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Verbal strategies in Neo-Pentecostalism. Language as a trigger for spiritual awakening and transformation

Strategie werbalne w neopentekostalizmie. Język jako wyzwalacz duchowego przebudzenia i transformacji

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DEDICATION

"Deep calls unto deep".
Psalm 42:7

To
Rev. Prof. Andrzej Kobyliński

In recognition of his considerable input.

This dissertation would not have come into existence if you had not appeared on air.

Everything that is written below, I owe to you.

Do not ever change. Stay as you are.

Thank you.

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Introduction

Contemporary Christianity features multiple varieties ranging from a traditional approach to the more spontaneous one which has largely been shaped by Neo-Pentecostalism, also referred to as Third-Wave Pentecostalism or the Neo-Charismatic movement, born in the 1980s. It is believed to be the fastest-growing trend in the present-day religious marketplace, mostly due to a great emphasis it puts on evoking supernatural phenomena whose potential outcomes are said to motivate the participants to take life-changing steps, promoting entertainment style of worship, and the priority it gives to incorporating the elements characteristic of the Prosperity Gospel into the ritual, as once established by John Wimber, its father and at the same time the initiator of the so-called power evangelism whose characteristics will be thoroughly discussed in this dissertation (Flory and Christerson, 2017; Kobyliński, 2016). Of utmost importance for the purposes of this study is the fact that Neo-Pentecostal ideas have considerably influenced the mainline Churches. Therefore, some of the religious groups that officially adhere to the routine established arbitrarily but also tend to incorporate the components of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual into their own one, will collectively be referred to as Neo-Pentecostals/Neo-Charismatics, mostly to highlight their modus operandi and source of inspiration. However, it should be made clear that in this research, terms including "contemporary Pentecostal Catholics" and "present-day Pentecostal Catholics" may be used as well on a regular basis, always in relation to those who have been particularly affected by Wimber's teaching and hence given special attention to, namely, Roman Catholics promoting the Charismatic variety which have recently been updated and adjusted to the existing marketplace. Their performance will be studied carefully. A clear distinction has been made between what was defined as Pentecostal Catholicism years ago and its modern edition.

As for the terminology, it turns out to be ambiguous since the way scholars allude to Wimber's followers, depends on the standpoint they took. To clarify, there are researchers such as, for instance, Faulkner and Bord (Faulkner and Bord, 1983) who use the term Neo-Pentecostals in respect of the individuals affected by Catholic Charismatic Renewal that came into existence in the 1960s, but there are also those for whom the expression Neo-Pentecostals means, first and foremost, Wimber's enthusiasts (McClymond, 2014). The same is true for Pentecostal Catholics. McGuire employs this

notion when speaking of the Catholic worshippers engaged in the already-mentioned Renewal (McGuire, 1982). By doing so, she wishes to highlight its Pentecostal root, having in mind the values promoted by First-Wavers whereas in this dissertation, the perspective differs significantly, according to what has been explained in the preceding paragraph.

What has been observed over the last forty years is an increasing tendency for the Neo-Pentecostal communities to commercialize faith (Flory and Christerson, 2017) which manifests itself in a typically corporate leadership style, focused on successful advertising, marketing, and sales management. The religious groups under study compete for the followers in the same fashion as other brands do, bearing in mind the pluralism as well as the laws of market. Therefore, Stark and Finke's (2005) theory on religious economies has been adopted here, and because of its relevance, terms such as religious entrepreneurs, religious brands, religious products, religious customers, and customer segmentation, will often be dealt with. As for religious products of increasing popularity whose emergence gave rise to this study, recent findings demonstrate that the power healing (divine healing), formerly promoted by Wimber who distinguished its various types and then brought back by Toronto Blessing figures, plays a considerable role in making Neo-Pentecostals dominate in the market (Wilkinson and Althouse, 2014). It has been noted that what stands behind the growing number of power evangelism adherents, is the positive impact it exerts on those who face life difficulties, in this research called the distressed. To be more precise, a particular group of religious customers, namely individuals struggling with emotional pain, search for a perfectly-tailored religious product which they believe will solve their problems and eventually provide relief. In view of the above, it has been assumed that there must be a special trigger, understood as a tool, that bears responsibility for one's inner restructure. The tool under discussion works best in dedicated environment and when inserted into customized commodities, so that the distressed experience a dramatic shift in self-perception after continuous exposure. Moreover, the trigger is characteristic exclusively of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual. While exploring the phenomenon, it has been discovered that language is a key tool that is used to trigger one's inner shift whereas the metamorphosis itself has been explained as the result of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process.

Based on what has just been stated, the following thesis has been formulated: The Neo-Pentecostal language whose performative potential makes it a powerful device, serves as a trigger, modulator, and mediator of one's spiritual rebirth that can be

experienced as a result of a three-step process involving the preparation, immersion, and reinforcement stages during which an individual's cognition and self-perception undergo considerable change. The Neo-Pentecostal language tends to be embedded into a set of customized verbal strategies including evidence gathering, consequential analysis, cognitive bias identification, generating alternatives, problem solving, reattribution, imaginal exposure, decatastrophizing, and positivity reorientation that constitute the basis of the cognitive-behavioral therapeutic model (cognitive restructuring) and that can also be recognized in the Neo-Pentecostal ritual which appears to rely heavily on the clinical protocol, especially in terms of functionality and structure. Generative, protective, breaking, and destructive speech acts are one of the most distinctive attributes of the Neo-Pentecostal language. It is argued that they have causative and cathartic effects. Their perlocutionary force consists primarily in modifying the mental and social reality.

Regarding a close resemblance the Neo-Pentecostal spiritual treatment procedure shows to how mental health professionals act when working with their clients, it has turned out to be impossible to explain whether the Neo-Pentecostal leaders implement the cognitive-behavioral model on purpose, or they do it without being aware of its roots. Nevertheless, the investigation has revealed that the Neo-Pentecostal ritual performs therapeutic functions which have been identified as a result of both a public confession made by the restructured themselves and interviewing them privately in the course of the study. The major shift the restructured have pointed out to concerns the way they interpret their past and present. Interestingly, similar effects can be achieved by those who meet therapists regularly and follow rigid protocols.

During my research I observed that the Neo-Pentecostal social space is divided into three zones where group solidarity that rests on shared symbols is gradually built. The zones, namely the relationship zone, the worship zone, and the cooperation zone correspond to the phases of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process respectively. The phases under consideration include preparation, also referred to as induction, immersion, and reinforcement. As for preparation, it takes place when the novice interacts with both declared followers and leaders themselves in the relationship zone. They make him or her feel at home, show their interest as well as affection, and introduce to the group policies. Put it differently, they prepare the novice for the radical changes that may affect him or her in case he or she decides to comply with the rules. This is also the moment when one's need to feel a sense of involvement and belonging is met. When it comes to immersion, it occurs when an individual enters the worship zone

which, as its name suggests, concentrates on one's full engagement into the performance being given. The content spread by the performer carries a strong emotional load responsible for one's subsequent catharsis and inner restructure. Reinforcement, on the other hand, stands for regular on-site or off-site counseling activities provided by leaders or team members in the cooperation zone. Their principal objective is to maintain what has already been achieved by the restructured and preventing them from returning to the maladaptive schemas from the past. It may also happen that the distressed experience the actual inner shift no sooner than after receiving an additional series of stimuli in the cooperation zone and when surrounded by those who successfully managed to overcome life hardships.

With regard to the above, this research aims to (1) distinguish the features of the Neo-Pentecostal language in terms of its persuasive capacity, (2) analyze the use of those verbal strategies that have been adopted by the Neo-Pentecostal as well as Pentecostal Catholic leaders when interacting with the audience, and (3) explore their transformative potential. The study can be thought of as a contribution to the current state of the art on the topic under discussion, mostly because none of the scholars investigating Pentecostals has ever offered such a perspective. For this reason, exploring the link between CBT clinical protocol and the Neo-Pentecostal ritual with a special emphasis given to linguistic catalysts, emerges as an original attempt to find a common ground for both of them, bearing in mind that the former gives foundations to the latter. Equally important is the fact that in the literature, there is no mention of what has been termed the Neo-Pentecostal language in this research. Csordas (1994, 1997) focused on the system of ritual genres typical of Catholic Charismatics which serves as a reference point for the issues raised in this study, however, it should be made clear that over the last three decades, the register has been updated and adjusted to the present-day standards including digital solutions which appear to enable the flow of linguistic novelties from various sources. The external influence has brought about not only a brand-new set of vocabulary used by the leaders but also a completely different approach to supervising a religious community and promoting oneself as a brand worth following. The present study offers a deep insight into how religious persuasion works when it finds a sympathetic ear. The interplay between the religious performer and the audience resembles that of the supplier of goods in high demand and the shoppers who look for a concrete product. Once they are provided with what they need, they may go back for more, similarly to the routine observed when talking about brand loyalists in the marketplace.

To confirm the validity of what has been proposed, an approach known as multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) has been applied. In this research, it relates to a thorough analysis of the spoken texts such as sermons, prayers, and teachings. Those chosen for the purposes of the present study relate to the audio-visual material produced by Polish and Italian religious entrepreneurs (leaders) whose performance relies on the guidelines established by Wimber and they are: (1) Arkadiusz Krzywodajć, Filadelfia Church from Wodzisław Śląski, Poland (original name: Kościół Filadelfia, Wodzisław Śląski), (2) Wojciech Walaszczyk, Vineyard Christian Center from Rybnik, Poland (original name: Centrum Chrześcijańskie Winnica, Rybnik), (3) Marcin Zieliński, The Voice of God Worship Community from Skierniewice, Poland (original name: Wspólnota Uwielbienia "Głos Pana", Skierniewice), (4) Michał Świderski, The Risen Christ School of the New Evangelization from Gliwice, Poland (original name: Szkoła Nowej Ewangelizacji Jezusa Zmartwychwstałego, Gliwice), and (5) Angelo D'Aloisi, Hillsong Milan, Italy.

What also needs to be clarified is the disparity between the number of Polish and Italian speakers selected for content analysis. It has been assumed that the persuasive qualities of the Neo-Pentecostal language as well as verbal strategies typical of the cognitive-behavioral therapeutic model (cognitive restructuring) are common for Polish and Italian speakers. However, the study has been split into two separate phases, namely, the comprehension phase and the application phase. The former stands for an attempt to exemplify the functioning of language and refers to the Polish entrepreneurs whereas the latter, prioritizes the effects the implemented tool may exert on the audience and concentrates on the Italian performers. The results of the aforementioned phases have been precisely described in sections termed "The Message" and "The Transformed" accordingly. The first section takes the outsider's standpoint into account while the second one that of the insiders.

What seems crucial for the exploration in question is the fact that MDA has been complemented by other methods including overt participant observation, online surveys, and individual in-depth interviews. When it comes to participant observation, it has been implemented both in Poland and Italy. The part conducted in Poland concentrated on Filadelfia Church from Wodzisław Śląski as well as on Vineyard Christian Center from Rybnik and lasted from October 2021 until June 2023 with a brake of three months. The part conducted in Italy focused on Sabaoth Church Roma, Hillsong Rome Connect, and Comunità Cattolica Shalom (Shalom Catholic Community from Rome). It lasted

from April until July 2022 which stands for the brake mentioned above. An online survey was also undertaken when doing research in Italy and included twenty members (five men and fifteen women aged from eighteen to sixty-five) of the communities under discussion. It consisted of fifteen open-ended questions and was released both in English and Italian. They were divided by categories: (1) life before the divine encounter, (2) the divine encounter, and (3) personal revival. The decision to provide the respondents with an English version resulted from cultural diversity. This particular form of data collection has turned out to be the best option for the Rome-based individuals, mostly owing to their demand for intimacy combined with distrust towards the researcher.

Regarding individual in-depth interviews (IDI), they were conducted among twenty volunteers representing the Neo-Pentecostal, Catholic, and independent communities operating in Poland and following the idea of power evangelism. Those were: (1) Church of Power from Warsaw (original name: Kościół Mocy, Warszawa), (2) Flame of God Christian Church from Poznań (original name: Kościół Chrześcijański — Płomień Pana, Poznań), (3) Hope of the World Church from Wrocław (original name: Kościół Nadzieja Świata, Wrocław), (4) HESED Christian Community from Piła (original name: Społeczność Chrześcijańska "Na Słowiańskiej" Kościół Boży HESED w Pile), (5) "Power of Heaven" Full Gospel Christian Church from Gdańsk (original name: "Potęga Nieba" Kościół Chrześcijan Pełnej Ewangelii w Gdańsku), and (6) Samarytania Prison Fellowship from Bydgoszcz (original name: Bractwo Więzienne Samarytania, Bydgoszcz). The study took place during the summer of 2021 and tackled the problem of how the respondents conceptualize demonic interference and whether or not they had been interfered by the evil forces. The major reason for investigating this particular area was the fact that deliverance ministry has been one of crucial components of the Neo-Pentecostal as well as Pentecostal Catholic ritual. Moreover, it has become more and more popular over the last forty years due to a growing tendency among power evangelism practitioners to hold demons responsible for life hardships (Kobyliński, 2016). Besides, the practice of casting out evil spirits consists in producing highly-influential linguistic content, based predominantly on performative speech acts and spread within the environment of shared symbols and group solidarity. Therefore, it has been assumed that individuals who belong to power evangelism-oriented groups and at the same time claim to be or have been possessed, may experience their inner restructure as a result of being exposed to an exorcism prayer. The interview questionnaire included fifty-seven open-ended and close-ended questions classified into the following

categories: (1) cause of interference, (2) demonic activity and its influence on one's physical condition, (3) demonic activity and its influence on one's emotional condition, (4) demonic activity and its influence on one's family and professional life, (5) deliverance ministry/exorcisms, and (6) specialist help outside community. Due to the restrictions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, the interviews were held via instant messaging devices. However, it should be made clear that in this dissertation, the aforementioned interviews will be referred to only occasionally, mainly when discussing the topics of resemiotization and deliverance ministry. Thus, analyzing them in detail as in the case of the online surveys that concentrate on the process of one's inner shift, does not seem necessary for the principal objectives of this exploration which have been stated explicitly before.

As far as research methodology is concerned, due to the qualitative nature of the investigation, specific attributes the selected communities demonstrate and the direction the research prioritizes, purposive sampling has been chosen. Special emphasis has been put on social group case study that involved group activities, intragroup dynamics, and intragroup communication. The investigation has relied on nine phases, namely (1) selection of religious communities based on established criteria, (2) on-site data collection in Poland, (3) in-depth interviews, (4) on-site data collection in Italy, (5) online surveys, (6) off-site data collection (audio-visual material), (7) data interpretation and analysis, and (8) thesis preparation. It should be remembered that the whole investigation was carried out in times of Covid-19 and that is why its stationary part required additional precautions such as the need to register for worship services held in prayer rooms or to adjust to the imposed limits on the number of event participants. Some of the meetings were cancelled or postponed. The inconveniences in question were particularly tedious between 2020 and 2021 and concerned mostly the Italian groups. In Poland the restrictions were less severe which made it possible to attend the service. With regard to inclusion criteria, the following ones have been applied: (1) location: communities located in Poland/Italy, (2) exposure of interest: communities promoting and pursuing power evangelism, (3) language: communities whose members speak Polish, English, and Italian, (4) social media presence: communities publishing their content online on a regular basis, (5) leadership: communities whose leaders act as itinerant preachers and cooperate with fellow-leaders. As for exclusion criteria, these are: (1) location: communities whose meeting place is located on the outskirts of a town, (2) ethical considerations: communities whose members are not willing to give informed consent for

online survey and IDI, (3) data collection process: communities whose leaders might interfere with a procedure, (4) access: communities which require that a researcher undergo a complete formation process before letting him/her participate in group activities, and (5) history: communities that came into existence between 2019 and 2022.

In terms of conceptual framework employed for the purposes of this investigation, some theories have turned out to be vital for a better understanding of the researched subject. The performative dimension of the Neo-Pentecostal language has been studied in accordance with John Austin's research on speech acts (Austin, 1962). Previous discoveries on religious language have shown that speech acts play a significant role in religious discourse (Halliday, 1978; Halliday, 1989; Gajewska, 2012; Bajerowa, 1994; Csordas, 1994, 1997; Sochoń, 2000; Chudzik, 2002; Drabik, 2010; Hogue, 2010; Habrajska, 2020). Equal attention has been given to different perspectives on multimodality, including the contextual approach adopted by Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen's (2001, 2010) known for the emphasis it puts on social-semiotic aspect of contemporary communication and the grammatical approach developed by Kay L. O'Halloran in cooperation with Peter Wignell and Sabine Tan (2013, 2019). Both of them enabled a deeper insight into different modes of conveying messages as well as their proper decoding which seem essential for an efficient interaction between religious entrepreneurs and their audience. Rick Iedema's theory on resemiotization (2003) has also been alluded to, mostly in terms of how the once-distressed are now seen and described by other community members. Referring to inner restructure, the model that came to be recognized as cognitive restructuring and proposed by David A. Clark (2013), has been implemented to explore the transformative potential of the Neo-Pentecostal language, especially when inserted into a set of dedicated verbal strategies. As regards the Neo-Pentecostal modus operandi, its characteristics have been distinguished based on Randall Collins interaction ritual theory (IRT) (Collins, 2004), Erving Goffman's dramaturgical model (1956), and George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's theory of metaphor (1980). Rodney Stark and Roger Finke's study on religious economies (2005), has contributed a lot to a better understanding of the present-day religious marketplace, its laws, and the interplay between religious suppliers who are capable to meet religious shoppers' needs for spectacular life changes. Finally, Andrzej Kobyliński's discoveries on pentecostalization (2016, 2017), have turned out to be a valuable asset to this investigation since they account for the changes in the Polish and Italian religious landscape to which frequent references have been made here.

The Polish and the foreign literature lacks publications on the researched subject. The Neo-Pentecostal language has not been formerly described, bearing in mind its definition and persuasive perspective. Only Csordas' work on minor and major genres of the ritual language used by Catholic Charismatics (Csordas, 1994; Csordas, 1997) may serve as a reference point, as suggested in the preceding paragraphs. None of the scholars has ever considered it a trigger, modulator, and mediator of inner restructure. The same is true for its analysis from a multimodal point of view while comparing two different cultures (Polish and Italian). Hence, presenting the relationship between religious leaders and their followers within the context of the implemented tools, intragroup interaction based on shared symbols, and transformative effects of continuous exposure to the content being presented, appears to be new and important.

However, Pentecostalism as such has already been dealt with over recent years. The question of how Pentecostalism has grown in Poland, has been tackled by Andrzej Migda (Migda, 2013; Migda, 2010). Ethical issues related to the process of pentecostalization of Christianity have been raised by Andrzej Kobyliński who has put a great emphasis on how the Catholic Church is changing because of embracing the Pentecostal practices (Kobyliński, 2014; Kobyliński, 2016, Kobyliński., 2017). Leszek Jańczuk (2016) has presented the list of the Polish Pentecostal churches, and that list may serve as a reference point for further investigation. Richard Hogue (2010), Mark Cartledge (2006), Neil Hudson (2006), Margaret M. Poloma (2006), and William K. Kay (2006) have referred to the notion of glossolalia which later in the present study has been interpreted and alluded to as jubilation. Walter Hollenweger (1997) has focused on the European Pentecostalism in general, presenting the collected data in respect of a particular country whilst the Italian Pentecostals have been thoroughly described by Carmine Napolitano (2011). In addition, Verónica Roldán (2009) has tacked the problem of the Italian Pentecostal Catholics. When it comes to how power evangelism has spread across the world and what it has given rise to, these aspects have been discussed by Margaret Poloma (2003) as well as Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse (2014). As far as Pentecostal entrepreneurship in the contemporary Christian marketplace is concerned, that topic has been examined by Ed Silvoso (2002).

In order to reach the successful completion of this investigation, a thorough analysis of risk has been done, bearing in mind the fact that this study focuses primarily on human beings and involves raising sensitive issues. Several difficulties that might emerge when collecting data have been identified and these are: (1) refusal relating to

researcher's participation in a worship service and other activities, (2) problems with finding respondents, (3) respondents' availability, (4) respondents' withdrawal, (5) sampling measure inadequacy, (6) inability to remain emotionally detached from other people's past and current hurts, (7) excessive vulnerability to the presented content, (8) language fluency/accuracy, (9) limited financial resources, and (10) time constraints. Out of these ten initial concerns, the second, third, eight, ninth, and tenth ones have proved to be major threats to the evolution of this dissertation. They will be further discussed in the "Conclusion" section.

Chapter 1.

The Growth of Charismatic Christianity

Christianity, similarly to other religions, is not homogenous. It has many different faces depending, inter alia, on worship as well as preaching styles. Some of them take place in private settings, whereas others intend to attract a large audience. Simon Coleman (2004, p. 24) contrasts Christian fundamentalists with *Charismatics,* for whom components including testimonies, ecstatic speech, bodily movements, prophecies, tongues, divine healing, and casting out demons play a crucial role. Coleman (p. 20) notes that contemporary Charismatics rely on Pentecostal models of worship whose roots can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th century American as well as European revivals. The author explains the meaning of the term *Pentecostal*, indicating that it derives from the Greek and "refers to the fiftieth day after the second day of the Jewish festival of Passover. At such a time, according to Acts 2:1-4, the representatives of the early Christian Church in the first century were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke in other tongues" (pp. 20-21). Pentecostals of the early 20th century attempted to restore the practices which had been introduced in original Christianity. As far as tongues are concerned, they have become a unique and important sign associated mainly with empowerment. According to Coleman (2004, pp. 22-23), although contemporary Charismatics represent different styles of worship and theologies, in fact, they constitute an extensive international network of influential Christians gathered around close-knit and willing to co-operate communities that are no longer shaped by a local pastor or leader only. In consequence, the question of one's religious affiliation remains fluid.

Andrzej Kobyliński (2016) observes that the enormous changes in the religious landscape result from a process that he calls pentecostalization. In his view:

> *The term pentecostalization refers to the exceptionally fast rise in the number of Pentecostal communities, and the gradual transformation of many other Christian churches and congregations into a single, universal type of charismatic Christianity around the globe. The dynamic and worldwide process of pentecostalization is often referred to as charismatization of the Christian religion, or the birth of Pentecostal charismatic or evangelical Christianity. As a result of this process, particularly in Africa, Asia, and South America, new charismatic and Pentecostal communities are developing, and this process is also taking place*

within traditional Christian churches. Understood this way, pentecostalization today concerns the Catholic Church worldwide, as well as a great majority of Protestant denominations. (Kobyliński, 2016, p. 100)

The researcher draws attention to the fact that the contemporary Pentecostal movement can be perceived as a trend in Christianity, based mostly on the workings of the Holy Spirit in the lives of the believers. In addition, those who decide to follow this trend create their own vision of religion involving extraordinary phenomena. Interestingly, Pentecostals believe that the miracles described in the Bible can also occur nowadays, provided one's faith is fervent enough. Hence, the Pentecostal approach is often referred to as miraculous religiosity. Apropos the key features of the Third Wave, Kobyliński (2017, pp. 107-108) highlights a strong emphasis on divine healing and multiple marketing strategies used for spreading the Neo-Pentecostal message. Precisely speaking, he alludes to the successful implementation of the Internet, radio, and television. Furthermore, he also explains that Neo-Pentecostals tend to convey the sacred content to individuals through different holy symbols and rituals, including "anointing with sacred oil, laying on of hands, burning pieces of paper with prayer requests, various forms of exorcisms, removing evils spirits and the like" (Kobyliński, 2017, p. 108), instead of resting merely on the Bible. In other words, it can be stated that Neo-Pentecostals incorporate major elements typical of local natural religions into their preaching style.

Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori (2007, pp. 17-18) discuss the evolution of Christianity as a social institution, referring mostly to the modifications in the field of its organizational structure, missionary strategies, and the expression of faith. The authors emphasize the fact that the present-day religious marketplace, especially in the US, favors independent churches, leaving mainline denominations behind at the same time. Furthermore, they also identify the key sources of the above-mentioned transformation by investigating particular parts of the major engine. Firstly, they allude to what has been previously mentioned, namely, to the events which took place in 1901 at Topeka's Bethel Bible School, where the students guided by Charles F. Parham spoke in tongues. Of equal importance is the fact that a few years later, based on Topeka's phenomenon, a black Holiness preacher — William J. Seymour, started the so-called *Azusa Street Revivals*. His divine message spread worldwide and shaped the contemporary religious landscape in Europe and America. In the transformation process, all its stages, known as *waves*, will be thoroughly discussed in subsequent sections.

Secondly, Miller and Yamamori (2007, pp. 22-25) raise the question of the best-selling and most effective religious products available in the marketplace as well as their influence on potential consumers. Not surprisingly, these products cater for specific needs, which result from what is referred to by sociologists as anomie. The authors focus on the problems individuals from large urban areas may face and the solutions Pentecostal communities offer them. To be more precise, Miller and Yamamori (2007) compare these communities to extended surrogate families whose main function is to take care of the lost, who are often not able to cope with the hardships of life such as unstable employment, precarious housing, and different addictions. The authors observe that "large churches have cell groups where members are surrounded by people who care for them and their families. Within these churches, it is also possible to have a social role, an identity, as someone who is valued and needed. And some Pentecostal churches, especially large ones, have formal programs to assist people in need". (2007, p. 23). The lost accept a set of beliefs that boosts their self-esteem and eventually affects their behavior. Finally, Miller and Yamamori (2007, p. 24) emphasize the core elements of Charismatic worship, including the music, the healing, and other supernatural occurrences which tend to be perceived as the manifestations of divine intervention followed by the random acts of sympathy. Therefore, the Charismatic view on faith is undoubtedly holistic. In addition, Charismatic Christianity seems to be an encouraging response to modernity dominated by a materialistic worldview.

This chapter presents the historical background of the Pentecostal movement and focuses on its distinctive varieties that have evolved over the years. The first section discusses the American religious landscape which has been significantly affected by the above-mentioned waves, while the second one concentrates on the development of European Pentecostalism, with particular emphasis put on Poland and Italy.

1.1. American Pentecostalism: The Waves

Miller and Yamamori (2007) identify five different organizational types of Pentecostalism alongside four different orientations which mutually affect one another. Although the authors foster the aforementioned division, this section focuses merely on the three varieties that are most important for this research project, namely, the so-called First Wave (Classical Pentecostalism), Second Wave (Charismatism), and Third Wave (Neo-Pentecostalism, Neo-Charismatism). To begin with, however, it is necessary to give

a brief overview of the problem before carrying out an in-depth analysis of the selected types.

The First Wave (Classical Pentecostalism) embraces denominations such as the Assemblies of God whose roots can be traced back to the late 1800s. They flourished considerably due to the phenomenon known as the Azusa Street Revivals, and consequently, in 1916, a new denomination was launched. Nowadays, the Assemblies of God denomination has over 12,000 churches in the United States and more than a quarter of million congregations around the world (Miller and Yamamori, 2007, p. 26). It is also worth mentioning that the Assemblies of God have been joined by the *Church of God (Cleveland)*, the *International Church of the Foursquare Gospel*, the *Church of God in Christ*, and several other small Pentecostal communities. The next variety identified by Miller and Yamamori (2007) has nothing in common with North America. These are mostly the indigenous Pentecostal denominations which originated in African countries. The *Universal Church of the Kingdom of God* from Brazil also falls within this category. Generally speaking, the aforementioned denominations run independently and have no connection with the colonial missionary conquests. Miller and Yamamori (2007, p. 27) also discuss the characteristics of what is associated with the religious landscape after World War II and what has been known as the *Second Wave* (*Charismatism*, *Charismatic Renewal Movement*). The authors observe that by the mid-1960s, Pentecostal rituals attracted the Catholic Church, bringing about enormous changes within the context of worship. Meredith McGuire (1982) employs the term Pentecostal Catholics to refer to this particular group of worshippers.

Lying on of hands in search of divine intervention, prophesying, speaking in tongues, and casting out demons have become integral parts of their service. For the purposes of this research project, the religious communities identified in the literature as the followers of the Third Wave or Neo-Pentecostalism (Neo-Charismatism) are of the utmost importance. They represent the non-denominational type of Pentecostalism listed by Miller and Yamamori (2007, p. 27). Remarkably, Neo-Pentecostals do not tend to operate within merely one dimension. Conversely, their intragroup reality influences the external world to a great extent, especially concerning politics and business and finance. In the majority of cases, these communities are managed by inspiring leaders acting as successful large-scale religious entrepreneurs who seem to have the practical knowledge on the religious marketplace.

Miller and Yamamori focus on the qualities of Neo-Pentecostal leaders. They believe that "typically the pastors are individuals who grew up in relatively unchurched homes and had dramatic, life-changing religious experiences and subsequently found the available vessels for their vision sterile or unreasonably inflexible" (2007, p. 27). While Neo-Pentecostal leaders lack formal theological education and have nothing in common with corporate management styles, they are skillful enough to run a business advertised by particular keywords, namely, the Holy Spirit. Consequently, they manage large churches and participate in conferences worldwide. Miller and Yamamori (2007) mention yet another type of organization: *proto-charismatic Christians*. These are individuals whose roots cannot be traced back to Classical Pentecostalism and whose religious identity has not been shaped by Charismatics. However, they may occasionally speak in tongues, have dreams and visions, or experience miracles. Proto-charismatic Christians tend to worship God quietly during small group gatherings as opposed to Neo-Pentecostals.

Regarding what has been stated above, Miller and Yamamori (2007), apart from providing a clear division into specific types of Pentecostalism, have also enumerated four different orientations. The first one applies to the legalistic and otherworldly churches (2007, p. 29) where strict rules in terms of membership, for example, modest dresses for women or the prohibition against jewelry are still valid. The second orientation mentioned by the researchers has been called the Prosperity Gospel. As the name suggests, it concentrates on one's well-being, which is why such congregations are frequently described as health-and-wealth churches. The authors note that the Prosperity Gospel attracts mainly the advocates of the independent churches and those of the indigenous ones, where the needy tend to search for divine support. They are usually told that the miraculous power of God can treat their diseases and bring prosperity to their lives. For example, Benny Hinn, a famous televangelist, has been promoting the health-and-wealth approach for decades. According to Miller and Yamamori (2007, p. 29), pastors involved in Prosperity Theology evoke mixed feelings because, on the one hand, as discussed by some outside observers, they promote magical thinking and use psychology to manipulate their followers. Still, on the other, they equip individuals with practical knowledge on how to save money and start a business. The third orientation is the one of the highest significance to this study. It has been identified by Miller and Yamamori (2007, p. 30) as Progressive Pentecostalism due to its holistic strategy. Moreover, it has been represented mainly by Neo-Pentecostals, who have a reputation for

being innovative within the context of social ministries, worship, and organizational structures. In other words, they put their faith into practice by helping the needy in places such as hospitals or orphanages, to whom they also preach the gospel. The fourth orientation discussed by the researchers (2007, p. 30) has been termed routinized Pentecostalism. This category encompasses churches which have incorporated many elements of contemporary Charismatic worship, such as secular music melodies, into their services, but the manifestations of supernatural phenomena are carefully controlled. To be more precise, public prophesying rarely occurs, as in the case of "slain in the Spirit" and speaking in tongues.

A detailed investigation carried out for the purposes of this research has revealed that the typology proposed by Miller and Yamamori (2007) seems appropriate, especially when considering the most characteristic features of Neo-Pentecostalism. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the boundary between some of these orientations is fluid. The communities studied while doing on-site exploration, have proved to be a mixture of constantly evolving trends. To illustrate: the groups representing the Progressive variety have openly expressed their interest in promoting Prosperity Gospel values, making them the core of their agenda so that the health-and-wealth slogans serve as a kind of decoy.

This chapter addresses a number of issues related to the growth of Charismatic Christianity over the years. Therefore, drawing a hard line between Charismatics and Neo-Charismatics seems impossible because of the strong interplay between them. The following division focuses on the qualities of the selected movements and, what seems important, investigates their leaders as well as the implemented strategies thoroughly. In this study, American Pentecostalism serves as a reference point for further analysis.

1.1.1. *The First Wave: Classical Pentecostalism*

Roger G. Robins (2010, p. 1) explains that the post-Civil War strong inclinations towards heroic Christianity gave rise to the emergence of the American Holiness movement, which, as a result, laid the foundations of Pentecostalism. John Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification, whose main idea centered around reaching a state of Perfect Love, experienced a renaissance. One of the reasons for turning to religion and striving for Christian perfection was widespread social unrest. The established institutions were not able to solve the piling up problems, and in consequence, the needy lacked genuine support. In 1868, the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian

Holiness was organized to form and promote state and local Holiness associations. Robins (2010, p. 3) notes that these Holiness camp meetings were successful because of their aspirations towards reducing social enmity and presenting new solutions. The associations proliferated and soon became independent in terms of evangelists and publications. Regarding the rituals, Holy Ghost baptism began to attract American Protestants, both liberal and conservative. The same was true for the so-called faith-healing, whose principal objective was to restore the praxis of the Apostolic Church. Faith homes served as the centers of extended prayer followed by spiritual counselling (Robins, 2010, p. 7). The author also mentions the new prevailing theory, popular among the advocates of the Holiness movement and known as *dispensationalism*, according to which the covenant between God and humanity had shaped historical orders. Holiness preachers identified themselves with the sixth and seventh dispensations. The former was the one relating to the Church Age, associated mainly with the resurrection of Christ and his secret return, whereas the latter "would commence with Christ's final Appearing, when, with his army of resurrected saints, he would conquer the forces of Satan and reign during a thousand-year era of peace known as the Millennium" (Robins, 2010, p. 5). Dispensationalists favored the supernatural, and that is why they promoted the *latter rain* (the aftermath of the *early rain*, Deuteronomy 11:14) idea, which focused on the avalanche of the apostolic signs and wonders. Robins (2010, p. 8) observes that Holiness spread worldwide, mostly due to its progressive cast and the appreciation of authentic religious experience.

In the 1880s, the Holiness movement suffered from internal tensions, which eventually contributed to the rapid growth of Pentecostalism. Firstly, the question of leadership was raised. The author explains that the number of middle-class leaders and those with special privileges exceeded the number of working-class preachers. Hence, the plain folk saints felt alienated. Secondly, the question of independence appeared. To be more precise, denominational leaders were not satisfied with half-measures and wanted to establish a homogenous community whose members would share the same values. Later, they became referred to as *comeouters*. Robins (2010, p. 10) notes that: "the leading comeouters were almost by definition persons of independent thought and action, assertive and entrepreneurial […] less willing to compromise, more willing to carry convictions to their logical ends as they calculated them". They separated from mainstream Holiness in favor of the radical variety, and therefore, the movement they

started was consequently named *Radical Holiness*. Its followers supported the needy, believing that vital Christianity could only exist in that way.

As regards the most recognizable features of Radical Holiness, Robins (2010, p. 11) mentions the significance of practicing religious ecstasy, which was understood as the evidence of God's presence during worship and, at the same time, an excellent opportunity to establish a divine-human relationship. In other words, shouting, falling, jumping, screaming, and laughing were considered the manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Religious ecstasy will be thoroughly described in subsequent sections, mainly in the context of contemporary Charismatics. The author also emphasizes that significant changes affected Holiness women since they were drawn into active ministry and could preach and hold prominent positions within the community. For the purposes of this research, it should be borne in mind that contemporary Charismatics rely, to a great extent, on particular worship patterns from the past, as in the case of those promoted by Radical Holiness. To take a concrete example, the advocates of Radical Holiness used military language in relation to a spiritual realm where they were acting as heavily armed soldiers. The same strategy has been employed by the present-day Charismatic evangelists who tackle the issue of spiritual warfare. Therefore, it can be assumed that the top-selling ideas generated and spread in the previous century by the precursors of the Pentecostal Movement have been restored and adjusted to the contemporary religious environment. The same is true for marketing and self-promotion in the religious marketplace.

Similarly to Radical Holiness preachers, Contemporary Charismatic leaders also tend to apply modern technology to reach the target audience. They also tend to preach in the streets to accelerate the movement's development, showing its potential at once. Robins (2010) observes that "As the new century approached, a growing certainty prevailed among radical saints that the full panoply of Apostolic signs and wonders had been restored in their midst. The use of Pentecostal terminology grew more common, reflecting an increased fixation on the Book of Acts and an increased expectation that the marvels recorded therein were now being replicated. Across the country, kindred spirits formed circles and networks, cultural corridors that would soon become pathways to Pentecostalism" (pp. 16-17).

According to Robins (2010, p. 22), the beginnings of what has been referred to as the First Wave can be traced back to the late 1890s and to the work of Charles Fox Parham, a 20-year-old Methodist pastor who started Bethel Healing Home in Topeka,

Kansas. Because of his devotion to Holiness teachings, Parham became interested in particular supernatural phenomena such as *glossolalia*. For this reason, he visited a few religious places across the country, focusing mainly on those where the question of signs and wonders had already been raised. Upon return to Topeka, Parham decided to put what he had learnt into practice and therefore, he established *Bethel Bible School,* which served as a communal training center. In respect of the content of his lectures, Robins (2010, p. 23) explains that Parham's attention was primarily directed to the symptoms and aftermath of Spirit baptism. On New Year's Day 1901, Bethel's student Agnes Ozman spoke in tongues, and that particular event provoked further discussion on the miraculous outpourings of the Holy Spirit within Pentecostal communities. Robins (2010, p. 23) mentions that Parham's tendencies to act within the set framework led to the emergence of three roles glossolalia was supposed to play. Its first role was directly connected with rapid evangelization. In other words, for Parham, glossolalia was, in fact, *xenolalia*, that is, the ability to speak an unstudied foreign language. From a practical point of view, the gifted were expected to become missionaries responsible for preaching around the world. The second role of glossolalia was to serve as proof of Spirit baptism. The third was related to a metaphorical seal whose presence symbolized the "divine marriage" between Christ and the chosen church. Parham's interpretation of xenolalia met growing opposition from his followers after a while; however, the connection between glossolalia and Holy Ghost baptism was widely approved and soon became a pillar of mainstream Pentecostalism. As discussed by Robins (2010, p. 24), Parham and his associates gained popularity countrywide mainly because of their spectacular healing ministries and in consequence, they officially started the *Apostolic Faith Missions,* which were carefully supervised by the *Apostolic Faith Movement* or more accurately, by the appointed regional directors.

One of Parham's advocates, namely, the African American community preacher William Seymour, arrived in Los Angeles in 1906 and soon after caught the attention of the local Holiness Community. Walter Jacob Hollenweger (1972, p. 22) notes that although Seymour had an enthusiastic welcome at the beginning, the older Holiness Church members could not accept his message. The former proclaimed the Holy Ghost baptism, whereas the latter believed they had already been baptized with the Holy Spirit. In effect, Seymour lost the support of those who had previously invited him. Hollenweger (1972, p. 22) mentions a breakthrough that took place on 9 April 1906 during a prayer meeting in Bonnie Brae Street and, at the same time, explains that it may serve as

a reference point for further analysis. On that day, an eight-year-old Afro-American boy experienced the Holy Ghost baptism and began to speak in tongues. The same happened to other members of the congregation. Seymour, aware of his success, "hired an old Methodist church at 312 Azusa Street; this Azusa Street Mission is regarded by Pentecostal publicists as the place of origin of the worldwide Pentecostal movement" (Hollenweger, 1972, p. 22). Contemporary researchers frequently use the term the Azusa Street Revival with reference to the aforementioned incidents. Over time, Seymour's prayer meetings turned into mass gatherings during which speaking in tongues, prophesying, and ecstatic outbursts prevailed. The message promoting all those phenomena spread globally. Hollenweger (1972, p. 23) highlights the fact that Parham was the original leader of the Azusa Street Revival. However, he also observes that in November 1907, Parham's name did not appear on the official letterhead. As discussed by Robins (2010, p. 28), the Seymour-Parham breakup was caused by a serious misunderstanding about leadership styles and the involved associates. In other words, Parham demanded far-reaching reforms Seymour did not want to agree with.

As far as Pentecostal spirituality is concerned, it should be mentioned that due to the movement's rapid evolution, many varieties emerged in the religious marketplace. Nevertheless, the majority relied on Azusa Street. In practical terms, Pentecostals declared complete submission to the Holy Spirit, whose manifestations were always associated with divine presence. Furthermore, Pentecostal worship service, according to what has been stated above, included a great deal of spontaneity accompanied by emotional intensity. Robins (2010, p. 28) relates to the aforementioned phenomenon, namely the so-called slain in the Spirit, comparing it to a trance. Although the participants witnessed different displays of human behavior, glossolalia was still the center of attention. Apropos speaking in tongues, questions relating to its interpretation were raised frequently, mainly because the worshippers could not differentiate between the "sign" and "gift" in terms of importance. To be more precise, Parham's theory of xenolalia held that the ability to use the unstudied foreign tongue resulted from the gift, whereas the spontaneously uttered sounds were merely signs. Being gifted meant having the potential to evangelize across the world whilst showing signs of divine intervention had nothing in common with practical implementation. Nonetheless, occurrences of glossolalia were automatically assigned to the Holy Spirit and the baptism.

With regard to other noteworthy features of Pentecostal spirituality, Robins (2010, p. 29) also draws attention to the element of divine surprise, which clarified the question

of who could preach sermons. The possibility to give testimonies at Azusa was not confined to adults only. Therefore, children who desired to convey a divine message were allowed to do so since there were believed to have been guided by the Holy Ghost. The author explains that Pentecostalism nationalized and internationalized rapidly due to its spontaneous, open-minded, and emotional nature. Furthermore, Pentecostal ministers relied on testimonies, frequently spread by word of mouth and these testimonies, together with numerous accounts of religious ecstasy, defined Pentecostalism as a revitalization movement.

Although the Azusa Street Revival offered new prospects, the lack of strong leadership capable of unifying different theological points led to noticeable divisions. As discussed by Hollenweger (1972, p. 23), the confession of faith approved by the Apostolic Faith Movement, that is, by Azusa's leadership, promoted the three-stage way of salvation, also known as the doctrine of entire sanctification. This particular issue caused considerable disputes between Pentecostal congregations. According to the author, the components of the three-stage perspective, namely, conversion, sanctification, and the baptism of the Spirit accompanied by glossolalia, were thoroughly revised and reduced by William Durham — a successful evangelist operating in Los Angeles and Chicago who eventually introduced the two-stage pattern. Durham believed that conversion and sanctification, resulting from a lengthy process of living a holy life as a servant of God, were simultaneous. To be more precise, he emphasized the progressive nature of sanctification, arguing against the theory of the second work of God's grace at the same time. Therefore, Durham's doctrine has frequently been referred to as the doctrine of the Finished Work of Christ or the doctrine of progressive sanctification.

Seymour's response to Durham's ideas was negative; consequently, the former expelled the latter from the Apostolic Faith Church. Regarding other disputes among the Pentecostal movement, a conflict over the nature of God which erupted during the 1910s should also be mentioned. David D. Daniels (2014, p. 76) makes the point that Pentecostals, in fact, promoted two baptismal formulas, namely, the Trinitarian formula (*in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*; Matt. 28:19) as well as the Christocentric one (*in the name of Jesus Christ*; Acts 2:38). The Trinitarian perspective was favored mainly by the advocates of the Finished Work theory, whereas the Christocentric approach, also known as the *Oneness* doctrine, emerged publicly in 1914 as a result of an in-depth analysis carried out by an Australian American evangelist — Frank Ewart. Douglas Jacobsen (2003, p. 195) explains that "by 1916, tensions between Trinitarian and

Oneness proponents had reached a boiling point […]. The Trinitarian leaders of the Assemblies of God, the largest finished-work organization, […] drew up a Statement of Fundamental Truths that […] disallowed all Oneness views. When that document was presented to the church clergy, more than a quarter of the pastors who had previously been involved in the Assemblies of God left the organization to create their own Oneness pentecostal churches". The author notes that Ewart, who was perceived as the most influential Oneness spokesperson, also became the strongest supporter of the movement.

As shown by Robins (2010, p. 42), Classical Pentecostalism had been shaped by 1915 through its three basic branches which, as a result, significantly affected the American religious marketplace. These were the aforementioned Holiness, Finished Work, and Oneness. With respect to the Holiness wing of the movement, it developed in the South and was a response to the Azusa Street Revival. Robins (2010, p. 43) explains that southern Pentecostalism relied on the so-called Big Three, namely, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), the Church of God in Christ, and the Pentecostal Holiness Church. Moreover, it is crucial to bear in mind that communities from the south were known for their ethical rigorism, strict church discipline, and tendencies toward emotional intensity.

In the context of Finished Work Pentecostals, Robins (2010, p. 45) highlights their willingness to co-operate. In April 1914, a *General Council* of Pentecostal leaders was convened in Hot Springs, Arkansas. In the aftermath of that meeting, the organization referred to as the Assemblies of God was formed. Soon after, it became America's largest Pentecostal denomination in terms of membership and geographical scope. The evolution of the Assemblies of God will be discussed further in the subsequent paragraphs.

The third branch, namely the Oneness, came into existence due to a serious disagreement on the nature of God, which has already been indicated above. Daniel Opperman, Oneness advocate, gathered the doctrine's followers and started a *General Assembly of Apostolic Assemblies* located in Eureka Springs, Arkansas. In 1918, Opperman's Assemblies merged with a loose federation of preachers known as *Pentecostal Assemblies of the World* and were later recognized under that name. Robins (2010, p. 46) also speaks of two additional Oneness congregations: the *Asamblea Apostólica de la Fe en Cristo Jesús* and the *Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God*. The former was established by Azusa Street converts, Luis Lopez and Juan Navarro, whereas the latter consisted mostly of African Americans practicing a rare Holiness variant.

In relation to what has already been stated above, the early Pentecostals were known for their excessive strictness within the context of faith and lifestyle. For the purpose of this research, initiating a brief discussion on how they behaved in the public space — seems necessary. According to Edith Lydia Blumhofer (1989a, p. 147), the excitement the early Pentecostals were filled with resulted in neglecting their daily duties, also those connected with regular family life. Husbands would abandon their wives and children because of the willingness to preach across the world. Sometimes even the mothers would abandon their offspring to engage in itinerant evangelism. In effect, such tendencies raised the alarm among community leaders, who became highly critical of those practices. Furthermore, Blumhofer (1989a, p. 147) notes that for the early Pentecostals, prayer served as a means of obtaining whatever they needed, for instance, healing and funds. Believers lived a life of radical faith to such an extent that each failure to receive the desired object was immediately associated with the urgent need for self-examination. In other words, if someone suffered from various medical problems and the miraculous healing did not occur despite intense prayers, it was interpreted as that person's fault, which should be removed for successful completion.

Blumhofer (1989a, p. 148) also highlights the importance of self-improvement, which was expected in the Pentecostal environment. In practical terms, the adherents believed that spiritual renewal was a continuous process, and therefore, they wanted to obtain more power from God. What seems interesting is the fact that contemporary Pentecostals, namely those representing the Third Wave, frequently pray with the words: "give me more, more power", especially during mass prayer meetings, as will be outlined later in the paper. The aforementioned spiritual renewal manifested itself in various ways, including through prophecies.

According to Blumhofer (1989a, p. 148), the early Pentecostals tended to interpret different events, such as earthquakes, world wars, financial problems, and other difficulties, by offering their own frame of reference. More precisely, the unpleasant life experiences were directly attributed to demonic activity, and the only solution was to conquer the enemy in a spiritual battle. The emphasis on the supernatural resulted from the Pentecostal perspective on divine communication. Dreams and visions had an enormous impact on intragroup interaction, development, and relations. As discussed earlier in this paper, the avalanche of the apostolic signs and wonders was understood by the early Pentecostals within the context of Old Testament prophecies of the *latter rain*, mentioned in Joel 2 and Zechariah 10:1. These passages defined their worldview and

validated the tremendous outpouring of the Holy Spirit the adherents claimed to have witnessed.

With reference to the Pentecostal views on the workings of the Holy Spirit, Blumhofer (1989a, p. 153) explains that the willingness to participate in the outpouring involved a deep commitment on the part of the believer. In other words, the adherents promoted the necessity to "reject the world" and separate from the destructive culture. The author adds that "they seemed to strive to be as different from the world as possible as part of their effort to be like Christ. Naturally, this found expression in songs intended to reinforce their determination. While they sang their share of songs that urged believers to avoid smoking, tobacco chewing, or fancy dress, they also asserted in music a determination not to allow *this vain world's golden charms* to stand *between their souls and their Saviour*" (Blumhofer, 1989a, p. 154). Although the Pentecostal arguments for a complete withdrawal appeared reasoned, they were not approved by outsiders. Aware of Christ's imminent return, the early Pentecostals attempted to remove all the distractors that might overshadow God's power. In consequence, worldly amusements, for instance, dancing or theatre attendance, were considered sinful. The same was true for the so-called ecclesiastical amusements, practiced by the clergy in the form of fairs and festivals.

Blumhofer (1989a, p. 156) notes that the spiritual battle Pentecostals were engaged in did not consist merely in avoiding sinful behavior. It relied on exercising self-discipline and living in accordance with the idea of *walking in the Spirit* which referred to following the biblical norms on a regular basis and therefore, being open to the divine guidance, contrary to that offered by the mundane. The above-mentioned self-discipline also applied to one's outward appearance which required modesty. In practical terms, makeup and jewelry were prohibited since they promoted carnality. Blumhofer (1989a, p. 158) explains that later generations were more open to worldliness and tried to embrace the culture, mainly because of institutionalization.

The author also draws attention to the missionary nature of early Pentecostalism, which was directly related to the activity of the Holy Spirit. The adherents intended to implement the gifts they had received during the baptism into their preaching, and therefore, nightly services, street evangelism, or attempts to communicate with immigrants were the positive effects of divine intervention. As discussed before, travelling ministers frequently valued itinerant evangelism more than their own families; hence, they would undertake challenging gospel missions, whether they concerned small

villages or major cities. Moreover, they would stay in a given community for several weeks, offering to pray for the needy.

With respects to female evangelists, women were highly engaged in their service and, therefore, widely admired. However, they were not allowed to receive official ordination as pastors. It seems worth mentioning that although itinerant evangelism played a significant role among Pentecostals, not all of them could undertake gospel missions, despite having the gift of tongues. In consequence, "the *Word and Work* offered an explanation which suggested that these men and women also played a role in foreign evangelism. The magazine published a *revelation* that their tongues speech, in an event labelled *Pentecostal wireless telegraphy*, was spiritually *transmitted* through dreams and/or visions to individuals whose language the Pentecostal believer had been *given*" (Blumhofer, 1989a, p. 166). In other words, physical presence in remote places was unnecessary due to the supernatural means of communication that enabled the preacher to convey divine messages.

Nonetheless, it should be clearly stated that missionaries' absolute obedience to their call to service was the main feature of American Pentecostalism in the early 1900s. According to Blumhofer (1989a, p. 167), the call itself did not give rise to suspicion in contrast to its source. As a result, the question of discerning guidance proved problematic. Spontaneous theology, based merely on experience, competed with the systematic approach. The former represented a human being, inspired and directed by God, whereas the latter involved studying and embracing a doctrine. All the attempts to refer to the previously-established guidelines were labelled as *quenching the Spirit* and thus condemned. The author also explains that Pentecostal tendencies to rely on the supernatural instead of careful examination led to tragic consequences such as a failed marriage. Short-term Bible institutes with appointed teachers emerged in response to doctrinal chaos. Generally speaking, the early Pentecostals presented anti-organizational attitudes. For some of them, affiliation was tantamount to limiting the workings of the Holy Spirit. For others, however, it was an opportunity for long-term stability. The breakthrough came in 1914, as was mentioned briefly in the preceding paragraphs.

Blumhofer (1989a, pp. 197-202) explains that beginning from April 2 through April 5, 1914, a group of influential Pentecostal worshippers convened in the old Grand Opera House in Hot Springs, Arkansas, with the intention of providing guidelines for effective cooperation within the context of spiritual revival. They prayed together for four days. Then, on April 6, the Council finally organized itself for business and discussed the

points on the agenda. Those points relied on the main objectives of the convention and were as follows: (1) eliminating divisions in terms of the doctrine, (2) promoting Pentecostalism in the homeland and abroad, (3) managing the expenses, especially when it comes to funding foreign missions, (4) deciding upon one common name for all Pentecostal communities, and (5) establishing Bible Training Schools. In consequence, a *Preamble and Resolution of Constitution* were framed by a conference committee which consisted of one delegate from each state involved in the debate.

Furthermore, as a result of the discussion, the *General Assembly of God* came into existence and the participants became its part. Blumhofer (1989a, p. 203) observes that the document emphasized the necessity to maintain freedom from legalism and authority. Moreover, it highlighted the movement's aspirations to preserve doctrinal unity, which was expected to prevent faith leaders from spreading unscriptural methods. The reading of the Preamble was enthusiastically welcomed by the gathered, and soon after, the Preamble and Resolutions on Constitution were adopted as the *Constitution of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*. Once solid foundations were established, the assembly chose an advisory body, referred to as the *Executive Presbytery,* which consisted of the most prominent Pentecostal men in the midwestern Pentecostal environment, for instance, Eudorus Neander Bell, Daniel Charles Opperman, and Thomas King Leonard. Their services, such as forwarding mission funds and counselling, were mainly consultative since they perceived themselves to be the servants of God.

Blumhofer (1989a, pp. 204-205) notes that the first General Council took various matters into account while discussing the priorities. For example, the advisory body recommended Thursday for a day of prayer and *Christian Evangel* for a weekly paper. In addition, the question of ministerial training was also raised. Concerning education, the school run by Ruben Benjamin Chisolm in Mississippi and the Gospel School supervised by T. K. Leonard in Findlay, Ohio, were considered most suitable. The former focused on primary, academic, and collegiate courses accompanied by theological and musical parts offered on request to those who needed basic knowledge. The latter aimed at training ministers and, therefore, provided lectures on Bible together with Church history. In the matter of other significant issues discussed by the General Council, the role of women in contributing to the movement and the problem of marriage and divorce were thoroughly studied. To be more precise, the advisory body allowed women to evangelize and work as missionaries but, at the same time, denied them pastoral ministry connected with authority over men. As for marital status, Blumhofer (1989a, p. 208) explains that

"some Pentecostals had adopted extreme positions on divorce and remarriage, demanding that couples separate, and even, in extreme cases, that they return to their original marriage partner. Some made participation in the local church dependent on a remarried individual's willingness to separate from his or her spouse. Others took a strict stand against divorce and remarriage but refused to interfere with situations that had developed before the individual's conversion".

The rapid growth of the movement, which was particularly noticeable in the early period, mainly because of missionary work, required some urgent improvements, and that is why the second General Council was announced. The meeting was scheduled for November 15 to 29, 1914, at the Stone Church in Chicago. According to Blumhofer (1989a, p. 212), the main objective of the second General Council was to appoint new leadership and establish solid foundations upon which the Assemblies of God could be built. Although Pentecostalism gained approval state-wide and its Council seemed well-organized, some doctrinal disagreements led to internal divisions. Those points of difference have been discussed in the preceding paragraphs and related to the nature of sanctification, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the question of tongues understood as the initial evidence of the baptism in the Holy Spirit. As mentioned before, Assemblies of God favored the Trinitarian formula and the Finished Work approach. Those who attempted to introduce changes to the doctrine left the movement voluntarily or were expelled by its leaders representing the majority. Regarding glossolalia, Fred Francis Bosworth publicly opposed the Pentecostal concept of the "initial evidence". Hollenweger (1972, p. 32) explains that for the Pentecostal advisory board, tongues were considered the only evidence of Spirit baptism and, at the same time, the sole criterion for receiving credentials, that is, obtaining permission to engage in missionary activities. For Bosworth, tongues were indeed a sign of Spirit baptism, but other gifts should also be recognized. In 1918, Bosworth tried to initiate a discussion on that problem at the Pastors' Conference. However, his attempts failed. Consequently, he was no longer allowed to retain his credentials and resigned from membership in the movement.

Blumhofer (1989a, p. 247) argues that between 1914 and 1921, Pentecostalism developed sufficiently to achieve its goals. The number of missionaries working at home and abroad increased considerably. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that in the 1920s, cultural standards shifted markedly, and those changes affected worship. New patterns of social behavior, associated with pleasure and prosperity, became distinctive features of what is referred to as modernism. Technological advances, Darwinism, and the historical-

critical study of the Bible posed a threat to Pentecostal ethical rigorism. According to Robins (2010, p. 57), the majority of mainline Protestants tried to accept the evolution of the value system and adapt the ancient verities to the modern worldview.

Pentecostals, however, did not correspond with theological modernism. To be more precise, the experiential nature of Pentecostal spirituality prevailed over theoretical concepts. Robins (2010, pp. 58-59) states that: "the immediate apprehension of divine things — a true *sense* of the soul touched by the Spirit — provided sure and sufficient evidence validating what the saints read in their Bibles […]. Furthermore, Pentecostals seemed instinctively to understand that no modification of the original pietistic formula was needed, which spared them the intellectual contortions of modernists and fundamentalists alike […]. Pentecostals felt no compunction to frame their arguments in the category of science and philosophy".

It is important to emphasize that Pentecostals relied on ordinary people distrustful of intellectual elites long before. For the adherents of the movement, one's inner spiritual experience was the most desired and only path to religious truth. As far as popular culture is concerned, the leadership was against following new morality but, according to Robins (2010, p. 60), although Pentecostals did not share the enthusiasm of the rest, they decided to import popular music into their worship after all. Moreover, their worship services became available to all interested since they were conducted in public places such as old movie theatres, as in the case of a Canadian-born evangelist, Aimee Semple McPherson who has been considered an icon of itinerant evangelism. In 1923 she established Pentecostalism's first megachurch, known as Angelus Temple.

As regards summarizing the twenties in terms of social changes, it will be accurate to say that the first-generation representatives of the Assemblies of God had to face new challenges and, what seems most important, embrace the preferences of those who supported the rapid advancement in order to communicate the heritage. Blumhofer (1989a, p. 260) explains that "separation from *the world* was less conspicuous than participants in that era would later recall, for in eschewing divorce, drinking, smoking, contemporary fashions, mixed bathing, makeup, or bobbed hair, Assemblies of God adherents affirmed a life-style shared by millions of other American Protestants […]. Hesitantly, but certainly, they admitted that movies could be used for their own ends; that radio offered a medium for evangelization […]; in short, that the world's new technology had much for them to appropriate in accomplishing their task".

As discussed by Robins (2010, p. 62), because of rapid technological development and the introduction of new ideas to American society, growing secularism within mainstream religion became noticeable, which was not the case with Pentecostalism. The author observes that its membership grew alongside the process of its institutionalization and that, in effect, Pentecostal leaders implemented higher standards of professionalism. For instance, they relied on the so-called statements of faith (constitutionalism), declaring Bible the only authoritative source and the Holy Spirit the only guide. Moreover, they put the committee rule into practice by appointing the boards of elders. Nevertheless, the currents shifted over the years and led to intra-Pentecostal competition. Robins (2010, p. 63) mentions the story of Ambrose Jessup Tomlinson, whose power was limited in 1921 by a council of elders that he himself had previously formed.

Consequently, some members followed the elders, whereas the others expressed their loyalty to the patriarch. Those who had supported the elders' fraction established the Church of God based in Cleveland, Tennessee, whilst those who had favored Tomlinson came to be known as the Church of God of Prophecy. This particular case was just one of many reflecting the increasing tensions within the movement. Travelling evangelists involved in healing services continued to operate despite the problems that had occurred; however, denominationalism required the adherents to show total devotion to the content promoted by the community an individual belonged to. Robins (2010, p. 66) explains that "within any given denomination, that process worked in favor of greater uniformity or standardization. But it increased diversity within the movement as a whole, whose embrace now stretched from world-rejecting sects with strict dress codes and comportment to West Coast bodies that blended rather easily into the currents of the day". The author also comments on the question of women in ministry, stating that Pentecostals accepted their prophetic role, associated mainly with proclaiming a divine message under the power of the Holy Spirit. Although the movement referred to the mainstream in that matter since it moved with the times, the problem of women's priestly role remained unsolved.

Finally, it should be noted that the early Pentecostals representing the so-called First Wave witnessed a period of social and technological evolution which pushed them to accept the new modes of behavior. Their progress was undeniably remarkable, bearing in mind the ethical rigorism the early Pentecostals were known for. The new face of Pentecostalism required a debate which might help to resolve doubts, and therefore, the

National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) was established in 1942 by a group of broad-minded fundamental leaders. According to Blumhofer (1989a, pp. 23-24), NAE's priorities related to the idea of upholding traditionally accepted evangelical position in terms of foreign missions, evangelism, Christian education, religious radio broadcasting, and the separation of church and state. The Assemblies of God, the Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee), the Pentecostal Holiness Church, and the Open Bible Standard Church joined NAE and became its charter members. Although the intra-Pentecostal ecumenical aspirations which started in the 1930s had been impaired by the war, its leadership continued to search for new solutions.

1.1.2. *The Second Wave: Charismatism*

During the 1940s and 1950s, Classical Pentecostalism experienced considerable tension within its structures, which consequently led to the emergence and rapid growth of the so-called deliverance evangelism, often associated with non-denominational activities. It can be assumed that, from a historical point of view, deliverance evangelism represented by two closely related movements, namely, the New Order of the Latter Rain and the Healing Revival, might be treated as a prelude to the Charismatic Renewal. Michael James McClymond (2014) states that the Charismatic Renewal is usually referred to as the Second Wave of Pentecostalism. The term Charismatism also appears in the literature.

This part of the study will investigate the spread of the Second Wave and will also focus on how it affected mainline denominations. Special attention will be given to the Catholic Church and the development of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (*CCR*).

1.1.2.1. The New Order of the Latter Rain

As discussed by Blumhofer (1989b), those Pentecostals who rejected denominational structures criticized their spiritual coldness. George and Ernest Hawtin, together with Percy Hunt, who had been members of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, left the organization under pressure in 1947. Consequently, they started an independent ministry (Sharon Children's Homes and Schools) in North Battleford, Saskatchewan. The school routine covered extended fasting accompanied by deep prayers. Blumhofer (1989b) notes that the powerful outpouring of supernatural manifestations which fell at Sharon in 1948 was soon interpreted as a "new order" of spiritual experience and, what seems interesting,

it greatly resembled the rhetoric of early Pentecostalism. However, the advocates of the New Order, contrary to early Pentecostals, strongly emphasized New Testament offices, and therefore, they tried to "restore the authority of those offices in contemporary Pentecostalism" (Blumhofer, 1989b, p. 54). McClymond (2014, p. 35) elaborates on this question by referring to apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers who altogether constitute what is known as the five-fold ministry.

With respect to the worship service, Blumhofer (1989b, p. 58) mentions its distinctive features. These are the following: imparting spiritual gifts through the practice of laying on of hands (an act of initiation), spiritual singing, healing, and the so-called slayings in the Spirit. Robins (2010, p. 80) emphasizes spiritual warfare and exorcism, typical of the aforementioned deliverance evangelism. The New Order Pentecostals believed in the possibility of re-establishing primitive Christianity as well as apostolic power. Regarding the structure the New Order favored, Blumhofer (1989b, p. 58) relates to strict congregationalism, which had its roots in the New Testament. The leaders of the movement tended to connect denominationalism with "quenching the Spirit", and what is more, they also criticized Classical Pentecostals for their unwillingness to recognize the formerly-discussed five-fold ministry. Quenching the Spirit meant that the supernatural was almost inexistent amongst those who functioned within denominations.

New Order churches operated on weekly schedules, including nightly meetings, morning Bible studies, days of prayer, and Sunday services. According to Blumhofer (1989b, pp. 62-63), the American religious landscape was also filled with the ideas of the New Order, and Myrtle Beall's Bethesda Missionary Temple in Detroit served as its center. Beall became fascinated with the restoration movement due to her visits to Vancouver, where she could encounter the message first-hand. Blumhofer (1989b, p. 63) notes that Beall made an effort to extend her influence through the radio and the press. Canadian leaders hoped to spread their concepts worldwide, and for this reason, they tended to designate appropriate apostles who were responsible for the mission.

Assemblies of God, forced by circumstances, responded to the restoration teaching. Firstly, as discussed by Blumhofer (1989b, p. 64), deep concerns about the emphasis put on prophecy and the practice of laying on of hands were expressed by Assemblies leaders. As a reaction to the accusations, the advocates of the New Order compared the role of laying on of hands in their congregations to that of speaking in tongues in Pentecostal denominations. Secondly, Assemblies of God leaders drew attention to the excessive use of the word "deliverance" and how it was brought into effect

by its supporters. The leaders discovered that the proponents of the New Order had tried to deliver individuals from various sinful habits, illnesses, and fears. Moreover, they also realized that deliverance ministers claimed the power to forgive sins during the service. Thirdly, Assemblies of God leaders appeared to be profoundly suspicious about the practice of announcing success and spiritual gifts to the gathered who had previously had ecstatic experiences. Blumhofer (1989b, p. 66) explains that: "because 1949 was a General Council year, the General Presbytery convened immediately before the Council gathering in Seattle. A committee report on the New Order recommended the preparation of a resolution for General Council consideration. It specifically disapproved three practices: (1) imparting, identifying, bestowing or confirming gifts by the laying on of hands and prophecy; (2) the teaching that the Church was built on the foundation of present-day apostles and prophets; (3) advocacy of confessing sins and problems to people who then pronounced deliverance or absolution". Although clear divisions between Assemblies of God and the New Order existed, the General Presbytery confirmed that none of the members had been disfellowshipped merely for accepting the message promoted by the Hawtins. Furthermore, it is important to stress here that some of the issues raised by the New Order were soon embraced by the emerging Healing Revival and later — by the Charismatic Renewal. To conclude, the New Order of the Latter Rain did not revolutionize the Assemblies of God in terms of structure. Nevertheless, it undoubtedly served as a reference point for what happened in the 1960s within the context of spiritual vitality.

