



Figure 1.1 'Keep Out!' Fresh Wota, Port Vila. Photo by Annelin Eriksen.

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Borders in 'Pentecost'

Creating Protected Spaces

The Point of Departure

Walking through the streets in Fresh Wota and Ohlen, settlements close to the city centre of Port Vila, you are immediately struck by the way in which the neighbourhoods seem to be closed off. The architecture of most of the houses, with outdoor areas for cooking and eating hidden at the back within fenced-in yards, seems to signal a need for protection from city life. Fresh Wota and Ohlen are typical ni-Vanuatu¹ urban settlements, where people either squat, rent or have paid for small pieces of ground where they put up temporary houses of corrugated iron or brick. These are *not* neighbourhoods where people have a lot of material wealth to protect. Quite the contrary. This chapter will look at this process of 'closing off' and try to make sense of it as part of how 'Pentecost' as a place is created. It starts out in the neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Port Vila, but we will also look at village life in Kiriwina in the Trobriand Islands as well as the hyper-urban neighbourhood of Palanca in Luanda, Angola. We try to connect what seems to be a key dimension of social life ('the closing off') to fundamental topics in Pentecostalism: healing, confessions and prayer wars. This chapter will thus in a very concrete way turn our analytical gaze to the spatial effects of Pentecostalism – in other words, the way in which Pentecostalism becomes 'Pentecost' as much in Vanuatu as in the Trobriand Islands or in Angola. We will also look at how protection and borders are reflected in wider social practices. In 'Pentecost', closing off and borders are key

values reflected in a number of different ways. Let us start our journey in Fresh Wota, Port Vila.

In July 2014 on a hot and sunny afternoon, Annelin was walking with her long-time Ambrym friend Rosemary², who lives with her husband and two children in a temporary building in Fresh Wota 5, on their way back from church. As they passed a yard where a crowd of young boys were sitting, smoking and chatting, Rosemary pointed out that the neighbourhood was not safe for her daughter. She had grown up on the island of Ambrym with her grandparents and had just recently moved to the city to continue her secondary education. 'She cannot be allowed to just walk around in these streets,' Rosemary pointed out. 'Here, anything can happen.' Fresh Wota is seen as a dangerous place, where people from different islands live side by side. This place is not like other places in Vanuatu, people will point out. No taboo relations are honoured here, as people sleep in small houses and live with relatives with whom, in a village context, they might have an avoidance relationship. Therefore, people often say that there is a lack of respect in these neighbourhoods. People do not uphold some of the basic social principles that order life in a village context.

However, there is also an intense liveliness and generosity in this neighbourhood. Children run in crowds up and down the streets, playing and laughing. Young boys eat in each other's houses and spend the afternoon together on the street corners. On the one hand, these are areas where tagging like 'Keep Out' and 'Private' have been put on fences, protecting the households from the main street. On the other hand, people seem to move quite freely between the households. Furthermore, women will talk to their children about their neighbours as 'your auntie' and 'your uncle' but will also caution them about the witch around the corner. These are neighbourhoods where the endless rows of buses that pass by on the main road every hour of the day are decorated with both crosses and 'Jesus banners' as well as reggae music symbols and icons. Loudspeakers next to the daily market will play American gospel music at full volume, while the young boys smoke marijuana in the shade of a tree. In the shop on the corner, where groceries are sold 24/7, the shopkeeper has an extra chair in the back room where you can be healed after paying for the groceries. There seems, in sum, to be a presence of contrasts; simultaneously there is a sense of 'the big (even though it is rather small) city' with its 'bright lights' with the need to control and protect from dangers.

Rosemary, Annelin's Ambrym friend and interlocutor in Fresh Wota, spends her days washing and cleaning, cooking and gossiping with neighbours. She walks every day to the local market, a five-minute

stroll from the house. Here a number of her neighbours sell vegetables they have either received from the village (sent by relatives on the cargo boats) or have grown themselves in gardens outside the city centre. Rosemary herself has no paid work, but most people in Fresh Wota, perhaps with the exception of older women, work in the service sector, as bus drivers (usually men), dressmakers or cleaners (usually women), or in the hotels or Chinese stores. Surviving on what one can earn in town is close to impossible, and one relies on family on the islands to send baskets of garden produce. However, this reliance relationship is never articulated, and prayer is the means through which the scarcity is most commonly addressed. The last initiative from the workers union entailed a '24/7 prayer' campaign.

Within just a few blocks of these neighbourhoods you will find a number of churches, both so-called mainline churches, such as the Presbyterian and the Anglican, and newer, 'independent' churches (see Eriksen 2009, 2012). Some of the churches were established in a charismatic wave in the 1970/80s (see Eriksen 2012, 2014), such as Assemblies of God, but most of the churches can be placed within a standard definition of 'Pentecostalism', emphasizing the immediate experience of the Spirit (for instance, Anderson 2004).

In these neighbourhoods, the focus on the power of prayer and the presence of the Spirit can be observed in different ways and in different contexts, from everyday prayer in workplaces and lunch prayer before eating to morning hymns in schools and also in people's reasoning ('it is up to God', 'God will provide'). However, the most striking example is perhaps what we might call the 'healing scene'. In the settlements of Fresh Wota and Ohlen there is a healer in every second yard, locally known as 'a woman who prays'. The Holy Spirit is called upon every morning and every night. There are prayer rooms filled with people who come together to seek comfort and protection against what they perceive to be the dangerous power of witchcraft and sorcery. Excepting a few men, the large majority of these healers are women (see Eriksen 2012). They receive clients every night and on Sundays after church service. People seek their help for a number of reasons, be it sickness, marriage problems, employment issues or career advice. There are also a growing number of people who come because they claim to be possessed by demons. They are usually brought to the healers by close relatives. The healers, who work through the power of the Holy Spirit, pray while placing their hands on the possessed body and demanding the spirit, in the name of God, to leave.

