, and nineteen per cent supplied short-term medical services. Like many other countries in Latin America, the majority of these projects aim to address the individual needs of families and not the underlying causes of poverty (see Freston 2015; Petersen et al. 2001). They also do not address structural issues such as social fragmentation, lack of community organization, or community governance. Moreover, the form and scope of community service activities vary according to the social location, size and theological orientation of the congregation.

In larger, urban congregations, church staff or volunteer leaders identify, design and manage programmes to solve local problems (Offutt 2015). Church staff or adherents, whom Offutt describes as 'social entrepreneurs', enter the public sphere in search of resources for their projects and distribute resources in new ways into under-resourced communities (Offutt 2015: 133). Offutt adds that the majority of social entrepreneurs act

independently and do not have a collective and systematic strategy or goals when they enter the public sphere. He concludes that the fact that social entrepreneurs operate independently, along with the competitive environment of their religious communities, keeps them focused on implementing programmes and not on addressing macro-political, economic or social issues (Offutt 2015: 132).

Smaller, traditional congregations located in rural and semi-rural areas are also participating in community development initiatives. Many congregations identify, fund and implement their projects aimed at addressing the needs of individual families. They are also working with FBOs to implement programmes. The majority of church leaders state that the reasons for implementing community service projects are to improve the physical lives of their 'neighbours' and to 'share the Gospel' to non-believers. Wadkins agrees with Freston (2015) that Pentecostals see transforming themselves as the social project (2017: 116). Wadkins states, along with Miller and Yamamori (2007), that many of these church leaders believe that society 'will become better when everyone in the world becomes a Christian' (2017: 113; see Smith 1994).

Although Pentecostals primarily work independently or with FBOs, there is some evidence that a group of Pentecostal congregations are starting to work with public and civic organizations to address community-wide issues. Street states that in El Salvador, as in other countries of Latin America, 'some renewal movements are beginning to engage civic institutions and religious 'others' to effect positive social change' (2013: 41). Huff (2014, 2016, 2017) also notes that a growing number of Pentecostal congregations in rural and semi-rural areas are expanding their social engagement activities to include participation with local community leaders and associations.

The increased participation of Pentecostal congregations in social engagement provides us with an excellent case study to examine why and how Pentecostal congregations are choosing to engage in new public ways. Wadkins (2017) agrees with

Freeman (2012a), Comaroff (2012) and Bernice Martin (1995) that Pentecostalism's focus upon and effectiveness in personal transformation create Pentecostal subjects that can navigate effectively, and help others to navigate effectively, the challenges of the neoliberal order. Huff (2017), on the other hand, suggests that some Pentecostal congregations could be aware of the adverse effects of neoliberal capitalist development and are mobilizing community leaders and members to address community-wide issues through different forms of collective action. What is needed is further research that examines how Pentecostal congregations are engaging (or not) in different forms of collective action that could lead to broader social transformation at a community and regional level.

Offutt (2015) and Wadkins (2017) also argue that changes in the Pentecostal approach to social and political action reflect changes in the beliefs and values of some congregations. Offutt (2015) concludes that more Pentecostals explain their social service through biblical or theological reflection. He states that many Pentecostal congregations and adherents have adopted an evangelical theological rationale called *Misión Integral* (or Integral Mission) to explain participation in the social arena (Offutt 2015: 141). The Misión Integral is a theological description for the mission of the church that was coined and developed by a group of Latin American theologians such as Padilla (1985, 1986, 2008), Escobar (1998, 2003), and Costas (1974, 1989)[25]. Padilla has been instrumental in developing church networks, publishing houses, and training institutes throughout Latin America to promote the *Misión Integral*. For many years, Padilla and the *Misión Integral* were too closely associated with Liberation Theology and thus traditional Pentecostal movements rejected this theology. However, the *Misión Integral* has slowly become more accepted among some Pentecostal congregations (Offutt 2015).

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[25] Kirkpatrick (2016) provides an excellent overview of the origins of the Integral Mission. Alvarez (2016) reviews and examines the influence of *Misión Integral* in Latin America.

As the memories of the civil war and the Liberationist movement in the Catholic Church have receded, the *Misión Integral* has served for some Pentecostal churches to explain their activities. The most notable case is that of Pastor Mario Vega from the *Elim* church. Pastor Vega has described the process of change in his church from one that is not only 'dedicated to the salvation of souls… [it is now] a church that sees its mission in a more complete form and searches for the salvation of people, not only souls, but of human beings that are immersed in social problems' (Offutt 2015: 141). Wadkins recognizes that the *Misión Integral* is an important prophetic voice that seeks to reform Pentecostal beliefs and practices, but that it will continue to come from the periphery (2017: 162). An in-depth ethnographic study of Pentecostal congregations could provide a further understanding of the degree to which new social engagement activities reflect changes in Pentecostal beliefs and practices. Such a study could also begin to answer other important questions, such as: to what level are the new beliefs and practices shared between and among church leaders and members? How do specific forms of social engagement either reinforce or challenge Pentecostal's understanding of the mission of the church?

2.4. Situating Community Engagement with the Social Field of Development

After discussing the broader historical and cultural conditions that have informed social engagement in El Salvador, the following section contextualizes the particular form of community engagement within a specific social field of development. The section provides a general description of the five Pentecostal congregations studied. It introduces the pastors and describes the church and community. Moreover, it presents an overview of the types and scale of community engagement activities of each congregation.

2.4.1. Pastor Marcos, *La Paz* Church in El Paraíso

The *La Paz* church is an *AIC* church located in the semi-rural community of El Paraíso, pastored by Marcos. The church is a cinder block structure with tile floors and large windows. It was founded by Pastor Marcos in 1978 by a small group of twelve people and had grown to seventy-four congregants between members and new believers, ten young people, and over one hundred children. The church had several ministries including Men, Women, Youth and Sunday School programmes. It also had a community engagement committee comprised of seven members, three of whom were young people and the others were adult leaders of the church.

Pastor Marcos is the firstborn of ten children. He completed the second grade but learned to read and write by reading the Bible. Pastor Marcos felt the call to become a pastor while in his twenty's. He joined the recently founded *AIC* denomination. He attended classes sporadically at a local theological seminary for a couple of years but did not complete a degree. He pastored three small churches in the East of the country before leaving the pastorate to work as a manager on a private farm in El Paraíso.

Pastor Marcos stated every day, while in prayer, God would challenge him to start a church. God would ask him, 'What are you doing managing the farm? You are a pastor' (Pastor Marcos 2009). At the time of his arrival, there were no evangelical or non-Catholic churches in the community. After many months of praying, God led him to a woman who had 'backslidden' – a convert who had stopped attending a Pentecostal church; he was able to 'reconcile' or 'bring her back to a relationship' with God. They began to pray together at the pastor's house on the farm. Within a few months, ten people had joined the small prayer meeting. They decided to buy a small piece of land and build a small adobe structure. The church grew slowly from ten to thirty members over the first twenty years. By 2000, the church had grown to over fifty-five members and was able to buy land and build a cinderblock building that can seat two hundred people.

The *La Paz* church is located in a semi-rural community called El Paraíso. El Paraíso is located fifteen kilometres from the capital city of El Salvador, San Salvador. El Paraíso was a rural village until thirty years ago. Emigrants from the north and east of the country migrated to the area, fleeing the violence of the civil war. More recently, an extensive, residential development was built up to its limits - growth from San Salvador that widened and paved the main roads, increasing traffic and population. El Paraíso currently has approximately three thousand people. The majority of its population are day labourers in one of the nearby factories or travel into San Salvador for work. The village has a Catholic church, a public school, and a private Christian school. The community has an active water board, school parent-teacher organization, a health committee and an *ADESCO*. Nevertheless, the level of commitment of community leaders participating in the *ADESCO* has fluctuated over the last five years due to shifts in political parties and increased gang violence.

Civil war and gang violence have heavily impacted the community. The area was a fierce battleground during the civil war and was used by the countermovement, as its soldiers moved back and forth between El Paraíso and an outpost in the nearby mountain of Guasapa. There were multiple military confrontations within the hamlet itself and residents lived in fear and danger every day. More recently, gang violence has made life very difficult for community members. Many of the young people from the community have joined one of two rival gangs. The gangs are extremely violent; they control, to different degrees, who enters the community and influences other social and economic activities.

The *La Paz* church began partnering with community leaders and CBOs to develop community-wide initiatives in 1997. Before that year, the church had participated in community service activities. The church had worked on several small projects for individual families. They helped a single mother rebuild her house when it was destroyed

in a fire caused by an earthquake. The church helped a family rebuy its hotdog stand from a loan shark. They had also provided groceries and basic care for a family severely impacted by illness. However, the first project they worked on with community leaders was a road-building initiative. During the project, they approached and began working with *ENLACE*. Since that time, they have worked with three different *ADESCOs*, three public schools, the mayor's office, the National Water Board, Ministry of Health and Education to identify, design and implement more than twenty different projects benefitting more than seven thousand people in three different communities, the largest of which is a million-dollar water system that serves more than seven hundred families. The church continues to help manage this water system. They also host a Compassion International after-school programme serving more than two hundred and fifty children.

2.4.2. Pastor Salvador, *El Cimiento* Church in La Montaña

El Cimiento is an *AD* church located in the remote, rural community of La Montaña pastored by Salvador. An itinerate pastor founded the church in 1979. At the beginning of the study, the church had twenty-seven members but has since grown to more than one hundred members. They have recently completed a two-story, cinder-block church building that can seat two hundred members. The church has Men, Women, and Youth Ministries. They also have a Sunday school programme with over one hundred children. They created a community engagement committee shortly after starting to work with *ENLACE* in 2001.

Pastor Salvador has lived the majority of his life in La Montaña. When he was younger, he worked locally as a farmer who owned land and one of the few vehicles on the mountain. At that time, he was a respected member of the community and an active leader of the *El Cimiento* church. As the longest standing deacon of the church, he would fill in as interim pastor every time there was a transition to a new pastor, which was a frequent situation. Over the years, a series of pastors had come and gone, leaving the church in

Salvador's hands quite often. While the church board would try to convince other pastors to relocate to the remote and under-resourced village of La Montaña, Salvador would be there faithfully serving the church. Eventually, the leaders of the church and an *AD* district leader asked Salvador if he would pastor the church full-time. He accepted reluctantly but has now pastored the church for over twenty-five years. Pastor Salvador has attended the local Bible school sporadically and has completed a few of its courses.

La Montaña is a remote, rural village nestled in the north-eastern mountains of El Salvador located on the border between two municipalities with very little representation or access to either mayor's office. The village has one primary dirt road that intersects the village connecting it with two rural towns. The closest town is located about eighteen kilometres away, down an extremely steep and treacherous road. At the time of the study, less than five vehicles were owned by people living on the mountain. The majority of people walk four hours to their closest bus stop in order to catch a ride to the next town. Most of its two thousand inhabitants are small-scale, subsistence farmers that live on less than one dollar per capita per day. The community had one public school from first to ninth grades. The community has one Catholic parish that is overseen by lay leaders. An itinerate priest comes once a month to provide the sacraments.

The community of La Montaña was significantly impacted during the civil war and was the site of multiple confrontations. Community members were drafted to fight by both the military and revolutionary forces during the war. In some cases, the same community member fought for both sides of the conflict. As a result, many community members fled to other locations in El Salvador. Many emigrated to the US. Although there is no formal documentation of how many left during that time, almost two out of every five people I talked to have a family member living in the US. Moreover, during the study, there continued to be a steady flow of children and adults emigrating to reunite with their family members.

The community experienced significant changes throughout the study. When the study began, families did not have access to electricity. The majority did not have access to clean water or used latrines. They did not have a registered community development association or any other community-based organization other than a small Parent Teacher Organization (PTO). Few, if any, representatives of the Ministry of Health or the mayor's office had ever visited before the church began to work with the community. By the end of the study, the church and community had worked together to install electricity, build two water systems, build or improve three schools, build a medical clinic, and build miles of roads and bridges to increase trade, safety, and accessibility.

The *El Cimiento* church started working with the community in 2000. Before this time, individual church members had participated in a World Vision home garden project and hosted a literacy programme. They had not participated in community meetings or community-based initiatives until they started working with *ENLACE*. Over the last eighteen years, they have started, strengthened or partnered with over seventeen community-based organizations, two mayor's offices, the governor's office, the Ministry of Education and Health to identify, design and implement over twenty different initiatives benefitting over five thousand people from seven different communities.

2.4.3. Pastor Tomas, *Santuario Bíblico* Church in La Flor

The *Santuario Bíblico* church is an *AIC* church located in the semi-rural community of La Flor pastored by Tomas. Pastor Tomas founded the church in 1986. At the end of the study, the church had one hundred and seventeen members. The church had Men, Women, and Youth ministries. They also had a Sunday school programme with over fifty children. The church started a community engagement committee in 2010, two years after they started working with *ENLACE.*

Pastor Tomas moved to a small community bordering La Flor in 1987. He worked as a mechanic at a government ministry for many years. He converted to Pentecostal

Christianity in 1979 at a small *AIC* church near his home. Eventually, he asked the leaders of the denomination to start a church in La Flor. Pastor Tomas agreed to help start the church and then hand it off to a pastor. As the church grew, however, he started to feel the call to pastor and eventually left his full-time job as a mechanic to pastor full-time. Pastor Tomas attended the denomination's bible school on and off for a couple of years but did not complete the programme.

La Flor is a semi-rural community located twenty kilometres from the capital city of San Salvador in the centre of the country. The majority of its residents are small-scale, subsistence farmers, but a growing number of adults and young people have found work outside the community in factories or other businesses close to the capital city. Although there are families with formal, steady employment, the majority live on less than two dollars per capita per day. The primary roads to and from the main freeway are paved; whereas the secondary roads are compacted dirt with cement drains. The majority of families have access to electricity, clean water (although only every other day), and latrines. Those who have formal employment or family members in the US that send remittances can build bigger, cinderblock homes and often own refrigerators, televisions and other appliances. The community has also been heavily influenced by gang violence over the last ten years.

La Flor has multiple community-based organizations, a public school from first to ninth grades, a Catholic church, and several medium-sized chicken farms. The community also has an *ADESCO* that runs the water system and other projects as well as a strong PTO board. The local Catholic church has a full-time priest who is active in community affairs, although the priest is not directly involved in community meetings or development projects.

The *Santuario Bíblico* church started working with the community in 2008. For many years, the church had hosted special events inside their building for alcoholics and single

mothers. They had also provided food and money to individual families in need and had started to work with families with members who had special needs. The first initiative in which the church worked together with non-church members was a home garden project spearheaded by a local NGO. Since then, they have worked with nine community-based organizations, the mayor's office, and the Ministry of Education and Health to implement over fifteen projects that have benefitted over six thousand people from four villages.

2.4.4. Pastor José, *La Roca* Church in San Juan

The *La Roca* is an *AD* church founded in 1959 in the town of San Juan. Pastor José started pastoring the church in 1998. The church structure is made of painted block walls, finished stucco, ceramic flooring and fits over three people. It has a two-story cement structure for classrooms and meetings. It has also bought and developed a property adjacent to the front of the church wherein a church parsonage, parking lot and playground were recently built. The church has one hundred and seventy-five members and a weekly attendance (including children) of over two hundred people. The church has a Men's, Women's, Youth ministries as well as a Sunday school programme for children. They also have an evangelism team and other special committees. The church had started seven cell groups at the time of this study. The church started a community engagement committee in 2008 shortly after beginning to work with *ENLACE*.

Pastor José was born in 1974. He is the oldest son of four children. His father was an alcoholic and physically abusive. The father abandoned the family when Pastor José was seven years old. At that time, Pastor José became the breadwinner of the family and left school to work. He followed in his father's footsteps, however, and began to abuse alcohol and was violent. He had a radical conversion at the age of twenty-two. He explained that he stopped drinking 'immediately' after his conversion and joined a church. He started serving inside the church quickly after joining, and after several years, had gained the trust of his pastor to be placed in charge of a small church plant in a nearby village. This

plant grew into a small church and became his first pastorate. After pastoring several other churches, each bigger than the one before, he was asked by *AD* district leaders and local church leaders to become the pastor at *La Roca* church in San Juan. Since that time, Pastor José obtained his elementary and high school degrees as an adult. He also completed a college degree in Biblical Studies and Missions and is currently working on a master's degree in Bible.

San Juan is a rural town located about twenty kilometres from Santa Ana, the third biggest city in El Salvador. San Juan was traditionally known for its medium-sized farms that raised cattle and cultivated corn, sorghum, and beans. Over the years, the farms have been sold or abandoned, as coffee and other cash crops became central to the economy and the landed elite moved to the capital city of San Salvador. Today, the majority of its two thousand eight hundred inhabitants are small-scale farmers or merchants that sell in nearby Santa Ana. There is a visible difference in the houses and wealth of families that are merchants and own land in contrast to those that are subsistence farmers and rent land. Merchants have cinderblock block homes with cars parked in front; whereas, small-scale farming families live in dilapidated adobe homes. Gang violence had been limited until recently.

San Juan has a Catholic Church, police station, public school, and a small commercial area with agricultural inputs stores, bars, and restaurants. The Catholic church has a full-time priest and is very active in the community, hosting weddings, funerals and other religious events. The Catholic church is well-attended for mass and other events. Although the majority of the community leaders attend the Catholic church, the priest has not been directly involved in planning or implementing community engagement initiatives.

The community has a PTO board, *ADESCO*, water board, health committee and other smaller committees that were unorganised or not functioning at the time the study began.

When the church first began working with the community, the water board was led by one man who had held the position for many years without elections. He managed the system as well as made all the decisions on his own. The *ADESCO* had three active members but had not held elections, community meetings or implemented any projects for many years. The community had recently formed the PTO and health committees. Moreover, the representative of the community to the mayoral office was not from nor lived in the community and so had little relationship or influence with the mayoral office.

Since 2008, the *La Roca* church has worked with *ADESCOs*, the Ministry of Health and the water board to implement community-wide projects. Church leaders and members worked with and joined the Community Health Committee and built a retaining wall for the clinic, repaired the roof and assisted in multiple public health campaigns. The church also worked with the *ADESCO* to build new homes, improve wood-burning stoves, build latrines, roads and retaining walls. It also worked with the water board to expand the water system by building a new tank and distribution system. The church worked with and joined the PTO board to help the school repair a perimeter wall and other initiatives. Finally, the church and community had built a strong relationship with the mayor's office, which began to contribute resources to the majority of larger initiatives. In all, the church worked with community leaders to implement more than fifteen initiatives that have directly benefitted more than three thousand five hundred people.

2.4.5. Pastor Francisco and Juan, *Getsemaní* Church in El Rancho

Getsemaní church is an *AD* church first pastored by Francisco and then followed by Pastor Juan. The church has grown to become one of the largest and most influential churches in the western region of the country. It grew from three to close to a thousand members in seven years and continues to attract people from eighteen semi-rural communities and Santa Ana – over a fifteen-kilometre radius. The church was able to purchase land as well as design and build a church building that seats one thousand people. It mobilizes over

two hundred volunteer leaders every week who oversee Men's, Women's, Youth and Children's ministries. The church has over fifty cell groups and has a clinic and hosts a Christian school on its campus with over three hundred and fifty students.

El Rancho is a large, semi-rural community that has experienced significant changes over the last twenty years. The community is located within five kilometres of Santa Ana, the third-largest city in El Salvador. A major highway that runs from El Salvador into Guatemala divides the community. The majority of its ten thousand inhabitants are small-scale farmers or wage earners who work on nearby farms, factories or in the market of Santa Ana. Over the last few years, El Rancho has become a suburb of Santa Ana. Private developers have recently built two large residential neighbourhoods with hundreds of new homes at the edge of the community. These changes contributed directly to the growth of the church but also have created tension between the new inhabitants and established community members. On the whole, in the new housing developments residents, do not participate in community activities or community development initiatives.

Pastor Francisco was born in a small rural community near the Guatemalan border. He became a pastor of a small congregation at nineteen years old. After pastoring several modest congregations, the AG leadership asked him to pastor the *Getsemaní* church. He was a young pastor with a young wife and small children arriving to pastor a well-established and historic *AD* church. Pastor Francisco (2011) said that he struggled his way through the beginning of his tenure, trying to keep all the volunteer leaders of the different ministries happy. His wife became very ill and died a couple of years later.

Pastor Francisco (2011) said that it was in his pain and mourning that he began to understand his congregation and develop a new vision. The new church growth strategy focused on evangelism and recruitment through focused church ministries, cell groups and community service. The church began to grow quickly. Pastor Francisco and his leaders then developed a cell-group structure. The cell groups were designed to be a less-

intimidating space for non-believers to hear about God and build relationships with church members without going into an evangelical church.

The rapid growth of the *Getsemaní* church propelled Pastor Francisco to regional and national prominence in the AD. He was elected to a national position as the leader of the entire region and replaced at *Getsemaní* church by Pastor Juan. The change in pastors occurred in the middle of the research project. Pastor Juan had experience pastoring a three hundred-member church but did not share Pastor Francisco's vision of community service. Pastor Juan maintained the church's community service strategy and practices but never participated directly in the work. He attended the training provided by the *ENLACE* staff sporadically at the beginning and then stopped coming. He did not speak on community service from the pulpit as Pastor Francisco had done. In effect, he allowed his leaders to continue to receive training and work in the communities but did not fully support it. This change resulted in the slowing down of the ritualization of community engagement within the church. Even so, some church leaders stayed engaged in the process through their cell groups.

Under the leadership of Pastor Francisco (2011), the *Getsemaní* church was able to build relationships with local public schools, *ADESCOs*, and water boards from multiple communities and also directly with the mayor and his staff. The church worked with the community and the mayor's office to implement a variety of initiatives in twelve different communities. The cell group leaders worked with their local *ADESCOs* to build houses, repair roads, build a clinic, design and install several water projects, build latrines, and build vehicular and pedestrian bridges and sidewalks. The church also started community-wide, agricultural committees to work on home gardens and cilantro production. Church leaders worked with the mayor's office on many of the initiatives. In all, the church and community identified and developed over twenty initiatives that benefitted over eighteen thousand people.

The trajectory of social engagement of the *Getsemaní* church, like all of the other churches studied, was shaped and informed by the broader historical and cultural conditions in El Salvador. The *Getsemaní* church was started shortly after the first historical moment. Like many other Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador, the church was originally comprised of marginalized and vulnerable peasants who retreated from public life. The church focused on caring for its members and on evangelistic events. They did not begin participating in community service activities until the late 1980s when Pastor Francisco challenged them to use service as an evangelistic strategy. Moreover, they did not begin to work with civic and public entities until the mid-1990s when local governments were required to implement local development strategies. The leadership became more deliberate and systematic about building relationships and working with non-church entities to implement development initiatives after beginning to work with *ENLACE*.

Much like the *Getsemaní* church, all of the other four churches had participated in community service activities that focused on 'sharing the gospel' and recruiting new church members until the 1990s. All five of the churches had developed or participated in projects and programmes that addressed issues related to poverty in their communities. Nevertheless, only Pastor José from the *La Roca* church had worked with non-church, community leaders and the mayor's office to identify and develop a community-wide project. The other four churches had not worked formally with non-church entities to identify and develop community development initiatives until they started partnering with *ENLACE*. In all of the five churches, approaching and partnering with non-church entities to develop community-wide initiatives was a new practice. For these churches, the form and meaning of the new practice were shaped and informed by their relationship with *ENLACE* and by other historical and cultural conditions in El Salvador. The following chapter discusses how pastors explain the differences between their previous community

service activities and the new practice of community engagement. The chapter suggests that along with being contingent, community engagement is a new set of activities that lead to new forms of social interactions between church and non-church entities.

Chapter Four: Community Engagement as a New Church Practice

1. Introduction

Church leaders and members talk about community engagement as a new church practice. They describe community engagement as an extension of community service- what they had done before – but with a new set of activities and objectives. Community service activities focused on providing immediate assistance to individual families. Whereas, community engagement focuses upon building new types of relationships with community leaders and associations to identify and develop community-wide projects and programmes.

This chapter describes and analyses the kinds of activities and new forms of social interactions generated by the new practice of community engagement. It describes how pastors and church members explain the difference between their previous practice of community service and the new practice of community engagement. Pastors and church members use the terms *acercamiento* ('come close, closeness') and *colaboración* (partnership) to describe the process and desired outcomes of the new practice. The chapter describes the differences in the types and scope of projects and programmes enacted in community engagement. Moreover, it discusses how the new practice encourages different levels of participation among church members. Finally, the chapter discusses how community engagement leads to new forms of social interactions between church and non-church entities.

The social interactions generated in community engagement are analysed using Collins's (2004) theoretical framework of interaction ritual chains. Community engagement activities create new types of social interactions between church and non-church members where they share partial goals and emotional experience. Many of these new relationships lead to building ongoing relationships of trust and collaboration between some pastors, church leaders and community members.

2. Community Service as an Important Church Practice

Community service is an accepted and important church practice for many traditional Pentecostal congregations. Most Pentecostals understand community service, like most other forms of service inside the church, to contribute to and be a result of the personal transformation of a Pentecostal *creyente* (believer). As a collective practice, community service also generates a shared sense of community as well as defines the interpersonal relationships between and among church and non-church members. Finally, the strategic practice of community service creates ritual actors empowered to create a shared reality of God's interaction with humanity, the church's mission and the disciples' way-in-the-world.

Church members stated that service had always been an important part of being a *creyente* but that it was mostly reserved for inside the church. Serving meant cooking for church functions, repairing the church, leading worship, or leading one of the ministries or departments of the church such as women's ministries or the youth department (see Wadkins 2017). They also mentioned that church members were involved in service outside of the church. Congregants discussed visiting non-church members, whom they called amigos[26] or 'sympathetic non-believers', to 'encourage them', 'pray for them' or 'testify to them', all with the goal to evangelize and recruit them to join the church. Pastors and leaders also mentioned that some members, although in smaller numbers, participated in church-led, community service projects and programmes that focussed on caring for and evangelizing people who were not members of the church. For example, church members joined their leader on a home visit in which they would bring food or an offering to help a family in need. They also helped to set up and host a church-led programme, or rebuild a house, or to fix a road.

[26] *Amigo* or 'friend' is a common term used by traditional Pentecostals to describe a relationship with a non-believer who is 'sympathetic' to the message of the church but has not 'accepted' Christ or joined the church. An *amigo* can also refer to someone that the church has begun to build a relationship with through a church-sponsored event such as a Bible study, cell-group, or a home visit.

Pastors and leaders stated that far fewer church members participated directly and indirectly in community service projects than in other forms of service (usually internal to the church). Pastors stated that less than ten per cent of church members had participated directly in community service activities before starting the new practice of *acercamiento*[27]. The majority of church leaders and members that participated in community service activities were adult women and men with long-standing membership in the church.

Women were involved formally and informally in the identification and implementation of community service activities. Formally, women visited other amigas and female members. They also prepared food, cleaned, and helped host special outreach events. Informally, women identified and addressed various needs that they discovered in their daily interactions in their community. For example, a female leader of the *La Paz* church mobilized other members to help a woman recover her husband's hotdog stand by paying off the loan shark. In the *Santuario Bíblico* church, the women helped a single, working mother by caring for her son with special needs.

Men, on the other hand, tended to participate in community service initiatives in more formal ways through the church. They would visit amigos in need of prayer and special care similar to women but did so less frequently than women. They also were more active in community service through home prayer or cell groups. Although most cell groups were comprised of both genders and various ages, the majority of leaders were men. In the case of *La Roca* and *Getsemaní*, where cell groups deliberately included community service activities, men took the lead in visiting the families and providing resources or supplies needed. Men were also more involved in planning and promoting the church-led, community service events.

[27] Churches did not record the exact numbers of church members who had engaged in community service before they began their new practice of community engagement. Nevertheless, after asking church members who were involved in identifying and implementing community service projects and programmes, it became clear that a limited number of leaders and members were involved.

Finally, young people were less involved formally and informally in community service. Much like the adult members, they visited and prayed for amigos or fellow youth group members. However, young people were less involved in providing food supplies or caring for other people, younger or older. They participated in helping to set up and host events but were less likely to have decision-making power in the design and implementation of the event.

2.1. Types and Scope of Community Service Projects

All of the Pentecostal congregations studied had participated in multiple types of community service initiatives. The majority of community service projects and programmes that I observed and that were described by church leaders were short-term, immediate assistance projects that were identified and managed by the church. Similar to Freston's (2015) description of classical Pentecostal congregations in Brazil, the majority of projects initiated by churches usually provided short-term, immediate assistance, such as offering food or repairing a roof. The projects usually benefitted an individual or family and were designed by a few church leaders and members without the participation of non-church, community leaders or entities. The churches used donated resources from members and from international and local evangelical FBOs to start and implement the projects and programmes. Moreover, they were designed primarily to create an opportunity to 'share the gospel' and 'bring amigos to Christ' (see Offutt 2015).

Leaders from all five churches also mentioned that they had provided immediate assistance after natural disasters to families from both the church and community. The *La Paz* church provided household supplies and built temporary shelters for over one hundred and seventy families in its community and six others after Hurricane Ida. The church also collaborated with Pastor Tomas and the *Santuario Bíblico* church to provide supplies and rebuild homes after the hurricane and also installed temporary shelters in *La*

Flor after the 2001 earthquakes. The *Getsemaní* church provided food supplies and medical services to displaced families after a volcanic eruption in Santa Ana

Along with short-term and emergency relief projects, congregants also described developing ongoing, community service programmes or events. The *Santuario Bíblico* church hosted a Food for Our Neighbour programme where the guests included individuals struggling with alcoholism, the elderly and families with special needs children. Additionally, the church developed a group of volunteers focused on identifying and caring for families with special needs children. Church volunteers visited these families, brought food and supplies, helped with daily chores and offered childcare. Although these projects had been carried out for several years, the visits were usually periodic, one-day activities.

Some churches had more formal programmes or partnerships with other local and international organizations. The *Getsemaní* church had a strong partnership with a local private, Christian school. The church used the school's classrooms for Sunday school but also promoted the school to church and non-church community members. Additionally, the church worked with the school to establish a medical clinic. The clinic provided services to church members, students and non-church members from the community. The church financed the clinic from patient fees and church offerings and also sought out relationships with local, small business owners to sell medical insurance to its employees.

Along with church-based projects and programmes that provide immediate assistance, church members also stated that they had participated in community service projects that IFBOs identified and funded. Church leaders from *El Cimiento* had joined an agricultural programme offered by World Vision International. *Santuario Bíblico* and *La Paz* churches were partnering with Compassion International to provide after-school tutoring programmes. The *Santuario Bíblico* church had also worked with a Catholic FBO to start home gardens in their community.

Although all of the churches had started their initiatives or had partnered with an IFBO before introducing the new practice of community engagement, only two congregations had worked with local government officials and community associations to develop a project. Pastor José and church leaders from *La Roca* had worked with community leaders and the mayor's office to build a retaining wall. As a part of this project, Pastor José solicited and acquired bags of cement from the mayor's office. Church leaders from *Getsemaní* church also had met with the staff from the public school, leaders from community associations and a representative from the mayor's office to build a pedestrian bridge over a busy highway.

2.2. Forms of Social Interactions that Reinforced Social Boundaries

The types and scope of community service projects included a series of activities that defined the aim and boundaries of the social interactions between church and non-church entities. Whether church members participated in community service activities inside or outside the church, the forms of social interactions were prescribed, temporary, and unidirectional. Throughout the research, I observed three general forms of social interactions in community service activities: home visits, community service programmes and work projects. This section examines each of these forms of social interaction using Collins's theoretical framework of interaction ritual chains. It highlights how community service activities reinforced the separation and disengagement of the congregations from their communities.

Collins's (2004) analytical framework helps to explain what constitutes interactional ritual chains but also helps to show how they generate emotional energy and a shared sense of experience. Collins (2004) suggests four basic characteristics of rituals: bodily co-presence, social barriers, mutual focus, and shared mood. First, for a practice to constitute a ritual, two or more people must be physically assembled in the same place and affect each other by their bodily presence, whether it is conscious or not (i.e. bodily

co-presence). Second, ritual defines who is outside of the ritual so that participants have a sense of who is taking part and who is not (i.e. social boundaries). Third, people involved in the activity focus their attention upon a common object or activity, and by communicating this focus to each other, they become mutually aware of each other's focus of attention (i.e. mutual focus). Finally, participants share a common mood or emotional experience (i.e. shared mood) (Collins 2004: 47-49).

Collins (2004) states that through a series of interaction ritual chains or repeated social interactions, rituals generate sentiments and symbols that endure after the ritual experience is over. Successful ritual chains cultivate emotional or affective entrainment that can be linked to previous ritual experiences to reaffirm, challenge or create new cultural discourses, beliefs and practices (Collins 2004). To Collins,

> intense ritual experience creates new symbolic objects and generates energies that fuel the major social changes . . .. As long as there are potential occasions for ritual mobilization, there is the possibility for sudden and abrupt periods of change. Ritual can be repetitive and conservatizing, but it also provides the occasions on which changes break through (2004: 42-43).

Interactional ritual chains can create links between social interactions that are intense moments for individuals that can lead to new expressions and forms of community (Collins 2004: 43). The analysis of the three generalized forms of social interactions cultivated in community service practices illustrates how they served to reinforce churches' previous understanding of separation from the geographic community and disengagement from civic engagement.

2.2.1. Home Visits

The first general form of social interaction between church and non-church members in community service activities were called '*visitas*' or home visits. During home visits, church leaders led a team of two or three church members from a specific ministry to visit an *amiga* or *amigo*. The social interaction between church and the non-church participant was short and formalized. In the home visits that I observed, the church leader greeted and talked to the *amiga/o* at the front door or just inside the main living space of the house

for fifteen to thirty minutes. Church members asked a few questions about her/his physical or emotional condition and then usually would ask if they could read scripture and pray for her/him. The *amiga/o* answered the questions, listened, and usually accepted the offer of prayer. In some cases, church members gave the *amiga/o* a basket of food or clothes at the end of the home visit.

During home visits, church members clearly established the social boundaries and rules of engagement between church and non-church member. Church leaders defined who was part of the church and who was not. They approached the house in a group; they were all dressed similarly and had their Bibles in hand. They also defined the form of engagement. Church leaders led the conversation, making it clear who was initiating and who was receiving the exchange. The amiga/o was not part of the group and only received or acted passively in the social interaction.

Although co-present, the church and non-church members had different purposes or goals to the social interaction. Church leaders stated that the goal or purpose of the social interaction was to 'save' the 'lost' or 'hurting' *amiga/o*. Church members understood that the purpose of the event was to create a space to evangelize and potentially recruit a new member to the church. The *amiga/o*, on the other hand, might have understood the church members' unstated intentions because of previous experiences with home visits from Pentecostal churches but did not share their understanding of her/his need for 'salvation' or attending the church. Church members stated that many *amigas/os* had converted or accepted Christ during many home visits. In the home visits that I observed, the *amigas/os* seemed to accept the prayer and donation as something good in itself without converting or committing to visit the church.