1.1.2.2. The Healing Revival

As discussed by David Edwin Harrell Jr. (2001, p. 325), after World War II, a group of talented healing evangelists started independent ministries which flourished during the late 1940s and the 1950s. The meetings they organized were held in large tents at the initial stage, and what seems crucial, those who participated witnessed numerous supernatural occurrences. It should also be mentioned that good attendance resulted in massive financial support, which in turn enabled the evangelists to prosper and grow. Spiritual dryness, typical of denominational churches, was about to be replaced by miraculous outpourings of the Holy Spirit. Kate Bowler (2013, p. 42) notes that faith-healing was not confined only to praying for the sick, but it also involved giving the sickness direct commands and documenting spiritual battles by means of photography.

Faith-healers attempted to discover a workable spiritual formula which would spur God into action. That formula tended to be followed by particular acts of empowerment such as the well-known laying on of hands, touching anointed handkerchiefs, and interacting with the anointed oil. Bowler (2013, p. 43) argues that Healing Revivalists "called on a God who, through faith, altered reality in the present, not the future". Moreover, the author puts emphasis on revivalists' strong tendency to "proclaim a reality that they cannot see but must be believed because the Lord deemed it so" (Bowler, 2013, p. 44).

Bowler (2013, p. 45) claims that Kenneth Hagin is believed to have been one of the most efficient proclaimers of faith's potency, which he referred to as the *law of faith*. Hagin's theory relied on two different instruments of power, namely, the legal one and the scientific one. The former applied to the rights and privileges, such as safety or financial security, promised to each Christian since Christianity itself was compared to a legal document where each believer could find rights to salvation and victory. Noteworthy is also the fact that Hagin's approach advocated the transfer of God's power to believers who, by their faith, were entitled to use it as their own. Regarding the latter, it relates to natural forces and the question of agency. In other words, according to Hagin, faith had the potential to actualize objects and events in the physical world. For Hagin, speech created power and defined spiritual success or failure (Bowler, 2013, p. 66). His famous quote was: "You always get and have in your life what you believe for and say. If you do not believe what you are saying, you should not say it, because if you say something long enough, those words eventually register on your spirit and will control your life" (Hagin, 1979, p. 9). The establishment of the Word of Faith movement in the late 1960s seemed to be the culmination of Hagin's evangelism.

Harrell (2001, p. 326) explains that the post-World War II Healing Revival in America started from a series of meetings organized in 1946 by William Branham, an enigmatic preacher who was also serving as the pastor of an Independent Baptist church in Jeffersonville, Indiana. A *Jesus only* camp meeting inspired Branham to develop his own healing and prophetic ministry, which later turned out to be successful. In June 1946, Branham prayed for the needy in the United Pentecostal Church in St. Louis and the message about the workings of the Holy Spirit, witnessed by the gathered, spread rapidly. Branham achieved recognition countrywide and travelled from town to town, demonstrating his extraordinary power.

With regard to providing specific examples of his ministry, Harrell (2001, p. 326) mentions, for instance, raising the dead and discerning the illnesses of people who were

in the audience and called by Branham. The evangelist had his own trademark, namely, the so-called *word of knowledge*, used on a large scale even by contemporary Charismatics. Robins (2010) emphasizes the fact that Branham serves as an example of deliverance evangelism since his gifts included the ability to detect demons. Furthermore, the author also refers to Branham's activity based on what deliverance evangelism really stood for. Robins (2010, p. 81) observes that the phenomenon "sprang from a rare coincidence of social mood and a uniquely gifted generation of practitioners. The evangelists described their work as deliverance: deliverance from sin, sickness, and Satan. But it could be equally understood as a riveting blend of old-fashioned revivalism, faith-healing, and prosperity teaching built on the laws of faith (*ask, and ye shall receive*) and the laws of divine reciprocity (*give, and it will be given unto you*)".

As discussed by Harrell (2001, p. 326), Branham remained active till the mid-1950s, and in the meantime, he hired James Gordon Lindsay, a respected Assemblies of God pastor, as a campaign manager and publicist. Robins (2010, p. 83) explains that one of Lindsay's brightest ideas was the launch of a magazine, referred to as the *Voice of Healing*, whose principal objective was to report the miracles performed by Branham as well as other evangelists. After he died in 1965, Branham's fame faded. According to Harrell (2001, p. 332), Lindsay, encouraged by the social mood and people's deep yearning for the supernatural, changed the name of his organization from the Voice of Healing to Christ for the Nations and engaged in donating money for church building across the world. Lindsay's focus on promoting Healing Revivalism internationally brought him increasing recognition, which was later enhanced because of the books he had written.

Branham and Lindsay were followed by other equally passionate deliverance ministers such as Asa Alonso Allen and Granville Oral Roberts. The former was considered the movement's "truculent warrior, ready to fight sin, Satan, and denominational officials at the top of a hat" (Robins, 2010, p. 84). In contrast, the latter developed the doctrine of so-called seed faith, which will be addressed thoroughly in the next paragraph. Allen started his career as a pastor affiliated with the Assemblies of God. However, his restlessness did not allow him to go through the same old routine every day. Inspired by an Oral Roberts crusade in 1949, Allen committed himself to extending his own healing ministry, which he had established in Dallas. Robins (2010, p. 85) observes that Allen was perceived as a controversial figure, not only because of his preaching methods but also owing to his wrongdoings, such as drunk driving. The author also

mentions some specific miracles which occurred in the tent owned by Allen. "In the mid-1950s, *miracle oil* began to flow from the heads and hands of tent-meeting saints, and the recurring charism soon became an Allen trademark […]. On one occasion, a cross of blood appeared on his forehead; on another, a ball of fire rested over his tent […] cancer patients coughed up their cancers into jars; demon-possessed men and women vomited out evil spirits" (Robins, 2010, p. 85). Remarkably, Allen went a step further than Branham and decided to "raise the dead" on the television show. In addition, he frequently preached sermons on financial success and tended to stress the word of faith. To be more precise, Allen believed that he had "the power to speak a thing into existence" (Robins, 2010, p. 85) and the power to command God to perform miracles.

As far as Granville Oral Roberts is concerned, Bowler (2013) explains that he deserves to be called a major architect of the previously-mentioned Prosperity Gospel, also referred to as seed faith. Richard Quebedeaux (1976) emphasizes Roberts' personal charisma and his enormous success as a healer. The author also highlights Roberts' trademark, a healing line where his advocates stood in the hope of being touched by the evangelist. It should be made clear that at the initial stage of his career, Roberts represented Classical Pentecostalism, but as time passed, he identified with the Charismatic Renewal. As discussed by Bowler (2013, p. 49), Roberts' ministry mushroomed and "his expectations for divine recompense grew with his fundraising needs […]. His 1954 introduction of the *Blessing Pact* promised that God would repay contributors for their donation to Oral Roberts's ministries *in its entirety from a totally unexpected source*". Roberts no longer needed a tent. In 1965, he established a Christian university, namely Oral Roberts University (ORU), which was "a four-year liberal arts institution in Tulsa, Oklahoma, with a forty-million-dollar campus — one of the most modern in the world" (Quebedeaux, 1976, p. 89). The university was equipped with a "prayer tower" operating day and night whose principal objective was to respond to telephone prayer requests. It is worth mentioning that Roberts' vision did not correspond to what Classical Pentecostals offered in their Bible schools since he intended to educate students intellectually, spiritually, and physically. Classical Pentecostals emphasized only the spiritual realm.

In 1968, Roberts was suspected by his Pentecostal fellows of losing faith because earlier that year, he had left the Pentecostal Holiness Church, whose member he had been before. According to Quebedeaux (1976, p. 90), Roberts' credentials were transferred to Boston Avenue United Methodist Church in Tulsa, where he soon became an ordained

minister. The author also adds that Roberts, owing to his leadership skills, was deeply engaged in the transdenominational Charismatic Renewal. What seems crucial, the United Methodist Church allowed him to fulfil his ambitions. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 91) explains that Roberts did not support the sectarian concept of a "pure church" since he preferred an inclusive ecclesiastical structure with lay members and ministers of different theological backgrounds. Moreover, Roberts' commitment to televangelism and the emphasis he put on the so-called instantism (expecting results immediately, especially when thinking about healing) attracted the audience and, therefore, brought him widespread recognition. As discussed by Harrell (2001, p. 330), Roberts "pioneered new uses of computerized direct mail". Furthermore, he even organized a radio network consisting of multiple radio stations. Although he was undoubtedly a successful evangelist and also a deeply respected figure in general, Roberts' aspirations met resistance from some mainstream media representatives, as in the case of New York Times columnist Jack Gould who criticized Roberts for exploiting hysteria.

Harrell (2001, p. 327) observes that the most coherent center of the Healing Revival was the Voice of Healing group of evangelists. Nevertheless, not all highly influential Healing Revivalists were associated with the aforementioned organization. For example, Kathryn Kuhlmann's divine healing had little in common with the forces which initiated the Pentecostal Healing Revival. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 85) argues that Kuhlman's identification with Pentecostalism can be dated back to the mid-1960s and her previous affiliation was not entirely obvious. She was an ordained Baptist minister acting independently for the needy and the one who, over the years, perfectly represented the main assumptions of the Charismatic Renewal. According to Amy Collier Artman (2019), divine healing became Kuhlman's priority from 1947 onward, but, strangely enough, she did not want to be referred to as a "faith healer". Instead, Kuhlman seemed proud of her own unique style, which differed markedly from what was typical of the most recognizable ministers associated with deliverance evangelism. First and foremost, Kuhlman's services were less emotional and finely adjusted to the post-war working class.

With regard to the preaching venue, during the start-up phase of her career, Kuhlman operated at the Franklin Gospel Tabernacle in Pennsylvania. Moreover, she tended to appear on the radio, raising simple, human-related topics. According to Artman (2019), Kuhlman supported a "can-do" approach which in practical terms meant that a concept of a defeated Christian did not exist. Her sermons were the merger of personal

advice, helpful guidance, and solid teaching. Artman (2019) highlights Kuhlman's personal understanding of divine healing by stating that the evangelist rejected the idea of healing lines and the tendency to exhort the gathered to "have faith". Kuhlman seemed convinced that the mere presence of the Holy Spirit during her ministries was enough for those sitting quietly in the audience and did not demonstrate their illnesses to the public. In other words, her practices differed significantly from those typical of the mainstream. Moreover, Kuhlman was not an advocate of healing through direct physical contact, that is, by laying on of hands, as opposed to Roberts and Branham, whose ministries were famous for extorting God's power on command. As a matter of fact, she acted as a facilitator who prayed with people and for the people who needed her help.

Artman (2019) observes that Kuhlman openly abstracted from the concept of empowerment in favor of the Holy Spirit. For instance, according to some reports, individuals were healed outside the venue when participating in everyday activities. Those were the cases of Kuhlman's followers who had previously joined the healing service. In 1948, Kuhlman relocated to Sugar Creek due to an increasing conflict with Tabernacle's board of trustees. In Sugar Creek, she developed her own style of service, which soon became her trademark. Artman (2019) mentions the following stages: a musical introduction, preaching on the Holy Spirit, receiving the anointing of the Holy Spirit, and finally, informing the gathered about who was going to be healed. As discussed above, Kuhlman tended to underline the power of God instead of boasting about her supernatural gifts. In addition, she indicated the importance of human agency in her ministry. To be more precise, she was a strong advocate of the principle that faith without works was dead. Her teaching was compatible with the concept of positive thinking, which had evolved from New Thought theology. Artman (2019) notes that positive thinking relied on the causative agency of human attitude and will, and therefore, it corresponded directly with Kuhlman's views.

According to Blumhofer (1989b, p. 73), in the late 1940s, Assemblies of God executives took an interest in the testimonies of healings published in the *Pentecostal Evangel*. As a result, it turned out that most of them were unverifiable and sensationalist, and that is why they might have posed a risk to the healing message. Furthermore, in 1953, Assemblies of God leaders started having second thoughts about healers' abilities to diagnose diseases since such abilities were immediately associated with the occult. Blumhofer (1989b, p. 74) observes that the discussion which took place in the General Presbytery resulted in the implementation of significant changes: "They

recommended a renewed emphasis on the teaching and practice of *scriptural truths* of healing and *deliverance from sin, sickness and satanic forces*. They disapproved fundraising methods and reports of attendance and healing that were open to challenge […]. They noted with concern that the excitement and extravagance of salvation/healing crusades tended to make people dissatisfied with local congregations and pastors". Because of those recommendations, overseas evangelism seemed to be an option for the advocates of the Healing Revival. Blumhofer (1989b, p. 78) explains that the movement thrived mainly due to its followers' yearning for the "old-time religion" associated with giant tents. In addition, the presence of the supernatural and the possibility to interact with the divine — made the Healing Revival more attractive than the denominational version of Pentecostalism.

1.1.2.3. The Charismatic Renewal

As previously discussed, the New Order of the Latter Rain and the Healing Revival, both representing deliverance evangelism, gave rise to the rapid growth of the Charismatic Renewal within mainline denominations. Robins (2010, p. 92) explains that journalists and scholars could not reach an agreement with the insiders on appropriate nomenclature. The former suggested the term Neo-Pentecostalism whereas the latter opted for the Charismatic Renewal. Ultimately, the second option was considered adequate. However, for the purposes of this study, it is important to distinguish between Charismatic Renewal and Neo-Pentecostalism, bearing in mind that contemporary literature defines Neo-Pentecostalism as the movement typical of the 1980s. Since Neo-Pentecostalism, also referred to as the Third Wave, plays a pivotal role in this research project, its historical background, as well as significant features, will be dealt with in the following sections. According to Quebedeaux (1976, p. 53), the foundations for the remarkable development of the Charismatic Renewal within mainline Christendom were laid by both, The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI) and a strong advocate of ecumenism, namely, David du Plessis who was later recognized as Mr. Pentecost.

Quebedeaux (1976, p. 53) notes that the establishment of The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International in 1951 caught the attention of mainline clergy and laity who had formerly experienced the Pentecostal phenomenon and expressed their interest in its practices. The Fellowship, run by a wealthy dairyman from California —

Demos Shakarian and the healing evangelist — Oral Roberts, broadened its scope in the 1950s as a result of the undertaken activities countrywide. The Fellowship relied on the local chapters, which were actively involved in spreading the testimonies of faith, filled with the accounts of those who had witnessed the supernatural. Demos Shakarian, although raised in a family that had participated in the Azusa Street Revival, did not intend to commit himself to the ministry. Nevertheless, the passion for the Pentecostal experience he undoubtedly had, allowed him to start the above-mentioned layman's organization. According to Quebedeaux (1976, p. 100), the Fellowship was not connected with ecclesiastical structures despite the fact that it had been formed by and for denominational Pentecostals. The author also draws attention to the favorable situation in which the adherents of the Fellowship found themselves. To be more precise, they were not pressured to leave their congregations, and therefore, they could overtly participate in the Fellowship's projects. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 100) argues that Roman Catholics were particularly interested in the concepts promoted by Shakarian, and hence, they contributed enormously to the dynamic growth of his organization. The author refers to the spectacular success achieved by the Fellowship, giving special attention to the extent to which the organization flourished worldwide. In addition, Quebedeaux (1976) focuses on specific products introduced to the religious marketplace by Shakarian and states: "The FGBMFI also produces a half-hour weekly television broadcast, which is viewed on numerous stations in the United States, and finances (through wealthy businessmen who pay their own way and help participants who cannot*) international airlifts* for evangelism throughout the world. *Full Gospel Business Men's Voice* magazine presently has a monthly circulation of six hundred thousand, and is translated into seven languages" (Quebedeaux, 1976, p. 101). As discussed by the researcher, the Fellowship's internal organization was highly decentralized and based on love which was perceived as the key to preserving unity. It is worth mentioning that Shakarian's network included mainly corporation presidents, attorneys, real estate developers, surgeons, retailers, and other white-collar workers. In other words, Shakarian attracted extraordinarily influential representatives of American society.

According to what has already been mentioned, Shakarian's efforts to spread the divine message were carefully observed by an enthusiastic advocate of ecumenism, David du Plessis. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 92) notes that in 1928, Du Plessis was ordained to the ministry of the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, even though he did not have a formal theological education. Similarly to other powerful leaders of the

Charismatic Renewal, Du Plessis also considered himself a representative of the First Wave. Owing to his organizational skills, he was asked to convene Pentecostal World Conferences in Paris, London, and Toronto. In 1949, Du Plessis obtained a permanent residence of the United States which enabled him to gain ministerial standing in the Assemblies of God in 1955. As discussed by Quebedeaux (1976, p. 93), in 1951, Du Plessis decided to witness to the leaders of the *World Council of Churches* (*WCC*). That particular event marked the beginning of his deep involvement in the ecumenical dialogue. The author explains that Du Plessis' extensive activities related to the WCC policy affected him significantly. In other words, his previous sectarian attitudes changed in favor of greater receptiveness to religious novelties. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 94) also highlights Du Plessis' academic ties, which as a result, had strengthened his position in the religious marketplace in the years just before the Charismatic Renewal flourished as a movement in the 1960s.

Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that Du Plessis participated in Vatican II as a Pentecostal observer and, therefore, strongly promoted the ecumenical dialogue around the world. However, his international recognition did not appeal to the leadership of the Assemblies of God, and hence, the governing board disfellowshipped him permanently. All in all, Du Plessis was no longer officially affiliated with the Assemblies of God. What is more, he met with opposition from fundamentalists as well as evangelicals, and he kept calling himself a Classical Pentecostal. In addition, he continued to promote the ecumenical dialogue, acting as a facilitator between Classical Pentecostals and the Charismatic Renewal.

According to Vinson Synan (2001, p. 150), the avalanche of healing ministers who tended to perform miracles in modern church buildings attracted American society and caught the attention of those who identified themselves with traditional churches. The author points out that Oral Roberts healing crusades were eagerly visited by Catholics. Synan (2001, p. 150) alludes to the pastors of mainline churches who, encouraged by the Pentecostal experience, could not practice speaking in tongues openly, and what is more, in case they had violated the rules, they were expelled from their congregations by the hierarchy. Laypeople, however, had the possibility to choose the worship style they preferred, and in consequence, those influenced by Pentecostal vividness left their former communities. Synan (2001, p. 151) explains that "the major breakthrough into the mainline churches was led by Episcopalian pastor Dennis Bennett at St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, in 1960".

Furthermore, he also refers to Bennett as the pioneer of the Charismatic Renewal, considering the publicity connected with his story. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 54) observes that Bennett was seen as a successful and reliable pastor whose pathway to the Charismatic Renewal had been marked by John and Joan Baker. The Bakers, Episcopalians themselves, claimed to have received the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and, as a result of that event, their involvement in the life of the Church intensified. Although the Bakers did not belong to Bennett's community, they were introduced to the pastor from Van Nuys by their vicar, Frank Maguire, and soon after, both Bennett and Maguire were also baptized in the Holy Spirit. As discussed by Quebedeaux (1976, p. 55), the Pentecostal experience characterized by excessive behavior such as rolling on the floor did not meet with the approval of Bennett's parishioners for whom traditional modes of praising God were the only acceptable ones. Synan (2001, p. 153) relates to Bennett's resignation and the media hype around that case, calling the pastor a controversial figure. The author also states that although Bennett's career in Van Nuys had come to an end, his skills were appreciated by William Fisher Lewis, bishop of Olympia, Washington, shortly after that. Lewis asked Bennett to assume the pastorate of St. Luke's Episcopal Church near Seattle and, at the same time, to bring the Pentecostal experience with him, since the Church was about to be closed due to its bankruptcy. Bennett accepted the invitation and, within a few months, made St. Luke the most recognizable center of the Charismatic Renewal.

Synan (2001, p. 155) mentions Bennett's enormous influence over pastors and laypeople, emphasizing that those who followed him belonged to different denominations in the north-western United States. Tuesday prayer meetings were the well-attended worship services where the power-hungry advocates of the Pentecostal experience witnessed the baptism in the Holy Spirit. According to the author, the Spirit-baptized clergymen had no intention to leave their churches. In other words, instead of converting and cutting ties with their original communities, they preferred to promote Charismatic Renewal among their parishioners and serve them enthusiastically.

When it comes to the mood in Van Nuys after Bennett's departure, it was significantly affected by the founder of the *Blessed Trinity Society*, that is, Jean Stone. She established the first Charismatic Renewal fellowship at St. Mark's and invited David du Plessis to sit on the board of directors. Stone's fellowship existed from 1961 to 1966 and, during that time, broadened its scope internationally. Moreover, as discussed by Quebedeaux (1976, p. 57), the Blessed Trinity Society, encouraged by its remarkable

success, launched in 1962 a series of interdenominational teaching seminars, which were referred to as the *Christian Advance* and which attracted both clergy and laity. The author explains that: "in the early 1960s, Charismatic Renewal became a widespread topic for the secular and religious press, radio, and television, because glossolalia was for the first time in America being practiced by sophisticated, middle-class church members […]. In October 1962 […], the glossolalia phenomenon broke out in the academic community […]. By May 1964, Charismatic Renewal prayer groups had sprung up in colleges and seminaries in at least fifteen states in the Northeast, north-central states, and on the West Coast" (Quebedeaux, 1976, p. 58). It should be noted that the aforementioned academic community gave rise to the emergence and rapid growth of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal.

1.1.2.4. Pentecostal Catholics: historical background

Discussing the key features of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal requires a detailed insight into what came to be known as the *Duquesne Weekend*. Moreover, the pivotal role of the Pentecostal element should also be taken into consideration, especially when trying to account for the evolution of terms such as Pentecostal Catholics used interchangeably with Catholic Pentecostals. For the purposes of this research, two complementary perspectives will be presented, namely, the one of the already-quoted secular scholar — Richard Quebedeaux (1976), and that of a Catholic historian, once ordained a priest — Peter Hocken (2001).

Quebedeaux (1976, p. 63) focuses on a series of prayer and discussion meetings organized by several faculty members of Duquesne University in Pittsburgh. The author draws attention to their interdenominational nature, especially that his argument is also supported by Hocken's (2001, p. 211) observation relating to the presence of Floe Dodge, a Presbyterian woman. During one of the aforementioned gatherings, two professors, Ralph Keifer and Bill Storey, were prayed over for baptism in the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, they were encouraged to familiarize themselves with *The Cross and the Switchblade*, a book by David Wilkerson devoted to his ministry among young gang members of New York City. Of equal importance was John Sherrill's *They Speak with Other Tongues*.

Hocken (2001, p. 211) notes that "While some individual Catholics had been baptized in the Spirit before 1967, the weekend at the Ark and the Dove retreat house

near Pittsburgh in February 1967 represented the beginning of a recognizable movement of charismatic renewal among Catholics". As discussed by Quebedeaux (1976, p. 65), the Duquesne phenomenon won local recognition within a month, since the news spread quickly to the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, and to the Catholic student parish at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Michigan. In South Bend, Kevin and Dorothy Ranaghan started a group whose principal objective was to seek the Pentecostal experience. The Ranaghans consulted Keifer, who had already witnessed the baptism in the Holy Spirit and had been baptized. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 65) refers to the event that took place on March 13, 1967, namely, the meeting attended by the new Pentecostal Catholics and the members of the South Bend unit of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. Among those who participated in the gathering were both Catholic intellectuals and Protestant laypeople who, apart from theological and cultural differences, united in the Pentecostal experience.

As regards spreading the divine message, the Notre Dame group seemed eager to co-operate with those interested in the workings of the Holy Spirit, and for this reason, the Michigan State weekend was organized as a response to increasing demand for the supernatural. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 66) observes that "Hundreds of Catholics across the country had been baptized in the Spirit by the end of the spring semester. During the summer session of 1967, about three thousand students came […] to Notre Dame — mostly nuns, priests, and teaching brothers. A number of the Catholic Pentecostals remained on campus that summer and arranged a panel discussion on the topic that interested them most […]. Catholic Pentecostalism had become a clearly visible movement". According to Hocken (2001, p. 212), the emergence of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal and, finally, its remarkable development had been preceded by both a change of attitude towards the role of laymen in the life of the parish community which originated in the days of Pope Pius X (1903-1914) and the publication of the encyclical letter *On the Holy Spirit*, written by Pope Leo XIII in 1897. To be more precise, the Pope encouraged believers to renew their devotion to the Holy Spirit, and that encouragement was offered by Elena Guerra, an Italian woman, responsible for educating girls in harmony with Christian values. Guerra's devotion to the Holy Spirit was intense. In his encyclical letter, the Pope decreed an annual Novena to the Holy Spirit which should be recited before Whit-Sunday in all parish churches (Hocken, 2001, p. 213).

As far as the Roman Catholic Church stand on the Pentecostal experience is concerned, it should be borne in mind that the Catholic Charismatic Renewal started to

grow a few years after the Second Vatican Council, also referred to as Vatican II. The Decree on Ecumenism (*Unitatis Redintegratio*) had already been issued. The Council meetings took place between 1962 and 1965, and their principal objective was to find common ground on the policy of *aggiornamento* (*It.* updating), which was going to be introduced within the Church. In fact, *aggiornamento* stood for spiritual renewal. Norbert Kokott (2012, p. 97) explains that the initiator of the *Council* was Pope John XXIII, a strong advocate of Christian unity. He sought to open a discussion on efficient evangelism, not only in Europe but also in the so-called Third World. Moreover, the Pope also encouraged observers from different Christian denominations to participate in the plenary sessions of the *Council*. As discussed by Quebedeaux (1976, p. 94), David du Plessis represented Pentecostals during Vatican II and co-chaired a dialogue between the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity of the Roman Catholic Church, the leaders of Classical Pentecostalism, and those of the Charismatic Renewal. The author also highlights the vital role Kathryn Kuhlman played in the ecumenical project by referring to her private audience with Pope Paul VI in 1972, during which she received both his blessing and approval.

According to Kokott (2012, p. 97), Pope John XXIII was aware of the urgency to reform the Church internally prior to reforming the whole Christianity. The difficulties the Council had to face involved "dissident brethren," non-Christian religions, the life of the Church, and humanity in general. In other words, the Church intended to fight for a human being instead of fighting against human beings.

With respect to the content of the *Decree*, its introductory section provides most significant reasons for the desire for unity. To be more precise, it puts emphasis on the apparent discrepancies between Christ's will and the way it is obeyed by contemporary Christians. Moreover, it also draws attention to the workings of the Holy Spirit in this specific matter. The first chapter of the *Document* raises the question of Catholic principles on ecumenism and at the same time tries to account for the essence of salvation which, as suggested by the authors of the Decree, can only be found within the Catholic Church (Vatican Council II, 1964, Chapter I). The second chapter relates to the practice of ecumenism and, therefore, provides Catholics with guidelines on how to behave towards the separated brethren on particular occasions. Moreover, the second chapter also draws attention to the high value of meetings attended by both sides which aim to promote a lively discussion on theological problems. The third chapter, it concentrates on both eastern and western churches and ecclesial Communities which distanced themselves

from the *Apostolic See of Rome*. More specifically, the chapter starts with reference to those Christians who accept Jesus Christ as the sole Mediator between God and human beings and then goes on to explain why some issues concerning the practical usage of the Scripture led to considerable disagreement. (Vatican Council II, 1964). The *Decree* ends with a call to ecumenical action which should be fully and sincerely Catholic and hence, in harmony with what the Catholic Church has always taught.

As for the operation of *charismata* within Catholic communities, Quebedeaux (1976, p. 178) indicates that Vatican II encouraged believers to gratefully accept the charismatic gifts and use them for the needs of the Church, while Hocken (2001, p. 216) elaborates on the contribution some influential advocates of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, namely, Leon Joseph Cardinal Suenens of Belgium and Fr. Francis Sullivan, made to the development of the movement. According to Hocken (2001, p. 216), the former made remarkable efforts to introduce Pentecostal Catholics into the life of the Church, and due to his presence at Vatican II, he was able to put his aspirations into practice.

Hocken (2001, p. 216) explains that the conference organized by the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Rome in 1975 has been considered a major breakthrough within the context of the ecumenical project. St. Peter's Basilica hosted ten thousand individuals pronouncing words of prophecy during charismatic liturgies. Pope Paul VI appointed Suenens his trusted advisor and made him responsible for supervising the movement within the Catholic environment. As reported by Hocken (2001, p. 217), in 1973, Cardinal Suenens, together with a group of theologians, intended to issue a series of documents on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, which have been referred to as the *Malines Documents* since then. In fact, only the first one was published by the whole group, whereas the remaining five were prepared by Suenens himself. The latter, Fr. Sullivan, an American Jesuit priest and a faculty member at the Gregorian University in Rome, presented his own perception of the baptism in the Holy Spirit, which differed from the one described in the first Malines document. For Sullivan, it was a new mission the Holy Spirit was going to undertake, as opposed to Suenens' view for whom a clear distinction between "the actual conferral of the Spirit in the sacraments and coming to an experiential awareness of the gift already received" should be made (Hocken, 2001, p. 217).

Hocken (2001, pp. 218-231) discusses the phases of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in relation to its development worldwide, and for this reason, he focuses on the following periods: (1) 1970-80, (2) 1980-90, and (3) 1990-2000. With reference to the

events which took place between 1970 and 1980, Hocken (2001, p. 218) defines this phase as the period of rapid growth in the United States. Annual international conferences were frequently held at Notre Dame, accompanied by local conferences attended by both Catholics and Protestants. The author mentions a wide spread of the movement across the world, referring to France, Australia, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Latin America, South Korea, and India. Surprisingly, although Eastern Europe was communistic at that time, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) managed to flourish in Poland. The details of European Pentecostalism will be presented in the remainder of the dissertation.

Of equal importance for the cross-fertilization between Catholics and Protestants was the contribution the nondenominational Protestant teachers made to the Catholic press, literature, and music. The Kansas City conference in 1977, attended by thousands of people, proved to be a success in terms of unity. As for the 1980-90 phase, Hocken (2001, p. 220) notes that: "[…] the 1980s saw a conscious effort on the part of CCR to be more fully integrated into the life of the Catholic Church. While CCR had been welcomed and encouraged by the popes, there was a widespread feeling that it was still on the margins of Catholic life. From the start, the leaders had believed that CCR was for the renewal of the church, and many were experiencing frustration over its apparent relegation to a permissible but exotic spirituality".

Moreover, a lessening in the ecumenical effort was also represented by some important changes connected with moving and re-naming the International Communication Office based in Brussels. In 1981, the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Office (ICCRO) came into existence, with its headquarters in Rome. Hocken (2001, pp. 220-221) explains that growing internal tensions within covenant communities, such as the Word of God community and the Sword of the Spirit community, caused a split and eventually weakened the previously-adopted model. In consequence, greater responsibility was assigned to diocesan and regional leaders. The National Service Committee focused on the idea of networking which in practice meant establishing Diocesan Renewal Centers. Yearly gatherings of those centers aimed to strengthen them and develop new forms of co-operation. Furthermore, the National Service Committee started a Travelling Timothy program whose principal objective was to provide quality leadership formation. Besides, national conferences held around the United States were directed at selected dioceses with the intention of promoting national leaders of the CCR locally. Diocesan liaisons appointed by the bishops tended to represent a given community to a local bishop and then the local bishop to the CCR.

Hocken (2001, p. 223) observes that although the Catholic Charismatic Renewal won worldwide recognition, the number of its participants was gradually decreasing. As for the causes in the American religious marketplace: "the most optimistic was that the Catholics who had flocked to big conferences in the 1970s were now bringing their new charismatic life to their parishes. The more pessimistic was that the new life in the Spirit had not taken deep root, evaporating as the initial enthusiasm waned" (Hocken, 2001, p. 223).

The last phase identified by Hocken (2001), namely, the period between 1990 and 2000, came to be known as a decade of evangelization, and what seems crucial, the emerging movements in the Catholic Church were strongly supported by Pope John Paul II. Hocken (2001, p. 225) refers to the *Evangelization 2000* office established in Rome, accompanied by Catholic schools of evangelization. The author also provides a list of new communities founded in response to considerable interest in spiritual renewal. Those were the following: (1) Koinonia Giovanni Battista — a community of Italian origin, started by an Argentinian priest and involved in developing various formation courses such as the Phillip Course or the John Course, (2) El Minuto de Dios — a Colombian project aimed at the poor, (3) Neo-Catechumenate, and (4) the Community of Sant' Egidio. In November 1990, the Catholic Fraternity of Charismatic Covenant Communities and Fellowships (CFCCCF) was formed. The organization received full canonical status and served as a mentor to the emerging, less experienced ones. It is worth bearing in mind that even those who considered themselves highly engaged in the activities offered by Pentecostal Catholics "would not call themselves charismatics" (Hocken, 2001, p. 228) because of John Wimber, a powerful representative of the Protestant sector who introduced new approaches into the religious marketplace. Wimber's revolution will be thoroughly discussed later in this chapter.

Years passed and so did the popes. The Catholic Charismatic Renewal flourished considerably, and its position became stable mainly owing to believers' deep devotion and successful leadership. Alan Schreck (2017) notes that Pope Francis' reaction to the movement was negative at the beginning, but it changed during World Youth Day in Rio in 2013. Since then, he has been expressing great pastoral interest in the Renewal. Pope's stance on Charismatics was clearly defined at the 37th National Convocation of the Renewal in the Holy Spirit, where he "compared the Church, and charismatics in particular, to a *great orchestra, where all the instruments and voices are different from one another, yet all are needed to create the harmony of the music*" (Schreck, 2017,

Chapter 7). Schreck (2017, Chapter 7) states that Pope Francis' teaching builds upon the one emphasized by Pope John Paul II, which in turn resulted from the doctrine proclaimed by Vatican II. The author also refers to Pope Francis' understanding of charisms as gifts that can only be recognized within the Christian community. Pope Francis' involvement in the Renewal led him to form a new single service for the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the world which would replace the Catholic Fraternity and the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Service (ICCRS). According to the Catholic Charismatic Renewal International Service (2019), on the Feast of Pentecost 2019 in Paul VI Audience Hall — CHARIS came into existence. On that occasion, the Pope highlighted his expectations towards the newly-created unit, and those were the following: "(1) to share baptism in the Holy Spirit with everyone in the Church, (2) to serve the unity of the Body of Christ, the Church, the community of believers in Jesus Christ, and (3) to serve the poor and those in greatest need, physical or spiritual" (Catholic Charismatic Renewal International Service, 2019). Last but not least, it should be made clear that CHARIS is governed by a General Moderator who makes key decisions regarding its organizational issues.

To conclude, the enormous influence of Pentecostals on Catholics which started in the 1960s seems undeniable. David du Plessis' ecumenical efforts produced spectacular results, and the commitment of both the leaders and participants allowed the Renewal to grow over the years. This research tackles also the problem of several controversies that arose over Charismatics in the 1990s and that were directly connected with a new trend within Pentecostalism. Its side-effects have provoked a debate over how the Holy Spirit manifests Himself in contemporary Christianity. An in-depth analysis of this phenomenon will be carried out in subsequent sections. As far as the Renewal's trajectory is concerned, apart from analyzing its historical background, it is also necessary to focus on the main characteristics of the worship service since its particular elements contribute to the Charismatic identity of the faithful.

1.1.2.5. Pentecostal Catholics: worship styles

Meredith McGuire (1982, p. 26) points out that Pentecostal religiosity differs from traditional Catholic religiosity in its belief system, overt manifestations, and patterns of commitment which can be observed among its members. Therefore, the implementation of Pentecostal worship styles into the Catholic ritual has brought visible changes. Moreover, McGuire (1982, p. 27) also notes the prevalence of experience over rational

cognition within Pentecostal Catholic communities. Pentecostal Catholics seem more interested in knowing God than knowing about God. When it comes to personal convictions, they believe they have already been saved, and that is why the good deeds and the bad deeds have no influence on one's eternal life. In addition, Pentecostal Catholics are known for their tendency to interpret the biblical accounts of Pentecost literally. Hence, bearing in mind their belief system, they have been attempting to evoke similar phenomena during regular prayer meetings. As discussed by McGuire (1982, p. 28), "[…] many beliefs focus on the *baptism in the Holy Spirit*. This baptism is distinguished from the sacrament of Baptism. The sacrament of Baptism is believed to be necessary for salvation, whereas baptism in the Spirit is an interior, transformative experience of God's power. […] the baptism in the Spirit is believed to be often manifested by the reception of *charism* (or *gift* of the Holy Spirit)".

Pentecostal Catholics appear to crave for miraculous intervention in everyday life, and therefore, they try to present the audience with persuasive evidence, such as spontaneous healing. Besides, they consider themselves capable of invoking the power on demand, as in the case of casting out demons. Rodney Stark (1965, p. 99) focuses on the sense of intimacy between the supernatural and human being by comparing this particular interaction to a social encounter a pair of actors takes part in. The author identifies the stages an individual passes through when communicating with the deity. These are the following: (1) sensing the existence or presence of the supernatural, (2) acknowledging mutual presence, (3) developing an affective relationship similar to love or friendship, and (4) perceiving oneself as a confidant of the deity (Stark, 1965, p. 99).

The first stage rests on the feeling that the supernatural has just manifested its presence and has been further divided into two sub-types, namely, a generalized sense of sacredness and a specific awareness of the presence of divinity. The former refers to emotional experiences accompanying the least spectacular occurrences, that is, for example, sacramental acts such as Communion or Baptism, whereas the latter concerns "the perception that divinity in a specific sense (e.g., God, Jesus, a creator, etc.) is present in a special way (close at hand, in the room, etc.) as opposed to a general sense that the divine exists and is present everywhere" (Stark, 1965, pp. 100-101).

The second stage relates to one's belief that the deity responds; therefore, the awareness is mutual. In other words, an individual feels that the deity has taken notice of his or her existence as well. This stage has also been sub-divided into salvational,

miraculous, and sanctioning experiences. Apropos the salvational sub-type, these are states during which an individual gets the impression of being chosen by the divine to undertake a challenging task whose completion guarantees eternal reward. Stark (1965, p. 102) links this category to numerous accounts of Christian conversion and the concept of "twice born". As for miraculous experiences, this category applies to the positive outcomes of divine intervention in the processes of the physical world. In fact, an individual who is going through a period of crisis feels that the deity sympathizes with him or her and, for this reason, expects a miracle. However, the divine "may be felt to intervene in negative ways, that is, to interfere in temporal affairs to punish or deflect the individual from his goals" (Stark, 1965, p. 105). In such an event, the divine response is called the sanctioning experience.

The third stage has a lot in common with developing an affective personal bond with the divine and the sense that the divine reciprocates one's feelings. Stark (1965, p. 105) terms this phase ecstatic and compares it with the intimacy of friendship. Christian literature recognizes such states because of the Middle Ages mystics who were known for their frequent religious ecstasies, accompanied by sexual arousal. Contemporary believers also claim to have experienced the divine touch, which in consequence led to physical and psychological upheaval. According to Stark (1965, p. 106), this category encompasses "visitations of the Holy Spirit," expressed by jumping, screaming, shaking, and speaking in other tongues that tend to be followed by bodily sensations.

In relation to the fourth state, Stark (1965, p. 107) observes that in this case, "the recipient is given a message concerning divine wishes or intentions. Upon occasion the divine may give such messages through signs or symbols, and some men have even claimed the divinity sent them written messages, but typically revelations are spoken". The author mentions visions and voices which characterize a spiritual encounter. The former concerns a situation when the divinity is seen by an individual, but the divinity does not acknowledge his or her presence. In other words, it is believed to be a one-sided involvement. As far as the latter is concerned, Stark (1965, p. 108) distinguishes between responsive experiences, ecstatic experiences, and those of revelational nature. The author notes that responsive voices are usually associated with giving directions on how to cope with problems. The ecstatic ones speak of love, affection, or blessing, whereas the revelational experiences refer to imparting confidential information about the future (prophesying). It is worth mentioning that revelational experiences may also apply to messages that urge the recipient to undertake a divinely inspired mission concerning

human affairs. Stark (1965, p. 110) explains that revelations may involve the recipient himself or herself, but they may have significance for the recipient's personal associates, such as family members.

Since Pentecostal Catholics frequently engage in the practice of casting out demons, the stages of spiritual encounters with the evil forces should also be discussed briefly. Stark (1965, p. 112) argues that "the same elements are involved in diabolic contacts as in the divine […]" and therefore, a similar taxonomy may be applied. The author enumerates the following phases: (1) confirming, (2) responsive, (3) terrorizing, and (4) possessional. The responsive stage has been further divided into temptational experiences, damnational experiences, and the accursed. Temptational encounters are the moments when an individual feels that he or she has been chosen to be beckoned to sin and evil. The damnational type is connected with one's impression of being interfered with by the evil. The diabolic forces "are seen as intervening in worldly affairs to reward *sin* and thwart *rightousness*". The accursed refers to the willingness of the evil to bring misfortune to those who rejected sinfulness. Touching on the terrorizing stage, these are emotional encounters with the diabolic forces during which an individual has a sense of being intimately assaulted by evil. Consequently, the recipient feels terrified in contrast to the one who establishes an affectionate relationship with the deity. The fourth and last phase, defined as the possessional experiences, deals with perceptions of receiving Satanic messages and ultimately — being taken over by a demon. The question of demonic possession will be addressed in subsequent sections.

McGuire (1982, p. 75) explains that the structure of a Pentecostal Catholic prayer meeting has been its recognizable feature. However, a distinction should be made between the so-called open and closed groups. Both terms apply to the degree to which the general membership and other participants are allowed to speak up during the worship service and the degree to which they are permitted to influence the meeting. Open groups are characterized by more inclusive membership, whereas closed ones are more exclusive. As for prayer meetings, they tend to be emotional and fluid in open groups compared to closed teams, where each meeting rests on the previously-prepared content, and the roles of particular members are highly specialized. Since the differences between these two units seem considerable, a closer examination should be made to understand the dominant interaction patterns.

According to McGuire (1982, p. 76), an open prayer meeting begins with a statement of welcome, followed by an invocation of the Holy Spirit and exorcism. After

that, the period of praise, which consists of hymns, Scripture readings, praying in the vernacular or in "tongues," confirmation of prophecies, and spontaneous prayer starts. A "teaching," a period of witnessing, and a period for petitions come last. Informal witnessing usually takes place after the official gathering. The same is true for individual prayers, special petitions, and the laying on of hands. By comparison, prayer meetings in closed groups comprise only the opening remarks, a period of praise, and the teaching. McGuire (1982, p. 77) notes that "cues to begin are invariably given by the official leader of the service […]. These initial statements serve the important function of telling the participants what to expect to experience […]. A prayer of invocation and exorcism opens the prayer meeting. This is marked by a shift to a very serious and sometimes dramatic tone. The invocation calls the Holy Spirit's presence upon the meeting, and the phrase often used at this juncture is a *fresh anointing*". The author also mentions the practice of "binding of all evil spirits," which results from the movement's dualistic sense of Satanic forces. When the period of praise begins, the participants change their prayer posture. The most popular one is sitting with eyes closed, face relaxed, arms lifted slightly, and palms up. Body swaying with arms outstretched has been observed during hymns. McGuire (1982, p. 79) draws attention to the practice of murmuring "words of praise," which have been defined as short ejaculations of praise, repeatedly uttered in a sing-song pattern and these are the following: "Praise you, Lord," "Thank you, Jesus," "Bless you, Jesus," and "Praise thee, Lord Jesus". Single words often turn into the so-called *litanies of praise* which tend to arise out of spontaneous prayer. Importantly, they do not have to be led by a formal leader of the meeting. McGuire (1982, p. 80) explains that these litanies fall into a specific praise-response pattern, for instance: "(P) Lord Jesus, we ask you to come upon us and be with us tonight. (R) Yes, Lord come upon us", "(P) Cleanse us of all that would keep us from knowing you and serving you. (R) Yes Lord make us clean, Lord". The author also notes that they result in a crescendo of emotion because of their dramatic nature, and what seems significant, the responses tend to mingle with the next part of the prayer.

Prophesying, either vernacular or glossolalic, is the consecutive stage of the prayer meeting. This particular gift is spoken publicly and requires silence from the rest of the members. Prophetic utterances are believed to be messages of the divine origin, and therefore, for Pentecostal Catholics, prophesying means forth-telling instead of fore-telling. When it comes to the content of a divine message, it should be positive and comfort-oriented. Furthermore, prophecies are believed to have nothing in common with

predicting specific actions. McGuire (1982, p. 93) highlights the fact that as soon as a prophecy is received, the group must develop a collective definition of the situation. In other words, a collective meaning for the event needs to be arrived at.

The emergence of social roles, which turn out to be crucial in the reception of prophetic utterances, appears to facilitate the whole process. The researcher suggests the following classification: (1) the role of "speaker of prophecy," (2) the role of "interpreter of glossolalic prophecy," (3) the role of the "confirmer," (4) the role of the "hearer," (5) the role of the "controller," and (6) the role of the "discerner" (McGuire, 1965, pp. 95-99). Moreover, she notes that in both open and closed groups, prophesying and interpreting are nearly always restricted to the recognized members of the core teams. The role of "speaker of prophecy" is highly desirable, mainly because it is connected with the authority the prophesying speaker gains. According to McGuire (1965, p. 95), leaders tend to control the element of prophecy since the spoken words may pose a threat to their position in the group. Besides, the performance itself depends entirely on the one who conveys the divine message, and that is why he or she has the power to decide upon timing and whether to reveal dramatic elements or keep them to oneself.

As for the role of "interpreter of glossolalic prophecy," in both types of groups, that is, open and closed, it is usually performed by a member of the leadership team. McGuire (1965, p. 83) explains that "in closed groups many glossolalic and vernacular prophecies follow periods of extended silence […]. Closed groups are far more comfortable with longer periods of silence and during the process of socialization into this type of pentecostal piety, new members are taught to expect and welcome silence […]. Frequently silence creates or expresses a sense of expectancy […]". The author also notes that the closure of silence seems easier in open groups where any member can intervene than in closed ones where the central leader's body language marks the end. The interpretation of tongues is believed to be a separate charism, and it should be borne in mind that this particular gift has nothing in common with translation and literal meaning. To be more precise, the speaker is said to be divinely inspired about the sense of the content.

An additional role in the reception of a prophecy is that of the "confirmer". As its name suggests, the "confirmer" is expected to validate the prophetic utterance and, if necessary, the interpretation. The participants of a prayer meeting are often recommended to wait patiently because the confirmation can come later. The main task of the "confirmer" is to state that "the participant had received a message similar to one spoken

by another member" (McGuire, 1982, p. 82). McGuire (1982, p. 98) observes that confirmations are more common in open groups than in closed ones. However, in both cases, they are pronounced only by the regulars.

The fourth social role, namely that of the "hearer," consists in developing an acceptable definition of the event. Instead of being passive recipients, the "hearers" contribute to the whole situation without questioning the content and its source. As far as the role of the "controller" is concerned, it is believed to be closely linked to the role of the "discerner". The former involves reinforcing favorable messages and softening these unwelcome, whereas the latter, which is typical of closed groups, includes the evaluation of the prophecies that were pronounced during the previous meeting. In other words, the "discerner" is expected to focus on whether or not the prophetic utterance comes from God. Interestingly enough, the private discernment meetings are also devoted to an in-depth discussion on various members' involvement in the activity of the group, their spiritual progress, and their emotional condition. In highly closed groups, only the central leader is believed to have the gift of discernment, and therefore, his or her announcements should not be questioned.

As discussed by McGuire (1982, pp. 101-102), major themes of prophecies refer to the presence of God, the idea of surrender, and security. Regarding their social functions, the researcher claims that a prophecy spoken during a prayer meeting promotes expectancy, a sense of mystery, and immediacy of God (McGuire, 1982, p. 103). The atmosphere of expectancy refers to participants' conviction that the divine will soon convey an important message. At the same time, the immediate presence of God is felt, and the participants tend to experience it at a very personal level. These two elements contribute to the sense of mystery whose quality is created by the interpretation of prophetic utterances. McGuire (1982, p. 104) explains that Vatican II de-mystified the Mass by changing the language of the Liturgy from Latin to the vernacular. Therefore, introducing glossolalia may serve as a re-mystification of worship within the Pentecostal Catholic environment.

It is worth mentioning that the gift of prophecy comes together with the "word of knowledge" and the "word of wisdom". According to Bennett and Bennett (1971, p. 145), the "word of knowledge" is "the supernatural revelation of facts past, present, or future which were *not learned through the efforts of the natural mind*. It may be described as the Mind of Christ being manifested to the mind of the believer […]. This gift is used to protect the Christian, to show how to pray more effectively, or to show him how to help

others". The "word of wisdom" means the successful application of the supernaturally received information. To clarify, an individual may receive a message concerning one's illness, and this message is followed by a divinely inspired suggestion on how to deal with this situation. McGuire (1982, p. 82) observes that only the recognized members of the group, apart from the official leaders, are granted the possibility to put these two gifts into practice. The author also differentiates between open and closed groups when comparing the worship styles of both. In open groups, a participant may manifest the Mind of Christ at any time, and then the group follows the instructions. In contrast, in the closed ones, the "word of knowledge" applies to participants' personal convictions which do not carry specific content.

In respect to "teaching", it frequently starts with the laying on of hands for an individual who is going to speak. This particular practice aims to ask the Holy Spirit for a special anointing. McGuire (1982, p. 85) notes that the physical setting also changes, and the teaching itself tends to be given in a different tone of voice. The author argues that although this phase of a prayer meeting is called "teaching," in reality, it has nothing in common with discussing ideas or presenting theological points. Conversely, it consists in meditating on a single topic which is usually supported by Scriptural references. In open and closed groups, the leadership makes a decision linked to the speaker. However, in the case of the closed ones, the central leadership revises even the content of the teaching in advance to exercise more control.

Witnessing appears in two forms: spontaneous witnessing and a formal talk prepared by a group leader during which an individual recalls various experiences that prove God's power. These two forms of sharing take place among the already sympathetic recipients, that is, the prayer group, as compared to public evangelizing. Moreover, according to McGuire (1982, p. 64), only the recognized members of the community are allowed to speak. The researcher claims that a testimony represents a commitment and resocialization mechanism. Furthermore, it should also be mentioned that private or semi-private witnessing contributes to the successful recruitment of the potential members of the movement who are often expected to express their commitment verbally during the so-called introductory talks. Recruits are also expected to attend prayer meetings regularly and to hear testimonies on different themes such as "the leader's own experiences of coming into the movement, highlighting the positive emotions experienced (peace, joy, a sense of purpose, happiness, enthusiasm), the importance of the prayer community, what aspects of their lives had changed, and specific evidences of

God's power (for example, getting jobs, material success, healings, improved relationships)" (McGuire, 1982, p. 65). As soon as a new member joins the group, he or she is encouraged to share each week to emphasize God's mercy, and the testimonies themselves address various aspects of their lives. In highly controlled groups, public witnessing is limited, and participants are not allowed to speak for more than a few minutes. By contrast, in open groups, public witnessing is highly desired; hence, the time-frame for this activity ranges from twenty to seventy minutes (McGuire, 1982, p. 86).

The last stage of a prayer meeting, namely, the period for petitions, takes two different forms. In closed groups, it does not belong to the main worship service. As stated by McGuire (1982, p. 88), core members tend to gather after the prayer meeting and then discuss the content of petitions or pray over the needy. Themes of prayers are private intentions relating to the author of a given petition or their loved ones. They include emotional topics, for example, difficulties in marriage or health problems. The reason for implementing such a solution is the willingness of the leadership to maintain a positive atmosphere during the time of worship, which involves little reference to suffering. As far as open groups are concerned, the period for petitions constitutes a significant part of most meetings where all members are encouraged to speak. The response to petitions is mostly verbal, meaning that other group participants echo these petitions in their own words. The range of themes seems much larger than in closed groups and also involves the influence of Satanic powers on human beings or particular community members. McGuire (1982, p. 90) observes that prayer meetings end quietly with the leader asking the Lord's blessing on the whole group and with a final hymn.

In conclusion, the Second Wave of the Pentecostal movement brought about considerable changes in mainline churches. Catholicism turned out to be most vulnerable to implementing new patterns of worship into the ritual. The Healing Revival attracted those searching for supernatural intervention in the hope of recovery. Since the emergence of Charismatism, the so-called instantism has served to prove the presence of God among the gathered. It should be borne in mind that the Second Wave has never officially come to an end since contemporary Catholics continue to join the Catholic Charismatic Renewal eagerly, where they can practice the aforementioned activities such as casting out demons, divine healing, or prophesying. Pope Francis has put a lot of effort into fostering co-operation between particular Charismatic groups. The achievements of the Second Wave have led to the rise of the Third Wave, also known as Neo-Charismatism.

1.1.3. *The Third Wave: Neo-Pentecostalism*

According to McClymond (2014, p. 32), the Neo-Pentecostal or Third Wave era, often referred to as Neo-Charismatism, began in the 1980s and involved both the transformation of Evangelical Christians into the advocates of Pentecostal thought and the growth of independent ministries promoting a new approach to evangelism (new paradigm churches). It should be taken into account that although some contemporary Christian communities do not call themselves "Neo-Pentecostals," as a matter of fact, they also rely on John Wimber and Charles Peter Wagner's teaching, and therefore, it can be assumed that the line between what is Neo-Pentecostal by name and what appears to be due to its nature is rather fine. The advocates of the Third Wave tend to form independent groups whose leaders, titled *pastors* sometimes, serve as travelling ministers across the world. Richard Flory and Brad Christerson (2017) coined the term Independent Network Charismatic (INC) Christianity to relate to the most recent phenomenon in the religious marketplace. They acknowledge that the groups and leaders they discuss fall under the category of Neo-Charismatic. However, they differ significantly from the new paradigm churches. The authors note that "the fastest growing movement in Christianity, both in the West and in the global South, is now led by a network of dynamic independent religious entrepreneurs, often referred to as *apostles* […]. This network of Charismatic leaders is not only trying to save individual souls, but to create a *heaven on earth* where poverty, war, violence, and disease no longer exist […]. These leaders gain their legitimacy and influence from their perceived ability to access supernatural power to produce *signs and wonders* rather than through speaking ability, educational credentials, or position in a hierarchy" (Flory and Christerson, 2017, pp. 2-11).

In the matter of INC followers, they are not required to belong to a particular congregation. Instead, they travel from conference to conference and specify their faith by their commitment to a particular leader rather than by their links to a group or denomination. However, from a practical point of view, some INC followers eventually decide to affiliate with a preferred community, mostly because they want to develop spiritually and be guided by someone more experienced on a regular basis. For the purposes of this study, a clear distinction between what is believed to be Neo-Charismatic and what is regarded as Apostolic should be made. Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 5) observe that Neo-Charismatic and Apostolic have been the fastest-growing subcategories of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christians in America. The former encompasses those

belonging to a Charismatic congregation that is not denominational, whereas the latter includes those affiliated with communities that highlight the role of living apostles, prophets, and similar Charismatic officials. The Apostolic variety represented by the INC leaders who are known for their active involvement in organizing conferences, running thematic courses, preaching through different media, performing miracles to the mass audience, and doing projects with the assistance of other fellow leaders promotes not only itinerary evangelism among its supporters but also some other features of the Latter Rain movement it has its roots in. According to Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 8), since apostles operate at a global level, they first and foremost focus on influencing their followers' beliefs and practices regardless of affiliation instead of establishing congregations in the traditional sense. Based on what has been stated above, the following question can be posed: Do Neo-Charismatic leaders, who are strongly committed to developing their congregations locally, also have the potential to become successful apostles countrywide? The answer will be provided in the empirical part of this dissertation.

Rodney Stark and Roger Finke's theory on religious economies may account for the condition of the contemporary religious landscape, which, in turn, has been largely shaped by Third Wave enthusiasts. The authors claim that "religious economies are like commercial economies in that they consist of a market made up of a set of current and potential customers and a set of firms seeking to serve that market. The fate of these firms will depend upon (1) aspects of their organizational structures, (2) their sales representatives, (3) their product, and (4) their marketing techniques. Translated into more churchly language, the relative success of religious bodies […] will depend upon their polity and local congregations, their clergy, their religious doctrines, and their evangelization techniques" (Stark and Finke, 2005, p. 9). Strictly speaking, in areas where religious affiliation is a matter of preference, religious entrepreneurs such as the INC leaders must compete for their followers. Hence, the religious product they offer should be attractive enough to draw believers' attention for longer. The focus on the supernatural seems to be an effective marketing strategy which suits the social context. As discussed by Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 15), three macro-level social changes, namely, globalization, the digital revolution, and the decline of bureaucracies, have particularly contributed to the rapid growth of the Third Wave. Believers have become active participants in various religious activities, eager to shape the product themselves as opposed to passive listeners whose role is confined to observing the sermon.

Since this research investigates the influence of Neo-Pentecostalism on contemporary Christianity, discussing the main features of the Third Wave appears to be necessary for a better understanding of the phenomenon. It should also be remembered that Neo-Charismatism represents a new phase of Charismatism whose forms of expression, over time, have become more dramatic. Therefore, noteworthy is the fact that the movement's foundations had been laid much earlier.

1.1.3.1. John Wimber: Power Evangelism

Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 18) argue that the common denominator of INC Christianity and Third Wave Neo-Charismatic Christianity was John Wimber. His talent for producing signs and wonders and his original approach to spiritual encounters made him unique across the world. In respect of INC leaders, their roots can be traced to the new paradigm churches, mainly Calvary Chapel and Vineyard, which shaped them over the years. Both Calvary Chapel and Vineyard cooperated with Wimber, and therefore, those who aimed to experiment with the gifts of the Holy Spirit affiliated with them eagerly.

According to Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 19), Calvary Chapel, founded by Chuck Smith, welcomed Wimber in the 1970s. At the same time, Peter C. Wagner hired Wimber at Fuller Theological Seminary with the intention of creating the Charles E. Fuller Institute of Evangelism and Church Growth. Wimber took an interest in the supernatural, whose cases, such as healing and speaking in tongues, he could discuss during private meetings organized by the members of Calvary Chapel. Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 20) explain that Wimber's innovative attitude did not appeal to other Calvary Chapel pastors who, by contrast, seemed to support the standardization of the ritual. Consequently, the reunion held in 1982 resulted in Wimber's split with Chuck Smith, and hence his trajectory also changed considerably. In response to the above-mentioned events, Wimber joined Ken Gullickson's Vineyard movement and renamed his church accordingly, that is, from Calvary Chapel church in Yorba Linda to Anaheim Vineyard. His teaching career continued to develop, mostly due to a class called "Signs, Wonders and Church Growth", which he co-taught with Peter C. Wagner and Charles Craft and attracted a significant number of students. Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 22) note that "in the course, Wimber would lead students in the practices of prophecy and healing. Typically, he would ask the class to be quiet and listen for God to speak to them.

Often a student would report that God revealed something specific about somebody He wanted to heal. Wimber would ask if anyone in the class fit that description. They would then ask that God heal the person".

As reported by the authors, not only classes but also the conferences held by Wimber contributed enormously to the growth of his popularity during the 1980s. However, Wimber's relationship with the Kansas City Prophets and the leaders of the Toronto Blessing provoked controversy in the Charismatic environment. The former, including Bob Jones, John Paul Jackson, Paul Cain, and Mike Bickle, expected believers to listen to their guidelines because, as they declared, the End Times were coming. Wimber accompanied the prophets during various conferences, causing dissent among other Vineyard leaders. The latter concerned an event which took place at the Toronto Airport Vineyard Church (TAVC) in the 1990s and ultimately led to the disaffiliation of TAVC from the Vineyard. More precisely, in 1994, the pastors of TAVC, namely John and Carol Arnott, invited a Charismatic evangelist Randy Clark to run a series of revival meetings. Nevertheless, during Clark's performance, the participants started shaking, crying, rolling on the floor, falling, making animal noises, and laughing hysterically. Vineyard leaders were not impressed with Clark's actions since they perceived those manifestations as chaotic and even demonic. Consequently, TAVC membership in the Vineyard movement came to an end. Interestingly enough, although TAVC had been officially disaffiliated, a lot of Vineyard members continued to visit the Arnotts. The same is true for the Kansas City Prophets, whose preaching was not subjected to a particular doctrine. Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 22) argue that the above-mentioned facts seem crucial to understanding the origin of INC Christianity. As for the Toronto Blessing phenomenon, it will be dealt with thoroughly in the following sections.

According to John Wimber and Kevin Springer (2009, p. 30), effective evangelism should be the combination of proclamation and demonstration of the kingdom of God. To justify their stance, Wimber and Springer highlight the features of Christ's ministry, which was based first and foremost on preaching the good news that, in turn, was followed by particular actions such as casting out demons, healing, and raising the dead. Moreover, Wimber and Springer (2009, p. 49) frequently refer to the so-called *power encounters*, understood as the clashes between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan.

Wimber's vision of how to approach the kingdom of God effectively led him to coin the term power evangelism:

By power evangelism, I mean a presentation of the gospel that is rational but that also transcends the rational […]. The explanation of the gospel — the clear proclamation of the finished work of Christ on the cross — comes with a demonstration of God's power through signs and wonders. Power evangelism is a spontaneous, Spirit-inspired, empowered presentation of the gospel. Power evangelism is preceded and undergirded by demonstrations of God's presence and frequently results in groups of people being saved […]. Through these encounters, people experience the presence and power of God. Usually this takes the form of words of knowledge […], healing, prophecy and deliverance from evil spirits […]. In power evangelism, we do not add to the gospel, or even seek to add power to the gospel. But we do turn to the Holy Spirit in our evangelistic efforts and *consciously* cooperate with His anointing, gifting and leading. (Wimber and Springer, 2009, pp. 77-78)

It is also worth mentioning that Wimber and Springer link the enormous growth of Pentecostal and Third-Wave groups to their openness towards power evangelism, whose guidelines they implement into the ritual. However, the authors acknowledge that for power evangelism to develop worldwide, the question of appointing disciples should be clarified as a priority. In other words, those who wish to serve Jesus should be obedient to His will. Besides, they should undergo conversion involving a change in the person ("born again") and a change of citizenship which means leaving the kingdom of Satan and entering the kingdom of God (Wimber and Springer, 2009, p. 86). The authors also refer to the three premises power evangelism is based on and these are the following: (1) Christians have been drafted into Christ's army to fight against Satan, (2) evangelism is meant to progress in the power of the Holy Spirit, and (3) the way individuals perceive the world, affects how they understand Scripture. Wimber and Springer (2009, p. 160) explain that the signs and wonders Jesus performed — demonstrated His lordship over four realms, namely, demons, disease, destructive nature, and death through which Satan operates on a regular basis.

Wimber and Springer (2009) state that power evangelism manifests itself best through the inexplicable. Divine healing is one of the examples worth drawing attention to, mostly because of the fact that the empirical part of this study discusses its transformative features. The authors classify healing into five separate categories in terms of the affected areas, and hence, the following types emerge: (1) healing of the spirit, (2) healing of the effects of past hurts, also known as inner healing, (3) healing of the demonized and mental illness, (4) healing of the body, and (5) healing of the dying and

the dead (Wimber and Springer, 1987, pp. 61-62). With reference to the first category, it applies to healing spiritual sickness, which results from sin and which, in consequence, influences the relationship with God. The second category relates to healing and releasing individuals from the outcomes of hurtful memories that merge with destructive emotions. According to Wimber and Springer (1987, pp. 80-81), inner hurts appear due to various causes; namely, they may result from situations that are outside one's control (accidents, inherited diseases etc.), and they may also come in the aftermath of the actions taken by others against the affected person (domestic violence, sexual abuse, etc.). Finally, they may emerge as a response to the personal sin an individual has committed. The authors define inner healing as "a process in which the Holy Spirit brings forgiveness of sins and emotional renewal to people suffering from damaged minds, wills, and emotions" (Wimber and Springer, 1987, p. 80).

Speaking of healing the demonized, Wimber and Springer (1987, pp. 106-113) frequently allude to the question of spiritual warfare. In their view, the kingdom of Satan, which is well-organized, has the potential to affect human beings; therefore, they may experience spiritual, psychological, and physical problems. Wimber and Springer (1987, pp. 106-113) observe that Satanic forces tend to interfere with individuals through temptation, opposition, and demonization. Temptations could be compared to both testing and strengthening Christians' faith since they only seem to work when the tempted succumb to them voluntarily. Opposition involves preventing an evangelist from preaching the gospel or, in other words, spreading the kingdom of God. In such cases, Satanic forces may cause an accident, illness, or other misfortunes, making it impossible for a missionary to complete their tasks. As for demonization (*Gr*. daimonizomenoi), it refers to being influenced, afflicted, or tormented to some degree by demonic power. The demonized, controlled by the invisible powers or struggling with troubling thoughts, experience periodic attacks that may reach their spirit, physical condition, and mental state. Wimber and Springer (1987, pp. 109-113) make a clear distinction between what is termed as demonic possession and demonization. The English translation used to describe people who "have a demon" suggests that dark forces possess a human being entirely and hence, take absolute control over one's life, while the previously-mentioned Greek word for this particular condition does not imply a demon's authority, even when the evil is believed to reside in an individual.

The fourth category of healing concerns the body. The authors explain that for Western civilization, divine healing of physical ailments is the most difficult to believe.

