

Religion, Globalization and Modernity: From Macro-Processes to Micro-Dynamics

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Abstract

Three aspects of the globalization – religion relationship are explored by this article. These three aspects are: growing religious diversity (as a macro-structural phenomenon); increasing organizational differentiation (as a mid-range institutional dynamic); and enhanced subjectivized religiosity (as a micro-social process). Discussion of these aspects is theoretically informed by the concept of ‘globalizing modernity’ which regards the networks and flows of globalization as implicated in the worldwide diffusion of processes and dynamics which are typically ‘modern’ in their character and impact. In addition to other examples drawn from various parts of the world, this article engages the Santo Daime religion as a working case-study which both grounds and exemplifies the issues addressed.

Introduction

This article explores some significant dimensions of the contemporary relationship between globalization and religion and, in part, does so by using a specific case-study as a working example which both grounds and exemplifies the issues addressed. The case-study is provided by the Santo Daime religion, the transnational profile and religious repertoire of which offers an ideal medium for exploring particular aspects of the globalization – religion relationship. While there are myriad dimensions to the contemporary relationship between globalization and religion, three particular aspects of this relationship are treated here because, in combination, they exemplify some of the most significant processes and dynamics implicated in the ongoing

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impact of globalization upon religious belief and practice. The three aspects of the globalization – religion relationship which this article engages are: i) growing religious diversity (as a macro-structural phenomenon); ii) increasing organizational differentiation (as a mid-range institutional dynamic); and iii) enhanced subjective determination of religious participation (as a micro-social process). Prior to addressing each of these aspects, however, the next section addresses the theoretical framework within which the many processes and forces customarily referred to as ‘globalization’ are explicated. By way of explicating the globalization – religion relationship, the following section offers a particular construal of globalization which, it argues, is essential to a proper understanding of the developments and transformations currently reshaping religious belief and practice in all parts of the world. In so doing, this article maintains that globalization is best understood as part of a larger configuration of processes and dynamics which are combining to reshape contemporary human existence and, by extension, religious belief and practice. Subsequent to delineating the theoretical framework within which globalization is here treated, and after a brief overview of the Santo Daime religion, the remainder of the article engages each of the three aforementioned aspects of the globalization – religion relationship.

Theorizing Globalization

James Spickard asserts that ‘the term “globalization” has many different meanings ... in the hands of various writers’. Among its most common designations, he argues, globalization respectively refers to ‘increased global economic integration’, ‘the increased reach of global political institutions’, ‘increased international trade’, ‘increasing standardization in the production of popular culture’, and ‘increasingly far-reaching international communications networks’ (2004, p. 47). Though not mentioned by Spickard, the ‘integration’ and ‘networks’ of which he speaks have been identified by others as enabling rapid and large-scale ‘flows’ of material entities and immaterial goods. Malcolm Waters, for example, complements his analysis of the economic and political trends stimulated by globalization by treating the cultural arena which, he believes, is ‘becoming more activated and energetic’ as a result of the now ‘continuous flow of ideas, information, commitment, values and tastes mediated through mobile individuals, symbolic tokens and electronic simulations’ (2001, p. 196). For Waters, globalization’s rapid and large-scale transnational transfer of practices, values, concepts and tastes makes it a significant contributor to ongoing processes of political-economic transformation and socio-cultural diversity. In the same vein, Arjun Appadurai maintains that ‘only the merest acquaintance with the facts of the modern world’ allows

us 'to note that it is now an interactive system in a sense that it is strikingly new' (1996, p. 27). According to Appadurai, the globalized interactivity of the modern era underwrites 'flows... of people, machinery, money, images and ideas', the 'sheer speed, scale and volume' of which are reconfiguring the world in a multiplicity of previously unimagined ways (1996, p. 33, 37).

The English social theorist Anthony Giddens maintains that the transnational networks and flows constituting globalization involve a set of causal relations such that 'local happenings' in any one part of the world 'are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa' (1990, p. 64). For Giddens' understanding of globalization, this 'vice versa' emphasises a structural reciprocity in which the duality of 'local' and 'global' are locked in a 'recursive' relationship of mutual causation (1991, p. 2). Consequently, any 'local transformation' wrought by globalization is best conceptualized as resulting from the intermingling of regional and transnational dynamics whose outcomes may well comprise local developments at variance with globalizing trends (1990, p. 64). The processes of globalization, then, are neither all one-way nor uniform in outcome. A similar point is made by Roland Robertson who coined the term 'glocalization' by combining the words 'global' and 'local'. For Robertson, whereas globalization entails a progressively 'concrete global interdependence' born of the 'increasing unicity' of contemporary existence, regional variation (i.e. glocalization) nevertheless arises through the local appropriation and subsequent modification of prevailing global phenomena (1995, p. 25–44). As with Giddens, Robertson rejects the view that globalization necessarily entails the wholesale homogenization of formerly different (because separate) socio-cultural systems. Understood as a two-way process, globalization comprises both the 'universalization' of the particular and the 'particularization' of the universal (1992, p. 97–114).

In combination, these observations allow us to conceive of globalization as comprising two key elements. First, globalization involves the establishment of economic, political, legal, ethical, and aesthetic *networks* which, by connecting localities and regions to a seemingly limitless number of otherwise disparate locations, allow *flows* of people, goods, information, power, tastes, and values to be geographically dispersed at increasingly vertiginous scales and speeds. Second, globalization comprises a range inherently *glocalizing* economic-political and social-cultural tendencies that are both standardizing (i.e. embodying increasingly similar structures and dynamics) and heterogenizing (i.e. manifesting progressively variegated practices and processes) (Koch, McMillan and Peper, 2011). Constituted through the combination of networks and flows with glocalizing tendencies, globalization's practical and symbolic consequences are impacting macro-structural, mid-range institutional

and micro-social dimensions of human existence in virtually every part of the contemporary world.

