

Faith and Language Maintenance in Transnational Places of Worship: Brazilian Christian Settings in London

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Introduction

The end of World War II triggered mass global migration which affected the diversity of the population in Britain (Omoniyi, 2010). In a variety of ways over the years, this has led policies to consider the linguistic diversity of the migrantⁱ pupils joining the British educational system (Conteh, Martin & Robertson, 2007). In the twenty-first century, educational policies have adopted a multilingual perspective and a multi-disciplinary orientation. Pupils as young as seven years-old have been entitled to learn languages and specific support has been designed for bilingual pupils (DfES, 2002). In addition, Primary Schools have been encouraged to develop closer ties with their local communities by creating partnerships between parents and the community - measures that are meant to provide better support to pupils, including ethnic minority groups (DfES, 2003).

More recently, the National Curriculum framework has given schools a free hand in choosing which language pupils should study between the ages of 7 and 10 (DfES, 2013a; 2013b). This is a revolutionary move which creates the opportunity for minority languages to be taught as part of the mainstream school curriculum – a striking difference from the Swann Report's (1985)ⁱⁱ recommendations of having these languages taught by and in their own communities. These recommendations had led to the development of community language schools (also known as complementary or supplementary). Excluding community/minority languages from the curriculum raises questions of language hierarchisation and societal power relations. Nevertheless, these complementary schools have played an important role in improving the academic attainment of children from immigrant backgrounds (Barradas, 2004), in facilitating the communication between generations (Francis *et al.*, 2010) and in creating safe spaces for the development of children's multiple identities (Creese *et al.*, 2006).

British policies have also acknowledged the relevance of religion in the development of children's identities (DCSF, 2009; DfES, 2007). Valuing and building on children's knowledge of languages other than English, on their families' literacy practices as well as on their cultural and religious traditions is seen as positive as it contributes to a culturally inclusive curriculum (DfES, 2006). These policies reflect research which considers religion to be one of the shared cultural activities that contribute to one's sense of belonging to an ethnicity (i.e. group cultural characteristics), and thus, an important defining characteristic for some minorities (Fishman, 1989; Joseph, 2004; Modood *et al.*, 1997). Studies indeed point to the relevance of religion to migrants in relation to the maintenance of their languages, culture and sense of community. The lack of contact with religion within the young Lithuanians in Scotland, for example, has led to the loss of their ancestors' language (Dzialtuvaite, 2006).

Moreover, the 2010 Global Religion and Migration Database list the UK as 1 of the 10 top destinations of international migration (Connor, 2012). 3,680,000 of these migrants are Christians and their local impact is noticeable. Lynch's (2008) report, for instance, acknowledges that the Catholic Church in England and Wales has been strengthened by the arrival of new migrants. In London, where over 22% of the population speak a main language other than Englishⁱⁱⁱ, Roman Catholic religious services are held in at least five of the ten most

spoken languages^{iv}. Yet, the number of studies on ethnic minority Christians, as compared with some other faith traditions, is low. Therefore, this article draws on a pilot study of Brazilian Christian places of worship in London (Souza, 2009; Souza *et al*, 2012).

The Study

This chapter draws on data collected for a pilot study which explored the relationship between religion, ethnicity and language in three Brazilian Christian places of worship in London: a Catholic church, a Pentecostal church, and a Kardecist group. These are the three main Christian religions in Brazil^v, a country which has the largest number of Catholics in the world at the same time that it has the second largest community of Pentecostals and is the world capital of Kardecism - a religion which originated in France in the 19th century and which combines spirit-mediumship and reincarnationist beliefs (Freston, 2008).

The data discussed in this article were collected through semi-structured interviews with faith leaders from the three settings, i.e. a Catholic priest, a Pentecostal pastor and a Kardecist teaching coordinator. These interviews aimed at understanding the factors which influence the language planning of the activities in places of worship, with a special focus on the faith lessons offered to children of migrant families in London. These data illustrate how attending the faith lessons may affect the language maintenance of these children.