In more detail, Western Christians expect verification. Wimber and Springer (1987) seek to solve complex problems of different nature, such as organic disorders, functional disorders as well as mental illnesses. Therefore, the procedure they speak about has nothing in common with traditional methods: "The prayers, […], may vary greatly: intercession, words of command, words of pronouncement, even getting the person himself or herself to pray. Frequently I speak to the condition itself. For example, several years ago I prayed for a young woman with a scoliosis of the spine […]. I stood behind her and spoke to the spine: *In the name of Jesus, I command you to straighten*" (Wimber and Springer, 1987, p. 229).

The fifth and last category encompasses ministering to the terminally ill and raising the dead. The authors acknowledge that truth should be told to those who face death. Moreover, they suggest praying prior to the visit to avoid tensions and hostility that may result from other activities done by the ministers. The principal objective of meeting the terminally ill is to offer them comfort and engage their friends and relatives in common prayer.

Wimber's approaches to power evangelism led him to come up with what he termed an integrated model of healing, based on a few guiding principles, amongst which the one stating that "God wants to heal the whole person, not just specific conditions" seems most meaningful (Wimber and Springer, 1987, p. 172). The word integrated stands for the body, soul, and spirit. As discussed by Wimber and Springer (1987, p. 199), a healing procedure consists of five steps, and these are: (1) the interview, (2) the diagnostic decision, (3) the prayer selection, (4) the prayer engagement, and (5) post-prayer directions. The interview concerns deciding upon what to pray for. The authors stress that the first phase of the procedure has no relation to medical consultations. Touching on the diagnostic decision, it focuses on finding the roots of one's problems. Wimber and Springer (1987, pp. 200-201) point out that the causes may be complex and quite often difficulties in one area of life affect the other, as in the case of a woman suffering from severe back pain who claimed to have had a poor relationship with her mother. The third step involves turning to God for instructions regarding the most appropriate prayer, whereas the next phase, which comes as a result of the zealous supplications, is geared towards powerful manifestations of the Holy Spirit. According to Wimber and Springer (1987, p. 212), these manifestations vary in form and represent power encounters in an individual between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan.

In order to exemplify the divine intervention, the authors mention the following phenomena: (1) shaking and trembling, (2) falling over (slain in the Spirit), (3) bodily writhing and distortions (stiffening the body, strange facial expressions etc.), (4) laughing and sobbing, (5) screaming out, as well as (6) prolonged and exuberant expressions of praise (worshipping God continuously for hours). It should be noted that Wimber's famous response to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit which he would give in the sentence: "More of your power, Lord. More" (Wimber and Springer, 1987, p. 222), has been widely and eagerly used across the world during various revival conferences for many years. The final stage of the healing procedure involves post-prayer directions for those who were healed and also for those who were not. To be more precise, the healed, in Wimber and Springer's (1987) view, should refrain from further sinning, while the unhealed should seek more prayer.

Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 26) explain that after Wimber's death in 1997, the leaders who were previously associated with Vineyard formed an "affinity network", which enabled them to concentrate on building their own personal ministries instead of building an organization supervising multiple churches. This particular shift, according to the authors, was most significant in the development of INC Christianity.

1.1.3.2. Charles Peter Wagner: New Apostolic Reformation

Charles Peter Wagner (1988, p. 15), a key figure in INC Christianity, admits that the term Third Wave came to his mind during a magazine interview and was used to describe the new activity of the Holy Spirit among evangelicals who, for some reasons, chose not to be associated with Pentecostals and Charismatics. Wagner (1988, pp. 18-19) observes that although the Third Wave is distinct from the previous ones, they all have one common denominator. He also refers to the major variation, which entails the perception of the baptism in the Holy Spirit and the importance of tongues in authenticating this phenomenon. Interestingly enough, Wagner (1988, pp. 18-19) does not call himself Charismatic; however, he emphasizes at the same time his openness to the workings of the Holy Spirit.

As discussed by Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 26), Wagner, together with his wife Doris, spent fifteen years as missionaries in Bolivia. Upon returning from Latin America, he accepted a position as a professor of Church Growth at the aforementioned Fuller Seminary School of Theology. At that moment, he was convinced that the powerful

manifestations of the Holy Spirit did not exist in the contemporary world. His point of view changed when he met John Wimber. Their cooperation developed in the 1970s during Wimber's stay at Fuller, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Wagner's miraculous healing took place in one of Wimber's class sessions, and this particular event led Wagner to shift from being merely a spectator to being a participant. Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 28) explain that in 1985, the Signs, Wonders and Church Growth class was cancelled due to growing criticism from other faculty members for whom the practices such as learning to pray for deliverance from demonic forces, introduced by Wagner and Wimber, were unacceptable. The authors highlight the significance of an encounter Wagner had in 1989 with Cindy Jacobs, a recognized prophet, at a National Day of Prayer conference in Washington, DC.

Bearing in mind the question of deliverance and healing, Jacobs encouraged Wagner to focus on praying for cities and nations instead of targeting the individuals only. This particular approach to evangelism prompted him to explore why certain nations and populations express reluctance to Christianity. In his view, the so-called *territorial spirits* were responsible for failed missions. According to Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 29), 1989 was a breakthrough year for Wagner due to his intense involvement in promoting the idea of strategic level spiritual warfare (SLSW). In 1991, he started Global Harvest Ministries, and in 1996, he moved to Colorado, where he built the World Prayer Center. The 1990s were also a period when Wagner turned his attention to the role the leaders of Pentecostal/Charismatic churches play in the growth of their congregations. He was seeking to identify an additional element that, together with the Holy Spirit, contributed to the changes in the American religious landscape. Wagner noticed that those leaders were skilled entrepreneurs who refused to be governed by boards of denominational entities. As a result, he coined the term *New Apostolic Reformation* (*NAR*) to refer to the major shift in the Neo-Charismatic movement across the globe.

If it comes right down to the reasons for picking out such a name, Wagner (2006, p. 9) explains that "it is a *reformation* because we are currently witnessing the most radical change in the way of *doing church* since the Protestant Reformation. It is *apostolic* because the recognition of the gift and office of apostle is the most radical of a whole list of changes from the old wineskin. And it is *new* to distinguish it from several older traditional church groups that have incorporated the term *apostolic* into their official name". He also differentiates between the gift of apostle and the office of apostle. The former is given to an individual through God's grace (*Gr. charis*), whereas the office is

obtained through works and assigned by people. Receiving an office is related to recognizing an individual as the one who has a spiritual gift that can be exercised within the Body of Christ. According to Wagner:

An apostle is a Christian leader, gifted, taught, commissioned, and sent by God with the authority to establish the foundational government of the church within an assigned sphere of ministry by hearing what the Spirit is saying to the churches and by setting things in order accordingly for the growth and maturity of the church and for the extension of the kingdom of God. (Wagner, 2006, p. 27)

The author argues that apostles have unique characteristics which best define their work. Following his observations, they (1) see Jesus personally, (2) perform signs and wonders, (3) plant churches, (4) appoint and oversee local church pastors, (5) set disputes in the church, (6) apply discipline, (7) provide a spiritual covering for other leaders, (8) suffer physical persecutions, (9) attract and distribute financial resources, (10) cast out demons, (11) break curses of witchcraft, and (12) fast frequently (Wagner, 2006, pp. 30-33). Moreover, Wagner (2006, p. 77) classifies apostolic ministry into three separate categories depending on the relationship apostles have with other believers. Vertical apostles, the first type, run networks of churches, ministries or individuals who need spiritual guidance and feel comfortable with being under the authority of a particular minister. In other words, they supervise a given community where they can spread a divine anointing. Horizontal apostles, the second group, have no congregations under them to which they provide apostolic oversight. Conversely, they focus on helping peer-level leaders to connect with one another for common projects. Workplace apostles, the third category, conduct their ministry in the so-called extended church as opposed to the previous ones who are known to operate within what is recognized as the nuclear church. In this case, parallels between an extended and nuclear family can be easily noticed. Wagner's concept of territorial spirits provoked a discussion on the question of how to reach cities and change the culture. In his view, social transformation should involve spiritual transformation, economic transformation, educational transformation, family transformation, the transformation of the media and the arts, and governmental transformation (Wagner, 2006, p. 120). All the above-mentioned sectors of society have been defined as the *seven mountains mandate*.

Furthermore, based on Wagner's assumptions, social transformation should be applied to neighborhoods, cities, regions, and nations. The ministers responsible for coping with territorial spirits have been termed by Wagner *territorial apostles* (a sub-

group of horizontal apostles). Flory and Christerson (2017, pp. 93-94) mention a protocol developed by the leaders engaged in defeating territorial spirits, involving three significant elements: research, prophecy, and intercession. Research means familiarizing oneself with the religious history of the region. To be more precise, territorial apostles are expected to prepare a report known as a spiritual profile. Prophecy includes determining the names and nature of the evil forces in a given area in order to understand the obstacles that prevent social transformation. Finally, in respect of *intercession*, it refers to meetings, prayer walks, and vigils led by the anointed ministers who call demons out by name and thus, detach them from where they used to work.

Flory and Christerson (2017, pp. 30-31) observe that the *Wagner Leadership Institute* (currently *Wagner University*), established by C. Peter Wagner in 1998, has been a leading center for training prospective apostles ever since. The University offers a great variety of courses in practical ministry taught by famous INC leaders such as Randy Clark and Bill Johnson. The authors also explain that Wagner's vision of strategic-level spiritual warfare did not convince Wimber, who ended his long-time cooperation with Wagner as a result. To summarize, Wagner's contribution to the growth of INC Christianity should be considered important, mostly because of the theories he developed including those related to SLSW, social transformation, and the apostolic networks. Consequently, they have been adopted by many INC leaders whose current performance appears to rest heavily on Wagner's guidelines.

1.2. European Pentecostalism

As discussed by Quebedeaux (1976, p. 42), the Pentecostal movement spread quickly to other parts of the world, and Great Britain turned out to be fertile ground for the Azusa Street phenomenon in particular. It is worth mentioning that the foundations had been laid by Evan Roberts, the leader of the *Welsh Revival*, who in 1904 encouraged his fellow clergymen to follow the message of Holiness. Moreover, similarly to the Charismatic Renewal of the 1960s, it took place within the churches instead of being independent. The Welsh Revival witnessed a significant number of powerful manifestations such as speaking in tongues, lay preaching, supernatural visions, prolonged singing, and touching testimonies. Reuben Archer Torrey, an American evangelist educated in Leipzig, took the Holiness doctrine to Germany as a response to a growing interest in new religious experiences.

Quebedeaux (1976, p. 43) explains that a breakthrough in planting Pentecostal churches across Europe came with the foundation of the *Filadelfia Church* in Kristiania (now Oslo) in 1916. It was established by Thomas Barratt, a Methodist minister who was visiting the United States in 1905-06 with the intention of soliciting funds for his work. During his stay in New York, he received the Pentecostal Spirit baptism and therefore, upon his return to Oslo, he could introduce Pentecostalism to the Norwegians. The author notes that Barratt's efforts drew the attention of a young Swedish pastor — Lewi Prethus, who, as a result, spread the Pentecostal message in his own country. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 43) also refers to Alexander Boddy, an English Anglican vicar from Sunderland, for whom Kristiania became a place of fresh inspiration, whereas its leader — a person worth cooperating with. The author observes that the Sunderland Revival attracted the press and, thereby, the British as well.

In August 1907, Boddy invited Barratt for seven weeks with the purpose of conducting a preaching mission at All Saints Church, Monkwearmouth. Smith Wigglesworth, a plumber from Bradford, expressed considerable interest in what had been told. Ultimately, Wigglesworth became one of England's most recognizable Pentecostal evangelists. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 48) reports that in 1908 Boddy decided to hold the first Pentecost convention, but unlike his American fellow pastors, he accepted only those who sympathized with the Pentecostal message. To be more accurate, admission rules were strict.

In 1909, Cecil Polhill, a former missionary to China, teamed up with Boddy and, in consequence, started the famous, non-denominational Pentecostal sessions at Zion College in London. The place itself won recognition among Pentecostal speakers from all over the globe who would visit Zion and preach eagerly. Quebedeaux (1976, p. 49) notes that the dominant position of the Church of England has always discouraged the formation of a separate denomination, and therefore Boddy stayed within its structures until the end. What actually contributed to the development of Pentecostalism in Great Britain after World War I was the strong opposition from those who had not supported the Pentecostal message, similarly to the United States. As for Germany and Switzerland, they were introduced to the Pentecostal phenomenon through Pastor Jonathan Paul of Berlin and his two Norwegian fellow evangelists, that is, Dagmar Gregersen and Agnes Thelle. When it comes to Finland, promotion was done by Pastor Gerhard Smidt from St. Paul, Minnesota and a Lutheran missionary William Pylkkanen, who popularized Pentecostalism no later than 1912. According to Quebedeaux (1976, p. 44), "no major

Pentecostal revival took place in other European countries until 1923 in Austria, and 1925 in Poland and the Baltic States". With reference to World War II, noteworthy is the fact that it was the period when Pentecostalism settled down, as discussed by the author (1976, p. 45).

As far as the Charismatic Renewal is concerned, Quebedeaux (1976, p. 59) observes that the ecumenical visits of the previously-mentioned David du Plessis gave rise to its rapid growth in Europe in the 1960s. In Great Britain, for instance, Michael Harper, who came out of an evangelical tradition and was later appointed a curate of All Souls Church in London, put a lot of effort in promoting a new sense of freedom. As reported by Quebedeaux (1976, pp. 97-98), Harper distributed two thousand copies of Larry Christerson's booklet on speaking in tongues throughout the British Isles, and his flat became the center of Charismatic Renewal activity in Britain. Harper's involvement in spreading the Charismatic message conflicted with his parish duties, and therefore, in 1964, he resigned from his position. Soon afterwards, Harper and his followers established a registered charitable organization which came to be known as *Fountain Trust*. Interestingly enough, meetings arranged by this ecumenical agency were held irregularly in order to avoid permanent visitors, similar to devoted churchgoers. It should be made clear that the organization's principal objective was to foster the advancement of the Charismatic Renewal in Great Britain instead of starting its own groups.

Kees Slijkerman et al. (2011) explain that the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) in Europe has been based on North American trends. The Duquesne University group, with its well-educated leaders, gave the movement cohesion in its initial phase. Furthermore, the authors also stress the impact of Vatican II and the role the previously-mentioned Leon Joseph Cardinal Suenens played in promoting the CCR in the Old Continent. Slijkerman et al. (2011) argue that in Latvia, the CCR began in 1989 as a result of the conference held in Poland. The Effata community from Riga welcomed missionaries from Italy and Mexico who came to this city to preach. In 2001, the community engaged in publishing books, organizing retreats as well as meetings, and evangelizing.

As regards Germany in the 1970s, the authors focus on both the eastern and western parts. In the case of the former, the work of Peter and Traudl Fischer, who became Christians in 1969, should be discussed briefly. Noteworthy is the fact that they co-operated with Catholics and Protestants, and in 1976 they teamed up with Fr Michael Kleiner, a representative of the East German Charismatic environment. With respect to

the latter, the first groups appeared on the Charismatic scene soon after 1970. At that time, several Jesuits, including Fr. Rainer Koltermann SJ from Frankfurt and Fr. Christof Wrembek SJ from Berlin, were involved in spreading Charismatic ideas, especially during the events they were in charge of. Slijkerman et al. (2011) claim that the West German CCR leaders were highly successful at organizing national conferences. The one in Würzburg in 1974 hosted eighty people whereas the conference in Augsburg in 1991 — attracted four thousand. After the reunification of Germany in 1990, Charismatics from Eastern Germany eagerly accepted the structures of their western fellow leaders and, in consequence, became the members of the German CCR Council. The authors notice that Jesuits also contributed largely to the development of the CCR in Austria. In the 1970s, the Charismatic Renewal generated enormous enthusiasm among the Austrian clergy and laity. However, tensions concerning Spirit baptism led to the leadership crisis and the emergence of a great number of ecumenical covenant communities.

In the case of Flemish Belgium, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal spread rapidly due to Father Jos Biesbrouck's prior contact with David du Plessis at a Full Gospel Business Men convention in Utrecht, where he had received the Spirit baptism. As discussed by Slijkerman et al. (2011), of great importance for this particular area was the role of Cardinal Suenens, who had been appointed Catholic Primate of Belgium (1961-1979) and who had been in charge of theological consultations at Mechelen (Malines). In effect, books on the CCR were published, and new prayer groups started to grow.

Referring to France, it is worth mentioning that the CCR developed gradually owing to the initial skepticism shown by Protestant Pentecostals. Hence, only two Catholics attended the first interconfessional Charismatic convention in 1971, as reported by Slijkerman et al. (2011). According to the authors: "Protestant Pentecostals became referred to as the *classical* or *historical* expression of Pentecostalism, and they expressed hope that the Holy Spirit would transform Charismatic Catholics into some kind of *Protestant* Catholics who would turn their back on Catholic dogma and tradition". The Malines Documents convinced the Protestant Pentecostals and Charismatics that the Catholic Church was going to take the road of integration. However, Suenens' view on the Holy Spirit and Mary alarmed the rest of the leaders, and therefore, it became clear that the differences between Catholic and Protestant theologies prevented effective co-operation. Slijkerman et al. (2011) explain that Catholic Pentecostals emphasized the Charismatic element of the Church within the context of a Catholic theological

perspective, whereas Protestant Pentecostals supported biblical fundamentalism together with a revivalist approach. More specifically, French Protestant Pentecostals stressed their missionary work without taking sufficient interest in the theological analysis, while for Pentecostal Catholics, the field known as Pneumatology was a reference point. According to Slijkerman et al. (2011), by 1974, numerous covenant communities had already emerged, and what seems important, they were founded mostly in university towns and cities such as Paris, Lyon, and Bordeaux. The authors allude to the Emmanuel community from Paris, which grew rapidly within just a year. A separate section will be devoted to the development of Pentecostalism in Italy and Poland since they are crucial for this paper and, therefore, should be studied thoroughly.

As noted by Coleman (2004, p. 51), Charismatic Christianity has been globalized while its followers have constructed "*a* world within *the* world, setting up arenas for action, agency and imagination that invoke the global circumstance in a way that is distinct, even *sub-cultural*, in its combination of noetic, material and physical elements". The author emphasizes that in the contemporary world, several changes mainly concerning the relationship between individuals, cultures, and societies have been regarded as exceptional. Hence, he formulates his own theory which suggests a three-dimensional model of globalization. The interrelated dimensions specified by Coleman (2004) refer to the technological media, the forms of organization that direct mobility, and the influence on experience, consciousness, and identity, known as orientation. The researcher observes that the growth of the Charismatic Movement can be analysed in relation to all of them. According to Coleman (2004, p. 66), Charismatics have adjusted their faith to the evolution of mass communication technologies. In consequence, the link between the use of media and particular forms of social organization seems to be strong.

The researcher alludes to the previously-discussed INC Christianity, which rests on close connections and mutual projects. Global contacts facilitate the rapid dissemination of ideas and practices, as in the case of the famous Toronto Blessing. In Coleman's (2004, pp. 66-67) view, Toronto Blessing represents the globalization of religious ecstasy since, within merely a few months, thousands of individuals took the experience back with them to many countries all over the globe. Speaking of Charismatics in general, the researcher explains that "these Christians are concerned to prompt the *flow* of people, ideas and material objects across the globe, and the idea of cementing interconnections between believers united in *Spirit* is powerfully articulated by them in sermons, oral testimonies and literature" (Coleman, 2004, p. 67). The existence and

development of the global charismatic culture accelerates the widespread diffusion of particular features typical of believers' ideology and practice. Moreover, what they also have in common is a set of images responsible for the mobilization of the senses, which in turn are related to an immediate reaction of the body. In other words, owing to various stimuli, individuals are likely to experience a spiritual encounter, but at the same time, they may not be able to find appropriate words to express what they feel.

The role the so-called megachurches play in shaping the religious marketplace has been emphasized by Sarah L. B. Dunlop et al. (2019). As discussed by the authors, "These churches tend to be associated with cityscapes and especially cities that have developed global connections. These are places that act as international hubs for the movement of people, the attraction and support of business, sport and leisure as well as cultural activities" (Dunlop et al., 2019, p. 41). Interestingly enough, most of them are Pentecostal, Charismatic and Evangelical. Dunlop et al. (2019, p. 42) claim that the megachurch phenomenon has its roots in the post-World War II era, which has usually been associated with increased social mobility as well as prosperity. Furthermore, that particular period was also exceptional for church leaders since they started competing for churchgoers.

With reference to numbers, in order for a given community to be called a megachurch, more than two thousand individuals should attend worship services every week (Dunlop et al., 2019, p. 43). Coleman (2004, p. 66) observes that some megachurches employ a strictly corporate structure and, therefore, serve as advocates for smaller, affiliated communities. Besides, they frequently export audio-visual and printed materials to external markets, affecting thereby a wider audience. Bearing in mind the consumer perspective, it is worth mentioning that megachurches promote non-denominationalism together with abundant life which comprises good health, supernatural power, and deliverance from evil spirits. As far as the European megachurches are concerned, Dunlop et al. (2019, p. 70) reflect on those located in different parts of the Old Continent, including communities from Kyiv, Stockholm, Uppsala, Paris, and other important cities.

The researchers emphasize that some megachurches have their headquarters abroad, as in the case of the Ukrainian *Hillsong* (headquarters in Australia) and *Word of Life* (headquarters in Sweden). Apropos Ukraine, Dunlop et al. (2019, p. 72) discuss one of the most famous and largest Neo-Charismatic churches in Europe, namely, *The Embassy of God*, established in Kyiv by a Nigerian immigrant Sunday Adelaja. They argue that its leadership seeks to introduce political, economic, social, and spiritual

changes that will transform Ukrainian society. Adelaja is known for its active involvement in working with the poor and addicted, whom he tends to cure through prayer healing. What is more, he is also recognized as the one collaborating with the state. As reported by Dunlop et al. (2019, p. 74), pastors of the Embassy of God "preach in the open air and implore politicians not to take bribes, for citizens to love their country and for Christians to be engaged in public life and to address addiction, HIV/AIDS, the family and poverty". Apart from analyzing only the Ukrainian phenomenon, the authors focus also on the Swedish and French religious marketplace. The former has been witnessing the growth of an independent Charismatic church referred to as *Livets Ord* (Word of Life), whereas the latter, although strongly affected by Roman Catholics, has been shaped mainly by migrants from French-speaking Africa who have established congregations that meet their cultural needs. These are the following: (1) Rencontre Espérance, a Pentecostal megachurch, (2) Paris Centre Chrétien, a Neo-Charismatic and multi-ethnic church based on the Third Wave of the 1980s, (3) Charisma (Paris), a Neo-Charismatic church with worshippers of mainly African descent, (4) La Porte ouverte Chrétienne de Mulhouse (The Christian Open Door, Mulhouse), a megachurch which provides numerous activities for individuals representing diverse groups in terms of social and ethnical background (Dunlop et al., 2019, p. 76).

Based on what has just been stated, it can be assumed that European Pentecostalism has been success-oriented over the years and what seems crucial, each of the addressed countries had to overcome initial obstacles prior to the movement's full development. The growth of the Pentecostal phenomenon in Italy and Poland will be outlined in the subsequent sections, bearing in mind that these two areas have been dominated by Catholicism for a long time.

1.2.1. *Italy*

As discussed by Carmine Napolitano (2011), among those who affected the pioneers of Italian Pentecostalism was William H. Durham, a pastor from Chicago experienced by the Azusa Street Revival. The researcher notes that at the end of the 19th century, many Italians emigrated to America, where they established cohesive and rapidly-growing communities focused on evangelism. Napolitano (2011, p. 189) refers to the Presbyterian Church of Chicago, which is believed to have been the reference point for the development of the Pentecostal Movement in Italy. Luigi Francescon was one of its

members, actively involved in the pastoral work. According to Napolitano (2011, p. 190), Francescon's community attracted a group of people coming from Tuscany who had been led by Giuseppe P. Baretta; hence they came to be known as the *Tuscans*. Baretta's followers, however, opted for spontaneous prayers combined with the practice of giving testimony, which was the real root of the tension between them and the rest of the community. As a result, the Tuscans left the church in 1903. Although the group was no longer officially affiliated, Francescon continued exchanging ideas with Baretta, especially concerning the children's baptism. Napolitano (2011, p. 191) argues that after a while, Francescon persuaded Baretta to accept the baptism of adults. Eventually, their groups merged to start a new congregation located on Grand Avenue in Chicago. Interestingly enough, Francescon's view on Sunday rest differed significantly from the stance taken by other members, which consequently gave rise to his search for the Pentecostal experience. Napolitano (2011, p. 191) explains that in 1907, Francescon came into contact with the North Avenue mission of Durham and finally found what he had been looking for. Durham's worship style also attracted the group Francescon had left before, and the first Italian Pentecostal church came into existence soon afterwards.

In respect to bringing the Pentecostal message to Italy, according to Napolitano (2011, p. 192), the first Italian encounter with Pentecostalism took place in 1908 as the outcome of missionary work carried out by Giacomo Lombardi, an evangelist sent from Chicago. The author notes that "Once he arrived in Italy, he tried to spread the Pentecostal message in the evangelical areas but, after some strong opposition, he decided to get in touch personally with those people willing to listen to Pentecostal preachers. It is from these friendships that the first Pentecostal group in Italy was born" (Napolitano, 2011, p. 192). As the months passed, Pentecostalism spread throughout the whole country, offering public worship services.

Napolitano (2011, p. 192) alludes to the 1930s, emphasizing the introduction of the circular invented by the Fascist Government and called Buffarini Guidi. Its principal objective was to maintain the integrity of the race. Based on the circular's content, the Pentecostal religious practices were perceived as detrimental to the social order. For this reason, Pentecostals suffered severe persecutions which lasted until 1955. Owing to the aforementioned hardships, the movement became disorganized. Moreover, the lack of international conferences and relations during that difficult period led to the emergence of numerous discrepancies, which eventually prevented those communities from uniting.

The most visible division concerned the conservative wing and the one seen as more open to innovations.

As discussed by Napolitano (2011, p. 194), the year 1946 was a real turning point for Italian Pentecostalism because of the conference held in Rome. That particular event laid the foundations for the institutional organization of the movement, whose legal recognition in Italy had been promised by the Italian authorities. Furthermore, clear rules became necessary to manage the inter-community funds. In addition, Christian Churches of North America had already accelerated the introduction of legal arrangements, and therefore, the Italian Pentecostal community wanted to follow in their footsteps. Apart from structural issues, questions such as pastoral ministry for women and divorce proceedings were also thoroughly discussed during the meeting.

Napolitano (2011, p. 196) explains that the official name of the largest Pentecostal community in Italy was established in 1947 at a conference organized in Naples. What seems essential, its choice had been largely influenced by the Assemblies of God. Precisely speaking, the foreign model of church structure had attracted Italians to such an extent that they decided to opt out of independence. In consequence, *Assemblee di Dio* (*ADI*) came into existence. According to Hollenweger (1972, p. 252), the doctrine of ADI "can best be described as an uncritical fundamentalism, and includes the usual characteristic Pentecostal teachings: baptism by immersion, the baptism of the Spirit, the plenary inspiration of the Scripture, the necessity of conversion in order to escape eternal damnation, and the imminent second coming of Christ". In addition, the author highlights ethical rigorism and refers to Roman assemblies most famous for their expulsion practices directed at those who demonstrated unacceptable behavior.

As reported by Napolitano (2011, p. 198), the Pentecostal movement in Italy after World War II was not homogenous. The aforementioned Assemblee di Dio constituted the largest group, supported by the decree of the President of the Republic, issued on December 5, 1959. The second type was linked to the south-eastern part of Sicily, where Christian Pentecostal Congregations emerged. The third category encompassed the communities referred to as *Zaccardiane*, often associated with their reluctance to innovations. The fourth group included those belonging to Chiese della Valle del Sele from Campania, whereas the fifth one involved independent communities. The author claims that in the end, most of them joined Assemblee di Dio except for the Sicilian congregations and the churches of the Valle del Sele, which remained autonomous.

Napolitano (2011, p. 199) observes that the Pentecostal movement in Italy has grown over the years and is now among the most developed and numerous in western Europe. The researcher links its spread to the phenomenon of urbanization, characteristic of the second half of the twentieth century. Besides, he also refers to the Federation of Pentecostal Churches (Federazione delle Chiese Pentecostali, FCP), which has been operating as a fellowship of Pentecostal churches since 2000 and which has been an alternative to the previously-discussed Assemblee di Dio. In addition, for the purposes of this study, it is necessary to highlight an enormous contribution the independent churches have made to the Italian religious marketplace. According to Napolitano (2011, p. 199), they comprise predominantly the representatives of various ethnicities such as Nigerian, Ghanian, Brazilian, Romanian, and Chinese. When it comes to ecumenism, the author argues that the engagement of the Italian Pentecostal Churches was not particularly strong due to their uncertainty about the goals of the ecumenical movement. To be more accurate, the Italian Pentecostal Churches expressed their doubts regarding the ecumenical path, which seemed to have been aimed at protecting the interests of some ecclesiastical institutions only.

Furthermore, they were also skeptical about the influence of the ecumenical movement on the freedom of evangelization in the long term. Napolitano (2011, p. 201) specifies the main reasons: "The Italian Pentecostal churches indicate at least three difficult issues to overcome in ecumenical relations. The first relates to their way of being church and of understanding Christian mission […]. The second concerns a theological objection relating to the ecumenical consensus on baptism […]. The third concerns the fear of being forced to give up some deep ethical beliefs, whether these are bioethical or social, in the name of good ecumenical relations". Interestingly enough, although several Italian Pentecostal churches tend to cooperate with the Roman Catholic Church in the form of various jointly organized events, they do not concern engaging in a dialogue with Catholics an important priority.

As for the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (Rinnovamento Carismatico Cattolico, RCC), Verónica Roldán (2009, p. 80) explains that its emergence in Italy has been closely associated with several names among which Valeriano Gaudet, a Canadian priest, together with Jacqueline and Alfredo Ancilotti, seem most significant. The former introduced the movement to the Romans in 1969, whereas the latter are known to have been the strongest promoters of RCC in Italy. Roldán (2009, p.80) also acknowledges that other sources emphasize the role of Carlo Maria Martini, Cardinal of Milan, who

came across CCR in 1970 during his stay in the United States. Martini brought those ideas back to Italy, and after receiving the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (*l'Effusione dello Spirito Santo*), he spoke about his experience to the professors of the Pontifical Gregorian University from Rome (Pontificia Università Gregoriana).

According to Roldán (2009, p. 80), the first Charismatic group referred to as Lumen Christi, came into existence at the above-mentioned university and comprised mainly of students followed by other laymen. That group was international, ecumenic and dominated by the English language. Over time, the movement grew considerably, and in consequence, new communities emerged. Roldán (2009, p. 81) focuses on Gruppo Maria in particular since it gave rise to the formation of numerous groups across the country. Hence, Gruppo Maria is often called the mother-group (*il gruppo madre*). Furthermore, as discussed by the author, it was also responsible for training those who had expressed an interest in spreading the RCC values outside Rome, especially in major cities and abroad. Courses and seminars lasted for a few days and could attract hundreds of participants in one sitting.

When talking about the growth of RCC in Rome, a distinction should be made between the groups co-ordinated by priests (*clericali*) and those managed by laymen (*laicali*), although occasionally supported by the clergy. Roldán (2009, p. 85) alludes to the role of a spiritual assistant, Domenico Grasso, a Jesuit, played at the initial stage. As reported by the author, Gruppo Maria increased further by seven hundred members and therefore, the Oratory of San Francesco Saverio del Caravita could no longer host all of them. Consequently, the emerging groups started operating in those parishes which had previously indicated their willingness to give space to a new form of religious experience. Roldán (2009, p. 88) explains that although Gruppo Maria had gained a strong position within the Charismatic environment, the Ancilottis eventually were not able to prevent the schism.

The author claims that the first official division occurred in 1976 and concerned leadership issues. To clarify, some members promoted the idea of giving more power to laymen instead of the clergy, whereas the others — quite the contrary since they had hesitations about the proper usage of charisms. In effect, two separate groups continued to operate in the Italian religious marketplace, namely, the laity-oriented Gruppo Maria, which has changed its name to Comunità Maria and the clergy-oriented, which came to be known as Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo (RnS). According to Roldán (2009, p. 89), the second division took place in 1986 and led to the emergence of another group, referred

to as Comunità Gesù Risorto. Apropos the reasons for the split, this time the lack of agreement was caused by the presence of the Passionists. In other words, some members opposed to the excessive involvement of the priests, which in turn, might affect the reception of charisms. The principal objective of Comunità Gesù Risorto then was to promote the secular aspect of the movement. It is also worth mentioning that in the case of Comunità Maria, the second schism considerably reduced the number of its adherents.

As reported by Roldán (2009, p. 109), the current leadership of the previously-discussed groups looks as follows: 1. Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo promotes considerable reliance upon the clergy, especially when thinking of their contribution to the National Committee and organizational structure in general; 2. Comunità Maria emphasizes a dominant share of the laity without priests being present inside the organization. However, clergymen often serve as spiritual counsellors for their members. Moreover, priests are welcomed during community meetings held every week; 3. Comunità Gesù Risorto, similarly to Comunità Maria, focuses on the laity mostly. The involvement of the clergymen is confined to celebrating Eucharist after the community meeting and, if needed, offering spiritual guidance. The author also points to a significant shift in terms of functioning. Actually, in 1996, the *Italian Episcopal Conference* (*Conferenza Episcopale Italiana*, *CEI*) approved the Constitution drafted by the leadership of Rinnovamento nello Spirito Santo, and since that day, the community has been recognized as a private association (*associazione privata di fedeli*). The same happened to Comunità Maria and Comunità Gesù Risorto a few months later.

Paolo Naso (2013, p. 116), similarly to Napolitano (2011), alludes to the Italian religious mosaic while stressing the non-denominational character of the Federation of the Pentecostal Churches (Federazione delle Chiese Pentecostali). It seems reasonable within the context of the Third Wave, whose emergence has largely influenced the Italian religious landscape. Naso (2013, p. 118) also observes that FCP has been collaborating actively with the churches representing traditional Protestantism, excluding the Methodist Church and the Waldensian Evangelical Church, whose decision to bless homosexual couples has not been accepted by FCP leadership. With reference to the Neo-Pentecostal, independent communities, the author explains that in Italy, a significant number of autonomous congregations were established by immigrants and therefore, they often combine several elements of their culture with those typical of the mainstream.

According to Naso (2013, p. 120), the polarization between Italians and foreigners is not an issue. The real problem concerns the "dogmatic porosity" for which Neo-

Pentecostals from abroad have been known. The author introduces the term polarized fragmentation (*frammentazione polarizzata*) to make the differences visible. Moreover, as reported by Naso (2013, p. 121), in many cases, those who come to Italy with the intention of planting a church do not seem to be willing to integrate with the locals. They tend to highlight their ethnicity instead of evangelizing the target country, although not all of them act in the same fashion. Naso (2013, p. 124) acknowledges that Neo-Pentecostalism has succeeded in Italy mainly because of powerful testimonies of faith by individuals who claim to have experienced a divine encounter. The author refers, inter alia, to a Brazilian pastor, Roselen Boerner Faccio, the leader of Ministero Sabaoth whose spectacular evangelization attracted an Italian singer, Ornella Vanoni, a former Catholic. Faccio, famous for her intention to "conquer the nations for Jesus", has been leading a Neo-Pentecostal community based in Milan since 1994. Interestingly enough, Ministero Sabaoth expanded considerably, reaching other major cities as well.

Centro Studi sulle Nuove Religioni (2022), also referred to as *CESNUR*, emphasizes a crucial role the Word of Faith movement played in spreading the Neo-Pentecostal thought across Italy, especially when recalling the foundation of Rhema Bible Schools (*Centro di Formazione Biblica Rhema*) which in turn inspired some individuals to establish new churches. However, as reported by CESNUR, the immigrants and the locals have taken an interest in promoting Neo-Pentecostalism and Parola della Grazia. A church founded in 1985 in Palermo by Lirio Porrello and his two colleagues is one of the examples. According to CESNUR, this particular community was initiated in response to a vision Lirio Porrello received and has belonged to the Federation of the Pentecostal Churches since its inception. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that Parola della Grazia has been operating based on a strong network. In practical terms, the headquarters in Palermo coordinates its subsidiaries located in different parts of Italy, similarly to Ministero Sabaoth.

Pino Schirripa (2012, p.14), an Italian scholar, refers to another classification of the Pentecostal movement, which seems worth addressing due to its occasional appearance in scientific papers, although for the purposes of this research, it will not be used in order to avoid confusion. The author focuses on a two-component division including the following: (1) Pentecostal/Charismatic churches (*chiese pentecostali/ charismatiche*) and (2) Catholic Neo-Pentecostalism (*il movimento neopentecostale cattolico*). In other words, he refers to the followers of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal as Neo-Pentecostals what has also been popular among other scholars (Faulkner and

Bord, 1983; Csordas, 1994). Nevertheless, in this study, those who represent the Second Wave, especially within the Catholic Church, are called either Pentecostal Catholics/Catholic Pentecostals or simply Charismatics and those whose teaching and religious practices are based on Wimber's ideas — Neo-Charismatics or Neo-Pentecostals. It should be borne in mind that the nomenclature concerning Pentecostalism has never been homogenous among researchers.

1.2.2. *Poland*

As discussed by Leszek Jańczuk (2016, p. 29), Evangelicalism in Poland has been dominated mostly by the Pentecostal movement. The author refers to the commonly known and widely accepted division of Pentecostalism in terms of the "waves". He also admits that although this classification functions efficiently outside the United States, it has been modified to a certain extent in some cases. Jańczuk (2016, p. 31) explains that the process of implementing Pentecostal teaching in Poland differed depending on the "wave". The First Wave spread rapidly, whereas the Second, due to severe restrictions imposed by communism, could not. According to Jańczuk (2016, p. 31), the Third Wave emerged as a result of foreign relations and, what seems important, gained popularity among Poles while the Second was still in the development phase. Consequently, even their followers struggled with recognizing them properly. The author alludes to the literature, which, in his view, could be used as a focal point. To be more exact, the Charismatic communities opted for the works of Kenneth Hagin, whereas Neo-Charismatic churches preferred those of Ulf Ekman.

Jańczuk (2016, p. 32) acknowledges that the situation regarding correct identification has not changed since the 1980s, and therefore, the question of what is typically Charismatic instead of representing the Neo-Charismatic ritual remains unclear. Interestingly enough, nowadays, Neo-Charismatics tend to be associated with the individuals who left the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in favor of personal independence. Not only the literature but also several other aspects of Pentecostalism should be taken into consideration when analyzing substantial discrepancies. Following Jańczuk (2016, p. 32), one's approach to financial status, the problem of educating theologians, and denominationalism play a major role. As for financial issues, the First Wave differs significantly from the rest. The same is true for pastoral training since Third-Wavers, for instance, do not seem to be interested in theology. With respect to denominational

character, it can be observed merely in the case of the First and Second Wave. Third-Wavers, guided by their leaders, rest on individual experience and non-biblical revelations, as reported by Jańczuk (2016, p. 32).

The author explains that the First Wave in Poland was best represented by the Christian Pentecostal Community (Chrześcijańska Wspólnota Zielonoświątkowa, ChWZ) and the Evangelical Pentecostal Community (Ewangeliczna Wspólnota Zielonoświątkowa, EWZ). Both of them were profoundly conservative and reluctant toward Charismatic novelties. Besides, Jańczuk (2016, p. 32) refers to the Pentecostal Church in Poland (Kościół Zielonoświątkowy w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, KZ) as the one associated with the First Wave. However, he also emphasizes its Charismatic inclinations, which ultimately might have affected the core values of the movement. To exemplify, Jańczuk (2016, pp. 32-34) mentions the Chief Presbyter of the Pentecostal Church in Poland, namely, Michał Hydzik, whose interest in John Wimber's teachings could be easily observed and therefore, he is believed to have been a leading representative of the Second Wave. Interestingly enough, despite initial enthusiasm, Hydzik eventually criticized the 1993 conference during which Wimber specified his doctrine in more detail. According to the author, until the end of the 1970s, the Pentecostal churches affiliated with the United Evangelical Church (Zjednoczony Kościół Ewangeliczny, ZKE) complied with the standards. Nevertheless, since 1975, they have been exposed to the message promoted by the Word of Faith and Hydzik's approach can be seen as the aftermath of the foreign influence. Jańczuk (2016, p. 34) argues that with the arrival of Mieczysław Czajko, who became Hydzik's successor, several changes have been introduced and hence, the Pentecostal Church in Poland turned slightly towards its roots. Additionally, in 2002, four pastors who had manifested Charismatic inclinations left the congregation, making it even stronger in terms of unity and original expectations.

As far as the Second Wave is concerned, Jańczuk (2016, p. 30) draws attention to its prosperity-oriented goals based on Hagin's claims alluding to divine blessings. The author also states that since the 1960s, the disparities between Pentecostals and Charismatics have been blurred. Generally speaking, Pentecostals have been more institutionalized than Charismatics which is exactly what differentiated the former from the latter. Furthermore, what seems crucial, from the 1990s onward, the Second Wave has been associated mainly with traditional churches, including the Catholic Church. Jańczuk (2016, p. 34) explains that the Church of God in Christ (*Kościół Boży w Chrystusie*, *KBWCh*) was the first one in Poland to represent the Second Wave. Its

founder, Bolesław Dawidow, a former First-Waver, would travel to the USA, where he finally came across several Hagin-focused communities. Remarkably, many congregations which had previously functioned as Catholic oases have joined the Church of God in Christ over recent years and, consequently, have accepted all its values. "Water of Life" Christian Center from Koszalin (Centrum Chrześcijańskie "Woda Życia") is one of the examples. According to Jańczuk (2016, p. 35), the Church of Christians of Evangelical Faith in Poland (Kościół Chrześcijan Wiary Ewangelicznej w RP) is another representative of the Second Wave, known for its great interest in Derek Prince's ministry.

The author claims that in the middle of the 1990s, a lot of communities belonging to the Church of Christians of Evangelical Faith expressed support for the famous Toronto Blessing, whose appearance is believed to have influenced the rapid promotion of the Third Wave (Neo-Charismatism). As reported by Jańczuk (2016, p. 35), neither the Church of God in Christ nor the Church of Christians of Evangelical Faith has been stable in terms of unity. The former has been abandoned by Ulf Ekman's adherents, whereas the latter has faced internal divisions due to conflicting approaches regarding the new currents.

When it comes to the growth of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Poland (Odnowa w Duchu Świętym), Kokott (2012, pp. 122-123) highlights a significant contribution Rev. Marian Piątkowski, Rev. Bronisław Dembowski, Rev. Adam Schulz, Rev. Andrzej Grefkowicz, and Rev. Józef Kozłowski made to its dissemination, beginning in 1975. The author mentions their involvement in the emergence of the so-called prayer groups, which came into existence in 1976. Furthermore, in 1977 the first official meeting of those interested in the Catholic Charismatic Renewal was held in Izabelin. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that regular meetings have become part of the movement's agenda ever since. In addition, Kokott (2012, p. 123) draws attention to the movement's organizational hierarchy, emphasizing its dual nature. To be more exact, the Team of Coordinators, initially appointed in 1981, does not aim to exercise power over the members. Conversely, it focuses mainly on both sharing experience with fellow groups all over the world and organizing Renewal-oriented events in Poland. Therefore, although the Team of Coordinators has been known for its formal character, in reality, it resembles an informal entity.

According to Kokott (2012, p. 124), since 1983, Polish Charismatics have been involved in the so-called prayer vigil (czuwanie modlitewne) and conventions (kongresy)

which take place annually. The first convention was held in Częstochowa and hosted the previously-mentioned Cardinal Suenens. The following ones have been devoted to the questions concerning divine healing and the New Pentecost. As reported by Kokott (2012, pp. 125-126), the practice of laying on of hands and giving testimonies in front of the gathered have become integral parts of those meetings, all the more so because they have been strongly promoted by the leading priests.

A crucial issue worth raising relates to the emphasis the clergy, followed by lay leaders, have put on the spiritual battle and exorcising. To exemplify, Rev. Andrzej Grefkowicz, known for his active participation in the conventions, has also ministered as an exorcist in recent years. Moreover, he has been highly engaged in writing spiritual battle-oriented articles for the magazine *The Exorcist*. Kokott (2012, pp. 129-130) observes that the list of prominent guests who have been invited to the conventions organized by the Catholic Charismatic Renewal involved, inter alia, Jose Prado Flores — the founder of Schools of the New Evangelization (Szkoły Nowej Ewangelizacji), Sister Briege McKenna — famous for performing a divine healing ministry among priests, Fr. Raniero Cantalamessa — associated with the Catholic Charismatic Renewal since the 1970s, raised to the rank of cardinal by Pope Francis in 2020, Rev. Rufus Pereira from Mumbai — acting vice-president of the International Association of Exorcists since 1994 as well as the chief initiator of the International Association for the Ministry of Deliverance which he started in 1995, and finally, two Italian priests serving in Brazil, namely, Father Antonello Cadeddu together with Father Enrique Porcu, whose ministry, based mostly on the intercessory prayer, has been widely promoted throughout Poland.

Kokott (2012, p. 247) draws attention to the fact that the Catholic Charismatic Renewal has enormously contributed to implementing a set of new evangelization guidelines developed in response to the progressing process of de-Christianization. The author refers to the concept introduced by John Paul II, known as the New Evangelization and highlights the differences between the previous and the updated methods. John Paul II emphasized the outcomes of "meeting Jesus personally". In other words, those who experienced a spiritual awakening leading to major life changes and personal growth should give testimony of their faith in order to expose others to the power of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the New Evangelization is expected to be living faith-oriented and concentrated on "listening to God" instead of being based only on bookish knowledge. As regards the key issues promoted by the New Evangelization, Kokott (2012, pp. 249-252) enumerates the following: (1) a call to repentance, (2) preaching the

kingdom of God, and (3) preaching eternal life. The author notes that their implementation according to the updated approach has been ensured by the formerly-mentioned Schools of the New Evangelization. The first one was founded in 1980 in Mexico and, a few years later, reached Europe, as in the case of the Center for the New Evangelization *Redemptoris Missio,* which was started in Kielce in the 1990s.

According to Kokott (2012, p. 253), the School's curriculum rests on numerous courses whose principal objective is to prepare its adepts to spread the faith. The author explains that the courses have been categorized in terms of the target audience. Hence, those who are interested in exploring the Bible can focus on the DABAR series, including the following courses: *Disciples of Emmaus*, *Jesus according to Four Gospels*, *The History of Salvation*, *Biblical Theology*, and *Timothy,* whereas future or current leaders can choose between, for example, *Apostle Paul's Secret* and *Moses.* Kokott (2012, p. 257) also observes that the widely-known *Alpha Course*, although rooted in the Anglican Church, has been successfully incorporated into Catholicism, proving at the same time the efficiency of ecumenical efforts, mostly because it targets individuals who have lost their faith or intend to restore it.

With respect to the Third Wave, Jańczuk (2016, p. 36) alludes to the community founded in 1986 in Wrocław by Franciszek Olszewski, which comprised both ex-Catholics and Pentecostals. This particular group was the first one to represent Neo-Charismatism in Poland. Ultimately, the community joined the Church of God in Christ (Kościół Boży w Chrystusie). Alluding to what has already been stated, the figure of Ulf Ekman, a pastor of Livets Ord from Uppsala, had inspired many leaders who consequently left their previous congregations to establish new centers of worship. One of such places was the "Jesus is the Lord" Church and Center for Biblical Studies (Kościół Centrum Biblijne "Jezus jest Panem"), which has been shaped over the years, leading to the formation of what is currently known as the Church of Glory (Kościół Chwały). As reported by Jańczuk (2016, p. 37), those who had left the groups associated with the Catholic Charismatic Renewal continued to gather, but instead of promoting Catholicism, they concentrated on implementing the non-Catholic ideas into their teams. In this way, the Christian Church "Cenacle" (Kościół Chrześcijański "Wieczernik"), the Christian Center "Sword of the Spirit" (Centrum Chrześcijańskie "Miecz Ducha"), and the Wrocław for Jesus (Wrocław dla Jezusa) came into existence.

Kobyliński (2017, p. 109) argues that certain forms of Neo-Pentecostal religiosity have permanently penetrated the Catholic Church in Poland among which drinking

exorcised water, using the exorcised salt, slaying in the Spirit during the mass or group meetings, and practicing the so-called holy laughter appear to be most common. The author makes a reference to the previously-mentioned Toronto Blessing while addressing a school retreat in Leszno. To be more exact, he enumerates the examples of unusual behavior the under-aged expressed during the event. Surprisingly, similarities between the symptoms observed throughout the Toronto worship, namely, falling to the ground, shaking as well as screaming, and those produced by the schoolchildren from Leszno in 2016 can be easily noticed. According to Kobyliński (2017, p. 110), pentecostalization in Poland has considerably advanced since 2007, mainly because in those days, a wide range of orators and evangelizers from abroad visited the Polish stadiums and churches with the intention of preaching the power of the Holy Spirit as well as give testimonies of supernatural occurrences in their lives. The researcher refers to the following prominent figures: (1) Gloria Polo from Colombia, James Manjackal and Jose Maniparambil from India, John Bashobora from Uganda, Myrna Nazzour from Syria and the formerly-addressed Italian priests — Antonello Cadeddu together with Enrique Porcu.

Furthermore, Kobyliński (2017, p. 110) also explains that the question of pentecostalization has interested the public opinion in Poland to a large extent. He notes that in 2015, the Polish Episcopate issued two significant documents which imposed a ban on what has been known as the gateway confession and intergenerational healing, both of which, according to the Episcopate, have nothing to do with Catholicism. In addition, the author relates to the so-called Polish national messianism, whose promotion seems to affect the way the Polish Neo-Pentecostals behave and perceive themselves. To be more precise, those strongly involved in Neo-Charismatism, give the impression of being convinced of a pivotal role Poland has to fulfil in making it possible for the rest of the world to experience the Charismatic awakening. As for theological reflection and scientific discourse, the researcher speaks of certain reluctance displayed by the Polish Neo-Pentecostals.

Kobyliński (2017, pp. 111-112) acknowledges that the emphasis the Pentecostal movement puts on basic human needs such as health for example, the global process of desecularization and finally, the current religious syncretism applying to the followers of Jesus Christ may account for the efficiency of pentecostalization around the globe as well as the religious revolution in general. In his opinion, the total number of Pentecostal Christians oscillates between six hundred and eight hundred million adherents, bearing in

mind that this figure is on the increase. Last but not least, Kobyliński (2017, p. 115) believes that "undoubtedly, the consequences of new religious trends nowadays can be compared to the results of Martin Luther's Reformation in the 16th century […]. We can speak of the Pentecostal Reformation or the new Reformation, especially over the last 20 years, when rapid development of neo-Pentecostal communities has transformed the face of Christianity around the world". The author also argues that the consequences of the Pentecostal Reformation may have a much more significant impact on the religious marketplace than those which arose in 1517.

Chapter 2.

Multimodality in Religious Communication

This chapter concentrates first and foremost on religious communication in respect of the intracommunity interaction ritual performed by both leaders and members of the Neo-Pentecostal groups. Therefore, the key features of the religious language used by the individuals representing target communities, as well as the outcomes of their responsiveness to specific elements of the environment they operate in, will be taken into consideration. Not only the language but also other modes of self-expression employed by the followers of Neo-Pentecostal religiosity will be studied in detail, especially within the context of how they affect those highly involved in community life and those who appear occasionally. Regarding a theoretical framework, themes including impression management, branding of faith, and persuasion will also be explored.

Theo Van Leeuwen and Gunther Kress (2001) note that in Western culture the monomodal approach in communication has stepped down in favor of the so-called multimodality. The authors define multimodality as "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined — they may for instance reinforce each other […], fulfil complementary roles […] or be hierarchically ordered, as in action films, where action is dominant, with music adding a touch of emotive colour and sync sound a touch of realistic *presence*" (Van Leeuwen and Kress, 2001, p. 20). It can therefore be said that communication, understood as semiotic work, is of multimodal nature. Moreover, it arises in response to a prompt and requires interpretation. Because of these qualities, the position of both the so-called rhetor, also referred to as the initial maker of the sign complex, and one of the interpreter has been highlighted. Kress (2010) suggests a specific sequence on the basis of which communication happens. The initial maker's perspective distinguishes four steps: (1) a new sign complex (resulting from the maker's interest and the features of the target audience), (2) a message intended as prompt, (3) the interlocutor's attention to and engagement with the message, and (4) possible response, whereas the sequence typical of the interpreter starts with (1) a message, and continues with (2) recipient's interest, (3) attention, (4) engagement, (5) selection, (6) framing, (7) transformation, and

(8) new (inner) sign (Kress, 2010, p. 37). The rhetor dominates the first stage of the communication process. He or she expresses an interest in spreading the sign complex as a message which in turn is expected to be taken as a prompt by the recipient. The second stage is dominated by the interpreter, who directs attention to the aforementioned message and decides what seems to be criterial for him or her. In consequence, selected aspects of the initial message are framed and eventually interpreted.

The theory formulated by Kress (2010) reveals that both the rhetor and the interpreter perform semiotic work, although its features and effects differ. The former sets out the ground in content, modes, and genres, whereas the latter makes selections, frames, and shapes. This particular model of communication emphasizes three important concerns, including social interaction together with interchange around meaning, resources for making meaning (modes equipped with affordances), and the media for disseminating meaning. The notion of "the social," which stands for entities and forms, is of great significance for the theory Kress (2010) puts forward since it is believed to be the motor for semiotic change. To be more exact, elements of communication are social in origin, communication is set in social environments as well as practices, communication itself applies to social action and deals with participants operating in social events.

To understand the principles of multimodal ensembles properly, it is necessary to focus primarily on the concept of a mode. According to Gunther Kress (2010, p. 79), socially shaped and culturally given semiotic resources for making meaning, such as, for instance, image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, moving image, soundtrack, and 3D objects, are believed to be great examples of modes applied in communication and representation. Moreover, the author explains that language should no longer be perceived as a dominant means of expression. Conversely, it should be seen as an alternative. In addition, different potentials for making meaning based on the choice of mode should also be taken into consideration. In the case of writing, which features graphic resources, words and sentences are organized through grammar and received via the sense of sight, whereas speech employs sound, received via the human sense of hearing.

The social-semiotic approach to mode highlights the notion of the affordances (possibilities, possible uses) of the material stuff of the mode (sound, movement, light, etc.) as well as the work done in community life with that material over a long period (Kress, 2010, p. 80). Interestingly enough, social and hence, semiotic work with the same

material can result in different modes, as with sound, whose employment can lead to speech, soundtrack, or music. To put it differently, modes are the outcome of the potentials the material shows and of cultural selection, which is made over time by the members of the society interested in the features selected. Therefore, the resources of modes such as image or speech are similar to and different from each other at the same time: similar because they are shaped in the same community, bearing in mind the needs of its members, and different because their materiality provides different resources as well as potentials for social shaping. Importantly, societies tend to demonstrate modal preferences, which in practice means that particular modes are used for specific purposes. Such tendencies are frequently referred to as the reach of modes. In a given society, something may be done by speech, whereas in another, it may be articulated by gesture. Western cultures, for instance, have favored writing to image in public communication over long periods (Kress, 2010, p. 83).

Kress (2010, p. 87) explains that employing the semiotic approach of Michael Halliday may contribute to a better understanding of what counts as a mode. Hence, the author alludes to three significant functional components of the semantics, including (1) the ideational component, which concentrates on expressing the speaker's experience of both the external world as well as his or her internal world (consciousness), (2) the interpersonal component which focuses on relations among those involved in communication, and (3) the textual component which deals with forming texts relating to the social world. These texts cohere externally and internally. The social-semiotic approach to meaning-making highlights its outward and inward characteristics. The former concerns the social interaction during which the meaning is continuously created, whereas the latter emphasizes the inner response to new ideas. It should also be remembered that meaning can only exist when represented by either modes or modal ensembles since it does not exist separately. Furthermore, the chosen topics can be "fixed" in modes, as with the topic of the miraculous healing "fixed" in writing, in the genre of an online diary. The genres themselves serve as frames whose principal objective is to organize human encounters with various pieces of information and offer the means for contextualizing the meaning in social spaces they define. (Kress, 2010, pp. 94-114). In fact, genre answers the question about the participants involved in the world, the way they are involved, and what relations they establish.

Kress (2010, p. 54) acknowledges that in a multimodal social-semiotic theory of meaning and communication, meaning as well as form merge to make signs, and the

fusion itself results from the sign-maker's interests. Importantly, "the relation of form and meaning is one of *aptness*, of a *best fit*, where the form of the *signifier* suggests itself as ready-shaped to be the expression of the meaning — the *signified* — which is to be realized. *Aptness* means that the form has the requisite features to be the carrier of the meaning" (Kress, 2010, p. 55). Since this particular approach highlights the notion of a "motivated sign," the relation between the signifier and the signified should be discussed briefly, bearing in mind the theory developed by Charles Sanders Peirce. In Peirce's model of semiosis, interpreters of the sign make their own sense of that sign. Hence, they form the so-called "interpretant" (meaning) of the sign for themselves. The recipients are, therefore, agentive and transformative in their semiotic involvement with signs. On top of that, the interpretant shows the potential to serve as a departure point for a new sign. In consequence, the process of remaking meaning never stops.

Furthermore, Peirce classifies signs based on their relation to the entity they represent. Thus, the following categories emerge: (1) iconic signs — resemble what they represent, for instance, a circle as a wheel, (2) indexical signs — relate to an object or event as in the case of smoke indexing fire, and (3) symbolic signs — link a form with an object or event according to what is known conventionally, for example, the Red Cross being the symbol of a humanitarian organization (Kress, 2010, p. 63). In Peirce's theory, the function of the sign has nothing to do with the arbitrary relation to the world since it is shaped in and by those relations, except for the symbolic signs. It can therefore be concluded that social semiotics focuses on the possibility of making signs with the aid of the forms which strongly suggest the meaning an individual wishes to communicate. Its assumptions give priority to motivation which consequently replaces arbitrariness in all cases of sign-making.

A closer examination of the above-mentioned process reveals that meanings are dominantly made in the four domains of practice that are not hierarchically ordered and came to be known as "strata". They include discourse, design, production, and distribution (Van Leeuwen and Kress, 2001, p. 4). Discourse and design represent the so-called content stratum, while production and distribution are the expression stratum. Van Leeuwen and Kress (2001, p. 4) argue that "discourses are socially constructed knowledges of (some aspect of) reality". The quality of being "socially constructed" applies to specific social contexts in which particular discourses developed, and what seems most important, these discourses serve the interests of the social actors operating within these contexts. It should also be mentioned that a given discourse can be realized

in various ways, including a television documentary, a dinner-table conversation, or a newspaper feature, provided the chosen semiotic modes have created the means for its accomplishment (Van Leeuwen and Kress, 2001, p. 5). In other words, discourses are independent of genre, mode, and design. With respect to the designs, they are believed to be "the conceptual side of expression, and the expression side of conception" (Van Leeuwen and Kress, 2001, p. 5). In truth, semiotic products and events have their unique forms which have previously been conceptualized. Interestingly enough, designs have the potential to diverge from well-trodden paths in favor of introducing innovative elements to the process of realizing the communication situation, which in turn may change socially constructed knowledge into either action or interaction. For instance, Charismatic leaders performing the role of writers who realize the worship service discourse realize a specific mode of interaction aimed at entertaining the target audience at the same time.

With regard to production, it addresses the articulation of semiotic products or events in a material form, including the one which may be further transcoded and that in its final shape, ready for distribution. Significantly, the widespread usage of the so-called media, also defined as media of execution which stand for the physical tools and materials implemented in the production stratum like in the case of computers, cameras, musical instruments, etc., may greatly contribute to meaning-making (Van Leeuwen and Kress, 2001, p. 22).

Finally, the question of distribution should be taken into account. Contrary to the previously mentioned strata, it does not tend to be perceived as semiotic or with the potential to make meaning. It concentrates primarily on preserving and disseminating particular semiotic products as well as events that have been technically re-coded beforehand. For instance, a Charismatic leader who wishes to pass his teachings onto the target audience worldwide may need both a technician skilled at recording his lectures in a digital format and a sound engineer demonstrating high fidelity.

Kay L. O'Halloran (2013) refers to the multimodal perspective on meaning and communication by introducing an approach that came to be known as multimodal discourse analysis (MDA). In this dissertation, it serves as a main point of reference. She defines multimodal discourse analysis as "an emerging paradigm in discourse studies which extends the study of language per se to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound" (O' Halloran, 2013, p. 120). Moreover, it should also be remembered that, at the moment,

the terminology in MDA is used rather loosely since all the guidelines continue to evolve. However, based on its foundation, it appears safe to say that "intersemiosis" which stands for the inter-semiotic (inter-modal) relations resulting from the interaction of semiotic choices, together with "resemiotization," which applies to meaning-making shifts depending on the context, are the main areas of multimodal studies (O'Halloran, 2013, p. 121). Alluding to what has already been mentioned, Halliday's social semiotic view on text, society, and culture laid the cornerstone of the present-day theory of multimodality, whose emergence allowed different approaches to grow gradually. The leading ones include a contextual (top-down) approach adopted by Kress in cooperation with Van Leeuwen and a grammatical (bottom-up) approach that concentrates mainly on deriving frameworks, which is also applicable to other works. To be more precise, contextual approaches have been implemented into speech, sound, music, scientific texts, hypermedia, action, gesture, educational research, and literacy, while grammatical approaches have been developed mostly for mathematics as well as a variety of other multimodal texts (O'Halloran, 2013, p. 122). Importantly enough, the grammatical take on multimodality is frequently called systemic-functional multimodal discourse analysis (SF-MDA). The reference point provided by Halliday makes these two perspectives complementary and, at the same time, valuable for this research.

Referring to theoretical and analytical issues in multimodal discourse analysis, they involve: (1) modeling semiotic resources which are fundamentally different from language, (2) modeling and analyzing inter-semiotic expansions of meaning as semiotic choices integrate into multimodal phenomena, and (3) modeling and analyzing the resemiotization of multimodal phenomena as social practices unfold (O'Halloran, 2013, p. 124). The first problem draws attention to the fact that most semiotic resources differ markedly from language which tends to rest on interrelated and metafunctionally organized systems characterized by hierarchical ranks (words, clauses, paragraphs, etc.). Parts of images, for example, are seen as organized patterns compared to the whole in terms of organization. Hence, the analytic frameworks and approaches typical of linguistic models do not seem to correspond to images, movement, sound, and gestures. An interesting solution has been put forward by Van Leeuwen (1999), who offers modeling systems designed for multimodal semiotic resources based on a set of parameters with gradient values instead of categorical taxonomies. The second issue relates to semantic expansions resulting from the interaction between semiotic choices in multimodal phenomena, as in the case of the speech-gesture relations whose teaming up

increases the meaning potential. Finally, the third question emphasizes the previously-mentioned resemiotization arising from the unfoldment of various social practices across different contexts. Put another way, the change of the environment the multimodal discourse develops in may eventually affect the meaning.

2.1. Religious Language

The research I carried out has revealed that communication in particular religious groups rests on a fixed and spoken code their leaders implement on a regular basis to spread the message. The question of a religious language has proved to be the core of this study, mostly because of its transformative attributes that complement the strategies used in cognitive reframing, understood as a set of strategies aimed at evoking one's spiritual awakening, followed by a permanent transformation of Self. Building on the definition provided by Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (2003, p. 2), "a language is a system of meaning — a semiotic system" mastered by human beings who tend to use numerous semiotic systems differing in terms of complexity. The concept of a system proposed by Halliday (2003) requires further explanation in order to account for the role of language as a tool. The author draws attention to three basic systems which contribute to the meaning-making process, and these are physical, biological, and social. The physical system stands for the physical means of spreading the message whose dissemination could not be realized without biological activation, that is, life forms. These life forms tend to assemble based on an additional feature called "value," and in this way, they stress their membership. When talking about the semiotic system, it is believed to have the highest rank since the meaning is socially constructed, as discussed in the previous section, biologically triggered, and exchanged via physical channels (Halliday, 2003, p. 2). In other words, the semiotic system employs those which are lower in the hierarchy; however, all of them cooperate efficiently and form a coherent whole. With regard to language, it has a reputation for being a significant source of power, mainly because it actively constitutes reality as well as all human processes.

This thesis, as indicated above, centers on the transformative nature of a religious language spoken by Third-Wavers, and thus, its major features should be precisely specified. Irena Bajerowa (1994, p. 11) acknowledges that a religious language is one of the varieties of a general language, distinguished by the function it serves in social life. Hence, the term social life, which is quite broad itself, requires further clarification.

The author alludes to the category of the religious life, famous for its great interest in the supernatural. Roughly speaking, the notion of a religious language may apply to different realities, including the realm of rituals, private prayers, sermons as well as issues connected with an intracommunity life, and the realm of meta-religious texts (Bajerowa, 1994, p. 12). In respect of the characteristics a religious language shares with a general language, expressiveness accompanied by repetitiveness plays the leading role, even though objectively, they are mutually exclusive. It is said that repetitiveness destroys expressiveness; however, both of them appear to be significant for the overall efficiency. Moreover, repetitiveness employs mnemonic techniques, whereas expressiveness, combined with emotions, enhances the openness to persuasion. As for its unique qualities, a peculiar semantic code, a poor relationship with a vernacular, and the possibility to communicate despite the lack of regular language forms seem most distinctive (Bajerowa, 1994, p. 15).