Globalizing Modernity

A central tenet of this article is that a proper understanding of contemporary globalizing trends and their impact on religion is only possible by conceiving of globalization as part of a larger configuration of processes and dynamics. As the term suggests, the notion of ‘globalizing modernity’ situates the processes of globalization within a larger, overarching configuration of dynamics characteristically associated with the modern era. In so doing, the concept of globalizing modernity asserts that the aforementioned elements which combine to constitute globalization are not in themselves sufficient to explain both the theoretical significance and empirical implications of globalization. Such can only be done, I argue, by understanding globalization as one among a number of typically modern processes and dynamics which are combining to reshape our contemporary world. In sum, the most impactful of these typically modern processes and dynamics are: rapid, widespread and ongoing societal transformation; structural differentiation; detraditionalization; and, individualization. As these ‘modern’ dimensions of contemporary globalization have important implications for globalization’s impact upon religious belief and practice, a brief comment upon each is in order. Exemplified by the metamorphic processes of urban-industrialisation, modernity comprises a thoroughgoingly *transformative ethos* characterised by the rapid, widespread and ongoing reconfiguration of macro-structural, mid-range institutional and micro-social dimensions of human existence. The modern societal environment is thereby constantly mutating through the ceaseless modification or wholesale replacement of, for example, infrastructural networks (e.g. state, transport and communication), interactive contexts (e.g. education, work and leisure) and extended webs of dependency (e.g. food, health and technology). Another feature of the modern social landscape, *societal differentiation* occurs principally through the combined processes of structural variegation and socio-cultural pluralisation. In structural terms, modernity is characterised by a dizzyingly diverse number of variegated mechanisms and specialised institutions through which the day-to-day activities of humankind occurs. At the same time, modernity exhibits a socio-cultural variety unprecedented in human history. Related in no small measure with structural differentiation, socio-cultural pluralisation occurs as the variegation of practical-symbolic structures engenders progressively diverse life-experiences for the different groups, categories or classes populating the increasingly varied terrain of modern society. Socio-cultural pluralisation also results from domestic and

transnational migration and the resulting interaction and miscegenation of different social, racial, ethnic and linguistic groups.

The typically modern process of *detraditionalization* results in large part from the combined dynamics of transformation and differentiation through which modernity weakens the influence and implications of traditional modes of signification and established means of collective determination (e.g. family, class, religion, sex, and race). Detraditionalization thereby unfolds through the practical-symbolic disembedding of individuals, communities and cultures from the material processes and significatory structures bequeathed by past generations. Conventional authority and automatic appeals to tradition are thereby eroded, along with the disruption of established modes of reproduction which have customarily underwritten the continued force, significance, and salience of inherited routines, habits, values, beliefs, and rituals. The distancing of contemporary generations from received traditions and the authority structures through which they are operationalized incrementally undermines the degree of socio-cultural determinacy exerted by inherited forms of practical-knowledge. Last, but not least, the characteristically modern process of *individualization* involves the progressive recalibration of collective determination and individual choice in a manner which enervates the former while empowering the latter. Contrary to popular misconceptions, individualization does not entail the wholesale eradication of communal forms of belonging or collective modes of identity formation. Compared with what has gone before, however, the modern individual enjoys historically unrivalled degrees of self-determination and subjective expression across a growing range of practical and symbolic concerns. As they are progressively dispersed through the transnationalizing processes of globalization, these typically modern dynamics combine to impact and reconfigure religious landscapes in a growing number of localities and regions across the world.

Whereas globalization might, in short-hand terms, be understood as the means by which these typically modern dynamics are globally diffused, in substantive terms globalization is constituted through its interaction with these characteristically modern processes. Consequently, the networks, flows and glocalizing tendencies which comprise globalization do not only channel typically modern processes and dynamics but are thoroughgoingly moulded and directed by them. By extension, then, globalization's impact on religious belief and practice inevitably involves some form of exposure to and impact by modernity. Speaking of the 'new global culture' engendered by globalization, Peter Berger highlights its 'built-in affinity with the modernization process; indeed, in many parts of the world it is identical with it'. Consequently, he argues, 'globalization is, *au fond*, a continuation, albeit in an intensified and

accelerated form, of the perduring challenge of modernization' (2002, p. 9, 16). Similar associations between globalization and modernizing dynamics are made, for example, by Giddens, who asserts the 'inherently globalizing' nature of modernity (1990, p. 64), Schmidt, who regards modernity as now a 'genuinely global phenomenon' (2007, p. 8), and Gaonkar, who talks of a 'global modernity' and its 'strings of similarities' in respect of 'cultural forms, social practices, and institutional arrangements' (2001, p. 1–23). While the strictures of space prevent further discussion here, it is important to acknowledge that the relationship between globalization and modernity is contested and that the notion of globalizing modernity (along with its implications for religion) is not unproblematic. Having treated these matters in greater depth elsewhere, however, (e.g. Dawson, 2014a & 2014b), I now move on to explore the three aforementioned elements of the globalization – religion relationship: growing religious diversity (as a macro-structural phenomenon); increasing organizational differentiation (as a mid-range process); and enhanced subjectivization (as a micro-social process). As suggested by the notion of globalizing modernity explicated above, I regard each of these dynamics as typically modern in its character and implications.

Globalization, Modernity and Religion

Prior to treating the three aforementioned aspects of the globalization – religion relationship, something should be said by way of introducing the Santo Daime religion which is engaged here as a working example that both grounds and exemplifies each of the macro-structural, mid-range institutional and micro-social dynamics discussed. Santo Daime emerged in the 1930s among the mixed-race, semi-rural subsistence community led by Raimundo Irineu Serra (1892–1971) in what later became the Amazonian state of Acre. Irineu Serra was known commonly as 'Master Irineu' and is held by *daimistas* (members of Santo Daime) to be the reincarnation of the spirit of Jesus. Subsequent to Irineu Serra's death, a breakaway organization known as Cefluris (Eclectic Center of the Universal Flowing Light Raimundo Irineu Serra) was founded by Sebastião Mota de Melo (1920–90) and his followers. Known as 'Padrinho Sebastião', Mota de Melo is believed by many *daimista* to be the reincarnation of the spirit of John the Baptist. While Cefluris is not the only branch of Santo Daime, it is the largest and most widespread. Catalyzed by the growing involvement of urban-professional adepts from the mid-1970s onwards, Santo Daime spread from the Amazon region to conurbations such as Brasília, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo before further expanding to various parts of the world. Headquartered at Céu do Mapiá in the state of Amazonas, Cefluris is today led by Alfredo Gregório de Melo

(‘Padrinho Alfredo’) and draws the majority of its membership from urban-professionals outwith the Amazon region. Thanks mainly to the international expansion of Cefluris, Santo Daime has an organisational presence throughout the American continent, in many of Europe’s major cities, in the most urban-industrialised regions of Australasia, in parts of the Middle East and in South Africa. Unless otherwise explicit, all references to Santo Daime hereafter refer to Cefluris.

