

Introduction

Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the LORD, and Satan came also among them. And the LORD said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the LORD, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it. And the LORD said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil? Then Satan answered the LORD, and said, Doth Job fear God for nought? Hast not thou made a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land. But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face. And the LORD said unto Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand. So Satan went forth from the presence of the LORD.

—Job, 1:8–12, New King James Version (NKJV)

Having run I arrived in a considerably more ruffled and sweaty state than the others who, dressed smartly and respectfully, gradually joined the service in the village's Independent International Baptist Church (IIBC). The church was like many other buildings in the village, made of painted breezeblocks with a corrugated iron roof. Electric fans whirred away at the front of the room where Pastor Tom would lead the service, while I, like others, sought out space on a wooden bench where I could catch some of the breeze. I was welcomed to a seat by those around me, including Tina,¹ who, after some hymns and prayers, herself led us in a very long prayer in a similar way I had heard her do in the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church where she was also an active member and attended regularly. We had both been at the Adventist services the day before and would see each other again at the SDA Sunday service that evening.

Like many other people locally, Tina had little money to live on. She lived alone in a small white house in a central area of the village, the back fence of her property adjoining the side boundary of the

house in which I was staying. Her main income came from the local government employment programme where she cut back the fast-growing bush from encroaching on the roads in and around the village. This was supplemented by the little she made from selling her own homemade sweets to tourists along the nearby beaches. Like many other people locally, Tina ‘hustled’, getting by through various informal income sources. Tina had been brought up in the village by her grandmother who was also an Adventist, and while Tina had left the church as a teenager, she told me she always knew ‘the truth’ and had always felt guilty for leaving. She had returned to the Adventist church some years ago and, now in her fifties, she attended both the Adventist and Independent Baptist church regularly. Church gave her ‘spiritual encouragement’, she told me, and she particularly enjoyed the hymns she sang there. Outside services, she spent time reading the Bible and engaging in prayer, knowing that the good relationship she maintained with God through her prayers and conversations with Him meant that He would look after her. Despite her meagre earnings, she always dressed respectably, wearing nicely cut dresses to the many church services she attended through the week, walking to and from these and her job since, like most people locally, she did not own a car.



Figure 0.1 Old-style wooden housing along the main road through the village. Photograph by the author.

Occasionally, Tina would take *maxi-taxis* (minibuses) or the bus towards the East–West Corridor and Port of Spain to visit her sister or other family members who lived and worked there. Rather than going to join them for employment that would have paid her more and was more reliable, Tina preferred to stay living in the village where she had grown up, which had a friendly, community-based atmosphere, where the air was less polluted and where there was less violent crime. While there were others in Trinidad whose lives were filled with more money, more goods and more power, including those in the government who controlled and chose where to distribute national resources (like the employment programme she worked for, which was subject to cuts and changes), this was not Tina’s life and she did not regularly encounter such people. Instead, Tina prayed for the good of her nation, that the Devil would not work through those with power and money to destroy Trinidad and its people. Perhaps, as others in the village told me they did, this also included praying for the Afro-Trinidadian and Christian PNM (People’s National Movement) government to return to power, toppling the COP–UNC (Congress Of the People–United National Congress) coalition government dominated by Indo-Trinidadians who were largely Hindu. Other people had told me – or insinuated – that it was likely that these politicians, individuals with power and money, had struck deals with the Devil to gain such positions in the first place. Hindus were often locally framed as devil-worshipping, in part because they were seen to worship multiple gods, so the connection between success, power and devilish interference was perhaps particularly easy to make in relation to successful Indo-Trinidadian politicians and businessmen. Tina did not have money or position, but she strove to be a good Christian and knew that she had a good relationship with God as she spoke and prayed to Him daily. Despite her daily struggles, through her faith she was confident that she was ‘good with God’.

Compared to the successful and rich people who worked with the Devil, the poorer situation of those locally was read by those in the village as demonstrating how far the community was from the Devil, their lesser material wealth and position indicative of their higher morality. Why then might God allow the suffering of those who live such good Christian lives? Why did they not also have success and wealth? Tina, like other people locally, turned to the story of Job for her explanation.