The Settings

Over six per cent of all Brazilian emigrants are in England^{vi} and their highest concentration is found in London (Evans *et al*, 2011). Brazilians form the largest group within the Latin American community in the English capital (McIlwaine *et al*, 2011) and the second biggest group within the speakers of Portuguese (Eversley *et al*, 2010) - the eleventh most spoken language in London schools^{vii} and which has been identified as one of the top ten useful languages for the future of the UK in a politically and economically globalized world (Tinsley & Board, 2013). These numbers are reflected in the growing number of Brazilian complementary schools in London, which increased from one to eighteen schools between 1997 and 2016 (Souza, 2016a). However, the higher number of places of worship suggests that there might be a bigger number of Brazilian children attending faith lessons than community language schools. In London alone, religious services are offered in Brazilian Portuguese in six Catholic parishes^{viii}, eight Kardecist groups^{ix} and almost twenty Pentecostal churches^x. Hence, these three Christian religions are represented in the study reported in this chapter.

The Brazilian Catholic Chaplaincy offers catechism (religious instruction) sessions once a week for about one and a half hours before their Sunday mass (rite of worship). Their main objective is to prepare children for the sacrament of First Communion (ceremony in which children aged 7 or so receive for the first time the holy bread, which symbolizes becoming one with Jesus Christ). Ten to sixty children attend these sessions in the different parishes across London. The Catholic faith lessons are delivered in Portuguese by volunteers who adopt catechism materials purchased in Brazil.

The Kardecist groups within the British Union of Spiritist Societies run children's sessions in parallel to the adults' study group meetings and last one hour and thirty minutes. These sessions focus on the teachings of their doctrine and are either delivered in Portuguese by volunteers who use materials brought from Brazil or in English with materials being produced

locally by volunteers and being exchanged online with Brazilian groups in other English-speaking countries, as detailed in Souza (2014). The lessons are attended by an average of ten children at each of their centres.

The participant Brazilian Pentecostal Church runs religious education sessions to children after the 'praise' - the first part of a service in which members express their respect and gratitude to God by praying and singing aloud. The sessions last ninety minutes and aim at teaching the children Christian values. These sessions are attended by about twenty children and are based on materials obtained in the USA, being thus planned in English. There are twelve volunteers who take turns in delivering these sessions and who have been reported to deliver the sessions in both English and Portuguese.

In other words, these places of worship are part of a transnational context, i.e. they are established in a host country but continue to have links to their countries of origin (Levitt, 2003), in this case, in relation to the transmission of religion and of language.

Theoretical Perspectives

This study is situated within a sociocultural framework in which learning is perceived as taking place in interaction with others (Rogoff, 2003) and draws on theories of socialization. Socialization is the process of becoming a competent member of society by learning the necessary procedures (how) and premises (what) to participate in a social context (Ochs, 1988). Socialization views children as engaged social actors in acquiring beliefs/practices (Hemming & Madge, 2011), whereas the term transmission tends to focus on the attitudes/behaviours passed down from parents to their children (Arweck & Nesbitt, 2010). Although viewing children as active participants in the construction of their experiences (Greene & Hogan, 2005; O'Kane, 2008), both terms – socialization and transmission - are used in this chapter.

Learning a language means learning to produce well-formed referential utterances as much as learning how to use language to engage with others appropriately and meaningfully (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). In other words, language socialization involves the use of language as much as knowledge of the cultural practices in which language is used. The transmission of language and of religion is highly influenced by families (Park & Ecklund, 2007; Pauwels, 2005), especially before children reach adolescence^{xi} - the period in which parental influence and control changes (Bader & Desmond, 2006). Parents may recognize this influence even when holding different faiths. Mixed-faith parents in Arweck & Nesbitt's (2010) study considered it important for their children to have a choice of becoming part of a religion, thus the children were exposed to each of their religious traditions in the context of their families. Religious transmission, of course, also takes place in institutional contexts, including faith lessons in places of worship.