Finally, home visits created a common mood or emotional experience among church leaders and members that were not shared by the *amiga/o*. Church members stated that they felt encouraged, energized, and fulfilled due to their participation in the event. From

their perspective, they had advanced the mission of the church, which was to 'share the good news of the Gospel' and 'save unbelievers'; even though the amiga/o did not 'repent', they still believed that they had done God's work in planting the 'seed' of the Word of God that would flourish in God's time. Despite the varying success, home visits created a shared sense of identity, community, and mission among church members. Nevertheless, they also created a truncated and somewhat confusing experience between church and non-church member. The *amiga/o* seemed to experience a variety of sentiments including gratefulness, happiness, embarrassment, and in some cases, indifference and confusion. Rarely did the *amiga/o* articulate that this particular form of social interaction helped them to connect to church members in a new or meaningful way outside of the home visit.

2.2.2. Community Service Programmes

Church leaders and members also participated in hosting or managing community service events or programmes inside their church buildings. I observed two different kinds of events or programmes held within the church. In the first type, church leaders designed and managed their programmes aimed at a specific group of people such as the elderly or the homeless. The events usually included a meal, biblical message, and prayer for those in attendance. In the second type of activity, churches hosted more formal programmes sponsored by IFBOs. Both the *Santuario Bíblico* and *La Paz* churches hosted after-school educational programmes sponsored by Compassion International. The programme aimed to strengthen the academic skills of school children as well as provide them classes on Christian values and personal discipline.

Both types of programmes demarcated the social boundaries between church and non-church members. Church members provided a service to the non-church beneficiaries who were passive recipients of the activity. Nevertheless, unlike home visits, the beneficiaries had a little more agency, at least initially, over how they wanted to interact

with the church members; they chose to attend and participate in the church event at some level. In the first type of programme, they interacted with church members courteously during and after the event and left as soon as it concluded. Whereas, in the second type of programme, there were a few moments of interaction between adult church and non-church members. For example, when parents dropped off and picked up their children for the after-school programme, there was usually a friendly but brief exchange between church members and the parent. In a few cases, the teachers would talk to parents about a specific issue with their child or remind them of an upcoming activity.

The stated purpose or goal of community service programmes was partially shared or understood by both church and non-church members. The church and non-church members understood the event to be about receiving clothes, food, training, or academic support. The church leaders and members did have an additional unstated goal which was to evangelize and recruit new church members. Church leaders and members stated that they wanted to care for the children but also to bring them to Christ. I believe that many non-church members also suspected evangelization to be a goal, primarily when the activities occurred inside the church.

The programmes also created a common mood or shared emotional experience between church and non-church members. Unlike home visits that were short and formalized, the church events tended to provide more time and space to interact in different ways. Some church and community members sat, talked, and ate together, but the majority of church members were too busy or did not choose to interact with non-church members other than when serving them directly. Some non-church members did interact with each other during the events which could have created an emotional experience that they could have built upon in later interactions. In the type of programmes that provided services to children, the paid staff from the church shared multiple

emotional experiences that they could build on day after day with the students. However, this was less the case between the church workers and the parents.

2.2.3. Work Projects

Church members also implemented small community service projects such as repairing roads and building houses. In these work projects, church and non-church members spent a greater amount of time interacting together. For example, Pastor Marcos and one leader from the *La Paz* church built the home of a non-church, elderly widow over a three-months. Also, Pastor José, a few leaders from *La Roca* church, and a couple of community leaders spent more than a month mining and transporting rocks to the site and then building a retaining wall in the community.

Even in these types of work projects where social interactions were prolonged and informal, there still existed a clear demarcation between church and non-church members. Church leaders selected both the project and the beneficiaries and decided how to resolve the problem without consulting the non-church, community members. In the case of the widow, her house was built for her by the church members. In the case of the street repair, only a few community leaders agreed to work with the church to build the retaining wall. The rest of the community was not even aware that the church was planning to rebuild the wall until construction had commenced.

As with community service programmes, church and non-church members shared some common goals in the social interaction. Church and non-church members shared the stated goal of building a house or repairing the road. In these kinds of work projects, there was a material or tangible objective that could easily be understood and shared between both the church and the non-church participant or beneficiary. Members from the *La Roca* church stated that one of the primary objectives was to build relationships with non-church members in order to evangelize and recruit new church members, but they talked about it less than the actual benefit of the house or road. Nevertheless, less

church and non-church members participated in these work projects. Thus, less church and community members shared the goal and experience of the project.

Although the number of church and community members that participated together in these projects was limited, participants shared a common mood and emotional experience. The church and community members that worked together in the project shared a feeling of accomplishment and enthusiasm; they celebrated the physical accomplishment together. Moreover, the shared mood and emotional energy did not extend beyond the limited number of participants to include other church or community members. Pastor José was able to start a new relationship with two community leaders, but the emotional energy cultivated was not sustained beyond the event because the two community leaders were not able to build off of the project to generate greater community participation. The affective mood cultivated was also not shared by other church members because they did not see it as a church activity. Many church members saw the project as an isolated initiative that Pastor José had worked on with a few church leaders.

As a consequence, these types of social interactions generated by community service activities tended to reinforce church members' beliefs and values of maintaining an inward ascetic while engaging the world in mission (see Weber 1958). Community service defined who belonged to the congregation and who did not. Community service activities also shaped and informed the types of social interactions that church members would have with non-church members and civic organizations. Moreover, community service pre-determined the ways to which church members engaged in the world; they identified problems alone and offered solutions to non-church members without consulting or working together to address them.

Church participants experienced group solidarity to the extent that community service successfully combined and built up high levels of mutually focused and emotionally shared energy. Community service created emotional energy or a feeling of confidence,

elation, strength, enthusiasm, and initiative in acting together (Collins 2004: 49). As Collins suggests, the interaction rituals also cultivated a shared language and 'symbols' that were respected, defended against the disrespect of outsiders, and even more from resistant insiders (2004: 49). Finally, church members experienced 'feelings of morality' or the 'sense of rightness in adhering to the group, respecting its symbols, and defending against transgressors' (Collins 2004: 49; see Elisha 2011). The feelings of morality also included the sense of moral evil or impropriety in violating the group's solidarity (Collins 2004: 49). In short, community service constituted and reinforced a Pentecostal sense of identity as separate from the geographic and social community; it strengthened the adherents' understanding of the social boundaries of the church body, as well as solidified their notions regarding the mission of the church which is to go out into the world to 'save the lost' (see Kamsteeg 1998).

3. Community Engagement As New Forms of Social Interactions

In contrast to community service activities, church pastors and leaders described the new practice of *acercamiento* ('come close' or 'closeness') as a new set of activities that involved building relationships and partnering (*colaborando*) with non-church, community and public entities to implement community development initiatives. They state that the practices associated with community engagement were an extension of, but different from, previous community service activities, in that they aim to strategically cultivate new kinds of relationships with community leaders, CBOs and public entities. Church members partner with community leaders to identify, design, fundraise, implement and evaluate new types of community development projects. The new practice also cultivates new forms of social interactions between church and community members and community entities that lead to more bonded, 'trusting' relationships between church

leaders and community members. Finally, the new practice also serves to mobilize more church leaders and members to participate in community development projects.

3.1. Cultivating Relationships of Trust with Community Entities

Church leaders described how they strategically chose to build trusting relationships with community leaders and CBOs in order to identify and implement initiatives together. This process, however, as described by pastors and church leaders was not easy. They described how they had approached the community and how the new practice ultimately helped them to build or rebuild relationships with family, community members, and civic leaders.

3.1.1. Approaching the Community

In the five churches studied, pastors and leaders described the change in their relationships with their communities. They all talked about how the church was previously disconnected from community life and relationships. Therefore, their initial attempts to befriend and engage community leaders and CBOs was stunted and difficult. They all described how they navigated historical and cultural differences between the church and community to build the new relationships of trust that led to working together.

Pastor Marcos from the *La Paz* church described the previous relationship with the community as contentious. He explained that community leaders and members, who were mostly Catholic, had tried to impede him from starting the church. The seller refused to sell him land when he heard that it was to build a Pentecostal church; community members refused to sell the pastor water that they needed to make the adobe bricks. Community members also threatened and harassed congregants on their way to the church by throwing rocks and insulting them. On multiple occasions, community members tried to disturb the church service by throwing rocks on the roof or coming into the church.

When Pastor Marcos first attempted to *acercarse* or approach the community leaders, he did so alone. His church leaders did not want to join him because they did not think it

was right for the church to befriend community leaders or participate in community association meetings. Pastor Marcos explained that when he asked an acquaintance, who was a community leader if he could attend the next community association meeting, the leader, being polite, did not say no. Pastor Marcos went to the first meeting and asked the association members if they would invite him to the next meeting. The leaders said yes, but after several months he had not received an invitation. He finally approached his acquaintance again and asked why he had not received an invitation. After much prodding, the leader finally admitted to him that the community leaders considered his congregation to be 'the parasites of the community' (Pastor Marcos 2009). As an example, the community leader explained to the pastor that the church refused to work on community projects, like roads and electricity, but they had no problem using them (Pastor Marcos 2009). Pastor Marcos was shocked and disappointed at the leaders' impressions of him and the church, but he realized that he was right. His church had done as much to marginalize themselves from the community as had the community done to shun the church.

Several months later, Pastor Marcos tried to connect again with community leaders by offering to join them in the repair of a road in a remote area of the community. Pastor Marcos was able to convince a few church leaders and members to join him. The pastor also offered to work with community leaders to write a letter to the mayor's office and to local FBOs to solicit funds and materials for the project. The pastor stated that at that time, they had no relationship with the mayor and had never asked him for funds for community projects. They were able to acquire funds from the mayor and *ENLACE* for cement. According to Pastor Marcos, it was during this project when the church worked on something that did not benefit church members in any way, that the relationship with the community leaders and the mayor's office began to change. The *La Paz* church now

partners with three community associations, a water board, the ministries of health and education.

Similarly, Pastor Tomas and the members of the *Santuario Bíblico* church stated that their relationship with the community had also been distant and strained. While they did not describe overt discrimination or violence perpetrated against them, they stated that neighbours would often complain about the noise that church services would cause. Other than basic, polite interaction in public, church leaders stated that they had very few relationships or social interactions with non-church people.

Pastor Tomas explained that his first attempt to build relationships with community leaders and associations was unsuccessful. He and a few church leaders met with community leaders from the *ADESCO* to discuss the problem of community water shortages. The association offered the church leaders a cold beverage after the meeting, which is a basic courtesy extended to all guests at community meetings. Several days later, the church leaders learned that many in the community had criticized the *ADESCO* for offering the church leaders the beverage, and when the pastor attempted to reach out again to the *ADESCO* on several subsequent occasions, the community leaders did not grant him a meeting. Church leaders then tried to meet with the local school principal, who politely refused. Finally, they reached out to a public school from a neighbouring community where a church member lived and began to work with them, helping them to improve the school's infrastructure. After completing the first project, they were able to approach the CBO from their community. Subsequently, they have worked with four other communities in the region.

Pastor Salvador from the *El Cimiento* church initially approached his community by inviting community leaders to a meeting at the church to discuss the need for a clinic. At the meeting, the church leaders immediately went inside the church, prayed and consecrated themselves as they always did upon entering the church. Meanwhile,

community leaders lingered outside until they were invited to enter in order to begin the meeting. The church leaders sat on one side of the circle and the community leaders on the other.

Pastor Salvador opened the meeting shyly with a few introductory words and then tried to facilitate a conversation about the primary needs of the community. The community leaders were hesitant to speak at first, and only a few leaders spoke at all during the entire meeting. Likewise, the church leaders and members left the speaking to the pastor, only giving their opinions when encouraged to speak by the pastor and agreeing with what the pastor had said. Everyone present agreed that the community needed a medical clinic. However, when deciding where to build it, difficulties emerged. A community member offered to donate property located in front of the Catholic Church, and a church member offered land in front of the Pentecostal church. The vote was split right down the middle with community leaders voting for the land near the Catholic Church and church members choosing the location near their church. Pastor Salvador pulled his leaders aside and convinced them to vote with the community leaders. Pastor Salvador said that it was after that moment that the church's relationship with its community began to change (Pastor Salvador 2012). They have since been able to work with over seventeen CBOs from multiple communities to implement many different initiatives.

Pastor José and leaders from the La Roca church were proactive in building a relationship with community leaders. As discussed above, Pastor José, along with a few church leaders, approached the leaders of the *ADESCO* to build a retaining wall along a principle road. The *ADESCO* was comprised of a few community leaders who had not met for many years. The community leaders agreed that it was an important initiative but said they did not have the influence or authority to rally others to help and ultimately few leaders joined the church on the project. After church and community leaders built the wall, Pastor José and a few church leaders met with the leaders of the *ADESCO* to elect

additional leaders for the organization. Pastor José and other church leaders went on to strengthen the water board and school PTO committee. They also worked with the mayor's office to elect a community representative that lived in the community and was active in community projects.

In El Rancho, the *Getsemaní* church was much larger and its congregation more dispersed than in the other four churches. The church had members from eighteen different communities spreading out over a fifteen-mile radius. The church had a home cell group in every community; therefore, many people from the community were aware of the church, but only had limited or periodic contact with home cell leaders or members. Pastor Francisco and leaders from the *Getsemaní* church built a relationship with the public school and mayor's office; nevertheless, they had not worked with community development associations before they started the new practice of *acercamiento*. Unlike the other four churches, they experienced fewer problems approaching community leaders because the church was much large and had a significant footprint of influence in the community.

3.1.2. Building or Rebuilding Social Relationships

Church members stated that *acercamiento* had helped them to build relationships with family members, community members and civic associations. Antonio, a young leader from the *Getsemaní* church, talked about how community engagement helped him to rebuild his relationship with his biological sisters. His sisters are not Pentecostal nor attend his church. He stated,

> I have seen a change in them because as siblings, you fight a lot. …But when then they saw that our church was serving the community, not for selfish reasons, but to help others, they began to trust me more. They began to talk to me more. I visit them. They tell me about their problems. When they need money, I help them. When I need money, I ask them. It was not like that before (Antonio 2012).

Church leaders and members talked about renewing old friendships and creating new ones. Orlando, a church leader from the *La Roca* church, talked about a renewed relationship stating, 'He has known me from childhood. He said to me, "who would have

thought that I would receive a favour from you?" We thank God we are friends.' (Orlando 2012). Similarly, Pastor Tomas from *Santuario Bíblico* church, described his renewed relationship with Don Chico, a Jehovah's Witness, stating,

> we grew up together, but it has been the Fundación (a Foundation that the church and community leaders created to serve children with special needs in their county) and the houses that we built that strengthened our relationship (Pastor Tomas 2012).

Church leaders also talked about creating new relationships with neighbours and community leaders. Martha, a church leader from *Santuario Bíblico* church, described her new relationship with her neighbour. She said, 'the relationship is very important because they are members of the community and not of the church. We must have a good relationship with them because they need help' (Martha 2012). Felix, a young leader from the *La Roca* church, described his new relationship with Isabel, a non-church, community member whom he befriended while helping to build her house. He said,

> I trust her a lot. We worked together, bringing all the materials for her house. I helped them load the bricks. It was supposed to be the beneficiary's job to load them so that she could take them to her house, but I helped her *de todo corazón* (with all my heart). I was able to *compartir* (share) with her. We were able to joke, cultivate trust and enjoy being together. Something that before I was not able to do (Felix 2012).

Pablo, a church leader from the *Getsemaní* church, said that he had cultivated a great relationship with two men that he had worked with on a home garden project. He said,

> [B]efore I did not speak to either of them, but now they have extended their friendship to me. …I have helped them to solve their personal problems. I think that they have an intimate relationship with me because they trust that I genuinely want to have a sincere relationship with them (Pablo 2012).

Church leaders and members also built new relationships with community leaders and representatives from public and private entities. Juan José, a member of the *Getsemaní* church, described his new relationship with a community leader. He said, 'We have more opportunities to talk about the projects. He is a member of the *ADESCO*. We stop to talk to one another now. He is friendlier. This did not exist before' (Juan José 2012).

José, a church leader from the *Santuario Bíblico* church, described his relationship with Reina and Emelio, two non-church leaders from the community, stating,

> we are neighbours. We get along well, and we have become friends. …Community relationships are meaningful because we did not have a road to access our houses. Together we started the project. We

> formed a committee. We invited the community to partner with us, and now we have a road. (José 2012).

Patricia, a church member from the *Getsemaní* church, described her relationship with Deysi, a community leader, as one that is characterized by respect and intimacy. She stated,

> we have worked together on the PTO Board. Deysi is the president of the committee. We see each other almost every day. We discuss personal problems and community problems. …I think that the relationship is valuable because whatever you need or whatever difficult situation I might have, I can ask her for help. It has also been very helpful to work with her in the community because she has always been very active in the community. Even though she is not a Christian, she likes helping others. That is something that I admire about her because she is heard (is respected and has the authority to speak) in the community. …She is a quality woman, a real *colaboradora* (collaborator) (Patricia 2012).

Eli, a church leader from the *Santuario Bíblico* church, described the change in his relationship with Carlos, a city councilman who represents their community. He stated,

> I used to see him pass by my house and would hardly greet him. Now no matter where we see each other, we will greet each other and talk. Or if he comes to the church (for a project meeting), we will talk. It is a different kind of relationship now (Eli 2012).

What became apparent through these interviews is that as church leaders and members participated more actively in community engagement activities, they assigned new meanings and value to these relationships. Some of the church members understood that the ultimate value of the new relationships was to build trust with amigos in order to evangelize and recruit new converts, and other church leaders and members talked about the importance of the new relationships to their wellbeing and creating changes in the community.

Contrary to the social interactions cultivated by community service activities that served to reinforce prescribed social boundaries, community engagement activities created shared purposes, mood and emotional energy that created new levels of 'closeness' between church and community members that translated into future interactions. The following sections describe the types and scope of projects, the level of participation of church members and the form of social interactions cultivated by community engagement activities. Three general forms of social interactions are analysed

using Collins's model of interaction ritual chains which are: community meetings, working together on work projects, and project inaugurations.

3.2. Types and Scope of Community Engagement Initiatives

Contrary to community service projects, community engagement initiatives are identified and implemented jointly by church and community leaders and aim to address community-wide issues through multiple partnerships. Church and community leaders meet in community homes, church buildings, under trees and on people's patios to discuss community problems and to develop projects. As the relationship with community leaders, associations and mayoral offices grew stronger, church members became more active in co-hosting community forums and meetings to diagnose and define community-wide problems. Using tools that *ENLACE* provided through workshops and training (such as community diagnostics and baseline research), church and community leaders prioritized and identified projects based upon available local resources and their capacity to manage the project (see Bueno 2007; Huff 2014). Church leaders also worked with community leaders to raise funds through joint fundraising activities such as bake sales. As trust grew, they identified and designed projects of greater complexity and scope.

Projects that were designed and managed jointly by the church and community members were larger, community-wide initiatives. One such complex, community-wide initiative occurred in El Paraíso with leaders from the *La Paz* church working alongside community members to implement and manage a $1.5 million water system for more than seven hundred families in three adjacent communities. In El Rancho, the church and community leaders worked on a larger-scale pedestrian bridge and highway construction with multiple private and public entities. While the specifics are unique to each project, all five churches were able to work with community and state partners to identify, design and manage complex, larger, community-wide initiatives.

3.3. Increased and Varied Participation in Community Engagement

Along with the change in the size of projects was the level and type of church participation in community engagement initiatives. Pastors and church leaders stated that one of the most significant changes in the church was the increased number of church members who participated directly and indirectly in community engagement activities. According to *ENLACE's* monthly internal reports, between thirty-five and fifty per cent of all church leaders had participated directly in community engagement activities by working on a community development project. Ten to twenty per cent of church members had participated directly by working on the development project such as digging ditches for water pipes or building houses. Church leaders and members also participated indirectly in community engagement by praying for a project and giving additional in-kind or financial gifts. There were also greater numbers of women and young people participating in community engagement activities than in the previous practice of community service.

In four of the five churches, large numbers of women and young people participated in community engagement activities. Women lead meetings, provide labour on-site for projects, and are very involved in the decision making of the church with regards to community engagement. The pastor also includes young people deliberately to serve on the community engagement committee and in community development projects. As part of the *ENLACE* process, many churches created or renamed community service committees to focus on community engagement initiatives. (Future sections will discuss the importance of the community engagement committees to each church.)

At the *Santuario Bíblico* church, women comprise the majority of the community engagement committee. Four of the eight leaders (fifty per cent) on the community engagement committee are also leaders in the youth group. In the *El Cimiento* church, women comprise more than half of the leaders on the community engagement committee, and young people comprise twenty per cent. In the *La Roca* church, the number of women

engaged in community participation is thirty per cent. Young people participated in community development activities but did not serve on the community engagement committee. At the *La Paz* church, those that participated in community engagement were seventy-five per cent women and ninety per cent young people.

Whereas, in the *Getsemaní* church, the number of women and young people remained low throughout the research. Leaders of cell groups which were male directed the majority of the community development initiatives. Very few young people were directly involved in community development initiatives. Overall, in all five churches, the number of church members, women, men and young people, that participated in community engagement increased significantly during this study[28].

3.4. New Forms of Social Interactions

The new types of activities and increased participation from church members contributed to new forms social of interactions or ritual interaction chains with non-church actors that led to relationships of 'trust' and common purpose. In all five churches studied, community engagement activities cultivated new forms of social interactions that were both physical and emotional and created a shared consciousness and energy between church and community members. The social interactions contributed to some church and community leaders cultivating a sense of moral solidarity and 'trust,' a sense of common purpose and a shared vision of collective action between church and community members.

The following sections describe and analyse three new forms of social interactions (community meetings, working together on projects, and project inaugurations) created by the new community engagement activities. Similar to the previous section, Collins's (2004) framework of interaction ritual chains is used to analyse how the generalized forms

[28] I reviewed multiple internal reports generated by pastors, church leaders and *ENLACE* staff that documented the participation of church members in trainings, community meetings and development projects.

of social interactions defined or blurred social boundaries between church and community members; it is also used to examine if and when church and community members shared common goals or purposes. It then explores if the social interactions cultivated emotional energy that could lead to further ritual social interactions between church and community members.

3.4.1. Community Meetings

Church leaders spent the greatest amount of time in formal and informal meetings with community leaders to discuss community problems, the design and status of a project, and to plan upcoming activities. Unlike community service projects that were identified and implemented by individuals or ministries from the church, church and community members identified community engagement projects in formal settings such as in cabildos or community-wide forums. Pastors and church leaders attended formal meetings with other community-based organization leaders, such as water boards and PTOs, to discuss specific community problems or projects. Church and community leaders also met with government personnel and civic leaders, such as schoolteachers, public health promoters, public works personnel and staff from mayoral offices, to request funds and technical assistance for community-identified projects.

In these formal meetings, church and community leaders met in spaces such as community houses, the patio of a community leader, or government and public spaces, such as schools or mayors' offices. It usually took a few years before community leaders would agree to meet in a church building or property to discuss a community problem or project. Church leaders and members also felt uncomfortable initially going into public spaces as well as hosting non-believers for a community meeting.

The formal meetings had a predetermined flow and structure. They usually started with formal greetings and the introduction of everyone in attendance. They would then proceed using a loosely structured agenda that allowed for group discussion and setting the date

and time of the next meeting. In these formal meetings, church leaders usually took a secondary and passive role until they had worked on several community engagement activities. The community leaders acknowledged that the pastor and representatives of the church were present and usually gave the pastor a space to greet and speak to the group assembled. As the pastor and leaders became more involved in the process, they began to play more significant roles in determining the agenda. In many meetings that I observed, the pastor had already gained enough trust and authority to facilitate the meeting and would open the meeting with a prayer.

In the formal meetings, the initial differentiation between church and community leaders and members became less pronounced as church leaders engaged more frequently in community development initiatives. In the early formal meetings, it was clear who was from which group by the clothes they wore and by the way they greeted each other. Church members called fellow adherents *hermanos/as* (or brothers/sisters) and used the title of *'Don'* (Mr.) or *'Doña/Señora'* (Mrs.) before the first name of non-church members. Moreover, church and community members tended to sit together until they became more familiar with non-church people. In some communities, the difference was more pronounced because of the previous relationships between church and community. For example, in El Paraíso where there had been public acts of violence and disparaging words directed against the pastor and some members of the Pentecostal congregation it took them a little longer to feel comfortable together at formal meetings. In all locations, however, as church leaders became more engaged in meetings and community development activities, a blurring of social boundaries gradually developed between church and community leaders at community meetings.

The formal meetings also had a common purpose that extended beyond the unstated aims of the church. Church leaders still had their aims as a church to build the new relationships in order to evangelize and recruit new church members, but they also shared

the goal for the meeting with non-church members which was to discuss a community problem or the implementation of an initiative. Each meeting had a defined agenda that addressed a community-wide issue. Community leaders set the agenda until church leaders became part of the community-based organizations or gained influence in the process of project identification and design. In this case, the agendas were created or approved by both pastor and community leaders. Both community and church leaders focused their conversations during the meeting on discussing the community issue at hand. They evaluated the success of the meeting by whether they had created consensus on the issue and defined next steps such as setting the date and time of the next meeting.

Church and community leaders who attended the formal meetings also shared a common mood or emotional experience. Church and community leaders engaged in structured discussions where participation was acceptable and valued. There was a minimum expectation of mutual respect between the participants. They also shared a sense of frustration, impatience, and solidarity when they experienced challenges in implementing the projects or when community meetings were not well attended or interrupted by other events. Moreover, they experienced a sense of accomplishment and excitement when they agreed on some issue or when they evaluated a completed project. These meetings cultivated emotional energy that seemed to flow over into informal meetings between church and community members on the street, on buses and in other social situations.

Church and community leaders also met informally to discuss community problems and projects in everyday or mundane locations. They walked together to community meetings or rode together in cars or buses to meetings at the mayor’s office. They ate together after meetings and met each other in their homes. On more than one occasion, I observed community leaders talking to the pastor on the patio of his house. These meetings were not just between church and community leaders but also included

conversations between church and community members as they met each other in passing or greeted each other from their front yards. Unlike formal meetings, where community and church leaders controlled the agenda, informal exchanges on the streets and in vehicles were less structured and open between church and community members. They discussed community problems, projects, and in some cases, personal problems.

3.4.2. Working Together on Projects

Church and community members engaged in a second form of social interaction which was while working together on projects. They worked together to build or repair roads, houses, bridges, latrines and home gardens. The nature of the time they spent together - digging, hauling supplies, sitting together while waiting for food or eating - was less scripted and less reliant on protocol and more related to specific work tasks and immediate problem-solving. Additionally, these work encounters would become a part of daily life for many months if not years. The duration and kind of work allowed leaders to build deeper relationships with community leaders and members, especially with the participants or beneficiaries of the project. On the worksite, community and church leaders exerted some control or power in leading the work due to their perceived position of authority, but more often than not the relationships of power were more determined by the skill or capacity of a labourer, such as a church member who was also a brick mason or a community leader who knew how to cultivate tomatoes.

The scope of the project shaped the kind of social interaction and emotional energy created between church and community members while working together. In smaller projects, church and community members worked together in fewer numbers but usually worked together for more extended periods. For example, two to three church and community members worked together to build a latrine. Eight to ten church and community members worked together to build a house. Although members from the church and community might only work a few days a week because of job or other

responsibilities, there was usually a consistency in who was working in order to complete the project. Different people worked together on different days, but it was the same group of eight to ten people that rotated onto the worksite. In smaller projects, church and community members usually built a deeper relationship with the beneficiary of the project. The beneficiary was on site most of the time and worked alongside them on the project as well as providing them with water, bathroom facilities and additional equipment or supplies when needed.

On larger projects, church and community leaders spent many months together in meetings, driving to and from the worksite, buying supplies, supervising the work and reporting on the status of the project. Church and community leaders spent time together walking to and from project sites, riding on buses, or driving together to pick up materials for the project, and even stopping at each other's house to eat or take a break. On more than one occasion, I observed church or community leaders picking up or driving each other to and from the worksite. They invited each other to their houses to rest or for a quick refreshment during or after a day of work. They borrowed each other's trucks to carry supplies.

On larger projects, a greater number of church and community members were also mobilized to work on the project, but the interaction with community members was usually periodic and temporary. In large projects, such as pedestrian bridges and water systems, leaders mobilized hundreds of church and community volunteers to work on the project. Leaders created work schedules where volunteers from the church and community signed up to work one or two days per week. Church and community members were assigned specific tasks and locations on the worksite, giving church members a chance to meet many different people from the community but for shorter periods.

Whether on or off the worksite of both smaller and larger projects, the social boundaries between church and community members became less clearly demarcated. At the beginning of smaller projects, church and community leaders might distribute the work teams to include both church and community members, but once the project began the roles were assigned based upon skill and availability rather than upon church or non-church affiliation. On larger worksites, the boundaries between church and community became even less pronounced. While people from the church and the community knew who belonged to the Pentecostal church (each was careful to interact and talk with appropriate cues of respect), there were very few indicators of difference between the church and community members. Quite on the contrary, the seamless integration of church and community members on the worksite of larger projects seemed to define in a very visual manner that the church and community members were part of the same broader geographic community.

Church and community leaders also shared a mutual focus in both smaller and larger projects. Both church and community leaders had different explanations for why they were involved in the project, but they all shared a focus on why they had selected the beneficiary and how it would benefit them and the community. For example, I heard church and non-church members say that what motivated them to work on the project was to help a single mother who did not have a home or to provide an elderly woman with a safe place to live. For church and community members, the focus of the project was to provide a service to a community member whether they attended the Pentecostal church or not.

Church leaders and members also shared a common mood or emotional experience while working together on the worksite. Whether the projects were small or large, church and community leaders operated within a project management framework that guided what was to be done and by whom. The interactions were determined by tasks and skills

instead of by other markers of church adherence or authority. They spend many hours together planning and implementing the initiative, which also allows them to share a physical and emotional experience. They worked hard together, laughing, complaining, and sharing excitement and pride when a section of the pipe, wall or house was completed.

3.4.3. Project Inaugurations

Church and community leaders and members also participated in a third form of social interaction which was during the inaugurations of projects. As described in the introduction of the thesis, project inaugurations such as the pedestrian bridge in La Montaña, were usually formal events that followed an accepted structure and flow for civic events. Depending upon the size of the project, inaugurations could be held at a person's home, community houses, public schools, on street corners and soccer fields; church and community members held inaugurations on project sites such as a new bridge or a section of newly improved road. In very few cases, they held inaugurations inside or on the patio of the Pentecostal church. The size of the project also shaped the level and kind of participation of church and community leaders and members.

In smaller projects such as building an individual home, the pastor, a few community and church leaders and members would join the beneficiaries of the project in the dedication or inauguration of the project. In these smaller events, only church and community members who had worked on the project and whose schedules were flexible were present. In these cases, the pastor and church leaders usually played a larger role in organizing and running the event. They would usually open the event with prayer and a reading from the Bible. Then the pastor, community leaders, and the beneficiary would speak about the process or benefits of the project. On a few occasions, I observed a pastor giving a short sermon based on a biblical text. The event would usually end with a prayer of dedication and protection over the project by the pastor or church leader.

In these smaller events, church and community leaders had different purposes or goals for the event and thus had different experiences. For community leaders, the goal of the event was to mark a completion or closure of the project. It was a moment to celebrate the completion of the project with the volunteers and the beneficiary. For church leaders, it was also an opportunity to explain why their church was involved in the project and how God had 'intervened' to provide the resources to get it done. It was a time to explain why God had chosen the beneficiary and provided them with a chance to respond accordingly by 'accepting Christ'. Nevertheless, on very few occasions did I hear the pastor ask the beneficiary if they wanted to 'be saved', but in the prayers, sermonettes and speeches there was an apparent reference to the beneficiaries' need for Christ and an open invitation to convert. Church leaders and members experienced the event as an opportunity to evangelize and recruit new members, whereas community leaders celebrated the successful completion of the project with the beneficiary.

After larger projects, more people, both from inside and outside the community, attended formal inaugurations than the smaller events. Adults and children from the church, community, mayor's office, public ministries, NGOs, and FBOs attended these larger inaugurations. The events were usually held in public spaces such as in community houses, public schools, in front of the new clinic or at the site of the well of the water project. Moreover, the flow and structure of the event followed a recognized protocol for civic activities. These events also included refreshments for everyone and a meal for the church and community leaders and special guests.

Throughout the research, I observed and participated in many larger inaugurations and celebrations. In the community of El Paraíso, I attended the inauguration of a water project. More than five hundred people were present at the inauguration including representatives of the mayor's office, the Ministry of Health, senators, and even the Salvadoran press. Church and community leaders held the inauguration on the patio of

the Catholic Church. At the Table of Honour sat all of the dignitaries as well as the community leaders, the Catholic priest and Pastor Marcos from La Paz church. In the crowd sat most of the community leaders, many community members and most of the leaders and members from the Pentecostal church.

In the larger events, there was a difference between how the pastor, church leaders and members engaged with non-church entities during the event. The pastor and church leaders planned and helped host the event together with other community leaders. They were very busy before and during the event to make sure that everything was going smoothly. They also sat next to community leaders during the event and ate with them after the event had finished.

Church leaders and members who had not participated in the project attended the events in large numbers but remained apart from the rest of the community leaders and members. The church members greeted and interacted courteously with community leaders and members, but usually ended up talking and sitting with other church members. Church members were usually dressed in their formal 'church' clothes and many carried Bibles.

The larger inaugurations, similar to smaller events, provide church leaders with an opportunity to explain why they had participated in the project to both church and non-church members. Whether it was during the introductory words of the pastor, during the prayer, speech, preaching, they were letting their church members know that this was important church event that advances the church's mission in the community. For church leaders and members who participated in the project, the format and content of the event validated their engagement in the project and the event. It was also an opportunity for pastor and church leaders to convince church leaders and members that had not participated directly of the importance of community engagement.

In summary, for these Pentecostal churches, community engagement activities extended beyond the bounded or expected contexts such as church services or community meetings to areas of everyday life. Through engaging in community meetings, attending interviews at the mayor's office, meeting in community members' houses and on the street, church leaders and members were doing was Csordas call the 'ritualization of life' (1997, 2011). Church leaders and members were 'extending their purview or charismatic habitus into new ways of being in time, inhabiting space, and projecting themselves in the world' (Csordas 1997: 68-74). Through community engagement, many leaders and members were 'extending God's divine presence and intervention into numerous everyday contexts' (Lindhardt 2011a: 20-21). Nevertheless, church leaders and members understood and experienced community engagement activities differently.

Church leaders and members experienced and understood community engagement as a successful, failed or forced interactional ritual. Collins states that 'successful rituals generate a mutual focus and emotional energy that creates a shared consciousness; whereas failed rituals never create a shared consciousness and energy' (Collins 2004: 53). Successful rituals are exhilarating while failed rituals are energy draining. Forced rituals, on the other hand, are rituals where individuals are forced to put on a show of participating wholeheartedly in interaction rituals. Forced rituals may succeed in that people become ritual actors with the ability to show greater levels of animated involvement. Nevertheless, as Collins notes, forced rituals drain energy and the experiencing of too many forced rituals can make individuals averse to those kinds of rituals (Collins 2004: 50-53).

Church leaders and members demonstrated different levels of excitement and energy regarding their participation in community engagement activities. Church leaders and members chose to participate at different levels in smaller and larger projects. They participated at the request of the pastor and church leaders. Some frequently volunteered

while others participated sporadically and only in certain kind of events such as larger public inaugurations. Moreover, church leaders and members talked very differently about the meaning and importance of cultivating new kinds of relationships with non-church, community and public leaders. They also varied on the role of community engagement in personal transformation and furthering the church's mission. Pastors understood that the new practices were questioned and accepted at different levels among their members. Pastors and some leaders talked about the importance of introducing and institutionalizing the new practice into their congregations strategically. The following chapter discusses how pastors with the help of some church leaders use external cultural strategies to ritualize the new practice of *acercamiento* into their congregations.