Santo Daime is the oldest and most geographically dispersed of Brazil’s ayahuasca religions (the other two being Barquinha and A União do Vegetal). When applied to these religions, the generic term ‘ayahuasca’ denotes the combination of the vine *Banisteriopsis caapi* and the leaves of the shrub *Psychotria viridis* (Dawson, 2015). A psychotropic substance traditionally consumed by indigenous inhabitants of the Amazon, ayahuasca passed to non-indigenous cultures through its use among mixed-race communities and rubber-tappers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Called ‘Daime’ by *daimistas*, ayahuasca is regarded as an ‘entheogen’ whose properties facilitate humankind’s interaction with supernatural forces and spiritual agents (Dawson, 2013b). Of a highly variegated and transformative nature, the religious repertoire of Santo Daime is an amalgam of various beliefs and practices (e.g. popular Catholic, indigenous, esoteric, Spiritist, Afro-Brazilian and New Age). Reflecting Santo Daime’s progressive transnationalization, established repertorial components are increasingly augmented by discursive and practical ingredients appropriated from prevailing world traditions (e.g. Buddhism and Hinduism), indigenous cosmovisions (e.g. Australasian and Native American) and alternative paradigms (e.g. Druidry and Paganism). Embodied by the international profile of Cefluris, the *daimista* repertoire is a living palimpsest whose originary components are overlaid, but never wholly erased, by subsequent additions and developments (Dawson, 2008; 2011b; 2013c). As the following sections indicate, Santo Daime is typical of many religions in that its theological worldview, organizational structures, and religious repertoire are undergoing a variety of changes arising from the impact of the myriad forces associated with globalizing modernity.

Growing Religious Diversity

In respect of the globalization – religion relationship, perhaps the most significant macro-structural development is the growing religious diversification of an increasing number of socio-cultural contexts around the world. Though not the only causes of the ongoing growth of religious diversity, both the large-scale transnational migration enabled by the networks and flows of globalization and the aforementioned dynamics and processes

of globalizing modernity are the most impactful. Regarding transnational migration, numerous studies in various parts of the world have identified the rapid and increasingly mobile flows of people and their different beliefs as helping diversify and reshape their respective religious landscapes (e.g. Ahlin *et al*, 2012; Beaman and Beyer, 2008; Bouma *et al*, 2010; Vilaça *et al*, 2014; Weller, 2008; Wuthnow, 2005; Xie, 2006). Writing about the USA, for example, Robert Wuthnow states that ‘during the last third of the twentieth century, approximately twenty-two million immigrants came to the United States’. As a consequence, he maintains, ‘in little more than a generation, the United States has witnessed an unprecedented increase in the diversity of major religious traditions represented among its population’ (2005, p. 2). Likewise reflecting upon the ‘magnitude and complexity’ of contemporary religious diversity in the USA, Diana Eck argues that the global networks and flows enabling recent transnational migration constitute ‘new ... dynamics’ which are ‘different from previous eras’ of mass immigration. Such is the case because ‘many of the migrants who come to the United States today maintain strong ties with their homelands, linked by travel and transnational communications networks, e-mails and faxes, satellite, phone lines and cable television news’. Forged on the back of globalization’s networks and flows, such ‘multilocal’ identities serve only to reinforce the radical processes and exponential dynamics of religious diversification in the USA. ‘Never’, asserts Eck, ‘has our diversity been more dramatic than it is today’ (2002, p. 5–6).

While also reflecting upon the contemporary religious ‘diaspora’ facilitated by worldwide networks and flows, Kumar recognizes the ‘increasing globalisation of modern society’ to be ‘of critical importance’ to the progressive growth of ‘religious pluralism’ in every ‘part of our known world’ (2006, p. 363). Berger likewise credits a range of typically ‘modern developments’ as engendering the now implacable growth of ‘religious pluralism’ in all regions of the globe. ‘Modernity generates pluralism’, he argues, such that ‘even where governments ... try to limit or suppress religious pluralism’, the ‘contemporary conditions’ of modernity ensure that all such attempts will ultimately prove futile (2007, p. 19–29). Treated above in respect of the typical processes of societal transformation, structural differentiation, detraditionalization, and individualization, modernity is, by its nature, diversity inducing. In combination, these processes create socio-cultural conditions which are highly conducive to religious innovation and the subsequent formation of new communities of belief and traditions of ritual practice (Dawson, 2011a). In macro-structural terms, for example, societal differentiation engenders new classes and variegated social groups who seek novel and idiosyncratic ways to religiously articulate their distinctive life experiences or emergent modes

of human existence. Such macro-structural developments combine with mid-range institutional innovations (e.g. organizational differentiation) and micro-social processes (e.g. subjectivization) to further diversify the modern religious landscape. Geographically diffused through the increasing reach of globalizing modernity, these processes and dynamics are intimately associated with the growing religious diversification of regions, nations and continents across all parts of our world. Undoubtedly catalyzed by transnational migration and its global transmission of religious beliefs and practices, religious diversity arises also from the aforementioned forces of modernity and their combined diversification of both society in general and religion in particular.

The religious diversification spawned by globalizing modernity has been described by some scholars as constituting a ‘new diversity’ (Ahlin *et al*, 2012) or ‘new pluralism’ (Machacek, 2003) which is different than earlier forms of religious diversity both in degree (i.e. how much there is) and character (i.e. what kinds there are). As many of these scholars note, the new diversity plays out differently relative to the particular combination of socio-cultural context (e.g. political-legal settlement, dominant religions, and ethnic heritage) and religious communities (e.g. geographical origin, organizational profile, and cultural ethos) (e.g. Ališauskienė and Schröder, 2012; Blanes and Mapril, 2012; Giordan and Pace, 2014). Nevertheless, a number of common trends and developments have been identified as occurring in a wide range of countries and regions comprising a varying assortment of socio-cultural contexts and religious communities. Among the macro-structural trends and developments most commonly associated with the new religious diversity occurring in various parts of the world are, for example: state management and political governance of religious diversification (e.g. Beaman and Beyer, 2008; Bouma *et al*, 2010; Bramadat and Koenig, 2009); legal accommodations, claims and contentions relating to religious minorities and migrant groups (e.g. Banchoff, 2007; Beaman, 2012; Berman *et al*, 2013); and challenges and changes to prevailing socio-cultural settlements (e.g. Eck, 2002; Vilaça *et al*, 2014; Wuthnow, 2005). As well as contributing to the new religious diversity in various parts of the world, the international expansion of Santo Daime exemplifies each of these three aspects implicated in the macro-structural processes of religious diversification.