Across the eight churches in and around this rural Trinidadian village,² it was the biblical story of Job that I heard most frequently referred to in sermons and in conversation. Part of the Old Testament,

the Book of Job addresses the problem of human suffering and why good, God-fearing and righteous people may suffer despite their faith in God. A successful and wealthy man, Job is a good and faithful follower of God; however, God allows Satan to test Job's faith by causing him to lose his family and goods, even afflicting him with boils covering his body. Still Job refuses to curse God. Eventually, God returns to Job all he had lost back to him and more. Through standing by God despite the inflictions and disasters dished out to him by the Devil, Job was eventually rewarded, although there was a long period of suffering without God apparently working for him or being present in his life. This story and its themes stood out amongst the many other village discussions of an omniscient and in-control God and a working Devil. Job's predicament and the positions of God and the Devil within this appeared to be particularly meaningful, and people drew on this story to talk about their own suffering. As Pastor Frederick told us in a sermon in the Seventh Day Adventist church, it may not be that someone had done something wrong to bring problems on to themselves, they may be like Job, 'going through problems for their own good ... Sometimes we have to undergo hardship so we can be used by Him and prepared for His Kingdom'. He continued: 'Hold on. No matter what you are going through, allow God to work in your life.'

The story of Job therefore needs to run through these pages also, linking to how people discussed and framed illness and wider misfortune – why people might suffer and the role of God and the Devil in this. Job demonstrated that there could be suffering of good Christians that was not a result of individuals' own actions; in fact, it was their very morality and Christianity that meant that they suffered. As God remained in ultimate control, like Job, it was important to continue to trust in Him, to live as a good Christian and all would be well. Like many others in the village, rather than engaging in political protest or fighting to change her current circumstances, Tina instead continued to focus on her own personal relationship with God and her own moral behaviour as a good Christian – she allowed God to work in her life, as Pastor Frederick suggested. It would be God who would see her through, who allowed her to eat and get by each day: it was God who was in control.

Therefore, Tina's individual actions and internal focus placed her in a positive moral position, but maintaining this was an ongoing process. Tina had to continue to work on her own morality through her faith and Christian actions, including by taking care of her health and body, as both were given by God and she was responsible for their care. Her relative poverty and life struggles demonstrated that

she did not work with the Devil, and her continual presence at church and her testimonies of how God had worked in her life demonstrated her moral Christian nature. While God was in ultimate control, it was Tina's actions that created her moral standing as a good Christian. Because of her everyday actions, God would look after her, keeping her healthy, housed and fed. In the context of the village, then, ill health was a result of both physiology and cosmology, which were themselves connected.

Cosmology and Illness

Explanations of illness are a classic focus within medical anthropology and are indeed for some medical anthropology's fundamental role. The distinction between disease and illness, the former referring to the physiological expression of the sickness (and the domain of the medical profession) and the latter referring to the experience of that sickness (the domain of medical anthropologists and sociologists), suggests that people's own understandings of the body, health and illness are foundational to an anthropological approach and contribution to medicine. Kleinman's (1980) work on what he terms 'explanatory models' (EMs) – patients' 'lay' understandings of the basis of their sickness, as opposed to the clinical or biological (and 'real') cause – has been highly influential and is still used to investigate patient perspectives both within medical anthropology and by clinicians.³ It is well recognized that patient explanations may include not only a physiological understanding of the body and illness, but also an understanding contextualized within the patient's wider cosmological worldview. This has been seen as important in explaining questions of *why* an individual becomes sick in addition to physiological explanations of *how* – Evans-Pritchard's *umbaga*, or 'second spear' in Zande cosmology (Evans-Pritchard, 1976; Taussig, 1980). Such framings split scientific explanations of 'how' and social understanding of 'why', and link to other categorical dichotomies of 'biology'/'culture', 'knowledge'/'belief', 'medicine'/'religion'.

However, such divisions are not reflected in Tina's account, nor in the many others I heard while in the field. God and the Devil, and the Holy Spirit and devilish spirits were entities that people could know, feel and experience. They altered biology and the material world, dwelt in bodies and were embedded in notions of health and, indeed, in everyday life. These were impossible to separate out from the everyday or from understandings of health, and were far more than a

mere explanation of illness. In such a context, it makes no sense to talk about ‘the medical’ and ‘the religious’ as different things, nor could a particular action or circumstance be clearly viewed as one or the other. In fact, Taussig (1980) argues that anthropologists have misconstrued Zande metaphysics based on our own understandings, suggesting that for the Azande, ‘how’ and ‘why’ explanations are ‘folded into one another; aetiology is simultaneously physical, social and moral’ (Taussig, 1980: 4).