Talking with the Healers

Throughout six months of 2010, and in July and August of 2014, Annelin followed the work of five healers in Fresh Wota and Ohlen. The healers were all women and had received their healing power through God. They had all experienced a remarkable turning point in life, recovering from severe sickness or facing other major problems. Finding these healers was not hard. One would hear about them almost constantly. Healing is a very frequent topic of conversation between the women at the market or in stories shared between neighbours in the streets. Annelin heard about Monique from one of her Ambrym friends whose brother had been healed by her a couple of months earlier. As Annelin entered her yard in Ohlen, a young woman was hanging laundry to dry in the sun. 'Are you here to see my mother?' she asked at once, obviously used to strangers arriving. 'She is inside, but I will get her for you,' she said. 'You can wait in her "prayer room".' This room was a tiny room next to the main house, which itself was not much more than a shed with a corrugated iron roof. There were two extensions from the shed – the prayer room and a small store facing the main street. The house was separated from the street by a large hedge. You could hear the noise from people and cars passing by but you could not see the street..

Monique arrived. When she saw her guest, she smiled and picked up her Bible. Annelin quickly said that she was not there for healing but just to talk. She smiled again and said that talking was fine. 'I also always talk,' she said. 'This is how I work,' she pointed out. 'While talking I can figure out what people carry in their hearts.' Annelin explained to Monique that she was just interested in learning about her work, to look and watch, observe and ask. Monique was very interested in conveying her gifts and her work. She immediately started explaining how she had received the special ability to heal after enduring a severe sickness. She had been fatally ill with cancer. Doctors and hospitals had given up on her. She was in bed, ready to die, when one night she was woken by a gentle wind brushing her cheek. She had been sleeping with the Bible next to her. As she woke she could see the Bible had been opened, and her eyes immediately fell on Matthew 5:8: 'Blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall see God.' She understood, beyond doubt, that this was a message for her. She was to be healed. She was not only spiritually reborn, with a new faith in God, but also physically felt she was reborn; she felt she was given a new heart and a new life. She was to work for God and to use her heart to 'see' other people. As she recovered physically, Monique was very clear about the true gift she had been

given – this pure heart. She now can, with the help of the Holy Spirit, see what others cannot.

Monique explained to Annelin that when she receives clients, and before healing can take place, a diagnosis must be set. This is the process of *discernment*. The ability to discern is in itself a special gift from God. In order to understand what is wrong with a patient, Monique needs to make the person talk, to 'open up'. However, very often the person 'hides' what is really wrong or what they truly fear. The patient might come for one particular problem but end up admitting that something completely different is the real issue. For instance, a young girl, along with her grandmother, sought help from Monique to get treatment for sleeplessness. Her grandmother told the healer that they had been working hard to put the young girl through secondary school and were now paying school fees for her college education. However, for lack of sleep, her grades were getting worse. The healer sensed very quickly that the lack of good work at school had little to do with sleeplessness and much more to do with the fact that she was seeing a boyfriend every night in secret. Monique thus confronted the girl with this: 'You have a boyfriend, don't you? And he lives nearby? You see him every night when your parents think you are asleep? Is this not so?' The girl immediately admitted the truth to her grandmother: 'It is the boy in the next yard.'

The other healers Annelin talked to also underlined the necessity of 'seeing'. They all have an ability to see what others cannot. Although the healers use slightly different techniques, there is a clear pattern. They either hear God speaking to them while the patient is talking or they see images or receive specific sensations. Sarah, for instance, can feel a thumping pain in her forehead and in her palms when, in certain cases, the patient has caused someone harm. This reflects what she sees as her special connection to Jesus (see also Eriksen 2014). When a patient is talking, the healers, through their bodies, sense what the cause of illness or misfortune is. The patient is often 'covering up' (*kaveremap*) in his or her talk. Usually they are afraid of telling the real truth, one of the healers pointed out. For example, very often when a mother comes, she might complain about pain in the back and the feeling of being tired all the time, lacking energy. However, one healer pointed out that, typically, while the women talk, she will quickly sense that this is really about a problem in their relationship with their husband, for instance. Sometimes, this specific gift of seeing past the obvious takes a very concrete form. One of the healers in Fresh Wota has a specific version of the gift of discernment. She has what she calls "X-ray sight". She can see 'through' things – not only the patient's body and mind but also through

walls, beneath the ground and so on. This makes her a particularly efficient healer for detecting sorcerers, and their remedies, hidden out of obvious sight.