First, Santo Daime’s internationalization exemplifies the complementary forces of globalizing modernity in respect of its combination of global networks and flows with aforementioned modernizing processes. On the one hand, the international diffusion of Santo Daime is connected with the worldwide networks and global flows established through the outward migratory movements of Brazilian citizens which commenced in the 1980s

and continue to this day (Jouët-Pastré and Braga, 2008; Martes, 2011). Santo Daime's internationalization is thereby part of the Brazilian global diaspora and its contribution to the religious diversification occurring in various parts of the world (Rocha and Vásquez, 2013; Sheringham, 2013). On the other hand, Santo Daime's globalization has been facilitated by the typically modern processes of creative hybridization most closely associated with the assortment of nonmainstream religiosities and alternative spiritualities commonly referred to as the 'new age' (Heelas, 1996). Santo Daime has thereby also expanded through its appropriation by non-Brazilian practitioners attracted to various aspects of its religious worldview and ritual repertoire; not least, its use of psychotropic substances and spirit-oriented practices. Driven by the complementary processes of globalizing modernity, Santo Daime was first being practised outside of Brazil by the late-1980s (e.g. 1987 in Argentina and the United States and 1989 in Belgium and Spain) and has subsequently spread throughout the American continent, across Western Europe, to various parts of the Middle East and Africa and to the Australasian region (Dawson, 2013c).

Second, the ritual consumption of the psychotropic substance ayahuasca has resulted in Santo Daime's international expansion becoming embroiled in the aforementioned dynamics of state management of religious diversity. Such is the case because most of the countries to which Santo Daime has spread do not have the socio-cultural conventions which underwrite Brazil's political and legal tolerance of ritual ayahuasca consumption. Outside of Brazil, this is an issue because the most active psychotropic ingredient of ayahuasca (N,N-Dimethyltryptamine – DMT) is legally defined as a 'controlled' substance and thereby treated as an illegal narcotic by national jurisdictions across the world (Tupper and Labate, 2012). By virtue of its religious sacrament containing what many countries regard as a dangerous narcotic, the international expansion of Santo Daime has provoked a range of legal questions for the new host nations. Relating to the international transportation and ritual consumption of ayahuasca, for example, the first recorded arrests of Santo Daime practitioners beyond Brazil occurred in France, Holland and the United States in 1999 and Spain in 2000. In the years since, numerous state actions against *daimistas* have taken place in the form of police raids, property confiscations, prison detentions and subsequent legal proceedings (Labate and Jungaberle, 2011; Dawson, 2013c). Paralleling a range of legal and policy debates relating to migrant and minority religions in various parts of the world, Santo Daime's attempts to consume (as well as manufacture and distribute) its ritual sacrament unhindered are contributing to ongoing developments in respect of the state management of religious diversity and

the attendant issues of freedom to practise and rights to non-discrimination (Dawson, 2015; Labate and Feeney, 2013).

Third, the internationalization of Santo Daime combines with the arrival or appearance of other minority and nonmainstream religions to problematize established socio-cultural settlements and their prevailing modes of structuring the understanding, place and nature of religious belief and practice. Provoked by large-scale migratory movements and the rise of religious fundamentalism in the late-twentieth century, much has been written about the ‘resurgence’ of traditional religion and the ensuing challenge to Western, liberal secularism and its particular construal of religion’s place in the ‘public’ sphere (e.g. Ahdar and Leigh, 2005; D’Costa *et al*, 2013; Katznelson and Jones, 2010; Monsma and Soper, 2009). At the same time, the arrival or emergence of new religious movements such as Santo Daime challenges received interpretations and prevailing conceptions of what ‘normal’ religion looks and sounds like (Dawson, 2007 and forthcoming). Inevitably, of course, such challenges and problematizations may initially be resisted by the inertia and vested interests of established settlements and dominant belief systems. At the same time, the exoticism and strangeness of the new or different frequently engenders public mistrust or the scorn of popular opinion. Nevertheless, globalizing modernity’s escalation of the presence and prominence of traditional migrant religions and non-traditional minority faiths both challenges and progressively erodes inherited assumptions about the character, role and place of religion in an increasing number of regions in different parts of the world.

Organizational Differentiation

Occurring at the mid-range institutional level, the differentiation of religious organizations involves the progressive variegation of beliefs and practices within a single tradition or movement which results from the global spread or transnationalization of its theological worldview and ritual repertoire. Like so many processes connected with the contemporary dynamics of globalization, the international spread of particular religious traditions and movements is by no means a recent historical phenomenon. The early-modern expansion of successive European colonial enterprises, for example, ensured the spread of various forms of Christianity to many regions of the globe. Likewise, the transportation of African slave labour to the American continent further contributed to the internationalization of formerly regional animistic beliefs and rituals. At the same time, the successive migratory flows of the Muslim diaspora have been longstanding contributors to the spread of Islamic traditions throughout various parts of the world. In each

of these cases, the internationalization of particular religious traditions has spawned numerous forms of organizational differentiation resulting from the encounter or mixing of imported worldviews with the beliefs and practices already present (Gilroy, 1993; Jenkins, 2007; Mandaville, 2007).

While such internationalizing trends are by no means novel, as with so many individual elements of globalization what is historically new is their intensification at the hands of the world-wide networks and exponential flows typical of globalizing modernity. In addition to radicalizing established profiles of already internationalized religious traditions, the contemporary dynamics of globalization engender a range of novel developments which are combining to reshape the religious landscape of globalized modernity. In respect of Christianity, for example, the ongoing transnationalization of Pentecostalism is reshaping the theological ethos, ritual repertoire and demographic profile of the worldwide Christian community. First, the global spread of Pentecostalism comprises the progressive conservativization of the Christian worldview. From literal readings of the Bible, through authoritarian modes of leadership to charismatic forms of worship, the globalization of Pentecostal Christianity carries with it a decidedly conservative religious repertoire. Second, the ongoing encounter of Christianity with regional belief systems in different parts of the world comprises processes of distinction and acculturation. On the one hand, the process of distinction involves particular aspects of the Christian faith being emphasized or exaggerated by way of distinguishing Pentecostalism over and against, but relative to, the regional worldviews being confronted. On the other hand, the process of acculturation involves the appropriation of beliefs and practices (e.g. spirit possession) from local faith systems which are then inserted within Pentecostalism's otherwise Christian repertoire. Either way, the processes of distinction and acculturation combine to modify the Pentecostal worldview relative to specific socio-cultural contexts and their respective beliefs and practices. Third, the growth of Pentecostalism across the southern hemisphere entails a geographical rebalancing of Christianity's populational distribution from north to south. For example, whereas 80% of Christians in 1900 were white, by the end of the twentieth century this figure had halved to 40% and continues to decline (Freston, 2008). Thanks mainly to the globalization of Pentecostalism, the Christian community is both progressively differentiated and increasingly divided between a conservative 'south' and a theologically liberal 'north' (Hanciles, 2008).