This split between ‘how’ and ‘why’, and more broadly between medicine and religion (‘rationality’ and ‘irrationality’) within Euro-American conceptualizations, can be attributed as a product of the Enlightenment and is less visible in ethnographies that focus on cosmological understandings outside these societies. For example, in the work of Robert Dejarlais in Nepal (1992), understandings of illness and the body are connected with broader spiritual ideas, and Carol Delaney’s work in Turkey links cosmological ideas to broader understandings of gender and social organization (1991). Furthermore, while these concepts are *theoretically* divided in Euro-American societies, as Latour (1993) argues – and as appears from Taussig’s work with patients in the United States – this does not necessarily occur in practice. Like many other categories, such dichotomies are rarely ‘lived’ in this way; we have never been ‘modern’ in this sense.

And yet such modernist framings persist – religion and medicine are frequently boxed off as separate to each other (and sometimes as somewhat separate to daily life) rather than emerging from, made by and being entangled within everyday concerns. Indeed, while there are now some exceptions (e.g. Hardin, 2018; Roberts, 2012; Littlewood and Lynch, 2016; and Whitmarsh and Roberts, 2016, who in their edited journal special issue have called for a ‘non-secular medical anthropology’), by and large, recent medical anthropology seems to disregard wider cosmological understandings as not containing constructions or entities that are significant, and of somehow detracting from wider projects of addressing structural violence, challenging the hegemony of biomedicine, articulating people’s experiences or perspectives, or detailing global circulation of goods, flows of power, and the impacts and consequences of globalization. Should the two be brought together, one tends to be kept as stable (almost like static variable), while the other is seen as more constructed; it is either religion or medicine that is dynamic, productive and up for re-examination, not both at the same time. This highlights a second problem: there is a need not only to overcome a divide between the two, but also to recognize both as dynamic and changing, relational and drawing on

wider context and circumstances. Such categories are not fixed and static, as Kleinman's EMS might imply they are, but involve an active and ongoing making of cosmological understandings. Trying to separate the body, health and illness from wider values, morality and cosmology results not only in limited conceptualizations, but also fails to take into account the dynamics between these as they shape, and are shaped by, people's everyday lives and relate to power dynamics, sociopolitical and economic circumstances, and indeed globalization. My attempts to move away from these static categorizations and to bring in the wider changing context of the village make up the pages of this book. In so doing, I aim to present notions of health, the body, morality, spirits and evangelical Christianity as lively, interlinked constructions that draw from each other.

Locating the Field

My interest in Trinidad as a fieldsite came from a broader curiosity in anxiety (Lynch, 2016), which at the time had drawn far less attention from anthropologists and cultural psychiatrists than depression. I was curious about how people dealt with anxiety in their everyday lives in places where its medicalization as a mental health problem was less common. Undertaking research in a place like Trinidad that had low levels of clinical anxiety, but otherwise much reason for anxiety more broadly in everyday life – through, for example, a high perceived risk of crime and violence, and perceptions of corruption in the State – seemed like a useful place to start. I initially based myself in the capital, Port of Spain, the focus for much of social, cultural, political and economic life in Trinidad, and gradually explored the areas directly around and beyond the city. This included the East–West Corridor that leads from Port of Spain and was where many people moved to from across the country to find work.

However, moving beyond these central areas and to the northeast coast where Herskovits and Herskovits (1947) and Littlewood (1993) had based their ethnographic work, a real distinction became evident between these central and bustling cities (which were also difficult for me to negotiate without a car) and other parts of Trinidad that were classified as more 'Indo-Trinidadian' or 'Afro-Trinidadian'. These were viewed by those in these central areas as quite separate and were where people practised *obeah*⁴ and were more 'traditional'. Having myself grown up in a Dorset village and then having lived in London, I was familiar with ideas of 'peripheral' places held by those who lived in

more central areas, and the idea of being able to examine relationships between the centre and the periphery, and being somewhere that was easier for me to navigate without a car and with significantly less risk of crime, was appealing. The notion of people practising *obeah* also intrigued me, and I thought that manifestations of anxiety might be different and provide a nice comparison study to the research I was conducting in and around Port of Spain.