Faith literacies

Work on the transmission of language in religious contexts – be them family or institutional ones - has approached literacy from different perspectives. Watt & Fairfield (2010) define 'religious literacy' as specifically relating to "the teaching and acquisition of language to the performance of religious acts, broadly understood, especially when sacred texts and written traditions are integral to these acts" (p. 355). This focus on written sacred texts is also taken by Rosowsky (2013) who draws on Fishman's (1989) definition of 'religious classical' as a special

language in addition to mother tongues which is used for religious purposes. Rosowsky (2013), however, refers to this language as the “liturgical languages children learn to read, memorise and recite within faith complementary schools” (p. 67). This reference results from Rosowsky’s (2008) earlier work on the literacy practices of a group of Muslim children in the UK. In this work, ‘liturgical literacy’ is restricted to reading which is essential to ritual and devotional practices, and thus, has a special focus on texts and scripts of a holy book.

Other studies, however, have called for a broader scope of literacy around religion. Carr’s (2007) study on religious education advocates for the inclusion of knowledge such as geography and history to the development of one’s literacy in religion. In his own words, “religions cannot be well understood apart from some historical and/or geographical knowledge of their origins in this or that particular part of the world” (p. 670). Rumsey (2010), in turn, highlights the need to differentiate between ‘religion’ and ‘faith’, as conceptualized by the participants of her study of an Amish community in the USA:

“... **religion** alludes to the obligations, rules of conduct and perhaps ceremony within a church service... [and] might be illustrated in overtly judgemental attitudes *of others+... rather than the state of *their+soul. In other words ... ‘religion’ ... alludes to outward pious expressions overshadowing the inner belief system... **faith** alludes to ‘a relationship, not a religion’... Christianity is about believing in Christ and having a relationship with Him through prayer and biblical scripture; that relationship then manifests beliefs in action.” (p. 139 - my highlights)

As acknowledged by Rumsey (2010) herself, it is difficult to differentiate between religion and faith, as these concepts overlap and are intertwined. Nevertheless, the point she makes is that faith comprises beliefs, actions and artefacts and thus aligns with Street’s (1995) definition of literacy practices as incorporating “not only ‘literacy events’, as empirical occasions to which literacy is integral, but also folk models of those events [i.e. ways of conceptualizing these events together+and the ideological preconceptions that underpin them” (p. 2). It seems appropriate then to adopt the term ‘faith literacies’. Gregory *et al*’s (2013) study of four faith migrant communities in the UK applies the term ‘faith literacy practices’ but it is never defined. The key question in their article relates to how children learn the scripts necessary to participate in their faith settings. BeLiFS^{xii} - the study on which that article draws, however, adopts a sociocultural and socio-historical framework and applies ethnographic methods. In other words, BeLiFS is situated within an understanding of language and of literacy as being integral parts of cultural practices (Gregory *et al*, 2013). Following this work, I define ‘faith literacies’ as practices which may include four different aspects: (1) the reading of written texts (scripts), (2) the use of oral texts (discussions about the faith, interaction with a deity or other members of the faith community), (3) the performance of faith through actions – which can be silent or not, and (4) knowledge – which may include theological, geographical and historical information about the faith. This definition pinpoints relevant aspects which contribute to one’s successful socialization in religious contexts. Moreover, this definition acknowledges that meaning making is multimodal (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009) - i.e. it involves other modes of meaning than only a linguistic one, such as, audio and gestural modes.

Language planning of faith literacies

Language socialization investigates how individuals learn about culture through language and how they are socialized into ways of using language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Ochs, 1988). In other words, socialization into cultural practices takes place by the use of language (Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). Moreover, understanding of meaning in one context may support the learning in another. As a consequence, it has been argued that children's literacy experiences in faith settings may help them to make sense of their learning in mainstream schools (Gregory *et al*, 2012). Hence, places of worship are more than just spaces for religious rituals. They are educational as well as social and cultural spaces which may support ethno-linguistic identities (Omoniyi, 2012), especially in the case of migrants.