Intensified by the networks and flows of globalizing modernity, recent increases in transnational migration likewise engender the kind of organizational differentiation currently experienced by established international

religions such as Christianity and Islam. Drawing upon the geography of religion and diaspora and transnational studies, for example, academic engagement with migratory communities throws light upon transformations in belief and practice wrought by the processes of territorial upheaval and subsequent resettlement (e.g. Johnson, 2007; Levitt, 2007). Commencing with the act of ‘de-territorialization’, the dynamics of migration conclude with an ongoing process of ‘re-territorialization’ through which the practices, beliefs and symbols of the migrants’ religion are transposed to a new socio-cultural terrain. Such migratory transposition involves the practical and symbolic re-configuration of religious repertoires as the received traditions and inherited rituals of the ‘homeland’ are adapted to meet the opportunities, challenges and demands of a new and perhaps radically different socio-cultural context. Aided by the transnational networks and international flows of globalizing modernity, ‘translocal’ religious identities are formed through literal and imagined movements between a native spiritual homeland and a newly adopted locale. Studies of migrant Hindu communities in South Africa and England, for example, evidence ritual reformulation and symbolic innovation expressed through the growth of female ritual responsibilities, the decreasing importance of caste as a determinant of status and the increasing irrelevance of traditional ethnic-linguistic distinctions. Organizational differentiation thereby arises because the religious repertoire of diaspora Hinduism has decreasing need to call upon the inherited divisions of sex, caste and ethnicity which stand increasingly out of place in the socially mobile and culturally plural contexts of the modern, urban-industrial societies in which Hindu migrants are settling (David, 2011; Kumar, 2000). Moving between preservation, adaptation and innovation, migrant communities celebrate, refashion and formulate religious repertoires which both recapitulate received traditions and speak to novel experiences.

Strains and stresses similar to those experienced by established world religions such as Christianity and Hinduism are increasingly felt by new religious movements as their transnational spread likewise engenders organizational differentiation. Now international in scope, NRMs like the Unification Church, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Latter-day Saints, and Scientology employ strategies and processes through which personnel (e.g. leadership selection and training), assets (e.g. ownership and remittances) and local initiatives (e.g. editorial censorship) are carefully managed to minimise the impact of organizational differentiation and thereby preserve existing status hierarchies, maintain institutional cohesion and define collective identity. Treating the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG), for example, Freston identifies a ‘centrally planned’ transnational expansion which employs an

‘integrated ... ecclesiastical strategy’ to maintain bureaucratic control and uniformity of doctrine across its increasingly global and culturally diverse networks. Founded in Brazil in 1977, the neo-Pentecostal UCKG quickly spread abroad and today has over 1,000 churches in roughly 80 countries throughout the world. Seeking to minimize the forces of differentiation implicated in such rapid transnationalization, the UCKG maintains control by way of a clerically-centred authority structure through which ‘congregational participation in decision-making is eliminated and strong horizontal ties among members are de-emphasized’. At the same time, writes Freston, ‘the emergence of personal loyalties and local power bases’ among the clergy are prevented through their regular transfer both within and outwith national territories (2005).

In contrast to the UCKG and certain other NRMs, the Santo Daime movement of Cefluris is neither theologically averse nor institutionally resistant to the forces of organizational differentiation engendered by its progressively transnational profile. There are two primary reasons for this (which combine with Santo Daime’s changing demography as detailed in the next section). First, the *daimista* movement founded by Sebastião Mota de Melo is theologically eclectic by nature. Indeed, the inclusion of the word ‘eclectic’ within the name of Cefluris intentionally signals an organizational willingness not just to acknowledge the validity of a broad range of beliefs and practices but to be actively disposed, where fitting, to their incorporation within the ritual repertoire of Santo Daime. Such eclecticism is underwritten by a metaphysical holism which regards particular beliefs and practices as but contingent historical expressions of an all-embracing universal reality. Relativized through reference to this underlying, universal Whole, particular beliefs and practices are made readily transposable from one religious repertoire to another. In addition to its theological eclecticism, the hybrid nature of the *daimista* repertoire is facilitated by the movement’s implementation of what might best be termed a ‘minimal orthodoxy’. Here, minimal orthodoxy contrasts with, for example, the maximal orthodoxy of the UCKG which demands conformity in all matters of official belief and practice across the entire institution. The minimal orthodoxy operated by Cefluris, however, requires the conformity of its communities only in respect of particular components of its ritual repertoire (e.g. calendrical schedules, particular ritual content and certain ceremonial form). In effect, as long as affiliated groups meet designated requirements relating to these components they are, within reason, free not only to modify existing rites but to celebrate beliefs and practices totally unconnected with the traditional *daimista* repertoire (Dawson, 2012).

Second, the organizational differentiation of Santo Daime is further encouraged by its prevailing authority structures. Responding to the challenges of its progressive transnationalization, Cefluris has developed the kind of bureaucratic organs (e.g. Administrative, Doctrinal and Financial Councils) and representative mechanisms (e.g. Regional, National and International Assemblies) found in many traditional and mainstream religions. Exemplified by the 'Higher Doctrinal Council', for example, these institutional structures are helping manage the operational and religious issues implicated in the movement's continuing geographical expansion. Despite these mechanisms, and in common with other institutions undergoing rapid and relatively large-scale growth, Cefluris organizational structures are subject to a typically centrifugal dynamic whereby executive power and authority are incrementally dispersed outwards from a traditional centre of operations. Certainly, the family and close associates of Padrinho Sebastião and the broader Amazonian matrix continue to exert considerable influence across the Cefluris network. In addition to the supply of ayahuasca and formal institutional support given to those subject to state attentions, the veneration of 'authentic' Amazonian spirituality personified by the leadership of Cefluris plays a significant part in continuing to uphold their status and authority throughout the now global Santo Daime movement. At the same time, however, the development of local community structures and regional networks in various parts of the world is increasingly giving rise to organizational arrangements which, of necessity, have their own executive powers and alternate authorities. The power and authority traditionally concentrated in the administrative and spiritual heart of Cefluris is thereby being progressively dispersed and, in effect, weakened.