The Border between the 'Inside' and the 'Outside'

In the different healers' accounts of the techniques they apply and the rationale of 'discernment', one can detect a theory of the dynamics between 'covering' or 'closing' and 'opening'. The process of discernment is the key to a movement between 'the hidden' (*oli hidem*) and 'the truth' (*tru samting*), between the 'inside' and the 'outside'. Discernment turns what is 'covered' into the open. All the healers Annelin talked to and observed were in some way or another focusing on a 'border' but without necessarily articulating the border. In other words, the notion of a significant border is implied in their discourse and practices. In order to challenge the 'truth', to find what is 'hidden', they challenge a border – to get beyond 'the cover' (*oli kaveremap*). Thus, the transgression of borders is a theme that is crucial for the healing practice. These borders can operate on different levels and in different ways, but most importantly they create 'insides' and 'outsides'. The border is not just a demarcation of different sides. The divisions are not neutral. Rather, they emphasize a crucial distinction between an inner 'saved' (or potentially saved, after healing, and pure) quality and the 'threatening outside'. This movement between the borders is the special capacity of the healer. The healers have the ability to identify the border and to challenge that border. They can 'see' through or across the border.

If the architecture and sociality of the neighbourhoods, as described above, reveal the tensions between 'opening up' and 'closing off', between 'inside' and 'outside', this seems also to be reflected in theories of the body and of the person expressed by the healers. Discernment involves, as we have seen, the process of seeing 'behind' and 'opening up'. The proceeding process of healing, of recovering, involves closing the body again after creating purified 'insides'. Protection of the inside is subsequently necessary to stay healthy.

Eve, a charismatic Catholic healer, told Annelin about a case where she had delivered a boy from an evil demon. His family had called her from the island of Aneitium, telling her that their son, a boy of seventeen years, had been fooled by some other young boys to drink the blood of animals. He had then become possessed by an evil animal spirit. They took him to see Eve, arriving by bus in front of her church.³ She stood in the doorway as they brought the boy to her, two strong men holding

him, as he was screaming and yelling and trying to get away. She could see the animal spirit at once; it had horns and claws. She could not see the face of the boy, only the spirit. She said a prayer, and the animal kicked the ground, as if preparing to run into her, but she only prayed stronger. The boy soon collapsed on the ground. The demon had left him, and he could not remember anything. He did not know where he was or what had happened. He was completely confused and had no memory of the last couple of days, of how he had become possessed, and how he had been released.

Eve explained that the demon had disturbed the boy's awareness of who he was. The demon had taken over his mind, leaving his body intact. Thus, only Eve, as the healer, could see the 'real' – the animal spirit. The others could only see the boy. They saw 'the cover'; she could see the 'real'. Eve's gaze challenged the 'cover' (the appearance of the boy's body hiding the animal spirit), and because of her capacity to see beyond the border of the person she could release the boy from the spirit. Only after Eve had addressed the animal spirit, through prayer, and demanded it to leave the body could the boy gradually recover.

Evelyn, another of the healers in Fresh Wota, told Annelin that danger is everywhere and protection against danger is crucial for survival. Prayer, participation in choirs and blessings by healers and pastors contribute to making this protective border strong. She thus organized prayer groups for short evening gatherings for women and their children in a spare room next to her grocery store. However, there are always threatening forces that seek to penetrate, to open up borders and make people vulnerable, chief among them being the forces of witchcraft and sorcery.

Extending the Context: On Confessions and Conversion

Let us now move to the other contexts of 'Pentecost' identified for this book and see if we can find an 'echo' of the significance of these kinds of borders. As we have seen, in Port Vila borders demarcate an 'inside' on different levels (the self, the house, the yard etc.), and borders also give protection (against external environments). If we move into the context of Kiriwina, in the Trobriand Islands, and specifically into situations where the Holy Spirit 'operates' in order to identify the context of 'Pentecost', borders emerge as significant, especially in practices of conversion and confession.

Kiriwina

In the process of being 'born again' (*kalobusivau*, in the Kilivila language), figures of transgression of a border between the insides and the outsides are central. Pastor Michael, who presides over the Revival Church in the government station of Losuia, explained the importance of confession using just these concepts. He told Michelle that many people have demons inside them, which make them spiritually and even physically weak. They can possess the body (though, as in Port Vila, they are not visible from the outside), and they communicate with the spirit world to keep a person from being truly Godly. These demons have to be cast out, whether through the assistance of someone with the gifts of the Holy Spirit or through their own prayer and commitment to being reborn in Christ. By confessing to the demons living inside, they can be cast out of the body.

However, it is important to follow up this casting out of the demons by filling that now vacant 'space' in the body with the Holy Spirit. The born-again Christian must read the Bible, pray and engage in daily fellowship activities to ensure that the space remains filled with the Holy Spirit and that the penetration of evil demons is prevented. This metaphor of having a physical space inside the body that potentially can be opened up to demons (if borders are not protected and the space remained filled with the Holy Spirit) was reaffirmed by Esther, a member of the CRC church in the village of Sinaketa. Esther had confessed to being a witch and cast out her own demons when she became born again. Esther told Michelle that with her confession and rebirth she became 'a new woman' (*besatuta navau yegu*) and knew that now Jesus lives 'inside' her (*Jesu isisu olumwolela*), replacing the spirit of the witch that had previously inhabited that same space (see MacCarthy 2017).

Becoming born again is thus dependent upon becoming conscious of the internal space, an 'inner self', which needs to be 'filled' (with Jesus and the Holy Spirit). Not being aware of the inner space and the necessity of protecting it can go easily in the wrong direction. In order to remain aware of this, confession is significant. In confession the relation between the inside, as potentially already penetrated by evil, and the outside, as a threatening environment, is often articulated. It is also in confession that the evil already residing inside (as in the witch, for instance) can be cast out. Thus, as in contexts of healing in Port Vila, confession is a key event in Kiriwina in which borders are opened and re-established. Let us now move onto Angola and Luanda and, again, to contexts where the Holy Spirit is thematized.