Jan Sochoń (2000, pp. 331-333) provides a more detailed view of the key features of a religious language. For him, a religious language: (1) differs from everyday speech although the smallest units that carry a meaning remain the same, (2) is metaphoric, (3) has an unusual persuasive power and concerns a particular human being, that is, his or her problems, (4) prompts individuals to ask existential questions, (5) refers to a transcendent reality, (6) emphasizes the importance of doing good, (7) implies a strong connection between the visible and invisible world, (8) appears in order to oppose skepticism and self-centeredness, (9) is the language of great hope and trust, (10) expresses a religious experience, (11) develops along with one's spiritual growth and is subject to human weaknesses, (12) addresses God and therefore enables believers to undertake activities typical of a given cult, (13) is hierarchical in its formal structure, and (14) covers eschatological issues. In relation to the difference between the everyday speech and a religious language, it concerns the subject matter, instead of the grammar or lexis. The everyday speech applies to the mundane from a human perspective as opposed to a religious language which takes, first and foremost, the divine perspective into consideration. In other words, it urges its speakers to have a broader scope when looking at life challenges and what seems crucial, to trust the deity. Hence, the problems which appear impossible to solve when talking about them outside the religious environment, turn out to be easy to deal with when approached together with other group members. The study I conducted among Neo-Pentecostals as well as Pentecostal Catholics in Italy has revealed that those who claimed to have been distressed and therefore, overwhelmed

with daily struggles, managed to replace their negative thoughts with the positive ones, mainly thanks to the verbal stimulation they had been exposed to during a worship service. Regular and long-term exposure to the breakthrough-oriented content, encouraged the participants to ask existential questions and as a result, to reflect upon their lives carefully. Recalling past events under the supervision of the group leader has proved to be one of key triggers for individuals' internal transformation, also referred to by power evangelism enthusiasts as the inner healing. Based on the research findings, it should also be acknowledged that the transformed tend to share their experience of the divine encounter with the newcomers, and they do so by means of the previously-mentioned vocabulary of motives.

As discussed above, a religious language serves a number of functions in social life. Because of the fact that this dissertation focuses on the intracommunity interaction driven by the followers of the signs-and-wonders movement, elaborating on these functions seems necessary, mainly in order to account for a series of interesting phenomena I observed on-site. The following are most recognizable: (1) cognitive function — describing and categorizing the supernatural sphere, (2) instrumental function — using different expressions as a tool for achieving specific goals, (3) socialization function — uniting members of a given religious community, (4) appellative function — persuading individuals to do something or to undergo something, for instance, exorcisms, incantations, (5) evocative function —triggering certain attitudes, emotions, and feelings, (6) performative function — creating social actions with the effect of change, for example during various ceremonies, (7) expressive function — expressing emotions, and (8) anamnestic function — recalling memories which relate to the beginning, in the sense of a source of life (Gajewska, 2012, p. 81). While doing fieldwork, I discovered that Third-Wavers tend to employ a highly-emotive set of expressions, especially when trying to make the novice believe that the divine operates right in this place and therefore, all possible efforts, including the financial ones, should be put into advancing the community in question. In order for a given community to grow, certain conditions should be met and these, according to what I observed, are usually expressed verbally, either explicitly or implicitly. First and foremost, group members should be united and focused on a mutual goal. Take, for example, the task of organizing an awakening conference. Such a complex task requires fully-engaged and motivated people who are eager to team up and take responsibility. In this case, the language serves as a medium which enables cooperation. Secondly, the group leader should have excellent leadership skills so that he or she attracts

the audience and remains in memory for longer. In the groups I studied, the degree of responsiveness could be easily noticed, mainly in the way the gathered behaved. Every time the leader told the participants to pray in tongues, that was exactly what happened next. Here, the role of the language was to trigger out a particular reaction and to establish a bond between the performer and the public. Thirdly, for a given community to develop, one's encounter with the supernatural experienced in that specific community, should be reinforced and shared on a regular basis, either on-site, including some tailored events, for instance, the weekly "grace parties" that I took part in, or off-site with the aid of the well-known streaming platforms, social media, or messaging apps. On this occasion, the language serves as a catalyst for emotional outburst and acts of retrospection.

2.1.1. *Speech acts*

The research I conducted among the selected Polish and Italian religious communities revealed that Neo-Pentecostal leaders stick to a specific pattern they successfully employ during worship services and other religious events. It involves the usage of a group of utterances focused on doing things actively. For this reason, the speech act theory and its implementation within the Neo-Charismatic environment should be addressed carefully. First and foremost, it should be mentioned that this particular theory is attributed to the British philosopher John Langshaw Austin who, at the initial stage of his study, distinguished between the so-called constatives and performatives. The former refers to assertions and statement-making utterances, whereas the latter, which are crucial for this research, have both a descriptive and an effective aspect (Huang, 2014; Austin, 1962). Importantly, performative utterances usually contain the performative verb which names the action while performing it. Such performatives came to be known as explicit performatives. By contrast, there is also another type of performative utterance without the verb in question. They were termed implicit performatives. An exorcism performed by a Polish apostle and, at the same time, one of the leading Neo-Charismatic figures, Tomasz Dorożała, serves as a good example of a performative utterance:

In the name of Jesus, I am now cursing the false ways of thinking […]. I am now cursing what he thinks about himself, what is negative, in the name of Jesus […]. I am now removing all the demonic forces which were destroying him, in the name of Jesus.

I am now pulling out all the spells that were put on him and other bad words, all the wounds that people said to him, in the name of Jesus[1].

In the above passage, the verbs "curse," "remove," and "pull out" make explicit what type of activity is being performed. However, a number of conditions should be met for a performative to be successful, and these are the so-called felicity conditions (Huang, 2014; Austin, 1962). In Austin's (1962, pp. 14-15) view, (1) there must be an accepted conventional procedure having a conventional effect, (2) persons and circumstances must be appropriate, as defined in the procedure, (3) the procedure must be executed correctly and completely by all participants, (4) often, the persons must have certain thoughts, feelings, and intentions, as defined in the procedure, and (5) if consequential conduct is specified, the relevant participants must adjust. The violation of any of these conditions will make a performative infelicitous and lead to what Austin (1962, pp. 16-18) termed misfires and abuses. Referring back to the exorcism performed by Tomasz Dorożała, it can be stated that none of them was violated. Firstly, there existed an accepted conventional procedure, in this case, the procedure of casting out demons which had a conventional effect. Secondly, that procedure included uttering certain words by certain people in certain circumstances. Precisely speaking, the deliverance prayer was uttered by the aforementioned Tomasz Dorożała, who was accompanied by other participants. Thirdly, the procedure was executed correctly and completely by all the involved parties. Fourthly, the act of casting out demons was achieved sincerely since Tomasz Dorożała did not intend to allow the demonic forces to continue to indwell the body of the exorcised and fifthly, all the gathered adjusted to what they were offered.

Over the course of time, Austin (1962) developed his speech act theory. He discovered that all utterances, regardless of the meaning, perform characteristic acts via the characteristic communicative force of an utterance. He identified three aspects of a speech act, and these are (1) locution, (2) illocution, and (3) perlocution. When it comes to locution, it is considered the basic act of speaking, which itself encompasses other related subacts, including a phonetic act of producing certain noises, a phatic act of uttering certain expressions in a given language, and a rhetic act of contextualizing the

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[1] Apostoł Tomasz Dorożała. (2022, April 8). *Dotyk Nieba Gdańsk. 3.04.2022 — całość. Potęga Nieba. Tomasz Dorożała* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XBbaVMYWEmE [original quotation: W imieniu Jezusa przeklinam fałszywe toki myśleniowe teraz […]. Przeklinam to, co on o sobie myśli, to, co jest negatywne, teraz, na mocy imienia Jezus […]. Usuwam siły demoniczne, które ciążyły nad nim, w tej chwili, w imieniu Jezusa. Wszystkie przekleństwa, które były nad nim powiedziane i złe słowa, wszystkie zranienia, które ludzie mówili do niego ja wyciągam teraz na mocy imienia Jezus.].

utterance. As for illocution, it stands for the type of function the speaker aims to fulfill or the type of action the speaker aims to achieve while producing an utterance. Hence, acts such as apologizing, blaming, joking, promising, thanking, congratulating, or giving permission belong to this group. It is worth mentioning that all these functions and actions are commonly termed the illocutionary force of the utterance. A perlocution refers to the consequential effects an utterance may produce upon the feelings or thoughts of the audience but also of the speaker (Huang, 2014, pp. 126-130; Austin, 1962, pp. 94-107).

The speech act theory classifies speech acts into five basic types. They are as follows: (1) verdicatives, (2) exercitives, (3) commissives, (4) behabitives, and (5) expositives. Verdicatives, as their name suggests, correspond to giving a verdict, reckoning, or estimating. Therefore, they are known as judicial acts with an effect in the law since giving a verdict provokes commitment through, for example, defending someone. Exercitives are those speech acts which exercise powers, rights, or influence. This particular type includes ordering, urging, warning, or appointing. They tend to be employed with the purpose of giving a decision either in favor or against a certain course of action to which one is committed personally. The previously-discussed Tomasz Dorożała often employs the verb "proclaim" to exercise power, as shown here: "Father, I proclaim to you a new season of his life. We are closing the old one now"[2]. All the participants gathered around him seem to be deeply involved in every stage of the event. In other words, they commit themselves personally to what is happening. Commissives, similarly to the below-described taxonomy provided by John Rogers Searle, focus on promising and announcing intentions. It means that the speaker expresses his or her wish to undertake certain measures for the recipient's sake. Referring to behabitives, they concern attitudes and social behavior, expressed in the form of apologizing, commending, cursing, or challenging. Artur Ceroński, the founder of the Church of Power from Warsaw, uses behabitives during his worship services on a regular basis: "In the name of Jesus, we are cursing the blood clots in the veins […]. Go away, go away, go away!"[3]. Apropos the expositives, it should be made clear that they are difficult to define since

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[2] Apostoł Tomasz Dorożała. (2022, May 28). *Modlitwa, uzdrowienia, proroctwa. Dotyk Nieba Gdańsk. Tomasz Dorożała* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5kYdwz_oGY&list=PLt5nnpYaIhYxBDYdyCLf856tmgLMk1BEx&index=2&t=90s [original quotation: Ojcze, ogłaszam nad nim nowy sezon życia. To stare zamykam teraz.].
[3] Artur & Agata Cerońscy Ministries. (2015, August 10). *Kościół Mocy i Artur Ceroński — Modlitwa, Uzdrawianie, Uwalnianie (Wa-wa, 02.08.2015)* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rwYgPptk5w&list=PLt5nnpYaIhYxBDYdyCLf856tmgLMk1BEx&index=5&t=340s
[original quotation: W imieniu Jezusa przeklinamy zakrzepy w żyłach […]. Ustąp teraz, ustąp teraz, ustąp teraz.].

they may as well be mistaken for those discussed above. Most commonly, expositives relate to acts of exposition, including expounding views, clarifying references, and conducting arguments. The verbs in question are, for instance, state, affirm, or illustrate (Austin, 1962, pp. 147-163).

A model presented by Searle (1979, pp. 2-5), which concentrates on a taxonomy of illocutionary acts, identifies three significant dimensions of variation in which they differ from one another. These are: (1) an illocutionary purpose of an act, (2) direction of fit, that is, the relationship between words and world, (3) sincerity condition or the expressed psychological state. Based on the above-mentioned classification, several categories have been distinguished: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives (Searle, 1979, pp. 12-20). Assertives express the speaker's belief in the form of, for example, asserting, claiming, reporting, stating, or concluding. Directives are the attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something, usually in the form of advice, commands, requests, orders, and questions. Commissives refer to illocutionary acts which aim to commit the speaker to some future course of action and tend to appear in the form of offers, promises, refusals, pledges, and threats. Expressives are the acts employed to express the psychological state defined in the sincerity condition. This category includes, for instance, apologizing, congratulating, thanking, praising, and condoling. As far as declaratives are concerned, also known as institutionalized performatives (Huang, 2014, p. 134), they relate to introducing immediate changes in the world and comprise, for example, declaring war, nominating a candidate, or dismissing. Although various theories on speech acts exist, in this study, the Austinian one serves as a point of reference for further investigation.

Interestingly enough, the Austinian notion of explicit performatives contributes to a more general division of speech acts, namely, into direct and indirect, depending on the type of sentence they are represented by, that is, declarative, interrogative, or imperative (Huang, 2014, p. 137). More specifically, direct speech acts are those characterized by a direct match between a sentence type and illocutionary force, whereas indirect speech acts do not display this quality. Noteworthy is the fact that explicit performatives which appear in the declarative form are considered direct speech acts as well, mainly because their illocutionary force is explicitly named by the performative verb. The same is true for an imperative. When talking about indirect speech acts, a classic example would be employing an interrogative to make a request. However, under certain circumstances, it

seems difficult to identify speech acts due to an incompatibility between the performative verb and the illocutionary force.

2.1.2. *Register and genre*

Halliday (1978, p. 9) notes that the language individuals use every day, for instance, when interacting with members of the group they belong to, helps them to learn about the culture they were born in, the essential qualities of society, and the nature of social being. The author employs the concept of "social man" to highlight the importance of the relationship a human being establishes with the environment he or she is part of. Since language implies the existence of social man, different perspectives on its analysis have been presented, namely the intra-organism perspective (language as knowledge) and the inter-organism perspective (language as behavior). The former concentrates on both the structure of the brain and the mechanism involved in speaking as well as understanding, whereas the latter refers to the appropriate implementation of language depending on the situation. Significantly, these two perspectives are complementary, which in practical terms means they contribute equally to effective communication. In other words, it is possible to regard language behavior as if it were an aspect of a given individual's knowledge. Recognizing particular language forms should go along with their appropriate enforcement. Furthermore, it should be remembered that language has the potential to determine one's status. To be more exact, as a result of the social roles a human being occupies, he or she becomes a person characterized by a specific personality (Halliday, 1978, p. 15).

Because of the fact that this dissertation seeks to investigate multimodal texts, it seems reasonable to allude to the Systemic Functional Theory (SFT) developed by Halliday, which in turn laid the foundations for the previously-discussed systemic-functional multimodal discourse analysis (SF-MDA). To understand Halliday's point of view, two critical terms should be explained as a matter of priority, namely a "system" and a "function". When it comes to the system, it refers to culture which is believed to be a network of semiotic systems. When talking about function, the term applies to the conceptualization of semiotic resources in terms of the ways they serve in society. Significantly enough, SFT initially applied only to language, but over time it has also been successfully adapted to the study of both linguistic and non-linguistic resources. Analyzing multimodal texts requires comprehensive frameworks to base on. However,

the differences between particular systems should be taken into consideration. According to Peter Wignell, Sabine Tan, and Kay L. O'Halloran (2019, p. 434), "the systems for visual images and other semiotic resources are not the same as the systems for language". The models developed for the study of language and, therefore, emphasizing mostly the grammatical systems, have been greatly extended for the purposes of studying multimodal semiosis, as in the case of the grammar of visual design, presented by Van Leeuwen and Kress (2006). Bearing in mind the above-mentioned questions, it should be made clear that the key conceptual ideas addressed below are rooted, first and foremost, in the systemic-functional approach to language.

Investigating religious communities implies the necessity to focus on both linguistic and non-linguistic resources at the same time since all of them contribute to the meaning-making process characteristic of that specific group of believers. In this research, a reference to various multimodal texts is frequently made, and that is why the notions such as "text" and "context" should be paid attention to. Interestingly, these two concepts appear to be closely linked to each other, which in practical terms means that the study of text also involves the exploration of the context, understood as the environment where the text unfolds. Nevertheless, a distinction should be made between the so-called context of situation and context of culture. Both of them are necessary for the proper understanding of the text. Context of situation came to be known as register, whereas context of culture as genre. Issues connected with register configuration will be covered in detail below.

As for genre, a comprehensive definition has been offered by James Robert Martin (1984, p. 25), who claims that "a genre is a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture". More specifically, each text has its own generic identity, which in practical terms, means that its recipient is able to recognize the purpose of a given text as well as its unique characteristics. Suzanne Eggins (2004, p. 56) enumerates several examples of genres, including literary genres, popular non-fiction genres (reviews, recipes, instructional manuals, etc.), educational genres (lectures, tutorials, examinations, etc.), and genres of everyday life (buying and selling things, making appointments, chatting with friends, etc.). My research deals with a wide range of genres typical of the religious environment I studied. Therefore, I have become familiar with, for instance, the genre of soaking prayer, prayer for healing, and prayer for liberation. All of them have become habitualized, which means associating a particular genre with a particular situation. Halliday (1989) tries to account for the relationship

between text and context, mostly by referring to their qualities. Consequently, the author defines text as "any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation [...]. It may be either spoken or written, or indeed in any other medium of expression that we like to think of" (Hasan and Halliday, 1989, p. 10).

Moreover, when explaining its nature, he suggests that two distinctive perspectives should be taken into account, including text as a product and text as a process. The former deals with an output, capable of being recorded and having a given construction in terms of systematic representation, whereas the latter stands for a continuous exchange of meanings within a particular context of situation. The notion of the context of situation (register) rests on the following features: (1) the field of discourse, (2) the tenor of discourse, and (3) the mode of discourse (Hasan and Halliday, 1989, p. 14). The field of discourse concerns the content of the social action participants are involved in. The tenor of discourse refers to the roles and statuses of the participants who interact with one another based on either permanent or temporary relationships. The mode of discourse encompasses the expectations participants have towards the language and its function in the context involving the channel, that is, spoken, written, or their combination. In addition, it also relates to the rhetorical mode reflected in categories such as persuasive, expository, didactic, etc. During the fieldwork I conducted in Italy, I came across a notice on the door leading to a small room. The written text I discovered contained the following message: "Stop. Stop. Do not enter. The Holy Spirit is working". ("Stop. Stop. Non entrare. Spirito Santo all'opera".).

On the basis of what has already been stated, a situational description may look like this: (1) field — a religious practice aimed at employing a supernatural force that is expected to perform supernatural phenomena; religion (Christianity); the attitudes the members of a given community have towards the Holy Spirit, (2) tenor — authority (the Holy Spirit, the sacred) engaged in an event initiated by human beings (participants, the profane); personal relationship with a powerful deity built on trust, (3) mode — written to be read either aloud or quietly; text intends to prevent unauthorized individuals from entering the room by invoking the status of the performer; persuasive with a convincing argument under the condition that a recipient shares the same values. Importantly, in this particular instance, knowing the context of the situation, as well as the principles the chosen community adheres to, helps to decode the message correctly. Simply speaking, members of the church in question prioritize several topics, among which spiritual

warfare and casting out demons play a crucial role, and therefore, its enthusiasts understand the sender's intention.

2.1.3. *Ritual: definition of the term*

Before discussing the major genres of ritual language, it seems necessary to clarify what a ritual is and why its role should be taken into consideration when investigating the religious language. Richard Schechner (1995, p. 229) differentiates between social, religious, and aesthetic rituals when referring to human ritualization whose nature has been subject to debate by scholars such as Catherine Bell (2009). She refers to ritualization as practice built upon a set of strategies which make it unique and recognizable within a particular context and in contrast to other practices (Bell, 2009, p. 89). By alluding to the features that are characteristic of rituals and ritualization, namely, formality, fixity, and repetition, Bell seeks to emphasize their role in producing ritualized acts (Bell, 2009, p. 92). With respect to the research I conducted, it should be observed that the strategies in question include formalizing a gathering in a given place, in this case a worship room of a church building, sticking to a fixed agenda that divides the meeting into meaningful phases, and repeating the whole process periodically. Bell (2009, p. 93) concentrates also on how the social body interacts within a "symbolically constituted spatial and temporal environment". In other words, physical movements have the potential to construct the reality which seems to be in privileged opposition to the non-ritualized one. While conducting a participant observation, both in Poland and Italy, I noticed that music as well as the verbal output produced by the group leader, largely affected the way the gathered would move and behave. Soaking prayer during which individuals would kneel or lie down on the floor, performing what came to be known as speaking in tongues at the same time, serve as best examples. The reality their bodies constructed by doing so, gave them the impression of being separated from the rest of the world and therefore, being capable of developing intimacy with the divine. Moreover, it can be argued that the components of this new realm are of great importance for researching a religious language, mostly because they seem to be regular contributors to the meaning-making process within religious communities. Once a particular concept comes into existence, it should be further processed and modified by, what appears to be the most efficient communication channel, namely the verbal one. In the past, the Latin term *ritus* indicated a sacred tradition, a religious cult, and a ceremony. However, over

the years, it has expanded to the profane (Drabik, 2010, p. 25). This study focuses on religious rituals; hence, all the remaining ones shall be omitted.

Although rituals differ, they share a number of common features. Based on what has just been said, it appears worth noting that a ritual: (1) is a social activity, (2) involves playing particular roles, (3) is of a symbolic nature, (4) is a communicative behavior characterized by repetitiveness and predictability, (5) can be expressed verbally as well as non-verbally, (6) corresponds to institutional standards, (7) is a kind of coercion brought about by a given situation, (8) emerges as a rigid structure with a tendency towards stabilization, (9) varies from culture to culture, (10) performs specific functions, (11) does not comply with the scientific rationality, (12) has a motivational context, (13) is performative and expressive. For instance, the ritual of casting out demons which I would witness while conducting an on-site investigation and which was performed by a deliverance minister over those who claimed to have been demonized, could be easily interpreted as a practice that drives social interaction, involves performing specific tasks, and demonstrates compatibility with the standards once set by Wimber. I also observed that it rests on performatives and has nothing in common with scientific background. Interestingly, the ritual in question would start with verbal expressions of praise and trust in God's power and would be followed by a series of non-verbal episodes, including the acts of blowing into a microphone to emphasize the presence of the Holy Spirit. Notably, a particular activity is not considered a ritual until it gains wide acceptance. In relation to the knowledge of how to go through a ritual, it is usually acquired in the process of socialization, while its efficacy depends on whether or not it is performed properly. Failure to respect a given ritual may result in severe social sanctions (Drabik, 2010, pp. 25-28;).

As far as the functions of a ritual are concerned, the following ones have been identified: (1) integrating-differentiating function — refers to both an individual's affiliation to a given group and the tendency to emphasize the position of the selected members in that group, taking into account the powerful leaders, for example. All the religious communities I investigated were managed by the most influential figures who had either been appointed by those from the headquarters or established the group themselves; (2) coding function — alludes to the basic structural principles which exist in a given society; (3) normative function — consists in laying down the standards and values a group rests on; (4) educational function — contributes to spreading knowledge of the environment the group operates within; (5) mediation function — applies to

preventing aggression and reducing social tensions; (6) emotional-psychological function — enables an individual to express his or her feelings as well as wishes. Moreover, it calms fears and provides a sense of safety. The people I met during my fieldwork claimed to have experienced various life difficulties, but at the same time, they claimed to have regained peace of mind and positive mood once they joined the group; (7) cognitive function — strengthens an individual's sense of belonging to the universe; (8) performative function — serves to create the reality. The healing service, for instance, aims to invite the sick into the realm of the healthy ones, and the practice of laying on of hands may be regarded as the moment of transition; (9) communicative function — applies to establishing contact and interacting; and (10) consolidating function — relates to the history of a given group and its tradition. In other words, a ritual links the past with the present (Drabik, 2010, pp. 28-33). Building upon what has already been mentioned, it seems that the functions which apply to emphasizing the roles of particular group members, interacting with other participants, expressing one's inner self in order for that inner self to be worked on, and effecting changes in one's surrounding, seem most relevant for this research, mostly because they represent the process of identity restructure, being the core of my investigation and described here in detail. To illustrate their significance, the course of a Sunday worship service in the Neo-Pentecostal communities I focused on, should be explained briefly. The meeting would start with specifying who did what so that it was not difficult to distinguish the host from their guests. When it comes to interaction, there were two types, namely, the one between the performer and the gathered and that between members of the audience themselves. The former would be of hierarchical nature whereas the latter would be rather linear, highlighting equality and common goals. In respect of displaying emotions, the very fact of being part of the event individuals identified with, made it easier for them to confess or testify publicly, as in the case of face-to-face interviews carried out onstage with the purpose of evoking catharsis. Those interviews would be a useful introduction to the transformation-oriented phase of the assembly whose key elements will be discussed further in this dissertation.

Rituals, especially within religious communities, are closely connected with magic or, put simply, result from the so-called magical thinking, expressed both verbally and non-verbally. Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah (1985) acknowledges that ritual words are as important as other types of ritual acts and therefore should be given proper attention. He concentrates on, inter alia, prayers, songs, spells, addresses, and blessings (Tambiah,

1985, p. 19) to highlight the diversity of the verbal component. However, what seems to attract Tambiah (1985) most is the human tendency to establish a coherent framework for the concepts they speak of. Hence, as noted by Tambiah (1985, p. 18), spells are usually mechanically ascribed to magic whereas prayers to religion when thinking about the ways individuals communicate with the divine. Although these inclinations appear to dominate, Tambiah (1985) seeks to prove that it is not always the case. He explains that in certain communities, dealing with an illness consists in muttering spells while invoking ancestral ghosts employs a series of prayers. Moreover, as observed by the author, a healing ritual can be composed not only of one but a few of the aforementioned verbal forms put in a specific sequence so that the line between religion and magic becomes blurred. This is exactly what I witnessed when doing fieldwork and what will be discussed in the following parts of this research. With reference to the magical language, Tambiah (1985, p. 30) argues that it mainly serves to achieve practical effects of supernatural nature, as opposed to ordinary speech whose essence has more in common with the mundane than with the mystery. According to Anna Grzywa (2010, p. 47), magical thinking goes hand in hand with symbolic thinking, a tendency to ascribe special meaning to objects, signs, and activities. Interestingly, individuals who manifest such behavior firmly believe in the prime mover of the supernatural, whereas their deep involvement in magical practices helps them to reduce anxiety, control the unexplained, and account for the past, present, as well as future (Grzywa, 2010, pp. 48-49). Referring back to the American religious marketplace, the practice known as grave soaking seems worth addressing, mainly because it has been considered the best example of contemporary Christian necromancy built upon the so-called sympathetic magic (Nyske, 2021). Briefly speaking, grave soaking refers to the practice introduced by the students of Bethel School of Supernatural Ministry (BSSM) from Redding in California, and focuses on touching or laying down on the tombs of the famous Pentecostal healing evangelists in order to receive empowerment (Nyske, 2021, p. 118).

The simplicity of alluding to the supernatural within religious communities results from the quality of a religious language and language in general referred to as detachment (Luckmann and Berger, 1966, p. 52). More precisely, the detachment of language applies to its capacity to convey meanings that have nothing in common with the current face-to-face situation, as in the case of prophecies whose major characteristics will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs. Therefore, it can be stated that religious language has the potential to transcend the "here and now".

Anna Chudzik (2002) introduces the concept of magical speech acts which should be interpreted more broadly, namely, within the context of the language of magic and language behavior in general[4]. An in-depth analysis carried out for the purposes of this research revealed that both Neo-Pentecostals and Pentecostal Catholics use these magical speech acts on a regular basis when practicing their rituals. The theoretical framework employed by Chudzik (2002) enumerates significant linguistic features that should be considered when referring to the supernatural. First and foremost, magical speech acts are believed to be closely linked to both causative and psychotherapeutic effects. Moreover, their perlocutionary force concentrates on modifying the mental and material reality. Interestingly, other motives may remain undisclosed. In addition, they frequently address certain unverifiable entities and highlight the sender's faith in the power of words. When it comes to the intentional layer, magical speech acts represent a complex command-and-control structure whose agent expresses his or her confidence in the recipient's eagerness to take action. As for the semantic layer, magical speech acts may emerge in different forms, for example, in the form of assertions, orders, and requests (Chudzik, 2002, pp. 57-59).

Alluding to what has been stated above, an individual who uses magical speech acts intends to influence the current situation successfully. In other words, he or she aspires to establish a new state of affairs that can be objectively acceptable (desirable) or objectively unacceptable (undesirable). The desirable state of affairs tends to result from the implementation of the so-called generative, protective, and breaking acts. In contrast, the undesirable state of affairs results from performing mainly destructive acts. I discovered all of them in the Christian communities I investigated. It can therefore be assumed that although Christians openly distance themselves from magic, in reality, their rituals contain a significant number of what can be recognized as incantations (Chudzik, 2002, p. 60). The generative acts, whose core lies in creation, usually address the unverifiable entities explicitly, calling them by name. In certain instances, however, the recipient has not been specified, but the sender clearly informs the entity about the state of affairs he or she wishes to participate in.

Chudzik (2002, p. 95) differentiates between direct and indirect recipients, pointing to human beings and the aforementioned forces of nature where the former are those prone to the effects of supernatural interference and the latter are those capable of

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[4] Original term: mowne zachowania magiczne.

affecting reality. The breaking acts, in turn, consist in changing the undesirable state of affairs to the desirable one, bearing in mind that the undesirable phenomena usually appear as the consequence of illness, the activity of evil spirits, or even other individuals. It should also be emphasized that the breaking acts are of great importance for this study, mainly because they have been the essence of the Wimberian power evangelism. Divine healing involves not only the body but also emotions, and what seems most significant allows for the possibility of interacting with the troublesome occurrence, for example, through giving commands to a particular illness. In Wimber's view, the effectiveness in combatting the disease, that is the perlocutionary force of breaking acts from the linguistic point of view, depends on relationship quality with the prime mover. Breaking acts may often be performed in a typically descriptive way that aims to highlight the mechanism of transformation (Chudzik, 2002, pp. 102-117). The following passage comes from a video recording published on an official YouTube channel run by Michał Świderski, a leader of the School of the New Evangelization from Gliwice, Poland:

I have the impression that many of you are already feeling a kind of heaviness, darkness. It is coming out of you now, out of your body, out of your mind. This is what has been accepted, unwisely accepted, an attack has been accepted instead of being rejected […]. It is coming out of you now, in the name of Jesus […]. May it leave brothers and sisters, may it leave the mind, the heart […]. In the name of Jesus Christ, we are renouncing it. We are proclaiming that You are not the source of it, You are not the source of it. We are throwing it away, towards Your cross […]. Jesus Christ, we are becoming humble under Your powerful arm […] but on the other hand, also with Your powerful arm, we oppose all kinds of attacks, we are renouncing everything we have accepted through words, habits, and consent […]. Jesus Christ, now we are turning to Your Holy Angel, the one that comes down to this order […], to this differentiation, to this conversion in our minds and hearts. We are asking You now, the Holy Spirit, to descend, to descend. May Your fire descend, oh Lord […]. We want to see, oh Lord, Your fire descending and burning out, burning out the places which have been attacked by the enemy, burning out the illnesses, depression […]. We are washing the back pain, joint problems, tendons problems, wrist problems, elbow problems […], knee problems, and

the whole skeletal system with your holy blood, oh Lord […]. You are pouring out Your anointing, Your healing. Be blessed[5].

Based on what has been shown above, it can be concluded that the magical speech acts have been deeply rooted in Catholicism and have also been widely promoted by Pentecostal Catholics nowadays. Besides, their content may suggest strong reliance on Wimber's ideas. In the quoted passage, the involvement of two different recipients seems clear: those who participate in the ritual with the intention of finding relief play the role of direct recipients, whereas the prime mover, namely Jesus Christ, acts as the indirect recipient whose intervention contributes to successful transformation. Furthermore, the frequent use of the first-person plural exposes the socializing function this ritual performs. In other words, individuals who participate in the event know its rules, understand particular utterances, and consent to becoming part of the new reality. With reference to the protective acts, they serve to protect the current, regarded as desirable, state of affairs from changing for the worse. In addition, contrary to the breaking acts, they are usually uttered when the attendees display emotional stability (Chudzik, 2002, p. 113).

In December 2021, I joined a Charismatic retreat held in Rzeszów. During that meeting, one of the priests addressed God and asked Him to provide the participants with effective protection from the evil forces: "Oh Lord, be praised in Your blood, the blood we want to immerse ourselves into. May that blood become our shield, power, and protection against any kind of evil, against any kind of illness […]. Build faith in us and lead us to believe that we are free from demonic interference"[6] (my own notes). The

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[5] Dotyk Boga. (2022, August 21). *Michał Świderski — jak odróżnić karcenie od ataku przeciwnika* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4w0jZUGbNcw&list=PLt5nnpYaIhYyC8GF3NxAO mC8zlozaUKat&index=2&t=3364s [original quotation: Mam takie wrażenie, że wielu z was czuje jakby wychodziła z was jakaś ciężkość, ciemność. Wychodzą z waszego ciała, z waszego umysłu. To jest to, co zostało przyjęte, nierozsądnie przyjęte, atak został przyjęty zamiast atak odparty […]. A teraz wychodzi to z ciebie, odchodzi to w imię Jezusa […]. Niech to odchodzi z życia brata i siostry, niech to odchodzi z umysłu, z serca […]. W imię Jezusa Chrystusa, wyrzekamy się tego. Ogłaszamy, że to nie pochodzi od Ciebie, nie pochodzi od Ciebie. Wyrzucamy to Panie pod krzyż Twój […]. Jezu Chryste, stajemy pokornie pod Twoją ręką […], ale z drugiej strony Twoją potężną dłonią sprzeciwiamy się wszelkiemu atakowi, odrzucamy z naszego życia wszystko co przyjęliśmy do naszego życia słowem, przyzwyczajeniem, przyzwoleniem […]. Jezu Chryste, prosimy teraz Twojego Świętego Anioła, który przychodzi do tego uporządkowania […], do tego rozróżnienia, do tego nawrócenia w naszym umyśle i w naszym sercu. I prosimy Cię teraz, Duchu Święty, zstąp, zstępuj, niech Twój ogień zstępuje, Panie […]. I chcemy, Panie, widzieć teraz jak Twój ogień zstępuje i wypala, Panie, wypala te miejsce, które zostały zaatakowane przez przeciwnika, jak choroby są wypalane, jak depresja jest wypalana […]. Obmywamy, Panie, Twoją świętą krwią wszystkie bóle kręgosłupa, wszystkie problemy ze stawami, wszystkie problemy ze ścięgnami, z nadgarstkami, łokciami […], z kolanami, Panie, cały układ kostny […]. Wylewasz Panie swoje święte namaszczenie, swoje uzdrowienie. Bądź błogosławiony.].
[6] Bądź uwielbiony Panie w Twojej krwi, w której chcemy się zanurzyć. Niech ona stanie się tarczą dla nas, mocą i obroną przed wszelkim złem, przed wszelką chorobą […]. Wzbudź w nas tak mocną wiarę, abyśmy wierzyli w to, że żadne zło […] i nie dotknie nas [original quotation].

above-mentioned quotation reflects the current state of affairs whose one of the main features is the absence of demonic activity. The sender performs a protective act targeted towards the audience and in order to strengthen his intention, he refers to the holy symbols. Briefly speaking, the sender himself believes and makes the audience believe in the extraordinary qualities of the chosen options. When speaking of the last group of magical speech acts, namely, the destructive ones, they tend to be associated with negative effects for the recipient, as in the case of a curse whose implementation may result from the recipient's wrongdoing. Interestingly, under certain circumstances, members of a given community may collectively agree to such a solution, especially when the recipient violates the standards of conduct.

With respect to the style of magical utterances, several linguistic devices can be distinguished, including enumeration, metaphors, the usage of anaphora together with parallelisms for more efficient reception, and the usage of pictorial connotations whose role consists in strengthening sensations (Chudzik, 2002, pp. 62-63). The imperative mode prevails. However, the indicative mode may also emerge, especially in relation to future events expressed in the form of wishes or requests. Employing the aforementioned performative verbs contributes to the constitution of the new reality, as in the case of bone diseases washed with the holy blood of Jesus Christ.

In terms of the lexis, a significant number of magical utterances rest on the so-called euphemization, that is, the intentional replacement of one word or group of words with other, less "dangerous" substitutes. Euphemization frequently concerns utterances referring to evil forces. In certain communities, pronouncing the names of the demons has been strongly discouraged since their members are afraid of evoking unwanted spirits. Moreover, the lexical layer of magical utterances often reveals whether an individual expresses his or her approval or disapproval of things, phenomena, or people. In discourse analysis, such an approach came to be known as appraisal, understood as a system of interpersonal meanings whose resources have served to negotiate social relationships (Chudzik, 2002, p. 78; Rose and Martin, 2007, p. 26). Interestingly, one's support and distance towards a particular experience are often influenced by the attitudes of the community to which he or she belongs. Hence, it may be either a collective bias or a collective acceptance.

Lastly, the impact of the formerly-discussed glossolalia should be taken into consideration when talking about the lexis. Indeed, the implementation of the unknown language by the performer increases his or her status among the gathered and makes the

atmosphere even more mysterious (Chudzik, 2002, p. 80). When carrying out my study, I realized that the leaders of the Neo-Pentecostal communities tend to employ glossolalia on a regular basis, for instance, during the worship service. Noteworthy is the fact that as soon as the leader starts praying in tongues, the audience follows him or her immediately. Therefore, it can be stated that glossolalia enhances cooperation between the sender and the recipient within the environment they both belong to and understand.

2.1.4. *Repertoire of Charismatic ritual elements*

Referring back to the essence of my study, I have to make it clear that it is based to some extent on Thomas Csordas's (1997) findings. The scholar carefully investigated the ritual of Pentecostal Catholics. In the 1990s, he published some works on the repertoire of Charismatic ritual elements, which summarized the effects of his long-term research. Although Csordas's findings largely contribute to the field of Pentecostal and Charismatic studies, it should be borne in mind that the religious marketplace has changed enormously ever since, especially in terms of modality. Therefore, fresh and detailed insight should be offered to the readership. Moreover, Csordas's investigation encompasses only one particular type of religious group, whereas my research involves Neo-Pentecostals that originated in the 1980s, successfully developed, and eventually influenced a broader audience. Importantly, to avoid confusion, the terminology should also be considered. Csordas's study allows for the usage of the term Neo-Pentecostals with reference to Pentecostal Catholics since it was accepted at some point in the past, while in my research, the term Neo-Pentecostals applies exclusively to the independent communities run by entrepreneurial ministers, which adhere to Wimber's ideas of power evangelism, as suggested by the present-day scholars (Yamamori and Miller, 2007; McClymond, 2014; Kobyliński, 2017; Kobyliński, 2016).

The aforementioned repertoire of Charismatic ritual elements comprises ritual objects, gestures, somatic manifestations, and language (Csordas, 1997, p. 157). All of them directly contribute to the outstanding performance, believed to be a form of interaction among the participants, and serve as triggers for personal revival and transformation. Regarding Charismatic ritual language, Csordas (1997, pp. 169-170) distinguishes between the major and minor genres. The former includes prophecy, teaching, prayer, and sharing, whereas the latter alludes to maxims, slogans, jokes, and slang. Prophecy, the issue which I have already discussed in the previous chapter, is

usually a first-person pronouncement of the will and mind of God (Csordas, 1997, p. 170). However, during my investigation, I discovered that prophecies are also likely to be spoken in a descriptive manner with the aid of the third-person pronoun. Here is a good example:

> *I have the impression that God is showing me a family which went bowling some time ago. This family has been thinking of buying a property, but you have also been expecting a sign from God. I have the feeling that this is not the right time for you. God wants me to inform you[7] (my own notes).*

Furthermore, while doing fieldwork, I realized that the Polish communities I studied would organize something they call the "school of prophetic ministry," whose primary purpose is to teach individuals how to "translate" God (in fact, the course name was "Translating God"). The main characteristics of teaching and sharing have already been addressed as well. In these cases, it is significant to remember that both of them rest on speaker's personal experience. In other words, an individual refers to the incidents from his or her life and the culminating moment of a divine encounter that ultimately shifted his or her perception, then alludes to some biblical verses, and finally provides the audience with the guidelines on how to respond to life difficulties so that they work for the glory of God. Additionally, both of them play a crucial role in participants' personal revival and transformation, mainly because they highlight the differences between the pre-encounter and post-encounter quality of existence. To be more exact, the change is the keyword that is expected to motivate others. Transformative effects of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, whose components I studied on-site, will be thoroughly discussed in the subsequent sections. With reference to the Charismatic prayer, it may also take various forms. These are the following: (1) worship (adoration, praise, and thanksgiving), (2) petition or intercession, (3) prayer for divine guidance, and (4) prayer of command, especially when casting out demons (Csordas, 1997, p. 175). This particular genre is known for its spontaneity and emphasis on the divine presence, which may be felt either in the room or through mental images.

While investigating the chosen communities, I noticed that every meeting would start with a series of worship songs. Interestingly, all of them were full of empowerment-oriented vocabulary. Songs are specific forms of prayer that unite the gathered at the

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[7] Mam takie wrażenie, że Bóg pokazuje mi pewną rodzinę, która wybrała się w ostatnim czasie na kręgle i małżeństwo w tej rodzinie oczekuje na taką odpowiedź od Boga w kwestii zakupu jakiejś nieruchomości, ale szukacie Boga i pytacie o odpowiedź. Mam takie uczucie, żeby powiedzieć, że to nie jest ten czas i że to nie jest ta inwestycja [original quotation].

initial stage of the event. It is important not to ignore what has been referred to as generic intertextuality (Csordas, 1997, p. 182), that is, the existence of notable gaps between various utterances within one genre, as it happens with the genre of prophecy. The same is true for the so-called intergenre intertextuality, which stands for the tendency to mix two different genres, although in some cases, this practice may raise doubts owing to the lack of a common denominator. Teaching prophecy is a typical example, mainly because it tries to merge the genre based on divine authority with the one based on human intelligence.

As far as the minor genres of Charismatic ritual language are concerned, they permeate everyday discourse (Csordas, 1997, p. 183). Encoding imperatives for actions or inarguable statements of essential truths has been characteristic of maxims and slogans. They emerge on various occasions and allude to the most common themes in the Charismatic environment. Those which I came across were spoken either on-site during the worship service or off-site, that is, via instant messengers such as WhatsApp. One of the slogans uttered most frequently was: "God is great. God is powerful" (my own notes). As regards pastoral slang, it includes a great number of informal terms coined by the leaders in order to highlight the practices or attitudes they perceive as excessive or inappropriate (Csordas, 1997, p. 185). For instance, Jakub Kamiński, the founder and leader of the Nations on Fire Church from Warsaw (NOF Church; original name), uses the term "spiritual blindness" (original quotation: "duchowa ślepota") with reference to one's incapacity to experience God's divine presence. Charismatic jokes tend to be shared among the individuals who understand the setting and possess peculiar knowledge so that they decode the message. In addition, they often relate to divine intervention, whose primary purpose is to motivate the doubters. Apart from the linguistic dimension, the bodily component should also be taken into consideration when talking about the Charismatic ritual. Games, drama, and dance encourage individuals to participate and, at the same time, stimulate their imagination which is believed to serve as a medium that enables the communication between the deity and humans. During my investigation, I came across the practice of flagging (original term: "flagowanie"), which consists in dancing with the flags at the front of the room where the worship takes place. It has been implemented by both Neo-Pentecostals and Pentecostal Catholics and regarded as a form of prayer. It is a praise-oriented, non-linguistic activity that largely contributes to the event and harmonizes with the remaining resources.

According to Csordas (1997, pp. 192-193), the Charismatic performance rests on a system of terms (words) that trigger out particular acts due to their orientation towards a specific problem and which came to be known as the vocabulary of motives. These terms do not stand alone. Conversely, they are arranged with respect to the scene, agency, and purpose. Uttering a motive brings consequences, bearing in mind the interaction between the leader and the audience. Csordas (1997, p. 194) distinguishes five categories the motives fall into in terms of how they affect the participants. These are the following: (1) forms of relationship among individuals or between individuals and God, (2) forms of collective identity, (3) qualities or properties of individuals or relationships, (4) activities or forms of action essential to life within a movement, and (5) negativities or countermotives which refer to the threats to the ideal created by the positive motives. As for concrete examples, motives such as brotherhood/sisterhood, army, God's plan, spiritual warfare, and darkness can be identified respectively. During my investigation, I witnessed the practice of casting out demons which had been preceded by a speech on spiritual warfare. Actually, the utterance of a motive provoked further consequences.

2.1.5. *Metaphorical concepts and expressions*

Another interesting phenomenon I encountered while carrying out my research was the so-called conceptual thinking, characteristic of the interaction pattern I identified. Importantly, those concepts seemed to have shaped the action inside and outside the group, bearing in mind the comprehensive involvement of itinerary preachers who have been part of the international network of influential leaders. As stated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980, p. 3), the human conceptual system is metaphorical in nature and the metaphors should not be interpreted only from the linguistic perspective. Concepts structure and govern human perception whereas conceptual metaphors enable understanding complex ideas in terms of simpler notions. For this reason, terms such as source domain and target domain were introduced. The former stands for a physical or tangible concept from which metaphorical expressions tend to be drawn while the latter, for a more abstract example that is about to be comprehended (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 4). Moreover, concepts also structure how individuals relate to one another. Therefore, in this case, language serves as a tool for both expressing those concepts and making the interaction reciprocal. According to what I have discussed above, Neo-Pentecostal ministers frequently refer to the motive of spiritual warfare. The concept of war and the

one of the spirit have been emphasized by some powerful figures, mostly with the intention of drawing participants' attention to the possible sources of the problems they face since these have been associated with demonic forces. In consequence, what structures one's performance and his or her utterances is the conceptual metaphor "my spirit is at war". Notably, the way of talking about the battling aspects of life difficulties proves to be systematic intrinsically, which technically means that the coherent system of metaphorical concepts enables comprehending one aspect of a given concept in terms of another. More accurately, metaphorical expressions in the language humans speak are systematically tied to metaphorical concepts they represent (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pp. 7-10).

Metaphors have been subject to classification (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 14). The first group encompasses those based on individual's physical and cultural experience and involves the so-called orientational as well as ontological metaphors. Orientational metaphors, also referred to as spatialization metaphors, apply to spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 14). The cultural component relates to the fundamental values shared by those belonging to a particular community, and eventually it shapes the metaphorical structure of the fundamental concepts found in that culture. The "more is better" value corresponds to "more is up" and "good is up". Wimber's healing discourse employs many orientational metaphors based on the American value system: "More of your power, Lord. More!" (Wimber and Springer, 1987, p. 222). For industrial societies where ownership indicates one's status, the quality of having more and more resources, has been associated with one's prosperity and security. In other words, it has been seen as something positive and desirable. Those metaphors have penetrated the contemporary Neo-Pentecostal discourse and have become an integral part of the healing ministry. Regarding ontological metaphors, they have a lot in common with how human beings perceive abstract phenomena that are not discrete or bounded, including events, emotions, activities, ideas, etc. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 25). Interestingly, it turns out that such phenomena and experiences can be referred to in the categories of objects and substances, which consequently leads to the emergence of artificial boundaries. Ontological metaphors can be further divided into container metaphors and personification. The former emphasizes the in-out orientation in relation to physical beings, bearing in mind the natural boundary of the surface of one's skin. This particular concept employs the notion of the visual field, whose main purpose is to define the territory one can see and comment on. As for the

latter, they attribute the typically human traits to objects so that an individual comprehends his or her experience with non-human entities from the perspective of human motivations and characteristics (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 33). To illustrate: "Unleash your body in prayer. May your body give glory to God" (Projekt Przebudzenie, 2022, original quotation: "Uwolnij swoje ciało w modlitwie, niech odda Bogu chwałę"). This short passage draws attention to the fact that the body has been granted certain capabilities typical of a human being. Indeed, the subject of the sentence is the body, not the individual it belongs to.

The second group of metaphors includes those which allow to "use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 61), and that is why they have been recognized as structural metaphors. Moreover, they have also been grounded in systematic correlations within the human experience, similar to ontological and orientational metaphors. Remarkably, structural metaphors feature the tendency to hide certain aspects of a given concept while emphasizing others. It is, for instance, true for the previously-discussed concept "life difficulties are the consequence of the Devil's interference". In the Neo-Pentecostal environment, the motive of spiritual warfare appears regularly. It has always been associated with considerable effort, both on the part of the demonized and the healing minister. Hence, all the measures that need to be taken have much to do with a real battle, and so does the implemented vocabulary. Nevertheless, apart from the negative aspects of spiritual warfare, which tend to be highlighted by the preachers, some positive ones can also be heard of, as happened with my respondents who claimed to have been possessed by demonic forces (Berdowicz, 2021). Surprisingly, although they had suffered severely owing to personal hardship, ultimately, they acknowledged that the life lesson they had learned had been edifying in its essence.

The classification presented above does not include metonymy, defined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 35) as the process of replacing one entity with another. Thus, it seems to be the complete opposite of metaphors. With reference to metonymic concepts, it should be noted that, for example, in Christianity, the dove replaces the Holy Spirit (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 40). This particular symbolism is not arbitrary. It rests on the qualities the dove is known for, namely, its beauty, grace, gentleness, and friendliness. What also matters is its natural habitat — the sky. All in all, the language component of multimodal discourse analysis proves to be multidimensional, especially when it refers to religion, and therefore it should be studied profoundly.

2.1.6. *Metafunctional principle*

Halliday's metafunctional principle is another key concept SF-MDA relies on. According to what has already been mentioned above, the organization of language and other semiotic systems enables them to make three types of meanings simultaneously: (1) ideational meaning which can be further subdivided into the experiential meaning (concentrates on one's experience and knowledge about the world) and the logical meaning (applies to making logical connections in that world), (2) interpersonal meaning for highlighting social relations as well as expressing attitudes, and (3) textual meaning which organizes meanings into coherent messages (Wignell, Tan and O'Halloran, 2019, p. 435). In language, these three metafunctions can be found in the structure of the clause by indicating the grammatical systems through which they are realized. The experiential meaning, for instance, is realized through the grammatical system known as transitivity, which stands for various kinds of processes recognized in a language and the structures through which these processes are communicated. A process consists of three components: the process itself, the participants involved in it, and the circumstances associated with it (Wignell, Tan and O'Halloran, 2019, p. 435). The following process types have been specified: (1) material processes of doing and acting, (2) mental processes relating to thinking, feeling, and perceiving, (3) relational processes linked to classifying, describing, and identifying, (4) verbal processes of saying and meaning, (5) behavioral processes concerning human physiological behavior, and (6) existential processes of existing and happening (Wignell, Tan and O'Halloran, 2019, p. 435).

In respect of logical meaning, it applies to the relations between the occurrences at the clause and discourse level, realized with the aid of different conjunctions. The interpersonal meaning is realized via the grammatical system of mood that encompasses particular choices, such as those for giving and demanding information (statements, questions) and those for giving and demanding goods and services (offers, commands). The interpersonal meaning is also realized through the system of modality, which includes expressions of probability, usuality, obligation, and inclination. Textual meaning "is concerned with the organization of the message, realized through the thematic structure of the clause which organizes information into clearly defined points of departure (i.e., Theme) for the remainder of the message (i.e., Rheme)" (Wignell, Tan and O'Halloran, 2019, p. 436). Since the metafunctional principle has provided a useful framework for a wide range of semiotic resources, it seems worth accounting for how it

co-operates with systems other than language and how it contributes to creating meaning. The notion of transitivity, for example, has been adapted for the analysis of static and dynamic images. Furthermore, it has also been enriched by concepts from social semiotics, photography, and visual design, which have ultimately led to the emergence of visual systems responsible for structuring one's experience of the world with regard to participants, processes, and circumstances. The same is true for the interpersonal component (direct and indirect gaze) as well as the compositional component which can be easily recognized while analyzing images (Wignell, Tan and O'Halloran, 2019, p. 436). If this is about the previously-discussed context of situation, it should be made clear that its key features, namely field, tenor, and mode, are closely related to the above-mentioned metafunctions. Strictly speaking, field refers to the experiential and logical metafunctions since it focuses on describing participants, processes, and circumstances. Tenor relates to the interpersonal metafunction mostly because it highlights social relations in terms of power and solidarity, while mode is expressed through the textual metafunction due to the emphasis it puts on the role of the language in the discourse and the information flow across various channels of communication including speech, writing, images, video, etc. (Wignell, Tan and O'Halloran, 2019, p. 436).

2.1.7. *Resemiotization*

One of the key concepts associated with multimodal discourse analysis is that of resemiotization, as discussed before. According to Rick Iedema (2003, p. 41), meaning-making shifts depending on the context, practice, and stage of a given practice. In consequence, a particular entity is progressively recontextualized and categorized. In 2021 I carried out twenty in-depth interviews with individuals who claimed to have been possessed by various kinds of dark forces and hence, actively involved in the religious ritual of casting out demons (Berdowicz, 2021). They had been exorcised either by Catholic priests or Neo-Pentecostal leaders. The study has identified a number of patterns whose common denominator relates to both a radical spiritual transformation and a shift in perception. To be more exact, the possessed, or rather those who thought of themselves in this way due to their physical and emotional suffering, had been perceived as sinners for whom deliverance prayers had been an urgent and absolute necessity. Interestingly, right after they were exorcised, they were given a new status and identity. Therefore, they have no longer been referred to as sinners or the possessed. Instead, they

have come to be known as "born of the Spirit". One of my interviewees, a woman in her twenties, claimed to have felt a strong pain in different parts of her body. None of the doctors she had visited had been able to diagnose her. She had been looking for help everywhere since her distress had become unbearable. As the story continued, she concentrated on the pivotal moments which had consequently triggered the process of re-categorization:

The pain was getting worse [...]. I felt as if something was standing on my shoulders [...]. I had been reading the cards in the past [...]. I had been spiritually connected with the people I had been reading for [...]. Something entered into me because of that connection [...]. I would throw the doorknobs around [...]. Once I went into the bathroom and started crying out loud. I do not know who you are, an alien, Jesus, or God [...] but I think you can help me, I shouted. The next day, I accidentally came across a video made by the Church of Power. It was a testimony of a woman who had worked as a prostitute. She claimed to have been possessed and finally liberated. I got in touch with those people [...], and they gave me a helping hand. At first, a lady from the church in question contacted me [...] and she was praying for me in tongues over the phone [...]. She asked if I believed that Jesus Christ had taken all the sins and illnesses with Him [...]. After the conversation [...] when I confessed my faith, I felt the warmth and all my pain was gone [...]. Later, that lady sent me some Christian movies [...]. She spoke to me again and said: You must offend the Devil [...], you must go to Gdańsk, because there is a pastor [...] who casts out evil spirits, and I did so [...]. Those who have already got to know the truth are worst off since they have become the men of God [...]. Today I am a totally different person than I was before [...]. The people who were praying for me in Gdańsk, knew exactly the sources of my pain although I had not told them earlier [...]. They were laying their hands on me [...] and praying for me in tongues [...]. I remember that during the exorcism, prior to the third hit, I experienced a powerful awakening [...]. Surprisingly, when I came back home, I was still hurting but the pain disappeared completely within a couple of days [...]. I started to enjoy my life[8]. (my own notes)

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[8] Ten ból się pogłębiał […]. Miałam wrażenie jakby coś mi stało na ramionach […]. Ja wróżyłam z kart […]. Duchowo się powiązywałam z osobami, które do mnie wypisywały […]. Przez to połączenie duchowe coś we mnie weszło […]. Zaczęłam w domu rzucać klamkami […]. Poszłam do łazienki i zaczęłam bardzo mocno płakać. *Nie wiem kim jesteś, kosmitą, Jezusem, Bogiem [...] ale myślę, że Ty możesz mi pomóc*, zawołałam. Na następny dzień, w ogóle przypadkowo, pojawił mi się filmik z Kościoła Mocy. I tam było świadectwo kobiety, która była prostytutką i ona mówiła, że była opętana i że została uwolniona. I ja napisałam do tych osób […] i oni wyciągnęli do mnie pomocną dłoń. Pierwsze co, to zadzwoniła do mnie kobieta […] i ona się pomodliła za mnie na językach przez telefon […]. I mnie zapytała, czy ja wierzę, że Jezus Chrystus zabrał za mnie wszystkie grzechy, wszystkie choroby […]. Po tym telefonie […] wyznałam to, że tak, wierzę to, na chwilę takie ciepło poczułam i na chwilę mi odebrały cały ból […]. Na następny dzień ta kobieta mi zaczęła wysyłać filmy chrześcijańskie […]. Ona mówi do mnie na kolejny dzień: *Musisz wyzwać diabła [...], musisz pojechać do Gdańska i tam jest taki pastor [...], który wyrzuca złe duchy* […]. Najbardziej przerąbane mają te osoby, które już się dowiedziały o prawdzie, bo one są kapłanami […].

Based on what has just been shown, it can be concluded that the above-mentioned case fits into Iedema's theory. As a result of resemiotization, my respondent has been classified into a new category. The whole process consisted of several stages. The transformation started with Christian videos found on the Internet (multimodal text). The content of those videos convinced her that she should get in touch with the participants of the presented events. Then, one of the leaders phoned her and offered a prayer (remote interaction). Next, my interviewee was encouraged to visit the pastor responsible for deliverance ministry and to undergo an exorcism. Members of that religious community took an active part in the ritual as they were touching my respondent gently (face-to-face interaction) and praying for her in tongues. In consequence, she experienced a spiritual awakening that ultimately enabled the shift from the possessed to the "born of the Spirit". In her previous environment, she was perceived as the one struggling with strange symptoms of hypochondriac nature, weak, and depressed, whereas the current environment appreciates her victory over the evil spirits, supports her on a daily basis, and equips her with the power to liberate others from demons. Noteworthy is the sentence uttered by the lady my respondent got in touch with at the initial stage of her transformation: "From now on you are a beloved daughter and you are visible in the spiritual reality" (my own notes). The emphasis put on the quality of being visible may suggest that according to the group leaders, my respondent had not been capable of interacting with the deity before her conversion, but from now onwards, she has the privilege of being noticed.

What deserves special attention while referring to my respondent's story is the effectiveness of symbols, the topic once studied by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963). Healing of the demonized, namely, one of the areas specified in the Wimberian model, is of great importance for this study and therefore, it should be given a closer look. Strauss (1963) provides an example of how symbolic manipulation of a sick organ can lead to its total physical recovery. He mentions a ritual performed by a shaman representing the Cuna Indians of the Panama Republic over a woman struggling with her delivery. Interestingly, it has nothing in common with a medical procedure and what is more, it rests on a mythical narrative whose content alludes to the combat between shaman's tutelary

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Dzisiaj zupełnie jestem innym człowiekiem niż byłam […]. Osoby, które się za mnie modliły, wiedziały w jakich miejscach mnie boli, mimo, że im nie powiedziałam, gdzie mnie boli […]. Nakładały na mnie ręce […] i modliły się na językach […]. Pamiętam, że podczas tego egzorcyzmu, przed tym trzecim uderzeniem, dostałam takie przebudzenie […]. Co ciekawe, ja wróciłam do domu i dalej mnie wszystko bolało […]. Po trzech dniach przestało mnie wszystko boleć […]. Zaczęłam się cieszyć życiem [original quotation].

spirits and those malevolent ones, believed to reside in that woman's uterus. The healer is then expected to invade the patient's internal body, however, only by means of symbols the patient gives credence to due to her tribal background. In consequence, the patient who has just been stimulated verbally, starts to sense the shaman's spirits working along the route he follows. Lévi-Strauss (1963. p. 195) uses the term emotional geography to refer to the concrete zones in the patient's body the shaman provokes sequentially so that the woman in labor gets the impression of being an eyewitness of the whole process. Returning to the interview I conducted, and the details revealed during the conversation, it should be noted that the leader who performed the exorcism over my respondent, implemented a similar technique based on a vivid narrative whose central feature was the tendency to personify the condition my interviewee had been suffering from. Lévi-Strauss (1963, p. 196) also mentions the act of imitating human copulatory movements, introduced by the Cuna shaman to account for how the malevolent spirits penetrated the woman's body. When it comes to the ritual my respondent took part in, it featured a series of bodily movements too, and like in the case of the difficult childbirth, they were of symbolic nature as well. Take, for instance, the movement of pulling an entity away, made by the leader with his hands. He acted as if he was fighting with the dark forces responsible for my respondent's uneasiness. Bearing in mind the religious context the leader and my interviewee were embedded in, it should be remembered that over the years, power evangelism has strongly promoted the idea of spiritual warfare and therefore, what made my respondent react in a given way, was her total identification with the myth she had been exposed to prior to the ritual. As for the differences between the Cuna performance and that of the Neo-Pentecostal deliverance minister, they mostly lie in the physical contact. The former does not involve touching the patient whereas the latter does, and it relates to the Christian practice of laying hands on individuals to impart the divine anointing.

Taking all the aforementioned facts into account, it can be assumed that in my interviewee's case, the skillful use of figurative language combined with the religious framework and the story behind, were the key factors contributing to the process of resemiotization. Put it differently, my respondent's sick organs, believed to have been under the influence of the malevolent spirits, responded to the commands spoken out loud during the exorcism performed by the leader whose vivid narrative enriched with corresponding metaphors eventually affected my respondent's overall condition and let others recategorize her in terms of her status in the universe.

2.2. Impression management

The theory of religious economies presented in the previous chapter provides a benchmark for further considerations on the contemporary religious marketplace as well as its most significant components. It is undeniable that religious entrepreneurs are the motive power of faith branding, whose main features will be discussed below. Since this dissertation focuses on Wagner's apostolic model of leadership and Wimber's idea of power evangelism, it seems necessary to examine the modus operandi employed by Neo-Pentecostal leaders. Therefore, the purpose of this section is to explore how these itinerary preachers present themselves to the audience, how they build strategic partnerships, and how they contribute to church growth.

2.2.1. *Evolution of a religious movement*

Virginia Hine and Luther Gerlach (1968, pp. 23-24), inspired by the Pentecostal phenomenon, indicate several factors which seem to be crucial for the growth and spread of a religious movement, and these are the following: (1) reticulate organization, (2) fervent and convincing recruitment along pre-existing lines of significant social relationships, (3) a commitment act or experience, (4) a change-oriented and action-motivating ideology which offers a simple master plan presented in symbolic and easily communicated terms, a sense of sharing in the control and rewards of destiny, a feeling of personal worth and power as well as (5) the perception of real or imagined opposition. Moreover, the authors also note that Pentecostal groups can be easily distinguished according to their institutional ties. Therefore they mention the long-established churches representing the First Wave, large independent churches with an interdenominational approach led by a strong leader, smaller independent churches consisting of individuals who either left voluntarily or were asked to leave their previous denominational congregations due to the Pentecostal experience they had had, and finally — the so-called tongues movements which apply, for instance, to individuals who have already been addressed in this research and referred to as Pentecostal Catholics.

As far as the first factor is concerned, namely, reticulate organization, Hine and Gerlach (1968, pp. 26-27) explain that although the long-established churches of the First Wave are known for their centralized organizational polity, they are not free from schismatic tendencies, partly because the awareness of being capable of establishing

a personal relationship with the source of authority — appears to prevent organizational solidarity and hierarchical management. In consequence, the emergence of the self-appointed indigenous lay leaders who eventually decided to break off from their original church to find a new independent community based on Pentecostal values — influenced the spread of the movement. As reported by Hine and Gerlach (1968, p. 27), the development and proliferation of the Pentecostalism-oriented groups in America should first and foremost be analyzed with regard to some influential entities who in most cases originated from the tongues movements or who have already started an independent church. It should be made clear that interrelationships and group linkages play a crucial role in setting up new communities and strengthening the already existing ones. Hine and Gerlach (1968, p. 27) use the term infrastructure to emphasize the involvement of the human agent in forging bonds externally and to account for operational efficiency. The authors draw attention to its components, such as personal associations, leadership exchange, networks of traveling evangelists, large-scale membership associations, and external linkages. When it comes to personal associations between individual members of various local groups, they usually result from pre-existing kinship or friendship. Moreover, they are also based on a similar attitude towards the baptism in the Holy Spirit and shared support for the movement ideology. Leadership exchange applies to friendship-driven cooperation between leaders and ministers representing different groups who tend to visit one another periodically, mainly to participate in an event.

The system of leadership exchange is not confined to the neighboring churches only. Conversely, it operates on an international level and therefore enables, for example, Pentecostal Catholics from Poland to discuss important questions with the representatives of independent churches from the United States. The case of "It is time. Let us write the story together" Conference (Konferencja "Już Czas. Napiszmy historię razem"), which took place in Łódź (Poland) in February 2022, perfectly illustrates how this system works. For the purposes of my research, I participated in that event whose principal objective was to focus on ecumenical efforts. The organizers invited a number of influential leaders representing the Neo-Charismatic communities as well as the Catholic ones. The list of speakers included, among others, (1) Bruno Ierullo, Ph.D., pastor of the Catch the Fire Church in Newmarket, Canada, (2) John Arnott, pastor and founder of the Catch the Fire Church in Toronto, Canada as well as the initiator of the famous Toronto Blessing, (3) Colin Symes, pastor of the Community Church Edinburgh, and (4) Msgr. Juan Usma Gomez, Head of the Western Section of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian

Unity (PCPCU). Interestingly enough, the conference, which was held under the patronage of Archbishop Grzegorz Ryś, involved more elements typical of Neo-Charismatism than elements characteristic of Catholicism. Moreover, it is also worth mentioning that the worship sessions were conducted in accordance with the style promoted by independent Christian churches. This category encompasses the above-addressed Catch the Fire Church. As for networks of the traveling evangelists, it should be noted that this particular component has a lot in common with the previous one since both of them rest on mobility. The key differences lie in the position and ties. To be more exact, an evangelist does not necessarily perform the role of a leader in his or her congregation. What is also significant is that he or she does not have to represent a given community of believers. Hine and Gerlach (1968) explain that as follows:

The network of each evangelist characteristically includes a mix of organized and established Pentecostal bodies, loosely bound independent groups, and a few personally devoted individuals who may or may not be affiliated with a group. Sponsorship and financing usually come from the same mix, with some evangelists depending chiefly upon donations from the established groups and others mostly upon contributions from the devoted individuals. (Hine and Gerlach, 1968, p. 27)

The authors also highlight the universalism of traveling evangelists by claiming that their audience includes the First-Wavers, Second-Wavers, and those belonging to independent groups.