Chapter Five: Community Engagement as a Strategic Ritualized Practice

1. INTRODUCTION

Along with all human practice being situational, Bell suggests that all human activity is inherently strategic, manipulative and expedient (1992: 82). She adds that ritual actors choose among available cultural strategies to differentiate and organise hierarchically certain practices as acceptable and important with the aim of ordering, rectifying or transforming a particular situation (Bell 1992: 108). Ritualization, states Bell, has external strategies that can be seen, such as what it aims to accomplish and the mechanisms through which it differentiates and prioritizes certain practices as more important and powerful than others. Therefore, to study the external strategies of ritual, one must focus on two questions: (1) What are the concepts used to explain or envision the new practice? Alternatively, why do they say they are doing the practice? (2) What are the techniques used to ritualize the practice? Alternatively, how are they ritualizing the practice into the social body?

This chapter discusses the external strategies used by pastors and some church leaders to ritualize the new practice of community engagement into a contested church environment. The pastors and church leaders were aware that introducing *acercamiento* would expose tensions and generate resistance within the congregation. Therefore, pastors used their qualified authority to ritualize *acercamiento* by using, whether consciously or not, accepted cultural strategies to signify the new practice as important to personal transformation and to fulfil the mission of the church. All pastors and church leaders stated that their primary goal of introducing community engagement was to reduce the perceived separation, both relationally and geographically, between the church and the community. Moreover, they provided multiple reasons for why the new practice was important to the congregation, which included: evangelization, addressing

community problems, and fulfilling the Integral mission of the church. Although pastors and leaders stated multiple reasons for introducing the new practice, all of the pastors and leaders used similar Pentecostal strategies and techniques to ritualize the new practice into their congregations.

2. Qualified Authority of Pentecostal Pastors

The Pentecostal pastors studied chose to introduce and ritualize the new practice into a contested environment because of their qualified authority as church leaders. Bell argues that ritualization is perceived to be an effective strategy to introduce and signify a practice as important and powerful 'when the relations of power being negotiated are not based upon direct claims of power conferred' (1992: 116). Unlike Catholic priests or apostolic positions in renewal movements, traditional Pentecostal pastors do not have official or hierarchical positions that validate their authority, nor do they have discrete spheres of authority or competence (Csordas 1997: 134). Instead, Pentecostal pastors are 'called' by God and confirmed by their 'fruits' (the number of converts and new members added to the congregation).

Moreover, traditional Pentecostal pastors do not occupy social positions within society that would allow them to exert economic power or use violence to convince constituents to remain actively engaged in their congregation. More often than not, pastors depend upon the offerings of their constituents for their livelihood and to operate the church. Therefore, Pentecostal pastors' authority to influence and shape the lives of adherents and to determine the form and meaning of ritual practices is mitigated by their ability to maintain a 'charismatic density', meaningful relationships and ensure church growth.

A Pentecostal pastor's authority stems first and foremost from a 'divine calling' that is confirmed by the local church and validated by the denomination or movement. Individuals feel a 'divine' call to pastor. The call is first tested out within the local church.

Individuals are allowed to lead a group or start a church plant. The local church pastor then promotes the individual to a position of pastor once they demonstrate sufficient knowledge of and experience in leading shared rituals and 'bringing people to Christ'. The leadership structure of the denomination or movement will then confirm or certify the position of the new pastor. Denominations vary in the amount and type of formal training required of pastors. Local churches and denominations certify and validate the authority of pastors by placing and removing pastors from a specific congregation. The congregation, usually disproportionately influenced by a few members, can also mitigate the pastor's authority by threatening to leave, getting the pastor to leave, ceasing to give offerings, and ignoring the advice or counsel of the pastor.

The authority of the Pentecostal pastor is usually derived from a special divine calling and gifting to lead the congregation. Church members believe that every adherent has equal access to the divine who can bestow with charismatic gifts that build the community (i.e., the priesthood of all believers); nevertheless, in practice many congregants believe that pastors have a special relationship with the divine that allows them to interpret scripture, pray more effectively, lead people to salvation and into a closer relationship with God. Additionally, church members and leaders believe that pastors are given from God the vision and strategy for the church; they are given the authority by members, although sometimes reluctantly, to introduce and facilitate ritual practices, to assign tasks and responsibilities to leaders and members, and even to place leaders and members on *disciplina* or discipline by removing them from privileges, such as leading a ministry or performing specific roles at church services.

The authority of the Pentecostal pastors is also not limited to or bounded by religious events or practices but extends into all areas of the adherent's life. Unlike other religious leaders, Pentecostal pastors' authority can and often does extend beyond their ritual activities into 'the realm of everyday routine and the profane sphere' (Csordas 1997: 134).

Charismatic authority has the potential to bring about 'a radical alteration of the central system of attitudes and directions of action with a completely new orientation of all attitudes toward the different problems and structures of the "world"' (Weber 1947: 363, quoted in Csordas 1997: 134). Pentecostal pastors provide counsel to adherents on personal or family issues such as a new job, marital problems or child-rearing. They will also discipline members if they do not abide by the church's moral codes, such as consuming alcohol, serving alcohol or being present at a dance. Pastors can, and often do, have a significant influence over the spiritual and personal lives of their adherents, but only as much as the member will allow. Pastors must maintain enough 'charismatic density', building off of meaningful relationships and manage expected results in order to introduce and sustain *acercamiento* in their congregations.

2.1. Facilitating a Powerful Encounter with the Divine

Ritual mastery or the ability to strategically introduce, facilitate, or perform rituals is critical to validating the authority of Pentecostal pastors (Csordas 1997). Whereas, Weber (1963) argued that the charismatic authority of Pentecostal pastors came primarily from personality and 'charisma'. Csordas argues that charismatic authority comes from how well Pentecostal pastors can facilitate or are an instrument of divine power to build up the community which requires sufficient 'charismatic density' of people exercising charismatic gifts (1997: 133). For Csordas, charismatic authority is 'based on an emotional form of communal relationship' that is validated and mitigated by pastors' ability to mobilize charismatic gifts in the body (1997: 133). A pastor's authority comes from his ability to lead congregations into a divine encounter that transforms congregants personally and develops a shared sense of community.

Pentecostal pastors and adherents will say phrases such as 'the Spirit was really present today during service' to explain and celebrate that they had experienced the divine in a 'fresh' or intimate way. When the congregation expresses having enjoyed these

emotional, many times ecstatic encounters with the divine, leaders deem the church service successful and by implication, validate the role that the pastor played in facilitating the ritualized practices. In this way, being a ‘good pastor’ and ensuring authority over church members implies that a pastor can pray, preach, and facilitate other ritual experiences that are perceived to be life-changing. Therefore, the authority of a Pentecostal pastor stems both from his ability to understand and facilitate the ritual experiences and the congregation’s acceptance of its pastor’s role in utilizing the rhetorical resources available to create spiritual experiences that lead to personal transformation (Csordas 1997).

In all of the churches studied, the pastors demonstrated sufficient ritual mastery to provide their congregation with ecstatic and empowering encounters with the divine. The pastors varied in personality, capacity and training, but all were able to lead fervent prayers, preach emotional messages, and facilitate communal moments of divine encounter with the Holy Spirit - what they called *ministración* (ministering). Moreover, the pastors maintained enough charismatic density to introduce community engagement into their congregations.

2.2. Spiritual Fathers and Intimate Friends

The Pentecostal pastor’s authority to introduce community engagement is further mitigated and strengthened by his relationship with church leaders and members. Adherents chose to trust and to be loyal to their pastor if he was the person who ‘brought them to the Lord’ or played a significant role in their lives during a personal crisis. In all but one of the five churches studied, pastors created long-term, intimate, and caring relationships with many of their congregants. All of the pastors, except for Pastor Juan, had been at their churches for more than ten years. Pastor Marcos and Pastor Tomas were founding pastors. They had spent numerous hours praying, attending church services, and walking the streets to evangelize or do community service projects together. They had

also spent hours praying and caring for sick members, burying family members, and helping families resolve financial crises. More importantly, each pastor had played a critical role in the conversion and personal transformation of many of the members. It is the longevity and importance of these shared moments with adherents that allowed pastors to introduce the new practice of community engagement into a contested church environment.

2.3. Conversions and Church Growth

The number of converts and new members that come to the church also contribute to the pastor's authority. Much in the same way that 'fruits' validate a pastor's call, they also determine a pastor's ability to lead a congregation, influence personal decisions of members and introduce a new practice. Some church leaders validate and support their pastor if the new practice leads to church growth. Even when some of the leaders do not agree with the new practice, they temporarily suspend or temper their criticism if the practice results in new members. The lack of results within an expected timeframe, however, also worked against the pastor. Some leaders began to criticize the pastor for spending too much of his time or using too many church resources in community engagement without seeing the expected results of new converts or members. The following chapter will discuss in greater detail how church members resisted the new practice.

In the case of the five pastors studied, all of them exerted different sources of authority to introduce and ritualize the new practice of community engagement. All of the pastors demonstrated enough ritual mastery to maintain a sufficient 'charismatic density' in their congregations to continue to lead. Nevertheless, they used other sources of authority to convince leaders and members to participate in community development activities. For Pastor Salvador, it was his relationships and experience with his congregation that allowed him to persuade a few leaders to help him to introduce the new practice. Whereas,

for Pastor Marcos, it was his engaging personality and the quality of his relationships with church members that allowed him to do so; he was the founding pastor and was able to build the current church building which also gave him influence and power. For Pastor Tomas, his authority came from the quality of the relationships he had with his members. Like Pastor Marcos, he was the founding pastor and had been instrumental in the conversion of many of the members.

For Pastor José and Pastor Francisco, they could speak, lead the church and obtain results that allowed them to introduce the new practice. Pastor José is an authoritative leader that exerts control and discipline over his leaders and members. Moreover, his church grew substantively, and the *AD* promoted him to a higher position of leadership. For Pastor Francisco, his authority came from his ability to mobilize significant numbers of leaders loyal to him and his vision, and the fact that the church had grown so quickly – 'proof' of God's vision and calling on his life. He is also an excellent speaker and evangelist.

Pastor Juan, on the other hand, was not able to sustain the ritualization of community engagement started by Pastor Francisco. He is an excellent speaker and could maintain sufficient 'charismatic density'. However, being new to the church, he lacked time to build the quality of relationships with the leaders and members to sustain the new practice. Many leaders and members were loyal to Pastor Francisco. Moreover, since Pastor Juan did not have the same level of commitment to community engagement as Pastor Francisco, it further ostracized him from leaders that did. Finally, church growth stalled under his leadership, which led to reduced support of the new practice from many leaders and members.

3. EXTERNAL CULTURAL STRATEGIES OF RITUALIZATION

The Pentecostal pastors and leaders studied choose to use available cultural strategies to ritualize or make meaningful *acercamiento* into contested church congregations. All of the pastors stated that the primary reason for introducing the new practice was to build or rebuild trusting and genuine relationships with non-church, community members. Nevertheless, they provided multiple and varied reasons for why that was important. The following section discusses the reasons or aims given by pastors for introducing the new practice; that is, what they were trying to achieve or reform through the new practice. The analysis then turns to evaluate the discourses, mechanisms and techniques used by pastors and leaders to differentiate and prioritize community engagement as an important and powerful church practice. The section ends by arguing that Pentecostal pastors introduce and ritualize the new practice by expanding the discourses and meanings of community service, embedding them within the liturgy and organizational structure, and providing a biblical framework to interpret the new practice.

3.1. Building Trust to Address Spiritual and Physical Needs

While pastors and church leaders provided multiple reasons for introducing the new practice of *acercamiento*, their primary aim is to cultivate ‘genuine’ relationships of trust with non-church, community members so that they could address the physical and spiritual needs of the community. Pastors stated that they introduced the new practice of community engagement to resolve the perceived separation, both symbolic and social, between church and community members that hampered them from accomplishing the mission of the church. Their aim to address the physical needs of people also created a secondary problem which involved discovering what people needed and how best to address these needs in the community. Pastors and leaders stated that *acercamiento* and *colaboración* helped them to identify the needs of the community, especially those in

greatest need, and address them effectively through collective action. Additionally, two of the five pastors discussed how the new practice was a product of a divine revelation that challenged them to reform their understandings of the ministry of Jesus, their role as pastors and the mission of the church to transform the community.

3.1.1. Building Relationships of Trust to Evangelize and Recruit

All of the pastors stated that one of the primary goals of introducing the new practice was to rebuild or cultivate relationships of trust between church and community members in order to evangelize and recruit new church members. They explained that previous church practices had created distance and 'distrust' between church and community members that impeded them from 'sharing the gospel' effectively.

Pastor José and church leaders from the *La Roca* church stated that the new practice changed the quality and form of relationships with community members, which created new opportunities for the church to evangelize their community. Orlando, a forty-four-year-old leader of the church, stated,

> [p]reviously there was very little *acercamiento*; there was a limited relationship with the community and the community with the church. What was missing was a little more trust between church and community members. Now I feel there has been more *acercamiento* between the church and community members; the trust to be able to *acercarse* (come close) and say, 'look I am approaching you because I trust you' (Orlando 2012).

Felix, a twenty-three-year-old church leader and member of the community engagement committee, also explained how the community treated him after 'coming close' and serving them. He stated, 'I have noticed that (non-church) people see you differently after you have served them. They see you as a new person. …I helped build a house for a woman, and now whenever she sees me, she greets me as she does her daughters' (Felix 2012).

Similarly, Pastor Juan from *Getsemaní* church stated that the church should 'serve the material and spiritual needs of the non-believers, starting with the spiritual' (Pastor Juan 2012). He went on to say that the church 'has played an important role in providing

services in the community and in turn, it has helped [the church] to grow' (Pastor Juan 2012). Fellow church leaders and members from the *Getsemaní* church agreed with Pastor Juan. Armando, a fifty-two-year-old church leader and member of the community engagement committee, stated, '[o]ne of the ways to bring people to Christ is to befriend and care for their needs so that they might hear the Word of God' (Armando 2012). Diego, a thirty-five-year-old leader and member of the community engagement committee, added, 'the value of *acercamiento* is to build relationships so that people might open their doors, enter into conversations and ultimately be saved by Christ' (Diego 2012).

Church leaders and members from the *Santuario Bíblico* church also shared similar thoughts on the primary aim of community engagement. José, a sixty-six-year-old church leader not on the community engagement committee, explained,

> through home visits, taking community surveys, implementing projects, the people (non-church members) have felt that we have come close to them (*acercamiento*) and feel friendship. They visit us, and we visit them in the community to encourage friendship, and they feel the desire to have a friendship with us (José 2012).

José went on to explain that the new kind of friendship helps non-church members to listen and accept the 'salvation message'. For José, and the pastors and leaders of the five congregations, *acercamiento* aimed to build and restore the desired relationships they wished to have with non-church, community and civic actors in order to further their mission of evangelization.

3.1.2. Identifying and Embodying Community Needs

Pastors and leaders also provided a second reason or aim to introducing the new practice. They stated that the distance or separation from the community also hindered their ability to know the 'real needs of the community' and to address them effectively. Pastor José from the *La Roca* church stated that the new practice allowed them to understand and respond in new ways to the 'problems of the community', and especially to those in 'greatest need' (Pastor José 2012). Felix, a twenty-three-year-old fellow church member, stated,

> [T]hat is why the church has chosen to take the path of demonstrating God's love and to ensure that God's love can change things in our lives, demonstrating the passion, compassion, and kindness for the souls of the people that do not already believe in God. . . . When we can see that we can empathize (*identificarnos*) with them, we can feel that people have a great need (Felix 2012).

Guillermo, a leader from the *El Cimiento* church, added, 'if we separate ourselves from the community, then we separate ourselves from God . . . If we are believers, then we care for people's needs' (Guillermo 2012).

Pastors also stated that the new practice helped them to *colaborar* or work together with non-church, community leaders and associations to address the needs of the community more effectively. Pastor José stated, '[t]he pastor needs to go outside of the four walls of this church to get to know the community's needs and to work with them to resolve them' (Pastor José 2012). Pastor Marcos from *La Paz* church added that *acercamiento* created new kinds of relationships and opportunities to befriend and engage individual families and the community-at-large (Pastor Marcos 2011). Pastor Tomas from *Santuario Bíblico* church explained that the new practice helped them to build relationships with community associations and the mayor's office that were vital to implementing development initiatives (Pastor Tomas 2012).

3.1.3. Reforming the Ministry of Jesus and the Mission of the Church

Although all of the pastors referred to the words and actions of Jesus as a model to inform community engagement, two pastors provided a third strategic aim. They stated that the strategic aim of community engagement was to re-align their understanding of the ministry of Jesus to advance the mission of the church. Pastor Marcos and Pastor Tomas stated that the new practice required an 'inspired' re-reading of the Bible to understand the ministry of Jesus to include both spiritual and physical care for those inside and outside the congregation. They suggested that the new practice also corrected for previous misunderstandings of God's plan that did not include engaging with and reforming the broader community. Furthermore, the pastors stated that the practice aimed to transform

the stated purpose or mission of the church from solely evangelizing the lost to include knowing and addressing the spiritual and physical needs of non-church members.

For Pastors Marcos and Tomas, the process of introducing and ritualizing *acercamiento* was the result of a divine revelation. Pastor Marcos felt dissonance between what he taught in church and his own experience. He recounted, 'I was taught (by mentor pastors and his father), and I taught in church that if you had Jesus in your heart, then everything should be all right' (Pastor Marcos 2011). Moreover, he added,

> [w]hen I went home and saw that my children were hungry or had to share the same pair of shoes to go to school, I would worry; it would break my heart. Also, when I read the Bible, I saw Jesus preaching for the forgiveness of sins, but also healing and providing food for the hungry. Jesus cared as much for those needs (physical) as he did for (spiritual) needs' (Pastor Marcos 2011).

Pastor Marcos stated that it was the Holy Spirit who helped him to reflect upon his distress and suffering that compelled him to care for the physical needs of those around him. Pastor Marcos stated that he had always believed that it was essential to care for the needs of his family, church members and some members in the community. So, he did not understand caring for the community as a central role or function of a Pentecostal pastor. Pastor Marcos explained, '[i]t was then that I was able to empathize and feel compassion for others outside the church' (2011). He added, '[i]f I am preaching as Jesus did—healing, feeding and saving—then these things are for both church members as well as for those outside the church' (Pastor Marcos 2011).

For Pastor Marcos, his reflection on the ministry of Jesus not only validated his feelings of pain and suffering but also justified his role as a pastor to lead the church into caring for the spiritual and physical needs of the community. In this way, Pastor Marcos changed the meaning of Jesus' ministry, transforming his understanding of the mission of the church to include being an agent of community change. Pastor Marcos stated,

> The church should be the salt and the light. The church is to be the salt because it preserves what is right, and it is the light because it identifies the physical and spiritual needs of the community. The church is a crucial part of the community (Pastor Marcos 2011).

Like Pastor Marcos, Pastor Tomas from the *Santuario Bíblico* church explained that it took a divine encounter with God to change his mind on the role of the church in community engagement. He explained that his good friend Pastor Marcos (from the *La Paz* church) had talked to him about community engagement for years. Pastor Marcos and the *La Paz* church had also helped the *Santuario Bíblico* church provide relief aid to many people in their community after Hurricane Ida. Nevertheless, Pastor Tomas said, '[i]t was not until God confronted me directly when I was deathly ill and recovered, that I committed to introducing the new practice into the church' (Pastor Tomas 2010).

While lying in a hospital bed recovering from surgery, Pastor Tomas asked God,

> 'Was I a good pastor? Did I take care of your sheep?' God responded to my question saying, 'you have done a good job with my sheep inside the church, but what have you done for my sheep outside of the church?' (Pastor Tomas 2010).

Pastor Tomas said that he immediately felt convicted; he felt like he had not fulfilled his divine call as a pastor. He said that he resolved that day to serve the community if he got out of the hospital. Upon returning home, he asked his friend Pastor Marcos for help and invited a few of the church leaders to join him in the first meeting with community leaders.

Pastor Tomas used the divine encounter to explain to his family and congregation why he was introducing the new practice and why it was so important to the church. He told them that God confronted him directly about his doubt and antagonism toward community engagement; that God had given him a clear mandate to expand his call as pastor to include people outside of the church. Moreover, the call also challenged him to transform the purpose and practice of the church to care for non-church community members. I heard him say on various occasions that he would continue to engage the community as a pastor regardless of whether the congregation followed him or not.

The divine mandate shaped Pastor Tomas's understanding of the church's mission. He stated that God wanted to care spiritually and physically for those outside the church in the same way as God did for believers inside the church. Pastor Tomas stated,

> God will continue to provide the solutions (to the needs of the community) because he does not want us to be absent (from the community), indifferent to the needs (of our community). He wants us to feel what the community feels. Like Jesus said when he saw the multitudes, he had compassion over them, unmerited love, like sheep without a shepherd. The world (made up of non-believers) does not have a guide to follow, or they follow those who lead them down the wrong path. But the church exists to change the community (Pastor Tomas 2012).

For pastors Marcos and Tomas, the new practice was the product of a divine encounter that led to an inspired re-reading of the Bible. They stated that Jesus' ministry included preaching salvation of sins, healing, and feeding those in need. They stated that the focus of Jesus' ministry was inclusive and egalitarian; he treated and cared for everyone equally – '*sin excepción de personas'* (no respecter of persons); for them, that meant that Jesus extended his care and physical blessings equally to those that believed in and followed him, as much as to those that did not believe in him. They also emphasized that Jesus cared for the 'least of these' or the most marginal and in greatest need.

Both of these pastors used language and concepts similar to what Offutt (2015: 141) and Wadkins (2017: 146-162) refer to as the Integral Mission of the church to help them reflect upon and understand the new practice of community engagement. However, as can be seen from the explanations of the other three pastors, not all used the same language or theological notions to reflect on or to discuss the meaning of *acercamiento* to their congregations. Regardless of the multiple reasons provided by pastors for why they choose to introduce the new practice, they all used similar cultural strategies to ritualize *acercamiento* into their church bodies.

4. RITUALIZING COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Pastors and leaders used similar cultural strategies to introduce and ritualize the new practice into a contested environment. They chose to introduce the practice initially to a small and selective group of leaders and then to the rest of the congregation. They framed the new practice within the ministry and mandates of Jesus. They also embed it within the existing and accepted discourse of community service and into the liturgy and

organizational structure of the church. Finally, they used mastered and available Pentecostal cultural strategies such as place, formalization, periodization, rites and ritual language, pastors differentiated and prioritized to signify *acercamiento* as an acceptable and essential church practice to personal transformation and to fulfil the mission of the church.

4.1. Jesus as Model of Community Engagement

Church leaders and members talked about how pastors had helped them understand the Bible, to see that Jesus modelled and the Holy Spirit calls them to serve their communities beyond just family-based, immediate assistance (see Robeck 2016: 164-167). Anabel, the secretary of the community engagement committee of *Santuario Bíblico* church, stated, 'we are doing what it says in the Bible. We used to read [the Bible] but not really do what it said because loving your neighbour is not just taking someone a pound of rice or sugar, but also is to teach them how to farm' (Anabel 2012).[29]

Leaders also referred to Jesus' actions of going to those in need and caring for the 'least of these'. Juan José, a leader from *Getsemaní* church, stated, '[t]he mission of the church is both spiritual and physical. The spiritual is what leads people to faith in God, and the physical is to serve those in greatest need' (Juan José 2012). Other leaders described Jesus as working outside of the church and being criticized for serving people that no one wanted to serve.

Many leaders and members repeatedly stated in their interviews that the Bible mandated them to 'love your neighbour as yourself' as an explanation for the church's community engagement (see Wadkins 2017: 115). Rodrigo, a young leader of the community engagement committee at *Santuario Bíblico* church, stated, '[i]t is a (biblical) mandate to serve. Like the Bible says, "We should love our neighbours as ourselves," not

[29] Robeck explains how traditional Pentecostal congregations use Jesus as a model to shape and inform their social engagement (2016: 164-167).

discriminate against people from a different religion or who have physical needs. (The church) must be a solution' (Rodrigo 2012).

Leaders and members also expressed a belief that they were fulfilling a 'calling' from God. They believed that God had a plan to 'transform' their community both spiritually and physically. Pastor Marcos (2011) stated that the Holy Spirit had called them, prepared the 'heart of the congregation and the community' in order to build new kinds of relationships. Rodrigo stated, 'the Holy Spirit also provides us with the ideas, resources and strength to implement the projects' (Rodrigo 2012). Their call was to pray for God to intervene directly in the mobilizing of resources from state and private entities to implement the projects successfully.

4.2. Community Engagement as an Appropriate and Important Service

As discussed in the previous chapter, pastors discussed community engagement as a new form of community service. They extended the meanings and values ascribed to service inside and outside the church (community service) to the new practice of *acercamiento*. Service is not only a necessity to develop ministries and grow the church but is also a central way in which members grow in their transformation, influence, and power in the church. Therefore, by embedding the new practice within the existing discourse and meanings of service, they incentivized participation as well as differentiated it as a vital practice for self-reform and to fulfil the mission of the church.

Service, along with participating actively in other church rituals, was one of the primary ways that church leaders introduce recruits into the congregation but also an essential way for them to demonstrate the change in their lives and loyalty to the church and pastor. Pastors and church leaders stated that serving inside the church was very important for the personal transformation of the members. They stated that it was important for church members to participate in different areas according to their abilities and level of spiritual maturity. Visitors were encouraged to attend church until they were

‘born again’. Then they were encouraged to join an initiates’ class in preparation for being baptized. Upon baptism and being accepted as full-fledged members, they were encouraged to participate in some area of the church. They usually started by forming part of the welcoming or cleaning committee. As they attended more church services and activities and became better known by the leaders and members of the church, they would be invited to join the leadership of ministry teams. If they maintained a good status as a member or leader, they were also invited to lead a component of the church service which included giving announcements, reading scripture, leading worship and leading prayer. Finally, they might be asked to be a part of the church’s leadership committee or Elder Board.

Service is also another way that members can distinguish themselves and be promoted from ‘member’ to ‘leader’ in the church, gaining influence and power. Everyone who has ‘accepted Christ’ and been baptized is a member, but not everyone is considered a leader. Members are expected to tithe, participate actively in church activities, as well as serve in different capacities in the church. Leaders, on the other hand, are members in good standing who have proven their loyalty to the church and their capacity to serve. They usually are invited to serve as leaders by the pastor or voted in by the membership of the church and validated by the pastor. Leaders typically have greater responsibilities, power and influence in the church.

Pastors stated that all members are expected to serve actively in the church. Women and men of all ages (including adolescents in some cases) can gradually hold positions that manage more money and are central to planning and decision making in the church. Pastors also invite church leaders to meetings or special events where they can build relationships with other church leaders. Therefore, pastors and church leaders validate the importance of community engagement by embedding it within a broader set of meanings

and discourses that signify the new practice as essential to their personal transformation and influence and power in the church.

4.3. Embedding Community Engagement into Liturgy and Structure

Church pastors and leaders also introduced and ritualized the new practice into their church organizational structures and liturgies. Pastors and leaders restructured their weekly programme activities to train members, to pray for and participate in community engagement activities. Several pastors eliminated a mid-week service to include time for their leaders or members to meet with community leaders or work on a community development project. Pastors were also more understanding of leaders and members that did not attend a scheduled church event if they were serving in the community.

In many cases, leaders still had to ask for permission from the pastor to miss the service. Church leaders also established or designated specific meetings as prayer times for the community and community engagement activities. Pastor Tomas from *Santuario Bíblico* church designated one night per month to pray for the community. All the pastors added to their church's regular schedule of activities a meeting to organise and plan community development initiatives.

All five of the pastors had also formed a community engagement committee within their church's organizational structure. Due in large due to *ENLACE*'s training and coaching, the committees were responsible for approaching and working with community leaders and associations to design and implement community development projects. They were also responsible for mobilizing church volunteers and raising funds for the initiatives. At least ten leaders and members that were representative of the different ages and ministries of the church such as women's ministry, the elder board and youth ministry comprised of the committees. They usually meet once or twice a month to receive training, plan events, or coordinate upcoming community engagement activities.

Pastors also talk about community engagement in their church meetings and services. They add time during the church service to present what the church was doing in the community. The pastor and leaders who preached often include in their message a story about a person or family impacted by their community engagement activities. Pastors include examples in their sermons about community needs or the impact of specific community projects. Several pastors make announcements to the congregation about upcoming projects. They also invite the congregation to participate by giving an offering, praying or volunteering for community engagement activities[30].

4.4. Pentecostal Ritualization Strategies and Techniques

Pastors and leaders differentiate community engagement as an important and available church practice by including accepted ritual techniques and rites. Pastors and leaders use recognized and accepted ritualization techniques such as place, formalization, periodization, ritual language and rites to signify to church leaders and members that community engagement activities were sacralised spaces to experience the divine and to further the mission of the church.

4.4.1. Sacralising Places

Pastors and leaders ritualized the new practice of community engagement by expanding the accepted use of sacralised places as well as by sanctifying public spaces. Although most Pentecostals can adapt to multiple locations, inside and outside of formal church structures to affect their rituals, the space in which they come together to worship is important. Albrecht states that ‘space to Pentecostal/Charismatic ritual becomes a temporary “container” of sorts for the sacred, for the human to engage in the sacred’ (Albrecht 1999: 133). Albrecht adds,

> there is a liminal dimension to a Pentecostal/Charismatic sanctuary. It sets a boundary between ritual life and daily life. During the liturgy, the sanctuary and its ritual spaces become a locus, a centre for

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[30] Robeck discusses in greater detail how traditional Pentecostal pastors affiliated to *ENLACE* include social engagement in their sermons and teachings (2016: 158-159).

> reality. . . . [D]uring the ritual process clearly the sanctuaries take on a sense of sacred place. . . . a place to encounter reality (1999: 134).

Pentecostals sanctify (or make sacred) the ritual space at specific times through their rites and worship.

The marking off of ritual space also assists Pentecostal ritualists in the process of what Bellah et al. (1991) call 'attending'. Bellah et al. state, 'that the setting off of sacred places helps those participating in ritual activities to pay attention in a special way and thereby recognize meaning, not easily perceived in the workaday world' (1991: 255-261). Among the five congregations, church members did not consider the physical spaces of the church to be 'sacred', but they were special locations designated and prepared for divine encounters. Church members cleaned the sanctuary physically and made it attractive with flowers. The pastor and members also prepared themselves to enter the sacralised place by praying, asking God to forgive them of their sins and therefore making them ready to enter into the special, designated place. In effect, they made the church building into a special place to encounter and be changed by the divine.

Churches not only turned new places into sacred spaces, but they also expanded the use of previously sacred spaces to include community engagement activities. They hosted community meetings, project inaugurations and celebrations and hosted parties for the community inside the church building. Previously, church members did not hold community meetings inside the church. Community leaders would not come into the church nor would church members accept using the sanctuary for a 'secular' meeting. At the first community meeting held inside *El Cimiento* church, church members sanctified the space by kneeling and praying. The community leaders stayed at the door until they were invited in to start the meeting.

The *Santuario Bíblico* church celebrated its church anniversary by inviting community leaders and beneficiaries from their community engagement initiatives. In El Salvador, church members traditional celebrate their church anniversaries by inviting leaders and

members from other churches from their denominations to a church service and meal. Instead, Pastor Tomas and his church leaders decided to invite community leaders and members to the anniversary celebration. They served a full meal on table-clothed tables placed outside of the church under a tree. They then proceeded to have a full church service. Most of the community guests stayed outside the church on the patio. However, they remained until the end of the event.

In all of these events, the pastors and leaders used rites and ritual language to signify that the place was suitable for the divine to be present, but also to signify to church leaders that this was a sacralised activity. Pastors and leaders prayed before going to a public place that God would keep them pure and guide them in the community event or meeting. They prayed during events and meetings to make public spaces sacred such as soccer fields, community houses, and non-church members' homes. All of these spaces became acceptable locations for church leaders and members as ritualized actors to conduct sacred business.

Church members as ritualized agents recognize when a moment or space was 'sacred' and can re-create new moments or adapt new spaces to prepare them for divine encounters. By setting up musical instruments and the sound system, church members know that an event will be a church worship service of some kind. When a pastor or church member prays or speaks a sermon, church members know that the location is a 'sacred' space where God could be present to change people's lives. In these ways, they were able to turn community meetings, project worksites and inaugurations into new designated and important sacralised spaces.

4.4.2. Formalization and Periodization

Pentecostal pastors also used formalization and periodization techniques to differentiate and prioritize community engagement as an acceptable and important church practice. Pentecostal church services have particular components that are present in the majority

of services such as prayer, worship, message and public response. Albrecht explains that Pentecostal church services are ‘focused gatherings,’ in which ‘a set of persons engrossed in a common flow of activity and relating to one another in terms of that flow’, enact the rites (1999: 176). The ‘common flow’ is the product of the ‘common participation in the configuration of rites, but the rites are shaped not only by the structural patterns, but they become fundamentally oriented and animated by certain modes of sensibility’ (Albrecht 1999: 176).

In the five churches studied, the pastors used similar formalization techniques during community engagement activities. They prayed before a community meeting if it was at the church. In some occasions, the community leaders asked the pastor to pray before meetings not in the church. The pastor would also pray at community events and inaugurations. During some inaugurations such as the pedestrian bridge in La Montaña, the pastor and church leaders worked with community leaders on public events to design the programme to reflect the flow and structure of a Pentecostal church service.

A similar scene was repeated in the community of the La Flor when the *Santuario Bíblico* church and the PTO board inaugurated a project at the public school. The school PTO, principal, and church leaders hosted the event. The event started with words of welcome, a scripture reading, and a prayer led by a church leader, who served as the event’s emcee, after which the national anthem was played. Following a flag ceremony, church members led a few worship songs — that only church members knew and sang — and students performed folk dances. The emcee then introduced the principal and other dignitaries to greet the crowd, after which the pastor preached from a biblical passage, and closed in prayer. By merging both civic and religious signifiers, the ceremony was considered a success by both church and community members.

4.4.3. Ritualized Language

Pastors and leaders also used specialized vocabulary and genres of ritual language during the training and planning of community engagement activities as well as when partnering with the community. Csordas states that the major genres of charismatic ritual language such as prophecy, teaching, preaching, and sharing/testimonies are named, formalized speech varieties that are used with regularity in ritual settings and are frequently regarded as verbal manifestations of the sacred (1997: 170). The more formal-specialized-sacred genres are precisely those that 'entextualize' and validate the relationship between human and divine rather than among humans (Csordas 1997: 181). Csordas states that the use of formal genres of ritual language functions to define and demarcate the specific relations between performer and audience and relations among members of the audience (1997: 170). Church leaders and members understood the importance of using the formalized genre to create a shared, emotional experience with the divine.