The weakening of central power structures implicated in the organization's transnationalization is further catalyzed by the 'charismatic' mode of authority still very much dominant across the movement. In contrast with other forms of authority (e.g. 'rational-legal' and 'traditional'), charismatic authority is intimately connected with the personality and status of an individual regarded by his or her followers as being of an extraordinary quality and exceptional nature (Weber, 1991). Combined with the institutional youthfulness of Cefluris and the ongoing centrifugal dispersal of executive power, the prevalence of charismatic modes of authority within Santo Daime facilitates a decentralized style of leadership in which local leaders enjoy a considerably broad scope of self-determination. The directive latitude enjoyed by the local leadership thereby allows the development of relatively diverse community identities as each individual leader impresses a range of discourse and practice which, at points, reflects idiosyncratic preferences as much as, if not more than, broader organizational expectations. Given its aforemen-

tioned eclecticism, the ongoing evolution of the *daimista* repertoire is by no means automatically regarded by its members as a bad thing. In view of Santo Daime's ongoing expansion, however, the relative newness of groups often entails an absence of those able to distinguish between *daimista* discourse and practice rooted in received traditions and repertorial modifications instigated by charismatic leaders at a local level. Consequently, the contemporary ritual repertoire of Cefluris is a progressively variegated one.

In the earliest years of the movement, immediate interaction with Padrinho Sebastião and the Amazonian heritage, the mutual dependence of fledgling communities and the relative youthfulness and modest size of the Santo Daime network combined to limit the forces of organizational differentiation. As each of these factors is eroded or cedes precedence to other influences, however, traditional constraints upon the forces of organizational differentiation are incrementally diminished. Certainly, within the overwhelming majority of Santo Daime communities, the beliefs and rituals inherited from the Amazonian context furnish a much revered template by which local discourse and practice are orchestrated. Nevertheless, while some communities pride themselves on their level of adherence to the ritual repertoire espoused by the Cefluris leadership, others regard it as by no means definitive; preferring instead to view the alterations and additions they make as legitimate variations on the *daimista* theme. Implicated in the movement's ongoing transnationalization, and catalyzed by its theological eclecticism and charismatic authority structures, the dynamics of organizational differentiation will only further the diversification of the Santo Daime religion.

Enhanced Subjectivization

Prevailing scholarly emphasis upon the networks and flows of globalization does well to underline their contribution to the ongoing diversification of religious landscapes across various parts of the world (e.g. Altglas, 2011; Beyer, and Beaman, 2007; Geertz and Warburg, 2008; Oro and Steil, 1997). Underwritten by global networks and their exponential flows, the aforementioned processes of transnational migration, re-territorialization and organizational expansion, for example, combine to provide the contemporary individual a historically unrivalled and increasingly diverse array of religious options between which to choose. By way of highlighting, for example, the range of choices which the religiously diverse context of modern Brazil furnishes the individual, Carvalho says the following:

To give an example, the typical Brazilian adult ... can undergo a Rajneeshian bodily therapy to unblock the libido, occasionally take *jobrei* in the Messianic

Church to recharge his energy, and can still frequent courses or seminars on lamaism, theosophy, chakras, crystal power, or any type of spirituality or manipulation of forces and energies among those in vogue. And when he passes through a period of illness or crisis at work or in his love life he can go to some 'centre' in search of spiritual support. Of course, the word 'centre' (a key term in the contemporary religious panorama of Brazil) signifies a variety of things: an Umbanda centre, a Candomblé terreiro, a Kardecist centre, a place practising a mixture of these three or one working with a spirit unknown to established religion, and finally communities such as the Valley of the Dawn, Eclectic City, the Fraternity of the Cross and Lotus, etc. (1992, p. 134–5)

While established academic approaches do well to underline the increased optionality which globalization provides by way of religious diversification, they do not, however, sufficiently explain the subjective dimensions underlying the willingness and relative ease by which the modern, mobile individual chooses to move between one religious option and another. Though explaining many of the objective aspects of diversification (i.e. how societies become religiously diverse), prevailing theories of globalization do not satisfactorily explicate the subjective capacity to operationalize the increased choice that diversity makes possible (i.e. how individuals manage the increased choices made available by societal diversification). Traditionally strong in respect of macro-structural and mid-range institutional processes, prevailing theories of globalization are nevertheless relatively weak by way of explicating the micro-social dynamics of religious subjectivization implicated in societal diversification.

To a limited extent, one of the earliest scholars to explore the relationship of religion and globalization, Roland Robertson, went some way to engaging the subjective implications of socio-cultural diversification. According to Robertson, the dynamics of globalization comprise both 'the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole' (1992, p. 8). Understood as the 'objective' aspect of globalization, the compression of the world comprises a 'concrete global interdependence' born of the 'increasing unicity' of contemporary existence. Such unicity has arisen, for example, from the establishment of international organizations and movements (e.g. United Nations and environmentalism), the global transport of people and goods (e.g. migration, travel and trade) and emergence of worldwide networks such as the internet. For Robertson, the objective processes of 'unicity' are complemented by the subjective dimensions of 'globality'. Conceived as a 'consciousness of the global whole', the subjective processes of 'globality' involve an awareness of self, community

and society as part of a greater, all-encompassing totality. Understood and constructed against the overarching backdrop of a global horizon, individual consciousness experiences a ‘relativization’ of the ‘basic reference points’ by which subjective identity has traditionally been oriented. Populated by myriad options and alternative perspectives, the global horizon thereby renders unstable and ultimately provisional the formerly fixed and undisputed practical-symbolic universe of any given locale. As local value systems are relativized, individual consciousness becomes aware (‘self-reflexive’) of the increasing number of, previously absent or unconsidered, practical and symbolic possibilities available for personal appropriation (1992, p. 27, 176).