The fourth component, namely, the large-scale membership associations, stands for influential business organizations, as in the case of the previously-addressed Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International. Furthermore, Hine and Gerlach (1968, p. 28) argue that the Pentecostal infrastructure, with its relation-oriented approach and the reciprocity pattern in use, has the potential to penetrate the non-Pentecostal system. Finally, the question of external linkages both with Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals should be taken into consideration since these extensive contacts give power to the movement (Hine and Gerlach, 1968, p. 28). To be more exact, the interdenominational partnership may turn out to be beneficial for both parties.

Pentecostal capabilities can also grow due to the so-called infra-"dynamics," which comprises (1) "grapevine" communication within the infrastructure and the collection and distribution of intelligence about matters of importance to the movement, (2) the provision of support to individuals, and (3) communication of the integrating core ideology of the movement, as reported by Hine and Gerlach (1968, p. 29).

The "grapevine" communication followed by widespread distribution corresponds to the instances of conveying a particular message immediately within personal and group networks, and the message itself usually addresses an important event or suspicious circumstances. When talking about support, this category includes mainly the funds and services offered by generous donors whose principal objective is to help evangelists and missionaries with their projects. Apropos the core ideology promoted within a movement, it tends to be communicated across the network through various sermons, lectures, conferences, publications, and radio or TV programs. In such instances, the involvement of powerful leaders seems vital.

The second factor crucial for the growth and spread of a religious movement, mentioned by Hine and Gerlach (1968), namely, fervent and convincing face-to-face recruitment — involves pre-existing social relationships on many occasions. Human agents such as relatives, close friends, neighbors, business associates, colleagues, or fellow students are believed to be best catalysts. Put another way, being aware of the fact that a family member has converted makes it easier for a given individual to explore the community himself or herself. Loners and drifters have fewer opportunities to bring in new members (Hine and Gerlach, 1968, p. 31).

Commitment, either by experience or by act, is the third factor responsible for movement dynamics. First and foremost, it should be borne in mind that commitment experiences involve what has been termed as cognitive restructuring and lead to the personal identity change in the end. Hine and Gerlach (1968, p. 32) argue that even the less extraordinary individuals who have nothing in common with the magnetic power typical of strong leaders can influence others easily due to the fact that they themselves have already experienced something they perceive as supernatural. According to the authors, one of the rewards of the baptism in the Holy Spirit is the power to witness efficiently. In respect of the power-generating acts, they aim at cutting a believer off from the past with a simultaneous invitation to spiritual growth, as in the case of American Pentecostals, for whom glossolalia serves such a function. During my fieldwork in Rome, I encountered a Neo-Charismatic community originating from Australia, that is, the previously-discussed Hillsong Church, whose Roman subsidiary is Hillsong Rome Connect. Members of this group associate the commitment phenomenon with baptism by immersion, and the act itself has been performed in Lake Bracciano (Lago di Bracciano). Furthermore, for community growth, a recent convert is expected to testify and highlight the differences between his or her quality of life before and after the baptism.

The emphasis should be put on a revolutionary change that in consequence fosters one's well-being that integrates mental health (mind) and physical health (body). It should be borne in mind that for some Neo-Charismatics, the commitment phenomenon involves, in fact, a complex interplay between a prospective member and the rest of the group. In addition, it is also worth noting that a Spirit-filled novice interacts with others based on a reward system. In other words, an individual considerably strengthens ties with the community, whereas its members reward him or her with fervent prayers and counseling in return. I experienced the reward system myself while visiting the Hillsong Rome Connect every Sunday.

The Pentecostal belief system, which shapes personal and social change, referred to as an ideology, presents certain characteristics, including dogmatism, intolerance for the ideal-real gap, seriousness, and positive fatalism (Hine and Gerlach, 1968, p. 34). The dogmatic quality of the movement offers clarity, simplicity, and rigidity, which eventually accelerate the process of personal and social transformation and motivate a mode of action. As for the rejection of the ideal-real gap, it seems characteristic of various movements whose main purpose is to introduce revolutionary regulations. Pentecostals perceive the Spirit baptism as the experience generating supernatural power, and because of this power, an individual appears to be capable of living the Christian life. Moreover, it should also be remembered that the attitudinal changes evoked by the baptismal experience, together with the support of fellow believers — influence the progress to a large extent. Hine and Gerlach (1968, p. 34) highlight the seriousness of involvement in both studying and applying ideological principles to specific situations. Put differently, in order for the Pentecostal ideology to grow and spread, it has to be discussed and exercised.

Last but not least, the authors mention positive fatalism, which aims to motivate action. Interestingly enough, "it promises that God will direct, guide, and give power to His followers. Believers should be *bold in the spirit*, and act in the sure belief that they will triumph if they are serving the will of God" (Hine and Gerlach, 1968, p. 35). Pentecostals tend to perceive what objectively speaking could be called a failure as redirection by God, focused on future success. Sometimes they understand life difficulties as a temporary testing of one's faith. Examples of such an approach will be presented in the subsequent sections of this thesis. With respect to trusting God's guidance, Pentecostals are known for their promotion of economic betterment as well as for accepting innovations concentrated on advancing their financial condition. If they

become successful, their achievements serve as a testimony of the Lord's power. All things considered, the potency-oriented ideology may seem intriguing, especially for those who have been looking for effective solutions to long-term problems.

The fifth important factor in movement growth, notably real or perceived opposition from non-participants, has been directly related to the so-called psychology of persecution. To exemplify, it is suggested to take the case of Pentecostal Catholics into account, mainly because their mainline denominational churches did not approve of the Pentecostal experience they had had and been proud of. According to what has already been stated in the previous chapter, a large percentage of those who had been an object of ridicule left their denominational church in the end and founded independent communities based on Pentecostal values (Hine and Gerlach, 1968, p. 36). In certain instances, however, Pentecostal Catholics refused to obey the local bishop. Therefore, their group was permanently disbanded, as in the case of the one from a Polish town Krapkowice. In 2009, Bishop Andrzej Czaja, who represents the Roman Catholic Diocese of Opole, decided to dissolve an influential community of believers whose religious practices no longer corresponded to the Catholic faith. In effect, its leaders established a new group known as "Only Jesus" Christian Center (Centrum Chrześcijańskie "Tylko Jezus"), which has gathered their enthusiastic adherents ever since. This conflict between church authorities and church members, provoked and fueled by the latter, seems to fit the framework of the previously-addressed opposition.

2.2.2. *Charisma*

As discussed by Max Weber (1947, pp. 358-359), "the term *charisma* will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary. On the basis of them, the individual concerned is treated as a leader". In this study, the term "Charismatic leader" (the word "Charismatic" necessarily capitalized because it stands for the adherents of a particular religion, in this case, those who represent a specific movement within Christianity) refers to a person who received the charisms (gifts) of the Holy Spirit and therefore, he or she is capable of managing a community of believers which in turn demonstrates obedience. In relation to Weber's theory, these charisms, accompanied by

the so-called anointing, may be perceived as the extraordinary abilities distinguishing him or her from the rest. The division of charisms has been provided in the first chapter.

The key issue for the validity of charisma is its recognition by those who are subject to authority (Weber, 1947, p. 359). To be more exact, absolute trust in the leader may result from what is believed to be a "sign" or a "miracle," as in the case of the individuals who claim to have been divinely healed, not only physically but also emotionally, and hence, now they feel called to testify and to evangelize. Other instances relate to the leaders who once took part in an event during which they experienced the strong presence of God, often defined as "God's touch". Heidi Baker's story serves as a classic example of immediate submission to the will of the deity, shown publicly while participating in the previously-addressed Toronto Blessing. Together with her husband, she founded Iris Global, a missionary organization offering humanitarian help in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas. Moreover, she has been fully engaged in prayers for healing ever since.

Interestingly enough, the question of the call has been seen within the context of the duty the chosen one ought to fulfill, whereas complete devotion to the gifted on the part of the follower is believed to arise out of enthusiasm, despair, and hope (Weber, 1947, p. 359). John Baptist Bashobora, a Catholic priest from Uganda, has been recognized worldwide, mostly owing to his adherents who either eye-witnessed the miracles he performed or experienced the divine intervention themselves. Indeed, the Catholic retreat with Bashobora attract primarily the individuals in need who put their trust in the Ugandan clergyman. However, in certain circumstances, a Charismatic leader may lose authority. It occurs when a given leader's performance fails to benefit the audience. Alluding to the Neo-Charismatic environment, the inability to satisfy the gathered, followed by the emerging doubts on their part, as in the case of false miracles, prevents the leader from becoming successful.

Weber (1947, p. 56) introduces the term "administrative staff" to refer to human agents responsible for enforcing order and coordinating activities within the group. In addition, he emphasizes the emotional nature of the communal relationship established among those who are subject to authority. The agents are not technically trained officials chosen on the basis of social privileges or in a competition. Conversely, they are the "disciples" of the leader, committed supporters sharing his or her point of view and willing to contribute enormously to the outcomes of the missionary efforts. The Roman subsidiary of the Australian Hillsong Church, namely, Hillsong Rome Connect, which

I investigated during the fieldwork in Rome, has been represented by a woman whose core task has been to supervise church growth in this particular area. Her contribution consists in holding the so-called watch parties targeted at church followers for whom going to Milan in order to attend a worship service is not possible, organizing home-based as well as online prayer sessions, and other relationship-oriented gatherings, including picnics. The above-mentioned watch parties, for example, comprise the following elements: (1) common prayer and a foreword, (2) listening to the worship service transmitted live from Milan via YouTube, (3) sharing thoughts after the service, (4) testimonies, and (5) a farewell blessing. The woman in charge informs the group about the meeting place, prayer requests, visits of the Milan-based pastor, and other valuable team-building ideas, such as having dinner together. Importantly, she does not receive a salary for her work since she believes that all the members of Hillsong Church are like one family; thus, whatever she achieves is always for the glory of God. It should be borne in mind that Charismatic authority has little in common with the everyday routine and the profane sphere, where both rational and traditional authority seem to dominate, mainly because it does not rely on rules (Weber, 1947, p. 361).

Last but not least, in Weber's view, charisma is the greatest revolutionary force which "may involve a subjective or internal reorientation born out of suffering, conflicts, or enthusiasm. It may then result in 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, p. 363). Strictly speaking, an influential leader representing a Neo-Charismatic community may use all his or her power to shape one's identity in such a way that it complies with the leader's vision and thereby — contributes to the whole environment as well as advertises the religious products available on offer. A Spirit-filled Christian inspired by, for instance, Ptr. Roselen Boerner Faccio may express his or her interest in the conferences organized by Sabaoth Church. More importantly, he or she may encourage other individuals to join, aiming mostly at those who appear to be in despair.

Charismatic leaders whose initial performance attracted large crowds of enthusiasts and whose authority has been recognized eventually seek to build a more robust relationship with their audience. Hence, this once unconventional authority undergoes the process of routinization (Weber, 1947, p. 364). Touching on the motives underlying the transformation, the ideal and material interests of both the adherents and the administrative staff in the continuous reactivation of the group seem most probable

— the latter, in particular, aims to acquire a stable status in the discipleship-oriented communities. Interestingly, the above-mentioned issues become strongly apparent, especially when there is a need to find a successor. Communities based on a permanent structure rely on the established rules which guarantee suitable measures as opposed to the groups where the routine has not been introduced. Weber (1947, pp. 364-366) points to a set of effective solutions applied in such situations. In the routinized environment then, the choice of a new Charismatic leader should be made: (1) in accordance with the formerly-adopted criteria characteristic of the position offered, (2) pursuant to the revelation manifested in oracles, (3) by the original leader, or (4) the administrative staff, (5) according to hereditary succession order which assumes that charisma may be transmitted by heredity, or (6) during a special ritual focused on transmitting charisma from one bearer to another. In this research, the last option plays a significant role mainly because it is related to what has been addressed here previously, namely, the anointing — frequently associated with the practice of laying on of hands.

Although pure charisma associated with a spiritual duty should not be linked to economic considerations, in reality the leaders do not repudiate the material means of power whose source tends to be filled up with gifts, foundations, honoraria, voluntary contribution, and weekly donations. The reason is that they make their living out of the call. While exploring the Roman communities, I discovered the methods of raising money which were similar regardless of the group.

Firstly, the funds were collected during the Sunday worship service. In the case of Hillsong Rome Connect, which has been operating under the wings of Hillsong Milan, the weekly donations were made through the widely-promoted Hillsong Give App. One of the participants sitting next to me made a transfer soon after the leader announced such a possibility. Her decision to download the app and support the church financially was immediate. Secondly, the material means of power would be delivered, for example, in the form of a conference fee, as happened with the "One Shout" event organized in June 2022 by Sabaoth Church (Il Ministero Sabaoth). The same community would collect money during the so-called Life Groups, that is, home-based gatherings comprising several members. Thirdly, financial resources would also be obtained from the sale of branded items, books, and dedicated courses created by the leadership of a given community. The headquarters of Sabaoth Church, located in Milan as in the case of Hillsong Church, runs the one-year "Emotional Healing" course, whose price is five hundred euros per person.

As shown, the routinization of charisma assumes the form of the appropriation of economic advantages and of control by the followers or disciples who contribute enormously to the community led by a given leader. These influential individuals engaged actively in the growth of the group are also responsible for developing the entry requirements. This is particularly evident in the case of the communities which represent the Catholic Charismatic Renewal or the Charismatic current in general. For example, during my fieldwork in Rome, I encountered the Shalom Catholic Community (La Comunità Cattolica Shalom), whose admission policy requires one year of intensive preparation. Such a trial period is often referred to within the Catholic environment as formation and involves the candidate's direct participation in the events organized by those in charge. Alluding to financial profits, Weber (1947, pp. 368-369) explains that prebendary-oriented movements indicate the difference between the "clergy" and "laity," where the former applies to the routinized administrative staff, whereas the latter to ordinary participants. Moreover, the author highlights the importance of striving for security in terms of the motives underpinning the instances of routinization. Material means of power guarantee the continual operation of the leader and the staff as well as satisfy the needs of those for whom working towards the growth of the group is the only source of income.

It has already been stated in this dissertation that the contemporary religious marketplace seems to be dominated by the fastest-growing movement of the INC (Independent Network Charismatic Christianity) leaders, also referred to as the apostles. Furthermore, it has also been mentioned that Neo-Charismatic and Apostolic are the most dynamically-evolving subcategories of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity and that the question of whether one belongs to the former, to the latter, or to each of them often remains unsolved. During the fieldwork I carried out, I realized that both in Poland and Italy, the representatives of the INC Christianity do not pay much attention to the nomenclature. Interestingly enough, some members of the chosen groups were not even able to specify their affiliation. The emergence of the Third Wave of the Holy Spirit has led to considerable confusion, and hence, for the purposes of this study, whose principal objective is to focus on the language used by Charismatic ministers, I use the terms INC leaders and INC apostles interchangeably. What is more, I can certainly say that the figures I investigated display the Weberian quality of charisma because, first and foremost, they are seen by their enthusiasts as those with supernatural forces of divine origin. Secondly, they are followed by crowds. The apostles differ from other members

of the Body of Christ, and the key difference concerns their exceptional authority reflected in 1 Corinthians 12:28: "And God has appointed these in the church: first apostles, second prophets, third teachers" (Wagner, 2006, p. 22). They have a spiritual gift that includes strong influence. They also have an assignment or a call enabling them to move in authority. Finally, they have extraordinary character and visions, understood as revelations from God (Wagner, 2006, pp. 23-24). In my in-depth analysis focused on written and spoken content, phrases such as: "The Holy Spirit is trying to tell me that…" or "I have the impression that the Holy Spirit wants to…" appear regularly.

As Randall Collins (2020) shows, Jesus is believed to be the archetype of a Charismatic leader, while His exceptional style may serve as a reference point for contemporary INC apostles. Since Jesus' charisma manifests itself in the way He interacts with a great multitude as well as with individuals, the following qualities of his ministry appear most distinctive: (1) Jesus always wins an encounter, (2) Jesus is quick and absolutely decisive, (3) Jesus always does something unexpected, (4) Jesus knows what the other is intending, (5) Jesus is master of the crowd, (6) Jesus does not hide his human weaknesses, and (7) Jesus transforms through altruism (Collins, 2020, p. 20). When it comes to the first feature of Jesus' unique service, it relates to the parables He uses when having a conversation and the tendency to answer questions with questions. In other words, He knows how to silence the opposition and turn one's attention to a different solution. Hence, He is capable of satisfying the audience and impressing the gathered. As for Jesus' decisiveness, it reveals itself when recruiting disciples. To be more exact, becoming part of His inner circle requires great dedication, which is why He demands total obedience and the willingness to break with the existing social norms. What also characterizes Jesus' leadership style is undoubtedly His ability to surprise and act against the expectations of the crowd. He has the courage to oppose those who, for instance, accuse Him of having no respect for the tradition of the elders. Furthermore, He is perceived as an intelligent observer of His immediate environment, where He recognizes particular people's intentions. Jesus seems to focus not only on what the gathered say but also on how they say it, and hence, He understands who is ready for a serious commitment. In addition, it should be remembered that Jesus' charisma makes itself felt through the miracles He performs, including faith-healing, casting our demons, and raising the dead. Contemporary INC leaders have been known for effectively implementing these practices into their ministry to attract the crowds and, consequently, achieve success in the religious marketplace. As far as the crowd is concerned, the fifth

quality of Jesus' exceptional approach refers to the source of His power, and that is the audience He inspires. Therefore, He may be called "master of the crowd," bearing in mind that His crowds are growing instead of being static. Charismatic leaders rest on crowds, and Jesus is the one who shows how a Charismatics movement should be organized (Collins, 2020, p. 43).

Since Jesus' leadership style is considered a strong foundation for the present-day INC apostles, they also try to function, in the image of their Master, within three important spheres, which comprise the crowds, the inner circle of disciples, and the solitude. Put differently, contemporary Christian leaders, first of all, strive to meet large groups of people in order to present themselves in front of the audience and familiarize the gathered with their offer. Moreover, they also need close associates who recognize their authority and accept the existing rules. Finally, they tend to withdraw into solitude to establish close intimacy with God. Another feature of Jesus' ministry relates to His tenderness. It should be noted that Jesus manifests typically human weakness when weeping, for instance. He sympathizes with those who feel pain due to life difficulties. It is worth mentioning that modern-day INC leaders tend to show compassion and a willingness to help, especially during emotional confession in private. Last but not least, Jesus' charisma enables Him to transform His surroundings, while the moral revolution He conducts involves altruism, monastic austerity as well as martyrdom. The Third Wave of the Holy Spirit has been known for its considerable emphasis on transforming individuals and society. Hence, drawing upon Jesus' uniqueness has become a reality.

2.2.3. *Presentation of Self*

This dissertation adopts Erving Goffman's (1956) dramaturgical model of social interaction, which employs a theatrical metaphor in order to account for how human beings present themselves to others. Goffman (1956) provides the following explanation:

A *performance* may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants. Taking a particular participant and his performance as a basic point of reference, we may refer to those who contribute the other performances as the audience, observers, or co-participants. The pre-established pattern of action which is unfolded during a performance and which may be presented or played through on other occasions may be called a *part* or *routine*. (Goffman, 1956, pp. 8-9).

Based on what I have observed while doing fieldwork, I can say that Goffman's approach seems most suitable for identifying the key features of INC leaders' performance, bearing in mind that all the events they hold could be discussed in terms of a spectacular play with the active participation of the audience. Goffman (1956) does not target one specific group of individuals that is somehow connected with a physical stage. Conversely, his model applies to ordinary social interaction which consists in playing different roles in different places depending on the situation.

Contemporary INC apostles are mostly known for promoting the ideas of power evangelism to the public worldwide. Their mission relies, first and foremost, on proclaiming the gospel and providing tangible evidence of divine intervention. Healing services are only one example. These prominent figures have become recognized by their adherents as highly influential, gifted, and successful. In other words, they are not anonymous to the audience. Interestingly, in many cases, they disclose information about their past which undoubtedly helps them to build a strong relationship with the gathered (Goffman, 1956, p. 1). In Goffman's view, actors performing a particular role should control the conduct of others, especially the way they respond to the performance in question (Goffman, 1956, p. 2). Take the example of the formerly-addressed healing events: the participants expect a series of miracles and the healing minister understands their expectations. Therefore, during such a meeting, individuals are encouraged to testify in order to confirm the apostle's efficacy. The lack of testimonies would probably have a negative impact on the definition of the situation projected by the one in charge and would give rise to an open conflict (Goffman, 1956, p. 2).

Stark and Finke's theory on religious economies (Stark and Finke, 2005, p. 9) highlights the notion of a religious product a given religious entrepreneur wishes to sell. Divine healing is believed to be such a product, and that is why the INC leaders intentionally and consciously try to evoke a specific response from the audience. The more miracles they perform, the more followers they will attract. Performance disruptions, also known as incidents that occur in the form of unmeant gestures, inopportune intrusions, faux pas, and scenes, threaten the reality shaped by performers. Referring to unmeant gestures, they comprise not only bodily movements per se but also all the actions that may cause confusion for both parties (Goffman, 1956, p. 132). Inopportune intrusions happen when, for instance, a member of the audience accidentally enters a restricted area, as in the case of an intimate prayer room where an individual is being prayed over, and the event itself was meant to be exclusively for a narrow circle of

participants. With regard to faux pas, they result from the intentional disclosure of some inconvenient facts about the performer's past life or current behavior. If the disclosed information destroys the team's image, one may speak of gaffes (Goffman, 1956, p. 133). As for scenes, these are the measures taken by an individual in order to undermine the already existing polite appearance of a performer and to change the course of events. In consequence, a new drama compulsorily takes place, and the team is eventually reapportioned (Goffman, 1956, p. 133). Sometimes scenes arise from performers' inability to continue their dramaturgical cooperation in a given team. Furthermore, they may also stem from the audience's lack of interest in polite interaction or its coincidental engagement in a heated debate (Goffman, 1956, p. 134).

Goffman's theory provides a wide selection of impression management techniques whose employment helps avoid embarrassment under such circumstances, including defensive and protective measures (Goffman, 1956, p. 134). The former applies to the attributes and practices implemented by performers who wish to save their own show, whereas the latter tends to be employed by the audience with the intention of supporting the performers. The category of defensive measures identifies the quality of dramaturgical loyalty, dramaturgical discipline, and dramaturgical circumspection. The concept of protective measures focuses mainly on remarkable tolerance (Goffman, 1956, p. 148). Dramaturgical loyalty aims to prevent the performers from sympathizing with the audience. For this reason, high ingroup solidarity is necessary. Moreover, it is also recommended to change audiences from time to time (Goffman, 1956, p. 136).

INC leaders tend to visit different communities, but it should be remembered that their enthusiasts follow them regularly. Dramaturgical discipline has to do with a performer's self-control in terms of emotions. In other words, he or she does not commit unmeant gestures whose introduction might destroy the show. The worship services I witnessed in Poland and Italy were deeply emotional. However, that particular expression was deliberate and intended to strengthen the bond between the performer and the gathered. Dramaturgical circumspection concentrates on exercising prudence in staging the show and preparing for random events in advance (Goffman, 1956, p. 139). A circumspect performer carefully selects the audience, and so he or she does in terms of teammates. The principal objective of a circumspect performer is to stay out of trouble, even at the cost of limiting the number of collaborators. Take as a case in point the deliverance ministry which accepts only a handful of trusted individuals. The same is true for Catholic exorcisms. In 2021, I encountered a woman who had previously been

exorcised by a Catholic priest. She agreed to take part in my research on how people conceptualize demonic oppression. She answered all my questions with absolute honesty, but when I suggested that I would like to participate in one of the meetings and witness the prayer, she advised me to wait for the priest's approval. It turned out that the deliverance team was a closed group.

Apart from what has been stated above, several additional terms referring to Goffman's dramaturgical approach should be clarified, namely, the front, setting, appearance, and manner. Regarding the first one, it applies to the expressive content implemented either intentionally or unwittingly by the performer during his or her show. The setting, which tends to stay put, involves items representing the scenery and contributing to performance. Interestingly, the items which are expected to follow the performer, and which are intimately associated with the figure himself or herself came to be known as his or her personal front. They encompass, for example, clothing, age, posture, body language, and facial expressions (Goffman, 1956, pp. 14-15). As for appearance and manner, these are the stimuli that make up personal front. The former alludes to the performer's social status, whereas the latter informs about the interaction role the performer intends to play in a moment. While carrying out my research at home and abroad, I encountered many successful INC apostles whose personal front made them unique. The same is true for the persuasive manner they employed in a worship service.

Considering the practices the INC leaders engage in, it can be assumed that they fall firmly into the category of work the religious entrepreneurs do with the intention of promoting their own brand, bearing in mind that they themselves are the brand in question. Goffman (1956, p. 20) draws attention to what he calls dramatic self-expression or dramatization of work and what involves developing a straightforward narrative. To be more exact, the performer should act convincingly enough to win the trust of the audience. I observed this type of dramatization when analyzing the aforementioned Tomasz Dorożała's performance. Due to the fact that he claims to be a deliverance minister, he is expected to express himself in accordance with the circumstances. Put it differently, his personal front must attract the audience to such an extent that the participants come back for the same product. Dorożała casts out demons, and therefore, his performance aims to highlight supernatural manifestations in the form of uncontrolled bodily movements, screams, or voices that sound nonhuman. At the same time, he focuses on creating the impression of being on the battlefield with the evil forces and communicating effectively with the gathered, both verbally and non-verbally. Moreover, he must also supervise the

course of the event and be prepared to incorporate some of the defensive strategies in case he fails to achieve his goal since, on certain occasions, even a well-prepared actor may create the impression which turns out to be the complete opposite of the one fostered before. Communication discrepancies usually occur when the performer loses control of his or her muscles, as in the case of yawning, when he or she does not appear interested in the interaction, or when the presentation suffers from inadequate dramaturgical direction (Goffman, 1956, p. 34). Therefore, particularly crucial for a skillful performer is his or her capability to segregate the audience (Goffman, 1956, p. 31). More specifically, individuals participating in one of his or her parts in a given setting should not witness him or her playing a different part in a different setting.

Contemporary Neo-Pentecostals and Pentecostal Catholics emphasize teamwork, mostly because Wimber's power evangelism rests on cooperation to a large extent. Hence, these communities operate based on task assignment, which is why groups such as worship teams or deliverance teams emerge. While carrying out my study in Rome, I joined the aforementioned home-based Life Group of Sabaoth Church, which I also considered a team, that is, a team of individuals engaged in proclaiming the gospel to those not affiliated. As observed by Goffman (1956, p. 47), the performance serves predominantly to express the features of the task performed instead of the features of the performer. More accurately, one's personal front targets a wider scope, and when it comes to performance teams, its members are expected to play the role they agreed to before. Referring back to my Roman experience, the Life Group from Bracciano was assigned a responsible task of creating a subsidiary of the Rome-based church. Hence, the team shared the same vision of effective church planting, and that is why the relationship between individual members was harmonious and strong. In Goffman's view, two essential components of a relationship should be taken into account when talking about team performance in progress: reciprocal dependence and reciprocal familiarity (Goffman, 1956, pp. 50-51). The former refers to appropriate conduct, whereas the latter refers to a kind of intimacy between teammates that developed over time. The Bracciano group featured both of them, mainly by showing their unanimity regarding the definition of the situation they were staging. On one occasion, I was asked to participate in the interviews held in the streets of Bracciano. The principal objective of that event was to figure out what facilities were most desirable by the inhabitants so that the subsidiary in question might provide them easily and, at the same time, encourage individuals to affiliate with the church. During the performance, a man approached by a team member

stated that he had been a non-believer. As a response, the team unanimously decided to step back and look for another interviewee.

Goffman's dramaturgical model differentiates between a front region and a back region, also recognized as backstage. This division seems important for both the performer and the audience. The term "region" stands for "any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception" (Goffman, 1956, p. 66). Regions vary depending on the extent to which they are limited and the means of communication responsible for creating the barriers. The front region is the place where the performance is put on, whereas the back region deals with the aspects of the performance whose disclosure during the show might discredit the fostered impression. Moreover, the back region is believed to be inaccessible to the audience. This particular feature makes it a restricted zone where the performers use informal language different from the one spoken to the gathered. In other words, the concept of a region should be primarily interpreted in terms of the functions it serves at the time of the show. With reference to the event that took place in Bracciano, these indicate the interviews with the encountered individuals in the streets of the town and the preparation for them during the weekly meetings held in a team member's house, respectively. It is also worth bearing in mind that the performer should comply with certain standards when interacting with the audience. Hence, Goffman's theory introduces two terms, namely, matters of politeness which are related to the previously-discussed manner, and decorum which is linked to appearance. The first one implies how the performer behaves while talking to the gathered, and the second one concerns how the performer acts while being under scrutiny but not personally engaged in a conversation with those who observe (Goffman, 1956, p. 67). Sunday worship services in Sabaoth Church in Rome, for example, were always preceded by moments of spontaneous talks in the church café located in front of the entrance to the worship room. Interestingly, pastors and leaders were also involved, which provided an opportunity to watch how they comported themselves.

The aforementioned notions of front and back regions are followed by a third category of residual nature, that is, the outside which encompasses all places other than the two already described (Goffman, 1956, p. 82). Individuals who do not belong to front and back region social establishments are called outsiders. Returning to the home-based gathering of Bracciano Life Group, the emergence of the unaffiliated individual might decisively influence the course of events, as in the case of the part during which the participants pray in tongues. The Bracciano group would pray spontaneously in a small

room when accompanied by emotionally evocative worship songs in the background. Besides, they would also pray in the vernacular and confess to the rest. The presence of someone who knows nothing about their practices might turn out to be destructive for both parties. In Goffman's view, on such occasions, the performance in progress continues regardless of the outsider's emergence, but the upcoming show might be subject to change.

2.2.4. *Persuasion*

According to Aleksy Awdiejew (2007, p. 69), the concept of a conversational strategy refers to a sequence of speech acts performed deliberately by the sender and interpreted by the recipient by means of which they seek to reach the shared communication goal. He distinguishes three basic categories, namely, (1) informational and verifying, (2) axiological and emotive, and (3) behavioral (Awdiejew, 2007, p. 72). All these strategies can be either antagonistic, that is, emphasizing the lack of coincidence between the sender and recipient's communication goals, or non-antagonistic, whose main feature is reciprocity. As far as the informational and verifying conversational strategies are concerned, the sender aims to obtain the information contained in the recipient's operational knowledge or to provide the recipient with the information already possessed so that they both try to prove its validity (non-antagonistic approach). However, it may also be the case that the sender tries to make the recipient accept his or her perspective based on the knowledge already possessed or just obtained (antagonistic approach). Speaking of axiological and emotive strategies, they involve reaching an agreement between the sender and recipient on their attitudes towards particular objects, facts, and situations (non-antagonistic approach), or on the contrary, they serve to change the recipient's attitude in such a way that it becomes favorable to the sender (antagonistic approach). With respect to behavioral strategies, they seek to control interlocutors' behavior by means of a verbal impact and, in consequence, to encourage them to take measures. That is why, on this occasion, language is perceived as a tool for modifying the interactive system (Awdiejew, 2007, p. 78). Behavioral strategies include, for example, giving advice, issuing an order or a prohibition, issuing a warning, making suggestions, making requests, and making a promise.

As explained by Grażyna Habrajska (2020, p. 70), the notion of persuasion stands for the speaker's intentional verbal performance, which aims to change or modify the

recipient's attitude. If persuasion turns out to be successful, then the recipient may be urged to take action. Moreover, its major features comprise the dialogic character, cooperation in searching for solutions, complete transparency in terms of the communication goal, and the usage of logical as well as axiological arguments. Interestingly, the persuasive ineffectiveness usually results from two types of errors, namely, a tactical error or a genetic error. The former occurs when the speaker had a real possibility to influence his or her interlocutor but failed to do so, whereas the latter arises from the speaker's inability to accurately assess the situation, which consequently leads to a serious disruption (Habrajska, 2020, p. 71). The persuasive process distinguishes two significant components: a persuasive framework and factual persuasion (Habrajska, 2020, p. 94). The persuasive framework seeks to prepare the recipient for the content to which he or she will be exposed. Therefore, the speaker takes necessary measures to weaken the recipient's vigilance, mostly through building a good rapport with him or her. At the same time, factual persuasion serves to convince the recipient to accept the speaker's point of view. Relating to their specific attributes, they will be described in detail below.

The persuasive framework, as noted by Habrajska (2020, p. 94), comprises the phase of creating disposition for approving the persuasive message, the phase of creating a close bond between the speaker and the recipient, and the phase of creating the image of the speaker who tries to give the impression of being knowledgeable. During the initial phase, the persuader tends to emphasize the recipient's intelligence, his or her right to satisfy the vital needs, and also his or her capability to understand the persuader's intentions. His or her attempts may prove effective, provided that they comply with what seems to be of utmost importance for the recipient in terms of the problem tackled. Successful emotional preparation is equally significant and consists in evoking both positive and negative feelings. The positive feelings include complimenting, highlighting the value of a relationship, making promises, and addressing one's expectations, whereas the negative ones are built on growing fear (Habrajska, 2020, p. 95). Apropos complimenting, argumentation theory mentions what came to be known as arguments of pride and vanity (argumentum ad superbia, argumentum ad vanitem), which enable the speaker to influence one's self-esteem. In contrast, arguments of empathy (argumentum ad misericordiam) tend to be used by the speaker to evoke compassion. With respect to making promises, argumentation theory seeks to rely on arguments of utility (argumentum ab utili), whose primary goal is to make the recipient believe that his or her submission will bring benefits. Regarding one's expectations, it should be made clear that

they may correspond either to prosperity or failure, and therefore, they may be associated with both positive and negative feelings. To be more precise, the speaker may want the recipient to succeed. But on certain occasions, he or she may also want the recipient to give up or accept what the speaker considers right. The speaker's wish to evoke negative emotions usually results from the speaker's hatred and aversion towards a particular individual, object, phenomenon, or group of individuals and objects (argumentum ad invidiam). Moreover, the speaker may steer the conversation in such a way as to create the fear of the unknown, and hence, the recipient is gradually becoming more and more biased (argumentum ad metum, argumentum ad baculum). Interestingly, arguments based on the recipient's belief system (argumentum ad passiones) have been used as a ground for addressing the multitude (argumentum ad populum) (Habrajska, 2020, pp. 95-100). The second phase of the persuasive framework rests on absolute trust. To be more specific, the speaker inspires confidence in the recipient to such an extent that he or she starts to believe in the speaker's willingness to act in his or her favor. For this purpose, the speaker sympathizes with the recipient by referring to shared life difficulties and experiences. In consequence, a close bond between the speaker and recipient develops, which eventually strengthens over the course of time. Importantly, argumentation theory recognizes a series of arguments the speaker may use when the relationship with the recipient has already been established, and therefore, the speaker tries to take advantage of this fact (argumentum ad amicitiam) (Habrajska, 2020, p. 102.). In relation to third phase, it concentrates on giving the impression of being qualified enough to perform. In order to do so, the speaker seeks to introduce different strategies, such as providing relevant arguments which will be axiologically compatible with the recipient's belief system and informing the recipient about the speaker's education followed by lifetime achievements. Sharing testimonies, especially when they allude to positive moral stories, is also one of the most common strategies employed to validate one's authority. Last but not least, it should be noted that apart from the purely informative maneuvers, the strategy based on causing embarrassment tends to be frequently incorporated. In other words, the speaker attempts to make his or her opponent look ridiculous and thereby entertain the audience. In effect, the speaker gains the viewers' affection and appreciation.

The remaining component of the persuasive process, namely the factual persuasion, manifests itself in three distinct perspectives, including the informative, axiological, and behavioral ones (Habrajska, 2020, p. 106), which appear to correspond to the conversational strategies suggested by Awdiejew (2007). The principal objective

of informative persuasion is to provide the recipient with some facts that he or she is not familiar with and to lead him or her to accept these facts in the end. With regard to axiological persuasion, the speaker strives to interfere with the recipient's value system. Therefore, he or she usually begins by reinforcing, weakening, or resetting individual's experiences in terms of their significance. Consequently, the recipient's value hierarchy changes radically. As in the case of the informative perspective, recipients tend to compare information, draw conclusions, and finally, either reject or agree with what has been offered. When it comes to behavioral persuasion, it aims to urge the recipient to take measures desired by the speaker. It should also be remembered that the arguments implemented by the persuader vary depending on the perspective the speaker opts for. Those used to introduce new facts require analytical reasoning, whereas those used to change one's attitude affect mostly the emotional sphere and rest on dialectical reasoning (Habrajska, 2020, p. 108).

Argumentation theory differentiates between substantive and non-substantive arguments. Substantive arguments rely on verifiable phenomena and form the core of what has been defined here as factual persuasion. In contrast, the non-substantive arguments concern subjective opinions and are typical of the previously-discussed persuasive framework. However, on certain occasions, they can also enrich the factual persuasion component (Habrajska, 2020, p. 110). Substantive arguments tend to be used mostly in the academic discourse, while non-substantive arguments in the journalistic and vernacular discourses. It should be noted that the arguments characteristic of factual persuasion build upon two distinctive models, including that based on the analogy principle and that based on the exclusion principle. The former comprises, for instance, the arguments which arise from the similarity between what is happening now and what has already happened (argumentum a simili), the arguments which refer to particular stories and highlight a role model (argumentum ab exemplo) as well as the arguments which allude to tradition, customs, and history (argumentum ad antiquitatem). When talking about the latter, it encompasses the arguments which result from antagonisms (argumentum a contrario), the silence (argumentum a silentio), and those which make reference to one's ignorance (argumentum ad ignorantiam) (Habrajska, 2020, pp. 111-113). Importantly, factual persuasion can be either unilateral or multilateral. Unilateralism stands for the tendency to present only those arguments which support a given thesis, and therefore it is usually employed when interacting with the uneducated recipient that has difficulties in analyzing the ambiguous content as opposed to

multilateralism, which incorporates the arguments for and against and is specific to the educated individuals who demonstrate sufficient reasoning skills (Habrajska, 2020, p. 114).

Richard E. Petty et al. (1994, p. 266) differentiate between two distinct routes to persuasion, namely, the central route and the peripheral route. The first one entails the careful and thoughtful examination of the validity of the information presented, while the second one occurs as a result of some cognitively less demanding short-cuts which do not require an individual to carry out a detailed analysis of the content. Notably, attitudes that have been formed via the central route are believed to be resistant to counterpersuasion as opposed to those formed through the peripheral route since they are susceptible to change and do not affect one's behavior in the long term. The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion (ELM) has been proposed in order to investigate how a variety of factors, including unconditioned stimuli, speed of speech, and source credibility, can decrease, increase, or have no impact on attitude change (Petty et al., 1994, p. 266). Based on the ELM model, it has been discovered that when the central route is followed, one's prior knowledge and initial opinions may bias argument processing and therefore determine one's acceptance or rejection of what has been recommended. It should also be remembered that factors that might serve as persuasion cues are of minor importance for this particular mechanism. However, when the peripheral route is followed, the hierarchy seems to be just the opposite. Human motivation and an ability to engage in issue-relevant thinking are said to modify the elaboration likelihood efficacy from low to high (Petty et al., 1994, p. 267). Several motivational variables have been identified, bearing in mind their role in inspiring an individual to reflect on the content of the message. These are task or stimulus variables which focus on the personal relevance of the recommendation, individual difference variables, including one's need for cognition, and contextual variables, which refer to the number of advocates (Petty et al., 1994, p. 268). Importantly, all of them rest on a directive, goal-oriented component known as intention as well as a non-directive component called effort or exertion. For elaboration likelihood to be high, both of them should be present. To clarify, one may intend to consider a particular issue but does not take the necessary measures in the end. In the matter of one's ability to get involved in what has been conveyed, task or stimulus variables, including message comprehensibility, individual difference variables that feature, for instance, intelligence, and contextual variables like distraction and message repetition have been enumerated and recognized as crucial.

The theories presented by Habrajska (2020) and Petty et al. (1994) appear to correspond directly to the essence of this research. Habrajska's distinction between the persuasive framework and the factual persuasion perfectly captures the mechanisms of the Neo-Pentecostal interaction pattern, bearing in mind its particular stages, whereas the approach promoting the central and peripheral routes serves as a reference point to the question of audience segregation since it highlights the correlation between individual's cognitive capacities and the quality of impact a religious leader may exert on him or her. The participants of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual who follow the peripheral route are believed to be more susceptible to persuasion as opposed to those eager to scrutinize the message arguments, mostly because the former prefer the emotional load enriched by visual and aural effects over the careful examination of the content provided, which is typical of the latter. Take, for instance, the periodic events known as prophetic evenings during which some individuals may claim to have received a divine message and as a result, they pass that message onto a selected person or members of the audience in general, convinced that God wants them to do so. Its content usually refers to important life events but what seems most surprising, is the recipients' complete lack of criticism towards the disclosed pieces of information. In other words, they do not tend to question the validity of the prophecy just received. Instead, they take it for granted. The issue of how the selected persuasive strategies implemented by some prominent figures of the Neo-Pentecostal environment affect the audience will be raised in the next chapter.

2.2.5. *Branding faith*

When conducting fieldwork in Poland and Italy, I paid careful attention not only to the intracommunity ritual but also to how church leaders communicate with the prospects. The implementation of the marketplace terminology I am using eagerly in this research results from its strong reliance on Stark and Finke's theory of religious economies (Stark and Finke, 2005, p. 9), whose overview has been discussed above and whose great emphasis on religious pluralism has been manifested in reality. For the purposes of this study, I assumed that the church leaders in question represent a particular brand that attracts the prospects, also termed religious shoppers, with its unique products, whereas the church itself may be perceived as a thriving company focused on effective advertising and marketing. Therefore, the problem of branding faith, together with all its aspects, appears relevant to my investigation.

Maria Einstein (2008, p. 70) claims that "branding is about making meaning — taking the individual aspects of a product and turning them into more than the sum of their parts. It is about giving consumers something to think and feel about a product or service beyond its physical attributes. It's about fulfilling a need; providing what marketers call the benefit". What seems crucial here is the relationship a consumer establishes with a particular brand as well as the fact that this specific bond is believed to arise from his or her direct experience. The approach to advertising has changed over the years, and currently, it is more about user benefits than product qualities. Strictly speaking, the current strategy employs the so-called psychographic segmentation, which considers one's needs, hopes, fears, attitudes, and opinions since these factors tend to shape the action and choices an individual makes (Einstein, 2008, p. 68). It is worth bearing in mind that branding needs to be considered from two different perspectives, namely, the customer's perspective and the one of the company. Regarding the religious marketplace, it should therefore be analyzed from the potential affiliate's perspective and that of a given church, respectively. Among the goals each brand works towards, creating financial value for the owner, creating different forms of value for customers so that they become brand loyalists, being remembered for a long time, and becoming a part of culture appear most vital (Einstein, 2008, p. 71). As far as my fieldwork is concerned, the term "brand loyalist" refers to a regular churchgoer whose spiritual needs have been met as a consequence of continuous exposure to the product he or she particularly demanded.

The role brands play in creating one's identity is of immense importance for my research. To be more accurate, having an affinity for a concrete brand associated with concrete values may give a clue as to what priorities an individual concentrates on and what preferences he or she demonstrates. Take, for example, the case of the prophetic evening organized by Filadelfia Church from Wodzisław Śląski (Kościół Filadelfia), which came to be known as the Atmosphere of Heaven (Atmosfera Nieba). This particular event gathers a large group of people who share the same point of view and build mutual support. Their involvement suggests that they identify with the content presented to them by church leaders, that is, the brand they follow, and hence, they willingly return. Moreover, their growing reliance on supernatural phenomena reveals how they perceive the world and decode the messages they receive. The problem of identity shift with respect to religious communities will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter.

Touching on a symbolic relationship between marketing and religion, it should be remembered that religious products serve two different functions, namely, for religious

consumers, they are means of expressing their faith, whereas for religious merchandisers, they are means of spreading the faith and attracting the unchurched (Einstein, 2008, p. 75). Interestingly, both marketing and religion emphasize magical thinking, which refers to the hopes a consumer puts in a given product. Indeed, a religious shopper tries to find a brand or product that will provide them with emotional comfort. For instance, my respondents, who claimed to have been possessed by evil spirits, had trusted a product recognized as a prayer for deliverance which a selected brand, in this case, a deliverance minister, had made available for them (Berdowicz, 2021). Put differently, it can be stated that their interaction with the chosen brand had been motivated by their absolute confidence in the product efficacy. Furthermore, both marketing and religion rest on storytelling and meaning making (Einstein, 2008, p. 78). Religion, which stands for the acceptance of a belief system, creates meaning with the aid of various rituals and practices while marketing, which stands for the acceptance of beliefs about the product, uses advertising and shopping. The strategy adopted by contemporary Neo-Pentecostalism proves that religion is a commodity since it can be packaged and sold similarly to a wide range of marketed goods and services (Einstein, 2008, p. 78).

From the preceding discussion it is clear that marketing appears to be a complex process, mostly dues to the fierce competition in business. As regards the religious marketplace, the competition in question relates to the number of affiliates a particular church has, its development potential, and the feedback in the public space. In order to comprehend a strong correlation between religion and entrepreneurship, it is crucial to get a closer look at marketing fundamentals and the consumer decision-making process, which consists of five significant stages, namely, problem recognition, search for information, evaluation of alternatives, product purchase, and post-purchase behavior (Einstein, 2008, p. 79). This process may vary depending on whether it is a high-involvement or low-involvement purchase. Obviously, for Neo-Pentecostalism enthusiasts buying a book on divine healing holds less significance than finding the right healing minister whom one wishes to trust. When it comes to the problem recognition phase, it may be, for instance, one's spiritual need that requires satisfaction. An individual realizes that his or her current state of being is not what he or she desires. During my stay in Rome, I became interested in several brands or, to be more precise, in several religious communities, and that is why I carried out a detailed market analysis. Sabaoth Church Roma, one of these brands, offered a product called Life Groups, which stood for weekly meetings in members' houses. I purchased that product which, in practical terms, meant

that I decided to participate in the above-mentioned gatherings and, at the same time, build a relationship with the brand in question as well as with other loyalists. Importantly, the purchase mechanism looks different from a marketer's point of view, which has been explained based on the marketing relationship curve (Einstein, 2008, p. 79). The curve involves brand awareness, consideration, conversion, retention, and post-sale support. Brand awareness applies to teaching people, the so-called suspects, that a particular product is available, and hence it has to do with effective marketing, which employs a wide range of tools, including advertising, public relations, or personal selling (Einstein, 2008, p. 80). The consideration phase is the equivalent of the evaluation of alternatives stage presented above since it concerns the transformation of a suspect into a prospect. Pushing the prospect into purchase frequently requires sampling. In other words, the prospect is given an opportunity to try the product. Referring back to my engagement in the Life Group, I should make it clear that prior to the purchase, I had been invited to the Sunday worship service, during which I had been encouraged to ask questions and talk to church leaders. Once the prospect becomes a fully-fledged customer, he or she is said to have converted. Conversion in marketing may give rise to the so-called lead cultivation, which means that the converted seeks to promote the product among those who may also benefit from its purchase; therefore, they are often referred to as "evangelists" (Einstein, 2008, p. 83). Take, for example, the prayer for deliverance: those who feel relieved and claim to have been liberated from demonic forces frequently tend to invite others as a token of their appreciation. The post-sale service and support, which involves the long-term interaction between the brand and consumer, is the final stage of the marketing relationship curve. Strictly speaking, the brand continues to collect information about its customer in order to positively reinforce their purchase decision (Einstein, 2008, p. 81). Although the term conversion has been chiefly associated with religious seekers, the analysis studied above reveals many parallels between the marketing relationship curve and the framework of conversion typical of the spiritual realm. It always starts with one's awareness, either in terms of a given brand or the spiritual domain, and it always concerns building one's identity. As for going through particular stages, the formation process aims to first and foremost establish, strengthen, and cement ties with the target entity.

Religious consumer society has evolved over the years. Its gradual development is believed to have been caused by a few factors, such as a breakdown in religious norms, an increased individual freedom to choose, a change in values, increases in disposable income, an increase in individual security, an increased exposure to mass media, and

increased individual mobility (Usunier and Stolz, 2014, p. 5). Religious shoppers' expectations have also changed, and nowadays, they often expect (1) high-quality services, including music, good speakers, and easy access to places of worship, (2) entertainment that rests on dramatic presentations, and (3) possibility to decide on which religious practices they want to follow (Usunier and Stolz, 2014, p. 8). Currently, one's religious affiliation has nothing in common with what the parents favored. Conversely, it is strongly motivated by one's attraction towards a concrete religious entrepreneur or the brand he or she embodies.

Chapter 3.

Neo-Pentecostal Awakening and Transformation

The concept of religious awakening has been thoroughly debated by prominent scholars for decades (Washburn, 2003; Taylor, 2017; Taylor, 2012a; Taylor, 2012b; Schwartz and Mishara, 2011; Leone, 2004; Gooren, 2010; Joseph, 2001; Joseph, 1988; James, 1902/2002; Csordas, 2002; Csordas, 1994). Some of them made a clear distinction between conversion and transformation in terms of their intensity as well as their connotations with particular religious institutions (Spilka, et al., 2009). Therefore, when talking about conversion, one may think of a phenomenon typical of a given denomination as opposed to transformation whose main characteristics may suggest a more complex process that happens outside a specific congregation. For the purpose of this research, I use the notion of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation to refer to what I investigated. They go together because the former gives rise to the latter. It should be remembered that for Neo-Pentecostals, the awakened are those who have been successfully healed according to the principles of Wimber's integrated model of healing. Apropos transformation, it applies to visible changes in one's behavior and attitude resulting from the procedure efficacy. The findings of my investigation seem to fit into the typology formulated by Elmer T. Clark (1929, pp. 39-49) who emphasizes three kinds of awakening, and these are: (1) the definite crisis awakening, (2) the emotional stimulus awakening, and (3) the gradual awakening. In broad terms, a religious awakening has been understood as "the process by which the individual makes a definite reaction to, assumes a definite attitude toward, or enters into a personal relationship with his God" (Clark, 1929, p. 34). Indeed, for Neo-Pentecostals, the personal relationship with the deity is the core of their faith.

The definite crisis awakening, as its name suggests, stands for the type caused by one's inner crisis whose side effects led an individual to embrace faith. The attitude change in this case is believed to be definite and firmly rooted in the experience (Clark, 1929, p. 39). The emotional stimulus awakening refers to the type in which the emotional upheaval is either less intensive or totally absent, and that is why no special change can be observed. Nevertheless, an individual tends to look back to a momentous event which served as a powerful stimulus to awaken his or her religious consciousness (Clark, 1929,

p. 43). The event in question usually concerns a public meeting such as a worship service, during which an individual engages in a ritual. Although his or her life and attitude remain unchanged, what really matters for an individual is the stimulus itself that has served as a reference point ever since. The category of gradual awakening encompasses those whose religious life has been rather harmonious, however, experienced by highs and lows. Such individuals do not recall periods of despair, but they do recall the desire to strengthen their bond with God and to grow spiritually.

This chapter focuses primarily on the process of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation induced by the Neo-Pentecostal leaders. It attempts to identify the pattern characteristic of the contemporary religious communities which follow Wimber's model. Therefore, the main question to answer here is: How does the Neo-Pentecostal language trigger out one's personal revival and how does it affect one's transformation? Firstly, the components of the Neo-Pentecostal interaction ritual (IR) with particular attention to shared symbols will be discussed. Secondly, the role of cognitive restructuring in one's identity shift will be taken into consideration and finally, the problem of how Neo-Pentecostals who claim to have had the awakening experience and conceptualize supernatural phenomena, will be raised. Based on what has already been stated in the previous chapters, it should be made clear that although Flory and Christerson (2017, p. 5) differentiate between Neo-Charismatic and Apostolic varieties of Christianity, in this study the main emphasis has been put on the influential figures referred to as the INC leaders or the apostles whose activity has been recognized worldwide regardless of the group they represent. The boundary between what is Neo-Pentecostal by name and what is Neo-Pentecostal by nature is rather fluid, especially that Wimber and Wagner co-operated closely. To be more exact, the fact that a given leader embodies Neo-Pentecostalism or Catholic Pentecostalism dominated by the Neo-Pentecostal thought, does not mean that he or she cannot act as an apostle. On the contrary, the present-day ministers follow the Apostolic path which they promote during various awakening conferences around the world, and hence they are frequently referred to as the itinerant preachers. The tools and strategies they use are the issues of highest importance for this research.

3.1. The Zones

While carrying out a detailed investigation in Poland and Italy, I identified three distinct stages of the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process which I termed as follows: (1) the preparation stage, also referred to as the induction stage, (2) the immersion stage, and (3) the reinforcement stage during which the actual identity shift takes place. They are particularly relevant for my research since they focus on both the components of the process and its efficacy. It should be remembered that the activities undertaken during each of these stages give rise to the emergence of particular symbols of different intensity whose occurrence eventually unites the audience and strengthens the sense of belonging. The analysis of the data revealed, enabled me to put forward a thesis that the Neo-Pentecostal language implemented during the Neo-Pentecostal ritual serves as a tool for cognitive restructuring which ultimately leads to a considerable change in perception. In other words, the Neo-Pentecostal language serves as a trigger for and mediator of personal revival and transformation which in practical terms means that it does not only evoke the shift but also modulates and mediates one's metamorphosis to a great extent. Furthermore, the model I employed, points out to the common denominator for what has already been identified as the integrated model of healing and the solutions offered by cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT). Before proceeding to its essence, the definition of the Neo-Pentecostal language should be provided. Importantly, the effects of my investigation together with all the vital terms I have coined, have already been discussed in a research article (Berdowicz, 2022). Based on my observations, I defined the Neo-Pentecostal language as a unique type of speech that "has originated and then been shaped in the Neo-Pentecostal communities, which have been using it to establish a close relationship with the supernatural, to explore the Christian realm, and to interact with fellow members through the application of a special code" (Berdowicz, 2022, p. 155). Interestingly enough, none of the scholars working on Pentecostalism has ever made an attempt to introduce a practical approach of the concept in question, especially considering that it seems to be one of the main characteristics of the Wimberian era. In respect of the qualities of the Neo-Pentecostal language, they will be addressed in detail in subsequent sections.

Randall Collins (2004) notes that rituals can be interpreted in terms of the ingredients they are constructed from and the outcomes whose influence individuals are expected to be under over a long period of time. During the fieldwork I conducted,

I observed a certain pattern which appears to fall into the categories Collins (2004) distinguishes. When it comes to ritual ingredients, Collins (2004) mentions: group assembly (bodily co-presence), barrier to outsiders, mutual focus of attention, and shared mood (Collins, 2004, p. 48). As for ritual outcomes, he identifies group solidarity, emotional energy in individual, symbols of social relationship (sacred objects), and standards of morality (Collins, 2004, p. 48). In order for a ritual to take place, two or more participants should gather. In other words, the bodily presence is crucial for the efficient interplay. Boundaries enable the gathered to recognize who is part of the performance. During its course, individuals start to focus their attention on a given object or activity so that the mutual awareness develops. In consequence, the gathered share a common emotional experience. Noteworthy is the fact that the mutual focus of attention and the common mood tend to reinforce each other. Take for example a deliverance service: its participants pray over a given person who is believed to be possessed by some demonic forces. The prayer starts quietly but as soon as the possessed fall into a trance, which is usually associated with demonic manifestations, the gathered intensify their efforts and that is how the bond strengthens. The successful combination of all these ingredients gives rise to the emergence of powerful symbols the participants identify with and feel connected to. The term symbol stands for visual icons, words, and gestures (Collins, 2004, p. 49), but also for the prominent figures the gathered follow and support, as in the case of the Neo-Pentecostal ministers. Finally, what appears to be of utmost importance for this research is the so-called emotional energy (EE), that is an internal drive responsible for one's initiative to take action as well as his or her confidence, enthusiasm, and elation.

While investigating the selected communities and leaders, I made an assumption that the Neo-Pentecostal ritual might be analyzed based on Collins's theory, mostly because its characteristics seem to perfectly account for the Neo-Pentecostal reality, especially in terms of those listed and described in detail below. Another reason for choosing Collins' approach is the emphasis he puts on ritual participants, portraying them as emotional energy seekers. Since emotional energy is one of the keywords in this study, the use of Collins' ideas sounds reasonable. It should be remembered that the vast majority of Neo-Pentecostal events rest on excitement, searched for people who feel emotional discomfort and at the same time boosted by the so-called energy stars (Collins, 2004, p. 132), that is, individuals capable of motivating others. That is why, taking a closer look at what happens and how it happens in terms of awakening and transformation phenomena appears to be necessary. A participant observation enabled me

to comprehend the role of a human agent in creating the mysterious realm I was committed to.

The first ingredient of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, namely, the bodily presence, refers to a face-to-face interaction between individuals which relies heavily on the touch. Upon entering the building where a worship service would take place, I could observe worshippers hugging one another or gathering around a table in order to make a small talk. Referring back to the multimodal approach, the question of spatial representation, including physical arrangement and proximity, should be taken into account. The tables would be arranged in such a way as to encourage the others to join and to swap the interlocutors easily. Of major importance for the bodily interaction would be a café corner placed in front of the tables since it was there that the worshippers could order a home-made cake or taste unique tea or coffee. It should be mentioned here that the relationship zone in question (the term I coined to refer to the physical pre-service area in a church building which the worshippers step into and step out of depending on the agenda; the area where individuals make friends or approach those they already know to discuss various topics) was characteristic of Italian and Polish churches alike. Interestingly enough, the bodily component would affect also the novices who had never been to that place before. The Neo-Pentecostal churches have introduced a special ministry called the welcome ministry whose main purpose, as its name suggests, is to make the newcomers feel at home. A welcome minister would wait at the entrance, holding medium-sized banners "welcome at home" and "good to see you" (my own notes). The visual mode of communicating the meaning builds on the belief that a human being must see something to believe it. Thus, the relationship zone serves as a space where the visual and spatial modes overlap. The aforementioned small talks would allude mostly to one's testimony of faith, one's spiritual growth, one's visit to a Christian conference, or one's hopes and expectations. The language employed by the interlocutors would be highly emotive and would contain the formerly-discussed vocabulary of motives, such as spiritual warfare, advancing the kingdom of God, or divine healing. Hence, it can be said that the emotional entrainment Collins (2004) elaborates on starts already in the corridors. Individuals would track one another and make themselves trackable.

The actual service held in the zone I called the worship zone (also in this case the term represents a physical area the worshippers enter and leave depending on the meeting agenda; in my research it stands for the prayer room which is considered the heart of the whole church building due to its character), would bring the worshippers into

a completely different realm where the bodily co-presence goes hand in hand with collective responses and where the feelings of participation unfold. Although the worship zone tends to be streamed live, the preference for embodied encounters seems undeniable. This is because of what Collins (2004, p. 56) draws attention to, namely, one's need to share one's excitement with fellow-worshippers. In respect of this study, one cannot argue with Collins's (2004, p. 61) suggestion that personal presence in a crowd enhanced by strong shared emotions, gives the impetus for reshaping one's identity. Upon entering the worship zone, individuals would take their seats in front of an illuminated stage, similar to the one that can be found in a theatre. The vivid colors would attract individuals' attention and make them recognize particular phases of the performance. Some colors would appear while singing and jumping and some while listening to the speech given by the leader. Again, the visual content would overlap with the remaining modes.

The worship itself would start with a few worship songs, however, performed at different paces. Those performed at the opening, would be fast-paced whereas the following ones would be slow-paced. The former would be accompanied by episodes of glossolalia on the part of both the leader and the audience whereas the latter would inspire the worshippers to develop an intimate relationship with God manifested by either an interior prayer or by a prayer uttered aloud. As a result, a sense of collective entrainment would unfold which in turn would encourage the gathered to enter the next phase, known as the soaking prayer (Wilkinson and Althouse, 2014). It should be made clear that the nature of the soaking prayer is of utmost importance for this research since it serves as a catalyst for awakening and transformation. Wimber's power evangelism, as its name suggests, focuses on the power one can obtain to proclaim the kingdom of God. Neo-Pentecostals believe that the actual power can be transferred from God to His worshipper and then from that worshipper to others. Soaking prayer could therefore be metaphorically explained as the moment when a human being encounters the deity and in consequence becomes empowered enough with godly love to perform acts of forgiveness, reconciliation, compassion, and benevolence (Wilkinson and Althouse, 2014, p. 4). Hence, it employs the language of rest, receive, and release. This phase appears crucial for one's identity shift. Although the practice took different names throughout the twentieth century, its essence remains unchanged. Pentecostal Catholics refer to it as resting in the Spirit, mainly because it features the period during which the gathered tend to rest on the floor. The Toronto Blessing spirituality whose foundations had been laid by Wimber and whose echoes have spread all over the world and have

influenced contemporary Christianity, as discussed in the previous chapters, recognizes the soaking prayer as the so-called carpet time due to the same reasons. Importantly, it was the leaders of Toronto Blessing who have promoted the soaking prayer at international conferences, making it familiar to the followers of Neo-Pentecostalism based in various countries. Soaking is believed to facilitate practices including prayer for spiritual gifts, healing, prophecy, and impartation (Wilkinson and Althouse P, 2014, p. 4). What is more, the term functions transitively and intransitively alike. To be more specific, one can soak himself or herself, but one can also soak someone else. It is also worth considering what soaking means for ritual participants, bearing in mind the cognitive theory of metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Alluding to the results of this research, soaking is a kind of a religious metaphor used to describe religious practice and experience. Contrary to immersion which promotes self-centeredness, soaking targets sharing and hence is of more altruistic nature. It is widely known that metaphors can restructure cognition by, for example, changing perception. Pentecostals, like most religious worshippers, use highly metaphorical language and therefore, some ritual acts they get engaged in, seem to play a considerable role in the process of awakening and transformation.

As soon as an individual unites with God, he or she receives the so-called anointing which stands for divine energy or rather the motive force for further revival. It can also refer to the aforementioned emotional energy (EE) whose qualities will be addressed later in this chapter. The anointing should be released which means that it should be imparted outward. One of the ways to perform impartation is by touching the others. Bodily presence is obligatory then. While doing fieldwork, I could observe individuals laying hands on one another. They would come closer to the fellow-worshippers and they would touch their shoulders, forehead, stomach, or back. Based on the data I collected, it can be concluded that the touch played a pivotal role in meaning-making, coding, and decoding. It is worth noting that although anointing and impartation tend to be used within the same context, they differ. The former is said to reside in person whereas the latter has transitive nature. Furthermore, impartation can be acted out by a leader who pretends to convey the "wind" of the Holy Spirit by blowing on the gathered. When interacting in the worship zone, I would witness leaders holding a microphone and trying to pass the divine element onto its enthusiasts. Needless to say, the soaking prayer reduces stress and provides relaxation and therefore, contributes largely to the whole process of personal growth.

Ritual play, the term once used by Suurmond and Csordas (Suurmond, 1994; Csordas, 1997), is another feature of the worship zone that rests heavily on the bodily co-presence and mutual focus of attention. While singing and dancing, the worshippers would cry, laugh, and move their bodies in an uncontrolled way to the rhythm of music. The play I witness would occur both on stage and in the audience. The one performed on stage by worship leaders would involve, for instance, dancing with the flags or walking in a dynamic way with the intention to build tension and convey the meaning through gestures. Frequently, the leader would move his or her hands up and down which is closely related to intonation and the subject matter. The introduction to the sermon would feature gentle movements accompanied by slow speech whereas the climax would be demonstrated by rapid movements in combination with fast speech. The content of particular sermons within the context of its role in one's awakening and transformation will be covered later in this chapter.

As for the activities undertaken in the audience, they would contain, for example, the so-called prophetic play which stands for the attempts to deliver a word of God to the chosen individuals after being divinely inspired. The spontaneous explosion of joy and the mutual attunement would lead to the phenomenon known as spiritual drunkenness (Wilkinson and Althouse, 2014, p. 81). In other words, individuals would act in a way a drunken person does, including problems with coordination, mood swings (uncontrollable laugh or weeping), and drowsiness which I could observe while participating in worship services. Interestingly, those who claimed to have been personally affected by the Holy Spirit, did not feel offended by calling them drunk in the Spirit. Conversely, for them, this kind of experience was a source of pride since they strongly believed they had just been affected by the deity. The ritual play would also involve giving feedback in the form of sharing one's experiences. At the end of the worship service the leaders would invite those who claimed to have had a close encounter with God during prayer to the front and would ask them to give testimony. It is important not to ignore the fact that sharing, similarly to the soaking prayer, serves as a catalyst for one's awakening in transformation since it has the potential to bring catharsis to the listeners. The stronger the testimony, the more powerful the catharsis.

Once the worship service is over, the worshippers would enter the cooperation zone (this concrete notion alludes to the rooms in a church building devoted to small-group gatherings, private houses, bars, and parks but also to the online space where ritual participants gather to exchange information, come up with faith-related ideas and make

decisions regarding various initiatives) focused on active involvement. This particular zone promotes group solidarity which has been established as a result of the recognition of a series of sacred objects (symbols) the members of the group would follow and identify with. The groups I investigated would perceive their own leaders as such objects and therefore, all the ritual components the leaders would give consent to including, for instance, the soaking prayer and the prophetic play, would serve as meaning making tools.