Luanda

In the neighbourhood of the Palanca in Luanda, Ruy finds a significant contrast between different religious traditions. On the one hand, he finds a focus on the border between the individual and the outside world as we have also seen in Port Vila healings and Kiriwina confessions. This is a key focus in the confession practices in the EKWESA (Christian Church of the Union of the Holy Spirit), for instance. The members of this church gather several days per week to conduct ceremonies for spiritual cleansing and intercession. In such events, those present form a circle – the 'charismatic circle' – in which manifestation and mediation will occur. They summon the Holy Spirit and place their requests. Both men and women are invaded by the spirit and start shaking, dancing and speaking in tongues. Some may fall on the ground; others might begin 'gliding' with their arms open; others still will frantically engage in interlocation. The process will eventually die down, but the effect will not: the feeling of cleanliness, of renewal, of reinforcement.

On these occasions intervention and effect are sought through invocation, treatment and deliverance. Prayer and chants accompany ingestion and expulsion from the body. The charismatic circle enacts a separation between the space of sacred interlocation and passive observation. The new, purified bodies become symbols of a new kind of Christian person in the Palanca, one whose conversion is a matter of cleaning out 'the inside'. This also has another effect. The new body is symbolic of a person who is not necessarily dependent upon a larger network of kinship. Becoming born again and taking on the new body is part of the process of becoming 'one' – of singularization. This creates ruptures in the kinship and group networks, separating members from families as well as disrupting flows of domestic economy. In a sense, the nuclearization of the experience of deliverance into the body provokes a friction with the socializing dimension of the church. Here we can see the significance of borders again, at another level: the cutting of kinship networks and the creation of new, significant divisions.

On the other hand, Ruy finds that borders also work in different ways. In Tokoist churches, the focus is often on what we might call discipline (marching in church, for example) and dress code (wearing only white garments). This, Ruy finds, shows another dimension of the significance of borders. In these contexts, it is not so much a border between the individual person and the (potentially evil) world that is in focus. Rather, focus is on the border between the group (the Tokoists) and the outside world. This border (between those wearing white, those



Figure 1.2 Tokoists in Palanca, Luanda. Photo by Ruy Llera Blanes.

who are marching and others) reveals what we might call an ‘outward order’, emphasizing the Tokoist community in relation to others. These are, however, very different kinds of ‘borders’ than we have seen in the context of healing and confession. Ruy observed how in the Tokoist Church this ‘outward order’ not only produces a socially recognizable posture and behaviour but also a semiotic separation between public and private experiences of Tokoism, which in turn reflect a theological distinction between a ‘physical’ and a ‘spiritual’ body. In other words, in the Palanca it is very unlikely that you would find a Tokoist manifesting contact with the Holy Spirit in the church space, let alone in a public setting. This happens not only because the process of spiritual mediation is circumscribed to specific hallowed grounds within the church (what they call ‘tabernacles’) but also because it is a specialized activity, singled out in specific members of the church (the ‘vates’ or prophets) who are, for the most part, anonymous. From this perspective, if individual spiritual mediation is a non-generalized possibility for the Tokoists, the outward behaviour becomes *the* element signalling purity, identification, allegiance and belonging to the community of the spiritually clean. The border establishes a separation between Tokoists and others. In other words, in this context we can see that the border separates in slightly different ways than in healing and confession contexts. Here focus is on

a border between the inside of a collective body and the outside and not only between an individual body and the external world. The function of the border remains parallel, however, for it separates the internal (of the individual or the community) and the external, and it protects from penetration by threatening, external forces. The colour white, signalling purity and cleanliness, points primarily to the quality of the community but also to the individual person.

The ritual process of conversion to the Tokoist Church is illustrative in this respect. To become a member of the church one has to observe very specific precepts, as per the book of Leviticus. For an adult, to enter the church there has to be a process of confession and conversion with specific restrictions (staying at home for thirty-three days, not sleeping with one's partner etc.), which, if observed, will give one what is known as 'the stamp' (*selo*), a spiritual symbol that protects the Tokoist from Satan. This stamp is necessarily invisible but will tie the new member into the church community and 'separate' him or her from other humans.

Moving the concepts of 'borders', and especially borders between a 'clean inside' and a threatening external world, by examining the neighbourhoods of Port Vila, Kiriwina and Palanca, we can see how the idea of an 'inner self', a contained and separate self, is taking form but also how the technology of both conversion and healing enables a person to cast out that which is not holy and to become clean and purified. In the charismatic circle of the EKWESA, in the tabernacle of the Tokoists, in confession ceremonies of the Kiriwina witches, and in healing sessions in Port Vila, evil is cast out, and the bodies (individual and collective) are purified.

Creating Safe 'Insides': The Distinction between Good and Evil

These processes of creating an inner self, of morally guarding this self and making sure that it is not corrupted by demonic forces, reflects an idea of a dangerous external world. Dangerous predatory forces haunt the Pentecostalized neighbourhoods of Port Vila, Kiriwina and Luanda. Creating the protected 'insides', the spaces for the 'pure', is thus echoed in all three neighbourhoods. The 'outside', where the foreign resides, is always threatening and potentially disruptive. Outside spaces are 'open' to danger, to forces seeking human substances. The binary distinction between good and evil is a key logic underlying these perceptions. This distinction is 'mapped onto' the logic of inside/outside and

the significance of the border between them. To investigate this logic further, let us return to the neighbourhood of Fresh Wota in Pentecostal Port Vila and a story told by the healer Monique.