Church leaders and members also use minor genres, such as titles, jokes, and slang in informal settings that were not formally named (Csordas 1997). Pentecostals use minor genres, such as the terms *hermanos/hermanas* (brothers and sisters) to address and distinguish church members from *amigos/amigas* (friends) that were not from the church. Church members also greeted each other by saying, '*Dios le Bendiga'* (God bless you) and responding '*amen*' when they arrived at a worksite or meeting. They also share a hug between church members while only shaking hands with non-church members.

As church members participate in community engagement activities, some also use informal genres, which blurred the distinctions between church and non-church, community members. Church and community members joked around together and greeted each other with hugs. They also struggled to find the right descriptive terms to signify the importance and closeness of the relationship. How church members struggled

to define the relationship with non-church members will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

4.4.4. Pentecostal Rites

Pastors and leaders also used accepted and important Pentecostal rites to ritualize community engagement into their congregations. Pentecostal rites both dramatize and vitalize the spirituality of a community (Albrecht 1999: 22-23). Albrecht argues that 'Pentecostals often experience their rites as essential, life-giving and responsible in part for the vitality of the movement, its vastness and the spirituality it encourages' (Albrecht 1999: 22). Albrecht (1999) adds that Pentecostal rites may induce experiences and the rites themselves emerge as experience. Through rites, Pentecostals work out their values, produce a sense of meaning, do theology and work out their salvation (Albrecht 1999: 23).

Rites were an essential part of distinguishing and prioritizing community engagement activities as appropriate and important. Prayer was used before community meetings or inaugurations to signal that the activity was vital because God could intervene to bring salvation or 'material' blessings. Prayer prepared the church member to enact the activity as a sacred action. Church members also believed that prayer was essential to prepare the hearts of community members so that they could build new relationships. Worship and sermons also became a meaningful way to mark an event as sacred.

The importance of rites to mark the event for church members was especially evident when Catholic rites were introduced into public ceremonies. In several occasions, the Catholic priest was invited to say a prayer, read a mass or disperse holy water to bless the event. When the priest read scripture or a mass, church members did not recognize these acts to be significant in making the event a moment when God could intervene. Likewise, when the Catholic priest dispersed the holy water, Catholic community members saw it as a blessing and moved toward the water; Pentecostal members, on the other hand,

rejected the blessing and moved away from the holy water. One of the main reasons Pentecostal members stated that they did not like when the Catholic priest performed Catholic rites.

In conclusion, pastors and leaders use a series of external cultural strategies to explain and introduce the new practice of *acercamiento* into a contested environment. Pastors understood and explained the importance of introducing the new practice in both spiritual and tactical ways. Two of the five pastors explained how 'divine revelation' challenged them to re-interpret Jesus' ministry and expand the mission of the church to include spiritual and physical care of the community. Whereas, the other three pastors explained that community development provided them with a new opportunity to build relationships that could address physical needs effectively and lead to 'salvation' and church growth.

Pastors and some leaders also used accepted cultural strategies and techniques to ritualize the new practice. Pastors used the model of Jesus' ministry to explain and understand engaging the broader community. They also embedded the new practice into the discourse and structure of the accepted and valued practice of service. They changed the schedule of weekly meetings to include opportunities training, participating and praying for community engagement activities. Pastors also talked about the importance of the practice in their church services and events. Finally, they used accepted and mastered cultural techniques to signify community engagement practices as sacred arenas in which God was present.

Nevertheless, what the pastors could not see or failed to recognize was that church leaders and members held multiple and ambiguous meanings regarding the practices of *acercamiento* and *colaboración*. The following chapter examines the internal cultural strategies of ritualization that cultivate ritual mastery within a structured and structuring environment. The chapter describes how community engagement exposes tensions within

the interpretive schemes or Pentecostal habitus and reinforces, challenges, and transforms Pentecostal's sense of identity, sociality and way-in-the-world.

Chapter Six: Ritualizing Community Engagement within a Pentecostal Habitus

1. Introduction

Although pastors and church leaders had different reasons to introduce the new practice of community engagement, they all ritualized community engagement into a similar Pentecostal habitus. Pastors and church members could explain why they introduced *acercamiento* and *colaboración* into their congregations. They could also see the external strategies used to ritualize the new practice to overcome initial resistance. What they failed to recognize was how the ritualization of the new practice exposed tensions and challenged existing beliefs, predispositions, experiences and practices within the church community. As Bell (1992) suggests, ritualization also has internal strategies that order, rectify, or transform the situation without being seen or recognized. Ritualization serves to create ritual mastery as well as provides the seed of a new argument or problematic that is resisted, negotiated, or transformed within the social body.

This chapter discusses the internal strategies of ritualization that develop ritual mastery among Pentecostal actors within a Pentecostal habitus. The first section discusses how pastors and church leaders ritualize community engagement within a series of hierarchical and cascading oppositions that constitute, reproduce and generate new arguments within the congregation. The second section develops an analytical framework of binary oppositions to examine and understand how the new practice both reinforces, challenges and transforms the existing system of interpretive schemes. The chapter argues that pastors and leaders embed the new practice of *acercamiento* into a structuring and structured environment that both affirms existing schemes of meaning while generating a new problematic that challenges adherents' sense of interpersonal, civic and geographic space.

2. RITUAL MASTERY IN THE PENTECOSTAL HABITUS

Ritual actors can see and explain why and how to ritualize practice, but they do not see or fail to recognize what ritual does or how it does it, which is what makes it so significant and powerful (Bell 1992: 108-110). Ritual actors many times cannot see or fail to recognize the 'internal' strategies of ritualization, which produce a ritualized body that is invested with a 'sense' of ritual or ritual mastery[31]. Ritual mastery is the ability to recognize, albeit not always clearly, that an action is different and significant from other activities and the ability to accept, negotiate, or resist the practice at different levels (Bell 1992: 80). The sense of ritual mastery is not a matter of self-conscious knowledge of any explicit rules of ritual but is an implicit 'cultivated disposition' within a structured and structuring environment (Bell 1992: 98).

Bell describes the structured environment as an organised and orchestrated series of contrasting oppositions or schemes that are hierarchically organised to create a sense of order, wholeness or systematization (Bell 1992: 100-101). She adds that rhetorical and embodied ritual practices construct, both spatially and temporally, an environment organised according to schemes of privileged oppositions. The structured environment or habitus[32] is composed of the following dynamics:

> First, the physical construction of schemes of binary oppositions; second, the orchestrated hierarchy of schemes whereby some come to dominate or nuance others; and third, the generation of a loosely integrated whole into which each element 'defers' to another in an endlessly circular chain of reference (Bell 1992: 101).

The construction and reproduction of the habitus and the activities within it simultaneously work to impress these schemes upon the bodies of the participants. This

[31] Bell builds upon Bourdieu's concept of practical mastery to explain the systems of classifying schemes and oppositions that act as instruments for ordering the world that 'every successful socialized agent possess' (1992: 107). These schemes or dispositions of practical mastery are acquired through the interaction of the body within a structured environment. They come to be embedded or embodied in the very perceptions and dispositions of the body and hence are known only in practice as the way that things are done (Bell 1992).

circular process, Bell states, is what is not recognized, if it is perceived at all, but allows for values and experiences to be impressed upon the person and community from sources of power and order beyond itself (Bell 1992: 98).

Within this structured environment, every sign is an implicit set of contrasts, and every contrast invokes another. In the juxtaposition of 'nearly equivalent oppositions' the contrasts are orchestrated so that some come to appropriate, reinterpret, or qualify others (Bell 1992: 105-107). Ritual actors orchestrate a system of hierarchical contrasts and deferrals that generate a 'sense of universal totality, a unified and authoritative coherence informing the whole scheme of things' (Bell 1992: 101). In this way, ritualized practices provide an experience of 'order' as well as 'fit' between structured predispositions and the real world of experience (Bell 1992: 104). Ritualization leads to a loosely knit and loosely coherent perception of totality, the full potential of which is never fully grasped and thus never fully subject to challenge or denial. A ritual actor within the habitus is never confronted with '"the meaning" to accept or reject; one is led into a redundant, circular, and rhetorical universe of values and terms whose significance keeps flowing into other values and terms' (Bell 1992: 105; see Comaroff & Comaroff 1993).

Bell adds that ritualization does not neatly 'embrace' or resolve the lived tensions and values of social life within its structure of binary oppositions, but ritualization 'subjects these tensions, terms and social bodies to a change in status, a problematic' (Bell 1992: 105-107). People do not take a social problem to ritual for a solution. Rather, ritual actors generate a ritualized environment that acts to shift the very status and nature of the problem into terms that are endlessly retranslated into a string of deferred schemes. Bell adds that every practice puts into motion the multiple and ambiguous sets of meanings encoded in the referring oppositions, which always comes to seed a new argument (1992: 87-88). The multiplication and orchestration of such schemes do not produce a resolution; instead, they afford a translation of immediate concerns into the dominant terms of the

ritual. The orchestration of schemes implies a resolution without ever defining one (Bell 1992: 105-106). Comaroff and Comaroff (1993) state,

> [r]itual as historical process is… less about giving voice to shared values than about opening fields of argument; about providing the terms and tropes, that is, through which people caught up in changing worlds may vex each other, question definitions of value, form alliances, and mobilize oppositions (1993: xxiii).

The Pentecostal pastors and leaders in the five congregations studied did not introduce the new practice of *acercamiento* to solve deeper tensions or problems within the Pentecostal habitus. They introduced the practice to 'correct' for previous practices that had separated them from genuine relationships with the community that inhibited them from advancing their understanding of the mission of the church. Nevertheless, as they ritualized the new practice, they introduced it into the structure of binary contrasts that exposed tensions and challenged existing values and predispositions. The new practice did not challenge every binary opposition equally but reinforces some while challenging others.

2.1. The Pentecostal Habitus

Csordas states that through ritual performance and everyday social practice a 'charismatic sacred self comes to inhabit a deeply taken for granted cultural world' (1997: 63) – what he calls a charismatic habitus (1994, 1997). Pentecostals learn and embody this cultural world by participating actively in ritual practices together as a ritual body. They learn and enact rhetorical structures and embody experiences that embed Pentecostals in a 'natural' world that shapes and transforms the ways of inhabiting space and time. The Pentecostal habitus serves to structure the ways that its adherents project themselves into the world by 'taking it up and making it a sacralised human space' (Csordas 1997: 68).

The Pentecostal habitus can be analysed as a series of hierarchical binary oppositions that are loosely integrated and reference each other in an endlessly circular chain of meanings. The set of binary contrasts are not fixed, nor are they mutually exclusive categories. Instead, the contrasts serve to shape and inform practice within and outside of

the ritual body (Bell 1992: 104-105). The rest of this section discuss sets of binary oppositions, among many others, that shape the Pentecostal habitus. The aim of this section is not to develop an exhaustive theoretical framework that reifies perceived dualities as objects but rather to discuss a set of binary oppositions as predispositions and experiences that inform Pentecostal practice. The goal is to develop a 'temporary' interpretive scheme that can serve as a heuristic device from which to discuss how and when the new practice of community engagement exposes tensions and cultivates new arguments within the Pentecostal habitus.

Many scholars have discussed the paradoxes and contradictions that inform and shape Pentecostal belief and practice (see Droogers 2006; Haynes 2005). For many scholars, the dominant binary opposition in Pentecostalism is between the 'world' and the divine. Pentecostal churches that come from a holiness tradition[33] believe that new converts are called out from the 'world' (Kamsteeg 1998: 5). The world, as Kamsteeg notes, 'refers to everything that is contrary to God's will, in which a true believer is therefore never to become involved' (1998: 5). Traditional Pentecostals believe that God created the world as good, which was then corrupted by human sin. The world is the absence of God's presence, and all that means – selfishness, greed, avarice, debauchery, and corruption. For Pentecostals, the world is understood in oppositional terms to what is holy or divine. The binary contrast between the 'world' and the divine also references the next level of oppositions between the 'unsaved' or 'non-believer' and the 'saved'.

Those that are 'saved' from the world are children of God; whereas, those that remain in the world still need to 'believe' and be 'saved'. As Robbins notes, the Pentecostal-charismatic identity processes are fundamentally shaped by the distancing of oneself from

[33] Anderson (2004) suggests that modern Pentecostalism's background can be traced to the Holiness Movement in the nineteenth century that was based on a particular interpretation of the teachings of Methodist founder, John Wesley, and Wesleyan theologian, John Fletcher. Anderson suggests that the Holiness Movement in the US was a reaction to 'liberalism and formalism in established Protestant Churches and stood for Biblical literalism, the need for a personal and individual experience of conversion and the moral perfection (holiness) of the Christian Individual' (Anderson 2004: 25).

the devil, the 'world' and one's past, while moving closer toward God and being filled with his blessings and power (2004a: 128). These processes are made evident through a series of 'post-conversion rituals of rupture that emphasize disjunction, such as deliverance, healing, and spiritual-in-filling (Robbins 2004a: 128). Lindhardt adds,

> [i]n the different rituals of rupture, the cosmic war between the divine and satanic forces and the social and cultural ills that afflict people in the here-and-now are fought through the rhetorical and bodily engagement of the human participant (2011: 17).

The cascading binary oppositions of the 'world' and divine and the 'unsaved' and 'saved' also serve to describe the life of a Pentecostal 'before' and 'after' salvation. For many Pentecostals, 'before' refers to being carnal or in the world and 'after' refers to being separated from the world. This is true for many traditional Pentecostals in El Salvador who choose to describe their conversion using the words 'saved' or 'rescued' to imply a new status and future instead of 'born-again' which implies a new life. Many traditional Pentecostals believe that they were in the evil world until God pulled them out of the world upon conversion. God pulled them from the world into a safe place to be transformed and to be used to evangelize and recruit new converts until Jesus' final return upon which they will exit the world to an alternative, distant, divine space and time.

Pentecostals understand conversion as a transcendent moment as well as a process of transformation toward full submission. Church members talk about the specific moment that they made a public confession of their previous failures and declared a belief in Jesus to overcome them. Public confession, or the 'salvation moment', can take place in any location, but it must be recognized by the leadership and membership of the church by witnessing the confession and by the new believer's 'testimony'. New believers are instructed to remove themselves from the 'world'. They are baptized and entered into membership and subsequent leadership if their conversion careers progress without returning to their past practices or relationships. The conversion process can take many months or years (Steigenga & Cleary 2007a; Gooren 2007; Burdick 1993; Smilde 2007a).

It is important to note, however, that the separation from one's past, fallen self is not absolute (see Robbins 2010). Pentecostals need to continue to embody and enact ritualized practices in order to ensure that they do not return to the world. The risk always exists and is ever-present (Gooren 2007). There is also a recognition that all believers live in a very tenuous and precarious space within a corrupt and corrupting world. Believers or 'children of God' are under the blessings and protection of God when submitted to the divine and doing appropriate actions.

The binary oppositions, 'world' and 'divine', 'unsaved' and 'saved', 'before' and 'after', cascade further down to include the opposition of 'inside' and 'outside' the church. The understanding of a fallen and corrupting world is also a concept that is used by believers to 'separate church matters from life outside the church boundaries' (Kamsteeg 1998: 5). The result is a strong 'fixation on church life and a categorical rejection of all other aspects of human life, such as politics, trade union, sports clubs...' (Kamsteeg 1998: 5). 'Inside' the church is safer from the world because it is where God's presence abides or inhabits during ritualized activities. As previously discussed, the preparation of the physical space and the heart of the adherent through prayer make the church building a sacralised place that should be respected and guarded. The concept of 'inside' also extends to define the relationships with brothers and sisters of the church. The relationships inside are safer and enriching because they keep one from the temptations of the world and facilitate personal transformation; whereas, 'outside' the church is the territory of the devil or of evil where people can be corrupted and return to the world.

Many Pentecostals see themselves as sacred selves walking through a corrupted and corrupting world (Csordas 1994, 1997). Pentecostals are encouraged to work, shop and move in the world without being contaminated by sin. They are also called to go out into the corrupting world to engage in mission – to evangelize and convert new believers. The

discipline cultivated in Pentecostal communities is characterized by the enduring tension between what Weber (1963) called a world-rejecting aestheticism and inner-worldly asceticism. Pentecostals must simultaneously condemn and retreat from the world while enthusiastically participating in the mission to rescue the unsaved from the world (Csordas 1997: 77). Pentecostal adherents are to be prepared in their safe, sacralised spaces in order to venture out among the lost and corrupting world to evangelize and recruit new church members. It was within these series of cascading and hierarchical oppositions that pastors and leaders are introducing the new practice of community engagement into the ritual body.

2.2. Pentecostal Ritual Mastery

Pentecostal ritual actors learn and master rituals at different levels within the Pentecostal habitus. Csordas (1997) states that Pentecostals learn faith through bodily ritual training (see Luhrmann 2004; Robbins 2011). Robbins (2011) adds that Pentecostal adherents are introduced to the movement and gain entry to community life very quickly because of the pedagogical emphasis on learning ritual frames such as prayer, worship, and testimony and the ways to bodily enact them. Pastors and church leaders stress these aspects of the faith from the outset, often leaving all but the very basics of doctrine and theology for later.

Robbins (2011) explains that there are several aspects within Pentecostal doctrine and practices that support and encourage a high frequency of ritual interaction. First, many Pentecostal congregations share a conviction that God cares and intervenes even in the mundane lives of its faithful. Pentecostals tend to blur the boundaries between the sacred and profane, which also allows ritual to suffuse all domains of social interaction (Robbins 2011: 56; see Comaroff 2012). Second, for many Pentecostal congregations, one of the most critical elements of its doctrine is the belief that all church members are qualified to initiate and participate in ritual performances. Therefore, whenever any two Pentecostals

are together, they can engage in ritual together regardless of place or time (Robbins 2011: 56). Finally, Pentecostal rituals share vital features that make them easy to identify, learn, and improvise, which allows them to be used in any setting to address almost any circumstance (Robbins 2011: 56).

Pentecostal ritual mastery is a self-process that is learned and enacted from the moment an adherent joins the community and throughout the process of personal transformation. From the very beginning, new converts are introduced to and begin to assimilate the 'basic message that the world is in a state of sin and requires salvation which can only be obtained by submission and commitment to Jesus Christ' (Csordas 1997: 167). Church leaders teach new members that only God can bestow the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts. These gifts initiate and sustain their spiritual growth into a life that can be most ideally and fully experienced within a Christian community. The Holy Spirit produces in adherents the desires to pray, to read the Bible, and to frequent church services and events (Csordas 1997: 167). Through active participation in ritual practices together Pentecostal adherents learn to understand and experience the gifts of the spirit such as speaking in tongues and prophecy and the fruits of the spirit such as feelings of love, peace, joy (Csordas 1997: 167). Moreover, they learn to experience the 'presence of God' in daily life as well as in ritual settings.

Among many Pentecostals, ritual mastery should be understood less as a 'personal quality', and more like a 'collective, performative, intersubjective process' (Csordas 1997: 140). Individuals may appear to have greater degrees of ritual mastery because they have greater control over Pentecostal techniques or rhetorical frames such as prayer, prophesy, or evangelism, but their ritual mastery is 'realized in a mode of discourse or performed in a genre of ritual language within particular social settings' (Csordas 1997: 141). Pentecostals are 'instruments of divine power' through discrete 'charismas', 'spiritual gifts', or 'gifts of the Holy Spirit' (Csordas 1997: 133). The locus of charisma

is in the interaction of ritual actors within a structured and structuring community. Thus, Pentecostals are all able, to different degrees and levels of awareness, to learn and master a sense of ritual that allows them to accept, adapt, resist and reject ritual practices within the ritual body or Pentecostal habitus. As Albrecht states, in the Pentecostal tradition, it is ritual, rather than 'structured verbal catechesis', that teaches people 'what it means to live and behave as Christians in a faith community' (1999: 200). Therefore, as pastors and leaders teach and create opportunities for their adherents to learn and engage in *acercamiento* as an accepted and important church practice, church members accepted, adapted and resisted the new practice.

3. Exposing Tensions and Cultivating New Arguments

The new practice of *acercamiento* affirms and strengthens the dominant binary oppositions while exposing tensions and generating new arguments within the lower sets of dualisms. The new practice reinforced the status of the world as corrupt, the need for salvation from God and the role of the church as divine agents. Every pastor and church leader stated clearly that all people needed to be 'saved' from the corrupting world. They would not have been able to introduce the new practice if it had challenged the dominant oppositions of the world as evil and the need for everyone to be saved.

Nevertheless, the participation in community engagement activities that generated new social forms of interactions between church and community members exposed tensions and generated new arguments within the congregations. The new practice exposed tensions among some church members regarding what is acceptable practice inside and outside the church. The practice also challenged the church members' sense of interpersonal, civic and geographic space.

3.1. Rethinking Sacred Places and Activities 'Inside' and 'Outside' the Church

Community engagement exposes tensions among church leaders and members when non-believers occupy sacralised spaces for non-evangelistic events and when church members attend civic meetings or inaugurations in public spaces. Many church members express discomfort when non-believers were present inside the church for 'secular' activities. They felt that the sanctuary was a special place that should be reserved for events that could lead to a divine encounter. Other leaders also express concerns about being asked to attend public meetings in 'worldly' places. Many of these same leaders also felt that it was a lost 'opportunity' if the public event had not included a moment to evangelize or recruit new church members.

Pastors and church leaders recognize and try to mitigate some of the tensions experienced by church members when using the sanctuary for civic meetings. As previously mentioned, they knelt to pray before community meetings to consecrate themselves within the church sanctuary. They prayed before each meeting in the church from the pulpit or at least stood up to show reverence for the presence of the divine in the sacralised space. Pastors also started many meetings by introducing the church members. They also explained why the church was involved in the meeting. In effect, pastors framed the meetings as a 'community engagement activity' for the church leaders and members present in order to 'sanctity' the event and to justify the use of the church building for 'secular' activities.

Some church leaders and members also questioned their participation in meetings or events in public spaces. Many of the meetings were held in 'questionable' or perceived 'contaminated' public spaces such as soccer fields or communal houses. Many church members stated that they felt uncomfortable going into these places because they were used for dances or community celebrations with 'secular' music and alcohol. Some church members express concern that Pentecostal Christians from other churches and

even community members whom they were trying to evangelize would criticize or judge them for entering into those spaces. Church leaders and members will not attend any community event where alcohol or dancing would be present; thus, it becomes imperative for pastors and church leaders to play a significant role in planning and resourcing any public event so as not to discourage church members from attending.

Pastors and church leaders worked with community leaders to design programmes to ensure that they would not offend or create more tension among church leaders and members. As was already highlighted in descriptions of inaugurations, pastors replaced 'worldly' music or dancing in the programme with traditional or Christian music. Pastors offered to bring the musicians and sound system in order to ensure that worship music was played. Pastors also included prayer, Bible reading and a sermon or message in the programme whenever possible. In the cases when they were unable to introduce those elements into the programme formally, the pastors would include a short sermon when he was given a chance to speak during the event. Regardless of these additions, some church leaders and members still felt uncomfortable and uncertain about being present at these events.

Pastors encouraged all members to attend public events to demonstrate to the community the church's commitment to community development but also to create a charismatic density among the participants of the event in order to enact the ritualized practices. Pastors needed enough church members to clap and sing during the worship music and join the pastor in fervent prayer for the ritualized practice to be successful. However, many church members did not perceive their participation in the events as an important church practices inside the church. Many members understood the event to be more like an 'evangelistic' service where the focus was on the non-believer. Therefore, some members understood the event to be unsuccessful when it did not include an explicit time of presenting the Gospel and or calling people to be 'saved'.

3.2. Reimagining Social Relationships: From *Amigos* to *Hermanos*

Along with reinforcing the binary oppositions between the divine and the world, 'believer' and 'nonbeliever', community engagement did expose tensions among some church members regarding the kind of relationships they should have with non-church, community members. Csordas explains that the Pentecostal habitus shapes the adherents' understanding of interpersonal space between themselves and the divine, with other adherents and with those outside of the community of believers (1997: 69-70). He states that through Pentecostal techniques such as 'the laying of hands' during prayer, adherents can experience an increased feeling of closeness with the divine. Techniques such as the laying on of hands and greeting each other with a 'holy hug' can also enact group solidarity and interpersonal closeness between adherents. These same Pentecostal techniques are also used to differentiate and define the kinds of interpersonal space they should have with people outside of the ritual body (Csordas 1997: 69-70).

Pentecostal church members are embedded in and reproduce a highly articulated and closed network of converts that are separate from community relationships and institutions. The Pentecostal habitus encourages adherents to shift loyalties away from previous relationships and activities and toward relationships and practices within the ritual body. New believers are taught and encouraged to commit to building genuine, honest, and vulnerable relationships exclusively with other 'believers', preferably other church members. They are to demonstrate trust for each other by sharing personal problems, praying for one another, lending each other money and caring for each other when sick or unemployed. New believers also demonstrate their loyalty to the congregation by changing their style of clothing, speech, and relationships with those outside of the church community.

The ritualization of the new practice of community engagement reinforces and validates the binary opposition of who is considered to be 'saved' or 'lost'. Church

members recognize clearly who is a 'believer' and who is not. They understand that conversion necessarily involves a public confession of faith, baptism and active church membership. These distinctions are seen in the use of ritual language to differentiate between *hermanas/os* and *amigas/os* during community engagement activities. Nevertheless, community engagement does create a series of questions concerning the type of relationships they should or can have with non-believers in the 'outside' world.

Church leaders and members used accepted Pentecostal frames and ritual language to explain their new relationships with non-believers along a continuum of trust and solidarity from *amiga/o* to *hermana/o*. Church leaders and members that participated less frequently in community development initiatives understood that the new relationships should be different from those with *hermanas/os*. Gloria, a church leader from *Getsemaní* church who was only indirectly involved in community engagement activities, explained the change in her relationships with *amigos* in the following terms:

> The relationship changed with these two people because I got involved in the mission of the church. …When you help someone, they see it as a great help. So, when you help people in these ways, you create a special caring relationship with those that you have done a favour for. Those people become closer to you. …It is a window (of opportunity) that we have. If we help these people, then they come closer to us, they trust us more, and that is where we can get a little closer ourselves. …The relationship is important because it is a little easier to talk to them about the Gospel (Gloria 2012).

Orlando, a church leader from *La Roca* church who also was only sporadically involved in community engagement activities, talked about his new relationship with an *amigo*. He said,

> I have a friendly relationship with him, as friends first and foremost; friendship is the most essential thing. …We worked together on the houses that we were building last year. …We discuss personal and community problems. We talk about the need to repair the roads, or something that the mayor's office is doing that is not right. …For me, the most important thing is that I can approach him so that I can share the Word of God with him. That is what is important about the relationship because he is not a Christian. …The relationship has also helped resolve the needs of the community because we have been able to solve some of their needs (Orlando 2012).

Another leader from the *Getsemaní* church who was also only sporadically involved in community development activities, described the relationship with an *amigo* as very important to him because it could lead to conversion. Juan José stated,

> [w]e have had talks about the Gospel and about the work in the community, something that was not available before. Their religion (Catholic) tends to distance one from the other, but when we are

thinking about service, we have become friends. These relationships are very significant because we need each other as human beings and these people are potential (converts) to know Christ through relationships, and because we are neighbours, we should help each other in life (Juan José 2012).

For church members, like Gloria, Orlando, and Juan José, the new practice reinforced their understanding of the differences between *amiga/os* and *hermana/os* while also challenging their understanding of the level of 'closeness' they should cultivate with non-church, community leaders. While many church members believed that the primary goal of building the new relationships was to evangelize, they also began to include conversations about community problems and solutions with community members. Many church members re-interpreted the meaning of *amigos* from passive receptors of evangelism to friends with whom they could share the 'Gospel' and also partner to resolve community problems.

The more prolonged and intimate the engagement between church and community leaders in community development initiatives, the more likely it was that church members extended trust and solidarity to an *amiga/o.* Church leaders and members that worked alongside non-church, community members in on-going community development activities began to use *hermana/o* language and referents to explain the meaning and value of these new relationships. These church leaders and members talked about their relationships with 'non-believers' as intimate and important for them personally as well as to generate broader social change.

Some leaders and members found themselves blurring the social boundaries of their previously prescribed and formal relationships with 'non-believers' to engage in meaningful conversations regarding personal and community problems. Several pastors and church leaders described the new relationships as '*casi hermanas/os*' (almost like sisters/brothers). They stated that they lent each other money, vehicles, and equipment. They also visited each other's houses and shared important moments such as birthdays and anniversaries as if they were *hermanas/os.*

Pastor Marcos shared the story of his friend Cesar. Cesar was a community leader from El Paraíso. Pastor Marcos said that they had become friends while working on a road project. Subsequently, they worked together on several community projects and served on the *ADESCO* board simultaneously. They loaned each their vehicles for projects and shared food and supplies between their families. Cesar had even sold the *La Paz* church a piece of land at a lower price than what was offered by a private developer and donated money for the new church building. He also asked Pastor Marcos for advice on marital and other family problems.

Pastor Marcos, likewise, shared personal and church problems with Cesar. Pastor Marcos officiated the burial service of Cesar's mother, who was an active member of the local Catholic Church. He also cared for Cesar through his fight with cancer and officiated his funeral. Pastor Marcos stated that Cesar had asked him for prayer many times and had even 'confessed his sins' to him, but never had done so publicly or joined the church because Cesar did not want to offend his Catholic mother. Pastor Marcos mourned deeply for Cesar when he died. Pastor Marcos said, 'We were so close. I will miss him dearly. He was my closest friend' (Pastor Marcos 2011).

Most of the pastors and many church leaders also shared stories about the importance of new relationships with community members. Evelyn, a church member from *Santuario Bíblico* church, talked about the importance of the new relationship with her neighbour, Luisa. After several years of providing temporary assistance to families with special needs, the church and community leaders created a non-profit to serve these families. Through the initiative, Evelyn had befriended her neighbour Luisa. She explained the importance of the relationship in the following way.

> I had never felt any reason to connect with her. She has a child with special needs. But when I realized her need for help, I offered to take care of her child. …That encouraged her to see that the church is now helping spiritually and economically. She saw the change in my family toward her family and how we provided help without needing anyone to know what we have done or us saying anything. Luisa is like an *hermana* (church sister). I would not want to lose communion with them (Luisa and her family) because we always talk about God and the Bible in everything we talk about. I also learn from them, and they from me (Evelyn 2012).

Martha, another church leader from *Santuario Bíblico* church, described her relationship with a community leader in much the same language as Evelyn. Martha said that she had worked with her *amiga* Maria on several projects. Martha had seen Maria three times per month at community meetings. They had also visited each other at their homes. Martha said, ‘We have talked about our family problems. She is alone a lot. Her husband works. And when we get together, we take advantage of having those talks where she cries and gets things off her chest’ (Martha 2012).

As can be seen by these examples, some church leaders and members created new relational contexts that bridged networks and understandings with non-believing, community members. Although not all church leaders and members extended the same degree of trust or solidarity to new relationships, they all generated spaces to engage in new discourses about community problems and collective action. Most still framed their engagement as opportunities to evangelize new believers, but they were building relationships of trust and solidarity that allowed for new kinds of social interactions with non-Pentecostal community leaders and members. For many church leaders and members, these new relationships challenged their sense of interpersonal space with non-believers and their sense of civic space and engagement.

3.3. Engaging in New Civic Spaces

As church leaders participated in community engagement, the new relationships also challenged and shaped their understandings of the nature of community problems and poverty as well as their participation in civic engagement. Many traditional Pentecostals are discouraged from attending community meetings or participating in community-based organizations. For many traditional Pentecostal pastors and leaders, participating in civic organizations distracts or inhibits believers from personal transformation. They believe that community associations and state entities are comprised of corrupt leaders who have

a ‘bad testimony’ (see Offutt 2015). They also espouse that many political and civic leaders are only trying to further their own political goals over other social outcomes for the community. Many Pentecostals state that civic and public leaders represent and enact an earthly strategy for community change that does not address the underlying problems of the world, which are sin and the need for salvation. Thus, for many traditional Pentecostals, civic engagement is, at best, a waste of the believer’s time and at worst a direct challenge to their salvation and ‘testimony’.

Pastors and leaders mitigated some of these tensions by formally approving the participation of church leaders in community meetings and CBOs. They discuss and approve whether church members can serve in a specific CBO. Church understood that leader who participate in civic activities are under the authority of the pastor and serve as a representative of the church. It was also important that the leader not be perceived to be siding with one political party over another nor to participate too closely in the social activities of the group, such as attending a meeting where alcohol was served. In one church, a leader was ‘put on discipline’ (removed from his leadership role in the church) for a year because of his presence at a public fundraiser where alcohol was served.

Increased community engagement also challenged church leaders and members’ understanding of community problems and solutions. Many leaders and members, especially those that were only marginally involved in community engagement activities, stated that the primary problems of the community were the result of individual’s or families’ bad decisions, lack of knowledge or training. According to these leaders, the problems could be addressed if the individual ‘came to Christ’ and was transformed personally inside the church. They also proposed solutions such as technical training and family strengthening classes to address individualized community problems.

As church leaders built closer relationships with community leaders and worked with CBOs to develop community-wide projects, some church leaders began to add social and

structural issues into their analysis of community problems. Along with individualized community problems, they mentioned the lack of solidarity or social fragmentation in the community as one of the biggest problems - everyone working for themselves. Some pastors and church leaders also identified structural issues such as political corruption, lack of effective political representation, and insufficient resources provided by governmental agencies. Some pastors and leaders understood the underlying causes of the community's problems to be both individual and structural.

Community engagement also created new discussions and disagreements on the role of the church in community change. Church leaders and members struggled to understand or explain how, and to what degree, could non-believers participate in God's plan for community change. Some church leaders believed that God held the true and complete plan for community reform; the role of the church was to fulfil God's plan by praying, mobilizing church members, and aligning the community to God's purposes. While other church leaders saw the role of the community leaders and state entities as important to identifying and implementing specific projects or programmes. These leaders still believed that God had a plan for social change and was actively intervening to enact it. Moreover, they described the role of the church to be a catalyst, partner, and facilitator of collective action and change.

Some pastors and church leaders stated that the church plays a vital role in motivating community members to participate in community development projects as well as to build 'solidarity.' They stated that solidarity and working together was an essential part of realizing broader changes in the community. Working together was important to identify and develop projects that would meet the 'real' needs of families. They also believed that working together in an 'organised' manner was essential to successfully acquiring funds from the mayor's office, federal programmes and other public and private organizations. The shift in participation and their understanding of their role in civic spaces also

challenged pastors and leaders to rethink the social position and mission as a church within their geographic community.

3.4. Re-locating the Church within the Community

As some pastors and church members understood God's plan to include more than just self- or family reform, but also community reform, community engagement generated additional questions among some leaders about the church's social location and mission in the geographic community. The majority of church members understood themselves, both personally and as a congregation, to exist within the spatiotemporal boundaries of their geographic community. The majority of church members live within or close to the community where the church is located. Nevertheless, many traditional Pentecostals understand their churches to be a distinct sacred community within or superimposed upon a secular geographic location (Csordas 1997: 71). Moreover, they imagine the 'secular' community, both physically and symbolically, to be the target or location of the mission of the church. The community represents the evil and corrupting 'world', or all that the church is not, and therefore is the destination of a believer's mission to evangelize and recruit new believers. Mission is understood as going out from the safety of the 'sacred' church body into an evil, 'secular' world to rescue as many lost souls as possible and bring them into the safety of the church body.