Important as Robertson’s reflections are upon the subjective relativization implicated in the processes of globalization, they do not help explicate the self-assuredness and ease with which the modern, mobile individual both perceives and navigates the ever increasing diversity of material and immaterial options made available by the worldwide networks and exponential flows of contemporary existence. As with other aspects of prevailing theories of globalization, it is here that the aforementioned concept of globalizing modernity compensates for the theoretical shortfall. The concept of globalizing modernity does so because it complements the networks and flows of globalization by identifying the most impactful dynamics associated with the ongoing diversification of contemporary societal existence. In so doing, globalizing modernity helps explicate not only the macro-structural and mid-range institutional processes which contribute to the global upsurge in diversity but also the micro-social dynamics through which progressively mobile individuals are both comfortable with and able to exploit the enhanced range of religious options made available to them. Among the various approaches employed to explore the micro-social dimensions of societal diversity, the notion of ‘subjectivization’ has proved the most enduring and theoretically fruitful for understanding the enhanced religious mobility of the modern individual.

Now a staple component of contemporary academic treatments of modern religiosity (e.g. Bellah *et al*, 1985; D’Andrea, 2001; Roof, 1993), the subjectivization thesis was first properly developed by the collaborative work of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. Developing earlier reflections upon the typically modern processes mentioned above, Berger and Luckmann argue that modernity increasingly requires individuals to formulate their own, subjectively-oriented meaning systems in the face of the rapid and far-reaching relativization of traditional collective modes of signification (‘plausibility structures’ or ‘symbolic universes’) (1966). According to Luckmann, modernity is responsible for ‘the emergence of a new social form of religion’, as society and its inhabitants shift from collective and socially

defined symbolic universes to privately formulated 'individual systems of "ultimate" significance' (1967, p. 91, 104–5). Arising from modernity's particular characteristics, says Luckmann, individuals are progressively freed from social constraints in respect of what they should believe and how they might render their worlds meaningful. Relying now upon an 'autonomous' sense of self and the 'private' resources (e.g. family and friends) which support it, individuals are increasingly formulating 'highly subjective' meaning systems directly tailored to a range of idiosyncratic criteria (e.g. 'self-expression' and 'self-realization'). Orchestrated by personal predilection and chosen from a growing range of socio-cultural ingredients, individual meaning systems are characterized by 'heterogeneity', highly 'flexible' and '*ad hoc*' in nature. Oriented 'to discovering the "inner self"', emotionally expressive and expectant of 'this-worldly' rewards, the kind of transcendence celebrated by this 'new social form of religion' differs markedly from that articulated by traditional systems of meaning informed by institutionalized religion (1967, p. 104–5; 1990).

Berger likewise links an increasingly subjectivized reliance upon individual meaning systems with processes and dynamics typical of modernity (1967). As religious worldviews work best in stable, undifferentiated and homogeneous social contexts, he argues, the rapidly changing and increasingly plural character of modern society undermines their ability to function (i.e. render existence meaningful) and reproduce themselves (i.e. gain new adherents). The destabilization and relativization of traditional religious meaning systems wrought by modernity engenders individuals who increasingly see themselves as sources of the certainty and stability essential to their existential wellbeing. Because subjectivity rather than sociality is the modern author of signification, individuals turn inwards and religion is progressively subjectivized. As a consequence, Berger asserts,

religious 'realities' are increasingly 'translated' from a frame of reference of facticities external to the individual consciousness to a frame of reference that locates them *within* consciousness. Put differently, the *realissimum* to which religion refers is transposed from the cosmos or from history to individual consciousness. Cosmology becomes psychology. History becomes biography. (1967, p. 167)

Echoing earlier sociological commentators interested by the rise of modern spiritualities (e.g. Durkheim and Simmel), Berger sees the subjectivization of religion as resulting in an interiorized, humanistic and immanentist preoccupation with physical and psychological wellbeing. In effect, religion becomes one among a range of therapeutic regimes oriented to bettering

the self in every aspect of its existence. In contrast to its traditional manifestation, the modern self lives and finds meaning by using its incentive, exercising autonomy and expressing itself freely according to subjectively oriented more than objectively determined criteria. While collective duties and obligations neither disappear nor go unacknowledged, they are relativized by constant reference to the perceived needs and desires of the modern, subjectivized self. Whereas Berger's reading of subjectivization as an expression of socio-cultural crisis is somewhat problematic, his identification of the preoccupation of 'modern Western culture' with 'subjectivity' and the assertion that 'modernization and subjectivization are cognate processes' are very much nearer the mark (Berger, 1979, p. 20–1).

Allied with its transnationalization and growing popularity among the urban-professional classes of modern societies around the world, the Santo Daime movement is likewise being progressively re-shaped through the impact of a range of typically subjectivizing dynamics. By virtue of its socio-economic status, enhanced educational capital and cosmopolitan worldview, the subjectivized consciousness of the urban-middleclass which now dominates the Santo Daime religion is highly reflexive in character. Here, reflexivity comprises a strategic and self-aware instrumentality through which practical and symbolic resources are appropriated and displayed in the cause of personal development and professional advancement. The urban-professional class also exhibits a relatively pluralized and fluid subjectivity which reflects, among other things, an informed appreciation of ongoing socio-cultural transformation and exposure to a varied range of worldviews and life-experiences. Generally tolerant of cultural, political or religious difference, urban-middleclass subjectivity is comfortable with societal change and copes well with moral ambivalence. At the same time, the pluralized and fluid subjectivity of urban-professionals manifests in a relativizing worldview by which collective commitments and corporate allegiances are readily provisionalized. The individualized demeanour of urban-middleclass subjectivity thereby qualifies collective modes of belonging and corporate participation through their subordination to the desires and concerns of a self that is permanently being developed and constantly in pursuit of aesthetic gratification. Evaluated relative to their contribution to individual wellbeing, communal forms of behaviour are progressively voluntarized and self-oriented such that individual subjectivity is customarily forged through the eclectic and hybridizing appropriation of practical regimes and symbolic resources from a broad spectrum of socio-cultural sources (Beck, Giddens, and Lash, 1994; Dawson, 2013a; Featherstone, 2007; Giddens, 1991; Vidich, 1995).