A man had come by Monique's house in Ohlen one night. He had complained about a series of incidents that had made his life very difficult lately – at work, at home and also with his physical health. He had been sick for a while. He had seen a number of doctors, but no one could find anything. As he sat in her small prayer room, the Holy Spirit revealed to Monique that the man had been bewitched. His neighbour was jealous and had planted bones of a dead human being outside his house to make him sick. In these cases, Monique said, it was necessary that she not only prayed for him in her prayer room but that she also could be present at the place where the black magic (*nakaimas*) had been effected. Thus, she accompanied him to his house. But they had to wait until midnight because it is only at this hour that the evil spirits will reveal themselves (*Long day oli slip nomo, long midnaet oli wakabot*). During the night they become active, and only then can one neutralize them. As she predicted, she found buried bones of a young child in the entrance to the man's house. As they got rid of the bones, the dogs started barking around them, and Monique knew they were feeling the evil spirits roaming around. She then started praying, loudly and strongly, and thus ridding the place of the malevolent influence. The next day, the man called her and told her that for the first time in a long time he was feeling much better.

When Monique told this story, early in the morning the day after she had delivered the man and his house from the evil spirits, she was eager to point out that one *can* protect oneself against these forces. They are all around, she said. These evil spirits are potentially everywhere. 'Where do they come from?' Annelin asked. Monique explained that they are '*from taem bifo*' (from the past); they are evil because they belong in an era before Christianity. They are spirits residing in the neighbourhoods reflecting the heathen traditions of the forefathers (see Eriksen 2014; Rio and Eriksen 2014). However, they can only be dealt with through the power of God and prayer. The healers are there to detect and to protect. They can channel the Holy Spirit and protect against the 'power of magic and witchcraft' that, as one of the healers expressed it, is all around, all the time.

Although the evil spirits are all around, they do not attack randomly. They are activated by people who want to harm or who are paid to harm. These are the sorcerers. They are also all around, in every neighbourhood. Monique and some of the other healers (but not all) were able to detect these sorcerers. For instance, Monique was able to point

out the man who had bewitched her client. He was the next-door neighbour. Rumour had it that he had been doing this for a long time. '*Hemi spoilem fulap man finis*' (he has already destroyed a lot of people). 'The signs are there, clear for everyone who looks,' Monique said. This man was said to be a '*kastom*' healer, a man with access to traditional knowledge of herbal medicine. He would give people advice on leaves to boil and drink. The man was old and getting thinner. Furthermore, and perhaps the most important piece of evidence, his wife had a big sore on her foot that would not heal. Neighbours talked about the woman who could almost not walk any more and the sore that only got bigger and bigger. According to Monique, this was evidence of evil: the sore was indicative of an evil residing internally. The '*kastom*' healers work through the power of the ancestors and are thus opening up their bodies for evil spirits. The sickness of the old man's wife was proof of both his lack of power to heal (the inefficacy of traditional knowledge) as well as his contact with evil magic.

Evil can thus be identified not only as a dangerous power, omnipresent in the city, but also as internal to a person. If one lacks commitment to God and does not clearly show this commitment by taking part in prayer circles, church services etc., one is regarded as 'open' for evil; evil can easily attack in the form of demons, for instance. This, according to Monique, is the only reason why the '*kastom*' healer cannot heal and why his wife is still sick. If he had come to her she would have asked him to confess and then to commit to God. The evil would then be cast out, and with a 'clean' inside the process of recovering would start. Sometimes patients arrive who are not even aware that they are carrying evil and can potentially inflict harm on others. For healing to take place, they need to become aware of the evil inside them, according to Monique. As the healers see it, when the distinction between good and evil is absolute – and there is no sickness or misfortune that cannot be cured if you are on the right side of this border – seeing evil is easy. Those who do not heal are those who are not committed to God.

No one was in doubt in this case. The lack of healing was proof of the lack of commitment to God. Following logically from this, the man was a manifestation of evil. His knowledge of what people call '*kastom*' medicine was also problematic in this context, because it was another proof of his lack of trust in God. With his work, he was calling on the wrong spirits, the evil spirits – the spirits from before. The work of the healers was therefore to not only identify him as a concrete manifestation of evil but also to protect clients from his harmful influence by creating closed borders and safe 'interiors'.

Enclosing Internal Spaces: The Witch in Ohlen

Thus, as the healers see it: Openness is extremely dangerous because there are spiritual forces that are harmful. The external world (external to the body, the house or the yard, most importantly) is continually threatening. One must always suspect that there are, potentially, violent forces that might access your interior in a harmful way. Too much openness can leave you vulnerable to demons, witches and sorcerers. It is therefore crucial that these borders are constantly policed and protected. In the neighbourhood of Ohlen, close to Fresh Wota in Port Vila, where most residents are still squatters and only a few have bought their own piece of land and set up houses on grounds they legally own, people are constantly on the lookout for threatening forces. They build fences around their temporary houses, and they keep their dogs out at night to warn them, not so much of physical intruders (there is little to steal, and robbers mainly work the wealthier neighbourhoods) but to warn against spiritual danger. There is a constant awareness of invisible forces that will try to get through to your inside – inside your yard, your house or your body. The following case, again from Monique's many stories, indicates the way in which borders are worked with, challenged and re-established.