The role of the INC leaders in creating the symbolic domain seems pivotal. I witnessed individuals attending various events on a regular basis simply because the apostles they were enthusiasts of would appear on stage. Put differently, the worshippers would interact with one another and understand one another based on the symbolic realm they became part of. Interestingly, in Collins's (2004, p. 85) view, "[…] a person can become a symbol both by direct observation […] and by indirect observation, by having stories and qualities attached to that person's name insofar as they are subjects for lively conversations". In practical terms, group members would see their leader performing every Sunday, but they would equally discuss the content presented by fellow-ministers. Furthermore, it should also be remembered that solidarity prolongation is possible mostly due to the transformation of short-term emotions into long-term emotions which tend to be stored in symbols. Whenever an individual comes into contact with a given symbol, his or her emotional memories take the initiative and hence, affect the way he or she behaves towards the rest. Take for example the theme t-shirts: the members of the communities I investigated would wear them both in the church building and outside during the outbound conferences so that everyone knew where they came from and what they represent. In addition, symbols may also help an individual to recall who exactly participated in the event (Collins, 2004, pp. 81-82). While carrying out my research at the Vineyard Christian Center in Rybnik (Centrum Chrześcijańskie Winnica), I was approached by one of the worshippers who started prophesying over me as soon as the worship service came to an end. Although the prophecy itself was meaningful to me since it applied to the life priorities I should concentrate on, what I memorized particularly well was that individual's face, his position in the community, and his kindness. In this particular case, the act of prophesying made me develop specific feelings for its performer while the emotional load connected with that incident, made me think I was part of the group and hence, co-responsible for its preservation. This episode shows that the newcomers do not tend to be left alone. Conversely, they are taken care of in order for them to be able to communicate with others and understand the symbolic realm. Group

solidarity demonstrated by Neo-Pentecostals and their advocates may also result from another significant characteristic of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, namely, the tendency to use personal names in all three zones. By doing so, individuals communicate their positive attitude towards the interlocutors and make them feel comfortable. Upon entering the relationship zone, I would be addressed by name and introduced to those nearby.

Shared experience stored in one's memory may attract individuals to such an extent that they decide to get involved for longer. Therefore, the previously-discussed notion of the emotional energy that arises from collective entrainment, seems to be the motive power for one's awakening and transformation. Bearing in mind the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, it can be assumed that the anointing referred to by Wilkinson and Althouse (2014) and the emotional energy described by Collins (2004) are synonymous. In short, one's encounter with the divine in the worship zone triggers out one's eagerness to reflect on the past, re-evaluate one's priorities, and to think about the future. Moreover, it may also activate one's desire to serve regularly in the cooperation zone. Collins (2004, pp. 106-107) differentiates between high and low emotional energy. The former is related to joy, elation, enthusiasm, and effervescence whereas the latter to disappointment, dreariness, and depression. Although the Neo-Pentecostal ritual outcomes tend to be associated only with the positive feelings since the ritual itself follows the Prosperity Gospel principles, it should also be remembered that those who enter the aforementioned zones as the novices, are filled with sorrow, anxiety, and insecurity. It goes without saying that reality-construction is usually a gradual process which has a lot in common with how emotions flow when interacting in the group and how the initial fear of the unknown turns into full commitment. Referring back to my investigation, I can confirm that the individuals who had just left the worship zone and stepped into the cooperation zone, would develop or engage in the already-existing initiatives whose principal objective was to strengthen the ties and to put the fruits of the divine intervention into practice.

Again, for the purposes of this research it seems crucial to investigate the contribution of all five modes of communication including the linguistic, visual, aural, gestural, and spatial to one's identity change. The initiatives undertaken by group members were well-designed and managed arbitrarily so that the community leaders or the small-group leaders could have control over the content and could ensure its compliance with the doctrine. Those I came across involved (1) house meetings, (2) WhatsApp conversations held on a daily basis, (3) announcements and sharing in private Facebook groups (4) live stream collective prayers, also held on a daily basis,

usually in the morning, and available to the public (5) stationary individual prayers on demand (6) motivational content in the form of images containing community leaders' deep reflections on the sacred and the profane posted on Facebook and Instagram, (7) podcasts published by community leaders on different streaming services, (8) religious tourism based on travelling from conference to conference in order to meet favorite preachers, (9) ministries to serve, and (10) pilgrimage. All of them were genuine representatives of how a reach system of religious communication works, and therefore, they will be described briefly in the subsequent paragraphs. As for the role of the online devices, it should not be omitted, especially when messages promoting self-improvement are spread through those media. Nevertheless, in this research only face-to-face interactions will be studied in detail due to their relevance to the core subject of my thesis, bearing in mind the performer, the audience, and the background.

When thinking of house meetings, those of Sabaoth Church Roma I participated in while carrying out my research in Italy, would take place every Wednesday in a town called Bracciano, as mentioned in the previous chapter. With regard to the link between such a meeting and one's awakening and transformation, what deserves special attention is both its cathartic and enhancing functions, the more that it tends to be held in small groups where the interaction between the participants is rather personal and direct. It would start with singing slow-paced songs to get into the mood and speaking in tongues what might have given the impression of being in godly presence since glossolalia is believed to be a spiritual gift. Then, one of the gathered would initiate a spontaneous prayer in the vernacular whereas the others would wait their turn. The prayers would highlight the signs and wonders which had been experienced by the participants and would often be deeply emotional. Referring back to what Gajewska (2012, p. 81) says about the main functions of the language, the above-mentioned part of the meeting seems to correspond to the evocative and expressive ones, mostly because of the employed vocabulary concentrated on the idea of empowerment, change, and prosperity. The principal objective of incorporating the linguistic content of this type is to trigger out certain attitudes and feelings followed by particular acts whose role in an individual's transformation is believed to be considerable. Take, for example, the act of forgiveness. It is often seen by Neo-Pentecostals as the first step to inner healing. Later, the gathered would discuss current issues connected with particular activities, either already undertaken or under preparation. According to what has been stated before, such projects seek to engage group members into community life and therefore make them more

attached and more aware of community values. I was invited to participate in street evangelization whose main purpose was to recruit new members for the newly created, Bracciano-based subsidiary of the Roman church. In this case, the expressions used by the interlocutors represent the instrumental and appellative functions of the language since they serve as means to persuade the group members to move forward with the assigned tasks. During the house meeting, one could feel homely atmosphere and comfort which seems important for individuals suffering from various forms of psychological distress. Such mood could only be created with the aid of the utterances focused on bringing people closer and making them feel secure. Gajewska (2012, p. 81) speaks of them in terms of the socialization function of the language. It should be remembered that emotional support plays a vital role in the Neo-Pentecostal interaction pattern and arises from the consequences of being anointed. The meeting would end with singing together, just like at the start, and hugging one another while the unsolved matters would serve as reference points for further discussion on WhatsApp.

WhatsApp conversations, available only to those who had met the group leader personally, would be held on a daily basis and apart from urgent issues, would also offer ongoing positive reinforcement what appears essential for this study. The WhatsApp group of Hillsong Rome Connect which I investigated would focus on complimenting its members on their engagement, providing verses from the Bible individuals could rely on in case of difficulties, revealing prophecies one claimed to have received, spreading biblical teaching, informing the participants about the upcoming events such as collective prayers held on Zoom or having a picnic together in one of Roman parks, and giving feedback on Sunday worship. Noteworthy is that fact that Hillsong Rome Connect would treat its adherents as family members and therefore, when an individual struggled with serious problems, everyone would be aware of them and would propose effective solutions which would allude to the principles of the aforementioned Prosperity Gospel. Significantly, the teaching I witnessed on WhatsApp would always be spread by the same individuals whose status in Hillsong Rome Connect was rather high. Apropos Private Facebook groups, they would function in a similar vein, however, I noticed that the entry requirements of the one run by the Vineyard Christian Center from Rybnik were more demanding than those of Hillsong. I remember being put on hold before they accepted my application, and the explanation was as follows: "I want to make it clear that this group is only for family members. We are a family here. We share private matters. Do you want to be part of this family? I need to ask you a few questions first" (my own notes).

With respect to live stream collective prayers available to the public and held on a daily basis, they would take place usually in the morning and would be streamed either via Instagram, as in the case of Sabaoth Church headquarters based in Milan or via Zoom, as practiced by Sabaoth Church Roma. The primary goal of these prayers would be to attune the worshippers to the positive at the start of the day, to praise the Lord for what He has already done, and to ask Him for a further blessing. Singing would be at the forefront, yet it would be performed entirely by the one in charge, as opposed to the house meetings where the interaction was reciprocal. Stationary prayers on demand would be organized by prior arrangement and would mostly be conducted in the form of a deliverance ministry, open to the public on certain occasions and even streamed live as in the case of the aforementioned Tomasz Dorożała but typically with restricted access due to one's embarrassment and his or her need for intimacy. Sabaoth Church Roma would have a special room for this kind of service, the room of which I have spoken in the previous chapter since I featured a warning label on its door. Bearing in mind the awakening and transformation concept, it can be assumed that this particular initiative resembles throwing off the shackles, metaphorically speaking. As for the verbal component, the use of performatives prevails whereas deliverance minister's gestures seem to enrich the performance. The most famous gesture consists in laying hands on an individual's head and pushing him or her downwards to show that a demonic force has just been defeated and the problem an individual struggled with, no longer exists.

The enormous popularity the social media has achieved over the course of years can be reflected in its implementation for both private and business purposes. INC leaders whose main goal is to spread the ideas of power evangelism across the globe, make use of its potential by means of valuable content they publish with great regularity. The cooperation zone, as suggested earlier, requires day-to-day involvement on both sides, that is, on the part of the performer and the audience in order for the emotional energy to continue. My study led me to follow the selected leaders' Facebook and Instagram profiles so that I could pay attention to the messages conveyed several times a week. Those messages were posted in the form of creative infographics or images containing leaders' thoughts put in quotes and were of motivational nature, hence prompting the recipients to reflect on themselves. What seems important, those images would allude to particular motives and therefore, whenever the motive of spiritual warfare was addressed, that image background presented objects associated with a battlefield, as opposed to the motive of godly love, displayed through the photos of nature. On many occasions the

background was made of the photos taken during the worship. In addition to social media, leaders would also stream their teaching with the aid of services such as Spotify or YouTube, thereby giving their audience an opportunity to stay attuned.

Another widespread phenomenon among Neo-Pentecostals refers to what came to be known as religious tourism and which, in practical terms, involves travelling from conference to conference with the aim of getting empowered or, metaphorically speaking, recharging one's batteries. While carrying out my research, I would participate in a myriad of such events since my intention was to identify the pattern of the awakening and transformation process characteristic of Neo-Pentecostalism. In this place, I should allude to their two varieties, namely, the events organized for or by one and the same leader being on a regular tour around the country or the events whose agenda tends to be filled with names of different INC leaders invited to complete a common project. The former has been best represented by leaders acting within the environment they identify with, take for example a Pentecostal Catholic preacher, Marcin Zieliński, the leader of the Voice of God Community from Skierniewice, Poland (Wspólnota Głos Pana) who visits a great number of Catholic parishes to perform prayers for healing or Arkadiusz Krzywodajć, the pastor of the formerly-discussed Filadelfia Church from Wodzisław Śląski who visits fellow-communities to preach among his enthusiasts. The latter, on the other hand, frequently highlights ecumenical efforts which means that although in theory the event itself gathers representatives of distinct religious legacy, in fact they have a lot in common since they all rest on the principles of power evangelism they tend to implement while ministering.

Considering the question of accessibility, it should be noted that some of those mass meetings are open to the general public compared to the events aimed at the target audience, namely, group members or invited guests. The conference called "Mirror, mirror on the wall" ("Lustereczko powiedz przecie") which took place in October 2022 at the Vineyard Christian Center (Centrum Chrześcijańskie Winnica) in Rybnik, was addressed to women mostly. Importantly, tickets could be purchased by anyone, regardless of affiliation. The same is true for the Charismatic retreat run by an itinerant Catholic preacher, Fr. Antonello Cadeddu in Rzeszów in December 2021. Conversely, the aforementioned conference "This is the time. Let us write the story together" ("Już Czas. Napiszmy historię razem"), held in February 2022 in Łódź, Poland, could not be accessed without prior notification and final consent of the organizers as in the case of the event hosted by Nations on Fire Church from Warsaw, called "Leadership on fire"

("Przywództwo w ogniu"), dedicated to INC leaders only. Returning to the problem of branding faith, open mass events can serve as the marketplace where potential customers have a chance to get a free sample of the product they need whereas closed mass events can be interpreted in terms of a special bonus the brand loyalists receive. With reference to Collins's (2004) model, both types provide a large dose of emotional energy responsible for one's eagerness to cooperate, that is, to turn from being passive into being active.

According to Wilkinson and Althouse (2014), individuals who have already experienced soaking prayer and have become fully engaged in the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, often decide to make a pilgrimage to the most famous pilgrimage sites since they believe that in those particular places the divine force works twice as powerfully. It is especially important for one's identity formation and the process of spiritual growth because the sacred sphere one enters has a calming effect and makes an individual aware of his or her new status. Individuals gathered around a sacred object and interacting with one another based on shared symbols, develop collective consciousness that unites them and makes them equal. While doing fieldwork, I observed that the prominent figures of the Neo-Pentecostal environment in Poland and Italy usually visit Bethel Church in Redding, California and Catch the Fire Toronto, previously known as Toronto Airport Vineyard Church and recognized worldwide due to Toronto Blessing. The choice may result from the fact that their leaders were personally inspired by John Wimber who, as discussed earlier, laid foundations for the contemporary signs and wonders movement. The cooperation is reciprocal which means that Bethel and Toronto preachers come to Poland and Italy to teach at seminars, conferences, and retreats. In Poland, for instance, there is a growing tendency among Catholic, or rather Pentecostal Catholic leaders, to attend the events featuring Neo-Pentecostal brand representatives including Randy Clark, John and Carol Arnott, Heidi Baker, and Bruno Ierullo. Moreover, their participation in those events has been actively supported by some Catholic bishops and priests. Interestingly enough, books written by Toronto Blessing advocates can be easily found in Catholic stationary and online bookstores.

Finally, individuals willing to enrich the cooperation zone, frequently choose to serve in their church on a regular basis. Present-day Pentecostal Catholics have adopted a great number of initiatives from Neo-Pentecostals and the list of most common ministries involves healing and deliverance ministries, intercession ministry, worship ministry, dance ministry, hospitality ministry, arts ministry, prophetic ministry, children

and youth ministry, coaching ministry, family and marriage ministry, women ministry, men ministry, and senior's ministry (my own notes). All of them rest on efficient teamwork modelled on the corporate culture which means that a given group tends to be managed by a separate leader responsible for its development. Group members engage in various projects, either in their own church or in those befriended. Referring to the purposes of this research, the influence of such involvement should be taken into account especially because a novice exposed to specific practices for an extended period of time while being surrounded by the insiders, is likely to absorb behavioral patterns which will eventually contribute to his or her identity shift. Based on what I have observed, the mechanism operating here is similar to the one typical of house meetings. The Neo-Pentecostal transformation process including the actual examples of the multimodal phenomena will be further explained in the next section.

3.2. Cognitive Restructuring

Referring back to the results of my study, it should be made clear that those who claim to have been distressed, attribute their full recovery to the divine power they believe was provoked by the leader and consequently fell upon them during the Neo-Pentecostal ritual. However, the mere presence in the prayer room does not seem to be enough since the aforementioned mental and physical restoration is a process one needs to go through. For the purposes of this research, I call it the Neo-Pentecostal transformation and awakening process. Its particular stages will be taken a closer look at within a context of its efficacy. From the Neo-Pentecostal point of view, in order for an individual to be healed, he or she should first and foremost be capable of identifying the problem which is usually done collectively. In other words, an individual gets proper support from other group members, mostly those already empowered. Once the difficulty has been specified, an individual is expected to submit to the divine guidance whose nature tends to be the subject of the Neo-Pentecostal sermons. Total submission bears fruit known as the divine anointing that is considered the turning point of one's awakening and further transformation. With reference to what has just been said and based on both the data collected during the fieldwork as well as content analysis of the audio-visual material found on social media and streaming services, I distinguished three significant stages of the process in question, namely (1) the preparation stage, (2) the immersion stage, and (3) the reinforcement stage during which the actual identity shift takes place.

Interestingly, they appear to coincide with the zones described above which in practical terms means that an individual enters the preparation stage of the awakening and transformation process when interacting with others in the relationship zone, the immersion stage when singing, praying, and responding to the content spread by the leader in the worship zone whereas the actual restructure resulting from regular enhancement occurs in the cooperation zone.

Bearing in mind the complexity of the whole process as well as its key features, I referred to the theory of cognitive restructuring, mostly because the intervention strategies it promotes are also characteristic of Wimber's integrated model of healing and hence, tend to be regularly implemented by the Neo-Pentecostal leaders while performing. Importantly, in this study the term cognitive restructuring shall be interpreted from two different perspectives, that is, the perspective of the supervisor and the one of the supervised. The former applies to the leaders whereas the latter to the audience. In other words, cognitive restructuring may be perceived as a tool, an approach for accomplishing one's goals but it can also represent a mental process leading to the changes in one's cognition.

As noted by Catherine E. Ross and John Mirowsky (2003, p. 23), distress, which is believed to be an unpleasant subjective state, manifests itself in two main forms, namely depression and anxiety. When it comes to depression, it has a lot in common with feeling sad, lonely, hopeless, having trouble sleeping, crying, and being unable to go through life. Anxiety, on the other hand, has to do with restlessness, tension, irritation, and fear. In David A. Clark and Aaron T. Beck's (2010, p. 5) view, "anxiety is a complex cognitive, affective, physiological and behavioral response system […] that is activated when anticipated events or circumstances are deemed to be highly aversive because they are perceived to be unpredictable, uncontrollable events that could potentially threaten the vital interests of an individual". Furthermore, both anxiety and depression affect a human being through the mood and malaise and hence one can speak of the worry of anxiety followed by autonomic ailments including dizziness, headaches, or stomachaches.

What seems worth considering in the light of this research is Clark and Beck's (2010, p. 4) explanation for the causes of anxiety. The authors note that in most cases anxiety develops in the aftermath of fluctuating pressures, demands, and stressful living. While conducting in-depth interviews, I discovered that a great majority of the interviewees had joined the Neo-Pentecostal and Pentecostal Catholic communities due to a genuine need to find emotional relief from the mundane. Among them were those

who, for example, witnessed their parents prostituting themselves, those who had been growing up with abusive family members, and those who despite having prosperous lives, struggled with a strong feeling of emptiness and hopelessness. Stepping into the aforementioned zones could be compared to stepping into a different world where the unrealistic expectations about one's performance at work, at university, or among relatives, become secondary and therefore, one's restlessness gradually reduces. Taking the objectives of this study into account, it should be remembered that Wimber's model strongly emphasizes inner healing whose core principle relates to positive thinking as a way to renew the mind, body, and spirit (Wilkinson and Althouse, 2014, p. 33). The Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process relies largely on the idea of empowerment, as discussed earlier. Empowerment involves detecting one's distressing symptoms and providing him or her with a satisfying replacement, mostly through direct interaction, as it happens between the Neo-Pentecostal leader and the audience. These symptoms may include, for example, the fear of losing control, fear of evaluation by others, frightening memories, images and thoughts, confusion, weakness, poor concentration, and difficulty in reasoning (Clark and Beck, 2010, p. 16). The role of the Neo-Pentecostal leader is to induce the transformation process in such a manner that the symptoms in question give way to the ones of a more adaptive nature, in accordance with the principle "the way you think affects the way you feel" (Clark and Beck, 2010, p. 31).

Clark and Beck (2010) introduce a theory of the cognitive model of anxiety which, briefly speaking, starts with a simple assumption that a particular situation an individual faces or is expected to face, may trigger out an anxious thought, also referred to as an anxious appraisal, and that anxious thought may trigger out an anxious feeling. The cognitive model features two interrelated phases, namely the immediate fear response phase and the state of anxiousness phase which seems to be of the utmost importance for this study since it is the reference point for the awakening and transformation process. The former highlights the role of the primary appraisal of threat that refers to one's tendency to overestimate the possible harm whereas the latter results from the former and has a lot in common with information-processing perspective and one's coping resources.

In order to empower an individual and to transfer the anointing, the Neo-Pentecostal leaders seek to focus, first and foremost, on the notion of vulnerability which, viewed in terms of Clark and Becker's approach, stands for "a person's perception of himself as subject to internal and external dangers over which his control is lacking or is

insufficient to afford him a sense of safety" (Clark and Beck, 2010, p. 32). The more a performer knows about his or her audience the better the performance he or she delivers. The content of the verbal interventions discussed further in this section, concentrates heavily on increasing self-confidence, strengthening self-efficacy, and equipping a distressed individual with a wide range of coping strategies he or she may adopt. Taking everything what has been mentioned above into account, it can be assumed that the theory of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process which I formulated, and which underlines the importance of verbal interventions on the part of the Neo-Pentecostal leader, builds considerably upon the theory of the cognitive restructuring which is famous for the emphasis it puts on the need to correct maladaptive thoughts, faulty appraisals, and beliefs to reduce one's anxiety. As stated above, cognitive restructuring in this research refers to both, a structured, goal-oriented, and collaborative approach implemented by the Neo-Pentecostal leaders and the mental mechanism typical of human beings. Although this study has little to do with the clinical environment and professional therapy sessions, it is essential to elaborate on how the interviewees conceptualize the divine interference and consequently the transformation they experienced as a result of their involvement in community life and their interaction with the promoters of Wimber's power evangelism. The key concepts worth drawing attention to when analyzing the Neo-Pentecostal performers are schemas and schematic change. Schemas stand for the maladaptive representations of reality stored in one's memory structures whose content organizes and manages the selection, encoding, and retrieval of information while schematic change alludes to the actual work done by the performer and the audience on those meaning-making constructions (Clark, 2013, p. 24). Therefore, the main task of the Neo-Pentecostal leader is to empower a distressed individual in such a way that the schema-incongruent information has priority over schema-congruent information. While discussing Wimber's integrated healing model, Wilkinson and Althouse (2014, p. 33) observe that "cultivation of the mind in the process of spiritual formation is not just about changing unwanted behavior; it is also and perhaps more importantly about changing one's thought processes and attitudes as they relate to the renewing of mind, body, and spirit". Based on this particular statement, it can be noted that the principles governing a widespread therapeutic approach known as cognitive restructuring and those employed by Wimber's successors have a common denominator.

Clark (2013, p. 26) alludes to three critical components of cognitive restructuring which he finds vital for the whole process, and they encompass collaborative empiricism,

verbal interventions as well as empirical hypothesis-testing. As regards collaborative empiricism, it comprises a productive exchange of information between the therapist and the client which ultimately leads to formulating treatment objectives as well as its course. What matters here most is the therapist's ability to inspire confidence in the client so that he or she decides to proceed. Moreover, collaborative empiricism also covers the investigative approach the client is encouraged to take in order for him or her to face the long-held beliefs and attitudes. Verbal interventions, on the other hand, stand for the spoken and direct intervention strategies used only by therapists and with the intention of modifying the maladaptive thoughts recognized in their patients. In respect of empirical hypothesis-testing, it refers to behavioral rehearsals that tend to be precisely pre-planned by both parties and whose principal goal is to achieve schematic restructure.

While carrying out my research, I discovered the structural and functional similarities between Clark's (2013) model and the practices employed by the Neo-Pentecostal leaders depending on the zone an individual was part of. Firstly, it should be noticed that the preparation stage of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process rests on mutual trust between the leader or group members and the novice. It is during this phase when the bond is established and makes it possible for the newcomer to open himself or herself up and share the problem with the rest. I would observe leaders joining individuals at the tables in the café corner and initiating a conversation. Often, those talks were of guiding nature which meant that they served as an invitation to reflect upon the past and present. Then, an individual would be encouraged to join the service and the chosen team in the future. Individuals searching for a private meeting due to the severity of the condition they were struggling with, would be offered more personalized treatment. On one occasion, I was approached by a leader's wife who started asking me a series of personal questions, tried to make friends, and offered her help. Another day, I was surrounded by some of the community members whose intentions were alike. Secondly, it should also be made clear that the immersion stage features a wide variety of the verbal output produced by the Neo-Pentecostal performers and focused on topics including spiritual rebirth, anointing, prosperity, and progress. The output referred to, turns out to be perfectly tailored for the target audience, as it happens with cognitive restructuring adjusted to a given client and described by Beck (2013). Bearing in mind its qualities, it can be assumed that the language employed by the leaders evokes, stimulates, and modulates one's metamorphosis simultaneously. Therefore, using the term verbal strategies with regard to the Neo-Pentecostal on-stage

modus operandi, seems not only appropriate but also necessary. Thirdly, the similarities between what is characteristic of the reinforcement stage of the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process and what is typical of Beck's (2013) empirical hypothesis-testing, should be shed light on briefly. Interestingly, both promote taking active measures and facing the difficulties instead of cultivating cognitive distortions which may ultimately lead to social withdrawal. Both suggest solutions to one's burden so that an individual replaces his or her destructive and self-defeating thoughts with rational alternatives. The anointed are often told that they are equipped with the armor of God and hence, safe and secure. Finally, both rely on task scheduling, mutual involvement including that on the part of the team leader and that of team members, regular observation, and constructive feedback. Behavioral rehearsals I would participate in, included, for instance, street evangelization. This particular activity might have been a problem for the shy and reserved. Its design and outcomes would later be thoroughly debated during house meetings. Due to the fact that in this study, the priority is given to the verbal strategies used in Neo-Pentecostalism, behavioral aspects and their qualities, although important to understand how cognitive restructuring works as a whole, will not be separately elaborated on.

Since this study concerns merely the influence of the Neo-Pentecostal language on one's personal revival and transformation, verbal interventions will be given priority. Among those mentioned by Clark (2013, p. 28), evidence gathering, consequential analysis, cognitive bias identification, generating alternatives, problem solving, reattribution, imaginal exposure, decatastrophizing, and positivity reorientation appear most relevant to the research in question. As for evidence gathering, the leader both while performing on stage or in one-to-one interaction, tries to concentrate on an individual's past and current experience that may hold responsibility for his or her maladaptive thoughts. Consequential analysis relying on the so-called guided discovery, aims to encourage an individual to reflect upon the advantages and disadvantages of holding particular beliefs and perceptions. It is also believed to have a great impact on one's motivation for change. As far as cognitive bias identification is concerned, it consists mainly in teaching distressed individuals how to become more aware of the cognitive errors they make and how to avoid faulty indictive reasoning. For this reason, the Neo-Pentecostal leaders often ask rhetorical problem-related questions which in many cases guide their performance. With respect to generating alternatives, the Neo-Pentecostal leader trains the audience how to deactivate the emotional charge connected with the

thoughts an individual has and how to replace the rigid conceptualization of the self with a more flexible one. Take for example the question of being submissive to God's will. While carrying out my research, I spoke to the enthusiasts of the signs and wonders philosophy who had been looking for a satisfactory explanation of their struggles. Before joining the community they belonged to at the time of my investigation, they had a narrow focus on their problem and therefore they thought that the struggles result from their incapability to cope with life. That was exactly what the cognitive model terms as the catastrophic interpretation. After joining the community and being exposed to the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, their perception changed from being hopeless to being chosen by God.

Apropos problem solving, it highlights the need to specify real-life problem an individual faces followed by the need to identify the pros and cons of different responses to it, mostly in order to choose the right course of action (Clark, 2013, p. 28). In relation to reattribution, it should be noted that the emphasis put by Neo-Pentecostals on spiritual warfare leads to the practice of redirecting the responsibility for one's distress to the external forces, in this case the evil forces. Such a technique helps individuals to challenge the feeling of excessive guilt and self-blame. Considering imaginal exposure, its main purpose, on the part of the leader, is to elicit an example of a scene from the distressed in order for him or her to activate their coping resources. The scene is then expected to be directly associated with the object, activity, or situation that causes fear and anxiety so that an individual gets an opportunity to challenge them in a completely different way. With regard to decatastrophizing, also referred to as "what if" strategy, its principal objective is to urge the distressed to dwell on the worst-case scenario of a feared event, since it might help an individual to elaborate a balanced response. Interestingly, decatastrophizing tends to be frequently used by the Neo-Pentecostal leaders to highlight the workings of the supernatural, as in the case of those who urgently need the healing of physical ailments, for example, cancer. Such individuals lose hope and see nothing but death, however, according to the results of my research, when stimulated verbally by the leader who relies heavily on signs and wonders, they decide to combat their illness and pray for the divine anointing. On the one hand, the leader acknowledges the danger connected with the illness, but on the other hand, he or she ensures the sick of the supernatural empowerment they may receive. The final verbal strategy, namely, positivity reorientation, aims to encourage an individual to "select, encode, and retrieve positive experiences" (Clark, 2013, p. 30) from the past so that he or she becomes aware of his or her potential to confront the difficulty. In this way the attitude of "I cannot do it" changes

gradually to the one of "I can do it". Noteworthy is the fact that on-stage performances tend to be more general in nature and refer to all the members of the audience contrary to a face-to-face interview, so eagerly promoted by Wimber. Referring back to Wimber's five-step healing procedure, it can be concluded that evidence gathering, consequential analysis, and bias identification have a lot in common with what he calls "the diagnostic decision" whereas generating alternatives, problem solving, reattribution, positivity reorientation, imaginal exposure, and decatastrophizing, represent what he defined as "the prayer engagement", that is, the most intense phase of the healing procedure.

3.3. The Message

The analysis carried out for the purposes of this research, focuses specifically on the immersion stage as well as the reinforcement stage of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process, mostly due to the fact that both of them offer the motivational content, similar in nature to what is usually conveyed during professional counselling sessions. Moreover, the actual and most powerful interaction between the performer and the audience starts in the worship room and this is exactly where the relationship built on trust develops gradually. To understand the essence of power evangelism and the function the implemented language serves, it is necessary to take a closer look at what and how John Wimber tried to convey. For this reason, his performance serves as an introduction to a further discussion.

The data collected while conducting on-site and off-site research, refers to spiritual empowerment within the Christian context and therefore, messages delivered by the selected leaders, frequently offer a solution to even a truly sophisticated problem by invoking respective Bible verses. The language implemented during the performance then, serves as a catalyst for one's restructure and personal growth in two significant realms, the sacred and the profane. The analysis will start with elaborating on Wimber himself in order to identify the most characteristic features of the approach he developed. When it comes to the selected apostles, who often call themselves motivational speakers, the following figures representing Wimber's power evangelism will be studied: (1) Arkadiusz Krzywodajć, Filadelfia Church from Wodzisław Śląski, Poland (original name: Kościół Filadelfia, Wodzisław Śląski), (2) Wojciech Walaszczyk, Vineyard Christian Center from Rybnik, Poland (original name: Centrum Chrześcijańskie Winnica, Rybnik), (3) Marcin Zieliński, The Voice of God Worship Community from

Skierniewice, Poland (original name: Wspólnota Uwielbienia "Głos Pana", Skierniewice), As for the social media-based groups, the analysis will include the content delivered by Michał Świderski, the leader of The Risen Christ School of the New Evangelization from Gliwice, Poland (original name: Szkoła Nowej Ewangelizacji Jezusa Zmartwychwstałego, Gliwice), and published on a YouTube channel called (4) The Touch of God (original name: Dotyk Boga). Italian speakers will not be discussed separately in terms of content analysis. Only one performer will be alluded to and that is Angelo D'Aloisi from Hillsong Milan. What stands behind such a perspective is the assumption that the qualities of the Neo-Pentecostal language understood as a trigger, modulator, and mediator are the same regardless of the setting. Italian speakers' influence on the audience within the context of one's metamorphosis will be presented in the next section and will refer to the answers provided by respondents themselves. Such a solution results from the need to concentrate on both the observer's perspective and the one of the individuals who underwent the transformation process. Therefore, I divided the empirical considerations of this research into two complementary parts.

3.3.1. *John Wimber*

The Neo-Pentecostal language and all its attributes, including the transformative one, can be best understood while analyzing Wimber's on-stage performance which in turn applies to the immersion stage of the process studied in this research. The essence of his teaching on power evangelism, whose foundation lies in the efficient combination of the proclamation and demonstration of the gospel, has been accurately reflected in a specific discourse that builds upon signs and wonders. Although suffering plays an important part in a spiritual growth according to Wimber's theory whereas divine healing aims to bring relief from pain, he carefully explains that they are not mutually exclusive. The results of this research suggest that the distressed who claim to have experienced an awakening, grew spiritually not because they had decided to continue to persevere but first and foremost, because they had decided to ask for divine intervention. Moreover, it has also been discovered that one's cognitive restructuring, understood as a mental shift, may result not only from one's inner healing but also from one's previous exposure to, for example, the ritual of deliverance (healing of the demonized) or that of removing physical ailments (healing of the body). In other words, emotional wounds can be treated either directly or indirectly. Based on what has been stated above, it can be assumed that the

Neo-Pentecostal language implemented in a specific environment, serves as a powerful stimulus to induce the transformation process.

The following passage, which refers to the performance given by Wimber in 1993 in Warsaw, presents the idea of empowerment in practice and targets both Catholics and Protestants. Wimber concentrates on how anointing works and how to impart spiritual gifts to others. As mentioned before, in this research the anointing stands for a special type of energy, a catalyst responsible for putting the distressed into motion. Since the use of performatives serves to change the reality as discussed in the previous chapters, it can be assumed that their frequent implementation by Wimber aims to strengthen the impression that an individual enters another realm, especially when talking about the one free from the influence of the evil forces. In fact, over the course of years, the topic of spiritual warfare has been eagerly employed by both the Neo-Pentecostal leaders acting in the Neo-Pentecostal environment and those who represent the Catholic Church but regularly cooperate with Wimber's successors, mostly because it highlights the importance of liberation in a broad context, namely, from demons and at the same time, from the past. In order for cognitive restructuring to work, individuals should distance themselves from hurtful memories that may stimulate one's schematic processing which in practical terms means that one's liberation goes hand in hand with ones' awakening and therefore it is a key to successful transformation. Wimber's emphasis on instantism can be explained in terms of the theory of the religious marketplace and hence in this particular case the divine anointing represents the desired product, necessary for further actions, whereas Wimber himself represents the brand:

I believe that Lord is going to give us the time of real impartation. I've seen it in many places, but I don't know exactly how it works. All I know is that God told me to do this in many nations all over the world […]. All I know is that Lord takes me from prayer to prayer and then He visits the people […], and then in the aftermath I know the stories. Things begin to happen as a result […]. He needs the people. He desires to find the donkeys. He needs them. He needs them to be empowered […]. Let's pray. Father, we thank You that You desire to make a victorious church […]. Lord, we ask You to visit us, visit us by Your presence, Lord […]. Let the Spirit of God come. Let Him fall onto people, giving them the gifts, calling them into new ministries, anointing them for the word of God to come. Come Holy Spirit […]. Thank You Lord. Let the power of the Holy Spirit fall on you! Let it come! More […]. More, Lord! More power […]! Fill them, empower them! Catch the people for Yourself, God! Mark them with Your Spirit […]. More, Lord,

more […]. Catch them one after another […]. Now, mark them Lord, their hearts, minds, and souls […]. We speak to any residual darkness […]. With the name of Jesus, we break its power […]. We command you to go […]! Now the power that you see in the bodies of these people is the power of the Lord's Ghost […]. That's the power to heal […]. Lord is giving anointing for eyes, for spiritual eyes on you, discerning ministries, the ability to see in the spiritual ground. Let it come! Mark those eyes […]. Now open their ears that they may hear your voice […]. Oh, Lord, anoint their hands and feet. Let the anointing come. More Lord, more power […]. Do you feel power in your bodies? If you don't and there's someone around you with power, just touch them […]. Put your hands on […]. It's like electricity […]. More! You want it? Touch it! More, Lord, give more. Give them more than they can stand […]. Let the power of God go through you[9]. (original quotation)

The ritual of empowerment initiated by Wimber consists of two phases. The first phase serves as an introduction to what is about to happen. Wimber refers to the anointing he received from God and to the outcomes of his missionary efforts, that is, the miracles witnessed by the crowds. It can be assumed that in this way Wimber tries to set the mood and hence, to make the audience more receptive. Referring back to one of the ritual ingredients specified by Collins (2004), namely, to the mutual focus of attention, it can be stated that Wimber himself functions as the symbol the audience concentrates on which ultimately leads to establishing group's solidarity. The second phase, however, is represented by the highly-emotional prayer to God, spoken in the form of a series of commands being the essence of instantism, which is further followed by the post-prayer directions, characteristic of Wimber's integrated model of healing. Wimber gives orders to the divine power which may imply that, first of all, he feels confident enough to act on its behalf and secondly, that he has the ability to communicate with the supernatural realm. In other words, he wins participants' respect. The performative utterance employed by Wimber and demonstrating the act of breaking the power of the darkness, may be interpreted as the moment of the actual shift in one's cognition, mostly because it stands for the expected liberation. Once liberated, all the painful memories can no longer affect an individual's present existence, particularly the areas mentioned by Wimber, including the heart, mind, and soul. Interestingly, the anointing the gathered have just received turns out to be tangible in Wimber's view. He suggests that the empowered should focus on

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[9] Basslinepfp. (2013, June 25). *John Wimber i Ralph Martin w Warszawie. John Wimber and Ralph Martin in Warsaw* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HGlX8XBdgJA.

their bodies and in case they recognize divine intervention, they should also touch those who lack this ability. While conducting fieldwork both in Poland and Italy, I observed that leaders eagerly tend to promote the practice of asking the audience about the outcomes of a given prayer directly after it has finished and therefore, I have assumed that such a habit constitutes an integral part of the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process and is typical mostly of the immersion stage. The passages analyzed further in this research seem to prove this statement.

Last but not least, what also appears worth mentioning with regard to the transformative function of the Neo-Pentecostal language is its strong reliance on the formerly-discussed glossolalia, often referred to in Christianity as the gift of speaking in tongues. In fact, this term alludes to the practice of uttering speech-like sounds which lack the meaning but are believed to be the unknown languages by its speakers (Hudson, 2006, pp. 59-63). Wimber initiates it in the fifty-second minute of his performance. Although transcribing the whole passage appears to be a challenge because of the problems with the accurate identification of morphemes based on the syllables produced when babbling, I have made such an attempt for the purposes of this study, and this is what I have managed to recognize: "Son dárabara dárabara ↑si: do re: Son dárabara dárabara ↑ni: ↓lala. Se cóme a ti:a tu sia ↓mei. Son dárabara dárabara ni: la ↑li: Latila son ↓latila. Si:a nana ni:a ↓ni:a. Le: ↑lei, le: ↑lei. Lálala ti: ↓latila". Felicitas D. Goodman (1969, pp. 227-239) employs the notions of pulses, bars, and phrases to refer to the smallest units made of consonant and vowel groups united into clusters which finally create a sentence. An utterance then encompasses several phrases. In my transcription I have used the same terminology. To mark stress and hence, a greater volume, I have introduced a slash-like sign above a chosen syllable. To indicate length, I have employed the colon. Goodman (1969, p. 228) argues that "an utterance is first of all an audio signal consisting of vowels and consonants which alternate according to the phonological rules of the particular language". Since Wimber speaks English, the utterance he makes in the analyzed passage, must comply with what is characteristic of this particular language. The fragment in question shows that some bars are longer than others and some also get extra stress which is typical of a day-to-day speech. Wimber's intonation deserves a special attention here, mostly because it seems to resemble the one of mantra sung aloud by, for example, a Hindu guru to put individuals into a trance. Similarities apply to evident rises and falls occurring by turns. The rise may suggest a highly emotive content connected with the sacred like praising or thanksgiving whereas the fall may imply the

mundane. I have marked the rise with an upward pointing arrow and the fall with its downward counterpart.

Bearing in mind the fact that the bodily movements of the gathered who have just started speaking in tongues are similar to those made during the Hindu ritual of Kundalini awakening known as Shaktipat (Kumar and Kumar, 2009), such a comparison appears reasonable. There is also another issue worth raising, namely, the one concerning the real source of what is believed to be a heavenly language. During the investigation I carried out, I observed that it is the leader himself or herself who initiates the act of speaking in tongues. Therefore, the question to be asked is as follows: If speaking in tongues is considered a gift of the Holy Spirit, distributed only among the chosen, how is it possible that a human being controls its course from the very beginning till the very end, and at the same time makes it possible for all members of the audience to demonstrate it?

The results of the research I conducted reveal that in the Neo-Pentecostal as well as the Pentecostal Catholic environment, speaking in tongues has little in common with a truly divine intervention, taking an outsider's perspective into account. In fact, it is just a practice incorporated into the ritual which aims at putting the audience into meditation mood and hence, calming it down and making it more susceptible to the actual verbal content spread later in the vernacular. Importantly, for power evangelism enthusiasts, speaking in tongues tends to be associated with a special anointing and therefore, it plays a vital role in one's transformation process. Kobyliński (2016) offers a valuable contribution to the topic in question. He explains that what has been defined as glossolalia by some representatives of the Charismatic environment and later elaborated on by the scholars working on this issue (Poloma, 2006, pp. 147-173; Samarin, 1972, pp. 226-236; Kay, 2006, pp. 174-205; Hudson, 2006, pp. 59-63), is actually the so-called jubilation (Lat. Jubilare — shout of joy), deprived of the divine nature, whose qualities were thoroughly described by St. Augustine. William J. Samarin (1972), whose definition is the one most frequently quoted in the literature, employs the term glossolalia, not jubilation, to allude to phonologically structured human utterance, however, with no resemblance to any natural language (Samarin, 1972). He observes that glossolalia shares some features with human language, including accent, intonation, and rhythm, but that resemblance is only superficial. The same is true for David Hilborn (2006) who offers a linguistic-pragmatic insight into the problem. All the references are worth taking a closer look at, nevertheless the choice depennds on the scope of research. Kobyliński (2016) notes that the real gift of tongues, thus the supernatural phenomenon

(Gr. lalein glossais — speak in tongues), enabled the first Christians to understand one another although none of them knew the language of their interlocutors whereas jubilation, which tends to be expressed without syllables creating comprehensible words, makes it impossible for the speakers to communicate verbally (Kobyliński, 2016, pp. 112-113). The investigation I conducted led me to confirm the validity of Kobyliński's claim. Hence, from now onwards, I will be using this expression instead of the concept of glossolalia. Besides, although in the subsequent sections I will be referring to some other instances of jubilation, I will not transcribe them since they are not of considerable importance for this study. While doing fieldwork, I witnessed the practice of uttering speech-like sounds but none of the gifted managed to translate them into the vernacular. What they offered was only a random interpretation. It should therefore be made clear that for the insiders representing the Pentecostal worldview, jubilation means divine intervention whereas for the outsiders, it has nothing in common with divinity.

Regardless of whether or not the followers of power evangelism understand one another while praying, it can be observed that jubilation implemented on a regular basis plays a special role in the whole transformation process. Poloma (2006, p. 154), who uses the term glossolalia as stated above, calls it a multifaceted phenomenon and highlights its functional qualities by alluding to private and public behavior. Interestingly, she draws attention to the role glossolalia plays in relieving stress and strengthening the psyche (Poloma, 2006, p. 167). She defines glossolalia as spiritual feeding aimed at creating a sense of intimacy with God. The psychological perspective of speaking in tongues has also been discussed by William K. Kay (2006). The scholar notes that the way the environment perceives it has shifted over the years. According to Kay (2006, pp. 204-205) early studies described this phenomenon as something pathological and indicating a mental illness whereas recent contributions emphasize its constructive character, especially in terms of creating a strong sense of unity and mutual understanding within a given community. Because of the fact that jubilation is believed to be a spiritual gift and therefore it has been associated with the sacred, its reception may suggest one's awakening and thus, one's readiness for vital changes in daily life. Furthermore, the feature of incomprehensibility makes jubilation a unique code incorporated by the distressed to interact with the deity.

3.3.2. *Arkadiusz Krzywodajć*

The problem of how past experiences affect human cognition and behavior, has been thoroughly discussed by Arkadiusz Krzywodajć on December 12, 2021, during his on-stage performance in the worship zone which corresponds to the immersion stage of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process. It should be mentioned that Krzywodajć is known to have participated in the worship services held at the previously-discussed Bethel Church in Redding, California which functions as one of the greatest Neo-Pentecostal centers in the USA. Krzywodajć eagerly promotes the American revivalism in Poland and regularly serves as a conference, fulfilling his Apostolic mission. As for the verbal interventions employed by the leader in the passage below, evidence gathering, consequential analysis, cognitive bias identification, reattribution, and positivity reorientation have been identified:

If you have a pet at home and the dog that was gentle in the past, now bites, it means that it suffers. It can be ill. One of the reasons for which it bites could be its illness. Its illness makes it aroused in a negative sense. Our soul reacts in a similar way […]. We are driven by emotions […]. You become Christian once you believe that Jesus Christ […] was crucified […] and you consider Him your Lord which means that you recognize the power of the Holy Spirit in you […]. Wherever you go, the Holy Spirit follows you. Now listen, sometimes the sun, sometimes the rain. Wounds of our soul could be compared to storm clouds. These storm clouds obscure the sun or rather its impact on us […]. You know, all our hurts and trauma […], nurtured in our hearts, could be compared to the clouds which cut our spirit off from our souls and our bodies […]. You can't kill your soul […]. Your spirit has been reborn and now is like the sun. It is perfect because it has been reborn with the help of the Holy Spirit. This perfection should have an impact on my soul and therefore, an individual should remove everything what drowns the communication […] between the spirit and the soul out […]. Nurturing one's hurts and employing various tactics to avoid making important decisions which could heal my interior results in the blockage of the divine flow […]. Your hurts produce your bad decisions and therefore, today I want to tell you the story of Saul […]. He felt bleak, like a failure. Why? We don't know. He might have been programmed in this way in his childhood […]. He didn't sound confident enough. People who have been hurt in the past, today tend to suffer from an inferiority complex. Fear drives their actions and that was exactly what happened to Saul […] Although we have heard so many times that we are

the children of God, we still practice the negative self-talk. Our self-perception is largely the result of someone else's opinion but what seems really frustrating is the fact that we don't fight for ourselves […]. The Devil wants you to remember those negative opinions […]. Words can hurt, that's true. Don't let them grow freely for years because they will affect your entire life and identity […]. Take a load off […]. Saul didn't know how to fight for himself […]. Insecure individuals are masters at constructing worst-case scenarios which in fact, arise from their fear of losing position […]. Don't get too much attached to your post since it won't make you stronger. You should use your power in a different manner […]. Childhood hurts will ruin your relations. No one will like you. What is worse, you may hurt others, you may become tense and temperamental. Remember, one day it will come back with a vengeance. How do I know this? I had to overcome my deficiencies myself […]. Unfortunately, when our soul suffers, we tend to avoid people. In other words, we avoid people because we are afraid of being hurt again […]. Before I told you that the divine which indwells you, affects your mundane qualities. Do you remember […]? You probably understand that once you are hurt, you can't bear good fruit, don't you […]? This is the moment when we can be honest with ourselves for this first time and say: no matter how I feel. I will go and ask those people for forgiveness[10].

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[10] Kościół Filadelfia. (2021a, December 12). *NABOŻEŃSTWO. Zraniony rani innych. Arek Krzywodajć. 12.12.2021* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fw8XW41Gxy8&t=421s [original quotation: Kiedy masz zwierzaka w domu i pies, który był łagodny, cię ugryzł, to znaczy, że jest chory. Może być chory. Jednym z wielu powodów, dla których on to zrobił, jest to, że on cierpi. Choroba doprowadza go do stanu negatywnego pobudzenia i wiecie, z naszą duszą jest podobnie […]. Jesteśmy kierowani emocjami […]. Chrześcijaninem rodzisz się na podstawie decyzji, że uwierzysz, że Jezus Chrystus […] został przybity do krzyża […]. I uznajesz, że Jezus Chrystus jest twoim Panem, czyli w twoim duchu zaczyna mieszkać Duch Święty […]. Dokądkolwiek się udajesz, Duch Święty idzie w tobie do miejsca, do którego się udajesz. Ale teraz posłuchajcie, czasem słońce, czasem deszcz […]. Zranienia naszej duszy są jak chmury burzowe […], które zasłaniają wpływ słońca na nas całych […]. I wiecie, zranienia, urazy, to wszystko, o czy, dzisiaj mówimy, pielęgnowane w naszym sercu, są jak chmury, które odcinają naszego ducha od naszej duszy i od naszego ciała […]. Nie można jej zabić. Twój duch został odrodzony, jest jak słońce, świeci stale. Ma w sobie doskonałość dzięki temu, że został odrodzony przez Ducha Świętego. Ta doskonałość powinna oddziaływać na moją duszę, dlatego człowiek musi usunąć wszystko, co zagłusza komunikację między duchem a duszą […]. Pielęgnowanie zranień, czy nie podjęcie ważnych decyzji, które mają uzdrowić moje wnętrze sprawia, że nasza zaburzona dusza zatrzymuje przepływ Bożego życia z naszego ducha […]. Twoje zranienia produkują twoje złe decyzje i dzisiaj wam opowiem o Saulu […]. On czuł się wewnętrznie do bani, jako człowiek nikt. Dlaczego? Tego nie wiemy, ale prawdopodobnie to było żniwo jakichś dysfunkcji w dzieciństwie, które go takim zaprogramowały […]. Nie czuł się wystarczająco pewnie sam ze sobą […]. Ludzie zranieni, to ludzie zawsze z kompleksem niższości. Lęk napędza ich działanie i za chwilę wam pokażę, że Saul był mistrzem niższości i mistrzem działania w lęku […]. Ile razy to słyszymy, że jesteśmy dziećmi Bożymi, ale gdybyśmy poszperali w swojej własnej duszy i spojrzeli na swoje myśli o poranku każdego dnia albo co drugiego dnia, jak źle myślimy o sobie […]. Słowa, które ktoś wypowiedział o nas, decydują co myślimy o sobie. I wiecie co jest załamujące? Nie toczymy żadnej bitwy o prawdę o sobie samych […]. Tak, bo diabeł chce żebyś latami to rozpamiętywał […]. Tak, słowa ranią […]. Nie pozwól, żeby to żyło w tobie latami, bo to będzie wpływało

When it comes to evidence gathering, the leader makes an explicit reference to childhood hurts as the cause of current distress. He presumes that there is a link between the way one was programmed in the past and one's inferiority complex in their adult life. Therefore, he puts an emphasis on the sequence of events which gradually led to schema-congruent processing and the fear response followed by deep anxiety. Interestingly, the passage alluding to the source of emotional turmoil can also be interpreted in terms of reattribution. Krzywodajć seeks to draw the audience's attention to external factors instead of self-blame. The same is true for the part that mentions the role of the evil forces. Krzywodajć highlights the fact that the Devil wants individuals to remember their negative thoughts. This seems to indicate that one's mental condition is subject to stimulation by the entities of the supernatural origin. Such an approach has its foundations in Wimber and Wagner's teaching on spiritual warfare and on healing in general. The question of overcoming the effects of painful memories responsible for psychological damage tends to be raised when talking about inner healing, as suggested by Wimber who defines this type of interference as "a process in which the Holy Spirit brings forgiveness of sins and emotional renewal to people suffering from damaged minds, wills, and emotions" (Wimber and Springer, 1987, p. 80).

With respect to consequential analysis, Krzywodajć compares wounds of the soul to storm clouds which deprive an individual of the joy the sun can bring. This implies that the longer a distressed person nurtures the past hurts in his or her heart, the more he or she suffers. Therefore, a closer look should be taken on the pros and cons of being inflexible and reluctant to take concrete steps. Moreover, Krzywodajć stresses the severe consequences of not being able to make a decision and these refer to the blockage of divine flow which is believed to be necessary for the full recovery and empowerment. The leader makes the audience aware of how practicing negative self-talk can affect one's

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na całe twoje życie. To w pewnym momencie stanie się twoją tożsamością […]. Zrzuć to, strząśnij […]. Saul nie potrafił się z tym rozprawić […]. Ludzie zakompleksieni to mistrzowie kręcenia złych scenariuszy. Kręcenie filmów i urojone scenariusze są wynikiem moich zranień i obaw, że ktoś czyha na moje stanowisko […]. Nie przyspawaj się do swojego stołka, bo nie w tym jest twoja siła […]. Zranienie w dzieciństwie będzie dewastować twoje relacje. Po prostu, kurczę, nikt cię nie będzie lubił […]. Zranienia będą sprawiały, że będziesz ranił innych […], będziesz nerwowy, wybuchowy. Ale pamiętaj, pewnego dnia to wszystko wybuchnie ze zdwojoną siłą. Skąd to wiem? Bo sam musiałem się rozprawić ze swoimi deficytami […]. Niestety, kiedy jesteśmy poranieni w naszej duszy, unikamy ludzi […]. Albo inaczej, unikamy ludzi, bo boimy się kolejnych zranień […]. Pamiętacie, mówiłem wam, że w was jest Boże życie […]. W momencie, kiedy ono zaczyna mieszkać w tobie, ono ma wieczny charakter i zaczyna to Boże wieczne życie oddziaływać na twoją ziemskość […]. Rozumiecie to, że kiedy jesteś zraniony, nie możesz wydać dobrego owocu […]. To jest moment, w którym potrzebujemy, może pierwszy raz, być szczerymi przed samymi sobą i powiedzieć: nieważne jak będę się czuł, ale pójdę do tych ludzi i poproszę o wybaczenie.].

entire life as well as relations with others. He emphasizes the correlation between being hurt and hurting others which technically stands for taking one's frustrations out on those, one interacts with. According to what has been stated above, the Neo-Pentecostal performance builds upon Bible verses and so does the sermon given by Krzywodajć who alludes to Saul and the actions he undertook while driven by fear.

As far as cognitive bias identification is concerned, Krzywodajć tries to account for how errors in one's thinking style distort perception. For this reason, he makes a reference to one of typical coping strategies described by cognitive therapists, namely, avoidance. Krzywodajć notes that distressed individuals tend to avoid establishing relationships, mostly because they are afraid of being hurt again. Furthermore, their insecurity leads them to produce the worst-case scenarios which affect their mood to a great extent. Bearing in mind the theory of the cognitive model, it can be stated that what Krzywodajć has in mind, is the anxious thought-anxious feeling pattern. The leader points out to this particular problem in order to train the audience to identify the maladaptive schemas which should be further replaced with the more adaptive ones. Krzywodajć also observes that distressed individuals are afraid of losing their position since being in charge of something is usually associated with power. He suggests that the power a given person has should be used in a different manner.

The last verbal strategy to discuss, which is positivity reorientation, aims to refocus the audience on positive coping resources, primarily by invoking personal experiences whose meaning is expected to reduce the heightened sense of helplessness. Krzywodajć starts with the significance of spiritual rebirth. In his view, Christians are not alone in their struggles since the Holy Spirit protects them and equips. Then, he encourages the gathered to fight for themselves similarly to what he once did. Krzywodajć refers to the difficulties he had to face in the past, and by doing so, the bond he intends to form with the audience, becomes stronger and more stable. In the previous chapters the importance of giving testimonies has been addressed, and this is exactly what Krzywodajć seems to prioritize. Cognitive restructuring allows for empirical hypothesis testing, but this happens only when mutual trust has already been developed. Therefore, positivity reorientation can be treated as an introduction to a more demanding initiative.

Returning to the most vital issue in this research, that is, the question of how the Neo-Pentecostal language triggers out one's awakening and how it affects one's transformation, it can be assumed, based on what has been discovered in this passage, that first and foremost, due to its highly emotive content, it serves a cathartic function,

especially when gathering evidence and reattributing. In order for an individual to experience an awakening, he or she should understand the cause-and-effect sequence of events, taking not only his or her own perspective into account, but also the external one. The feeling of anxiety an individual struggles with, has its source whose precise location can be specified though the linguistic stimulation. Therefore, apart from the cathartic function, it also serves the tracking function. What follows comprehension is the acceptance. The implemented vocabulary, such as self-blame, negative self-talk, or inferiority complex, although pejorative in nature, helps to recognize the need for re-evaluation and a schematic change, thus the Neo-Pentecostal language can be ascribed a guiding function as well. Last but not least, the positivity reorientation strategy reveals its prompting function since it urges a distressed individual to take concrete steps and to verify whether or not his or her attitudes are subject to negotiation. All things considered, the Neo-Pentecostal language has the potential to trigger one's awakening because it induces catharsis, tracks the sources of maladaptive cognition and behavior, guides those who need to reflect on their lives, and prompts the distressed to face the reality so that the bias they display, reduces.

Referring back to Wimber's idea of power evangelism in practice or rather to some characteristic elements of the Neo-Pentecostal prayer, it should be noted that the prayers performed by Krzywodajć seem to have been inspired by Wimber himself and his contemporary followers such as Bill Johnson from Bethel. The extracts below refer to three different on-stage performances whose common denominator could be specified as a breakthrough that leads to awakening:

(1). Father, today we want to declare a breakthrough and we want to do it in a prophetic way. You are our vision. You are our answer to every single situation, crisis, turmoil, and the sorrow of our hearts and souls […]. Today […] we declare the joy of the upcoming breakthrough […]. Lord, show us what we can do and how to persevere in times of trial when the enemy is seeking to throw us off the right course[11].

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[11] Kościół Filadelfia. (2020, October 25). *Filadelfia Day 25.10. Trzy kroki do osobistego przebudzenia. Ps. Arek Krzywodajć* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A_rsSbBh5uE&t=5335s [original quotation: Ojcze, my dzisiaj w proroczy sposób chcemy zadeklarować przełom. Panie, chcemy zadeklarować, że Ty jesteś naszą wizją. Ty jesteś odpowiedzią na każdą sytuację, na każdy kryzys, na każdy zamęt, na każdą boleść naszego serca i duszy […]. My dzisiaj ogłaszamy radość z powodu nadchodzącego przełomu […]. Panie, pokaż nam co możemy zrobić i jak wytrwać w godzinie próby, kiedy przeciwnik chce nas wytrącić z właściwego kursu.

(2). Thank you, Jesus […]. This is a word for Magda, light hair, aged around thirty-five […]. This is about a necessity to reverse course and the necessity to come back to a place. Your head is telling you not to reverse but God wants to tell you that you should do so. You should come back to the place where you lost your axe […]. Lord, we release this thinking of You as of the One who is cooperative and as of the One who is generous[12].

(3). If God is talking to you now, come here. Holy Spirit, this is the moment […]. Focus on God completely and start to believe that the growing seed rests in you […]. This seed will be blessed today through God's presence both in you and upon you […]. We want the dove to fall upon us now […]. We want His presence to fall upon us. I believe that God will manifest Himself in signs. If you don't witness His manifestation, it doesn't mean His presence has not fallen upon you. Some of you will experience various physical manifestations including the feeling of being on fire, the penetrating heat on your hands […]. In certain cases, you may also see the oil of God's presence on one's hands […]. Lord, we are talking now in a prophetic way to the atmosphere of heaven and earth. Lord, we are bringing and releasing in a prophetic way the atmosphere of heaven on earth. Father, may Your growth, may Your growth, may Your breakthrough be released now in the name of Jesus […]. Father, may Your glory and anointing be released through faith. Holy Spirit, now, now, now, now […]! Holy Spirit, may Your wind, may Your fire, may Your oil fall upon our life in a prophetic way […]! May Your manifestation be released.[13]

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[12] Kościół Filadelfia. (2021b, May, 28). *Atmosfera Nieba. Sesja I* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5nI8zuB0x8&list=PLt5nnpYaIhYxBDYdyCLf856tmgLMk1BEx&index=7&t=3730s [original quotation: Dziękujemy Ci, Jezu […]. To słowo jest do Magdy, jasne włosy, wiek około trzydzieści pięć lat […]. To słowo mówi o tym, żebyś właśnie zawróciła i wróciła do miejsca. Twoja głowa mówi *nie zawracaj*, ale Bóg chce ci powiedzieć *zawróć*. Zawróć do miejsca, w którym zgubiłaś siekierę […]. Panie, my uwalniamy to myślenie o Tobie jako o tym, który jest chętny, jako o tym, który chętnie udziela, który hojnie rozdaje.

[13] Nations on Fire. (2021, November 4). *Zasadzeni by wydać owoc! PS Arek Krzywodajć. This is our Time 2021* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E2vZlNo-Wa0 [original quotation: Jeżeli Bóg do ciebie mówi, przyjdź tutaj. Duchu Święty, to jest ten moment […]. Totalnie skup się na Panu i zacznij wierzyć w to, że ziarno wzrostu jest w tobie […]. Ale też to ziarno wzrostu będzie pobłogosławione dzisiaj poprzez to, że Bóg swoją obecnością zacznie spoczywać nie tylko w tobie, ale na tobie […]. Potrzebujemy, aby gołębica spoczęła na nas teraz […], aby Jego obecność spoczęła na nas. Bóg zacznie manifestować się, mam takie głębokie przekonanie, także poprzez znaki. To nie znaczy, że jak nie będzie takiej manifestacji na tobie, to że Jego obecność nie spoczęła na tobie, ale niektórzy z was będą doświadczali różnych fizycznych manifestacji, jak parzenie, przenikające ciepło po dłoniach […], a nawet na niektórych dłoniach może pojawić się oliwa Bożej obecności […]. Panie, my teraz w taki proroczy sposób przemawiamy do rzeczywistości nieba i ziemi. Panie, my w taki proroczy sposób sprowadzamy teraz, uwalniamy atmosferę nieba na ziemi. Ojcze, niech Twój wzrost, niech Twój wzrost, niech Twój przełom do wzrostu zostanie uwolniony teraz, w imieniu Jezusa […]. Ojcze, niech Twoja chwała

The first extract could be interpreted as a remarkably powerful invocation whose principal objective is to receive directions from the deity. The leader refers to the problem of spiritual warfare and at the same juxtaposes the good with the evil. Then, he performs the act of declaration by referring to the joy of the expected changes. Again, it can be assumed that by means of a performative utterance the speaker intends to make it possible for the gathered to enter an alternative reality which will ultimately bring the desired breakthrough and hence, accelerate one's transformation. In respect of the second passage, it starts with the unquoted jubilation initiated by Krzywodajć, which, as implied earlier in this study, serves to establish a close bond with the divine. The result comes straight away in the form of a prophetic word conveyed by the leader and targeted at a specific person. From a transformative point of view, it can be considered a vital moment since the person in question not only becomes aware of her weaknesses but also realizes she is taken care of by the supernatural which in turn affects her self-esteem and may ultimately contribute to her awakening and the replacement of the maladaptive schemas with the more flexible ones. What comes next is a performative utterance implying the act of releasing positive thoughts with respect to God. By doing so, Krzywodajć seems to advocate the solution-oriented approach instead of concentrating on the pessimistic scenarios. The third extract bears a striking resemblance to the one already discussed and referring to Wimber's performance, especially in terms of the employed vocabulary, the emphasis put on bodily sensations that are believed to be the proof of the empowerment, and the leader's orientation towards instantism, represented by the frequent use of the words "now" and "today". Bearing in mind the main features of power evangelism, namely proclamation and demonstration, it can be argued that Krzywodajć faithfully captures both of them. Releasing the atmosphere of heaven on earth can be understood as the act of expressing one's openness and readiness to receive the divine anointing, to reflect upon the past and presence, to carry out a cost-benefit analysis, and finally, to modify one's schemas so that the distressed find relief. What is also special about the last passage is the role of the mediator Krzywodajć plays. At the initial stage of his performance, Krzywodajć calls God, by referring to the Holy Spirit. Later, he explicitly instructs the audience how to respond to the divine message and what to expect from the supernatural. To be more exact, Krzywodajć speaks about God in the

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i namaszczenie zostanie uwolnione przez wiarę. Duchu Święty, teraz, teraz, teraz, teraz […]! Niech Twój wiatr, niech Twój ogień, niech Twój olej spocznie, Duchu Święty, na naszym życiu w ten proroczy sposób […]! Niech Twoja manifestacja […] zostanie uwolniona.].

third person singular which may suggest that the relationship with the auditorium at this particular moment is more important than the one with the deity. It appears reasonable when considering the inner healing in terms of a product a given brand promotes and tries to sell. It should be remembered that healing and prophetic services are not totally free of charge. Either there is an entrance fee specified in advance (the ticket) or the money in the form of a voluntary donation is collected by the appointed community member. What matters in such cases is the trust the seller wants to win. It is necessary for the religious entrepreneur to familiarize potential customers with a specific product quality and let them try it out so that they return for more in the future. Here the marketplace connection is represented by the allusions Krzywodajć makes to the possible outcomes of the divine manifestation. Such an approach resembles a user manual and its step-by-step procedure. Finally, Krzywodajć speaks to God again, but this time he uses terms such as Lord, Father, and the Holy Spirit, as at the beginning of his performance which creates a sense of intimacy and respect simultaneously. Changing perspectives so quickly proves the dynamism of the leader-God-human audience triangle. Similar linguistic behavior can be noticed on TV game shows during which the host creates tension to affect the participants and urge them to take an action. Once the host addresses the contestants and once the invisible voice-over. Bearing in mind the core of this study, namely, the awakening and transformation process, it can be concluded that imaginal exposure stimulated by the leader who vividly narrates the event and modulates its course, facilitates one's restructure and makes one feel an active agent, as opposed to a passive observer. When it comes to the perlocutionary effects I witnessed while doing fieldwork, the previously-discussed impartation should be emphasized. Straight away after receiving the divine anointing, members of the audience would touch one another with the purpose of releasing the empowerment they have just experienced. This is exactly how collective effervescence comes into existence.