Migration is a social process which leads to the reshaping of identities (Pergar-Kusčer & Prosen, 2005; Ang, 2001) and in which both religion and language are indeed considered significant cultural resources (Omoniyi, 2012). The concept of identity adopted in this study combines contributions from both social psychology and post-structuralism, where identity is viewed as the way individuals see themselves linked, in terms of knowledge and emotions, to certain structures in society (Block, 2002; Fishman, 1989; Hannerz, 2000; Tajfel, 1978; 1981). Furthermore, identity formation is here portrayed as an ongoing process, which has multiple and changeable aspects (Norton, 2000, 2013) and is developed in interaction with others (Bakhtin, 1994).

Focussing on the religious and linguistic aspects of identity, it is important to highlight the role of religion in the preservation of languages among migrant groups (Freston, 2008). In the context of multilingual settings, Omoniyi (2012) argues that both a religion-perspective and a language-perspective have to be discussed jointly in exploring the relationship between religion and language. The Language-Religion Ideology (LRI) Continuum (Woods, 2004), a two-dimensional framework which highlights the dynamic nature of the language-religion connections, is a step towards joining both perspectives. In the LRI Continuum (see Figure 1 below), the relationship between language and religion is represented in a horizontal axis. This axis locates the places of worship which believe that only a special language can be used with God, a strong link between language and religion, on the left extreme of the continuum. The places of worship which attach a weak link between language and religion, and thus encourage the use of ordinary language for the building of a personal relationship with God, are placed on the right extreme of the continuum. The language practices of a congregation are represented in a vertical axis, where the use of English is on the top of the axis and the use of community language, on the bottom axis.

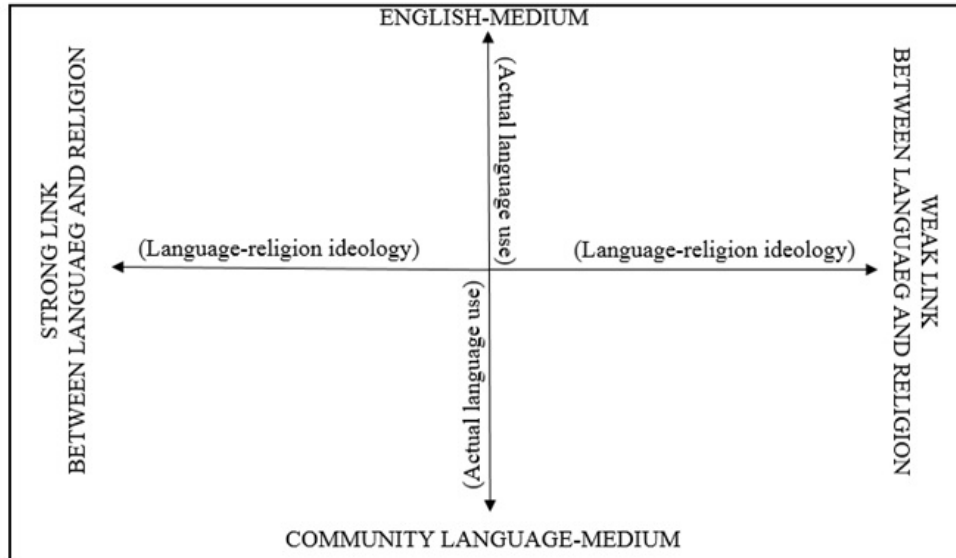


Figure 1 – The LRI Continuum (Adapted from Woods, 2004 in Souza, 2016b)

In a later publication, Woods (2006) stressed that the place of language in ethnic churches - i.e. churches associated with a particular migrant community (Woods, 2004) - is influenced by two sources: the cultural value system of an ethnic group and the culture of the religious denomination. Moreover, the interviews examined here indicate that integrating language, ethnicity and religion in one single framework would enhance the understanding of how they interact in the formation of one’s identity. Therefore, the application of a three-dimensional framework - the Religion-Ethnicity-Language (REL) Triangle – is suggested in this chapter (see also Souza, 2015; Souza *et al*, 2012). In this framework, each of the three aspects of identity is placed at one of the angles of a triangle with a continuum moving inwards (see Figure 2 below). A move towards the inner extremes of each of the continua represents weaker identity links with that aspect of their identity, whereas a move outwards means stronger links.