Community engagement reinforces and challenges church members' understanding of where they are located, both physically and symbolically, in their spatiotemporal community. For church leaders and members that understood community engagement as solely a new evangelistic strategy, the nature of the community was unchanged. These church leaders still understood themselves and the church to be separate from the community symbolically. For many of these leaders and members, the new relationships challenged them to understand themselves and the church as part of the solutions of the community. They felt more accepted and closer to community members. They also stated

that the church had a more significant influence and respect in the community. They, in effect, saw themselves, at some level, to be a vital part of the spatiotemporal community.

For church leaders or members that understand community engagement as an extension of God's power and blessings into the community beyond just salvation of 'souls', they understood themselves to be God's agents embedded or incarnated in the spatiotemporal community. These leaders see themselves and their churches as located physically within the community, both geographically and relationally. They believe that God has placed them into their geographic communities intentionally and strategically to enact God's plan of spiritual and community reform. These leaders demonstrate an appreciation for and a sense of belonging to the community that did not exist among other church leaders.

The shift in the understanding among church leaders regarding their spatiotemporal location as a church also shapes their understanding of the mission of the church in the community. Pastors and leaders, who are actively engaged in community engagement, talk about how God called and prepared them as a congregation to understand and enact the new mission. God prepared the hearts of the community and civic leaders to work with the church and provided the resources for them to enact a divine vision of change. Rather than seeing mission as going from their safe congregations into the world to recruit new converts, they stated that the mission of the church was to extend God's blessing through their new relationships with *amigas/os*. They still understand and experience the world as dark and in need of 'salvation,' but God's presence and power through their actions sacralises their community engagement and their presence in the community, easing some of the fears, anxieties among church members while continuing to expose tensions and generate new arguments within the congregation.

In summary, pastors and church leaders choose strategically to introduce and ritualize the new practice of *acercamiento* into a contested environment. They understand that

asking church members to re-engage and build trusting relationships with non-church, community members and public entities exposes tensions and generates resistance among some leaders and members. Pastors embed the new practice within existing meanings and structures to render it as an important and powerful activity to personal transformation and to fulfil the mission of the church. What they did not see was how the new practice also provided the seed of a new problematic or argument that would need to be reconciled within the ritual body to maintain or restore its sense of 'wholeness' or 'moral order' (Bell 1992: 82-83). The following chapter analyses how some church leaders resist the new practice, while others adapted and transform the meanings of community engagement to restore a sense of 'moral order'.

Chapter Seven: Resistance, Reconciliation and a Restored Moral Order

1. Introduction

As pastors and leaders introduce and ritualize community engagement into contested church environments, adherents resist, reconcile and restore the meaning of community engagement. Bell (1992) states that the final element of all human activity is that it must be able to subvert or reconcile diverse meanings and experiences at some level to return the social body to a sense of moral order. She proposes that all practice must be able to 'reproduce or reconfigure a vision of the order of power in the world,' or what she calls 'redemptive hegemony' (Bell 1992: 82-83). Ritualized actors can, and often do reconcile ambiguous or multiple interpretations of practices to generate a personal and collective sense of wholeness or that the activity is 'natural'. Bell adds that this sense of a unified, moral order is a lived system of meanings that must be negotiated within limited and limiting relations of power (1992: 83-84).

Ritual actors understand and envision the efficacy of acting in specific ways within the ordering of relations of power (Bell 1992: 84). Bell states that,

> [p]eople reproduce relationships of power and domination, but not in a direct, automatic, or mechanistic way; rather, they reproduce them through their particular construal of those relations, a construal that affords the actor the same sense of a sphere of action, however, minimal (1992: 84).

To Bell, the goal of ritualization is not always to replicate and enforce unequal relations of power, but rather it creates a structured environment that simultaneously allows ritual actors to consent and resist, misunderstand and appropriate the practice at different levels and moments (1992: 79-80).

Bell furthers suggests that actors perceive ritualization to be the most effective type of action when two overlapping conditions are present: first, 'when the relations of power being negotiated are not based upon direct claims of power conferred' (1992: 120). For example, when power is conferred by God and not from military might or economic power. Second, 'when the hegemonic order being experienced must be rendered socially

redemptive' (1992: 120) In many traditional Pentecostal congregations, adherents need experience a vision of community order that is personally empowering.

It can be argued that both of these conditions exist in many traditional Pentecostal congregations. First, in the majority of Pentecostal congregations, the pastor's authority is believed to be derived from sources of power outside of themselves such as from God and the Scriptures. Second, Pentecostal adherents submit voluntarily to the authority of God and the pastor to ensure their transformation and to fulfil the mission of the church. Pentecostal adherents choose to enact and embody rituals together in order to further their redemption within the social body. Therefore, church leaders strategically choose, usually unconsciously, to introduce and sustain church practices such as prayer, fasting and testimonies through ritualization in order to validate their authority, embody personal transformation, and to empower adherents to further the mission of the church in the world.

This chapter examines how church leaders and members resist and reconcile the new problematic or arguments seeded by the ritualization of community engagement in their congregations. Some leaders resist the new practice by leaving the church or by opting out of active participation in community engagement. While other church leaders and members participate, to different degrees, in community participation but assign multiple and ambiguous meanings to explain the importance of the new practice to their transformation and the mission of the church. These multiple meanings must be reconciled, at some level, for the ritualized practice of community engagement to be sustained in the congregation. The chapter discusses how church leaders and members tend to understand community engagement within three generalized, interpretive frameworks. The three interpretative frameworks that are not exhaustive nor exclusive and church members moved from one framework to another during the period of the research.

The chapter concludes with an examination of how the new ritualized practice shapes the relations of power within and outside the church and how they contribute to sustaining (or not) the ritualization process. Pastors and church leaders' ability to replace or reassign resistant leadership with new leaders who were loyal to him and the new vision contributed to whether the new practice failed, stalled or succeeded. The new practice also shifted the composition of the leadership structure of churches by promoting more women and young people into positions of power within the church. The new practice also alters the relations of power between pastors, church leaders, community leaders and other development actors that strengthened the influence of pastors in the social field of development. The chapter concludes by summarizing the multiple factors that shape and inform Pentecostal pastors and church leaders' abilities to introduce and ritualize the new practice into contested social bodies.

2. Resistance and Reconciliation within the Ritual Body

In all five churches studied, pastors and leaders stated that they had experienced different levels of resistance from people within and outside the church throughout the process of ritualizing the new practice. Pastors discussed how church leaders and members had left the church during the process of ritualization. Other leaders decided to stay at the church but opted out of participating directly in community engagement activities. More often than not, leaders and members eventually participated in community engagement activities at some level. They accepted the new practice as important but ascribed different meanings to its significance in facilitating personal transformation and to fulfilling the mission of the church. The more that church members built more in-depth relationships with non-church people, the more they valued those relationships as significant to their personal transformation and the fulfilling of the mission of the church.

2.1. Resistance from Inside and Outside the Congregation

Pastors and leaders stated that they had experienced resistance, criticism, and reproach from people inside and outside the church upon introducing the community engagement. The primary source of resistance came from leaders and members within the church. While there are intervening factors, all of the pastors stated that a significant number of church leaders and members had left the church within the first three years of beginning the new practice of *acercamiento*. In four of the five churches, the pastors stated that they had lost between ten and twenty per cent of their leadership and two of the five lost more than fifty per cent of their congregations. Although these losses were recovered and surpassed by the increase of new converts and members over subsequent years, the period of transition was tumultuous.

Members left for various reasons, so it is challenging to create a direct causal link between community engagement and people leaving the church. However, upon talking to pastors and leaders, they believed that community engagement contributed directly or indirectly to many members leaving the church. Church leaders provided a variety of reasons for their dissent and departures. The most common explanations included: inappropriate use of church resources, inadequate use of the pastor's time, insufficient focus on evangelistic activities, and for becoming too political.

For some leaders who left the congregation, they complained that the church was misusing limited church resources on community engagement activities. They criticized the pastor and leaders for spending too much of the church's resources on helping people outside of the church without sufficient conversions or church growth. They also complained that the church had prioritized spending money on community projects before addressing their own building needs such as repairing roofs or funding church programmes such as local feeding initiatives.

Another frequent complaint among church members who decided to leave the church was that the pastor was spending too much of his time in community meetings and at project sites and not enough time preparing for his sermons, participating in church services, or visiting church members. Some leaders complained that the pastor spent too much of his time caring for specific families or with community leaders. They suggested that the pastor was not caring for the congregation effectively because he was not visiting them as often as he had done before. Moreover, some blamed the pastor for missing church meetings and services because he was serving in the community.

Some leaders that left the church stated that the congregation focused too much on community engagement activities and not enough on street evangelism or evangelistic campaigns or public events. Although all of the churches continued to do evangelistic activities, some leaders believed that they had pulled back in the number of events since they had started the new practice. In *La Paz* church, the co-pastor and his family left because they felt that the church had cut back on evangelistic activities and therefore, their skills in evangelism were not being used effectively.

Other leaders stated that they left the church because they believed that the church was becoming too 'political'. They stated that the church in working with or joining community associations and partnering with mayoral offices could be seen as being too closely aligned with a specific political party. Every church studied had worked with mayoral offices from different political parties, but the dissenting church leaders and members still felt that such an association implies supporting one party or another. In some cases, pastors had been accused of siding with one political party because they had attended a public gathering or meeting where politicians had been present promoting their parties. At *Santuario Bíblico* church, a whole group of leaders and members (more than thirty members from five different families) left when they thought that the pastor had created too close of a relationship with a community leader from a 'liberal' political party.

In two churches, different political parties had attempted to recruit the pastors to run for office. Neither did, and they clarified their relationships with political leaders, but it caused enough problems in their congregations that some leaders and members left.

In the more severe cases, where entire groups of families left the church at one time, it was because they felt like the pastor was pushing for change too aggressively and quickly without consulting or including them in the decisions. They complained that the pastor was too autocratic. They worried that the pastor was not taking into consideration the opinions of leaders and members that had founded the church or had been there for many years. In the *Santuario Bíblico* church, close to thirty per cent of its membership left within a nine-month period. In the *La Paz* church, ten church leaders and member left (almost twenty per cent) over two years. In both cases, the pastors were able to keep their positions because they were founders of their churches and had long-standing relationships with other church leaders and members.

A subtler way of resistance was that leaders and members remained at the church but removed themselves from positions of leadership or did not participate directly in community engagement activities. At the *La Paz* church, the majority of the leadership did not agree with the new practice, so they remained on the Elder Board, led other ministries and activities without joining community development initiatives. Many of these leaders attended public celebrations and inaugurations but did not work with community leaders to identify, plan or implement projects. At the *Santuario Bíblico* church, some leaders opted out of serving on the community engagement committee and only participated sporadically in community development projects. At the *El Cimiento* church, the number of leaders was smaller, and the turnover of members was so pronounced that the pastor and a handful of leaders led the community engagement activities. Even after many years of engaging the community, very few of the original leaders and members were actively involved in community engagement activities.

Leaders and members also opted out of participating in community engagement in the *Getsemaní* and *La Roca* churches. In both of these churches, a significant number of leaders and members decided not to participate directly in community development initiatives; nevertheless, both pastors mitigate resistance from church members by recruiting and training larger number of volunteer leaders. The *Getsemaní* church, Pastor Francisco maintained over two hundred volunteer leaders (twenty per cent of the church population) in constant training and service. In the *La Roca* Church, Pastor José had thirty to thirty-five leaders in constant training and service (fifteen to twenty per cent of the congregation). Both pastors used the training to sell their vision of community engagement consistently to new and existing church leaders. They also identified and recruited new volunteer leaders to participate in community development initiatives served to defuse the power of the existing leadership base. The larger pool of leaders helped both pastors address tensions that arose among church members that either wanted to push forward more aggressively in community engagement or wanted to slow it down. Both pastors allowed leaders that were not entirely in agreement to continue working in other areas of leadership and ministry in the church.

Along with resistance inside the church, pastors and church leaders talked about having experienced different levels of resistance from people outside the church. They mentioned experiencing criticism and reproach from their extended families, denominational leaders, other pastors and community leaders. Several pastors mentioned that the biggest challenge they encountered when they introduced community engagement was from their spouses, adult children and other family members. Often, a pastor's spouse and adult children were afraid of the criticism they might receive from church members or the community if the projects were not completed successfully. Family members expressed concerns that the church would not support the pastor if they encountered any problems implementing the community development initiatives.

Pastors also experienced resistance from denominational leaders. Three of the five pastors mentioned that denominational leaders had questioned them on whether community engagement was an effective church growth strategy. Pastors stated that some denominational leaders had tried to discourage them by describing what they were doing as 'communism' or 'ecumenical'[34]. They insisted that working with Catholic leaders and 'secular' organizations would distract them from their primary mission which was evangelization. Most leaders allowed the new practice but insisted that it not interfere with other denominational programmes or meetings. In the most extreme case, Pastor Marcos lost his elected position as the assistant superintendent (or second in command) of his denomination because of his focus on community engagement – although he was elected as the superintendent several years later. The other four pastors used their existing positions of status within their denominations or operated on the margins in order to navigate resistance from denominational leaders.

Pastors and church leaders also mentioned that they had been criticized or questioned by other local pastors from their denominations and other Pentecostal movements. Pastors from other congregations criticized the pastor and leaders for spending church money on activities that did not lead directly to conversion or church growth. They also judged them for attending public meetings and spaces that were 'corrupting'. Still, other neighbouring Pentecostal churches accused church leaders of encroaching on their geographic 'territory' when doing community engagement.

Pastors and church leaders also experienced resistance and opposition from community leaders and members. As discussed throughout the thesis, pastors, and leaders mentioned that they had experienced pronounced antagonism from community leaders before and during the introduction of the new practice. All of the pastors stated that it had

[34] Many Pentecostal leaders in El Salvador use the word ecumenical to describe any relationship or collaboration with congregations outside of their denominations. The term is most often used when referring to meeting with or working with Catholic believers or leaders and usually has derogatory implications.

not been easy to approach or to build trusting relationships with community leaders. Moreover, the resistance experienced by pastors from people outside of the church further served to increase tensions and strengthen the position of leaders who were challenging the new practice within the congregation.

Although pastors have to navigate the multiple internal and external challenges to introduce and ritualize the new practice within a contested church environment, more often than not, they were able to convince church members to participate in community engagement at some level. All of the pastors studied were able to convince the majority of church members, at least initially, to participate at some level in community engagement activities. Church leaders and members, however, had different explanations for why they participated in community engagement, what it meant for their personal transformation and to fulfil the mission of the church. Pastors, with the help of some leaders, were able to introduce the new practice due to the multiple and ambiguous meanings among church members. Nevertheless, if the multiple meanings were not reconciled to some degree, then the ritualization of community engagement stalled or was abandoned by church leaders and members.

2.2. Reconciling Multiple and Ambiguous Meanings

Church leaders and members that participate in community engagement struggle to understand and explain the new practice within available discourses and experiences in order to restore a sense of wholeness to the church body. They used available interpretive schemes and 'cultivated dispositions' within the structured environment to negotiate, transform, and reconcile the multiple and ambiguous meanings among church members to understand community engagement as a 'natural' and powerful church practice. Although church members had multiple explanations for why they participated in community engagement and why it was essential to fulfilling the mission of the church,

their responses fell into three generalized frameworks: 1) community engagement as primer for evangelization; 2) community engagement as way of life; and 3) community engagement as community transformation. The generalized frameworks are not exhaustive or exclusive. All three frameworks were present among church leaders and members within the same congregation simultaneously. Church members also shifted between perspectives during the research. Moreover, the church members' gender, age, years of experience in leadership, and years of being a Pentecostal Christian or members of the church did not seem to determine which interpretive framework they used to explain community engagement. The one variable that most shaped their perspective was the time and quantity of exposure to and involvement in building non-church relationships and working with the community. The more time that they had spent working with non-church entities, the more inclined they were to adopt the second or third framework.

2.2.1. Community Engagement as a Primer for Evangelization

Church leaders and members that had limited exposure to working directly with non-Pentecostal, community leaders in the planning and implementing of projects talk about community engagement in a manner that reinforces existing values, predispositions, and practices. They describe community engagement as a new or expanded strategy to 'evangelize' the 'non-believing' community. These church leaders and members state that the new approach to 'get close to' (*acercamiento*) the community is an effective way to build trust and generate an opening for them to share the 'Word of God' with an ultimate goal of 'bringing them to Christ.' Church leaders such as Maria, a leader from *El Cimiento* church stated, 'The trust that [the church leaders] build through serving people allows them to share the Gospel' (Maria 2013). Another leader from the same church, Noé, added, '[The church leaders'] motivation to help the community is to befriend and gain the trust of the non-believer so that they can hear the Word of God'

(Noé 2013). Church leaders like Maria and Noé express an understanding of community engagement as a primer to evangelism that shapes and reinforces their understanding of the purpose (or mission) of the church and its role in the community.

Church leaders and members, like Maria and Noé, share a common understanding of the mission of the church, which is to preach the Word of God and to share the Gospel with non-believers. According to Maria, 'The purpose of the church is to retain (not let believers fall back into the world) and to seek those that are lost in the community' (Maria 2013). Another leader from the *Santuario Bíblico* church stated, 'The mission of the church is first and foremost to take its message to particular families that do not know the Lord' (José 2012). He continued by saying that the purpose of the church is 'to serve the community in order to develop new friendships with people outside of the church and later to convert them' or as he put it '*hacerles el llamado'* (invite them to accept Jesus) (José 2012).

For many leaders and members like Maria, Noé, and José that participate in community engagement indirectly or infrequently, they assign it the same value and importance as previous community service and evangelistic activities. They describe community engagement as a strategy for producing friendship that should lead to conversion. The new practice also confirms their understanding of the mission of the church which is to go out from a 'safe' and 'sacred place' to the 'fallen' community to recruit new church members.

2.2.2. Community Engagement as a Way of Life

In a more nuanced way, church leaders and members who had participated for extended periods in community development initiatives understood community engagement as an evangelistic strategy but also believed that it was an essential practice to further personal

transformation. They stated that community engagement should be an important practice for all Pentecostal believers regardless if it leads to conversion or recruitment.

Eli, a young leader on the community engagement committee at *Santuario Bíblico* church, explained his understanding of community engagement.

> The purpose of the church is to be the light of the world to transform the communities by teaching them the love of Jesus as he taught us. Through helping our neighbours, they can understand that the interest of the church is not that they come to church as merely a religious act, but instead that it is a way of life – that they can see that. The church should be committed to serving others, not in a superficial manner. The Catholics are really smart, and they say that you should not attend the (Pentecostal) church because they (Pentecostals) want to turn you *evangélico.* But if one serves without an ulterior motive, and they come whether they are believers or not, let the living Word of God act in them, then that will produce the change (Eli 2012).

For Eli, community engagement is a 'way of life'. A faithful believer should serve genuinely without ulterior motives. Unlike Juan, Maria and José's explanations, community engagement is an essential practice for all believers whether or not it leads directly to conversion or church growth. He believes that through genuine service, the 'Word of God' is shared that could lead to salvation. The mission of the church, for Eli, is to participate in community engagement so that God could do the salvation work.

Similarly, Guillermo, co-pastor and leader of the *El Cimiento* church*,* believes that community engagement is an important action required by God to fulfil his plan. He states, 'We serve because God wants us to and [God] will help us do it. It is part of what God wants for his church. …. The church has to put in a little effort, and God does the rest' (Guillermo 2012). Like Eli, Guillermo understands community engagement to be what God desires for faithful adherents and will help them to enact the new practice.

Both Eli and Guillermo stated that community engagement is not merely an evangelistic strategy but a 'way of life'; community engagement could be a means to convert others, but it is also the product of God's work to transform them into good disciples. As a result, for Eli and Guillermo, their community engagement should be sincere and transparent. They should serve people because it is an outcome of being a good Pentecostal Christian. Eli talked about serving without 'false pretences' or 'ulterior motives' (Eli 2012). They both stated that they should serve people whether they are

believers or not; their role is to faithfully serve so that the 'Word of God' will act in non-believers to produce a change. For Guillermo, he stated that the church needed to

> First to serve humbly and second serve by seeing the needs of the community. … The church should really help the community when it sees its needs. Serving the needs of the people will truly impact them, and if it does not, then only God knows why it did not (Guillermo 2012).

Many leaders such as Eli and Guillermo understood the church to be separate from their community but called to be embedded in genuine, responsible relationships with non-believers. For Eli and Guillermo, the mission is not just stepping out of the four walls of the church to recruit new members through community engagement, as it is for Juan, Maria, and José; instead, it was to engage the community humbly so that God can change all of their lives. The slight shift in their focus changed the necessity and importance of the practice of community engagement. As they saw it, community engagement was as much an acceptable set of activities to evangelize as it was a by-product or outgrowth of their Christian life and means to fulfil God's plan for their community. Community engagement became 'holy' and therefore an important and powerful practice for Pentecostal Christians.

2.2.3. Community Engagement as Community Transformation

Pastors and church leaders who build ongoing, intimate relationships with community leaders and are actively engaged in community engagement activities talk about the new practice as vital to a new understanding of the mission of the church. These leaders talk about community engagement as a new 'revelation'. Most of these leaders had extensive experience in community development activities and had become influential leaders within their communities. Many have been elected to serve in or work closely with community associations, mayors' offices and other non-profits working in the region. For these leaders, community engagement is a vital activity for personal transformation and

to fulfil a new mission of the church that includes spiritual and material reform of the broader community.

Pastor Tomas from the *Santuario Bíblico* church described how community engagement is an important and powerful practice to fulfilling the mission of the church. He stated,

> The mission of the church is to solve society's problems. It is the hope of the world.[35] We have the word of encouragement, God's message for the world that changes people's hearts. The church must first feel the burdens of our society. The list of needs is very long, but as we listen to God, he will give us solutions because God does not want us to be absent from or indifferent to the needs of our community. He wants us to feel what the community feels. Just like Jesus, when he saw the multitudes, he had compassion on them. Jesus showed unmerited love, like sheep without a shepherd. The world does not have a guide, and many led them in wrong paths, the church exists to change the community (Pastor Tomas 2012).

Pastor Tomas explains that the mission of the church should include 'changing the community' (Pastor Tomas 2012). To him, the mission of the church goes beyond the traditional Pentecostal focus upon self- or family-reform to include community-reform. The church must not be separate from, but rather be embedded in and be a significant actor within the community. He refers to Jesus at the model for community engagement; just like he had compassion for the multitudes, the church should do the same. He also believes that God still has to intervene. Pastor Tomas stated, 'He [God] will guide us if we just listen and obey' (Pastor Tomas 2012). Much like Pastor Tomas, Pastor Marcos from the *La Paz* church understands community engagement to be an essential and powerful practice to fulfilling the mission of the church. He stated that the church's mission was to 'build new relationships with his community to serve those in greatest need without respect for class or status' (Pastor Marcos 2011).

Many church leaders and members also shared Pastor Marcos and Pastor Tomas' understanding of community engagement as an essential practice to enact the new

[35] Pastor Tomas learned the phrase, 'Hope of the World', during a Willow Creek Leadership Summit he attended. Pastors and some leaders also attended other conferences, workshops and trainings hosted by local and international organizations. Further research could explore how pastors and church leaders learn, adapt and use phrases and practices that are borrowed from other local and international entities.

conceptualization of the mission of the church. Martha, a community engagement committee leader from the *Santuario Bíblico* church, stated,

> The church exists because that was God's desire and plan that we go to or seek out those people that no one cares for; they are abandoned, have been raised in a religion that has forgotten them. We must first show that there is a church that worries about them and that there is a God that loves them and wants to give them a different life; that they are not alone or abandoned, but rather that they have not discovered God's purpose for their lives (Martha 2012).

In Martha's explanation of the mission of the church, she echoes Pastor Tomas' assertion that God has a plan to care for those 'abandoned' in their community. Martha adds that the church should focus its attention upon caring for those in the community with greatest needs such as single mothers, physically challenged children and gang members. Much like Pastor Tomas and Pastor Marcos, she states that it is God who intervenes to change the lives of those in greatest need. To Martha, God is the primary agent of change, and the church is called to implement God's plan (Martha 2012).

These church leaders expressed a different understanding of community engagement and the church's role in society from those in the previous two frameworks. These leaders extend the areas of activity and influence of the church to include the community. They express a moral mandate to go beyond self- and family-reform to include broader community change. They see their role as building genuine relationships to leverage and mobilize the community and public resources to resolve the problems of those in greatest need in their communities. They believe their 'call' is to fulfil God's plan of transforming their communities, which includes addressing the physical and spiritual needs of everyone in their spatiotemporal community.

Although church members' interpretation of community engagement could be understood within one of the three frameworks, the schemes were not exhaustive nor fixed. Church leaders and members who opted out of or participated periodically in community engagement activities tended to fall within the first interpretive framework: evangelism. Church leaders and members who participated more actively in community engagement activities tended to fall within the other two frameworks: a way of life or

community transformation. Moreover, in all of the five churches, all three of the frameworks were present simultaneously. Church leaders and members also shift their understandings of community engagement between interpretive frameworks during the research. Pastors and church leaders understand, at some level, that church members had different meanings about community engagement and that they are subject to change over time. Pastors and leaders seem to benefit, at least initially, from church members having multiple and ambiguous meanings to introduce the new practice. Nevertheless, the ritualization of the new practice requires church members to reconcile, to some degree, their understanding of community engagement for it to be seen as an important and powerful church practice.

3. Shifting Relations of Power Inside and Outside the Church

Along with challenging notions of personal transformation and the mission of the church, community engagement activities also altered the relations of power between pastors, church members, community leaders and other development actors. Pastors replaced leaders that left or opted out of community engagement with new leaders committed to the new practice. The relations of powers also were altered between pastors and community leaders, public entities, and denominational leaders. More often than not, the shift in the relations of power conferred the pastor with greater authority and influence in the congregation and community which contributed, to different degrees, to his ability to introduce and embed the new practice within their congregations.

3.1. Consolidating Relations of Power Inside the Church

The ritualization of community engagement shifted, at least temporarily, the relations of power to strengthen the authority and vision of the pastor. The pastor’s ability to successfully introduce the new practice served to eliminate resistance from opposing

leaders and promote new leaders to positions of power that further solidified the position of the pastor. In all five Pentecostal churches studied, women, young people, and newer believers filled new positions of power in more significant numbers and shorter periods. Many of these new leaders started serving in community engagement activities and ended up leading other church ministries and committees, which further consolidated the vision and the power of the pastor.

In four of the five churches studied, pastors had to navigate the disproportionate influence and power of some leaders in the church. Some leaders held more influence because they had been at the church longer than the pastor. In the case of Pastor Marcos and Pastor Tomas, they were the founding pastors of their churches. They also had long-standing relationships with the majority of their leaders and members. In their cases, both pastors were able to create enough space, at least temporarily, to introduce the new practice. The other three pastors did not found their churches. Therefore, they had to navigate the relationships with power leaders who had been at the church for many years.

Pastors also had to mitigate the influence and power of some leaders with more considerable financial resources. Some leaders and members had high incomes, and their offerings constituted a disproportionately higher percentage of the churches' revenues. Pastors were not only dependent upon their financial contributions for their incomes but also to fund the maintenance and programmes of the church. Many of these leaders and members had a more significant say in how the pastor used his time and the church's resources. Their influence was more pronounced in the smaller churches such as the *La Paz, Santuario Bíblico* and *El Cimiento.* In all five churches, pastors had to control for and convince these leaders, even if just initially, to allow them to begin to work on community development initiatives.

The successful completion of community development projects also helped pastors convince reticent or resistant church leaders on the importance of the new practice to the

church and community. It was harder for church leaders to argue against projects that benefitted church members and the entire community such as roads, bridges or water. In some cases, the project or programme benefited a family from the church, which served to strengthen the pastor's relationship with the member and justify the practice to the congregation. The members felt grateful and compelled to agree with the pastors' vision and in some cases, participate in community development initiatives because they had previously received a house or latrine.

Community engagement also strengthens the influence and power of new leaders over other leaders in the church. Pastors identified and selected new leaders that participated actively in *acercamiento* to join the community engagement committee and then to fill other spots left vacant by previous leaders. In effect, the pastors promoted new leaders that were loyal to his vision and in the process strengthened his authority. In the *El Cimiento* church, a young leader named José was one of the first to help Pastor Salvador introduce the new practice. He had always helped the pastor but was not a recognized leader of the church because he had struggled with alcoholism and was not married. Within five years of working on community development initiatives, he was asked to lead the community engagement committee and was named co-pastor of the church. In the *Santuario Bíblico* church, Martha, who had attended the church for several years but was not a leader, was named as vice-president of the community engagement committee and also a leader in the women's ministry department.

The shift in leadership included promoting women, young people and new believers to prominent positions of power in the church. At the *Santuario Bíblico* church, the majority of the new leaders both on the community engagement committee as well as in positions of influence in the church were women and young people. The president, treasurer and sixty-five per cent of the members of the community engagement committee were women. Four of the eight leaders on the committee were also leaders in the youth

group. Likewise, in the *La Paz* church, the original community engagement committee was comprised of seventy-five per cent women, and ninety per cent were young people. This was also the case in the *El Cimiento* church where more than half of the leaders on the community engagement committee were women, and twenty per cent of the leaders on the committee were young people.

New converts and members that joined the church and became involved in community engagement activities were also promoted to positions of leadership in shorter periods. For example, in the *Santuario Bíblico* church, a community woman that participated in the home garden initiative 'converted' and joined the church. In less than three years, she had become the president of the community engagement committee and was a leader in other ministries in the church. In the *El Cimiento* church, all but a few of the church leaders and members that participated and led community engagement activities were new converts or members.

3.2. Shifting in the Relations of Power Outside of the Church

Community engagement also altered the relationships of power between pastors, church leaders, community leaders, and other development actors. The most pronounced shift in the relations of power was between pastors and community leaders and members. Pastors were able to build strong personal and working relationships with community leaders. The change in the quality of the relationship with community leaders and the successful completion of projects increased the pastors' credibility and influence to organise the community, define community problems, identify and implement projects, and mobilize resources from inside and outside the community. Pastors were also able to increase their influence and power with public entities such as with mayoral offices and government ministries and departments. They were also able to mobilize financial and technical resources from private entities such as international and local FBOs and other churches. Finally, pastors with also able to alter the kinds of relations they had with pastors from

other churches and denominational leaders, which all served to strengthen their authority to continue to ritualize the practice in their congregations.

Church and community leaders stated that the most significant change in the church since they had begun to work with the community was the *poder de convocatoria* of the pastor. *Poder de convocatoria* is a person's authority and credibility to call a public meeting and have people attend (see Offutt 2015: 42). Pastors usually had the *poder de convocatoria* to call a church meeting or event, but rarely had the authority to call a community-wide meeting where non-Pentecostal, community members would attend. In La Montaña, I attended a meeting in a community where two rival families were in attendance. I had heard that when one family attended the other would not, so I asked a community leader why both families were present. Oscar stated, 'this time the pastor called the meeting. When the pastor calls the meeting, we know that something is going to get done' (pc 2011). All of the pastors, except for Pastor Juan, had gained the respect and authority to call meetings to discuss community issues with community leaders and members.

The pastor's ability to call a public meeting also strengthened the church's ability to strengthen the organizational capacity of CBOs. Pastors worked with CBO leaders to call general meetings, to legalize their organizations, hold elections, plan, manage and report on projects and to fundraise for development initiatives. In San Juan, the *ADESCO* was down to two leaders who had not been elected for years. Every time they called a community-wide meeting, too few community members would attend to have a quorum. It was not until Pastor José called the meeting that they had enough people present to elect the new *ADESCO*. In La Montaña, the community did not have a legal *ADESCO* to receive public funds. Pastor Salvador was able to call a meeting of community leaders to begin the process of legalizing their *ADESCO*. Since then, Pastor Salvador has helped to start or strengthen seventeen other CBOs in five surrounding communities.

The pastor's increased influence and power also helped shape the discussions and definitions of community problems. The pastors had multiple conversations with community leaders privately and publicly to discuss community issues and projects. Pastors worked with community leaders to identify community-wide issues, but also encouraged them to focus on people or families 'in greatest need' in the community. Community leaders traditionally identified problems that benefitted everyone, such as roads, schools, and bridges. However, as the pastors' influence increased, they encouraged the community leaders to see the needs of individual families, such as housing, latrines, and clean cookstoves, as a community problem that could be addressed collectively.

Pastors were especially influential in encouraging community leaders to address problems that previously were not seen as shared community problems. Pastor Tomas from the *Santuario Bíblico* church encouraged community leaders to address the problems faced by families with special needs children. Initially, community leaders did not prioritize these families nor saw them as necessary enough to be addressed. After several years of working on other projects together, Pastor Tomas was able to convince three of the most influential community leaders to join him and his church to create a separate non-profit called *Caminando Juntos* (Walking Together) to assist families with special needs children. The first activity done by the association was a community-wide parade for all the children with special needs and their families. The parade was designed to raise awareness, but also to honour the parents and children with special needs. The parade was the first time that many in the community realized the number of families with special needs but also that they could assist these families as a community.

Pastors also became important actor in the identification and implementation of community development initiatives. Pastors were instrumental in calling meetings to discuss and design projects. They were also crucial in mobilizing local and external

resources for the projects. Pastors strengthened the credibility of community leaders to mobilize local and external resources for projects. Many community leaders and members stated that they were sceptical about contributing money to community projects because previous community leaders had ‘stolen’ or ‘misused’ the funds. Community members still had doubts about contributing funds even when the pastors and church leaders were involved in the project.

Nevertheless, community members started to trust the church and community leaders as they completed projects together. Some community members alluded to the fact that having the church, especially the pastor, involved in the project made both the church and community more accountable to each other and the community. Some community members inferred that in working together, both the church and community leaders would be on their ‘best behaviour’ in order to protect their ‘testimonies’ or reputation.

Pastors were also instrumental in mobilizing resources for projects from their congregations which cultivated trust and increased the influence of the pastors and churches in their communities. All of the five churches had contributed church funds for projects. After consolidating the vision of community engagement with a critical mass of the leaders and members, pastors were able to do church-sponsored fundraising activities such as selling *pupusas* or other typical food, raising special offerings and mobilizing church members to volunteer for projects. In the *La Paz* church, Pastor Marcos was able to convince his church leaders to join leaders from the Catholic Church to fundraise for a project by selling tickets to a trip to a local lake. In the *Getsemaní* church, Pastor Francisco designated the general offerings that came in from services four times a year to community engagement activities. In the *La Roca* church and the *Santuario Bíblico* church, the leaders reported donating more than thirty per cent of their general offerings to fund community projects. The pastor’s capacity and commitment to raise and assign

church funds to community projects strengthened his position of influence in community meetings and discussions with community associations.

The pastors also mobilized private funds and technical assistance from FBOs, churches and individuals from outside the community. Pastors were able to attract FBOs interested in implementing their poverty alleviation strategies through their local church. All of the pastors had built relationships with multiple non-profit organizations. They all worked with *ENLACE*. Two of the five also worked with an emergency and relief agency called Convoy of Hope. Two of the five churches hosted an after-school education strengthening program through Compassion International. Pastor Tomas had also built relationships with Joni and Friends and Healing Waters International to implement various projects.

Pastors were also able to mobilize external resources from international churches to fund community engagement initiatives and church projects. Pastors were able to access funds from international churches for community development initiatives through *ENLACE.* They were also able to raise funds for their congregations or other church programmes from international churches. The pastor and church influence grew with every new connection they made with local and international FBOs.