3.3.3. *Wojciech Walaszczyk*

The importance of the process an individual has to go through before comprehending how the schema-congruent cognition works, how it prevents one's spiritual growth, and how to approach destructive life events that from the human perspective seem inexplicable, has been discussed by Wojciech Walaszczyk in relation to the story of Nikola Szemszur who claims to have suffered from depression and anxiety. Verbal strategies employed by

Walaszczyk when interacting with the audience include evidence gathering, generating alternatives, cognitive bias identification, consequential analysis, reattribution, and positivity reorientation. The on-stage performance given by the leader mentioned above has been divided into two parts. The first one starts with a series of questions he asks his interviewee regarding her mental condition when struggling with the difficulties and her further transformation whereas the second one is the actual sermon, enriched in practical recommendations. As for the interview with Szemszur, Walaszczyk gives priority to how she achieved recovery and how she managed to recognize the divine element in her suffering. The following statement by Szemszur, which can be found in another video available on YouTube and which Walaszczyk quotes, serves as a reference point for his teaching:

I would frequently be attacked by extremely brutal thoughts […] which in fact, came from nowhere because I had never been exposed to brutal images […]. I recall my parents trying to help me in various ways, but nothing seemed to work including professional counselling sessions and meetings with psychologists. I stopped exercising overnight. I put on weight. At the same time, all the hormones that had previously been produced while training, were suddenly cut off and therefore, I fell into depression […]. Today I understand that God created me with a certain dose of sensitivity which involves fear and anxiety […] but I also understand this sensitivity is my true potential […] and that God wants to use me to bring freedom to other people. My own children are currently learning to walk and when I see how often they fall, I begin to realize how important a process is in our lives. We have to go through certain things which we don't understand but it's enough to know that God understands […]. Today my fight against fear lasts ten seconds instead of six or seven hours[14].

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[14] Centrum Chrześcijańskie Winnica. (2021a, March 29). *Lęk paraliżował mnie do tego stopnia, że nie potrafiłam mówić. Historia Nikoli. Twórca Historii* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=t8VdPBHslPE&t=0s [original quotation: Bardzo często zdarzały mi się noce, w których atakowały mnie bardzo brutalne i drastyczne myśli, które pochodziły tak naprawdę znikąd, bo nigdy nie byłam wystawiona na jakieś obrazy brutalne […]. Pamiętam, jak rodzice chcieli mi pomóc w jakikolwiek sposób, ale nic nie działało, nie działały żadne terapie, żadni psychologowie. Przestałam trenować z dnia na dzień. Przybrałam na wadze. Jednocześnie wszystkie hormony, które były wydzielane podczas tak dużej aktywności fizycznej, zostały po prostu odcięte, więc bardzo szybko wpadłam w takie stany depresyjne, później już w depresję […]. Już dzisiaj rozumiem, że Bóg stworzył mnie z pewnym poziomem wrażliwości, który niesie ze sobą tendencję do lęków, do niepokoju […], ale wiem też, że mój prawdziwy potencjał leży właśnie w tej wrażliwości […]. Bóg chce to wykorzystywać, żeby przynosić wolność innym ludziom. Moje dzieci są teraz na etapie uczenia się chodzić i jak widzę, ile razy się potykają […] zaczynam rozumieć jak ważny jest proces w naszym życiu i to, że musimy przejść przez pewne rzeczy, których po prostu często nie rozumiemy, ale wystarczy, że Bóg rozumie […]. Już dzisiaj tak naprawdę moja walka z lękiem trwa 10 sekund. Już nie trwa sześciu lub siedmiu godzin.].

In his interview, Walaszczyk uses evidence gathering by means of which he concentrates on Szemszur's past, tries to identify the cause of her maladaptive schema-congruent processing, and later, alludes to the quality of the relationship with God which according to Szemszur, should be based on a solid foundation instead of emotions. Szemszur acknowledges that the struggles she faced, largely contributed to her transformation and hence, she feels grateful for this experience. Szemszur also explains that on certain occasions one's distress emerges unexpectedly, without being provoked, as it happened in her case. Although she had not been exposed to detrimental stimuli, anxiety and depression affected her psyche dramatically, leading to visible changes in her behavior and a daily routine. At the end, Walaszczyk points out to the most pivotal aspect of the process Szemszur describes, namely, to the freedom one can bring to other individuals when sharing the story. It can therefore be concluded that one's inner battle with destructive thoughts and their outcomes makes sense in the Christian context, since it serves as a source of inspiration and trigger for awakening.

Referring to the actual sermon given by Walaszczyk, the following passage has been taken into consideration:

Sometimes God takes us through some sort of a process in which we become able to understand and experience certain things. Because of the reassurance we received from God, we can bring comfort to the people who are also facing some difficulties […]. It is incredible that God does not take things away from us upon request, although we would like Him to do so […]. You know, we are ready to lose a lot, especially when God pulls us out […]. He guides us through various processes, towards freedom as well, but what is important, He guides us towards this freedom either through a longer or a shorter process, and this is because He has a goal. Paul the Apostle refers in 2 Corinthians 12: 7-10 to some experience which he calls a thorn in his flesh and which we are not familiarized with in the end. What we become aware of is that he asks God to take it away from his life […]. In other words, God says I will not take it away from your life, but I will do something much better. I will show you how merciful I am. Grace in the Bible stands for the empowerment granted by God […]. This shift in perspective seems highly significant […]. Nikola's story shows that the process God initiates has its purpose. I managed to identify three crucial things which seem to be its outcomes, bearing in mind the ultimate freedom. The first one applies to the opportunity to discover God in a completely new way. Every time God comes and makes a big bang, you are delighted and call Him powerful but when you go through a process and God guides you towards

freedom, you suddenly explore areas you would not explore if you had participated in the big bang. This is how we get to know God, but I do not mean the wow God. Conversely, we get to know our Father […]. Sometimes we invite God to our life, to our house, to our flat […], then we sit in our armchair and we tell Him to move a closet because it should not be here or to move the table because we need space. We treat God as a man mover, and we expect Him to relocate all pieces of furniture, but He does the opposite. He takes us on a journey […]. Do you ever feel like God is playing with you […]? But this is the moment when you have to admit that He is smarter […]. I have also gone through the process. After many years I have finally become able to understand people, to bring them comfort, and to bring them freedom they had been looking for. People shared their stories which reminded me of my own struggles thanks to which I managed to recognize the mechanism they were involved in […]. I remember my first prayer for deliverance. The person was severely demonized. It took place a long time ago. I was terrified because I could not accept the fact that we were helpless. I felt guilty. The enemy came and started making accusations […]. After a couple of years, I had to combat the demonic again but this time I won and as a result, my authority increased […]. Suddenly my fear was gone. I had to go through a process and to learn to trust God […]. Once you overcome your deficiencies, you become stronger, you want to win, and you want to help others […]. Once you discover your identity and you understand who you are, you quickly discover that less and less things make you frightened because you have already faced that […]. The second thing I identified refers to our self-perception […]. You have a choice. You can either let your heart become embittered or you can allow God to do something for you […]. There comes a time when you have to stop running away. Instead, you should focus on God's calling[15].

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[15] Centrum Chrześcijańskie Winnica. (2021b, March 31). *Droga do wolności. Wojtek Walaszczyk. Historia Nikoli. CCH Winnica Twórca Historii* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=DTw8BR5xHAs&t=2358s [original quotation: Czasami Bóg zabiera nas przez pewnego rodzaju proces i w tym procesie my jesteśmy w stanie zrozumieć pewne rzeczy, doświadczyć pewnych rzeczy i dzięki tej pociesze, którą otrzymaliśmy od Boga, my jesteśmy w stanie pocieszyć innych ludzi, którzy przechodzą przez te same rzeczy […]. I to jest niesamowite, że Bóg nie zawsze zabiera rzeczy ot tak, choć chcielibyśmy […], ale wiele jesteśmy w stanie stracić, kiedy Bóg ze wszystkiego nas tak wyciąga, wiecie […]. On nas przeprowadza przez różne procesy, do wolności również, ale prowadzi nas do tej wolności właśnie poprzez krótszy albo dłuższy proces, ponieważ On ma w tym jakiś swój cel. W 2 Kor 12, 7-10 jest napisane o pewnym trudnym doświadczeniu, o którym wspomina apostoł Paweł. Nie do końca wiemy, czym ono było, on nazywa go cierniem w ciele i że został mu ten cierń dany i że sprawiło mu to na tyle problem, że modlił się i prosił Boga, aby usunął to z jego życia […]. Innymi słowy, Bóg mówi: *nie usunę tego z twojego życia, ale zrobię coś o wiele lepszego, udzielę ci mojej łaski* […]. Łaska w Biblii również oznacza moc, siłę, uzdolnienie, które Bóg nam daje […]. Ta zmiana perspektywy jest niezwykle istotna […]. Historia Nikoli pokazuje nam tak naprawdę, że ten proces, w który Bóg nas często wprowadza, on ma

As far as generating alternatives and reattribution are concerned, their implementation can be observed at the very beginning of Walaszczyk's speech when he highlights the sense of one's suffering. In his view, one's vulnerability together with its consequences do not necessarily arise from past hurts but may have been provided by God on purpose. Walaszczyk explains that on certain occasions the life struggles an individual faces have its deeper meaning and should be treated as an important element of a more complex process, especially in terms of bringing freedom to other people. Walaszczyk makes reference to the story of Paul the Apostle to show the fruit of a total submission to God's will and to emphasize the essence of the empowerment granted by the divine. Interestingly, his performance, similarly to the one given by Krzywodajć, is not free from allusions to the topic of demonic interference. Walaszczyk recalls his first attempts in deliverance ministry and what he draws a special attention to is his emotional condition. In other words, he reattributes the feeling of hopelessness and failure to an evil force which he terms an enemy. By doing so, he intends to make a clear distinction

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swój cel i zamiar. Ja sobie wyłapałem takie główne trzy rzeczy, które dokonują się w tym procesie, kiedy Bóg nie zabiera problemu ot tak, ale przeprowadza nas przez proces i prowadzi nas do miejsca wolności. Pierwszą rzeczą, która się dzieje, kiedy jesteś w tym miejscu procesu, to poznajesz Boga w całkowicie inny sposób aniżeli gdyby On tylko pstryknął i rozwiązał twój problem, ponieważ kiedy Bóg przychodzi i robi wielkie bang […] to nagle jesteśmy pełni zachwytu, podziwu i mówimy: *Bóg jest potężnym Bogiem* […]. Ale kiedy przechodzisz przez proces i Bóg prowadzi cię do wolności […], to nagle uczysz się rzeczy, których nigdy byś się nie nauczył, nie doświadczyłbyś, gdyby wszystko było bang. W tym miejscu my odkrywamy Boga nie jako tego wow, tylko odkrywamy go jako naszego tatę […]. Wiecie, czasami tak jest, że zapraszamy Pana Boga do naszego życia, do naszego domu, do naszego mieszkania […] i trochę tak siadamy na tym naszym fotelu i mówimy Bogu: *przesuń tę szafkę tam, bo ona mi tu przeszkadza […], stół przesuń, przesuń te wszystkie rzeczy, żebym miał tutaj swobodę przejścia* i tak naprawdę z Pana Boga robimy takiego, wiecie, gościa od przeprowadzek, który ma poprzesuwać wszystkie nasze meble, ale on tego nie robi. On po prostu zabiera nas w podróż […]. Czy macie czasami takie wrażenie, że Bóg się bawi w trochę takie niepotrzebne zabiegi […]? No, ale to jest ten moment, kiedy musisz uznać, że On jest mądrzejszy […]. Ale wiecie, po latach, kiedy już byłem pastorem i ludzie zaczynali przychodzić na spotkania duszpasterskie, dzielili się różnymi historiami, różnymi rzeczami, ja nagle siedziałem i słyszałem tam siebie, słyszałem tam swoje zmagania […] i ja widziałem te mechanizmy, w których oni są. Nagle byłem w stanie zrozumieć, nagle byłem w stanie pocieszyć, nagle byłem w stanie pomóc im dojść do miejsca wolności, którego szukali […]. Pamiętam, kiedy pierwszy raz modliłem się o osobę, która była zdemonizowana. To było wiele lat temu i byłem przestraszony, ponieważ nie potrafiłem sobie poradzić z tym, że nie mogliśmy uwolnić tej osoby. Miałem poczucie winy. Nieprzyjaciel przyszedł i zaczął oskarżać […]. I później, kiedy już zostałem pastorem, wiecie, kiedy zderzyłem się kolejny raz z sytuacją, gdzie musiałem skonfrontować się z tą jakąś siłą demoniczną […] nagle odniosłem zwycięstwo. Zobaczyłem, że mój poziom autorytetu wzrósł […]. Nagle lęku już nie było […]. Ja musiałem przejść pewien proces, w którym musiałem nauczyć się ufać Bogu […]. I tak jest, ponieważ kiedy człowiek już raz coś przemoże, to już nie pozostaje taki sam, ale ma większe parcie do tego, aby zwyciężać i jest w stanie pomóc innym […]. Kiedy my odkrywamy naszą tożsamość, to kim jesteśmy, stajemy w autorytecie. Nagle odkrywasz, że chodzisz w coraz większej wolności, coraz mniej rzeczy zaczyna cię lękać i zastraszać, ponieważ przeszedłeś pewną drogę […]. Druga rzecz, która się dokonuje, kiedy jesteśmy w tym procesie, to to, że my poznajemy samych siebie […]. Wiesz, że masz wybór. Możesz albo pozwolić, żeby twoje serce stało się zgorzkniałe, albo możesz pozwolić, aby Bóg zaczął coś robić […]. Przychodzi czas w twoim życiu, kiedy trzeba przestać uciekać i trzeba podążać za tym, do czego cię Bóg powołał.].

between his attitude at the initial stage of the process and the current one that is the result of his spiritual growth based on the authority and power of God.

Regarding cognitive bias identification and consequential analysis, the former has been employed in the form of a rhetorical question Walaszczyk asks the audience whereas the latter can be found in his statement about having a choice. The question posed by the leader relates to having an impression that God is playing with a human being, mostly by exposing him or her to various situations. Then, Walaszczyk mentions his response to the stories shared by the distressed whose tone made him realize his own deficiencies, doubts, and struggles. He uses the term "mechanisms" which can be interpreted as schematic processing, bearing in mind the nature of cognitive restructuring. Once he identified his own bias, he became aware of his potential to help others and to guide them towards freedom he had also experienced. With respect to the choice one can make, Walaszczyk highlights two options one should consider, namely, staying disillusioned about life and governed by great bitterness or reflecting upon life, specifying the areas that need to be taken care of, and taking appropriate measures.

The problem of coping resources and the importance of reversing one's self-perception from being incapable to being capable has been tackled by Walaszczyk when mentioning the consequences of one's previous victory. In his opinion, encoding one's adaptive schemas through retrieving positive experiences is the key to one's permanent transformation. Its outcomes involve a better recognition of self and of God what seems vital for an awakened, also referred to as a born-again Christian.

When studying the selected passage, it can be observed that the Neo-Pentecostal language contributes to one's transformation primarily through decatastrophizing since it focuses on the need to re-evaluate particular occurrences and to look at them in a broader context which in this case stands for guiding others towards freedom. Freedom is the keyword. It can only be achieved once an individual comes to realize the purposefulness of the process and the superiority of the divine. The emotive content has been represented by frequent references to God's grace which is tantamount to empowerment and to the leader's personal story of how he overcame his deficiencies. Employing vocabulary of motives such as spiritual warfare, authority, promise, God's plan, growth, submission, flesh, evil, and community appears to be of immense significance for the whole transformation process, mostly because by using those terms, the speaker aims to account for the essence of one's struggles and at the same time to emphasize the benefits one's absolute trust in and reliance on the divine may bring in the long run. In other words,

the performer gives his audience hope and encourages action. Walaszczyk juxtaposes the good with the evil, the present with the past, successes with failures and therefore, highlights the progress an individual is capable of making. Vocabulary of motives enriches the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, especially when it alludes to the fight between the kingdom of God and Satan. Bearing in mind the transformation process individuals go through, it can be assumed that the concept of fight, deliberately implemented by the speaker, applies to one's inner battles that cause uneasiness. Positivity reorientation, similarly to what has been discovered in the speech by Krzywodajć, reveals the prompting function of the Neo-Pentecostal language due to the emphasis it puts on one's courage to oppose past hurts.

Apropos the Neo-Pentecostal prayer, Walaszczyk, who just like Krzywodajć, represents the Apostolic network in Poland, relies heavily in his performance on demonstration and therefore, his on-stage talk has been known for frequent references to the supernatural. Since demonization is believed in the Neo-Pentecostal environment to be an obstacle to one's awakening, spiritual growth, and transformation, Walaszczykperforms the act of breaking the power of the demonic forces over the gathered, and this is exactly what the following extract is mostly about:

Now I am taking the authority over every single demonic activity which is right here. In the name of Jesus, I am breaking the power of Satan over this place […]. We break your power and influence over the lives of the children of God who have been harassed. We declare that the name of Jesus is exactly what breaks the power of the enemy […]. Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus […]. Lord, may Your anointing fall upon this place right now and may it break every single demonic activity […]. We say: freedom, in the name of Jesus Christ […]. We say: freedom from fear, in the name of Jesus Christ. We say: freedom from the feeling of shame, in the name of Jesus Christ. We say: freedom from depression, in the name of Jesus Christ […]. We are going to declare the power of the name of Jesus over this oppression, over things that makes you feel uncomfortable, and over everything what binds you[16].

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[16] Centrum Chrześcijańskie Winnica. (2023, January 6). *540 minut uwielbienia i modlitwy. 06.01.2023. 12.00-21.00* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_NWGXPndoM&t=5510s [original quotation: Ja przyjmuję teraz autorytet nad każdą działalnością demoniczną, która jest w tym miejscu. W imieniu Jezus, łamię wszelką moc szatana na tym miejscu […]. Łamiemy twoją moc i wpływ w życiu dzieci Bożych, które są nękane. Ogłaszamy, że imię Jezus jest tym, które łamie wszelką moc nieprzyjaciela […]. Jezus, Jezus, Jezus, Jezus […]. Panie, Twoje namaszczenie teraz nich zstąpi na to miejsce i niechaj złamie wszelką aktywność demoniczną […]. Mówimy: *wolność w imieniu Jezusa Chrystusa* […]. Tam, gdzie jest lęk, mówimy: *wolność w imieniu Jezusa Chrystusa*. Tam, gdzie jest

Based on the content, it can be observed that reattribution dominates. Walaszczyk draws the audience's attention to a series of psyche-related conditions whose emergence, he claims, is the aftermath of a demonic activity. What comes straight away after the act of breaking the power of the demonic forces, is the act of declaring freedom from the selected emotional disorders which is then followed by the act of declaring the sovereignty of Jesus Christ. In other words, Walaszczyk specifies the problem and offers an immediate solution. Hence, it is worth mentioning that apart from reattribution, the verbal strategy defined earlier as problem solving, has also been employed. In this case, cognitive restructuring understood as a mental process, seems to have a lot in common with a mental representation of being overtaken by the divine and with changing one's status from the oppressed to the liberated. Giving commands to the evil forces is actually what came to be known as the Neo-Pentecostal exorcism and what has been eagerly implemented as a part of an integrated model of healing. The imperative mood is thus one of the most recognized attributes of the Neo-Pentecostal language. When it comes to jubilation, it starts in the middle of Walaszczyk's performance and although it has not been transcribed, it can be assumed that also in this particular instance, it serves as an invocation and as a special code that helps to establish the bond with the supernatural. The leader appears to be searching for divine intervention which in turn is expected to defeat the malevolent force responsible for psychological distress and to bring relief to the gathered as a result.

3.3.4. *Marcin Zieliński*

Power evangelism in its post-Toronto form, has been widely adopted also in the Catholic environment all over the world. Hence, in this research, I often refer to Catholics following the Neo-Pentecostal ritual as Pentecostal Catholics (McGuire, 1982). Although the term itself alludes to the birth and development of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the 1960s, it should be made clear that the direction of influence has remained the same. The only difference lies in the nomenclature, namely, Pentecostals in the past and Neo-Pentecostals nowadays. Touching on the religious products available in the offer, they have been progressively updated in response to Wimber's contribution. Besides, the

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poczucie wstydu, mówimy: *wolność w imieniu Jezusa Chrystusa*. Tam, gdzie jest depresja mówimy: *wolność w imieniu Jezusa Chrystusa* […]. Będziemy chcieli ogłosić moc imienia Jezus nad tymi zniewoleniami, nad tym, co cię krępuje, nad tym, co cię wiąże.].

contemporary leadership style has become more of a corporate nature where the leader himself or herself represents a particular brand, as in the case of Marcin Zieliński who openly admits to being inspired by members of the already-discussed Bethel Church in Redding, California, famous for promoting those closely connected with Toronto Blessing. Zieliński, deeply engaged in pursuing his apostolic mission, travels from parish to parish where he tries to put power evangelism into practice.

The extracts below present Zieliński's both on-stage and off-stage performance. The former refers to a mass event held in 2017 which came to be known as "Jesus at the Stadium" (Jezus na Stadionie) whereas the latter serves as the example of the so-called home teaching which involves delivering a monologue on different social issues. As far as the transformation process is concerned, Zieliński's appearance in front of the public while praying with the audience corresponds to the immersion stage as opposed to what he performs from home in order to stimulate and reinforce one's spiritual growth. For the purposes of this study, it should be noted that Zieliński serves as a powerful symbol the audience admires and concentrates on, and therefore all the events he visits as a speaker, enjoy enormous popularity. Zieliński, similarly to Wimber, promotes instantism which tends to be supported by a series of immediate testimonies given to the gathered once the healing prayer finishes. Those testimonies play a crucial role in the whole performance since they seem to prove the authority of the leader and the validity of his or her supernatural capabilities. Bearing in mind the principles of cognitive restructuring and the attributes of the Neo-Pentecostal language, it can be assumed that witnessing what the crowd conceptualizes as a miracle, reorients a distressed individual to such an extent that he or she develops a more positive and adaptive way of thinking and the transformation itself happens not only in response to what an individual has just been told but also as a reaction to what he or she has just observed and experienced:

(1). […]. Lord, may You change our lives […]. More of Your presence, Lord […]. It is high time you held out your hands. Now you just rest in His presence […]. May Your fire come, may Your joy come, Your peace […]. More, more Lord […]. Fill us with Your power. May the curse of sorrow put on this nation, the curse of complaint, be broken now, in the name of Jesus. The joy of the Lord is our strength. More, more, more. If you feel the fire in your body, may it burn. Let it burn. If you feel the joy, let it flow. If you feel deep peace, just rest in it […]. Lord, heal us through the joy. May all the illnesses, weaknesses, symptoms, pain in the joints go away in the name of Jesus. May they go away in Your presence […]. Maybe there are some people in this place who suffer from

depression because they were given a medical diagnosis. May the joy destroy the illness now. May every single cancer cell hear Your joy, Lord […]. May this joy give us a new life […]. Some of you may feel the warmth in your body. This is a sign of God's healing. May Your fire burn out all the illnesses, Lord. May it burn out depression, sorrow […], infertility. May it disappear in Your presence […][17].

In this passage, Zieliński emphasizes the two ends of the human existence continuum which are of immense importance for this research, that is, prosperity and misfortune. The former encompasses joy, power, peace, and strength whereas the latter stands for the sorrow, weakness, complaint, and illness. Since the essence of cognitive restructuring lies in "exploration, evaluation, and substitution of the maladaptive thoughts, appraisals, and beliefs that maintain psychological disturbance" (Clark, 2013, p. 24), it can be assumed that by introducing the already-discussed strategy of consequential analysis, Zieliński urges the distressed to abandon their comfort zone which causes stagnation and to strive for freedom from destructive schemas. With respect to Wimber's areas of healing, Zieliński concentrates primarily on healing of the body and inner healing. These two emerge as mutually dependent and essential for one's transformation. When it comes to some common features Zieliński's performance shares with that of Wimber's, especially in terms of the linguistic element which suggests instantism, the frequent use of time expressions such as "now", the use of the imperative mood, as well as the use of figurative language, in this case — personification, should be taken into consideration. Zieliński tends to address the chosen ailments as if he addressed a human being and therefore, the distressed may get the impression of being capable enough to alter the reality and hence, to settle in another, more secure realm where the emotional turmoil they have been suffering from, quiets down. Of equal importance for this study is the employment of the motive of God's fire which burns out the evil, mostly

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[17] Salve TV. (2017, July 31). *Marcin Zieliński — modlitwa o Ducha Świętego* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bgeqjEYMZFY [original quotation: […]. Przemień nasze życia Panie […]. Więcej Twojej obecności Panie […]. To jest teraz czas, żebyś wyciągnął ręce i teraz po prostu przyjmuj Jego obecność […]. Niech przyjdzie Twój ogień, niech przyjdzie Twoja radość, Twój pokój […]. Więcej, więcej Panie […]. Napełnij nas Twoją mocą. Niech przekleństwo smutku nad tym narodem, narzekania, będzie złamane w tej chwili, w imię Jezusa, bo radość w Panu jest naszą siłą. Więcej, więcej, więcej. Jeżeli czujesz ogień w twoim ciele, niech płonie, pozwól mu płonąć. Jeśli czujesz radość, niech ona płynie. Jeśli czujesz głęboki pokój, trwaj w nim […]. Panie, uzdrawiaj przez radość. Niech w imię Jezusa odejdą choroby, słabości, dolegliwości, bóle stawów […]. Niech odejdą w Twojej obecności, w Twojej radości Panie […]. Może są tu osoby, które przyszły w depresji przez wyroki, które usłyszeli od lekarzy. Niech radość teraz zniszczy tę chorobę. Niech każda komórka rakowa usłyszy Twoją radość Panie […]. Niech ta radość […] da nam nowe życie […]. Niektórzy mogą czuć jakieś ciepło w swoim ciele. Przez taki znak możesz doświadczyć Bożego uzdrowienia. Niech Twój ogień wypala choroby Panie. Niech wypala depresję, smutek […], bezpłodność. Niech to zniknie w Twojej obecności.].

because it allows for imaginal exposure whose incorporation into the ritual is supposed to bring immediate relief and consequently, to accelerate one's awakening. The scene the participants see in their minds triggers out particular thoughts and emotions which in turn provoke an individual to take a stand. By means of this specific verbal strategy, the distressed learn how to master self-efficacy in difficult situations and how to gain control over them. Thus, it has been instrumental to the transformation process in question. Since God is claimed to burn out depression, it means that those who have just taken part in Zieliński's prayer, have automatically been liberated from this condition due to divine intervention the leader invoked. Zieliński's performance starts with jubilation and that is why also in this case, one can speak of the bond between the mundane and the supernatural established by virtue of a unique code. As for the behavioral element whose main goal is to make the participants believe the deity responds to the prayer straight away, Zieliński's focus on bodily sensations understood as the sign of God's empowerment seems worth mentioning. In other words, Zieliński seeks to prove that the actual anointing has just been released and therefore the gathered can now rely on the supernatural force. Being aware of the divine intervention is believed to shape one's identity, especially when talking about the distressed and their feeling of helplessness.

(2). […] Today I want to tell you that God finds a way out of any situation. God finds a way out of fear […]. If we could reflect upon our lives and ask ourselves: how is the enemy trying to prevent us from achieving success? It is the fear that stops us […]. You only need to think about Gethsemane and Jesus's suffering […]. Jesus had the possibility to quit. It was fear that tried to stop Him […]. In our lives similar things happen. Frequently, when we try to meet our goals, we have to overcome fear. Sometimes, we enter some type of a spiritual place where we give our consent to fear, forgetting that fear is not just an emotion. Fear may turn into a spiritual threat at a certain point. Sometimes, the Devil binds a human being through the spirit of fear […]. Sometimes, we do not know how to leave this place and hence, we need spiritual weapon to find a way out. Years ago, at the initial stage of my ministry, I had to fight a series of spiritual battles which I had not fought before […]. I was driving my car and suddenly some intrusive suicidal thoughts came to my mind. I felt depressed […]. I was involved in something incredibly strong which made me doubt my mental health […]. After a while, I realized that those thoughts were of a spiritual nature […]. Giving our consent to such things is dangerous […]. Fear is some kind of wiggle room for the Devil. Once you feel the fear, you should take appropriate measures. When you struggle with the fear

of illness, you need to approach God and say: Lord, I renounce the spirit of fear and the spirit of illness […] I kick it out of my life. I command it to go away. Jesus, in Your name. And I receive Your grace, Your peace, Your health, and Your blessing. This is the first step you need to take — change your thinking[18].

As for the second extract which represents the reinforcement stage of the transformation process, it should be noted that Zieliński's monologue covers some of the already-discussed verbal strategies, namely, cognitive bias identification, reattribution, positivity reorientation, and problem solving. Cognitive bias identification can be found, first of all, in Zieliński's allusion to the need to reflect upon one's life since only by doing so, one can recognize his or her weaknesses which prevent an individual from pursuing life passions and goals. The same fragment exemplifies reattribution because, as suggested by Zieliński, those deficiencies have their source in demonic oppression. Moreover, reattribution can also be noted in the use of figurative language Zieliński employs in respect of the state of being bound by the Devil. As far as positivity reorientation is concerned, Zieliński mentions Jesus, the fear He felt while in Gethsemane and His courage. Then, Zieliński recalls the struggles he faced at the initial stage of his apostolic mission, including suicidal thoughts. He emphasizes the fact that although they overwhelmed his enthusiasm, he decided to identify their nature and, in this way, he

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[18] Marcin Zieliński. (2020, December 23). *Kwadransik ze Słowem #215. Jak przezwyciężyć lęk?* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNlHc2AatkA [original quotation: Dzisiaj chcę powiedzieć wam, że Bóg ma naprawdę wyjście z każdej sytuacji. Bóg ma wyjście z lęku […]. Bo gdybyśmy mogli tak spojrzeć na swoje życie i zadać sobie pytanie: *przez co wróg próbuje nas zatrzymać w naszym życiu, byśmy osiągali cele, byśmy wchodzili w jakiś sukces, byśmy osiągali rzeczy, które sobie zamierzyliśmy?* Bardzo często na drodze do osiągnięcia tego celu stoi właśnie lęk […]. Wystarczy wrócić myślami do Ogrójca, gdzie Pan Jezus był już praktycznie […] na początku swojej drogi krzyżowej […] swojego cierpienia […]. Pan Jezus mógł zrezygnować […]. I wtedy ten lęk próbował zatrzymać Pana Jezusa […]. I w naszym życiu też tak jest bardzo często, że żeby osiągnąć […] jakieś nasze własne cele […], potrzebujemy przezwyciężyć lęk […]. Czasami wchodzimy w takie duchowe miejsce, w którym zgadzamy się na lęk, zapominając o tym, że lęk nie jest jedynie emocją […]. Lęk może w pewnym momencie stać się pewną, pewnym duchowym zagrożeniem. Czasami diabeł potrafi związać człowieka przez ducha lęku […] i czasami, kiedy wchodzimy w to miejsce, nie potrafimy z niego wyjść. Potrzebujemy duchowej amunicji, duchowych nabojów […] do tego, by się z tego wykaraskać […]. Ładnych parę lat temu, kiedy zaczynałem taką już większą posługę […], to wiązało się z tym, że zacząłem przechodzić pewne duchowe walki, których wcześniej na taką skalę nie przechodziłem […]. Były takie momenty, kiedy pamiętam, gdzieś sobie jechałem i nagle zaczęły przychodzić do mojej głowy takie natarczywe myśli samobójcze. Czułem się jak w jakiejś depresji […]. Zacząłem toczyć bitwy z czymś tak mocnym, że naprawdę zastanawiałem się, czy z moją głową wszystko jest w porządku […]. Po czasie zorientowałem się, że to jest coś duchowego […]. Niebezpieczeństwem jest to, kiedy zgadzamy się na taki stan rzeczy […]. Lęk jest otwartą furtką. Lęk jest jedną z furtek w życiu duchowym, przez które wchodzi wróg, wchodzi diabeł […]. Jeśli pojawią się w twoim życiu lęk i strach, potrzebujesz od razu zareagować […]. Jeśli przychodzi do twojego umysłu, serca lęk przed chorobą […], potrzebujesz stanąć na modlitwie przed Panem i powiedzieć: *Panie, ja w Twoje imię wyrzekam się tego ducha lęku i tego ducha choroby […]. Wykopuję ją ze swojego życia. Nakazuję jej odejść. Jezu, w Twoje imię. I przyjmuję Twoją łaskę, Twój pokój, Twoje zdrowie, Twoje błogosławieństwo […].* To jest pierwszy krok, który potrzebujesz zrobić — zmienić swoje myślenie.].

discovered the spiritual element. Zieliński highlights his robust response to the problem and at the same time he implies his attitude may serve as model to follow. Since one of the targets of cognitive restructuring is to broaden the understanding of how one's past experiences shape his or her present cognition, it can be inferred that Zieliński's strategy goes exactly in this direction. When it comes to problem solving, Zieliński offers a straightforward remedy by selecting a course of action an individual should take. It includes the act of renouncing the spirit of fear, followed by the act of receiving the divine anointing. It can therefore be observed that problem solving in this case requires an individual to choose which realm he or she wants to be part of and consequently, to evaluate the outcomes of such a choice.

In the Neo-Pentecostal environment, home teaching aims to intensify the experience individuals went through during the immersion stage but also to provide helpful guidelines for both the distressed and the awakened. Therefore, its incorporation into the ritual turns out to be pivotal to the whole process of shifting one's schematic processing which ultimately leads to one's inner healing and spiritual growth. What appears to be worth drawing attention to, is the speaker's authority and attributes. Zieliński appears to win trust of the audience by referring to the stories of how efficient he has been, mostly in terms of ministering. His position in the community is believed to affect how individuals decode the message Zieliński conveys by means of the spoken language. Bearing in mind Zieliński's great interest in the Neo-Pentecostal environment and its prominent figures, it should be made clear that both the content of his utterances as well as the way he pronounces them, have been profoundly influenced by Wimber's style. Returning back to the core of this research, it can be concluded, based on Zieliński's on-stage and off-stage performance, that the Neo-Pentecostal language serves an empirical function, mostly because during both the immersion and the reinforcement stage, the leader encourages to consider one's experience in a broader context, including its physical and mental representations. The former covers bodily sensations understood as signs of the divine intervention and empowerment whereas the latter stands for a proper interpretation of life struggles, employed in order for an individual to take the most relevant course of action. Besides, when taking the idea of two contradictory realms into account, namely, the one where the deity is believed to reside, concurrently associated with joy, blessing, health, and wealth and that of sorrow, misery, illness, and poverty, claimed to be under the sovereignty of the evil forces, it seems crucial to point out to the question of momentous transition an individual undergoes while stimulated linguistically

by the leader. Zieliński gives the impression of being in charge of the mass exodus from the world of misfortune to the world of prosperity and hence, it can be assumed that the Neo-Pentecostal language induces a deeply symbolic upgrade in terms of life quality.

3.3.5. *Michał Świderski*

Three steps on how to overcome fear have been discussed by Michał Świderski, the leader of a Catholic community known as "The Risen Christ" School of the New Evangelization from Gliwice. All the arguments he puts forward while performing home teaching, come down to absolute trust in the supernatural which he frequently refers to as the divine promise. The question of signs and wonders seems to play a leading role. The chosen extracts cover the part, which is a typical monologue, as in the case of Zieliński's appearance, and also the one being an example of the Neo-Pentecostal prayer incorporated into the Catholic environment. Although Świderski does not let the audience take the floor, he sometimes reads the comments posted on a YouTube chat aloud which gives the impression of a traditional community meeting. Apropos the employed verbal strategies, those identified in the first passage include: consequential analysis, positivity reorientation, reattribution, and decatastrophizing whereas the second fragment, namely the prayer, rests mostly on imaginal exposure that results from adopting instantism:

(1). Fear is a powerful opponent […]. When we feel the fear […] our thoughts become confused, we make wrong decisions […]. The second thing is that fear deprives us of strength […]. Fear robs me and you of health […]. From a natural point of view, fear is an enemy but when we mention the supernatural reality, we can say that fear kills our faith […]. So, in a nutshell, as soon as you become aware of your condition […] you should fight it. Fear affects all of us, even Jesus Christ. The verse we are going to focus on today is the one from Matthew 14: 22-33. It refers to Jesus who walked on the lake. Peter was doing the same for a while. We are going to learn how to start in the same vein as Peter but finish differently […]. I have experienced a lot of problems in my life. I mean financial problems, for example […]. I started a family. We got a mortgage on our flat and sometimes we were out of money. You know what I was doing in such moments? I was not tearing my hair out […]. Conversely, I began to pray and said: Lord Jesus, I had consulted You before I took each of the steps. You brought me here. You must help me now […]. And guess what? Whenever I prayed in this way, God led me out of my difficulties […]. Jesus gets to the root of your problems and says: Be brave and reject

your fear. I am the Lord, don't be afraid […]. The first rule applies to what I keep saying, namely, that God's guidance serves as a promise. God always intervenes. The second rule reminds us that we should fill ourselves with the Word of God, instead of fairy tales […]. Every time I am ill, and I pray for healing, my faith should go beyond common sense. And finally, the third rule is the one which I call the rule of initial reaction, and it stands for how you respond to a difficult situation when it arises […]. What you say at the beginning determines whether you are in the faith mode or in the panic mode […]. Some of you receive a diagnosis and find out you suffer from cancer. How do you respond? Oh no, I am dying! Maybe you should stand up and say: The Word of God says that God is my healer. I do not know where the salvation will come from, but I am sure God will not abandon me […]. How to overcome fear […] in the bud? The core of success lies sticking to God's promise […]. Suddenly, you realize that you overcome your difficulties in a supernatural way […]. You learn how to oppose temptations. You say: No, no, it has happened before, come on. Oh, Devil, it gets boring. Your faith makes God do amazing things such as multiplying your money or healing immediately […]. Then, God performs signs and wonders around you[19].

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[19] Dotyk Boga. (2023, January 14). *Michał Świderski — Jak zwyciężyć lęk* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRTtF8f-CKM&t=3508s [original quotation: Lęk to jest potężny przeciwnik […]. Lęk zaciemnia nasz umysł, podejmujemy złe decyzje […]. Druga rzecz, kiedy żyjemy w lęku na co dzień, to lęk odbiera siłę. Lęk odbiera siłę do życia […]. Lęk ograbi mnie i ciebie ze zdrowia […]. Od strony naturalnej, lęk jest wrogiem, a kiedy mówimy o rzeczywistości nadprzyrodzonej, to […] lęk zabija wiarę […]. A więc, w skrócie: jeżeli odkrywasz w sobie lęk […] to absolutnie trzeba zacząć z nim walczyć. Lęk dotyka każdego, nawet Pana Jezusa dotykał lęk […] Fragment, którym dzisiaj chcemy się karmić, to jest Mt 14, 22-33. To jest sytuacja, kiedy Jezus chodzi po wodzie i Piotr przez chwilę też chodzi po wodzie […]. Będziemy się uczyli od Piotra, będziemy się uczyli, żeby zacząć jak on, ale skończyć inaczej […]. Ja w swoim życiu, kochani, miałem wiele sytuacji, kiedy na przykład, miałem kłopoty finansowe […]. Założyliśmy rodzinę, kupiliśmy mieszkanie na kredyt i na przykład, brakowało pieniędzy. I wiecie co ja wtedy robiłem? Ja nie wyrywałem włosów […], tylko ja stawałem na modlitwie i mówiłem tak: *Panie Jezu, każdy z kroków, które zrobiłem, konsultowałem z Tobą. Poprowadziłeś mnie dokładnie w to miejsce, a jeśli tak, to teraz się musisz mną zająć [...]*. I wiecie co? Za każdym razem Bóg mnie wyprowadził […]. Jezus sięga do korzenia problemu i mówi: *Odwagi. Odrzuć lęk. Ja jestem Bogiem. Nie bój się [...]*. Pierwszy punkt, cały czas to powtarzam, Boże prowadzenie jest jednocześnie obietnicą […]. Bóg zawsze interweniuje […]. Drugi punkt, mamy się napełniać Słowem Bożym, nie baśniami […]. Jeżeli jestem chory i modlę się o uzdrowienie, to moja wiara musi przekroczyć tak zwany zdrowy rozsądek […]. Trzecia zasada, bardzo ważna, doświadczyłem tego wielokrotnie, to jest zasada pierwszego zdania, pierwszego słowa: jak ja odpowiem na trudną sytuację […]. Pierwsze słowo będzie determinowało, czy jesteśmy w trybie wiary, czy jesteśmy w trybie paniki […]. Ktoś z was dowiaduje się, że dostaje diagnozę: *jestem chory na raka*. I jaka jest pierwsza odpowiedź? *Aaaaaa, już umieram!* Czy może trzeba stanąć i powiedzieć: *Słowo Boże mówi, że Bóg jest moim lekarzem. Nie wiem z jakiej strony przyjdzie ratunek, ale Bóg mnie tak nie zostawi. Wyjdziemy z tego [...]*. Jak zwyciężyć lęk […] w zalążku? Sedno walki, zwycięskiej walki z lękiem, to jest uchwycenie się Bożej obietnicy i niepuszczanie […]. Nagle okaże się, że wyjdziesz z tej sytuacji w nadprzyrodzony sposób […]. W pewnym momencie nabierasz takiego nawyku, że pojawia się myśl, pojawia się pokusa, pojawia się uderzenie, a ty mówisz: *Nie, nie. To już było. Daj spokój. Diabeł, daj już spokój, to jest nuda [...]*. Przez taką wiarę Bóg dokonuje rzeczy nadzwyczajnych, takich jak, na przykład, rozmnożenie pieniędzy, natychmiastowe uzdrowienia […]. Wtedy Bóg może dokonywać cudów i znaków wokół ciebie.].

With reference to consequential analysis, Świderski enumerates the side-effects of living in fear and being distressed, including their mental and physical aspects. His performance concentrates on fear that results from financial problems and health-related issues. Since consequential analysis aims to encourage an individual to examine the pros and cons of holding a maladaptive belief, it can be assumed that this is exactly what Świderski seeks to achieve. While performing, he observes that the maladaptive belief responsible for emotional disturbance refers to one's strong conviction of being written-off. Świderski notes that individuals tend to give their consent to living in fear instead of facing the challenge, and the reason for adopting such an approach may arise from one's low self-esteem. Apart from analyzing the consequences of holding detrimental attitudes, the leader also concentrates on one's most probable reaction to the worst-case scenario which in his view, stands for an instant escape. Świderski attempts to formulate a coping plan to deal with what an individual claims to be a catastrophe, and hence the strategy known as decatastrophizing can also be identified in Świderski's performance. The schematic change he focuses on seems to be mostly about replacing the negative self-referent thoughts which are believed to prevent an individual from proceeding with the ones that will make him or her ready to act. The outcomes of the investigation carried out both in Poland and Italy, showed that consequential analysis and decatastrophizing implemented by the Neo-Pentecostal leaders when performing on-site as well as off-site, turned out to be vital for the transformation process, mainly because it helped those who claimed to have been distressed to cut off from the past and as a result, to accept a totally different point of view whose incorporation into a daily routine affected their choices.

As for positivity reorientation, Świderski relies on his own story by means of which he attempts to give priority to positive coping experiences. He recalls being short of money due to the mortgage he took. Although in trouble, he did not step back. Conversely, he expressed his absolute trust in the supernatural whose intervention he was sure of. Świderski appears to hold the deity responsible for the unwanted situation and that is why he expects God to solve the problem. The fact that he mentions some external factors, may also imply the use of reattribution. Referring to what has already been stated, positivity reorientation builds heavily upon providing convincing examples whose incorporation into the ritual intends to shift one's perspective. What emerges from this research is that Świderski's performance directly corresponds to the basic principles of cognitive restructuring, mainly because right after introducing the audience to the cause-

and-effect sequence of events, the leader accentuates one's empowerment by referring to the quality of being resistant to similar concerns if they occur. Of equal importance for this specific verbal strategy are the three rules Świderski speaks of. They serve as valuable guidelines Wimber was an enthusiast of, bearing in mind his integrated model of healing. Świderski explains that God will ultimately bring prosperity to one's life provided that an individual adheres to the rules in questions. Świderski's interest in power evangelism and the idea of instantism can be noted in his allusion to signs and wonders made just before starting to pray. All things considered, it can be concluded that for those who implement the Neo-Pentecostal leadership style, one's coping resources are subject to verbal stimulation and what makes them work efficiently is the practice of exposing a distressed individual to a series of convincing examples whose nature has a lot in common with the supernatural realm.

(2). Let's start our prayer with […] renouncing our reaction to difficult situations. What did we say at that time? Did we make the way for the Lord and declare our faith? Did we release the anointing? Or perhaps we cursed the whole situation even more […]. In the name of Jesus Christ, I solemnly renounce the words once spoken and I break them […]. Lord Jesus, I invite You to this situation. I declare Your anointing, Your promises, and Your divine action in this tough moment in our lives. I declare that we overcome those difficulties together […]. I declare Your guidance that will be provided from today onwards […]. Jesus Christ, in Your name, I break everything that comes from the root of unbelief and fear […]. I believe that today God liberates a person who suffers from the lockjaw […]. Anxiety-related migraine headaches go away now. God takes nervousness and tension in the relationship away […]. In the name of Jesus, God releases them today. In Your name, Jesus Christ, we break the fear of malignant tumor […]. In the name of Jesus Christ, I break any kind of […] curse related to lethal diseases […]. May Your fire fall upon us. We wash all the ailments associated with the spine in Your holy blood […]. May Your power be released and heal our wrists, elbows, shoulders, and hips […]. And God acts in the skeletal system now. God takes a severe pain in the right hip away, just now […]. We release this healing in the name of Jesus Christ […]. Touch this area of your body where you can feel the symptoms. It can be your heart, but it can also relate to physical and emotional pain. Perhaps it is your mind because you know that there are

a lot of bad things going on […]. Someone has just experienced the divine fire […]. In the name of Jesus Christ, we bring the fight our body leads against itself to an end[20].

At the beginning of the prayer, Świderski draws attention to the question of causality which in its further part serves as a reference point for presenting the qualities of the supernatural realm. Causality, in this particular context, stands for one's ability to influence the course of events based merely on what has been spoken out loud or done in response to a given stimulus. Hence, the magical aspect of the Neo-Pentecostal language can be easily observed. Świderski seeks to persuade the participants to reflect upon their previous actions in order to account for the current misfortunes. Therefore, it can also be stated that the cause-and-effect approach he implements, largely contributes to one's awakening, and it is mostly due to the emphasis put on specifying the consequences of one's decisions. By acting in this way, Świderski attempts to prove one's enormous potential to interact with both the divine and evil forces which ultimately ends either in success or failure.

After introducing the source of the problem, Świderski proceeds to what seems to resemble the ritual of breaking the spell. Also in this case, it is supported by jubilation which has not been transcribed above, however, it can be found in the original video. Świderski calls for the assistance of a divine entity and for this reason, he uses a series of performatives. The incorporated invocation focuses on the empowerment-related properties the deity is believed to possess, and hence, it can be assumed that by enumerating them one after another, Świderski attempts to please God so that He does not reject the leader's invitation. The third stage of the prayer represents the actual

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[20] Dotyk Boga (2023, January 14). *Michał Świderski — Jak zwyciężyć lęk* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRTtF8f-CKM&t=3508s [original quotation: Zacznijmy naszą modlitwę od […] wyrzeknięcia się właśnie tego, tej naszej reakcji na trudne sytuacje. Co żeśmy wtedy powiedzieli? Czy żeśmy utorowali drogę Panu? Czy żeśmy ogłosili wiarę? Czy żeśmy uwolnili błogosławieństwo, czy żeśmy przeklęli całą sytuację jeszcze bardziej […]. W imię Jezusa Chrystusa, uroczyście wyrzekam się tych słów i przełamuję te złe słowa, które wtedy wypowiedziałem […]. Panie Jezu, zapraszam Ciebie do tej sytuacji. Ogłaszam Twoje błogosławieństwo. Ogłaszam Twoje obietnice. Ogłaszam Twoje działanie w trudnej sytuacji i ogłaszam, że razem ją pokonamy […]. Ogłaszam, Panie, od dzisiaj Twoje prowadzenie […]. W imię Twoje, Jezu Chryste, przełamuję wszystko, co urosło z tego korzenia niewiary i lęku […]. Wierzę, że Bóg uwalnia dzisiaj osobę, która ma szczękościsk […]. Bóg zabiera nerwowość w relacjach, naruszone relacje przez wybuchy gniewu […]. W imię Jezusa, Bóg uwalnia to dzisiaj. W Twoje imię, Jezu Chryste, przełamujemy dzisiaj lęk przed nowotworem złośliwym […]. W imię Jezusa Chrystusa, przełamuję wszelkie […] przekleństwa związane ze śmiertelnymi chorobami […]. Niech Twoja moc, Panie, zstępuje […]. Niech Twój ogień zstępuje. Obmywamy, Panie, Twoją świętą krwią, wszystkie dolegliwości związane z kręgosłupem […]. Niech Twoja moc, Panie, spływa i uzdrawia nadgarstki, łokcie, barki, biodra […]. I Bóg działa teraz w układzie kostnym […]. Przeszywający ból w prawym biodrze, Bóg zabiera […]. Uwalniamy to uzdrowienie w imię Jezusa Chrystusa […]. Połóż teraz rękę na tym miejscu, gdzie jest dolegliwość. To może być twoje serce, fizyczne, emocjonalne, może twój umysł, że wiesz, że tam się dużo złych rzeczy dzieje […]. Ktoś doświadczył jak Boży ogień zstąpił […]. W imię Jezusa Chrystusa kończymy tę walkę ciała samego z sobą.].

instantism, expressed with the aid of imaginal exposure. Świderski guides the participants repeatedly in generating the unwanted thoughts and emotions referring to the diseases he identifies carefully and those his followers are afraid of. Enhancing participants' self-efficacy in dealing with fear consists in describing in detail what exactly the deity is doing at the moment of speaking. He juxtaposes one's pain, tension, and nervousness with God's divine fire and power whose presence Świderski seems to be sure of. To prove his claims, Świderski asks the gathered to touch their bodies in search for the divine anointing, that is, the energy which is supposed to heal and transform. Particularly noteworthy is the striking resemblance the ritual performed by Świderski bears to the one performed by Wimber in 1993 when visiting Poland. Although Wimber's show took place on stage, in front of the audience, whereas that of Świderski's represents the off-stage alternative, it can be observed that they have a lot in common. Hence, the results of the analysis appear to confirm the hypothesis about a considerable influence of Wimber's power evangelism on some of the contemporary Catholic groups.

It can be assumed that employing a strategy based on turning an abstract concept, such as an illness, into an object that can be easily taken away, serves to reduce severity of the problem one faces. In consequence, the challenge the distressed must respond to, appears less demanding and therefore, an individual may ultimately decide to take appropriate measures to distance oneself from what has previously caused a growing discomfort. From the preceding discussion it is clear that one's transformation can be successfully triggered out by incorporating the breaking type of magical speech acts into the Neo-Pentecostal language, as stated in the previous chapter. Their causative and psychotherapeutic features go hand in hand with those of imaginal exposure used in cognitive restructuring, and that is why the smooth interplay between them enables the leader to, first and foremost, reinforce the experience encoded by the participants during the immersion stage of the transformation process and also, to train the individuals who claim to be distressed to activate their cooping resources efficiently regardless of the problem they confront.

3.4. The Transformed

Apart from analyzing what the enthusiasts of the Neo-Pentecostal leadership style say and how they perform, it is also vital for this research to focus on how those who claim to be distressed, conceptualize distress, divine intervention, awakening and

transformation. According to what has been mentioned above, cognitive restructuring within the Neo-Pentecostal as well as the Pentecostal Catholic environment, should be interpreted from two different perspectives, namely, the one of the leader who plays the role of a well-prepared counsellor and that of the audience searching for emotional relief. The former highlights the use of specific verbal tools whose incorporation appears to be fundamental to the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process whereas the latter concentrates on the mental process and its outcomes which in practical terms stand for one's radical change in how they perceive the reality, what they think of themselves, and how they respond to life challenges. Returning to the theory of religious economies, it should be remembered that all types of healing specified by Wimber, adjusted to the model he created, and understood as products in high demand, can be triggered out by the skillful use of particular verbal interventions and therefore, cognitive restructuring itself can be understood as a truly successful marketing strategy whose main goal is to target a concrete type of a customer, in this case, the distressed.

This section refers to the on-site investigation I carried out in Italy between April and July 2022. Its main purpose was to explore how those who follow power evangelism and at the same time claim to have struggled with the maladaptive thoughts, describe their internal shift and how they understand the previously-discussed concepts, that is, the divine intervention, awakening and transformation. Firstly, research overview and assumptions will be given attention to. Secondly, its findings will be presented. Thirdly, a conception of the Neo-Pentecostal language will be proposed, bearing in mind all the aspects of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual addressed in this dissertation. Importantly, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, an article summarizing the study has already been published (Berdowicz, 2022) and that is why, a reference will frequently be made here to the relevant source.

When it comes to the employed methods, the research under discussion relied on a participant observation combined with an anonymous online survey containing open-ended questions enriched by respondent's particulars, and was carried out among the following communities: (1) Sabaoth Church Roma, (2) Hillsong Rome Connect, and (3) Comunità Cattolica Shalom (Shalom Catholic Community from Rome). The participant observation intended to determine the key elements of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual based on the empowerment approach. Priority was given to specifying the qualities of the Neo-Pentecostal language which serve religious persuasion and hence, have the potential to trigger out one's awakening and transformation. Referring to

previous considerations, it should be remembered that the participant observation was also implemented while investigating the Polish communities. It ultimately led to specifying the core verbal strategies used by community leaders whose incorporation turned out to be vital in the transformation process.

For the sake of clarity, I decided to describe my research done in Italy and Poland separately. The same applies to its particular stages, used methods, and results. The Neo-Pentecostal ritual practiced in Italy bears striking similarities to the one in Poland, especially in terms of its key ingredients, outcomes and course, including the aforementioned verbal strategies. This should not be surprising, knowing that Wimber's power evangelism is a common denominator. Therefore, in this section I will give voice to the audience, as opposed to the preceding one where I concentrated on the performers. In respect of the Polish respondents and their transformation experiences, in-depth interviews carried out in 2021 among those who claimed to have been possessed should be recalled (Berdowicz, 2021). The idea of that study has been described in Chapter 2 and elaborated on in terms of resemiotization. Referring back to the Italian investigation presented here, the part with the survey involved men (five individuals) and women (fifteen individuals) aged from eighteen to sixty-five and focused on one's personal experience described chronologically. Its main purpose was to distinguish the core stages of the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process together with their most characteristic features. Besides, it also attempted to explore the use of particular concepts within a given community whose intragroup interaction seem to have been driven by them (Berdowicz, 2022, pp. 161-162). As discussed before, two perspectives of cognitive restructuring should be taken into consideration while investigating the transformation process and therefore, the leadership component and the audience component turned out to be of equal importance for this study. The basic assumption made at the beginning of the research was as follows: *the divine encounter individuals claim to have experienced results from their total immersion into the ritual and their obedience to the leader who is expected to be capable of invoking the supernatural phenomena because of the strong bond he or she is believed to have developed with the deity*. The survey was released in English and Italian so that the respondents could choose the language they felt comfortable with. As for sampling techniques, the purposive and referral ones turned out to be the most relevant.

Bearing in mind the course of the Italy-based investigation which in fact, aimed to complement the one done in a similar fashion in Poland, it should be made clear that

the obtained results may apply not only to a given community but also to all other communities engaged in cultivating power evangelism. Importantly, they have a great potential to contribute to further work on this issue, and that is why it can be assumed that they are of universal nature. The central question to be answered here is: *How does the Neo-Pentecostal language trigger out one's personal revival and how does it affect one's transformation?* To provide the most relevant answers, it was necessary to raise additional issues and hence, supplementary questions were posed while exploring the Italian environment, namely: (1) *How do those who claim to have been distressed conceptualize this feeling?* (2) *How do the distressed conceptualize a divine encounter?* (3) *What do the distressed understand by awakening and transformation?* The above-mentioned survey distributed online and consisting of fifteen open-ended questions, turned out to be the right tool for investigating the Romans. The reason for choosing a survey method instead of a face-to-face interview was to give respect and ensure compliance with ethical rules. The pilot study showed that the research itself puts a strong emphasis on bringing back painful memories and therefore, it seemed more appropriate to let the respondents reflect upon their lives in silence. The answers provided by the interviewees led to the emergence of three crucial for this study categories, including (1) quality of life prior to transformation, (2) integration into the community, and (3) life after the transformation. They seem to correspond to the stages of the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process which I specified earlier, namely, the preparation stage, the immersion stage, and the reinforcement stage respectively (Berdowicz, 2022, p. 162). However, when referring to this research, it is crucial not to forget that religious conversion has a profound influence on biographical narrations built by the converts after the transformation. They tend to perceive their past lives from a radically new perspective and hence, the answers they provided should be described as highly subjective. Since this investigation aims to explore the role of the language in one's restructure within the context of their personal experiences, such a situation appears acceptable, especially that according to what has been stated earlier, it is recommended to interpret cognitive restructuring from two different perspectives, the performer's one and that of the transformed. In the analysis below, I marked the respondents using the following system: R1., R2., R3., etc., where each of these letter-number combinations alludes to the same person, regardless of the question.

As far as the first category is concerned, the findings suggest that the past hurts the respondents had been struggling with made them unable to cope with daily challenges

at present. Depression, feeling of anxiety and emptiness, suicidal thoughts, insecurity, disenchantment with another person, and lack of control over one's life were most frequently specified causes of one's dissatisfaction which in turn, proved to significantly affect one's well-being and as a result, made the quality of one's existence rather poor (Berdowicz, 2022, pp. 162-163). As a case in point, consider the following:

(R1). *[...]. I had a terrible family situation. It's a long story, but my mother prostituted herself and me and my brother testified that. I had a reason of depression, lost the meaning of life".* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R2). *Before knowing God, and His Son Jesus, nothing gave me true satisfaction. Nothing gave me true peace or lasting joy. It always felt like I had to constantly renew the source of these things [...]. I was struggling with purpose and meaning. No matter how much I tried to find these things, I never seemed to grasp them.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R3). *I lived with less hope, more fear and anxiety. My values and priorities were based on the world and people's standards i.e., materialism, success etc. I did not have freedom and God as my helper. I strived to make things happen with my own strength and actions [...] I was struggling with finding hope and purpose for my life.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R4). *I was thinking to be the only to have the control of my life. I was relying on myself rather than on God. I was less in peace and in times of trouble and indecision I was feeling lonely.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R5). *I was struggling with identity.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: forty-six to sixty-five), (R6). *I suffered from teen depression. I didn't have many friends. I was an introvert with chronic suicidal thoughts. I was raised Catholic and would go to church on a regular basis, but it didn't interest me much. Although I prayed a lot, the Church had no influence on me.* (female, age range: eighteen to thirty[21]), (R7). *Before the divine encounter I had a busy and eventful life, but it didn't give me enough satisfaction [...]. I was struggling with a sense of emotional discomfort. It was a real burden which I couldn't get rid of, and which was a consequence of some negative experiences as well as bad decisions that I had made in the past. Those events made me angry and disappointed.* (male, age range:

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[21] Original quotation: Io ero un adolescente un po' depresso, con pochi amici, estremamente introverso. Avevo un'ideazione suicidaria che andava e vaniva. Sono cresciuto in una famiglia cattolica, ben strutturata, stabile, e andavo a messa la domenica, ma non mi interessava tanto; la Chiesa aveva poca influenza sulla mia vita, anche se ogni tanto pregavo.

eighteen to thirty[22]), (R8). *When I was a high school student, I was involved in a distant relationship with a girl [...]. After two years, my relationship broke down since it had been really exhausting and unhealthy [...]. In consequence, I started feeling insecure and trapped emotionally. All the decisions that I would make were wrong such as the one about smoking cannabis.* (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[23]).

The examples presented above indicate a certain type of an individual who, in a broader sense, might be referred to as a religious customer but, bearing in mind the purpose of this research, he or she should be examined more precisely and therefore, classified as a particular type of a religious customer searching for a particular type of a product, in this case, the divine healing aimed at the distressed. According to what has been discussed above, the quality of life prior to transformation category, seems to correspond to the first stage of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process defined as the preparation stage, mostly because it places human beings together with their problems in the center of attention and emphasizes relationship building. In other words, all the difficulties an individual have been struggling with, have not been solved yet but at least, the distressed have been offered a remedy to the condition which prevents a complete recovery. It is only up to them whether or not they decide to proceed. If they do, they will enter the immersion stage focused on intense worship as well as full integration into a given community. Based on the research findings, it can be assumed that this is the phase during which cognitive restructuring works most efficiently.

Indeed, the second category concentrates predominantly on one's personal experience when already integrated into the community and it prioritizes one's interaction with the divine after being stimulated by the leader. The answers provided by the respondents indicate a common denominator which could be defined as inner healing. Interestingly, according to earlier observations, inner healing frequently serves as a reference point for other types of healing and therefore, it can be assumed that verbal stimulation is a special form of a catalyst whose central role is to trigger out a given

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[22] Original quotation: Prima dell'incontro posso definire la mia vita molto movimentata e piena ma mai soddisfatta […]! In quel momento mi trovavo ad affrontare un grande senso di malessere. Un "peso" sulla mi vita che pensavo non poter rimuovere in nessun modo. Derivante da tante brutte esperienze e scelte sbagliata che avevo fatto in passato e che causavano una grande rabbia, delusione, cattiveria.

[23] Original quotation: Frequentavo il liceo scientifico e avevo una relazione a distanza con una ragazza […]. Nel frattempo dopo quasi 2 anni la mia relazione amorosa si è interrotta, dopo essere diventata sregolata, estenuante e morbosa […]. Principalmente affrontavo la rottura della mia relazione passata, che mi aveva lasciato tanta insicurezza e dipendenza affettiva, tanti vuoti e un'irrequietezza che mi stava portando a fare scelte sbagliate, stavo cominciando a fare un uso più frequente di marijuana, che fino a quel momento avevo usato solo ogni tanto per puro piacere.

response depending on one's needs. Take, for example, the aforementioned verbal strategies, aimed at replacing the maladaptive schemas with the more positive ones. Their incorporation into the ritual during the immersion stage is meant to make individuals aware of both, their potential to change their lives and the fact that the product they are looking for in order for this change to happen, is within their reach. Referring back to Wimber's model, it should be made explicit that the product in question, launched and promoted by a concrete brand, in this case, a particular leader, is a combination of interviewing, counselling, and equipping. All these elements largely contribute to the transformation process and seem to affect one's sense of empowerment. The answers provided by the respondents seem to build upon the contrast between the past and present. The supernatural component, expressed with the use of a figurative language, appears to prevail over a more rational explanation and hence, the whole story about one's emotions to be healed, becomes highly emotional itself.

When it comes to the questions representing the second category, they centered primarily on respondents' physical and emotional reaction to the content presented during the worship service as well as on how they conceptualize the divine encounter. The answers to the content issue were as follows:

(R1). *I felt incredibly weird because I worshipped God down on my knees, falling on the floor, crying, and this was beautiful but new for me.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R2). *I felt like a heavy burden had been lifted off my shoulders. I also felt a strong power over me. Something greater than anything I had previously experienced.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R3). *I felt overwhelmed by God's love, repentance, compassion, and hope.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R4). *I felt emotional. I burst in tears because the words of the songs were reflecting how I was feeling. I felt like God wanted to tell me those words. He was speaking about my situation. I felt the Holy Spirit was coming into me during the worship and I felt rejoiced and lighter and much more encouraged.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R5). *I felt happy.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: forty-six to sixty-five), (R6). *I was highly motivated. I felt the need to bear fruit, to participate in all those events, also to pray. I have always been told not to pay attention to sentimentalism and not to consider God as an emotion which I understood well because that big flame that I had experienced at the beginning, calmed down and turned into a much more peaceful fire which lasts until*

today. (female, age range: eighteen to thirty[24]), (R7). *During the worship service in my church, I realized that God is capable of removing all my burdens and make me feel emotionally and physically lighter, liberated*. (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[25]), (R8). *Physically, I was in a good shape but emotionally in pieces. I was intrigued with a new mode of approaching God. It was obvious to me that something supernatural would occur in a moment. It was full of hope, the kind of hope I craved for*. (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[26]).

The data suggest that the respondents attach great importance to the miraculous shift which they witnessed first-hand and which had been preceded by a series of unexpected responses of different nature such as falling on the floor, crying, feeling heavy, feeling confused, feeling motivated, feeling light, having an impression as if the Holy Spirit fell upon them, sensing some inner conflict, and sensing the presence of the supernatural entity (Berdowicz, 2022, p. 163). Interestingly, the symptoms of the divine presence mentioned by the interviewees, seem to bear a striking resemblance to those already discussed in respect of the on-stage and off-stage performance given by the Polish leaders. It can therefore be concluded that the principles once set by Wimber, gave a solid foundation for what contemporary leadership is about and that the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process is not confined to one specific location only. Although the vernacular differs, it should be remembered that the Neo-Pentecostal language goes beyond that framework making it possible for the selected verbal strategies to be used efficiently. The findings also reveal that the process of establishing a bond with the divine during the immersion stage requires compliance with specific rules referring to the sequence of events. To be more precise, what comes first is the music, played according to the imposed guidelines which in practical terms means fast-paced songs followed by the slow-paced ones. Then, the soaking prayer, believed to be a moment of close intimacy with the deity and often accompanied by vivid jubilation, starts. Its major role is to attune

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[24] Original quotation: Molto motivato, sentivo il desiderio di fare tutto, di partecipare a tutto, e anche di pregare. Mi ammonivano sempre a non dare retta al sentimentalismo, che Dio non era un'emozione e fecero bene, perché questo grande fiamma iniziale si calmò e diventò un fuoco molto più sereno che sussiste fino ad oggi.