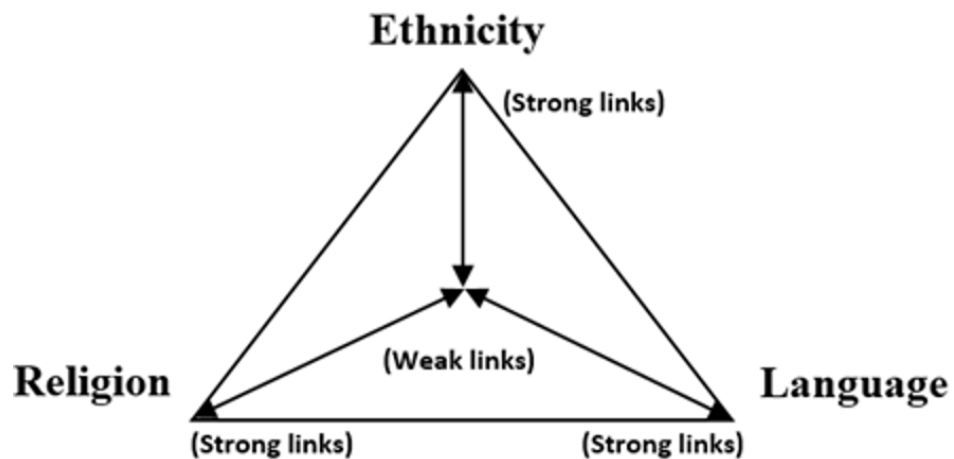


Figure 2 – The REL Triangle (Souza *et al*, 2012)

In the Brazilian places of worship covered in this chapter, attendance of faith lessons was part of the parents' strategies to socialize their children into their religions and their heritage language. Therefore, the role of the use of English and Portuguese languages in the religious experiences of these children will be examined through the lenses of the faith leaders' language planning ideologies and discussed under the framework of the REL-triangle.

The Religion-perspective

The Brazilian Catholic Chaplaincy

The Catholic Church has as one of its theological orientations the mission to support migrants abroad, and thus, offers services through its 33 ethnic chaplaincies in London, including a Brazilian one. In the children's catechism (religious instruction) sessions, the Brazilian priest explained, "they study the Bible and the Catholic doctrine within the level of the sacrament for which they are preparing", which in this case is the First Communion (receipt of the holy bread for the first time). This preparation is seen as basic support to the children's socialization into the religion and the parents are expected to be their children's major catechists (religious mentors).

The Brazilian Pentecostal Church

The Pentecostal church believes that salvation is only possible by accepting Jesus Christ through their perspectives. Therefore, it aims to spread the word of the Lord and to attract new followers to convert into their religion. In fact, the specific pastors in this church "came to England because [they] believed that [they] could reach for the people in this nation, [the English people]". Nevertheless, the transmission of religion is not reported to be their main objective in the sessions offered to the children. Their aim, as explained by the female pastor, is "that these children want to be in God's home, so that they feel well, as belonging, protected, loved. Here they will learn to be with the other, to love the other, to respect the other".