Community engagement also shifted the relations of power between pastors and public leaders such as mayors, governors, and representatives of government ministries and departments. All of the pastors, except for Pastor Francisco, stated that they did not have a relationship with their mayor's office or other public entities before introducing community engagement. Pastor Francisco had already met with the principal of the local public school and with personnel from the mayor's office before starting the new approach. All of the pastors, except for Pastor Juan, described having a strong relationship with the mayor and other government representatives. They described their relationships with public leaders as strong because they could request a private meeting and to invite them to attend a church activity or community event.

All of the pastors were able to cultivate new relationships with incoming mayors and department heads from different political parties. Pastor Tomas from the *Santuario Bíblico* church was able to mobilize funds for their foundation to help children with special needs from two consecutive mayors from different political parties. Pastor Salvador from the *El Cimiento* church was able to build relationships with mayoral offices from two different regions of the country. In years past, both mayor's offices had not represented or worked in the community because La Montaña is located between on the border of two municipalities. Several years after Pastor Salvador began working with the community leaders, both mayors had funded community development projects in La Montaña, and now the mayors consult with church and community leaders to develop their annual work plans.

Finally, community engagement also altered the pastors' relations of power with leaders and pastors from their denominations as well as with other local churches. All five of the pastors discussed how they had to introduce the new practice within the authority of national, regional and local denominational leaders. Pastors Marcos and Tomas experienced considerable challenges navigating the *AIC* denomination in order to introduce the new practice. As discussed above, Pastor Marcos lost his position as assistant superintendent because of community engagement. Several years later he was elected by the pastors of the denomination to become the superintendent of the *AIC* denomination. Pastor Marcos was able to encourage other pastors from the denomination to be trained and to participate in community engagement. Pastor Tomas was also able to introduce the new practice in part because of Pastor Marcos's efforts to open up space for community engagement in the *AIC* denomination.

Pastors Francisco and José were also able to introduce the new practice with little resistance from denominational leaders because they were leaders and their churches were growing. Pastor Francisco from the *Getsemaní* church was an *AD* district leader and

had experienced sizable church growth. The rapid growth of his church also gave him leverage and prestige within the denomination. He was eventually elected to be an executive leader of the *AD* during the period of the research project. Pastor José from *La Roca* was also able to introduce the new practice because Pastor Francisco was his district leader. He later became the district leader when Pastor Francisco ascended to the new position. In both of these cases, church growth validated, unconsciously or not, the introduction of community engagement to their local church and denominational leaders. Both pastors have also been instrumental in introducing and validating the importance of community engagement within their denominations.

Pastors have also been instrumental in encouraging other local churches to participate in community engagement. Many of the churches that initially criticized the pastors, now approached them for help to introduce the new practice into their congregations. Each of the five churches has helped to train and partner with multiple local congregations from different denominations. In La Montaña, the *El Cimiento* church has encouraged and partners with twelve other local congregations from five different Pentecostal denominations. They hold joint prayer meetings for the community, host training sessions and partner on multiple projects. The *La Paz* church had partnered with five other local churches from different denominations to provide training sessions on the mission of the church and community engagement. Pastor José from the *La Roca* church had helped six other churches to start working with their community and partnered with them to implement community development projects. He is also training and coaching pastors and church leaders in Guatemala in community engagement.

In summary, community engagement served to alter the relations of power within and outside the church that allowed pastors to introduce and ritualize the new practice of community engagement. The new relationships with community, public and private leaders and entities provided pastors with the resources, training and influence to

convince some leaders to suspend their criticism or public resistance temporarily but also created opportunities for church leaders and members to participate in community engagement. The more that members participated actively in the new practice, the more likely they were to understand the practice as essential to their personal transformation and to fulfilling the mission of the church. Therefore, the ability of the pastor to introduce and ritualize the new practice rested on his authority and influence to convince existing leaders and replace resistant leaders with new leaders that supported community engagement. Pastors that were successful in shifting the relations of power within the church were also able to exert greater influence and power in the kinds of projects and programs implemented in the community. Nevertheless, when pastors were less successful in replacing resistant leadership with leaders that favoured community engagement, the ritualization of the community engagement stalled or failed.

4. FAILED AND SUCCESSFUL RITUALIZATION

In all five of the churches studied, pastors and leaders were able to introduce and ritualize community engagement as an important and powerful church practice within their congregations but to varying levels of success. Pastors understood and accepted that church leaders and members have multiple and ambiguous meanings regarding community engagement. Moreover, the non-systematic cluster of ideas regarding community engagement appeared to be unstable and could lead to abandoning the new practice in the medium- and long-term. As Bell (1992) states, ritualization is a continuous process where multiple meanings and experiences are interpreted and reinterpreted in ways that are incomplete and always open to resistance, retreat or restructuring (see Comaroff & Comaroff 1993). In all five congregations studied, the capacity of the pastors and church leaders to create enough of a shared understanding of community engagement and to alter the relations of power contributed to the successful ritualization of the new

practice. However, when pastors were unable to do so, the new practice was reinterpreted to strengthen previous or alternative meanings to community engagement; church members undermined or resisted understanding the new practice as necessary for personal transformation, strengthening the congregation or fulfilling the mission of the church. In these congregations, church leaders and members stalled or abandoned the process of ritualizing community engagement.

In the *Santuario Bíblico* and *La Roca* churches, the pastors and church leaders were able to consolidate the meaning of community engagement and the relations of power needed to ritualize the practice successfully. Pastor Tomas and leaders from the *Santuario Bíblico* church were able to survive the first substantive exodus of church leaders and members (nearly thirty per cent of the congregation). They were able to replace those that left with new leaders that shared a common understanding and value of the new practice. Moreover, the pastor was able to introduce the practice quickly and successfully to the new converts and members of the church. Pastor Tomas and other church leaders provided new members and converts with accessible opportunities to participate in community engagement and to grow in the leadership of the church. By the end of the fieldwork, the majority of church leaders participated directly in community engagement activities at some level. Pastor Tomas had also been able to delegate authority to his leaders. The church leaders were so effective that even when Pastor Tomas went through a season of discouragement and was distracted by other non-community development projects, the community engagement activities continued to be a vital church practice.

Pastor José from the *La Roca* church has also been able to ritualize and sustain the new practice within the congregation. He used his charisma, position of authority, and early results of new converts and members to convince his leaders and members to participate in community engagement activities. More than fifty per cent of the church's leadership participates actively in community engagement. Church leaders and members have also

been elected to participate in multiple community-based organizations. Although many members are participating in community engagement, there still exists significant differences among leaders and members regarding the aims and meanings of the practice. As Pastor José increased his responsibilities in the *AD* as a district leader and as the director of the local Bible school, he has become less present at the church and in the community. It remains to be seen how the church leadership will react to his absence and whether their level of engagement will remain the same. The sustained differences in the meaning of community engagement could ultimately undermine Pastor José's intended goals of introducing and ritualizing the new practice.

Pastor Salvador from the *El Cimiento* church was less successful than Pastors Santos and Pastor José in ritualizing community engagement beyond a small group of leaders. Pastor Salvador and a few church leaders have continued to participate in community-based organizations and work on community projects and programmes, but many of his members are not actively engaged in community engagement. As the church has grown, he has been able to recruit new leaders to join the community engagement committee, but like the *La Roca* church, the leaders and members have multiple and ambiguous interpretations of the new practice. Moreover, as Pastor Salvador and his leaders have focused on constructing a new church building, they have participated less in implementing community development projects and programmes. Once again, it remains to be seen how active the church leaders and members stay engaged in the new practice upon completing the new building.

In the *Getsemaní* church, only three home cell groups of more than thirty are still engaged in community engagement activities. Since Pastor Juan replaced Pastor Francisco, the overall focus and promotion of community engagement in the church have dwindled. By the end of the fieldwork, only three cell groups were still being trained by *ENLACE* and were actively engaged in their communities. The small number of cell

groups participating in community engagement reduced the number of opportunities for church members to engage in the community. As fewer leaders and members participated, the overall value and importance of the practice became less of a priority for the congregation.

Pastor Marcos and the leaders of the *La Paz* church have almost entirely abandoned community engagement. Pastor Marcos still fervently believes in the importance and power of community engagement to fulfil the mission of the church. Nevertheless, many of the original leaders driving the community engagement committee left the church for various reasons. Pastor Marcos was unable to recruit, and train new leaders committed to the practice. He also spent less time at the church and working with the community once he was elected to be the superintendent of the denomination. Therefore, he and the new leaders focused on managing the Compassion International programme instead of participating in other community engagement activities. Pastor Marcos and several of his leaders recognized that they had disengaged from the community; they had met several times as a leadership team to discuss how they could reengage in their community but had not taken concrete steps to do so. Pastor Marcos was still the president of the Water Board, but the congregation had not worked any community-based organization for a couple of years after the completion of the fieldwork.

The in-depth ethnographic study of these five congregations provides a more nuanced understanding of why and how some Pentecostals congregations are choosing to introduce the new practice of community engagement into their contested congregations, while also generating a new set of questions for further study. Can Pentecostal pastors and leaders sustain the new practice of community engagement if it further challenges their sense of identity and mission? Can pastors sustain the new practice if enough leaders leave or if they do not have the desired results over a sustained period? How long can the congregation have multiple, ambiguous meanings for the new practice before abandoning

community engagement? Would the pastor and leaders be able to continue to mobilize their congregation and raise funds to sustain their new forms of engagement with limited social investment and shifts in the mission of FBOs such as *ENLACE*? Moreover, the in-depth analysis of the internal and external cultural strategies used by pastors to ritualize community engagement also leads to further questions regarding how and when Pentecostal congregations and adherents can contribute (or not) to localized development, more specifically community development.

Conclusion: Community Engagement as a Contingent, Nascent and Contested Ritualized Practice

1. Introduction

This thesis presents the results of a five-year ethnographic study of five traditional Pentecostal congregations in their social fields of development. The study examines why and how a small, but growing number, of Pentecostal pastors and church leaders are choosing to participate in a new set of development activities that address community-wide issues through collective action – what is referred to as community engagement throughout the thesis. Pastors and church leaders choose, consciously or not, to use internal and external cultural strategies and techniques to signify the new practice of community engagement as important and powerful to adherent's personal transformation and to fulfil the mission of the church. Community engagement, however, exposes tensions and generates new arguments within their Pentecostal congregations that need to be reconciled, at some level, if the new practice is to continue for a sustained period. Therefore, the thesis argues that community engagement can be understood as a new, contingent, and contested ritualized practice that reinforces, challenges, and transforms Pentecostals' sense of identity, sociality and way-in-the-world.

The ethnographic analysis of why and how pastors and church leaders introduce and ritualize community engagement within contested church environments contributes to the study of Pentecostalism from a ritual perspective. The study of community engagement as an embodied, rhetorical, and creative practice furthers our understandings of how Pentecostal ritualized practice shapes and reshapes social life. The examination of community engagement as a ritualized practice also provides a theoretical framework through which to interpret Pentecostal practices within a structured and structuring environment without reifying beliefs, experiences, or activities. The framework also

provides scholars with a set of questions to evaluate why Pentecostal pastors and leaders chose to participate in particular forms of social engagement and how they introduce the new practices, with varying degrees of success, within congregations in El Salvador, Latin America and beyond.

The study of community engagement from a ritual perspective also adds to newer research on Pentecostal social engagement in El Salvador. The thesis examines how smaller, traditional Pentecostal congregations located in rural and semi-rural areas choose and negotiate new ways of engaging in collective action to address community-wide issues. In doing so, it contributes to discussions on how geographic and social location of Pentecostal congregations shape the form and meaning of social engagement in El Salvador. Moreover, the thesis addresses whether some Pentecostal actors are willing to learn and engage in a long-term process of understanding and addressing individual and structural issues through collective action in El Salvador.

Finally, the thesis contributes to discussions among development scholars and practitioners on the role of Pentecostals in development. The thesis discusses how Pentecostal congregations and adherents can contribute (or not) to broader social change through development interventions. It explores how the historical and cultural forms of community engagement could contribute to community development by creating new discourses or publics and catalysing bonding, bridging and linking social capital that could be instrumental in community development.

2. COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT AS A RITUALIZED PRACTICE

The examination of community engagement from a ritual perspective contributes to research on how Pentecostal ritualized practice shapes their sense of identity, sociality and way-in-the-world. Building upon the work of Csordas (1997, 2011), Lindhardt (2011a), Comaroff and Comaroff (1993), and Bell (1992) community engagement is

understood and studied as a set of embodied, rhetorical, and creative practices that shape and reshape social life. Community engagement, like all human activity, is situated within the historical and cultural conditions that shape and inform its content and meaning. Community engagement is also examined as a strategic action where Pentecostal ritual actors differentiate and prioritize the new practice as an important and powerful church activity. Moreover, the new practice is enacted within a structured and structuring Pentecostal habitus that allows ritual actors to resist, negotiate, and transform the meanings of community engagement.

The study of community engagement as a new practice also provides an ethnographic example of how Pentecostals use ritualization as a cultural strategy to introduce new practices. Scholars have examined how 'traditional' or 'classic' Pentecostal activities or frames such as ecstatic pray, communal worship, or deliverance services serve to shape Pentecostal religious and social life. Csordas (1997) also discusses how the meanings and forms of Pentecostal practices can be altered or 'radicalized' at particular historical moments to help adherents distinguish themselves from other Pentecostal communities. This thesis, however, adds to the literature by examining how a new practice is introduced and ritualized into a contested church environment. The study highlights how new practices can be embedded in previous discourses and activities through the use of accepted Pentecostal techniques and strategies. Moreover, the study highlights how a new Pentecostal practice can be resisted, negotiated, accepted, and rejected by the congregation. Further research could explore how the introduction of new practices such as development activities or new forms of religious activities such as deliverance services reinforce, challenge, and transform Pentecostal beliefs, experiences, and practices within contested church environments.

The examination of community engagement as a ritualized practice also contributes to the study and understanding of Pentecostal beliefs, experiences, and activities as a set of

an interrelated and endlessly referencing symbols and meanings. Bells' (1992) reflexive understanding and study of ritualization provides a theoretical framework from which to study ritualized practice as 'real' action without reifying beliefs, experiences, and dispositions as objects that exist outside of the analytical moment. As stated above, ritualization examines how practice is shaped and informed by historical and cultural conditions but must always be understood as real action within a creative moment that either reinforces, adapts or challenges existing structures of meaning. Therefore, community engagement can be understood as a new practice that both reinforces and challenges interpretive oppositions within the Pentecostal habitus without reifying them as 'objective' dualities.

Finally, the study of community engagement as a ritualized practice also provides a theoretical framework to understand why and how Pentecostal actors choose (or not) to participate in particular development activities. The thesis discusses how some Pentecostal pastors and leader chose to ritualize community engagement because of their qualified authority and because the new practice has to be meaningful and empowering to its adherents. They differentiate and prioritize *acercamiento* within the Pentecostal habitus to signify it as an acceptable and essential new practice that could contribute to personal transformation and to fulfilling the mission of the church. The new practice is accepted by church leaders and members to different extents within the congregation which allows the pastors the space to introduce the new practice, but also creates the conditions for it to be resisted and adapted by some church members. Community engagement reinforces church members' understanding of their relationship with the divine and with other adherents while challenging their understanding of the divine's relationship to the world and therefore their own as 'children of God'. Moreover, the new practice reveals tensions and introduces a new argument regarding the importance of

exclusive, closed social networks as vital to Pentecostal identity and sociality, as well as their geographic and civic role in the community.

2.1. Pentecostal Identity: Jesus and the Non-believer

For many traditional Pentecostals, identity is shaped by their understanding of their relationship to the divine, with other believers and to the 'world' (Lindhardt 2011a, 2011b; Csordas 1997). In all five churches studied, the new practice reinforced the dominant binary opposition between God and the fallen world. It also confirmed the need to be saved by the divine from a corrupting and corrupted world and thereby validated what is required to be a 'child of God' and faithful believer. The practice, however, challenged many adherents' perceptions of Jesus's activity in the world and therefore, their actions as obedient 'children of God'.

The new practice reinforces and challenges Pentecostal adherents' understanding of how Jesus interacts with non-believers in a fallen world. Some church members continue to describe Jesus's social interaction with non-believers as approaching them with 'love and compassion' in order to bring them into faith and the church for them to be transformed. They imagine Jesus approaching non-believers much like they do when conducting home visits during community service activities. The interactions between the divine and the non-believer are considered to be bounded, prescribed and unidirectional. Jesus approaches the 'unholy', non-believer in order to demonstrate his 'love' and offer 'salvation'. Nevertheless, for church leaders active in community engagement, they described Jesus's social interaction with non-believers in different terms.

Pastors and church leaders engaging in *acercamiento* see themselves as divine agents engaged in building trusting, empathetic, and compassionate relationships with non-believers in order to address spiritual and physical needs in the community. They visualize Jesus as 'walking through the community', building relationships with and seeing the spiritual and physical 'needs' of the 'non-believer'. The imagined relationship

between the divine and the non-believer is one of trust, empathy, and compassion. Jesus befriends and cares for everyone's physical and spiritual needs. The new understanding of Jesus's social interactions with non-believers encourages some church leaders to build new kinds of relationships with community members. They talk about the need to 'incarnate' or 'identify with' the needs of the non-believer. However, they still struggle to understand how they can embody divine action within a corrupted and corrupting world.

The majority of church members still believe that the divine is 'holy' or 'separated' from the world and cannot have a direct relationship with the 'unholy'. There already exists a theological tension in explaining the interaction between a holy God and any 'impure' human, 'saved' or 'unsaved'. For many Pentecostals, this tension is resolved by Jesus and the Holy Spirit serving as mediators between divine and human relationships. In much the same way, some church leaders believe that Jesus and the Holy Spirit are vital instigators, facilitators, and mediators of *acercamiento*. Pastors and leaders believe that the Holy Spirit gave them the vision to introduce the new practice. Jesus and the Holy Spirit convince church members to engage in the new practice. The Holy Spirit prepares the hearts and minds of the community leaders in order to build intimate relationships. The Holy Spirit mobilizes resources from mayoral offices and other organizations to complete a project. At every stage of the process of *acercamiento*, God, through the mediation of Jesus and the Holy Spirit, is in charge and responsible to cultivate the desired 'closeness' of relationships and productive partnerships that will transform the spiritual and physical lives of the community.

For many church leaders, however, community engagement exposes further tensions regarding the privileges and blessings that derive from being a 'child of God'. Many traditional Pentecostals believe that only converts are 'children of God' with access to the presence of and blessings from the divine. Blessings are understood to be spiritual, such

as divine peace, joy, and love. They are also material, such as the provision of employment, health, and safety. As church members participate in community engagement, they strive to understand why God would 'bless' a non-believer with a house or other physical blessing. Some less engaged church members explained that God would extend this physical blessing as a means to draw them toward salvation, which to them is the most vital blessing.

Whereas, for leaders that were more engaged, they believe that their active engagement is necessary for God to extend physical blessings to the non-believer. These leaders understand that God had blessed the non-believer because they, as children of God, were present and active in their lives. They explained that God extends physical blessings to non-believers because of their obedience and faithfulness to the divine. Moreover, the shift in their understanding of how the divine interacts with non-believers challenges many Pentecostal adherents' notion of 'separation' from the community as vital to their Pentecostal identity and sociality.

2.2. Sociality

Community engagement strengthens church members' beliefs about who was part of the church body and what kind of relationships they should have with other adherents but also challenges their understanding of exclusive, closed social networks as vital to Pentecostal identity and sociality. Traditional Pentecostal congregations are usually separate and closed social networks distinct from other non-church, community relationships. They are characterized by exclusive membership and clearly defined social boundaries that separate them from non-church members. Pentecostal adherents are only accepted entirely into the church after a public statement of confession and active participation in the church. They are also required to maintain distant, limited, and prescribed relationships with non-believers in their daily interactions in the marketplace and other public locations.

Moreover, they are only loosely connected to the 'webs of association and shared understandings of how to behave' (Halpern 2005: 3) within the community. Many Pentecostal adherents do not see themselves as part of the 'social fabric' of their communities; they do not participate in community projects, activities, or associations. Therefore, the new practice exposes tensions among some church members regarding the importance of separating themselves from 'corrupting' relationships to further their spiritual formation and to accomplish the mission of the church.

The process and product of the new practice of *acercamiento* encouraged some church leaders to build trusting and genuine relationships with community members, NGO/IFBO staff, and government personnel. Community engagement introduced a new set of development activities that led to new forms of social interactions which contributed to creating physical and emotional ties to non-church, community members. Church leaders still want every 'non-believer' to be converted because that leads to spiritual blessings and 'eternal' life after death. They continue to talk to 'non-believers' about their faith and the steps required for conversion in private meetings as well as in community and evangelistic events. Nevertheless, some leaders and members valued and invested in new relationships even if they did not lead to salvation at the moment. Some church leaders and members understood that building authentic relationships with non-church members is desired by God and that in and through these new types of relationships, God can extend both material and spiritual blessings. For these church leaders, the new relationships are vital to them personally as well as to accomplishing their church's broader mission of community reform or 'transformation'.

2.3. The Mission of the Church

The new practice of community engagement reinforced, challenged, and transformed the understanding of the mission of the church for some pastors, leaders and members. For many church members, *acercamiento* confirmed and validated their previous

understanding of the church's location and purpose in the community. These church members believe that church members should remain 'separate', both socially and emotionally, from relationships in the geographic community. For these church members, their responsibility as 'followers' of Jesus is to maintain a 'holy' or morally aesthetic life that is distant from a corrupted and corrupting world; the mission of the church, for many of these leaders, is to venture out from the safety of their church congregation into a community of non-believers to evangelize and recruit new converts. Therefore, community engagement provides the congregation with a new strategy to build trusting relationships to evangelize and recruit new church members. Whereas, for pastors and church leaders who participate actively in community engagement activities, *acercamiento* challenges and transforms their understanding of the mission of the church to include broader community reform through collective action.

Engaged pastors and leaders believe that God has strategically placed their church within the geographic community to fulfil God's 'plan' of physical and spiritual transformation. For these church leaders, community engagement is a new strategy to befriend and work together with non-church members to bring God's material and spiritual blessings to the community. These pastors and leaders understand that their primary responsibility is to listen and obey God to be directed and empowered to affect the 'divine' plan. Understanding that the new practice comes from God and is facilitated by Jesus and the Holy Spirit encourages some pastors to choose to ritualize community engagement within their contested church environments and transforms their understanding of the location and role of the church in the community.

Pastors and leaders who participate actively in community engagement state that they are and should be active civic agents within their communities. They believe it is essential for the church to work with community leaders and associations to identify and design community-wide solutions to poverty. They also believe that new relationships with

community leaders are vital to rebuild or expand social networks within the community that could lead to broader changes. (The importance of building trusting relationships that could lead to strengthening CBOs, building the social fabric of communities, and contribute to more effective development initiatives is discussed further in the following section.)

Along with building trusting and collaborative relationships, pastors and some church leaders believe that the church plays a vital role in shaping the vision of change in the community. They state that the church embodies the values and goals of community change. The church embodies dedication to God, to each other and to 'loving your neighbour'. They believe that these values should shape how the church and community work together to address shared problems. Church leaders also state that they play other roles in the community, such as calling people to meetings (*poder de convocatoria*), communication, and organization. Pastors and leaders also explain that they play an important 'prophetic' voice in the community by encouraging community leaders to identify and implement projects that benefit the most marginalized families. However, not everyone in the church shares the same understandings of the mission of the church; therefore, pastors and leaders have to continue to ritualize the new practice within their congregations and experiencing varying degrees of success.

3. Social Engagement in El Salvador

Along with contributing to the study of Pentecostalism from a ritual perspective, the ethnographic study of traditional Pentecostal congregations contributes to the dearth of research on Pentecostal social engagement in El Salvador. Although Pentecostalism had continued to grow steadily in El Salvador over the last five decades, there has been relatively little research analysing its growth or influence in society. More recently, a small group of scholars have studied the internal and external factors that shape the form

of social engagement and its potential contribution to broader social change in El Salvador (see Offutt 2015; Wadkins 2017; Huff 2016, 2017; Robeck 2016; Garrard-Burnett 2016; Bueno 2015). This thesis suggests that the study of traditional Pentecostal congregations in their social fields of development can further discussions on why and how some Pentecostals are choosing to engage in the world in new ways.

Offutt (2015) suggests that more Pentecostal congregations and adherents in El Salvador are choosing to implement relief and development projects as part of their evangelistic efforts. He studies how mostly larger, middle-class, urban congregations and professional adherents implement their projects, start their own NGOs/FBOs, and join IFBOs to provide services to under-resourced communities. Offutt focuses his attention on how Pentecostal adherents, with different levels of affiliation to local congregations, mobilize local and international resources to develop programmes that are unsystematic and fail to address structural issues in the communities. He does not interrogate how the geographic and social location of Pentecostals shape and inform their social engagement.

The study of smaller, traditional Pentecostal congregations located in rural and semi-rural communities can provide further research on how geographic and social location shapes the form and meaning of social engagement. Unlike larger, urban congregations, smaller churches have fewer internal resources, less access to national and international networks, and rely solely upon volunteer leadership. The Pentecostal congregations studied, therefore, chose to implement smaller, immediate assistance projects to individual families within their communities. They also chose to participate in or partner with IFBOs to implement their programmes.

The geographic location of Pentecostal congregations also shaped the form of social engagement. The erosion of the influence of the Catholic church in rural and semi-rural areas, the growth and influence of Pentecostal congregations, and the partial funding of the state’s local development strategy generate new spaces of civic engagement for the

Pentecostal congregations studied. Further studies could explore if and when these new spaces of civic engagement are available and to what degree to urban or semi-urban congregations.

The social location of Pentecostal congregations also shapes how new development practices are introduced and ritualized. Contrary to many larger congregations, all of the pastors studied played a significant role in introducing and ritualizing the new practice. They choose to ritualize the new practice because of their qualified authority and because the practice has to be relevant to a significant number of members. In larger congregations, pastors might have paid staff members to lead community service projects or programmes. Moreover, outreach activities might not need to be introduced as an important or powerful practice to the entire congregation to maintain a moral order. Therefore, the new practice might not alter the relations of power nor generate new arguments that need to be reconciled at some level within the congregation for the activity to be sustained.

The study of smaller, traditional Pentecostal congregations can also contribute to discussions on the role of Pentecostals in localized development. Wadkins (2017), Robeck (2016), Huff (2016, 2017) and Garrard-Burnett (2016) provide examples of traditional, Pentecostal congregations engaged in new ways in rural or semi-rural communities. Moreover, they all study Pentecostal congregations that have worked with *ENLACE* at some level. This thesis adds to their research by providing a more granular understanding of how and why specific congregations choose to engage in new ways but also how introducing the new development activities create dissonance and changes within the congregations.

Wadkins (2017) states that traditional Pentecostal congregations engaging their communities in new ways understand themselves to be a part of their communities and as working with local leaders to resolve issues related to poverty. Despite working with

community leaders, however, he suggests that pastors and church leaders still diagnose the primary problems in their communities to be spiritual; thus, conversion is the principle solution for social change. The ethnographic study of many of these same congregations, however, paints a more complex picture.

Among the Pentecostal congregations studied, pastors and church leaders provide multiple explanations of the causes and solutions to community problems. As has been discussed throughout the thesis, most of the pastors and church members still believe it is essential to evangelize and recruit new church members. Moreover, as church leaders and members participate actively in community engagement, some begin to understand the community issues as the result of both individual and structural problems. They not only see themselves as a part of the community but as divine agents of spiritual and physical change in their local social fields of development. Some of these leaders transform their understanding of the mission of the church to include self- and community-reform. The following section will discuss whether the focus on localized development restricts Pentecostals from engaging in broader analysis and efforts toward structural changes (see Huff 2016).

However, regardless of how localized their development efforts might be, the thesis describes pastors and church leaders who choose to become development actors willing to learn and engage in long-term processes of understanding and addressing individual and structural issues through collective action. Contrary to Freston's (2015) description of traditional Pentecostals in Brazil, the pastors and church leaders studied were willing to commit for extended periods to understand community problems as 'durable' social realities. Moreover, pastors and church members included the development of others in their understanding of the mission of the church.

The study of community engagement as a ritualized practice provides a more nuanced perspective of how church leaders explain and introduce the notions of collective action

within their congregations. The Pentecostals studied choose to develop new forms of collective action to address community problems. Freston (2015) and Comoraff (2012) suggest that Pentecostal beliefs, experiences and practices tend to generate individualized subjects who retreat from collective action. However, in the congregations studied, pastors and church leaders stated that building new forms of social interactions was vital to understanding community problems as well as to the successful implementation of development initiatives. Moreover, they stated that the new relationships were important to their lives and to fulfil the mission of the church.

4. PENTECOSTALISM AND DEVELOPMENT

The ethnographic study of community engagement as a new, contingent and contested ritual also addresses three interrelated questions regarding the role of Pentecostal congregations in localized development. First, do Pentecostal values, beliefs, and practices contribute to or hinder adherents or congregations from participating in development? Second, how does the focus and efficiency of Pentecostal congregations to facilitate personal transformation shape their understanding of and engagement in social transformation? Third, how could the specific historical and cultural practice of community engagement cultivate publics and social capital that could lead to community development?

4.1. The Pentecostal Habitus and the Hermeneutics of Development

The ethnographic study of these five traditional Pentecostal congregations suggests that Pentecostals have within their interpretive schemes of meanings, dispositions, and experiences the rhetorical and strategic ability to introduce and ritualize new development practices. In all five churches studied, pastors and church leaders discussed community engagement as an extension of community service, but with different goals and activities. They used the words *acercamiento* and *colaboración* to explain the process and ends of

building new kinds of genuine, trusting relationships with non-church, community members to address community-wide issues. Moreover, they embedded the new practice into their liturgical and organizational structures and used accepted rites to signify it as an important church activity.

Pentecostal pastors and leaders also had available within their system of values, predispositions, and experiences the ability to mobilize adherents to collective action in order to understand community problems and partner with non-church development actors to address structural issues. Among the pastors and leaders studied, community engagement was not understood as an innate or 'naturally' embedded practice within a set of theological beliefs ready to be released when historical and cultural conditions changed. Instead, the pastors and leaders described the new practice as a result of a 'dynamic hermeneutic, empowered by the Spirit', that enabled them to 'reflect upon the biblical text and provide them with a contextualized social doctrine that undergirds, deepens, and indeed enhances, their current social practices' (Petersen 1996: 227).

Many of the pastors and leaders studied understand community engagement to be the result of a new divine revelation of the ministry of Jesus and of the mission of the church. They choose to introduce the new practice strategically to reinforce the higher-level oppositions while minimizing tensions long enough to institutional the new practice. Therefore, the values and practices exist within Pentecostal congregations to encourage or hinder participation in development but require the commitment of leaders with sufficient authority and ritual mastery to introduce and ritualize the new development activities over an extended period. Future research on the role of Pentecostalism and development could focus on how different community development initiatives are understood and ritualized (or not) within Pentecostal congregations and on how the new development initiatives create a new problematic that exposes existing theological and sociological tensions that could create new moments of hermeneutical reflection and

practice. More research is also needed to understand how third-party organizations, such as *ENLACE*, can encourage or facilitate the hermeneutical process of development within Pentecostal congregations (see Garrard-Burnett 2016).

4.2. Pentecostal Formation and Social Transformation

Along with exploring how Pentecostal beliefs and values shape their participation in social engagement, scholars' debate whether the process of Pentecostal subject formation can translate into social transformation. Scholar such as Freeman (2012a), Comaroff (2012), Bernice Martin (1995), Meyer (2007), and Wadkins (2017) suggest that neo-Pentecostal congregations form 'empowered' and 'entrepreneurial' subjects capable of succeeding in and furthering the goals of neoliberal development capitalism. According to these scholars, neo-Pentecostal congregations could be essential development actors if and when they partner, individually or collectively, with NGOs to address structural issues in their communities. On the other hand, scholars like Freston (2015) and Deacon (2012) argue that Pentecostal congregations cultivate values, skills and predispositions within their adherents that allow them to survive the effects or costs of neoliberalism. These scholars believe that the social location and focus on personal transformation does not necessarily mean that Pentecostal congregations could be effective partners in social transformation.

Freeman (2012a) argues that neo-Pentecostal congregations in Africa are more effective than secular development NGOs in furthering neoliberal development goals and agendas because they focus on personal transformation, are self-funded, and cultivate participation. First, Freeman (2012a) states that neo-Pentecostal congregations are far more effective than NGOs at personal transformation. She argues that even when NGOs attempt to create empowered subjects through programmes such as microenterprise development, they do not have the 'internal' mechanisms that Pentecostal congregations have to build meaning and create personal change through ritualization (Freeman 2012a:

25; see Haynes 2005). She concludes that Pentecostal congregations are far better than NGOs in transforming subjects that can 'reject passive, fatalistic beliefs and reclaim their agency' leading to 'new behaviours and types of relationships that enhance economic development and foster upward social mobility' (2012a: 25).

Although Freeman (2012a) recognizes the importance of ritualization within Pentecostal congregations to form entrepreneurial subjects, she does not elaborate on the cultural strategies used to moralize new beliefs and values within the congregation. A more in-depth examination of the ritualization process within neo-Pentecostal congregations could reveal whether different meanings exist between church leaders and members within the same congregation. That is, could pastors, leaders and members have different understandings of what it means to be 'empowered' and 'entrepreneurial' subjects that could lead to different levels of social engagement?

The ethnographic study of traditional Pentecostal congregations in El Salvador suggests that church members could have multiple and ambiguous understandings of a moralized agency that shape how and when they engage in social transformation. Pentecostal pastors and leaders might introduce a new set of beliefs or practices into the congregation through sermons, pamphlets, books, videos and community development programmes that are not understood or enacted in the same way by other leaders and members. Future research could focus on examining whether leaders and members share the same understanding of their role as moralized subjects in creating social change. It is also critical to understand how these new beliefs, values, and practices are introduced or ritualized within the authority of pastors and relations of power within the congregation. Moreover, additional research could continue to explore how class, gender, and age also shape the process of Pentecostal personal transformation and their engagement within the world.

Second, Freeman (2012a) suggests that because Pentecostal congregations are more responsive and accountable to their 'religious constituents' than NGOs because they fund their development initiatives. She argues that NGOs have been heavily influenced by 'external' donors that make them responsive to international agendas and concerns and accountable to foreign stakeholders. There is ample evidence that Pentecostals are developing and implementing their development programmes that aim to care for people inside and outside the congregation (see Miller & Yamamori 2007; Burchardt 2013; Deacon 2012). However, a closer examination of how programmes are identified, designed, resourced, and implemented can shed light on whose needs are being met and if the programmes are being designed and resourced by external organizations and stakeholders. Moreover, the ability of Pentecostal churches to raise their resources to fund development initiatives does not imply that international or local development organizations have not shaped their development goals and strategies.

There is evidence that many Pentecostal churches, both small and large, rural and urban, develop indirect and direct relationships with other development actors to implement programmes (see Offutt 2015). All of the churches studied had received training and resources from international and local FBOs to implement development initiatives. Many of these programmes were identified and designed by NGOs/FBOs. Therefore, a closer examination of the stakeholders, design, and implementation of development programmes would provide a greater understanding of the degree of responsiveness of Pentecostal churches to local needs within and outside their congregations.