It would be unduly reductive to suppose that the urban-middleclass and its subjectivized consciousness correspond in every respect with the now preponderantly professional membership of Santo Daime and its religio-spiritual concerns. Nevertheless, sufficient correspondence exists to allow the identification of a range of practical-symbolic dynamics which inform the urban-professional membership's appropriation and progressive remodelling of beliefs and practices central to the *daimista* repertoire. Among the most important of these practical-symbolic dynamics are: the *subjectivized* valorization of the individual as the ultimate arbiter of religious authority and the primary agent of spiritual self-transformation; an *instrumental* (i.e. strategic and reflexive) religiosity oriented to the goal of absolute self-realization; a *holistic* worldview which both grounds the individual self in an overarching cosmic whole and relativizes religious belief systems as contingent expressions of otherwise universal truths; an *aestheticized* demeanour characterized by strong experiential preoccupations manifest through inward self-exploration and outer self-expression; a *meritocratic-egalitarianism* which is both expectant of rewards for efforts expended and qualifies traditional hierarchical structures; a *this-worldly* ethos which looks for the benefits of spiritual transformation as much in the here and now of this life as in the there and then of any future incarnation; and, an enhanced *religious mobility* characterized by the consecutive or concurrent participation in any number of groups and movements. In combination, these typically self-oriented dynamics qualify collective modes of belonging through their subordination to subjectivized preoccupations of an experiential, exploratory and expressive kind.

The subjectivized character of its urban-professional membership is impacting upon Santo Daime's traditional ritual repertoire in respect of, for example, divisions of ritual labour, use of ritual space and respect for ritual conventions. Customarily, Santo Daime has managed the distribution of ritual roles relative to the spiritual status and social standing of the individuals concerned. As a result, high profile ritual roles such as mediumship, the playing of musical instruments or composition of hymns were restricted in their allocation and reinforced through typically communal hierarchies and collective authority structures. The same corporate determination has also traditionally applied to the use of ritual space, with participants being assigned a particular place relative to status or standing and expected to remain in their allotted place until told otherwise. In the same vein, established conventions demand that ritual practitioners avoid disturbing or unduly interacting with those immediately around them and, unless appropriate, refrain from publicly disclosing the contents of visions received under the influence of Daime. By way of ongoing challenges or constant transgressions, however, inheri-

ted modes of regulating ritual labour, managing ritual space and reinforcing ritual conventions are being progressively eroded and ultimately modified along typically subjectivized lines. For example, and no doubt motivated by the enhanced experiential, exploratory and expressive possibilities on offer, increasing numbers of *daimistas* are infringing traditional restrictions upon where, when, how, and by whom spirit mediumship may be practised. Such is complemented by the expansion of those both looking to play musical instruments and claiming to receive hymns worthy of official adoption. The increasingly popular practice of publicly disclosing recently experienced visions is another indication of the ongoing transformation of inherited modes of collective determination, as is the progressive transgression of established spatial boundaries by individuals leaving their allotted place (in order to lie down or do their own thing) or moving to parts of ritual space traditionally out of bounds to them. The idiosyncratic customizing of official uniforms is a further case in point, as is the increase in individuals interacting with or unduly disturbing their ritual co-participants (e.g. through overly flamboyant dance steps or melodramatic mediumistic practices).

As with other religious repertoires, the combined forces of globalizing modernity impact upon the Santo Daime movement by way of recalibrating individual–communal dynamics such that traditional forms of collective authority and corporate determination are relativized while typically subjectivized modes of self-orientation are progressively prioritized. At the same time, and albeit chiefly unintended, the subjectivized preoccupations of urban–professional *daimistas* refract individual engagement with received authorities and collective demands in a manner which further qualifies the established foundations of the Santo Daime repertoire and modifies its contemporary format along increasingly self-validating lines. Intimately associated with its now dominant urban–professional membership, the progressive transformation of the Santo Daime movement reflects a range of processes and dynamics which owe far more to the contemporary landscape of globalizing modernity than they do to the Amazonian context in which the *daimista* repertoire was first forged. While urban–professional members continue to articulate a deep-seated respect for the structures, beliefs and practices inherited from the Amazonian context, they view and occupy the world in ways which are markedly different than *daimistas* of earlier generations. Imbued with values, concerns and aspirations not straightforwardly compatible with established traditions, the now dominant urban–professional constituency is incrementally transforming Santo Daime in a manner which renders it increasingly conducive to meeting the needs and expectations engendered by a typically modern and increasingly globalized existence.

Of course, the subjectivizing implications of globalizing modernity do not necessarily entail the end of collective forms of religious association such as those actualized in Santo Daime. They do, though, involve the recalibration of established modes of participation and belonging in a way which relativizes corporate dynamics through their subordination to the subjectivized needs and aspirations of the globally-modern individual. Likewise, the detraditionalizing processes associated with the rapid and large-scale transformation effected by globalizing modernity do not automatically negate the contemporary valorization of inherited beliefs and rituals. They do, however, involve the reconfiguration of tradition as established symbols and practices are interpreted and enacted by subjectivized selves within ever more hybrid, flexible and variegated religious repertoires. In the same vein, the radical differentiation of society and ensuing socio-cultural diversification need not engender disorientation and crisis on the part of the increasingly disembedded individual in search of religious meaning. Indeed, processes of globalizing modernity are actually contributing towards the formation of mobile, confident and expectant individuals who thrive religiously on the contemporary coincidence of enhanced optionality in both its objective and subjective dimensions.

Conclusion

The extensive networks and exponential flows of globalization are currently transforming localities and regions in all parts of the world. In tandem with these transformations, religious belief and practice is likewise undergoing a series of changes, the scale and rapidity of which have never before been seen. Framed by the notion of globalizing modernity, the foregoing examination of the changing character of religiosity argues that many of the processes associated with globalization are typically modern in respect of their macro-structural, mid-range institutional and micro-social implications for contemporary human existence. Complemented by working examples drawn from the Santo Daime religion, three typically modern aspects of the globalization – religion relationship have been engaged by way of growing religious diversity (as a macro-structural phenomenon), increasing organizational differentiation (as a mid-range institutional dynamic), and enhanced subjectivization (as a micro-social process). While each of these aspects is exemplary in its own right, other equally relevant examples might likewise have been employed to explicate globalizing modernity's impact upon contemporary religion. The dynamics of socio-cultural detraditionalization, for example, complement aforementioned increases in religious diversity to reconfigure the macro-structural environment in which religious organizations

and individual practitioners operate. At a mid-range level, growing competition and the ensuing marketization of religion combine with increasing organizational differentiation to further transform the profiles and practices of both traditional and new religious institutions. In the same vein, the religious implications of enhanced subjectivization are catalyzed by the micro-social dynamics of, for example, commoditized consciousness. Irrespective of the examples employed, however, the nub of the foregoing argument lies in the assertion that the analytical frame of globalizing modernity furnishes a more rounded appreciation of the religious reconfiguration currently being wrought by the worldwide networks and exponential flows customarily treated as practical-symbolic components of globalization.

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