The Brazilian Kardecist group

Kardecism is more a set of principles (i.e. a philosophy) than a set of ritual practices (i.e. a religion)^{xiii}. In this way, the coordinator explains, "Kardecism respects all religions; all religions are considered good, since they are different paths to the same place". Therefore, their main objective is not to raise children to be Kardecists (followers of Kardec and therefore of the Spiritist doctrine). Instead, the aim is "to form good individuals. If they are going to grow to be Spiritists or Catholics or anything else, it is not our worry. Our worry is to help children to have solid moral foundations to lead their lives in the best way they can". Nevertheless, the coordinator acknowledges a worry in disseminating their beliefs: "Kardecism in the UK is in its embryonic stages, so I do worry about disseminating it to local people. It is part of our duties".

The Ethnicity-perspective

The Brazilian Catholic Chaplaincy

The Chaplaincy is referred to as 'the house of the Brazilian Catholics in London' and emphasises its role of supporting migrants abroad through the offer of services to adults by Brazilian priests^{xiv}. The importance of ethnicity is also acknowledged by the Diocese of Westminster, which sees its ethnic chaplaincies as having the role of preserving and nourishing

different cultures in expressing their sense of community and their Catholic beliefs^{xv}. It is interesting to notice that there is a separate Portuguese Chaplaincy in London, which indicates ethnicity to be very relevant for the two different groups - the Brazilian and the Portuguese. The Brazilian priest explained that he may work with “Portuguese and Angolan *church-goers] since they speak Portuguese, but *his+specific work is with the Brazilian community”.

The Brazilian Pentecostal Church

In spite of the aims of disseminating their religion, the pastor acknowledges that the fact that he and his wife, the female pastor, are Brazilian makes it part of their goals to support other Brazilian migrants. One of the cultural practices affecting the religious practices transported from Brazil to London is the day of the worship rites, as explained by the pastor below:

“*We organize+a morning service in English for the English members and another one in Portuguese in the evening for the Brazilians (...) Brazilians are more used to going to church on Sunday evening.”

The Brazilian Kardecist group

In spite of being open to local people with a view to disseminating their beliefs and recruiting new followers, the coordinator acknowledges that “most of the people who attend the centres are Brazilian”. In fact, the Kardecist services are run by Brazilians to Brazilians and the centres are places of spiritual and practical support to Brazilian migrants. The coordinator also admits that “most of the Brazilian *Kardecists+feel more at ease in receiving this support in Portuguese”. This preference has led to different positions in relation to the language planning of their activities within the group, as explained below.

The Language-perspective

The Brazilian Catholic Chaplaincy

The theological reason for the use of Portuguese in the Brazilian Catholic Chaplaincy in general is the provision of appropriate linguistic support to migrants, as mentioned above. More specifically, the children’s catechism sessions are seen by the priest as “opportunities for the children to speak Portuguese, to listen to Portuguese”. It is relevant that the children are socialized into Catholicism through the use of Portuguese due to another theological orientation mentioned above: the view that parents are the major catechists. As the parents are believed not to speak English, Portuguese is used in the faith lessons to ensure that its use is maintained in children-parent interactions about faith.

The Brazilian Pentecostal Church

A one-to-one relationship with God is defended by the Pentecostal church. Thus, it encourages the use of different languages to communicate with Him. This perspective has allowed the use of both Portuguese and English in the services they offer, including the ones for the children. Following the pastors’ aims of disseminating their faith to the local community and due to expecting that the children will be the missionaries of the future, the language policy is to plan and deliver the lessons in English. However, there is flexibility in relation to the

language used by both the teachers and the children depending on the linguistic profile of the children in a particular lesson, as the pastor explains below:

“If there is an English child, *the teachers+can deliver the lessons in English (...) there are some writing activities which are in English (...) but if the child has any difficulties, they can write in Portuguese (...) lessons *are sometimes delivered+in Portuguese because *theEnglish boy+has not been attending.”

The Brazilian Kardecist group

Portuguese was used in all the services provided by the Kardecist group in the first 18 years of the group’s existence, including the children’s sessions. Language then was seen as being closely linked to ethnicity and enabling links with other children of Brazilian heritage, as explained below by the previous coordinator:

“It is an opportunity for them to talk *to each other in Portuguese+because, see, in [the mainstream] school, what are you going to speak? English. So you do not have much contact with Portuguese, unless in this way, through the religions.”