The new practice of community engagement tends to provide Pentecostal congregations with a greater degree of responsiveness to local needs because they work with non-church, community leaders to identify and implement community development initiatives. Church leaders discuss and work with non-church development actors to

define and prioritize community problems. They also design and manage the projects jointly with CBOs. Moreover, church and community leaders were able to influence, at different times but only partially, the types of projects funded by the mayor's office and federal programmes. Nevertheless, church and community leaders were less able to influence the kinds of resources or training received from NGOs or FBOs that only offered pre-established programmes. At best, church and community leaders were able to pick and choose which programmes offered by NGOs or FBOs they believed would work best for their community.

Third, Freeman (2012a) states that Pentecostal congregations foster greater participation among their adherents which allows them to become 'embedded in local communities' quickly and 'seen as moral and meaningful institutions' (Freeman 2012a: 26). As discussed throughout the thesis, Pentecostal congregations are voluntary associations. They are led and managed by pastors, volunteer leaders, and members. Volunteer leaders and members participate actively in church activities and service. Thus, Freeman (2012a) argues that pastors and leaders can quickly mobilize a critical mass of people to actively participate in church activities that can announce their presence and embed them in the community.

Moreover, adherents from rural or semi-rural Pentecostal congregations usually reside within walking distance from the church. The close geographic proximity to their community, allows church members to influence local relationships in ways that NGOs that come and go based on short-term project cycles find challenging to develop. However, as is argued in this thesis, participation inside the church does not necessarily translate into increased social engagement. A closer examination of how church members understand the value and importance of 'participation' inside the church can contribute to understanding if and when adherents choose to engage in community development initiatives.

Church members participated actively in church activities in all of the Pentecostal congregations studied. Participation is highly valued because it contributes to personal transformation, strengthens the church community, and helps to fulfil the mission of the church. The pastor and church leaders' ability to mobilize large numbers of participants into social engagement is contingent upon the pastors' authority to ritualize the practice as important and powerful to church members. Thus, the ability of Pentecostal pastors and leaders to require or encourage the participation of adherents in church activities might not always translate into their ability to mobilize higher numbers of congregants to participate in social engagement practices.

Freston (2015), on the other hand, states that Pentecostal congregations create subjects that focus on their 'own development' and not on the development of their communities. He suggests that the marginalized social location of many Pentecostals does not allow them to engage effectively or substantively in broader political or social processes. He also argues that Pentecostals focus on 'power' from the divine rather than on 'empowerment' that comes from social interactions; thus, Pentecostal congregations do not usually focus on participating in or building collective action to address structural issues. Freston (2015) concludes that Pentecostal congregations might not be the most effective development partners that some hope for them to be.

Freston's (2015) analysis resonates with much of the literature on Pentecostal social engagement in Latin America. He recognizes the historical and cultural conditions that shape Pentecostal social engagement but does not analyse the internal mechanisms that shape the formation of Pentecostal subjects. Therefore, he does not explore how new practices can both reinforce and challenge existing values, beliefs, and practices. Moreover, he does not explore how new forms of social engagement could provide a creative moment that introduces new arguments that could alter, even if partially, Pentecostals' understanding of and participation in social transformation.

Among the Pentecostals congregations studied, the ritualization of *acercamiento* illustrates how some specific forms of development practices can encourage Pentecostal congregations to engage in new forms of collective action to address structural issues in their localized communities. These Pentecostal congregations demonstrate a willingness and commitment to learn from and engage in a long-term process of community reform – even if the all the congregations did not sustain the new practice at the same level. Moreover, they pursued and invested in building new forms of collective action that they believed was vital to accomplishing the mission of the church. Additional research could explain how specific historical forms of social engagement could encourage Pentecostal congregations to engage in collective action that contributes to social transformation.

4.3. Community Engagement and Community Development

The thesis also discusses if and when the historical and cultural form of community engagement could create new publics and social capital that could lead to development at a community level. The following section explores the role that the Pentecostal churches studied play in generating and extending relationships in local social fields of development (see Ikegami 2000). It discusses how the new relationships formed between church and non-church members created public and private spaces for church and community members to discuss and create shared understandings about community problems and solutions. The section also examines how church leaders attempt to extend their closed social networks to cultivate bonded social capital with non-church entities that could facilitate localized development.

4.3.1. Extending Networks and Discourses

As church leaders build new kinds of trusting and collaborative relationships with non-Pentecostal, community members, they create new public and private discussions that cultivate shared realities and collective discourses. Church leaders and members cross the

boundaries of their previously restricted church networks to engage in meaningful discussions with non-Pentecostal, community members regarding personal and community problems and solutions. The new publics serve to reinforce and challenge the Pentecostals' understanding of the roots of problems and individualized visions of change. The new practice encourages new visions of collective action that localized and did not challenge broader political or economic issues created by neoliberal development capitalism. Therefore, the role of Pentecostal congregations to facilitate new publics on social transformation could be limited in scope to their local communities and regions in El Salvador.

Smilde (2007b) argues that Pentecostal public rituals can serve to create publics that generate new shared realities and collective discourses that can contribute to new political trajectories. Smilde defines publics as 'relational contexts in which normally segmented social networks and their associated discourse come into contact in open-ended ways' (2007b: 105; see Mische & White 1998). He adds that publics are 'sites wherein distinct networks are bridged, new understandings developed, and coalitions are formed' (Smilde 2007b: 105). Ikegami also states that publics are 'sites of motion for social change' (2000: 1003). Smilde admits that it is complicated to understand and evaluate the real impact of historical events like public rituals on social change (2011: 308) Nevertheless, he suggests, that in order to 'understand the transition towards cultural forms of political cleavage and discourse, we need to, among other things, look at the type of public rituals marginalized groups used to solidify and extend their networks and associated discourses and identities' (Smilde 2011: 326).

As discussed throughout the thesis, Pentecostal pastors and church leaders stated that the primary aim of introducing the new practice of *acercamiento* was to go beyond their existing church networks to form new kinds of relationships with non-Pentecostal, community members. Church leaders choose strategically to enter into new types of

activities and social interactions that generate new public spaces to discuss personal and community problems and solutions. Church leaders use informal interactions and public ritual events such as project inaugurations to solidify and extend their networks and associated discourses, identities, and mission in the world. In effect, they work with and mobilize other non-church actors to articulate and realize their 'positive visions' of society (Smith 2001: 43).

Community engagement reinforces and challenges church adherents' understandings of community problems and visions of change. Some church leaders and members believed that the root causes of poverty in their community were a result of individual decisions or lack of training. Many believed that non-believers needed to be 'saved' in order to solve their individual and familial problems. They also talked about problems such as gang violence as being the result of a lack of knowledge or commitment from parents to care for their children appropriately. They mentioned the need for more education and a change in values and morals as important solutions to community problems. For many of these leaders, community engagement served to validate their visions of social change through mass conversion (Miller & Yamamori 2007; Wadkins 2017).

Whereas, church leaders who participated more directly in community engagement include social or structural issues as part of their explanations for the problems in the community. These leaders talked about insufficient funding from the state, political underrepresentation in the mayor's office, and a lack of solidarity within the community as contributing to poverty in their community. For them, the new practice challenges their visions of change to include broader community reforms through collective action. As a result, pastors and church leaders aim to build consensus with non-Pentecostal church actors and to strengthen CBOs to address localized community issues. Nevertheless, community engagement as a development strategy also encourages church and

community leaders to address community problems with their resources that were often created by neoliberal state policies.

Adopting an asset-based approach promoted by *ENLACE*, church and community members identify, and design community development initiatives based upon their available resources and organizational capacities (Bueno 2007; Huff 2014). Some argue that community engagement activities serve to 'locate the responsibility for change and development within the local community' (Bornstein 2005: 139, quoted in Huff 2017: 211). Bornstein states that in localized community approaches to development, '[t]his discursive practice [subdues] other discourses of governance and responsibility, of entitlement or of the welfare state for example, in which the state is responsible for the well-being of its citizens' (Bornstein 2005: 139, quoted in Huff 2017: 211; see Mayer & Rankin 2002). Church and community leaders discussed and partnered together to address localized issues without addressing or confronting national state policies and practices, which could undermine their ability to generate and sustain a thriving community (Huff 2017). Thus, community engagement creates new publics that encourages an approach to community development that is a 'thoroughly place-based imaginary and, as such, is limited in how it mobilizes people, Pentecostals or otherwise, to confront the larger spectres of economic and political change that shape rural life in El Salvador' (Huff 2017: 212).

Church and community members were required to provide volunteer labour and time to address issues that were not seen as 'rights of citizens' but rather as a 'moral choice, or even a measure of one's commitment to one's faith' (Adams 2013: 150, quoted in Huff 2017: 211). As Huff states, 'those who sense the Spirit of God calling them to work with their neighbours to build just and peaceful communities will continue to confront spectres of considerable scale and power' (2017: 212). Additional research could explore if and how church and community leaders go beyond individual and localized analysis of

community problems to included broader discussions about regional and national problems. Further research could also focus on the broader effects of introducing 'moralized' Pentecostal discourses into public spheres (Steigenga & Cleary 2007a: 26).

4.3.2. Social Capital and Community Development

A growing number of international and local NGOs and FBOs have focused their development interventions upon strengthening the capacity of community-based development organizations and other locality-based associations to address localized economic and social issues. The World Bank, national governments, and other development actors have emphasized the importance of strengthening local organizations and of developing trust and shared values – stocks of social capital – to empower marginalized groups and correct for state and market failures (Mayer & Rankin 2002: 804). Local organizations are believed to be the key to creating the 'social glue' or the social infrastructure (Flora & Flora 1993; Flora et al. 1997) needed to address poverty because they are embedded in 'informal exchange and reciprocity networks, equipped with local knowledge and skills, and accorded some legitimacy by marginalized populations' (Mayer & Rankin 2002: 807). Mayer and Rankin (2002) argue that it is precisely their embeddedness within existing social networks and relationships that can cultivate the 'solidarity', 'inclusiveness', 'empowerment', and 'entrepreneurism' needed to navigate the new decentred, 'market-state' and neoliberal policies. Moreover, it is the resources mobilized within these social networks – as known as social capital – that enable local organizations to absorb the 'costs of neoliberalism and extend market rationality to areas hard to reach by other agents of global capital' (Mayer & Rankin 2002: 807).

Although scholars continue to debate what constitutes social capital and how it is formed, maintained, and increased, there is a growing consensus that it is a vital ingredient in sustainable community development. Bourdieu (1980) defines social capital as 'the

aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (Bourdieu 1980, quoted in Dale & Newman 2008: 7). He describes social capital as the exchange of resources that are embedded within social networks, that are not a given and must be constructed through investment strategies (Dale & Newman 2008: 7; see Portes 1998; Lin 2001). Putnam also defines social capital as 'social networks' but focuses more on the values, norms and predispositions that encourage 'reciprocity and trustworthiness that form them' (2000, quoted in Dale & Newman 2008: 7-8). Putnam focuses on the importance of the role of social capital, the level of trust, in cultivating and maintaining collective action and civic life (Dale & Newman 2008: 8).

Scholars argue that communities are based upon multiple and diverse social networks of both personal and professional relationships. Community networks are comprised of social ties which are often grouped into two main types: 'bonding' and 'bridging' (Narayan 1999; Putnam 2000). Bonding ties are connections between people who know each other very well, such as family connections or strong relationships with people within one's own local group. Bonding ties are defined by the level of 'trust' between and among social agents or institutions. Bridging ties, on the other hand, are connections to people outside of one's own local group or network. Bridging ties facilitate the exchange or flow of economic and non-economic resources with social actors or institutions outside of the community. Moreover, linking ties are a specific kind of bridging ties that connect people to power and decision-making authority, such as governments (Dale & Newman 2005).

Bridging and linking ties are believed to be critical to forming social capital because they link together clusters of tightly bonded individuals (Granovetter 1973). Scholars assert that bridging and linking ties connect diverse clusters of relationships that enhance community resilience, create safety, and adaptability (Gargiulo & Benassi 2000) and

facilitate sustainable development (Dale & Newman 2005). For these reasons, scholars and practitioners postulate that development organizations should include strategies to create and maintain social capital in their development interventions (Dale & Newman 2008: 8). Social capital is believed to bridge 'structural holes' within the society, allowing more efficient networks (Rydin & Holman 2004), facilitating collective action and reducing the cost of transactions (Dale & Newman 2008: 8) which are essential elements for strengthening communities (Dale & Onyx 2005).

Scholars suggest that one of the ways to cultivate social capital is by strengthening and increasing collaboration between local organizations (Upton 2008: 175-176). Although there is limited research on whether local organizations can facilitate 'trust', social cohesion, and persistent collective action, many development organizations have focused on increasing their capacity to partner with other organizations. Nevertheless, their attempts to strengthen local organizations by introducing 'ahistorical, aspatial, and asocial blueprints of groups and collective action' have been mainly unsuccessful (Upton 2008: 176). Moreover, some scholars fear that interventions that focus upon strengthening local organizations result in solidifying local relations of power that further marginalize the poorest and reinforce existing inequitable social relations (Upton 2008: 175-176).

Some scholars have begun to examine the role of churches, especially Pentecostal churches, in facilitating or creating the formation of social capital. There is some evidence in the literature that some Pentecostal churches can play a critical role in mobilizing social capital that can lead to effective collective action and development (Candland 2000; Farnell 2001; Swart 2006; Petersen 2004). The final sections of the thesis examine how the historical practice of community engagement could contribute to the formation of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital that could lead to localized development.

4.3.2.1. Bonding Capital and Social Cohesion

Traditional Pentecostal congregations are understood to be independent, closed social networks that exist alongside distinct, non-church, community social networks. They also value and work actively to cultivate and sustain 'genuine' relationships of trust and mutual support with fellow church members – what could be called strong ties (Granovetter 1973, 1983) or bonding social capital. The Pentecostal congregations studied aimed to create new forms of social relationships that extended the bonded social capital cultivated within their church networks to non-church relationships. Nevertheless, the churches were trying to extend bonded social capital to community relationships that were diffuse and less articulated. Therefore, the result of their engagement was to create trusting relationships with a small group of community leaders and members. Moreover, the new relationships were contingent upon the church continuing the new practice as well as other micro- and macro-conditions.

While the Pentecostal congregations studied exemplified bonded social capital, their communities varied greatly in the density and strength of their social networks. Community members were loosely connected in small clusters of relationships that were usually defined by familial ties, geographic proximity to their house, immediate neighbours, or years of living in the community. Many community members described themselves as living independently or separately from the rest of the community; they stated that they were living 'on their own' or as 'working on their own'. Moreover, in the five communities studied, less than seven per cent of the population stated that they were involved in CBOs or had participated in a community project of any type before they started working with the Pentecostal church.

In all of the communities studied, the levels of trust and collective action were shaped by geography, migration, emigration, and gang violence. In the community of La Montaña, the lack of trust and collective action were due to its remote geographic

location, civil war, and emigration. La Montaña is located in a remote mountainous range with limited roads. It also sits on the border between two state-administrative districts. Therefore, local government and NGOs rarely worked in the community. La Montaña was also in the middle of the battlefield during the civil war. People were recruited to fight on both sides of the civil war. Community members rarely talked about the war and how it affected the relations in the community. Many people also migrated during the war to other locations in El Salvador and emigrated to the US. Although there are no exact statistics on the number of people who have emigrated, roughly one out of every three families I talked to had at least one family member in the US.

In the communities of El Paraíso and La Flor, emigration and insecurity have also contributed to low levels of trust, high turnover in community leaders and unstable community-based associations. El Paraíso and La Flor are located in the centre of the country and were profoundly affected by the civil war. Both communities received migrants from the north and east during the civil war. The size of their populations grew quickly, putting pressure on small plot farmers and the organizational structures of the community. More recently, gangs have heavily influenced these communities. Large numbers of community leaders and members from both communities have migrated or emigrated looking for economic opportunities and safety.

The level of trust and capacity of community-based organizations in the communities of El Rancho and San Juan have been shaped by urbanization, emigration and gang violence. In El Rancho, the rapid growth of the nearby city of Santa Ana has created new, gated, professional class neighbourhoods that have divided and fractured the existing communities. They have also experienced extreme gang violence. In the community of San Juan, the population had been relatively stable until recently. The lack of markets to sell their agricultural products and growing insecurity due to gang members have increased the number of people emigrating or moving to the nearby city of Santa Ana.

Thus, as pastors and leaders attempted to create new forms of relationships with their communities, they had to navigate multiple historical and contemporary macro-conditions that influenced the level of trust and the engagement of community members in civic organizations. Thus, pastors and church leaders attempted to create new forms of relationships or bonding social capital through *accercamiento* with community leaders and members from fragmented, unstable and porous social networks.

The pastors and church leaders who participated more actively in community engagement activities were able to cultivate new relationships with a small group of community leaders and members. They stated that they talked about personal and community problems, as well as shared vehicles, tools and even lent each other money for personal emergencies. They described their new relationships as recreating or extending the kinds of relationships of trust previously reserved exclusively for church members. Nevertheless, the affective relationships were usually limited to a small number of community leaders with whom they had collaborated during a development initiative. Moreover, the strength of the relationships depended upon whether they continued community engagement activities, received funds from outside sources, and whether the church and community leaders remained in the community.

Community leaders who participated in community engagement activities also stated that they had forged strong relationships of trust with pastors and church leaders. Other than with Pastor Juan, community leaders described strong relationships with the pastors. Community leaders also mentioned that they had developed strong relationships with more engaged church leaders. There is some evidence, however, that the new relationships between church and community leaders, although few and tenuous, did serve to encourage increased community participation in CBOs and community development initiatives. Nevertheless, much more research is needed to understand how non-church, community leaders and members understood these new relationships with

Pentecostal church members and how the new relationships lead to greater community participation in community development initiatives.

4.3.2.2. Bridging Social Capital and Linking Organizations

Community development scholars and practitioners also argue that localized bonding social capital serves as an effective defensive strategy against poverty (Woolcock & Narayan 2000), but linking social capital is required to make the shift from 'getting by' to 'getting ahead' (Dale & Newman 2008: 10). Dale and Newman argue that the network structure needed for sustainable community development is one that is open, diverse, and involves social capital ties at the bridging and vertical (or linking) levels (2008: 9). 'Bridging' ties lead out from the local organization to outside resources and 'vertical' or 'linking' ties lead to decision-makers and authority figures. These ties are particularly crucial for bridging structural holes within a community and divisions within a country, such as class, language, ethnicity, or gender and within and between sectors and organizations from outside the community (Dale 2001).

The traditional Pentecostal congregations studied had strong bonding social capital, limited bridging social capital and tenuous linking social capital. All of the Pentecostal churches studied had cultivated bridging social capital with members from other local and international churches from within and outside of their denominations. Nevertheless, they were only able to attract limited economic and non-economic resources from these relationships to contribute to development efforts in the community. Other Pentecostal congregations were from the same social location and thus had limited financial resources or social networks to share with the church (see Lin 2001). Moreover, the *AD* and *AIC* denominations did not have general or designated funds to resource development efforts. Initially, only in the case where *ENLACE* connected the local church to international church members or congregations were funds made available for community development initiatives. Toward the end of the fieldwork, some of the congregations were

able to access resources from international churches to fund community development initiatives which is part of a much larger international trend to fund poverty and justice issues through local churches (see Offutt 2015).

All five of the Pentecostal congregations also had relationships with local and international NGOs and FBOs. In some cases, they were able to attract FBOs to work in the community. Some FBOs favoured working with local churches to facilitate or implement their programmes. FBOs usually provided resources to develop their programmes. In some cases, the training provided by FBOs included both church and community leaders and members. Nevertheless, the relationships between pastors and church leaders and FBOs tended to be asymmetrical. Moreover, most of the FBOs did not provide churches with new donor relationships or organizations that they could nurture to increase their bridging capital.

All of the Pentecostal congregations studied were able to mobilize limited resources through their institutional and relational social networks. Four of the five congregations were smaller and located in remote areas of the country which excluded them from relationships with larger, local and international institutions and churches. Only the *Getsemaní* church was able to cultivate relationships with organizations and international churches to acquire resources for community development initiatives. It remains to be seen if and how these Pentecostal congregations can strengthen and leverage the new relationships cultivated with local and international NGOs, FBOs and churches through the new practice of community engagement. Future studies could focus on whether these Pentecostal churches are emerging as 'social bridging' institutions that link the 'micro-structural contexts' of economically vulnerable households to a broader array of local and non-local resources (Foley & Edwards 1999: 165-166).

Pentecostal churches were also instrumental in forming limited and tenuous linking social capital that contributed to strengthening CBOs and implementing community

development initiatives. All of the Pentecostal congregations studied worked with community leaders and CBOs to strengthen their relationships with mayoral offices and state institutions such as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health. As discussed throughout the thesis, Pentecostal churches were instrumental in legalizing CBOs, which were authorized by the mayoral offices. They also played a critical role in mobilizing funds from the mayor's office and other state entities to implement projects in the community.

The strength of the relationships between church and non-church entities outside of the community were tenuous. Church and community leaders had to continue to cultivate these relationships by developing initiatives and by engaging in local and regional civic activities. When there were political changes, pastors and church leaders had to start over again from the beginning to develop relationships with new public leaders. They also had to navigate changes in development priorities and amounts of funding given by outside entities. All of these conditions that were outside of the church and community leaders' control affected the strength and durability of their relationships with organizations and thus their ability to cultivate linking social capital. Additional research could examine in greater detail the micro and macro conditions that shape relationships between Pentecostal congregations, community entities and outside organizations. Future research could also explore the role of Pentecostal congregations, as third-party organizations, in strengthening CBOs and increasing collaboration between them in order to cultivate linking social capital.

As Upton's (2008) research highlights, third-party organizations can play an important, catalytic role in facilitating the growth of interpersonal trust and cooperation that can lead to community development. In Upton's analysis, trust and collective action are facilitated by third-party organizations when they can create spaces for regular face to face interaction amongst resource users, peer group learning and the existence of local

risk takers or entrepreneurs (2008: 186). The new practice of community engagement provided the kinds of activities and social interactions that encouraged multiple, face to face interactions with a shared goal and affective experience. Moreover, the practice encouraged individual and group discussions about community problems and solutions that facilitated group learning processes. Finally, the pastors and church leaders provided moralised, entrepreneurial actors that were willing to take risks to start a process of dialogue and development interventions. Moreover, Upton states, 'it is only through longitudinal analysis of the particular processes and dynamics that shape inter- and intra-community power structures, inclusion and relationships of trust that a more integral understanding and policy can be formed' (2008: 187).

Longitudinal studies would provide a greater understanding of how Pentecostal congregations increase social capital by strategically investing in local and external relationships but also how they can lose it. As has been discussed throughout the thesis, multiple internal and external factors shape and inform churches' participation in community engagement. Church leaders and members can resist parts or reject the practice of community engagement, severing their relationships with community leaders and other development actors entirely. Pastors and church leaders can leave the church for multiple reasons affecting the kinds of relationships that they have created with community leaders, mayors and FBO leaders. Community leaders and members can also emigrate from their communities, affecting both the leadership of the CBOs and participation in community initiatives. Moreover, broader shifts in economic and political agendas or strategies can affect the kind of access church and community leaders have to economic and non-economic resources from public and private entities. Thus, the role of Pentecostal congregations in community development is contingent upon the pastor's ability to introduce and ritualize new development practices as well as his/her ability to create and sustain healthy relationships within the community that catalyse stable linking

networks with entities that can mobilize the needed resources for a community to thrive and grow.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF CHURCH STUDIED

Name of Church	Pastor	Community	Denomination	Size	Location
El Cimiento	Salvador	La Montana	AG	>100[36]	Rural
Santuario Bíblico	Tomas	La Flor	AIC	101-500	Rural
La Paz	Marcos	El Paraíso	AIC	>100	Rural[37]
La Roca	José	San Juan	AG	101-500	Semi-rural
Getsemaní	Francisco/Juan	El Rancho	AG	<500	Semi-rural[38]

[36] The *El Cimiento* Church had under fifty members at the beginning of the study. The church grew during the period of the study to have more than one hundred and fifty members.
[37] The *El Paraíso* community changed from rural to semi-rural during the period of the study. A new road connected a large housing development to the community, changing the populations' access to primary services.
[38] The *El Rancho* community changed from semi-rural to semi-urban during the period of the study. Two new, working class residential developments were built near the community to provide housing for the nearby city of Santa Ana.

APPENDIX B: CHURCH MEMBER INTERIEW SCHEDULE (SPANISH)

Nombre Entrevistado:

Nombre de Iglesia:

Comunidad:

Fecha Entrevista:

Nombre Entrevistador:

Sección 1: Datos Generales del Encuetado

1. Sexo:
   a. □ M
   b. □ F

2. Edad: _________

3. ¿Cuál es su estado civil?
   a. Casado/a □
   b. Viudo/a □
   c. Divorciado/a □
   d. Separado/a □
   e. Soltero/a □

4. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene usted de vivir en la comunidad?
   a. Menos que 1 año □
   b. Entre 1 y 5 años □
   c. Entre 6 y 10 años □
   d. Más de 10 años □

5. ¿Cuál es su ocupación principal?

___(a) Tiempo completo en la iglesia
___(b) Autoempleo en agrícola
___(c) Autoempleo en empresa no agrícola
___(d) Estudiante
___(e) Trabajador/a eventual
___(f) Trabajador/a salariado/a
___(g) Trabajador/a domestico/a
___(h) Desempleado buscando trabajo
___(i) Deshabilitado para trabajar o retirado
___(j) Ama de casa
___(k) Otro

6. ¿Cuál es el último grado de estudios que usted completó?
7. ¿Pertenece usted a otra organización comunitaria tal como ADESCO, ACE, etc.?
   a. □ Si ¿Cuál?:___________________________
   b. □ No

8. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de pertenecer a la organización?
   a. Menos que 1 año □
   b. Entre 1 y 5 años □
   c. Entre 6 y 10 años □
   d. Más de 10 años □
9. ¿Pertenece usted a una iglesia local?
   a. □ Si
   b. □ No (vaya a la pregunta #17)

10. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de pertenecer a la iglesia?
    a. Menos que 1 año
    b. Entre 1 y 5 años
    c. Entre 6 y 10 años
    d. Más de 10 años

11. ¿Tiene usted un cargo, liderazgo o privilegio en la iglesia?
    a. Si (vaya a la pregunta #12)
    b. No (vaya a la pregunta #14)

12. ¿Cuáles privilegios o cargos tiene usted?

13. ¿Y explícame cuales son las actividades que hace usted con los privilegios o cargos que tiene en la iglesia?

14. ¿Participa usted en un comité social de la iglesia?
    a. Si (vaya a la pregunta #15)
    b. No (vaya a la pregunta #17)

15. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene usted de participar en el comité social de la iglesia?

16. ¿Qué cargo tiene usted en el comité social?

Sección 2: Testimonio Personal y la Mision de la Iglesia

17. ¿Me podría explicar por favor cómo usted llegó a Cristo (o me podría contar cuando usted tuvo su primer encuentro con Cristo)?
18. ¿Y cómo vino usted a la Iglesia?
19. ¿Cuántas veces asiste usted a la iglesia semanalmente (por ej., cultos)?
    a. ¿Cuántas veces a la semana se reúne usted con otros miembros de la iglesia para actividades ministeriales?
    b. ¿Y por qué participa usted en estas actividades?
20. ¿Los de su grupo familiar asisten con usted a la iglesia?
    a. ¿Quiénes de ellos asisten con usted?
    b. ¿Y participan ellos en un ministerio de la iglesia o tiene algún privilegio en la iglesia? ¿Cuáles?
21. ¿Cuál piensa usted es el propósito de la iglesia, la misión de esta iglesia (la razón de ser)? ¿Por qué existe?
22. ¿Cómo debe de servir la iglesia a la comunidad?

Sección 3: Problemas y Soluciones Comunitarios

23. ¿Cuáles son los problemas o necesidades principales en su comunidad?
24. ¿Cuáles son las causas de estos problemas? En otras palabras: ¿por qué existen estos problemas?
25. ¿Cómo ha ayudado su iglesia a resolver a estos problemas (deme un par de ejemplos específicos)?
26. ¿Cómo se involucra la iglesia en identificar y realizar proyectos para resolver a estos problemas?
27. ¿Cuántos miembros de la iglesia participan en resolver a estos problemas (deme por favor un estimado de la cantidad de los miembros que participan con frecuencia)? ¿Cómo participan ellos en ayudar a resolver a estaos problemas?
28. ¿Qué porcentaje de los miembros creen en la importancia de servir a la comunidad?
29. ¿Cómo pudiera ayudar mas la iglesia en resolver estos problemas?
30. ¿Qué cambios ha visto usted en su iglesia desde que la iglesia empezó a trabajar en la comunidad? (Describa la situación en su iglesia anterior y la situación ahora)

Sección 4: Dessarrollo Comunitario

31. ¿Ha trabajado la iglesia con otros entes públicos y privados (tal como la alcaldía, el ministerio de salud, ADESCO, escuela local, etc) en llevar a cabo proyectos en la comunidad?
    a. Si (vaya a la pregunta #32)
    b. No (vaya a la pregunta #38)
    c. No sabe (vaya a la pregunta #38)
    d. NC/NA (vaya a la pregunta #38)

32. ¿Cuáles organizaciones o entes locales?	33. ¿Cómo ha trabajado la iglesia con esta organización? (¿En que forma han trabajado juntos en llevar a cabo un proyecto?)	34. ¿Cómo describiera la relación con esta organización?	35. ¿Cómo ha cambiado la relación entre la iglesia y esta organización desde que comenzaron a trabajar juntos?
a.	a.	a.	a.
b.	b.	b.	b.
c.	c.	c.	c.
d.	d.	d.	d.
e.	e.	e.	e.

36. ¿Ha ayudado la iglesia en alguna forma fortalecer las relaciones con estas organizaciones o entes locales?
    a. Si
    b. No (vaya a la pregunta #38)
37. ¿Cómo le ha ayudado la iglesia a fortalecer las relaciones entre estas organizaciones (deme un ejemplo de como le ha ayudado la iglesia)?
38. ¿Ha ayudado la iglesia en alguna forma fortalecer relaciones entre la comunidad y estas organizaciones?
    a. Si
    b. No (vaya a la pregunta #40)
39. ¿Cómo le ha ayudado la iglesia a fortalecer las relaciones entre estas organizaciones y la comunidad (deme un ejemplo de como le ha ayudado la iglesia a fortalecer estas relaciones)?

Sección 5: Relacion entre Iglesia y Comunidad

40. ¿Ha visto usted que han cambiado las relaciones entre la iglesia y los miembros de la comunidad desde que la iglesia comenzó a trabajar en proyectos?
    a. Si
    b. No (vaya a la pregunta #42)
41. Deme uno ejemplo (o dos ejemplos) que demuestra los cambios que han pasado entre la iglesia y los miembros de la comunidad desde que la iglesia comenzó a trabajar en proyectos:
42. ¿Cree usted que había separación entre la iglesia y los miembros de la comunidad antes de la iglesia comenzó a trabajar en proyectos?
    a. Si
    b. No (vaya a la pregunta #44)
43. ¿Por qué existía la separación entre la iglesia y los miembros de la comunidad?
44. ¿Cuál fue la motivación de la iglesia para acercarse a la comunidad?

45. Deme el nombre de hasta cinco personas (que no son familiares o miembros de la iglesia) en el cual su relación ha cambiado desde que usted empezó a trabajar en la comunidad:
    a. Nombre #1: ___________________________________
    b. Nombre #2: ___________________________________
    c. Nombre #3: ___________________________________
    d. Nombre #4: ___________________________________
    e. Nombre #5: ___________________________________

46. ¿Cuál es la relación que tiene con cada persona?	47. ¿Qué grado de confianza tiene con cada persona?	48. ¿Es de grupo religioso diferente de usted?	49. ¿Es de nivel económico diferente de usted?	50. ¿Es de generación (edad) diferente de usted (por ejemplo, mas joven que usted)?	51 ¿Han trabajado juntos en proyectos a favor de la comunidad?	52. ¿Cuán tas veces se ven mens ualme nte?	53. ¿Hablan sobre los problem as personal es? (Por ejemplo)	54. ¿Hablan de los problemas que hay en la comunidad ? (Por ejemplo)
a.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
b.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
c.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
d.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
e.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			

Para terminar, queremos hacer unas preguntas mas sobre la relación que tiene con cada una de etas personas . . .

55. ¿Si tuviera alguna emergencia médica le pidiera ayuda?	56. ¿Se han prestado dinero alguna vez en el último año?	57. ¿Se han prestado equipo o maquinaria alguna vez en el último año?	58. ¿Qué importante son estas relaciones para su vida?	59. ¿Ha sido importante trabajar con estas personas para lograr resolver los problemas de la comunidad?	60. Denos una historia que nos demuestre la clase de relación que tiene ahora con cada persona
□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	

APPENDIX C: CHURCH MEMBER INTERIEW SCHEDULE (ENGLISH)

Interviewed:

Name of Church:

Community:

Date Interview:

Interviewer:

Section 1: Socio-demographic Information

1. Gender:
    a. ☐ M
    b. ☐ F
2. Age: __________

3. Marital Status
    a. Married ☐
    b. Widowed ☐
    c. Divorced ☐
    d. Separated ☐
    e. Single ☐
4. Years living in the community.
    a. Less than a year ☐
    b. Between 1-5 years ☐
    c. Between 6-10 ☐
    d. More than 10 years ☐

5. Occupation

___(a) Full-time church ministry
___(b) Self-employed Agriculture
___(c) Self-employed Business
___(d) Student
___(e) Day-laborer
___(f) Full-time employment
___(g) Domestic worker
___(h) Unemployed
___(i) Disabled or retired
___(j) Household
___(k) Other

6. Final grade completed in school? ____________

7. Do you belong to a community-based organization (CBO)?
    a. ☐ Yes: ____________________________
    b. ☐ No
8. How long have you belonged to CBO?
    a. Less than 1 year ☐
    b. between 1-5 years ☐
    c. Between 6-10 ☐
    d. More than 10 years ☐

9. Do you belong to a local church?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question #17)

10. How long have you belonged to the church?
    a. Less than 1 year
    b. Between 1-5 years
    c. Between 6-10 years
    d. More than 10 years

11. Are you a recognized leader of the church?
    a. Si (proceed to question 12)
    b. No (proceed to question 14)

12. What leadership roles do you currently have?

13. What are the primary functions or activities of the leadership role?

14. Do you belong to community engagement committee?
    a. Yes (proceed to question 15)
    b. No (proceed to question 17)
15. How long have you been on the committee?

16. What roles and functions have you held on the committee?

Section 2: Testimony and the Mission of the Church

17. Would you be willing to share with me your initial encounter with Jesus Christ (i.e. your testimony)?
18. When and how did you choose to join your current local church?
19. How often do you participate in church activities?
    a. How many times per week to participate in church activities?
    b. What are the reasons why you participate in church activities?
20. Do members of your family also attend the same church?
    a. Who and how often do they attend church activities?
    b. Do members of your family also have recognized leadership roles in the church?
21. What do you believe is the mission of the church? What do you believe is its primary reason for existing?
22. How should the church serve the community?