[25] Original quotation: La grande differenza che ho subito notato durante i gospel nella mia chiesa è stata quanto Dio fosse capace di togliere tutti quei pesi e farmi sentire emotivamente e fisicamente più "leggero", libero.

[26] Original quotation: Ero fisicamente in forma ma emotivamente "a pezzi", ero molto incuriosito da un modo di approcciare Dio e la spiritualità nuovo, fresco, attivo e che funzionava, portava "risultati" evidenti ed era chiaro che qualcosa di sovrannaturale succedesse in certi momenti. Questo mi affascinava e mi dava molta speranza, lo desideravo molto anche io.

the audience and hence, evoke a shared mood. Finally, the actual restructuring takes place while being stimulated by the performer who pretends to be in charge of the supernatural.

As for the divine encounter, in this part of the survey the respondents were asked whether or not they had experienced supernatural intervention in their lives and if so, they were also requested to recall particular incidents which in their opinion had been the actual manifestation and at the same time could prove the efficacy of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual known for the emphasis it puts on demonstration. The answers focus not only on a given moment of the "divine touch" enriched with bodily sensations but also on its long-term outcomes, for instance, the feeling of inner peace whose restoration largely affected the distressed. It can be assumed that the following testimonies of faith would not have been given if the interviewees had not experienced what they believe was a genuine awakening, also referred to in this research as a personal revival. Convincing the distressed that they have just been anointed and from now onwards their will enjoy their lives without fear and anxiety, lies in the hands of the empowered leader who seeks to impart that empowerment onto the gathered. To illustrate:

(R1). *God touched my heart when I was in bed one night, and I felt His presence, like a warm hand on my shoulder, whispering me I could go on with His power and love.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R2). *God revealed His love for me. He made me see that there is nothing that could separate me from that love. And that though I may suffer sometimes, His love would always enfold me. He also gave me a sense of purpose beyond myself and beyond my life.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R3). *Overtime, I find my attitude and worldview progressively changed. I find hope and peace as I am able to trust God more everyday.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R4). *I experienced it in a hard moment of my life [...]. I felt that I trusted God about where He wanted me to go [...]. He has been faithful and from there He continued to bless me though my family, friends, health and a new house. His power is to bless over the requests in a much higher capacity than the one I asked for [...].* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R5). *When I am singing in church, I feel a sense of peace.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: forty-six to sixty-five), (R6). *At the initial stage, I had the feeling that something was trying to catch me, to raise me up, to restore the joy I couldn't find myself. However, I was also aware of the fact that I could easily lose that strength. There were moments of doubt but as soon as they appeared, that invisible hand made me realize that*

God had been guiding me throughout my entire life. I belong to a Charismatic community which pays great attention to the workings of the Holy Spirit. (female, age range: eighteen to thirty[27]), (R7). *At the time when I asked God directly and in a simple manner to untie the knot of all the negative emotions which caused a growing discomfort, I could feel some kind of power falling onto my whole body. After a little while, I realized that my mind and heart were free and light.* (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[28]), (R8). *I really wanted to experience the things the people I met had experienced [...]. I knew that God was talking to them. At a certain point, God started talking to me in the same way. Those whom I encountered spoke out the words I truly wished to hear, the words only God was aware of. Soon after, God approached me directly. I would witness His power when praying for healing of the body. I chose to believe what the Bible says about praying in the name of Jesus in case one struggles with a disease. I helped my parents, friends, people from our Church, and some individuals walking with crutches that I met on the street. I could watch people being instantly healed of chronic headaches, different types of physical pain or spinal issues including scoliosis. Once I prayed for a person wearing glasses because of astigmatism. That individual's sight has been completely restored after my prayer to such an extent that she could function without her glasses.* (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[29]).

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[27] Original quotation: In un primo momento, come qualcosa che veniva da fuori per prendermi, per alzarmi da dove io stavo, per ridarmi una gioia che non poteva venire da me stesso. Però, avrei potuto perdere questa forza! Solo con la perseveranza, quando già non sentivo l'azione esterna, questa mano al di fuori di me stesso, ma perseverando nella preghiera, ho potuto intravvedere che la potenza di Dio mi ha guidato per tutta la mia vita. Faccio parte di una comunità carismatica, e l'azione dello Spirito si rivela potente ed efficace ad ogni momento.

[28] Original quotation: Nel momento in cui ho chiesto a Dio, in modo molto semplice e diretto di togliere da me tutto quel groviglio di emozioni e sentimenti negativi che mi lasciavano dentro tutto quel peso e malessere ho sentito fisicamente molto forte scivolare via dal mio corpo tutto. In un attimo era tutto andato via e la mia mente ed il mio cuore erano leggeri.

[29] Original quotation: Desideravo molto anche io vivere le stesse cose che vivevano le persone che avevo conosciuto lì, la loro vita era cambiata sul serio, continuava a cambiare, e conoscevano davvero Dio, e lui parlava con loro. Allo stesso modo Dio ha cominciato a parlare a me, attraverso alcune persone che in 3-4 occasioni (nel primo periodo) mi parlavano con le parole esatte che potevano attirarmi, e di cui avevo bisogno, che solo Dio poteva sapere. Parlavano ai vuoti emotivi che avevo, e alla delusione che avevo avuto da piccolo dalla chiesa. Da lì Dio ha cominciato a parlare direttamente con me, e col passare del tempo ho visto la sua potenza con guarigioni fisiche. Ho scelto di credere alla bibbia quando dice che pregando nel nome di Gesù le malattie e le infermità guariscono, e ho messo in pratica questo principio le volte che ne avevo occasione, con i miei parenti, amici, persone della chiesa, anche persone per strada se avevano stampelle o infermità evidenti. Ho visto guarire istantaneamente mal di testa, dolori fisici di ogni tipo, spine dorsali con la scoliosi o bacini storti addrizzarsi (questo in genere si vedeva perché una gamba risultava qualche cm più corta dell'altra). Una volta ho pregato per una persona con gli occhiali con alcuni problemi tra cui l'astigmatismo, e la sua vista si è ripristinata completamente, al punto da vedere perfettamente senza occhiali.

The results lend strong support to the argument that the divine encounter individuals claimed to have experienced during the immersion stage once effectively stimulated according to Wimber's style, should be regarded as the climax of the whole transformation process, mostly because of the attributes God has been recognized through. These include Godly love, gentleness, omnipotence, mercy, trustworthiness, immutability, and providence. Referring back to the question on how the respondents conceptualize the supernatural intervention, it can be concluded that for those who claimed to have been distressed, it was first of all, a moment of great intimacy filled with miracles and similar to the one only close friends tend to share and build upon, a moment of significant empowerment followed by one's immediate eagerness to take appropriate measures both to protect oneself from further withdrawal as well as stagnation caused by the feeling of fear and anxiety, and to bring relief to others who struggle with physical or emotional pain. Finally, what seems especially noteworthy and relevant for this research is the fact that the respondents refer to the divine encounter as a moment of deep catharsis and reconciliation with the past.

The third category identified while investigating the Neo-Pentecostal transformation process which by the way, corresponds to its reinforcement stage, deals with the post-awakening coping strategies the respondents developed in the aftermath of what they understand as the divine encounter (Berdowicz, 2022, p. 163). The questions raised in the survey referred to how they currently feel both emotionally and physically, how their lives have changed since the divine intervention, how they conceptualize personal revival, and how they react to everyday hardships in terms of approaching them. Importantly, the interviewees drew special attention to a profound shift in the way they look at the past and present occurrences. The main difference concerned the purposefulness of what they had to go through. The findings revealed that their pre-anointing interpretation of life struggles concentrated solely on the human perspective whereas the post-anointing one allowed the divine component. It can therefore be concluded that the maladaptive schemas which the respondents had held for years, and which had negatively affected their well-being, have successfully been replaced with the more balanced alternatives driven by a spiritual growth. Trust in God, a deep conviction of His guidance and blessing, were the most frequently indicated features of the post-awakening realm. In respect of the pivotal mottos demonstrating the change, the following ones were observed: (1) perseverance and patience contribute towards the final victory, (2) difficulties are there for a reason, (3) positive attitude, (4) utmost confidence

and happiness, (5) close relationship with God, (6) peace of mind, (7) taking worries to the Lord brings relief, and (8) suffering bears fruit. Relevant examples referring to all of them one by one, although not literally, have been elaborated on below.

Apropos the emotional and physical domain as well as the changes that had been introduced as a result of one's transformation, the respondents highlighted the symptoms of the divine presence and protection which in their view, have a significant impact on their daily routine. Some of them admitted that moments of sadness and severe stress still continue but now, while divinely empowered, it is easier for them to calm down and carry on. To take concrete examples:

(R1). *I'm a healthy person, I love serving God translating from one language to another in Church, helping up as much as I can. I took a Degree, I've realized myself, I love myself and people around me. I do not consider being Christian as a religion, because God isn't a religion. Sure, we should follow His plan for us, but sometimes we can lose ourselves and after a while, be found again […]. My life is completely changed, because now I know my value, I know that I'm a child of God, I'm even more patient than before*. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R2). *I sometimes struggle with worldly thoughts and unrighteous thoughts — but the Word of God always comes to me — it restores a sound mind in me. I am in good physical health to the glory of God. I have no illness or pain or physical impediments […]. I have been transformed into a new person — I have received grace to be kind, to be patient and unselfish. In my old life, I never succeeded in becoming these things*. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R3). *My physical health is excellent, and my emotional state is good: I am able to process my thoughts and feelings. Yet it doesn't mean I'm happy all the time. I still go through pain, sadness, and challenges emotionally, but I can recover and move on once I give it up to God, spending time in worship and prayers […]. I can believe beyond what the world tells you exist i.e., science, hard work. You believe God has a good and unique plan for your life. You are no longer in control of your life, but God is*. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R4). *I feel much stronger and stable knowing that God is in control of my decisions and that I am not alone. However, it is hard to be always in peace, there are moments that I shake and doubt but through prayers and the community I feel encouraged and balanced with my emotions and have strength back in my body […]. I have daily talk with God. I take decisions asking him for guidance. I remember what He has done for me in the past, so I know that He is going to bless me again and*

therefore I feel safe and reassured. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R5). *Happy and content. I am more peaceful within myself.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: forty-six to sixty-five), (R6). *As for my physical condition, I am getting old. The apogee of my physical strength has already passed. However, when it comes to my emotions, I have made incredible progress over the last couple of years, especially now when I am in the process of inner healing and getting to know myself. I am much more open and friendly which has been already noticed by others. Moreover, I feel more secure […]. I started attending the mass on a daily basis. I also joined a prayer group and I try to pray every day. Now I am taking my spiritual life seriously and therefore I am making an effort to fight against my sins, to bless my existence, my encounters, my work, and my friends. I make sure that everything is in the right place for love, for Jesus.* (female, age range: eighteen to thirty[30]), (R7). *I would say that my mental condition is much better now. I feel free. Yes, the word free is the right word […]. My life has changed completely since the encounter. I don't mean the number of problems. What I have in mind is the way I deal with them. I have been profoundly transformed by God. I face all my difficulties together with Him. Of course, life without challenges is not possible but facing them with God enables us to look at all the hardships from a different perspective.* (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[31]), (R8). *I can say that my physical condition is now at its best. I am self-disciplined and have a greater knowledge of myself. As for my mental condition, I am more tenacious, mature, flexible, and adaptable. In other words, I am in the process of a continuous growth […]. My routine has changed. I am no longer involved in so many meaningless projects. Now I am deeply committed to those in my church which I have been carrying out with great pleasure. The tasks I was engaged in before were not as important to me as the ones I am performing at present. My relationship with God has been restored and*

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[30] Original quotation: Fisicamente, io sto invecchiando, ho già passato passato l'auge della forza fisica. Ma mentalmente, in questi ultimi anni ho fatto progressi incredibili, specie adesso che sto seguendo un percorso di guarigione interiore e conoscenza di me stesso. Sono molto più aperto e amichevole, e altre persone me lo hanno già detto. Mi sento anche più sicuro […]. Ho iniziato ad andare a messa ogni giorno, vado al gruppo di preghiera, prego ogni giorno. Ho trascorso alcuni anni un po' più lontano, ma Dio mi ha ritrovato e mi ha rimesso nella via giusta. Oggi prendo sul serio la mia vita spirituale e voglio diventare santo. Perciò faccio uno sforzo per vincere il peccato, per santificare la mia giornata, i miei incontri, il mio lavoro, le mie amicizie, affinché tutto sia ordinato all'amore, a Gesù.

[31] Original quotation: La mia condizione mentale sicuramente è più "libera". Si, "libera" è la parola giusta […]. Totalmente. Non per numero di problemi o difficoltà, anzi, ma la modalità è stata completamente trasformata da Dio. Il mio vivere con lui trasforma ogni cosa in qualcosa di nuovo, leggero, bello. E anche le difficoltà e i problemi li affronto sempre insieme a lui. Ci sono momenti difficili ovvio, come li abbiamo tutti, ma affrontarli con Dio è tutta un altra cosa.

that is why my life is different. Although I ceased to follow my dream of becoming a musician, I continue to explore the areas I love. My priorities have also changed. Broadly speaking, my life has taken a more nutritious form. (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[32]).

The findings clearly demonstrate that the divine intervention should be interpreted first and foremost within the context of a motive power responsible for a radical shift in the physical and mental domain. Interestingly, this particular motive power enabled the respondents to look inside themselves and in consequence, to understand themselves better. The areas of life that had been covered and inaccessible for the interviewees, have now turned out to be within their reach. Although, based on the given answers, the physical part appears less spectacular than the emotional one, it brings self-awareness and self-control which seems to be compatible with Wimber's theory of the integrated model of healing. Post-awakening reinforcement applies to the appropriate use of the gifts received while anointed and, according to the Neo-Pentecostal thought, it can only be achieved in cooperation with the community of believers led by a deeply empowered leader.

As far as the conceptualization of one's personal revival is concerned, this particular term proved to be familiar to the interviewees, except for one respondent (R6) who, although did not recognize that expression, had previously provided the answers suggesting its outcomes that were similar to those described by the rest. Compare the following:

(R1). *I love this word. Revival is the renaissance from an early condition; we can do revival every time we surrender our life to God. We die in the old and corrupted spirit and therefore, we are born again.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R2). *Personal revival for me means returning to God because I believe that our identity is found in Him — and revival is returning to who we are, His*

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[32] Original quotation: La mia condizione fisica è ottimale, ho maggiori consapevolezze e un buon autocontrollo. La mia condizione mentale la definirei in costante crescita, maturata, molto più flessibile e versatile di fronte ogni tipo di situazione, più tenace e obbiettiva da 5 anni a questa parte […]. La mia routine ha cominciato a cambiare, riempiendosi non tanto di impegni, sebbene vari giorni la settimana ho cominciato a coinvolgermi in varie attività della mia chiesa, quanto di entusiasmo e gioia nel vivere una vita che avesse davvero un senso. Non hanno più avuto importanza i miei progetti, anche se continuavo a seguirli, il centro di tutto è diventato il mio rapporto con colui che ha potuto restaurare ogni parte di della mia vita, anche quelle che pensavo fossero ormai perdute. Non più perseguito il mio sogno di diventare un musicista, ma ho continuato a studiare materie che amo. Le mie priorità sono cambiate e nel complesso la mia vita ha cominciato a prendere una forma davvero sostanziosa.

children. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R3). *It means change and repentance. Your heart and attitudes turn, and something shifts: the path of your life shifts*. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R4). *It means to have emotions that help me to feel rejoiced in Christ*. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R5). *Having a new perceptive and new determination*. (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: forty-six to sixty-five), (R6). *Honestly, I don't know this term*. (female, age range: eighteen to thirty[33]), (R7). *This is something you experience when you allow God to manifest Himself in your life. The only thing He is waiting for, is your consent*. (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[34]), (R8). *On the basis of my experience, it means to open your eyes so that you become able to recognize particular situations, reflect upon your life, acknowledge openly that some changes should be introduced, and as a result, you have the courage to do so. It also stands for being ready to surrender to God's will. You regain control over your life which you lost before and at the same time you know that whatever happens, you are safe and in good hands*. (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[35]).

The findings reveal that for those who claimed to have been distressed, a personal revival equals spiritual rebirth which manifests itself in one's willingness to leave the old habits behind in favor of the new opportunities the relationship with the divine opens. The most often indicated keywords connected with this concept include: (1) renaissance of faith, (2) deep change, (3) joy, (4) new perspectives, (5) determination, (6) courage, and (7) confidence. Bearing in mind the features of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, it can be concluded that one's personal revival results from being exposed to different verbal strategies incorporated by the leaders into the performance during the immersion stage so that the already-discussed restructuring takes place while its fruit becomes subject to further processing. The processing in question refers to shaping one's self-image when being engaged in all sorts of activities offered by a given community, as in the case of the previously-mentioned house meetings whose main goal is to develop solid foundations

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[33] Original quotation: Onestamente non conosco questa espressione.

[34] Original quotation: Il momento in cui dai la possibilità a Dio di manifestarsi nella tua vita. Lui non aspetta altro che il tuo "si".

[35] Original quotation: In base alla mia esperienza significa aprire gli occhi, poter vedere lucidamente quale sia la propria situazione, in che condizioni si trova la propria vita, poter ammettere che può esserci bisogno di un cambiamento, ed avere il coraggio di attuarlo. Significa poter lasciare la propria vita in mano a Dio, consapevole che qualsiasi cosa accada si è sempre al sicuro, e allo stesso tempo poterla governare verso frontiere di grandezza che non si avrebbe potuto fare prima.

of mutual support. In consequence, an individual develops a sense of belonging enriched by assistance on demand and therefore, his or her tendency to give up at the start when difficulties arise and driven by fear and anxiety, disappears. The way an individual approaches life hardships depends, to a large extent, on his or her capability to cooperate with the environment.

When it comes to the post-awakening coping strategies, the respondents admitted that God has become their priority and that is why they no longer think of themselves as the distressed. In other words, they expressed their absolute trust in the divine guidance whose regular intervention, they believe, might help them to find the most appropriate solution to each challenge regardless of how serious it proves to be. It can therefore be assumed that the empowerment they claimed to have experienced, brought about the inner healing which in turn, gave rise to an individual's complete rebirth in every aspect of their lives, also the one related to the self-defeating and dysfunctional patterns of memories, emotions, and physical sensations which tend to affect people's attitudes and behavior, and which came to be known as the maladaptive schemas. To illustrate:

(R1). *I ask God for perseverance and patience, that everything that is done in His name will be done, and everything that is against His will, will be eliminated.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R2). *The Word. I try to find a verse for every situation or call to mind God's Word for difficult situations. Sometimes I have trouble trusting what it says because sometimes things seem wildly different from what the Word says, but I am comforted by the fact that God's Word is true, and that it is true in my life as well.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R3). *You have hope knowing that the challenges will end and that the difficulties are in your life for a reason. So, you are able to have a positive attitude and know that you will have God's help when you pray to Him.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: eighteen to thirty), (R4). *I trust in Him, and I feel that whatever happens I have guidance and with time, a reason for that trouble. When something happens, He takes me closer to Him.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: thirty-one to forty-five), (R5). *I have faith, which is belief in God who will help me through life's difficulties.* (original spelling, original quotation; female, age range: forty-six to sixty-five), (R6). *Honestly speaking, some of the problems I experienced were particularly serious. However, over the course of time my attitude has changed, mostly because I received the grace of peace I had not known before, and this feeling helps me to face life hardships. I am also aware of the fact that the serenity once*

received should not be neglected since it can be easily lost. Unfortunately, I have already made that mistake but at the same time I understood that suffering and sadness are part of our lives and in certain cases, they largely contribute to our existence in a positive way. The peace I am talking about results from our faith in God. I am sure that the worldly things will never make me doubt. (female, age range: eighteen to thirty[36]), (R7). *Actually, I keep reminding myself that He will never abandon me. I have been facing life difficulties ever since I can remember. What has really changed is my approach because now, as soon as the problem comes up, I ask Him for help straight away and therefore, the problem I have to deal with, tastes differently. I can openly say that I feel the lightness I didn't feel in the past.* (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[37]), (R8). *Nowadays, I approach life difficulties with absolute confidence which I didn't have before. That confidence helps me to survive difficult moments and gives me hope. Moreover, I believe in the divine intervention. A father like Him will teach His children to swim instead of letting them drown. I always try to turn tough moments into a valuable lesson.* (male, age range: eighteen to thirty[38]).

Based on the findings, it can be observed that the concept of the "loving and caring father" is the one most eagerly promoted by power evangelism enthusiasts. Its advocates compare the divine anointing to a heavenly touch giving unlimited protection. Referring back to the theory of religious economies and the results of this study, it should be noted that what really matters in the religious marketplace is the final effect. The stronger the testimony, the more recognizable a given community becomes. Once spoken out loud, it should be properly advertised so that the demand for a particular product increases. Market research plays a pivotal role in establishing a successful marketing strategy which will ultimately bring profits. It should also be made clear that the religious marketplace is not free from competitors. However, what seems remarkable in the Neo-Pentecostal environment, is the openness of its entrepreneurs to network building. Although a given

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[36] Original quotation: Onestamente, alcune ne ho vissute molto male. Ma presentemente, direi di avere una grazia di pace che mi permette di vivere le avversità della vita con una serenità che non conoscevo prima. Mi è perfettamente possibile perdere questa pace, lo so, mi è già successo, e la tristezza e la sofferenza fanno parte della vita, possono anche venire per il nostro bene. Ma questa pace viene dalla fiducia in Dio, e le cose del mondo non mi potranno toglierla, soltanto io stesso, se mi lascio trascinare da esse.

[37] Original quotation: Semplicemente ricordandomi che Lui è con me. Nulla di troppo poetico. I problemi c'erano prima e mi turbavano e oggi succede lo stesso. L'unica differenza è che oggi vado subito da lui e il problema cambia sapore. Io vivo con molta più leggerezza.

[38] Original quotation: Con ferme certezze che non ho mai avuto che mi permettono di avere speranza e serenità anche nei moment più tenebrosi. Con fede che al di là delle mie forze Dio interviene e mi aiuta, consapevole che un padre come lui non lascerà mai suo figlio naufragare, ma sicuramente gli insegna a nuotare. Riesco sempre a trarre miglioramento da ogni situazione difficile.

leader himself or herself serves as a well-known brand and therefore, puts a lot of effort into its stretching, they also tend to engage in joint projects by visiting communities countrywide, and hence they are often referred to as itinerant preachers.

The preceding discussion has shown that cognitive restructuring can be interpreted from two different perspectives, namely, the one of the performer who uses specific resources to affect others and that of the audience, receptive to what is being conveyed. The former has been presented in "The Message" part whereas the latter is being debated here. Moreover, it is also worth noticing that they are mutually dependent. To put it simply, they go together. Bearing in mind my respondents' stories, it can be argued that in their case cognitive restructuring understood as a mental action would not have taken place if certain techniques had not been employed. In other words, the transformed would not provide me with the answers cited above if they had not been exposed to the linguistic content produced by the leaders. Given the data, it is possible to indicate a common denominator for those two standpoints. It turns out that what stands behind the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process is the language spoken first, by the performer to evoke as well as modulate the change and later, by the changed themselves who interact with one another based on the attributes it demonstrates. It can therefore be concluded that the Neo-Pentecostal language investigated in this research has the capacity to shape individuals both internally, which means that it largely contributes to one's metamorphosis, and externally which applies to constructing the reality its users act within. It appears that the most relevant question that should be asked under these circumstances is: "What are the qualities of the Neo-Pentecostal language that serve religious persuasion and make it a powerful communication tool?" The study I conducted led me to discover that the Neo-Pentecostal language builds heavily on the frequent use of and reliance on: (1) imperative sentences, (2) conditional sentences, (3) modal verbs, (4) imagery (metaphors, similes, and personification), (5) assertions, (6) loaded words and phrases, (7) inclusiveness, (8) hyperboles, (9) anecdotal evidence, (10) repetition, (11) rhetorical questions, (12) cause and effect arguments, (13) connotations, (14) humor, (15) rising and falling intonation, (16) compliments and exaggerated tributes (flattery), (17) expert opinion, (18) triplets, (19) declarative statements, and (20) mitigation. To exemplify, I will refer to the sermon given by Ptr. Angelo D'Aloisi, a representative of the Hillsong Milan community. His performance would be live-streamed every Sunday during the Hillsong Rome community meeting I participated in. Other instances of the Neo-Pentecostal persuasive devices have been

mentioned a few paragraphs above, with regard to the verbal strategies put into practice by the Polish leaders. The passage that stands for D'Aloisi's performance is as follows:

If you are here for the first time, big welcome to you [...]. I am happy to see you. Today I'm going to share with you a short message. I want to show you something today. This is a box full of money that I'm going to give out. Who want it? I believe that Church is made to be enjoyed. It's not a funeral. It's not a cemetery. We're a Church. So, it's a party. And I think sometimes we put Christianity in a different dimension. We put God in a box. We think He's just in that box. […]. Sometimes we live our lives as if God was actually shut in this box. Sometimes we open the box, sometimes we close the box. And He's just here. And we think He's actually just here […] We think our God is just limited to this space, in our religion, in our thoughts. If we get to the café, He's not there. If we go to another house, He's not there because He's only in our house, or maybe, if we go to another church, we think He's not there because He's only in our church. And we say: *God, You're just here, in this place.* I'm going to give you some bad news today or maybe good. God cannot fit in a box. He just cannot. It's too small for Him. He needs more space. He wants more. He's everywhere. He's omnipresent, omniscient. He […] will be with you wherever you will go [...]. I want to read out today […] a small passage. It's actually a story, chapter twelve of the Book of Acts, from verse five to eleven. I'm not gonna read out. I'm gonna tell you this story. So, listen to me [...] I'm going to tell you what the Bible actually says. This is the story of a guy named Peter who was imprisoned because of the Gospel, with actually two guards, guarding over him. One night he was asleep, he was probably exhausted and really tired. An angel of God […] appeared to him in this bright light. He […] touched him, telling him: *Wake up, put your shoes on, put your mantel on and follow me.* Peter did not know what was happening because he thought he was having a vision [...]. They […] got to the gate that opened in front of them [...]. As they went through the door, they just started walking. And then Peter said: *Now, I'm sure God has freed me.* I'm […] not sure why I am telling you this today. I want to be brief today, and I […] want to make this story as if it was in today's age. So, the Bible says that Peter was imprisoned because of the Gospel. He was not a thief or something. Because of the good news, he […] was imprisoned. Sometimes I can imagine our lives. Maybe you are here today because you need to hear this word. Maybe you're watching online, and you need to hear this today, and maybe you actually lived through a similar situation because of the Gospel, or maybe because of something you're doing, and this is actually a good thing. And maybe you sacrificed your entire life, and you're a good person, but you find yourself

in front of an obstacle, like Peter. The Bible says that when he was in prison, he was […] asleep, and he was tired because he was doing good. So, as I was studying this word and I was reading, I was thinking: *So many times in our lives maybe we found ourselves living exactly what Peter was going through. We're so tired and we fall asleep because of the good things that we're doing.* As I was reading this, I could really sense the voice of God. I'm sure He was […] speaking through the Bible, through the story […]. And the Bible […] tell us, he was handcuffed, so he was blocked, and he couldn't do anything. Maybe you are in a situation where you don't know what to do. It's dark around you, and you're there on the ground, sleeping […]. And you're chained, so it's heavy to lift. And maybe you prayed many years, you prayed many times. Tiredness got the best of you [..] The angel knew why he was imprisoned; he knew very well. Actually, the Bible tells us that He's our lawyer, our defender. And the angel was saying: *Hey, I'm here, I'm here! I'm here to defend you.* And I see so many times in our lives that […] God is trying to shake us, and He wants to wake us up [...]. Simply by the fact that you're listening to Him, chains are already broken, and you start feeling the freedom [...]. And maybe you feel like: *I can't do this anymore [...]. It's too much for me. I've already suffered enough.* I want to tell you today: *God will […] give you back His presence.* He will tell you: *Get up again, the moment is here again.* [...] How many of you have actually got woken up suddenly and had no idea what to do with yourself? [...]. If you're in a moment when you don't know what to do, the only thing you need to do is to follow [...]. Let's pretend they are the guards and he's Peter. I'm the angel, he's Peter. So, Peter woke up and suddenly they were in front of them, and he […] passed over. And they're looking but they can't see them [...]. All the obstacles in life you've got on your side, you will get over them [...]. And I can see that in our lives when we have God in front of any obstacles, we can actually get over them. And all the doors that have […] always been closed, they suddenly open. And when you see those doors closed, you actually think: *How am I going to get through them*? I want to read you something. I am gonna ask you to close your eyes if you can today. Maybe this is for you? And maybe you came here today and all you need is to hear these sentences: *When you are imprisoned and there is only darkness around you, God [...] comes to help and the light shines on your life. When you are asleep and you think it's over, God [...] shakes you and tells you to wake up quickly. When your hands are tied and you don't know what else to do, God will break the chains from your hands. When you give everything up, and you've got nothing to defend you, God will be your defender. When you don't know where else to go, God will guide you. So, you will*

see miracles. You will see miracles in your life. You will wake up. The chains will be broken. He will give you His presence. You will get over obstacles. Every door that is closed will [...] open in front of you, and you will be saved. I want to ask you to stand up with me. Today maybe it's your miracle day. Do you want to declare that every door that's been closed will actually open, that all the chains will be broken, and that all the difficulties in your life, you will […] get over them and God will be with you? And as we worship together, declare: *All these things, doors will be opened, chains will be broken, because You will be with me. And I will see miracles today. You will give me a gift today, You will give me good gifts.* Raise your hands now! Declare how powerful He is. Declare that, declare that, declare that! Now, at this moment! Declare that, declare that, declare that! God opens the doors. God opens the doors of my life. God, you will be with me[39].

Drawing upon what has just been put forward, it can be argued that the language spoken by D'Aloisi is highly persuasive and this is so due to a set of qualities specified before and referred to as those typical of the Neo-Pentecostal linguistic output. The ones found in the extract under discussion, starting from the beginning of D'Aloisi's sermon, involve the use of and a strong reliance on: (1) compliments, (2) declarative statements, (3) repetition, (4) loaded expressions, (5) hyperbole, (6) mitigation, (7) inclusiveness, (8) assertions, (9) imagery, (10) anecdotal evidence, (11) rhetorical questions, (12) triplets, (13) conditional sentences, (14) imperative sentences, (15) modal verbs, (16) rising and falling intonation, and (16) humor.

Regarding the use of compliments, D'Aloisi shows his appreciation for individuals who came to the meeting for the first time. This particular statement opens the performance. It can be assumed that by doing so, the leader wants to make the newcomers feel part of the community. As for declarative statements, D'Aloisi uses this particular device to let the audience know what to expect and what he is about to do. In this case, it applies to D'Aloisi's intention to share a short message with the gathered. Interestingly, what can also be observed here is the employment of a type of repetition called framing that is mostly known from emotive prose and features the incorporation of the initial elements of a given unit at its end in order to reinforce a concrete aspect of the subject matter. Apart from framing, D'Aloisi also uses a rhetorical device termed

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[39] Hillsong Italy. (2022, June 12). *12/06/22. Sunday Service. Hillsong Italy Online* [video file]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RM_1LsyDZ2E&list=PLt5nnpYaIhYxBDYdyCLf856tmgLMk1BEx &index=1&t=1110s.

anaphora. Its emergence implies the speaker's wish to highlight the key themes and engage the emotions of the listeners. Other techniques concentrated on evoking and modulating an individual's feelings, spotted in the passage, include the introduction of the loaded content which tends to go hand in hand with a myriad of hyperboles. As far as mitigation is concerned, the fragment about the role of the Church serves as a good example since it contains an introductory phrase "I believe" whose implementation into a sentence is considered one of mitigating techniques. D'Aloisi shows his strong confidence in the positive impact of the group of people understood as Church and contrasts that perception with the notion of a cemetery, characteristic of negative connotations. Moreover, by using the words "we", "our", and "us" which suggest inclusiveness, he tries to inspire the participants to take a collective action so that they feel valued and empowered. Next attributes of the Neo-Pentecostal language proving its persuasiveness and traced in D'Aloisi's speech, have been defined as assertions. Those devices stand for the straightforward statements reflecting performer's opinions or preferences, as in the case of D'Aloisi's view on God shut in the box and hence, not fully efficient. Actually, the box-related fragment of his sermon exemplifies not only an assertion but also the quality of imagery, found additionally later in the text when talking about being chained and later freed (metaphor) and that on the angel playing the role of a lawyer (personification). In terms of anecdotal evidence, D'Aloisi employs a Bible verse referring to the story of Peter which serves as a reference point for further considerations. Relying on anecdotal evidence aims to provide the foundation for the speaker's leading message and make the issue more realistic to the audience. Importantly, D'Aloisi appears to interact with his viewers, mostly in the form of rhetorical questions, including, for instance, the one concerning waking up at night with a sense of confusion. Rhetorical questions are known for their stimulating function. Here, they stimulate individuals to think about the problem raised by the performer. To strengthen his message and make it more memorable, D'Aloisi applies the rule of three (triplets). It is worth noting that three arguments in a row sound convincing and work better than their single counterparts. Referring back to the list of features the Neo-Pentecostal language is characteristic of, the use of conditional sentences, imperative sentences, and modal verbs, should also be paid attention to. Conditional sentences seem to largely influence the listener since they make him or her feel the condition spoken of, applies directly to them. Imperative sentences, on the other hand, call the audience to take measures immediately, as shown in fragment where D'Aloisi urges the gathered to declare the

power of God over them. As for the modal verbs spotted in the passage under debate, their role is to convey a strong sense of certainty. The speaker informs the participants that they are about to witness miracles. He has no doubts about his claim. Last but not least, it should be made clear that although the message the leader wants to convey refers to deep spiritual issues and therefore, is expected to be treated seriously, the whole performance rests on the frequent use of humor, enriched by rising and falling intonation. When it comes to Wimber's idea of instantism, it is represented here by implementing specific time expressions, for instance, "now" and "at this moment".

Conclusion

The present research was designed to confirm that the Neo-Pentecostal language serves as a trigger, modulator, and mediator of one's spiritual rebirth that can be experienced as a result of a three-step process during which an individual's cognition and self-perception undergo considerable changes. Therefore, the principal objective of this investigation was to (1) distinguish the features of the Neo-Pentecostal language in terms of its persuasive capacity, (2) analyze the use of those verbal strategies that have been adopted by the Neo-Pentecostal as well as Pentecostal Catholic leaders when interacting with the audience, and (3) explore their transformative potential. The problems presented here required an interdisciplinary approach including fields such as linguistics, sociology, psychology, religious studies, and the anthropology of religion. Drawing upon all of them simultaneously provided better insight into the subject of the prominent religious figures, understood here as religious entrepreneurs who regularly energize their dedicated followers described as religious customers, known for their strong interest in obtaining a given product whose special traits are believed to satisfy their needs that go in line with the Prosperity Gospel. Both the on-site and off-site investigation have made a contribution to the development of the theoretical approach to the study of Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation processes. The applied concepts and principles have proved to be deeply rooted in the already-established cognitive behavioral model as well as the multimodal approach to meaning making. Although five different modes of communication have been identified during the Neo-Pentecostal performance, namely, the linguistic, aural, gestural, spatial, and visual ones, priority has been given to the verbal content. It has been discovered that the interaction between the leader and audience rests predominantly on the spoken language whose characteristics seem have the potential to serve as a tool for initiating and navigating the recovery process.

The research carried out in Poland and Italy included a participant observation, online surveys, individual in-depth interviews (IDI) conducted for the purposes of the project on the conceptualization of demonic oppression whose outcomes have been referred to in this dissertation, and the analysis of the audio-visual material. The observation made while participating in worship services, street evangelization as well as

house meetings, gave rise to dividing the Neo-Pentecostal social sphere into zones based on a wide range of activities they have been recognized by. In the course of the study, the notion of zones has proved to be vital for distinguishing the three stages of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process. The results show that each of the specified zones offers a unique conversation style. In the relationship zone, those who claim to be distressed, are given the chance to reduce their tension by having a spontaneous small talk with others while drinking coffee or eating a piece of home-made cake. The worship zone, on the other hand, relies heavily on total immersion during which the actual awakening takes place, as a response to intense verbal stimulation. Importantly, it should be noted that the interaction between the performer and the audience is neither spontaneous nor chaotic. Conversely, the verbal output produced by the leader appears to be perfectly tailored, taking the demand for a particular religious product, such as inner healing, into consideration. In respect to the cooperation zone, it concentrates, first and foremost, on constant reinforcement enriched by practical guidelines on how to use the divine anointing efficiently and hence, the intragroup support appears to be its core, according to what has been revealed throughout the investigation.

The study has identified a number of common tendencies whose incorporation into the ritual might have given the foundations for the growth of what has been widely-advertised as power evangelism. As noted earlier, Wimber's integrated model of healing seems to draw greatly upon the technique referred in this research to as cognitive restructuring, mostly because it has proved to employ a similar set of verbal intervention strategies, aimed at triggering one's shift. The findings have provoked a lot of discussion in the literature about the function and specificity of the Neo-Pentecostal language and about how to define the speech the enthusiasts of the "signs and wonders" movement communicate with. Although some scholars have already elaborated on Christian revivalists, the concept of the Neo-Pentecostal language does not exist in the specialist literature. Before focusing on its distinctive features, it should be made clear that the Neo-Pentecostal language rests on the vernacular, and therefore its users understand one another. Hence, it can be interpreted as its variety, characteristic of a particular group of individuals, in this case, those fully involved in power evangelism including Neo-Pentecostals and members of the so-called mainline churches. Due to the environment it tends to be spoken within, the Neo-Pentecostal language reveals itself as a form of a religious language whose origin can be traced back to the 1980s, that is, the period of Wimber's heyday. It goes without saying that the speech under consideration whose

exceptionality concerns mostly its pragmatic aspect, has been updated and adjusted to the contemporary religious marketplace over the course of years and that its evolution has been accelerated in response to the Toronto Blessing phenomenon. Bearing in mind the religious background, it appears necessary to allude to the functions it serves, relying to a great extent, on the division proposed by Gajewska (2012). However, it should be made clear that in order for the functions strictly connected with an individual's inner restructure to be accomplished, the language under discussion must prove its persuasive qualities responsible for triggering out, modulating, and mediating that process. Those specified while carrying out the analysis include the frequent use of and reliance on: (1) imperative sentences, (2) conditional sentences, (3) modal verbs, (4) imagery (metaphors, similes, and personification), (5) assertions, (6) loaded words and phrases, (7) inclusiveness, (8) hyperboles, (9) anecdotal evidence, (10) repetition, (11) rhetorical questions, (12) cause and effect arguments, (13) connotations, (14) humor, (15) rising and falling intonation, (16) compliments and exaggerated tributes (flattery), (17) expert opinion, (18) triplets, (19) declarative statements, and (20) mitigation (see the previous chapter),

As regards the cognitive function of the Neo-Pentecostal language, the data suggest that it has been directly reflected in its users' attempts to describe the supernatural, frequently by means of a wide range of metaphors of which personification seems to prevail. An in-depth analysis of leaders' performance, which has been carried out above, shows that God is spoken of as if He were a human being one can talk to, confess to, give commands to, expect assistance from, and befriend. The answers given by the respondents have revealed that Neo-Pentecostals tend to emphasize a close bond with the deity, in many cases similar to that of parents and their children. When it comes to the instrumental, appellative, evocative, expressive, and performative functions of the Neo-Pentecostal language, therefore, those accomplished due to its persuasive qualities responsible for triggering out, modulating, and mediating one's restructure, all of them have proved to correspond to the immersion as well as reinforcement stage of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process. First and foremost, the findings demonstrate that the Neo-Pentecostal language serves as a tool for achieving specific goals, including religious entrepreneurs' intention to sell the products they are promoting in the religious marketplace. Those stand for different types of healing combined with life counseling whose incorporation into the ritual by means of the technique defined in this research as cognitive restructuring, has been thoroughly discussed in the previous

sections. Once the product has been exposed to potential customers, it is time for a leader to stimulate their interest, usually by referring to the positive results the product in question may bring. For example, those whose uneasiness is believed to arise from the presence of evil spirits, are called on to undergo deliverance.

While conducting the study, it has been observed that one's participation in community services during which the healing minister (leader) operates on the gathered and the gathered respond accordingly, tends to trigger out particular feelings and emotions. This is exactly what the evocative function of the Neo-Pentecostal language is about. Because of the fact that this study deals with the meaning-making dimension of particular discourse, talking openly about what an individual is currently going through and how this mixture of feelings affects one's overall metamorphosis, turns out to be highly desirable within a religious group made mostly of those who claim to be or have been distressed. Hence, it can be assumed that the expressive function of the Neo-Pentecostal language stands for one's capability to describe their inner shift in terms of the contrast between the past and present. To put it simply, an individual whose awakening has been triggered out successfully, will eagerly share that experience with others who in turn, will classify him or her into a completely new category according to the phenomenon elaborated on before and referred to as resemiotization.

The empowerment-oriented vocabulary that is also the core of generative, protective, breaking, and destructive speech acts known for their causative and cathartic effects, makes the Neo-Pentecostal language highly dynamic and hence, responsible for one's spectacular change, especially when embedded into a set of customized verbal strategies it tends to work through. In other words, in this research the Neo-Pentecostal language has been considered a remarkably-effective catalyst capable of accelerating the process of healing past hurts. In order for a given product to be sold successfully, catchy slogans should be put forward so that the potential customers recognize its specific features. During the investigation in Poland and Italy, such slogans have been easily identified while praying for signs and wonders. Some of them, that is, those alluding to the divine anointing and impartation have proved to represent what the performative function of the Neo-Pentecostal language stands for, mostly because they tend to be expressed by utterances whose pronunciation equals performing a particular act. As a result, the social reality a given sentence describes, changes immediately. Take, for example, the slogan I came across many times when visiting the chosen communities, and that was: "Get your breakthrough!" The use of imperatives has already been debated

on in terms of the persuasive qualities of the Neo-Pentecostal language. In this particular case, the sentence produced by the leader serves as a call to action whereas the keyword "breakthrough" represents the metamorphosis that is likely to happen provided one expresses their interest in the recommended offer, namely the healing service. The slogan in question would be followed by a series of performative utterances, spoken out loud by the leader, in the first person, present tense, indicative mood, and active voice when on stage.

According to what has been stated earlier, performative speech acts are those in which the utterance itself represents the action being performed right now. Therefore, the leaders would often use verbs such as "declare", "break", and "release". The perlocutionary force of the declaring, breaking, and releasing acts lies in the individuals' acceptance of the new reality that has just been established and that is part of the transformation process. In consequence, the once-distressed starts living a completely a different life, free from what was the source of destructive thoughts and what made them spiritually trapped.

Apart from the already-discussed issues, noteworthy is also the role the Neo-Pentecostal language plays in uniting the members of religious communities and in recalling memories which, after careful examination, help to understand the essence of life. The former, based largely on symbols that contribute to meaning-making and distinguished when negotiating attitudes and relationships, has been attached to the socialization function whereas the latter, typical of the post-awakening reality, to the anamnestic function. Regarding the intracommunity interaction driven by symbols, ritual ingredients and outcomes listed by Collins (2004) should be reviewed here briefly. Research findings indicate that the mediating quality of the Neo-Pentecostal language makes it possible for its speakers to strengthen group solidarity, transfer the emotional energy that has been generated in response to shared mood, allude to the sacred objects, and set the standards of morality depending on the context. All these give rise to both personal development and team growth, as in the case of the street evangelization in Bracciano I would witness. During that initiative I could recognize symptoms of group solidarity expressed mostly in the way its participants pursued a common goal. In order for the goal to be achieved, it was necessary for the attendees to communicate which in practical terms meant coding and decoding significant messages. Within the Neo-Pentecostal environment, the leaders themselves can often be perceived as sacred objects and identified by distinctive symbols including, for example, an exceptional speech

pattern or a set of gestures demonstrated when performing either on stage or in private settings. One of those gestures, that is, laying hands on community members turns out to be of critical importance for the awakening and transformation process since it is directly connected with the practice of imparting the divine anointing, and thus empowering individuals to take further life changing measures.

Referring back to Habrajska's (2020) model of persuasion and Goffman's (1956), dramaturgical theory of social interaction, it can be argued that both of them serve as analytical and explanatory tools for investigating the nature of the Neo-Pentecostal language whose characteristics have the potential to trigger out, modulate, and mediate one's metamorphosis. To understand those three domains in terms of their efficiency, it is necessary to take a closer look at their interdependence as well as the conditions that are believed to be essential for the inner restructure to take place. The investigation reveals that first and foremost, the persuasive message must fall on sympathetic ears in order for the Neo-Pentecostal language to work successfully as a trigger, modulator, and mediator of one's inner shift. The results of the research show that the repertoire of laying foundations for effective performance consists of three crucial phases, once specified by Habrajska (2020) and defined as the persuasive framework. Moreover, it should also be noted that they are typical of the immersion stage of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process and found in the worship zone of the ritual. These include the phase of creating disposition for approving the message in question, the phase of building a close bond with the audience, and the phase of creating the image of the speaker.

In this study the interplay concerns the leaders acting according to the guidelines set by Wimber and the individuals who claim to be or have been distressed. When it comes to the first phase, I have observed that the performers tend to emphasize an individual's right to satisfy their needs, enjoy their lives, and receive the aforementioned breakthrough. In other words, during the initial phase, the leader seems to prepare the audience emotionally for what is going to happen next, and this emotional preparation consists in evoking positive feelings, mostly by complimenting, stressing one's potential to challenge life struggles and introduce changes, making promises, and highlighting the long-term outcomes of the divine anointing as well as the benefits of the spiritual rebirth. The study shows that complimenting and stressing one's potential have been achieved by incorporating the arguments of pride and vanity whose role is to affect one's self-esteem whereas making promises and emphasizing the long-term outcomes rely on the arguments of utility, focused on making an individual believe that their submission makes sense.

Therefore, the perlocutionary force of the speech acts under discussion can be estimated on the basis of the recipients' response. Whether or not the performer is successful, largely depends on the extent to which their goal complies with what seems to be of utmost importance for the gathered. Referring back to the theory of religious economies, it can be argued that the product the speaker (religious entrepreneur) offers must be exactly the one the audience (religious customer) demands. After the common goal has been determined and accepted by the participants, it is time for the performer to build a good rapport with the audience. The results confirm that a strong bond between the leader and his or her followers rest on trust and hence, it is the performer's task to inspire confidence in their addressees so that they recognize the performer's eagerness to act on their behalf. Take, for instance, the sermons given by the Polish leaders and analyzed in the previous chapter. What deserves attention is their tendency to sympathize with the addressees by alluding to shared problems which, in fact, has the empowering effect. By doing so, they try to present themselves from the position of a friend instead of the one of the omniscient guru. The last phase of the aforementioned repertoire focuses on creating the impression of being qualified enough to speak publicly and raise the sensitive issues. Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that the leaders under discussion validate their authority mostly by recalling specific life events whose moral tone is rather powerful as well as by referring to their itinerant preaching style whose essence lies in visiting different places around the world under the ministry they run.

As soon as the foundations for effective performance have been laid, the factual persuasion starts (Habrajska, 2020). The study has identified a number of perspectives derived from Habrajska's model (2020) and these are the informative, axiological, and behavioral ones. The informative persuasion, according to what has been stated earlier, stands for the leader's attempt to familiarize the audience with the facts its members are not aware of and later make them accept those facts. In the Neo-Pentecostal environment, it is a common practice to enumerate various kinds of evil spirits the addresses might not know. The same is true for the spiritual diseases they are said to cause. As for the axiological persuasion, it concerns the speaker's willingness to reinforce one's experiences by alluding to their value system. Take, for instance, the people who filled in the online survey analyzed in the previous chapter. They were individuals who claimed to have been distressed. The answers they provided suggested that they had felt discomfort because the value system they had been following turned out to be wrong. Most importantly, they also pointed to the leader as to the person who had made them

realize their hierarchy should change. In addition, it has also been proved that the verbal strategies employed by the performers, rely on the axiological persuasion to a considerable extent since their implementation leads to a great shift in terms of self-perception. In respect to behavioral persuasion, it is aimed at urging the addressees to take measures desired by the performer. The investigation reveals that in the power evangelism environment, behavioral persuasion applies to making those who claim to be distressed undergo various types of healing practices as a result of which the once distressed experience the inner restructure. It should be noted that in the case of the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, behavioral persuasion comprises the use of the aforementioned magical speech acts. By pronouncing them, the persuader takes the leading part and shows him or her great potency which in turn adds to him or her authority.

The research confirms that in order for a persuasive message to be efficient which ultimately leads to one's spiritual rebirth, a series of conditions must be met. Based on what has already been stated earlier in this dissertation, the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process involves, in fact, two parties, that is, the community leader and community members. The former employs a special tool, termed here as the Neo-Pentecostal language whose qualities have the potential to trigger out, modulate, and mediate one's metamorphosis and therefore make it a powerful device used as a basis for the chosen verbal strategies. Interestingly, the research proves that the persuasive message works best when conveyed by means of interventions typical of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT), including evidence gathering, consequential analysis, cognitive bias identification, generating alternatives, problem solving, reattribution, imaginal exposure, decatastrophizing, and positivity reorientation. As far as the latter is concerned, it stands for those who claim to be distressed. The findings show that the main reason for their absolute trust and thus, total commitment is their search for relief. The distressed react to the persuasive message in such a way that they reflect upon their lives, draw conclusions, and eventually decide to take appropriate steps. The results clearly demonstrate that the actual awakening takes place during the immersion stage and is the direct response to the presented content whereas in order for transformation understood as permanent inner restructure to be experienced, one's regular participation in community activities is required. This is what the reinforcement stage is about.

The choice of Goffman's (1956) dramaturgical theory of social interaction for the purposes of this investigation, has largely contributed to a deeper understanding of the Neo-Pentecostal performance where concepts such as the front, setting, appearance, and

manner turn out to be vital for the perlocutionary force of the implemented speech acts. To put it all together, it is necessary to clarify that the notion of the Neo-Pentecostal language as a trigger for one's spiritual rebirth stands for its ability to evoke a mixture of feelings, emotions, and attitudes which serve as a reference point for further stimulation. It is feasible due to the attributes the Neo-Pentecostal language features. The notion of the Neo-Pentecostal language as a modulator refers to the pivotal role it plays in the practice of negotiating attitudes and relationships which happens after certain emotions and feelings have been expressed. And lastly, the notion of the Neo-Pentecostal language as a mediator of one's inner restructure deals with its capability to convey the meaning which is later processed by other attendees. In other words, it allows for coding and decoding. For example, individuals who claim to have experienced a metamorphosis will first of all, explain what lies behind this idea and secondly, they will pass this information onto other community members, usually in the form of a valuable testimony which tends to be disseminated by power evangelism adherents, mostly with the intention of empowering those who struggle life difficulties.

To sum up, this study has focused on identifying a set of transformative features of what has been defined as the Neo-Pentecostal language in order to answer the most relevant for this research question referring to its role in triggering out one's personal revival and affecting their inner shift. Firstly, the data suggest that the Neo-Pentecostal language is usually embedded in a ritual context. From a practical point of view, this means that its users make meanings which relate to religious motives, in this case — driven by power evangelism, serve a given community, and enable not only intragroup but also inter-group communication with fellow-enthusiasts. Furthermore, it should be made clear that the Neo-Pentecostal language has both catalytic and cathartic potential which can be observed during the immersion stage of the awakening and transformation process. It can therefore be acknowledged that the Neo-Pentecostal language affects those who claim to be distressed mainly in combination with a tailored religious content aiming to reduce emotional pain, presented to the need-based customers within a specific environment characteristic of its frequent allusions to the supernatural whose attributes are believed to turn the harsh reality for the better. Importantly, the exposure has to be direct, intense, and recurring. Accordingly, it can be argued that the Neo-Pentecostal language edifies, stimulates, strengthens one's convictions, enhances relationships, and empowers (Berdowicz, 2022, p. 165). This is exactly how it evokes one's awakening.

Secondly, it is worth bearing in mind that the Neo-Pentecostal language needs a skilled and recognizable transmitter to work through. In this study it is represented by some prominent religious figures, often referred here to as religious entrepreneurs or leaders. For this reason, it can be declared that the Neo-Pentecostal language engages, to a great extent, the well-developed verbal strategies which are characteristic of cognitive behavioral therapy and employed by religious performers who concentrate on identifying and challenging negative thought patterns, responsible for one's uneasiness. The findings also show that evidence gathering, consequential analysis, cognitive bias identification, generating alternatives, problem solving, reattribution, imaginal exposure, decatastrophizing, and positivity reorientation are well suited for this demanding task.

Thirdly, it should be emphasized that the post-awakening reality requires constant reinforcement. In contrast to the immersion stage, the reinforcement stage promotes public self-expression. It has nothing in common with moments of a spontaneous prayer observed during the worship service. Conversely, it relates to revealing one's intimacy, sharing and inspiring others. Because of the fact that power evangelism rests on signs and wonders, it is the role of the Neo-Pentecostal language to create and then, enhance an atmosphere of mystery which ultimately facilitates maintaining close relationships between group members.

In conclusion, this study has provided a key insight into the contemporary shape of the Neo-Pentecostal movement as well as Christianity in general. A number of critical issues have been addressed, ranging from how the Pentecostal thought evolved over the years to its considerable influence on those who get engaged into the ritual. During the research, genuine cases have been documented, based on which significant findings have been suggested. It should be acknowledged that those findings have both theoretical and practical implications and therefore they largely contribute to the development of the field in question, providing at the same time a starting point for future exploration.

First, the study has extended the limited knowledge on the nature of the Neo-Pentecostal language as well as its role as a catalyst, modulator, and transmitter of one's awakening and transformation. It should be made clear that although some components of the Pentecostal/Charismatic ritual have already been explored by scholars such as, for instance Csordas (1994, 1997) and Poloma (2006), none of them has focused so far on issues including the pragmatic qualities of the verbal trigger, the role it serves in one's inner restructure, and the strategies it enriches. Because of that, the findings may serve as a benchmark for designing an alternative model of therapeutic techniques which would

rest on tailored linguistic stimulation, and which would be devoted solely for one-to-one meetings taking place in a more intimate setting. Its efficiency may also be significant for a wider audience, especially people who search for a religious mentor due to personal beliefs. Furthermore, these results raise intriguing questions regarding the functions a religious language may perform independently of the culture it is employed within. The investigation has demonstrated that the agency of the Neo-Pentecostal speech depends on its transmitter instead of the cultural background and this might further indicate that common guidelines based mainly on the value of the linguistic component should be established in order for religious leadership to be effective, inclusive, and inspiring.

Second, the investigation has also filled literature gaps in the area under discussion, especially when it comes to the definition and practical application of the Neo-Pentecostal language as well as the use of CBT verbal interventions outside the therapist's office. This adds an important contribution to the field of linguistics and social science due to a broad spectrum of the topics it explores. Besides, the obtained results imply that it is recommended for the scholars of religion to take a closer look at how different theoretical approaches are used by religious communities within the ritual context and how some of their crucial principles help community members to shape their reality, already enriched by numerous symbols. The study has shown, for example, that power evangelism practitioners frequently rest on popular concepts related to persuasiveness or community building and they do so to achieve their main goal, as in the case of the Neo-Pentecostal awakening and transformation process. Being aware of the sources Wimber's followers rely on, may considerably facilitate the overall analysis of the Neo-Pentecostal phenomenon and lead to new conclusions in the long term.

Third, the research has offered a contemporary approach to the religious economies model once suggested by Stark and Finke (2005). The concepts of religious entrepreneurs, products, and marketplace have been updated as well as made explicit when referring to the Neo-Pentecostal religious communities whose modus operandi had been thoroughly studied both on-site and off-site. The findings may therefore support the idea that not only Neo-Pentecostals, but also other religious communities require a fresh insight which might later have a considerable impact on the previous discoveries. When speaking about some practical implications of Stark and Finke's (2005) updated theory, they refer particularly to how religious brands could benefit from the linguistic tool. The findings have proved that for a given religious product to be attractive, it should be advertised properly and target specific segments. Hence, drawing on the Neo-Pentecostal

language known for its persuasive attributes and then treating it as a template, might boost customers' interest and in consequence, give rise to rapid church growth, financial success, and worldwide recognition, as happened with Wimber.

Fourth, the research has also demonstrated the relevance of the multimodal approach for the analysis of how meanings are made among power evangelism followers. Technically, it proves that utterances should not be examined independently when produced in the Neo-Pentecostal setting. In fact, the results indicate the need for a comprehensive look at the remaining four modes of communication when elaborating on what the speaker wants to convey and what potential impact on the audience it may have. Take, for example, the soaking prayer initiated by the Neo-Pentecostal leader whose linguistic output driven by the idea of the divine anointing, tends to be accompanied by instrumental music played softly at a distance as well as by some visual effects arising from the way the light falls on things. What emerges in as the meeting proceeds, is the atmosphere of reflection, calmness, and deep relaxation. The findings imply that in such conditions individuals who claim to be distressed, become particularly receptive, and therefore all the mental barriers they had before gradually disappear making them vulnerable to the transformation process. The aforementioned conclusions may be of practical importance for the study of semiotics in a religious context. Moreover, the research has also shown that Collins' (2004) theory on what makes a ritual successful including the emergence of symbols that encourage interaction, build, and then strengthen group solidarity, can be useful for explaining the Neo-Pentecostal intragroup dynamics. The findings indicate that leaders themselves may be perceived as sacred objects and symbols at once which explains why community members tend to follow them from event to event across the country and why the way they act tends to be copied by their audience on a regular basis, including the use of particular vocabulary, gestures, and habits. Besides, the results also clarify why the occurrences evoked by those prominent figures and believed to be the supernatural phenomena, are given utmost significance.

Fifth, the investigation has offered a better understanding of what the notion of theatrical performance proposed by Goffman (1956) stands for when talking about the Neo-Pentecostal self-performance and impression management. In other words, the results confirm that Goffman's model can be applied to contemporary religious rituals, especially if they build on strategically crafted roles. It should be remembered that the Neo-Pentecostal leaders are often called itinerant preachers or ministers which refers to their active involvement in different types of activities that require interacting with the

audience. For this reason, their public image must be crystal clear. The findings suggest that to win participants' trust, the leaders sympathize with the individuals they perform for and while doing so they rely on what Goffman (1956) termed as frames. These stand for concrete models of conduct the performers incorporate to make sense of an experience. With regard to the Neo-Pentecostal performance, they can be observed, for example, during the already-discussed prophetic evenings aimed at passing divine messages onto the gathered. What matters here is the content of the message and the way it is spread. Those messages usually concern the problems members of the audience struggle with and tend to be conveyed both directly and aloud. The Neo-Pentecostal leaders may not be aware of who faces what, but the mere allusion to the sensitive issue affects the general perception the gathered may have of him or her.

As with all such studies, this one is not without its share of limitations. They include the constraints relating to the methodological aspects of the research as well as the ones connected with the exploration process. The former encompasses the sampling procedures, measure used to collect the data and respondents' involvement in providing the answers whereas the latter concerns data access, deadlines, financial resources, and language fluency/accuracy. As for the sampling procedures, it should be mentioned that the research under discussion has been carried out based on the purposive method whose margin of error is believed to be low since it relies on the researcher's judgement when, for example, selecting individuals and cases. The communities chosen for this study had previously been checked in terms of their characteristics and availability. Although purposive sampling has turned out to be a good option for the investigation in question due to its qualitative nature and hence the possibility to involve a few phases where one complements another, it also has its disadvantages including high levels of bias, on the part of both the researcher and respondents which actually occurred during the exploration.

When it comes to the measure used to collect the data, it should be made clear that apart from the notes taken during participant observation, also an online survey and in-depth interviews (IDI) have been incorporated. Nevertheless, it should be made explicit that in this thesis, the IDI-related part of the investigations is not given as much significance as the one concerning the inner shift described in surveys. While investigating the Italian and Polish communities, problems concerning research participants emerged. Firstly, it was difficult to find potential respondents despite selecting relevant groups. Several attempts had been made, mostly on the phone with

community leaders and in person, before obtaining the final permission to speak to community members. Lack of trust, confusion about the research topic, and cultural differences (Italy) might have been the main reasons for such an attitude. Secondly, once the consent has been given, it turned out that the individuals who had expressed their interest in sharing their stories, could not meet for a face-to-face interview due to professional duties. Therefore, interviews were conducted via instant messaging devices, as in the case of the Polish respondents. The Italian participants, on the other hand, preferred an online survey, not only because of the aforementioned obstacles but also due to their need for intimacy when recalling past hurts. Interestingly, the Polish interviewees were more eager to disclose embarrassing facts directly to the interviewer. It should be taken into account that people vary in their level of vulnerability to external stimulation as well as trust. Therefore, more time is needed for personal conversations in order to win one's recognition. As regards the online survey, it should be noted that it is not free from errors, and these can be found in self-reports. For example, the participants were asked to answer questions which focused on how they conceptualize certain ideas, namely demonic oppression (Polish respondents), distress (Italian respondents), and spiritual encounter (Italian respondents). It is obvious that conceptualization bears the risk of subjectivity which may affect the research findings. Other biases include selective memory, attribution, and exaggeration. However, the results of the study have proved that all parties understand the notions listed above in a similar way which in turn may result from their deep engagement into the Neo-Pentecostal ritual, known for its frequent allusions to particular motives including spiritual warfare, divine anointing, and breakthrough. As far as the remaining limitations are concerned, deadlines and financial resources are those which have had a direct impact on how much data has been collected on-site, both in Poland and Italy. Deadlines stand for the amount of time given to complete the tasks. The fieldwork in Poland started in October 2021 and lasted until June 2023. A three-month break was taken between April 2022 and July 2022. During that period, similar research was carried out in Italy. Participant observation done in a foreign country requires regular and long-term integration with group members in order for a cultural aspect to be examined thoroughly. It can be assumed that more valuable information could be gathered if time allowed for data collection were extended. The same is true for financial resources. The study undertaken in Poland was sponsored by the ID-UB project run by Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań whereas the one in Italy was financed by the National Science Centre. Both cases were limited. Apropos language fluency

/accuracy, the only problem that appeared was that with creating the grammatically correct content of the aforementioned survey designed for Italians. Actually, there was also an English version of the same survey, however, it was spread only among the visiting members who did not feel comfortable speaking Italian.

The current study can be interpreted as a first step in the research on the persuasive qualities of the Neo-Pentecostal language responsible for triggering out, modulating, and mediating one's inner restructure when embedded into cognitive restructuring intervention strategies. However, the problem merits further investigation. The findings provide some useful guidelines on how to approach different fields and make the work interdisciplinary. To explore this problem in detail, the following suggestions have been made.

First, greater emphasis should be put on the implementation of appropriate psychometric tests to measure particular psychological variables including one's emotional functioning. In this research none of them has been employed, mostly because the study itself is rather of qualitative nature instead of quantitative. What seems to be worth mentioning is the fact that qualitative research helps to generate new research questions and hypotheses which can be later processed by means of quantitative methods. Therefore, one of the proposed changes should concern methodological aspects.

Second, more time should be spent on-site to investigate the long-term effects of one's transformation. To make it possible when the financial resources are limited, it is advisable to apply for other research grants, preferably those sponsored by large EU organizations, which will enable researchers to live in a given place and focus on the task. Individuals' enthusiasm may lower over time since it is natural for human beings to question things. Therefore, further work needs to concentrate on what stimuli may bring the risk of religious withdrawal as well as that of redeveloping the maladaptive schemas. Besides, attention should also be drawn to whether or not the transformed continue to follow new practices when outside the group they were taken from. This issue appears crucial for a better understanding of the inner shift concept in terms of its persistence, especially in cases when the reborn no longer interact with the sacred object, namely the leader, due to either the so-called disfellowshipping or their own resignation. Disappointment and mistrust are believed to be the most common feelings one may experience in the aftermath of being cut off from the source of excitement.

Third, the conceptual framework employed for the purposes of this study should be examined in a new context and location. The present research takes only the

community members' perspective into account whereas that of the leaders has been omitted. Interviewing the Neo-Pentecostal performers might provide a deeper insight into the agency of the Neo-Pentecostal language since its direct transmitters would be given the voice. As for the fieldwork, it is recommended to prove the validity of the suggested thesis in a different setting, bearing in mind a different country or culture. By doing so, the transformative potential of the Neo-Pentecostal language could be either confirmed or negated.

Finally and most importantly, it should be made clear that the research findings may also be applicable to other circumstances. The current study underlines the significance of the Neo-Pentecostal language when embedded into the therapeutic devices typical of CBT. Nevertheless, the present study may serve as a starting point for the development of a brand-new group of techniques whose principal objective would also be to identify and ultimately change the destructive thought patterns. The investigated strategies were put into practice during public performance. In contrast, future research could explore the efficiency of the Neo-Pentecostal language understood as a basis for the newly-discovered methods which then would be implemented by a religious leader into the one-to-one conversation held far from the crowd and other distractors. Furthermore, the present study may also serve as a clue for psychologists, psychiatrists, and therapist on how to work and communicate with patients whose everyday habits heavily rest on their faith and beliefs. Thus, the aforementioned specialists should familiarize themselves with the outcomes.

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