The coordinator who took over in 2010, however, believes that the Kardecist centres should not be seen as spaces for the teaching of Portuguese, as expected by the parents. Instead, she believes that the lessons should be delivered to the children in English. This way, they can “learn the words, as they are different from the ones we use on everyday life (...) then the children will be able to explain to other people *what Kardecism is+”.

All in all, religious, ethnic and linguistic identities go hand-in-hand in the Catholic setting and warrant the organization and the delivery of their faith lessons in the Portuguese language. In the Pentecostal setting, the importance of religion over ethnicity and language is clear, despite the concessions made to the use of Portuguese and to the transportation of some cultural practices in supporting their Brazilian members. In case of the Kardecist group, they started their activities valuing religious, ethnic and linguistic identities equally. Presently, there are signs of a move towards a bigger emphasis on the religious aspect of their identities. Nevertheless, independent of the language planning choices adopted, the leaders in the Catholic and in the Pentecostal churches as well as in the Kardecist group acknowledge the complexity of trying to implement rigid language policies due to the varied linguistic competences the children of Brazilian heritage attending their settings have in relation to both English and Portuguese.

“ (...) the children do not write neither read in Portuguese, they only speak it (...) not all of them speak and write in English either, as many of them have recently arrived from Brazil (...)” – Catholic priest

“ (...) *the teachers+may bring written activities in English *to the lessons+but there are some children who have difficulties [with this language], so the teacher leaves it to the children to decide which language to use.” – Pentecostal pastor

“ (...) all the children speak Portuguese *but+the children prefer *to speak+English
(...) there are also many who have arrived from Brazil recently so they write in
Portuguese *for the lesson activities+(...)” – Kardecist Coordinator

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter is based on interviews with the faith leaders from three Brazilian Christian faith settings in London. The illustration of the varied competence - in English and in Portuguese - of the children attending their faith lessons add to the linguistic diversity of migrant pupils described in the British educational policies. Moreover, these examples – in spite of the limitations of being part of a pilot study data-gathering - indicate the importance of emphasising orality in the concept of faith literacies for this specific group of migrants – the Brazilians. The examples presented here also lead to the importance of adding an ethnicity-perspective when examining the relationship between religion and language in diasporic communities. After all, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, religion can support the maintenance of languages as much as a sense of community (DCSF, 2009; DfES, 2007; DfES, 2006; Dzialtuvaite, 2006; Fishman, 1989; Joseph, 2004; Modood *et al*, 1997).

Although it is not possible to affirm whether religion is positively affecting the language maintenance of the Brazilian heritage children based on the data presented, the potential for innovation and change - which are integral parts of linguistic and religious socialization (Omoniyi, 2010) – is signalled in this chapter. Most religions base their liturgy (a prescribed set of forms for public religious worship) on a central religious scripture (Rosowsky, 2008). The Bible is used by both the Catholic and the Pentecostal churches, despite the varied levels of rigidity in the structure of their services. The Kardecist group meetings, in spite of not following a set of ritual practices, are based on the Spiritist Codification, which comprises of five basic books^{xvi}. This raises the concern about how the Catholic liturgy will be affected if the children in the Brazilian Chaplaincy in London continue to only develop their oral skills in Portuguese. Therefore, serious consideration is required in relation to questions such as the following: Will these children eventually decide to attend the services held by the English Roman Catholic parishes? How would their sense of ethnicity be affected if they do so? How would the Brazilian Chaplaincy be affected in relation to their need for supporting families of migrant backgrounds?