Section 3: Community Problems and Solutions

23. What are the primary problems facing the community?
24. What are the primary causes or reasons for why problems exist?
25. How has the local church served to address the primary problems of the community (please provide concrete examples)?
26. How has the local church participated in identifying and designing solutions to address community problems?
27. How many members of the local church do you believe participate in resolving community problems?
    a. How do church members participate in resolving community problems (explain)?
28. What percentage of church members believe that the church should participate in resolving community problems?
29. Could the local church do anything more to help resolve community problems?

30. Have you seen any changes in your local congregation since they began to address community problems?

Section 4: Community Engagement

31. Has the church partnered with other local private, civic, and state organizations to develop community initiatives?
    a. Yes (proceed to question 32)
    b. No (proceed to question 38)
    c. Does not know (proceed to question 38)
    d. NA/No response (proceed to questions 38)

32. List partnering organizations	33. Describe how the church has partnered with each organization?	34. How would you describe the type of relationship the church has with the organization?	35. Have there been any changes in the relationship between the church and community since they began to partner together?
a.	a.	a.	a.
b.	b.	b.	b.
c.	c.	c.	c.
d.	d.	d.	d.
e.	e.	e.	e.

36. Has the church contributed to identifying and/or strengthening the relationship with private, civic, or state organizations?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 38)
37. How has the church served to strengthen the relationship between organizations (please provide concrete examples)?
38. Has the church served to strengthen the relationship between community members and the organizations?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 40)
39. How has the church served to strengthen the relationship between community members and the organizations (please provide concrete examples)?

Section 5: Church and Community Relations

40. Have you seen any changes in the relationship between the local church and the community since you began to participate in community development projects?
41. Could you provide one story or concrete example that exemplifies the changes that you have observed in the relationship between the church and community?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 42)
42. Do you believe that there existed distance between the church and community?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 44)
43. Why did there exist distance or separation between the church and community?
44. Why did the church choose to approach or befriend the community?

45. Can you list the names of five people with whom your relationship has changed since developing community projects?

a. Name of Person #1: ____________________________________
b. Name of Person #2: ____________________________________
c. Name of Person #3: ____________________________________
d. Name of Person #4: ____________________________________
e. Name of Person #5: ____________________________________

46. How would you describe your relationship with the below listed person?	47. How would you describe the level of confidence you share?	48. Do they belong to your same religious group?	49. Are they from the same economic position or class?	50. Are they from your generation?	51. Have you worked together on community development projects?	52. How frequently have you worked together?	53. Do you discuss personal problems together (please provide an example)?	54. Do you discuss community problems together (please provide an example)?
a.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
b.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
c.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
d.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
e.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			

55. Would you ask for help from the individual listed if you had a medical emergency?	56. Have you borrowed or lent from each other in the last year?	57. Have you borrowed or lent equipment or tools to each other in the last year?	58. How important is the relationship to you?	59. Has the relationship been important to addressing community problems?	60. Could you provide a story that describes the kind of relationship you have with each individual?
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	

APPENDIX D: COMMUNITY MEMBER INTERIEW SCHEDULE (SPANISH)

Nombre Entrevistado:

Comunidad:

Fecha Entrevista:

Nombre Entrevistador:

Sección 1: Datos Generales del Encuetado

1. Sexo:
    a. ☐ M
    b. ☐ F

2. Edad: _________

3. ¿Cuál es su estado civil?
    a. Casado/a ☐
    b. Viudo/a ☐
    c. Divorciado/a ☐
    d. Separado/a ☐
    e. Soltero/a ☐

4. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene usted de vivir en Las Delicias (o en Las Animas, etc.)?
    a. Menos que 1 año ☐
    b. Entre 1 y 5 años ☐
    c. Entre 6 y 10 años ☐
    d. Más de 10 años ☐

5. ¿Cuál es su ocupación principal?
    ___(a) Tiempo completo en la iglesia
    ___(b) Autoempleo en agrícola
    ___(c) Autoempleo en empresa no agrícola
    ___(d) Estudiante
    ___(e) Trabajador/a eventual
    ___(f) Trabajador/a salariado/a
    ___(g) Trabajador/a domestico/a
    ___(h) Desempleado buscando trabajo
    ___(i) Deshabilitado para trabajar o retirado
    ___(j) Ama de casa
    ___(k) Otro

6. ¿Cuál es el último grado de estudios que usted completó? ______________________

7. ¿Pertenece usted a una iglesia local?
    a. ☐ Si
    b. ☐ No (vaya a la pregunta #12)

8. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de pertenecer a la iglesia?
    a. Menos que 1 año ☐
    b. Entre 1 y 5 años ☐
    c. Entre 6 y 10 años ☐
    d. Más de 10 años ☐

9. ¿Tiene usted un cargo o liderazgo o privilegio en la iglesia?
    a. ☐ Si
    b. ☐ No (vaya a la pregunta #12)
    c.

10. ¿Cuáles privilegios o cargos tiene?

11. ¿Y explícame cuales son las actividades que hace usted con los privilegios o cargos que tiene en la iglesia?

12. ¿Pertenece usted a otra organización comunitaria tal como ADESCO, ACE, etc.?
    a. ☐ Si ¿Cuál?:__________________________
    b. ☐ No

13. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene de pertenecer a la organización?
    a. Menos que 1 año ☐
    b. Entre 1 y 5 años ☐
    c. Entre 6 y 10 años ☐
    d. Más de 10 años ☐

Sección 2: Participación en Desarrollo Comunitario

14. ¿Ha trabajado en proyectos en la comunidad?
    a. ☐ Si
    b. ☐ No
15. ¿En cuáles proyectos ha trabajado usted en el ultimo año?
16. ¿Fue buena o mala la experiencia de realizar estos proyectos? (¿Por favor explícame o qué buena, o mala?)

Sección 3: Problemas y Soluciones Comunitarios

17. ¿Cuáles son los problemas principales en su comunidad?
18. ¿Cuáles son las causas de estos problemas?
19. ¿Cómo se pudiera resolver estos problemas en su comunidad?
20. ¿Cómo ha trabajado la comunidad a resolver a estos problemas?
21. ¿Cómo ha trabajado la iglesia (p.ej., El Buen Samaritano) a resolver estos problemas?

Sección 4: Desarrollo Comunitario

22. ¿Ha trabajado la comunidad con otros entes públicos y privados (tal como la iglesia local, la alcaldía, el Ministerio de Salud, ADESCO, escuela local, etc.)?
    a. ☐ Si
    b. ☐ No (vaya a la pregunta #29)
    c. ☐ No sabe (vaya a la pregunta #29)
    d. ☐ NC/NA (vaya a la pregunta #29)

23. ¿Cuáles organizaciones o entes locales?	24. ¿En qué proyectos han trabajado con estos entes?	25. ¿Cuál es la relación entre la comunidad y ___________ (ente local a., b., etc.)?
a. Iglesia local	a.	a.
b. Alcaldía	b.	b.
c.	c.	c.
d.	d.	d.
e.	e.	e.

26. ¿En qué forma le han ayudado estas organizaciones a la comunidad?

	¿Con dinero?	¿Con asistencia técnica?	¿Con mano de obra o equipo?	¿Con conexiones a otras organizaciones (p. ej., ANDA, ministerio de Salud, otras ONG?
a. Iglesia local	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No Cuales: _______________
b. Alcaldía	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No Cuales: _______________
c.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No Cuales: _______________
d.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No Cuales: _______________
e.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No Cuales: _______________

Sección 5: Relaciones entre Iglesia y Comunidad

27. ¿Ha ayudado la iglesia en alguna forma fortalecer las relaciones entre la comunidad y estas organizaciones o entes locales?

    a. □ Si
    b. □ No (vaya a la pregunta #29)

28. ¿Cómo le ha ayudado la iglesia a fortalecer estas relaciones entre la comunidad y estas organizaciones?

29. ¿Ha trabajado usted con la iglesia en llevar a cabo unos proyectos en la comunidad?
    a. □ Si
    b. □ No (vaya a la pregunta #)
    c. □ No sabe (vaya a la pregunta #)
    d. □ NC/NA (vaya a la pregunta #)
30. ¿En cuales proyectos?

31. ¿Trabajó usted con miembros de la iglesia en . . . .

La planificación del proyecto?	El diseño del proyecto?	La gestión del proyecto?	La ejecución del proyecto?	La evaluación del proyecto?
□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No

32. ¿Ha visto cambios en las relaciones entre la iglesia y la comunidad desde que la iglesia comenzó a trabajar en proyectos?
    a. □ Si
    b. □ No (vaya a la pregunta #34)
    c. □ No sabe (vaya a la pregunta #34)
    d. □ NC/NA (vaya a la pregunta #34)

33. ¿Cuáles cambios ha visto usted en las relaciones entre la iglesia local y la comunidad? (Explicame por favor como ha cambiado las relaciones entre la iglesia local y la comunidad)

34. Deme el nombre de hasta cinco personas de la iglesia (que no son familiares) en el cual su relación ha cambiado desde que la iglesia empezó a trabajar en la comunidad:
    a. Nombre #1: ___________________________________
    b. Nombre #2: ___________________________________
    c. Nombre #3: ___________________________________
    d. Nombre #4: ___________________________________
    e. Nombre #5: ___________________________________

Para terminar, me gustaría hablar un poco más sobre la relación que usted tiene con cada uno de estas personas:

35. ¿Cuál es la relación que tiene con cada persona?	36. ¿Qué grado de confianza tiene con cada persona?	37. ¿Es de grupo religioso diferente de usted?	38. ¿Es de nivel económico diferente de usted?	39. ¿Es de generación (edad) diferente de usted (por ejemplo, mas joven)?	40. ¿Han trabajado juntos en proyectos a favor de la comunidad?	41. ¿Cuánt as veces por mes?	42. ¿Hablan sobre los problemas personales? (Por ejemplo)	43. ¿Hablan de los problemas que hay en la comunidad? (Por ejemplo)
a.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
b.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
c.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
d.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			
e.		□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No			

Nombres	44. ¿Si tuviera alguna emergencia médica le pidiera ayuda?	45. ¿Se han prestado dinero alguna vez en el último año?	46. ¿Se han prestado equipo o maquinaria alguna vez en el último año?	47. ¿Qué importante son estas relaciones para su vida?	48. ¿Ha sido importante trabajar con estas personas para lograr resolver los problemas de la comunidad? (¿Por qué)	49. Denos una historia que nos demuestre la clase de relación que tiene usted ahora con cada persona
a.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
b.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
c.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
d.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	
e.	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No	□ Si □ No		□ Si □ No	

APPENDIX E: COMMUNITY MEMBER INTERIEW SCHEDULE (ENGLISH)

Interviewed:

Community:

Date Interview:

Interviewer:

Section 1: Socio-demographic Information

1. Sex:
   a. □ M
   b. □ F

2. Age: _________

3. Marital Status
   a. Married □
   b. Widowed □
   c. Divorced □
   d. Separated □
   e. Single □

4. Years living in the community
   a. Less than a year □
   b. Between 1-5 years □
   c. Between 6-10 □
   d. More than 10 years □

5. Occupation
   ___(a) Full-time church ministry
   ___(b) Self-employed Agriculture
   ___(c) Self-employed Business
   ___(d) Student
   ___(e) Day-laborer
   ___(f) Full-time employment
   ___(g) Domestic worker
   ___(h) Unemployed
   ___(i) Disabled or retired
   ___(j) Household
   ___(k) Other

6. Final year of school completed? ______________________________

7. Do you belong to a local church?
   a. □ Yes
   b. □ No (proceed to question 15)

8. How long have you belonged to the church?
   a. Less than 1 year □
   b. Between 1-5 years □
   c. Between 6-10 years □
   d. More than 10 years □

9. Are you a recognized leader of the church?
   a. □ Yes
   b. □ No (proceed to question 12)

10. What leadership roles do you currently have?
    ____

11. What are primary functions or activities you do as leader at your church?
    ____

12. Do you belong to a community-based organization (CBO)?
    a. Yes (list: ______________________)
    b. No

13. How long have you belonged to CBO?
    a. Less than 1 year
    b. between 1-5 years
    c. Between 6-10
    d. More than 10 years

Section 2: Community Participation in Development Initiatives

14. Have you ever participated in community development initiatives?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 17)
15. Have you participated in community development initiatives in the previous year (please list all)?
16. How would you describe your experience in participating in community development initiatives (please provide a story or concrete example)?

Section 3: Community Problems and Solutions

17. What are the primary problems of the community?
18. What are the causes or reasons for the problems of the community?
19. What is the best way to resolve or address these community problems?
20. How has the community addressed these problems?
21. How has the local Pentecostal church helped to address these community problems?

Section 4: Community Engagement

22. Have community leaders and members partnered with local private, civic, and state organizations to develop community initiatives?
    a. Yes (proceed to question 23)
    b. No (proceed to question 27)
    c. Does not know (proceed to question 27)
    d. NA/No response (proceed to questions 27)

23. List of partnering organizations	24. How has the community partnered with each organization?	25. How would you describe the type of relationship the community has with each organization?
a. Local Pentecostal Church	a.	a.
b. Mayor's office	b.	b.
c.	c.	c.
d.	d.	d.
e.	e.	e.

26. What services or assistance have the organizations listed provided to the community?

	Financial Resources?	Technical Assistance?	Labour or equipment?	Networking and/or fostering relationships with other organizations?
a. Local Pentecostal Church	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No (List: ______________________)
b. Mayor's office	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No (List: ______________________)
c.	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No (List: ______________________)
d.	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No (List: ______________________)
e.	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No (List: ______________________)

27. Has the church served to strengthen the relationship between community members and the organizations?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 29)

28. How has the church served to strengthen the relationship between community members and the organizations (please provide concrete examples)?

Section 5: Community and Church Relations

29. ¿Have you personally worked with the local church to implement community development initiatives?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 32)
    c. Did not know (proceed to question 32)
    d. Did not answer/NA (proceed to question 32)

30. On what community development projects have you worked together?
31. Did you work with church leaders and members to?

Identify the project?	Design the project?	Fundraise for the project?	Implement the project?	Evaluate the project?
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No

32. Have you seen changes in the relationship between the local church and the community since the church began to work on community projects?
    a. Yes
    b. No (proceed to question 34)
    c. Does not know (proceed to question 34)
    d. NC/NA (proceed to question 34)
33. How would you describe the changes in the relationships between the local church and the community (please provide a story or concrete example)?
34. Can you list the names of five people from the local church with whom your relationship has changed since developing community projects?
    f. Name of Person #1: ________________________________
    g. Name of Person #2: ________________________________
    h. Name of Person #3: ________________________________
    i. Name of Person #4: ________________________________
    j. Name of Person #5: ________________________________

35. How would you describe your relationship with the below listed person?	36. How would you describe the level of trust you share?	37. Do they belong to your same religious affiliation?	38. Are they from the same economic position or class?	39. Are they from your generation?	40. Have you worked together on community development projects?	41. How frequently have you worked together?	42. Do you discuss personal problems together (please provide an example)?	43. Do you discuss community problems together (please provide an example)?
a.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
b.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
c.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
d.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			
e.		□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No			

44. Would you ask for help from the individual listed if you had a medical emergency?	45. Have you borrowed or lent from each other in the last year?	46. Have you borrowed or lent equipment or tools to each other in the last year?	47. How important is the relationship to you?	48. Has the relationship been important to addressing community problems?	49. Could you provide a story that describes the kind of relationship you have with each individual?
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	
□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No	□ Yes □ No		□ Yes □ No	

APPENDIX F: SAMPLE TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW (ENGLISH)

Church Leader

Santuario Bíblico Church
La Flor
June 10, 2012
Interviewed by RB

Name: Pastor Tomas

Address: La Flor

Section 1: Sociodemographic Information

1. ***Gender:*** *Male*

2. ***Age:*** 57 years old

3. ***Marital Status:*** Married

4. ***Years living in the community:*** Since birth

5. ***Occupation:*** Pastor

6. ***Final grade completed in school?*** 6th grade

7. ***Do you belong to a community-based organization (CBO)?*** President, *Caminando Juntos* Fundación

8. ***How long have you belonged to CBO?*** 8 months

9. ***Do you belong to a local church?*** TBS

10. ***How long have you belonged to the church?*** 24 years

11. ***Are you a recognized leader of the church?*** Yes

12. ***What leadership roles do you currently have?*** Pastor

13. ***What are the primary functions or activities of the leadership role?*** Pastor

14. ***Do you belong to community engagement committee?*** Yes

15. ***How long have you been on the committee?*** Since 2008

16. ***What roles and functions have you held on the committee?*** President and committee member

Section 2: Personal Testimony and Mission of the Church

17. ***Testimony:***

I always had the desire to know more of God. I grew up in a Catholic home. My mother always taught us about God. Due to my physical problems I was motivated to learn more about God. When I lived in *San Martin,* I had a Christian neighbour who never shared with me the gospel, but I desired that she would. First, I did not have any friends. Because of my disability I hide from people because when they saw me, they would say that I was an ugly boy.

One day when I was working as a brick mason, on Wednesday, October 9th, 1978, I told my mother that I was not going to go to work. I am going to buy some shoes. So, I went to *San Martin*. I usually

did not stay long in town because people would stare at me, so I left. After walking about a kilometre and a half, I saw a man who was walking toward me. I knew that I needed to talk to him and so I asked him for directions. He stopped and told me his testimony that he had been paralysed for 17 years and when he accepted Christ his family threw him out of the house. It was a church called *La Peña de Horeb* in *Soyapango.* The man's testimony impacted me, and I accepted the Lord there in the street. Since then, thanks to God, have been persevering in work of God.

18. When and how did you choose to join your current local church?
I was baptised after 3 months of accepting Christ and even before doing so I was already leading church services and baptizing others. I attended a church called *Monte Moriab.* I was already a preacher of a daughter church in San Agustin, a community near *Lake Ilopango*. I already had 20 members when one day la *Luz del Mundo* church arrived in the community and destroyed the church. Then, I became a co-pastor of an *Asambleas de Iglesias Christiana* church where brother Felix Amaya was pastoring. Because of the problems I had had while pastoring the *Monte Moriab* church, I suggested that they name Felix as the lead pastor although he was younger than me.

In 1984, I got married and we were living in Miraflores but because of the distance to church where I was co-pastoring, I started attending the Elim Church. At Elim, I was allowed to preach to small groups in people's houses, but it did not meet my expectations. So, I started to preach only at my house. People started to join and when we had reached 18 people, I went to ask if we could become affiliated to the *Asambleas de Iglesias Christiana* because I had already belonged to them before. The mission sent Pastor Enrique to accept the church (into the denomination). The church was already located in Miraflores in thatch structure about 50 meters from our current location. When Pastor Enrique arrived, he told everyone that I was going to be the pastor. I said no because I had a job and had a family budget to meet. So, I told him that would accept the role as pastor temporarily. Little by little, God gave me a love for the ministry and that is how in 1993 I decided to resign from my job (to focus on the church), but I had a problem with the congregation (financial) so I retracted my resignation letter and went back to work. But that was agony because I felt like a coward. It was terrible. Y felt horrible. I asked God for forgiveness and continued to pastor until in 1995 I got another chance to retire and I did so. Now, I focus more on the church. I also work as a small holder farmer. With my money from my severance package I started a chicken coop to generate money for the family which we still have today. Up to today, we are still here.

19. How often do you participate in church activities?
Everyday. We have church services from Monday to Sunday. Normally, I do not always attend the service on Saturday because I stay home to take care of the house so that my children can attend the youth service.

20. Do members of your family also attend the same church?
Everyone. I have six boys and two girls. All are leaders at the church. They serve as leaders in the Sunday School Program and my son Jacob already preaches.

21. What do you believe is the mission of the church? What do you believe is its primary reason for existing?
The mission of the church is to solve society's problems. It is the hope of the world. We have the word of encouragement, God's message for the world that changes people's hearts.

22. How should the church serve the community?
I think that the church should not be removed from the needs of the community. There is so much that the church can do. The most important part, because the community needs the help of the church, is to pray for the problems that exist in the community. I prayed. Although we have not been a faithful recently, from 1990 to 2002 we also fasted weekly from 9 in the morning until noon. I prayed for the spiritual and physical needs of the people from the community. I would pray that on Sundays, people would stop walking around the community and going to the soccer field because they were full and that was a burden for me. I would pray that they would walk to the church. I remember that when we started the church in El Espino there were six bars and we would submit ourselves to prayer looking for God's presence. And now, there is only one bar. God put his burden for El Espino in us. I always had the desire to find solutions for the economic problems in the community. And, I would say, we do not have the resources, but after recognizing our error in understanding, we began to say we do have the resources which is God. Because God provides the resources.

Being sick for five years changed my life 180 degrees which served to refine my goals and vision. Today, we have accomplished a lot, but we continue to work. What we have done is small in

comparison to the amounts of needs in the community. The church must first feel the burdens of our society. The list of needs is very long, but as we listen to God, he will give us solutions because God does not want us to be absent from or indifferent to the needs of our community. He wants us to feel what the community feels. Just like Jesus, when he saw the multitudes, he had compassion on them. Jesus showed unmerited love, like sheep without a shepherd. The world (made up of non-believers) does not have a guide to follow or they follow those who lead them down the wrong path. But the church exists to change the community.

Section 3: Community Problems and Solutions

23. What are the primary problems facing the community?

Certain sectors of our community have delinquency (gang violence); be fully aware of God's will for each person; lack of employment; too many single mothers and children without a father. Also, the need exists to improve agricultural production, to improve the education centres. We need more education centres. The streets and housing (needs improvement). Regarding academic preparations, there is a high percentage (of young people) that do not go past sixth or ninth grade. Others drop out in high school and only a few are able to attend University because they lack the financial resources (to pay for schooling).

24. What are the primary causes or reasons for why problems exist?

Lack of employment. Families are very large, and the salaries are too low to be able to invest in higher education. I think that is the cause.

25. How has the local church served to address the primary problems of the community?

If we studied it, then we have done very little. We have helped improved community infrastructure by building perimeter walls (around public schools), wheelchair ramps, but the long-term solution is employment. We must work with people (from the community) to implement initiatives that can help them generate greater income or some for those that do not have any. Like me, the chicken coop is an alternative (for others). We must implement vocational training workshops, help small-scale entrepreneurs but to do so is a long-term process. I think that we would only be able to train a few families. But with 20 families that could serve as a model. I was talking to a *hermana* (female church member) from the church who has child that has had several operations and cannot work. We have to do something. For these kinds of people, they would be able to manage a chicken coop. I believe that church can (help), but we need the resources, prepare ourselves spiritually, and need to know how (technical knowledge) to have an impact. We also need financial assistance from donors to help these kinds of people who want to work.

26. How has the local church participated in identifying and designing solutions to address community problems?

There was a study done of the community. We also conducted a survey last year and it provided us with a profile of the community. And many (of the needs) are evident without much analysis needed because there are so many needs.

27. How many members of the local church do you believe participate in resolving community problems?

This year, 35 members are participating.

28. What percentage of church members believe that the church should participate in resolving community problems?

Sixty percent and the rest (of the members) are in process (of participating). There are two groups, for example, one that participates actively, and another group that participates by giving an offering and praying. They do not go out (into the community), but the other are working outside the church and are seen. But there are others supporting them. We have a cooking committee that prepares food for those that hare working directly on the projects.

29. Could the local church do anything more to help resolve community problems?

I think that we need to continue to *concientizar* (create awareness) the church members through teaching and training and more than anything prayer. We suffered a setback as a church from December 2011 to May 2012 (close to thirty members left), but we are lifting ourselves back up. I am happy to hear members talk about the *Mision Integral* who had not done so previously, saying that we are going to pray and work toward this mission (of the church). Church work is not always stable,

there are highs and lows. It is part of the process. If it was not that way, then we would not have any challenges. The work of the church is to grow and stop to ask God what is happening.

30. Have you seen any changes in your local congregation since they began to address community problems?
A spirit of joy is noticeable. The church is more *consciente* (aware) of the needs of the community and many defend (or support) our work in the community. They believe that we are the hands and feet of God that bring solutions to people. Greater attendance in the church services.

Section 4: Community Engagement

31. Has the church partnered with other local private, civic, and state organizations to develop community initiatives?
The church has worked with the ADESCO, staff from the preschool, the public school in El Espino, with the Mayor's office and council, with the Pro-construction Committee to build a retaining wall in Miraflores, with ENLACE, which is our strongest relationship, and the Ministry of Health to implement anti-dengue campaigns by illuminating mosquito breading grounds.

32. How has the church partnered with other organizations? / 34. How would you describe the type of relationship you have with each organization? / 35. Have there been any changes in the relationship between the church and community since they began to partner together?

With the ADESCO the church has built homes, conducted baseline research and we have used the medical clinic to provide physical therapy (for people who are physically challenged).

With the Mayor's office we have a strong relationship. I would describe it as having a 9 out 10 relationship because they believe in what the church is doing. When we call them, unless they are busy, they receive our calls. They have said to us that if every church was like XXX, then our communities would change faster. They have good perception of us. There is now more trust, there is friendship between us - even though the president is charismatic catholic. In 2008, we were a threat to them, but now they invite us to meetings, and they mention us in their meetings.

We were also the 'godfathers' of the public school in 2008. We helped them build a wheelchair ramp with the help from Johny and Friends. We are also friends with the director of the private school. He has supported faithfully of the Foundation which was launched on May 5 with the help from many people. The relationship is excellent. The biggest change is between the parents towards the children and they see us with respect and say, 'we love what you are doing.'

The Mayor's office also donated wood, dirt and sand to build Gaby's house. They also donated 20 bags of cement, two *quintales* of steel and white dirt. However, the relationship with the Mayor's office is subject to change. We were able to partner well with Mayor of the previous electoral period in 2011, but politics divides us, and the church cannot escape that reality. The new mayor is from a different political party and those that work on the Foundation are from another political party. The mayor called me and told me to eliminate the leaders of the Foundation that were from the opposing party and I told him that I could not do that. He was upset. The same thing happened with the city council because Don Carlos Sanchez was part of the work in the community and they eliminated him from the new council. And that is why we have had problems as a church because they accuse us of having a political affiliation or political interest, but that is not the case. We respect principles. And that is why now the mayor's office has distanced us from them.

With the Ministry of Health, we have done trash cleaning campaigns and mosquito prevention campaigns. Our relationship with the director of local medical clinic is good. They always invite us to participate in their activities such as for the Health for Women Campaign. That means that we have good relations between each other. The relationship with the Ministry of Health has really changed. Five years ago, we were anonymous. Now we they invite us and work with us. If they see us, then they ask us to partner with them.

43. Has the church contributed to identifying and/or strengthening the relationship with private, civic, or state organizations? / 37. How has the church served to strengthen the relationship between organizations (please provide concrete examples)? / 38. Has the church served to strengthen the relationship between community members and the organizations? / 39. How has the church served to strengthen the relationship between community members and the organizations (please provide concrete examples)?

Yes, by inviting them to activities that we host at the church such as trainings. The director of the preschool comes to the church to receive training on evangelism to people with special needs. She requested additional trainings. What the church is doing with children with special needs has motivated other to help. I talked to a teacher in 2010 who did not want to let a girl with special needs attend the school because she had difficulties speaking, but later she called me and said that I was right. Even though the government has started a new program (to include children with special needs), the education centers have more work with fewer resources, so they are trying to avoid the responsibility. We are trying to keep that from happening.

There is also a growing *conciencia* (awareness) at the local medical clinic to care for people with special needs so they have allowed us to use their space to provide physical therapy and they invite us to meetings.

Section 5: Church and Community Relations

40. Have you seen any changes in the relationship between the local church and the community since you began to participate in community development projects? 41. Could you provide one story or concrete example that exemplifies the changes that you have observed in the relationship between the church and community?

Yes, there is greater friendship. Now they do not see us as someone who will reject them because of their religious beliefs. We have learned to respect their ideas and principles. And it does not limit us from sharing the Gospel. Previously, we saw all people as a potential candidate to join the Kingdom of Heaven, so we would challenge their principles. Now we just educate them on the Word of God and let God change people. Now, the community approaches us. It is time that is our worst enemy because we have so many commitments. That is why we need more members to participate (in serving the community).

42. Do you believe that there existed distance between the church and community? / 43. Why did there exist distance or separation between the church and community?

Yes, enormous separation. We ignored each other. We were separated ourselves from the community as a church. We were *ajenos* (disinterested) of their needs. There is no better way to build trust than by demonstrating interest in their needs. That is a friend. In the church, we have learned that people need us, when we empathize with them, they see a friend and they extend trust to us.

44. Why did the church choose to approach or befriend the community?
It is not very ethical, but it started in me. At the beginning the member did not want to participate in anything (to do with the community). But God put the motivation in me, and I became stubborn. Soon after, several *hermanos* started sharing my crazy ideas and to my wife who also shared my crazy ideas. I think the church has become more credible in the community.

45. Can you list the names of five people with whom your relationship has changed since developing community projects?
a. Doña Fernanda
b. Don Chico
c. Don Pedro
d. Don Salvador
e. Don Romero

46. How would you describe your relationship with the below listed person? / 47. How would you describe the level of confidence you share?
a. Doña Fernanda: I would say that we are friends with Dina. She is also a client. She sells merchandise and home goods at a local store. I would rate the level trust between us as an eight out of ten.
b. Don Chico: he is a childhood friend. He appreciates what we do and congratulates us. I would rate the level of trust between the same as with Dina, as an eight out of ten.
c. Don Pedro: He was a councilman and he helped us a lot. He also is very compassionate and is humble. His wife has a college degree. We went to Santa Ana together to bring wheelchairs. We have worked together to identify needs. He is great friend. Nine out of ten.

d. Don Salvador: nine out of ten; we have been friends for a shorter period of time, but he is very sensitive (to the needs). He has let us borrow his car, his sound system. He has a very positive image of the church.
e. Don Romero: (my relationship) is similar to the others. He is rich, does no drink (alcohol) but he has a bar for his friends. He brought me (to the bar) and said that I could ask for anything that I wanted. He sold us the land that the church is built on in 1998. He said I will sell it to you for the church. We knew each other but were not friends. He said that they had seen the work of the pastor. He also said that he would help the Foundation in anyway possible. It has been six months since we strengthened our friendship. One day he stopped me while I was driving and offered us his help with whatever we needed. He said that he wanted to build a house for the elderly because I am getting older. He wants to build a house for the elderly and staff it. And he asked me for help, and I said yes. We want to work in three areas: the elderly, single mothers, and people with special needs. He is a man who is very *sensible* (aware/compassionate) to the needs of those most in need. He has a big heart. The degree of trust is an 8 because of what we share.

48. Do they belong to your same religious affiliation?
a. Doña Fernanda: She attends a different Evangelical church
b. Don Chico: He is Jehovah's Witness
c. Don Pedro: Catholic
d. Don Salvador: Catholic
e. Don Romero: Yes

49. Are they from the same economic position or class?
a. Doña Fernanda: Higher
b. Don Chico: Much higher. He has money. He is a strong businessman.
c. Don Pedro: Higher
d. Don Salvador: Higher
e. Don Romero: Higher

50. Are they from your generation?
a. Doña Fernanda: Younger
b. Don Chico: Same
c. Don Pedro: A lot younger
d. Don Salvador: Younger
e. Don Romero: Same

51. Have you worked together on community development projects?
a. Doña Fernanda: Yes. She is a faithful volunteer at the Foundation
b. Don Chico: No
c. Don Pedro: Housing Project
d. Don Salvador: Yes. We have worked together at the Foundation
e. Don Romero: No. He has helped the foundation financially and lent us his house for meetings.

52. How frequently have you worked together?
a. Doña Fernanda: 10 times. She donates food and money to the Foundation
a. Don Chico: We speak to each other every once in a while, when we see each other on the street.
b. Don Pedro: He is the Vice-president of the Foundation. We meet once a week.
c. Don Salvador: Did not know
d. Don Romero: Did not know

53. Do you discuss personal problems together (please provide an example)?
a. Doña Fernanda: No
b. Don Chico: No
c. Don Pedro: He talks to me about his problems with politics or health.
d. Don Salvador: No
e. Don Romero: Only about how he is getting older.

54. Do you discuss community problems together (please provide an example)?
a. Doña Fernanda: We talk about people with special needs and lack of security in the community

b. Don Chico: We talk about what we are doing to help the community and that he appreciates how we are helping people. He says, 'I admire your congregation. I wish I could be like that.' We speak to each other every once in a while, when we see each other on the street.
c. Don Pedro: We talk about the problems that come with being poor and how to solve them. He is a lawyer. He is overseeing all of the legal stuff for the Foundation.
d. Don Salvador: We talk about the infrastructure needs in the community such as roads and about how to help those in greatest need.
e. Don Romero: No answer

55. Would you ask for help from the individual listed if you had a medical emergency?

a. Doña Fernanda: Yes
b. Don Chico: I think so
c. Don Pedro: Yes
d. Don Salvador: Yes
e. Don Romero: Yes

56. Have you borrowed or lent from each other in the last year?

a. Doña Fernanda: Not money but she has provided food supplies
b. Don Chico: Only borrowed
c. Don Pedro: No
d. Don Salvador: No
e. Don Romero: No

57. Have you borrowed or lent equipment or tools to each other in the last year?

a. Doña Fernanda: No
b. Don Chico: In 2000 we implemented many campaigns and on various occasions he provided transportation without charging us.
c. Don Pedro: He has lent us his vehicle to go to San Pedro to identify people with special needs.
d. Don Salvador: No
e. Don Romero: He gives us the raw honey to make the organic fertilizer.

58. How important is the relationship to you?

a. Doña Fernanda: The relationship is very important to me because someone that welcomes you into their business and helps you means that there is trust.
b. Don Chico: It is very important because when I need a friend, I know that can count on him.
c. Don Pedro: Very important. He is indispensable at the Foundation. He is a huge help.
d. Don Salvador: It is very important to (develop) the (community development) initiatives.
e. Don Romero: Very important. Whenever we need his help, he provides solutions.

59. Has the relationship been important to addressing community problems? / 60. Could you provide a story that describes the kind of relationship you have with each individual?

a. Doña Fernanda: We share an interest in caring for people with special needs. She says that she appreciates me because who else in El Espino cares about the needs of people with special needs. She even jokes that one day might even become the mayor.
b. Don Chico: Yes. We talk about the Foundation more than anything else. He says count on me whenever you need help. He does not commit to come to the meetings. We grew up together, but it has been the *Fundación* (a Foundation that the church and community leaders created to serve children with special needs in their county) and the houses that we built that strengthened our relationship He says that I do not have a nice house. And that I did not build myself a house first but prioritized others.
c. Don Pedro: He has helped us to resolve problems. He has solicited funds from the Mayor's office. He is also working on the legal documents for the Foundation. He also lends us his vehicle to help the community. The first project we did was a trash clean-up campaign and he as councilman coordinated the pick-up of the trash. We have a huge vision for the community.
d. Don Salvador: They (he and his family) were very *apáticos al evangelio* (closed to the Gospel). Several years ago, we needed a bag of cement but did not have money on hand, so we asked for it on consignment. He said that he would give it to us because he believed that I was very religious. We raised the money quickly among the *hermanos* (of the church) to pay him off quickly because there was a lack of trust between us. When I talked

to him about the Foundation, I let him know that he was one of people that could really help. And that is when the relationship started. Now he and his wife are willing to help in anyway.

e. Don Romero: He has helped the Foundation which is in process (of being legally constituted).