Monique had woken up in the middle of the night from a dream that had scared her. In her dream she had been walking through the gate in front of her house towards the road, carrying a sleeping baby on her shoulders. She had seen a line of people queuing up in front of her small store that faces the main street. 'What are you all waiting for?' she had asked. 'We are waiting for you,' they said. 'We are afraid of a crazy woman who lives on the other side of your yard. When she sees people, she only sees demons. We have nowhere else to go. You must help us.' In her dream Monique had thought to herself that she would only put down the baby safely in the house before starting a prayer. However, as she turned around to re-enter her gate, there was a black man standing on the corner of her house (Monique made a point of how black he was). He grabbed the wrist of her hand and held her back, preventing her from returning through her gate. She tried and tried but could not move. She suddenly saw a woman approaching her, and she had felt the need to talk to her but was again prevented by the man who held her wrist.

Upon waking, she entered her prayer room, opened her Bible and started to read, think and pray. She prayed for several hours, until daylight, but she could not understand (*discern*) the meaning of her dream.

She was quite sure, however, that she had received a vision about events to come. A day later, a woman arrived at her gate, asking for help with her six-year-old son. The son had been sick and throwing up for some time. He had also had severe pain behind his eyes. Monique was busy with other patients and asked her to come back later. However, the woman did not return that day or the next day. Monique kept thinking about the boy and found no peace. She prayed, and suddenly she became aware that the woman with the boy was the woman who had approached her in her dream but whom she had been unable to talk to. She realized that it was of utmost importance to get to this woman.

She told her daughter to go and look for the mother and the boy and bring them to her. The daughter found the boy at a birthday celebration for one of his schoolmates, not far from the yard where he lived. She brought the boy, along with his mother, to Monique. The mother, the boy and Monique entered the prayer room. Monique asked the boy to tell her about the pain he had. The boy was quiet, not uttering a word. He just silently turned his head downward, not giving her any reply. Monique knew immediately that this was a case of demon possession. His refusal to let her see his face was in itself a strong indicator of the presence of a demon. A malign spirit possessed the boy. She sprinkled anointed oil on him, held the Bible in one hand and put her other hand on the boy, commanding the demon to leave the boy's body at once. She screamed and shouted, 'In the name of the Lord, you will show yourself.' The power of the Holy Spirit worked through her, enabling the penetration of the demons' 'cover', the innocent face of the boy. The power made her hand shake as she screamed to the demon to get out of the boy's body. Suddenly, Monique saw, as clearly as if it were a physical person, a spirit jump out of the boy and hide by the door. As Monique told it to disappear, it ran from her yard. Monique recognized the evil spirit at once as the spirit of an old woman just a couple of yards further down the road, a woman from Tanna (an island further south in the archipelago) who was known for her knowledge of witchcraft and sorcery.

We can see here two ways in which Monique can 'see' beyond the borders, between the 'inside' and the 'outside'. Her dream enables her to see what others cannot, and her ability to work as a channel for the Holy Spirit enables her to neutralize the 'false' cover of the demon and to remove the demon from the innocent child. As a healer, it is this ability to see and to move through the border between the inside and the outside that makes her efficient and powerful. This movement between the inside and the outside of the body reveals the importance of keeping the borders of the body closed to dangerous spiritual

influence yet open to the healing power of the Holy Spirit working through the healers.

However, in 'Pentecost' it is not only the borders of the body that are important to manage. The fundamental distinction between the good and the evil needs to be recognized in every aspect of life – for instance, in the movement of these forces within the neighbourhood of Ohlen. The rest of Monique's story reveals the significance of borders between good and evil and the threats that loom around the corner.

The next day, Monique heard that there had been a big fight in the yard of the Tanna people, and she knew immediately that it was the demon she had driven out of the boy that had tried to hide in the Tanna yard and caused trouble. The fight had been caused by almost 'nothing', observers commented. There had been two groups of Tanna men, from different villages on Tanna, who had been drinking kava (a stimulating drink made from the root of a pepper plant) together. However, one of them had accidentally broken a plate and another man had, accidentally, been cut by one of the pieces of the plate. Blaming the man who had broken the plate, the injured man had started a fight and others had joined in. There was nothing accidental about this, according to Monique; it was the work of the runaway spirit. The spirit sought out these men while they were drinking kava, for through their morally corrupt act they would be easy to influence with malign intentions. There was a lack of a strong moral border around this group of men.

Only regular prayer and awareness of God can protect against the evil. Sorcerers, witchcraft and demons are everywhere and always seeking to get access to your inside, according to Monique. The boy who had been possessed by the spirit of the witch from Tanna had become a victim by accident. As a child, he is vulnerable. Children should not be allowed to move too much beyond the confines of the house and yard, at home and at school, according to the healer. Walking around, playing and running into unknown areas might make them vulnerable to harmful spiritual influence. This boy had been crossing the yard of the old woman from Tanna, who is, according to Monique, well known for her knowledge of evil forces. She had placed leaves and branches on the ground that, to an unknowing person, looked harmless but were in reality powerful instruments for getting access to a person's interior. The old woman had placed this on the ground where she expected the man she had targeted to move. She was probably nearby, watching. However, the boy, running suddenly into her yard on his way to get a ball or searching for his friends, accidentally stepped on the leaves and the branches, and the spirit had entered him. It caused nausea, fever and pain behind the eyes.

According to Monique, only her vision and prayer could see through the old woman's magic and drive the demon out of the boy's body.