The Pentecostal church and the Kardecist group seem to have ensured access to their sacred texts – which, as the Catholic Bible, have versions in English - by socializing their children into their doctrines through the medium of English. This apparent solution, however, raises concerns in relation to how the stronger link being created to the English language will affect the group of migrants – both children and adults - who have not mastered English and who indeed might have strong links to their Brazilian cultural and linguistic heritage. This concern leads to the need to consider questions such as the following: Does it mean that new migrants will no longer be supported by these faith settings? How will believers’ relationship with God affect their relationship to other members of their communities?

As mentioned above, children’s religious, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds should be part of the explorations mainstream teachers are advised to conduct for the development of community partnerships in support of pupils from minority group backgrounds (DfES, 2003, 2006, 2007). This knowledge can be helpful in making decisions of how to work towards more

inclusive teaching strategies as well as of how to contribute to pupils' academic achievements through the use of both the majority and the minority languages. Knowledge about the linguistic background of pupil population is even more important now that the DfES (2013a; 2013b) has created the opportunity for the teaching of minority languages in the mainstream curriculum. Therefore, the following questions should be considered seriously: Will the schools take this opening in the curriculum framework to support their pupils in developing their writing skills in their home languages? Will the faith institutions seize the opportunity to develop partnerships with the mainstream schools which could provide the language services they do not always see as being in their remit but which could benefit the activities they develop with the children?

In sum, this initial study on the relationship between religion, ethnicity and language in places of worship point to relevant areas for future research on how faith maintenance supports language maintenance and vice-versa as well as on how ethnicity affects the religious and the linguistic socialization of children attending ethnic churches. This is done through the lenses of faith leaders, a first step in understanding the socialization experience of children in migrant faith settings. The next step will be to extend the pilot study into an ethnographic and longitudinal investigation which focuses on children's interactions and practices around religion in public (places of worship) and private (home) spaces with a view to capture the continuities and discontinuities of faith and language transmission in Christian transnational contexts in which oral takes over written skills.

ⁱ 'Migrants' and 'immigrants' are used interchangeably in this chapter to refer to international migrants.

ⁱⁱ <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/swann/swann1985.html> [Accessed on 31st December 2013]

ⁱⁱⁱ http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_297002.pdf [Accessed on 25th December 2013]

^{iv} <http://www.rcdow.org.uk/ethnicchaplains> [Accessed on 25th December 2013]

^v <http://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/en/noticias-censo?view=noticia&id=1&idnoticia=2170&t=censo-2010-numero-catolicos-cai-aumenta-evangelicos-espiritas-sem-religiao> [Accessed on 24th December 2013]

^{vi} <http://saladeimprensa.ibge.gov.br/noticias?view=noticia&id=1&idnoticia=2017&busca=1&t=censo-2010-mais-metade-emigrantes-brasileiros-sao-mulheres> [Accessed on 24th December 2013]

^{vii} <http://www.naldic.org.uk/research-and-information/eal-statistics/lang> [Accessed on 29th December 2013]

^{viii} <http://ccblondres.com/capelania/category/igrejas> [Accessed on 24th December 2013]

^{ix} <http://www.buss.org.uk> [Accessed on 24th December 2013]

^x <http://www.listabrasil.com/c/63/religiao-e-igrejas-brasileiras-em-londres> [Accessed on 24th December 2013]

^{xi} For studies on the religious development of adolescents and their use of English metaphors, see Phyllis Ghim-Lian Chew's work in T. Omoniyi (2010) (ed) *Language and Religion: Change, Accommodation and Conflict*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 156-189.

^{xii} *Becoming Literate in Faith Settings*, <http://www.belifs.org.uk> [Accessed on 27th December 2013]

^{xiii} <http://www.febnet.org.br/blog/geral/o-espiritismo/o-que-e> [Accessed on 31st December 2013]

^{xiv} <http://ccblondres.com/capelania/quem-somos> [Accessed on 27th December 2013]

^{xv} <http://www.rcdow.org.uk/ethnicchaplains> [Accessed on 25th December 2013]

^{xvi} *The Spirits' Book, The Mediums' Book, The Gospel According to Spiritism, Heaven and Hell, and The Genesis*.

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