We can see how the constant focus on keeping the borders between a pure inside and a dangerous outside is fundamental for social life in these neighbourhoods. Let us now move to Palanca in Luanda again and look at the way in which this theory of social dynamics in 'Pentecost' sheds light on processes and practices observed by Ruy.

On Exposure and Concealment

Returning to Luanda, it is not only the white garments that signify the creation of a 'safe', righteous space. Urban architecture and soundscapes have similar effects, creating logics of exposure and concealment, protection and safety. The neo-Pentecostal church UCKG that arrived in Luanda in the early 1990s exemplifies the way in which certain branches of Pentecostals occupy the city, creating safe and holy spaces of promise and salvation. The church made a great public impact, with the construction of a massive cathedral in the high-class neighbourhood of Alvalade, engaging in public demonstrations and a specific media strategy. In Ruy's first visit to Luanda in 2006, he entered the cathedral – out of curiosity but also because its powerful air conditioning was inviting. He noticed how, unlike other churches he knew, it was an 'open space', surrounded by members/volunteers handing out invitations to passers-by, attempting to lure them into the cool environment and comfortable, cinema chairs.

This urban codification reveals an explicit intentionality of men and women in these churches in terms of claiming the space of negotiation of the borders between the internal and the external, the individual and the collective. This was also the case in another Pentecostal church Ruy encountered, the Igreja do Bom Deus (Church of the Good God). A few years ago, he was walking with a friend in central Luanda and overheard songs coming from one of the local stadiums known as the Estádio dos Coqueiros. They discretely entered the stadium and sat in the middle of the crowd, on the side that was unprotected from the sun. However, as they were the only white people in the whole stadium they were quickly spotted by the ushers and invited to sit in the shade, near the VIPs. There, they were able to watch a culmination of outward, externalizing display: the performance of choirs, healing sessions and even marching bands, until the big moment arrived, the arrival of the church leader, prophet Simão Lutumba, in a Mercedes Benz, directly onto the running track, escorted by ushers and believers.

Not all churches seek this kind of visibility and exposure. In fact, the religious landscape of Luanda is marked, among other things, by a dual dynamic of visibility/occultation in the way churches engage in the city. While some churches (i.e. transnational organizations such as the UCKG, the Tokoist Church and others) have an outward-oriented strategy, performing aesthetic and patrimonial interventions in the city centres and landmarks with ‘cathedral politics’, others prefer to remain ‘undercover’ in the city. For instance, often on his walks through the city, Ruy could hear in the distance the screaming sermon of a male pastor and the cries of the believers, but he could not *see* them. They were audibly present but hidden from sight, inside buildings that did not immediately invite one in as had the stadium or the highly visible power-buildings of the UCKG. Rather, their enclosure from the outside, performing a dramatic separation from ‘the world’, was complete.

Thus, in the Palanca, the creation of ‘safe spaces’ can be elusive, marked only with hand-painted signs in intersections, or posters spread throughout the main arteries, the churches remaining mainly out of sight in the less trafficked streets. One only encounters them when stumbling upon walls painted with colourful letters indicating their name and weekly service schedule, or perhaps if attracted by their singing and praising during such periods. This is the case of the many *mpeve ya nlongo* churches that populate the Palanca, frequently occupying makeshift spaces that appear permanently under construction – perhaps because the churches themselves are in some way under construction. In fact, walking around the Palanca, and in contrast to the flashy cathedrals of the city centre, Ruy only encountered infrastructures that seemed to be in a constant state of construction, casting a sense of incompleteness but also of expectation and promise.

So far we have focused mainly on how borders are created from the inside. In other words, the ethnography shows how healers and believers create their environments in order to feel part of a collective, saved community but also to emphasize the significance of these safe (from evil attacks) and saved (protected by the Holy Spirit) spaces. Let us now move to the ‘outside’ and see what ‘Pentecost’ looks like from the perspective of one who is not committed to being part of the saved ‘spaces’. We will return to Port Vila.

The Sorcerer from Ambrym

In the above cases, the significance of borders is the structuring logic of not only conversion, confession and healing processes but also of

the relationship between a person and the social environment. The fundamental distinction between good and evil orders social life, making borders of different kinds and in different contexts significant. However, some healers in Port Vila do not operate within this logic. Rather, they fundamentally break with it. Their approach to healing is not structured on an idea of a fundamental distinction between good and evil, inside and outside and the creation of protected and saved spaces. They do not call upon the Holy Spirit when they heal but use the power of different kinds of spirits. However, they are as much part of the Pentecostal landscape as are the other healers. One might say that they represent the necessary negative counter image of the 'woman who prays' and thereby make their qualities even more visible. There is, one might argue, a hierarchy of healers based on the degree to which one can manage the social logic of borders and inside/outside. Most 'women who pray' will be absolutely clear in their reasoning. They will, in the process of discernment or diagnosis, point to the lack of strong borders against evil forces. They will also appeal to the power of the good, to the Holy Spirit and its healing force. There are no grey areas; there is only black and white, right and wrong.

However, as we have already seen in this chapter, some healers do not work with the Holy Spirit but with the knowledge of what they will call 'kastom'. These healers do not appeal to absolute borders. Rather, they believe there is neither good and evil nor black and white or right and wrong. Sickness can be caused by a conflict, disagreements, bad feelings or a discontented ancestor's spirit. Sometimes these healers are talked about as '*klevas*' (clever people). They have great knowledge of the use of leaves and plants that can be used in massages or in different kinds of oral treatment. Their most powerful ability, though, is the work of their own spirit. Some of them have a spirit that can move without the physical body. At night, these spirits are often flying in the air, swimming in the ocean or running around in the neighbourhoods. These are the spirits that church-based healers will refer to as evil, as demons and witches. However, when talking to the 'kastom' healers, they will point out that they work in order to achieve healing of sick people. They will tell their clients that their sickness might be caused by the remaining part of something – for instance, the half of the fruit they have left uneaten, part of their hair or nails or a clothing item they used to wear. This part might be lost in a place close to a harmful influence. Having thrown half of an uneaten fruit into the ocean where the black and white snake might eat it can cause stomach pain, for example. Or if a missing part of your clothing is too close to a bush with stringing leaves, your skin might itch. At night, their spirit will travel to retrieve the object that is causing the person to be sick.

In August 2014, Annelin (and her husband, Knut) talked to one of these healers, Gaston, a sixty-year-old Ambrym man who had lived most of his life in Port Vila. We had heard about Gaston for some time. Our Port Vila-based Ambrym friends had talked about him as a very spiritually powerful man. When we met Gaston, he was sitting in front of Port Vila's market house on a bench facing the sea wearing a huge knitted Rastafarian cap, dark sunglasses and drinking his second bottle of Tusker, the local beer. It was around lunchtime. He invited us to sit down. 'I drink every day,' he said, by way of introduction.

All day I drink. I used to work in one of the fancy hotels, but I would drink all day, in between work, on my breaks. Often I sleep outside, because I am too drunk to get home; I sleep on benches, and I sleep on the grass in the parks. No one ever harms me; no one even approaches me. They all know how powerful I am, and they dare not come near me.

After having spent a lot of time with the church-based healers, or 'the women who pray', this healer struck Annelin as very different. This impression was not only created by his attitude to alcohol and his relaxed relationship to sleeping arrangements but also by the way he talked about his healing power: *I have a strong spirit*, he said. *My spirit can heal*. 'When a person is sick,' he said, 'I can usually hold my hand to her or his body and make the cause of sickness disappear.' However, he pointed out, 'if they take a person to the hospital first, I cannot help them. They need to come to me before they seek help from doctors, nurses or hospitals.' In contrast to 'the women who pray', the *kleva* from Ambrym will not point to himself as a mere channel, or vessel, for the healing spirit. Rather, he is the spirit that can heal.

In 'Pentecost' these healers are recognized as powerful, but usually they are recognized because of their negative powers; they represent the evil side. However, much to our surprise, one of our most faithful church friends, who is herself a prophetess in a charismatic church and sincerely engaged in the distinction between good and evil spirits, had, when her daughter was dying, sought help from this healer. Although there is a hierarchy of healers, and most people will think of healers such as Gaston as, in the words of one of the church-based healers, 'idol-worshippers', when desperate and facing serious, life-threatening sickness, healers such as Gaston are also recognized as powerful.

Still, they are considered the outcasts; the ones that have little worth. It is exactly because they do not recognize the fundamental significance of the distinction between good and bad that they are considered of little social significance and of poor social standing. One might argue that they mainly represent the negative counter-image of the morally good

in Pentecostal Port Vila. Yet, while no one will dispute their significance and their powerful presence, few will seek their help. Most people will seek help from 'the women who pray' because they so clearly manage to make a distinction between good and evil and because they so clearly maintain a social order where the evil remains outside and the inside is protected.

Models of the Person and of the Social in 'Pentecost'

In 'Pentecost' we can thus find a specific theory of the social, a theory of how the body works, of what the person is and what the nature of the social is. At the heart of this social theory, from a Pentecostal Port Vila, Kiriwina or Palanca, is the dynamic of creating borders, of creating separation between pure 'insides' and threatening 'outsides' at different levels and in different contexts. For instance, this dynamic establishes the borders of the person when that person has been possessed by demons or affected by witchcraft, or it creates 'safe areas' inside the house or inside the yard, protecting against the dangerous power of witchcraft and sorcery. The healers provide technologies for looking toward the inside, to see 'behind' the false borders of witchcraft to what a person really is – such as a demon with the face of a friendly neighbour. The healers provide technologies for identifying false borders, to cast out the evil and to re-establish new, morally good borders. Sociality is driven by the necessity to keep the 'inside' pure and safe or, rather, to create insides that remain protected. Social life is about keeping in order, and keeping visible, these borders.

This process can be observed on the level of the person and the neighbourhood as well as the city. In this chapter, we have outlined different stories and descriptions from our respective field sites in order to approach an analysis of what is at the core of social life in these Pentecostal contexts. We have seen how the concepts of inside/outside have taken on partly overlapping meaning but also partly separate meaning – from cathedral politics to invisible churches in Luanda, witchcraft confessions in Kiriwina and healing technologies in Port Vila. The ethnographic analyses given in this chapter remain place-bound: it is a description of 'Pentecost' practices. However, in Part III of this book, in Chapter 4, we will bring this ethnography into a wider dialogue with theories and ethnographies from elsewhere.

Notes

Parts of the ethnography presented in this chapter are also published in Eriksen 2018.

1. 'Ni-Vanuatu' is a term referring to people who live in Vanuatu of indigenous origin.
2. All personal names are changed for anonymity
3. Eve is a 'Pere' in her own church, called 'Eglise St Pierre'. She has been ordained, she told me, by St Peter himself. Her church is located close to the airport, where Evelyn is also building her own residence. The congregation consists of about fifty to seventy members, who come regularly to mass.

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