I was somewhat disappointed to find that evangelical Christianity was far more dominant than any kind of *obeah* use, or work with spirits. And yet this itself was far more interesting – why was evangelical Christianity so appealing when other kinds of spirit work were not? How did a village of such a small size come to have eight churches situated within and around it? Who could possibly be going to these and how did they relate to each other? Being the granddaughter of a Methodist minister and having been brought up by Quaker parents, I was probably also drawn to investigating how different Christian denominations and perspectives coexisted in this space, especially when evangelical Christian voices (so different from Quaker understandings of the world) were so dominant. I was still interested in anxiety, health and the body, and in cultural understandings and wider framings of these, but my sympathy with a particular marginal sociopolitical positioning, and my intrigue into church relations and changing dominant cosmological frameworks meant that I abandoned the idea of continuing a comparative project and decided to focus entirely on everyday life in the village. In locating my research in this area, I was also aware that I would be a third anthropologist producing work around these villages who would be present at a third point in time and a third period in Trinidad's history. I thought that situating myself in the same area as Herskovits and Herskovits (1947) and Littlewood (1993) might give me a unique opportunity to consider change over time, while still acknowledging the differences between how such accounts were developed and who produced these. As such, I am keen to locate my work within the particular time period (and wider context) in which it was carried out, and I consciously use the ethnographic past throughout to highlight the time-specific nature of my findings and analysis as situated within that particular area at that particular time. Indeed, because of this examination of the complexities present within a single site – the relations between the past and present, the individual, the community, the national and the global, and between the body, health and cosmology – this work also speaks to concerns and conceptualizations beyond the village and Trinidad itself.

Trinidad is a Caribbean island located seven miles off the coast of Venezuela. One of the two islands that form the nation of Trinidad and Tobago, its history of slavery and indentured labour is similar to that of many other Caribbean countries. The Spanish originally colonized Trinidad after being claimed for Spain by Columbus in 1498, and French planters brought their African slaves to work on the island from 1793 (Brereton, 2009 [1981]). Trinidad was captured by the British in 1797, slavery was abolished in 1834 and shortly afterwards, from 1845, indentured labourers were brought over from India to work on the plantations. Other indentured populations, including those from China and from Madeira, also migrated to Trinidad throughout the nineteenth century, albeit in smaller numbers (Brereton, 2009 [1981]). Trinidad gained independence from the British in 1962. The ethnic and religious make-up of Trinidad reflects its history – at the time of my stay just under 32% of the population were Afro-Trinidadian and were largely the descendants of African slaves (and who were mainly Christian), while just over 37% of the population were Indo-Trinidadian, largely the descendants of indentured labourers from India who were mostly Hindu, but with substantial groups who were Muslim and Christian (Brereton, 2009 [1981]; Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago, 2012). The rest of the population was recorded as a mix of ethnic backgrounds, the largest groups being ‘Caucasian’ and ‘Chinese’ (Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago, 2012). Littlewood (2007) notes that Trinidad might be seen as one of the first ‘modern’ societies, slavery creating a new model of human relations based on people as commodities. He suggests that the ‘reconstituted peasantries’ that Mintz (1974, 1986) saw as forming in Caribbean societies following the end of slavery did not significantly alter the value placed on the principles of universalism, Christianity and the wider world economy that were marked on to Trinidad through the slave trade and colonial rule.

Citing Mintz’s proposition that specific social characteristics unify the area, rather than one particular ‘culture’, (Mintz, 1971, cited in Slocum and Thomas, 2003), Slocum and Thomas (2003) suggest that the Caribbean can be understood as heterogeneous, but as a place that is drawn together by historical, economic, and sociocultural patterns, including colonialism, kinship structure and religion. They chart the changes in the central topic of ethnographic research conducted within the Caribbean – from a focus on village life, religion, music and dance in the 1920s and 1930s, on families and kinship from the 1940s to the 1970s, to decolonialization and power struggles, including nationalism, national identity and Independence, from the 1960s.

Yelvington suggests that much of the anthropology of the Caribbean (and Afro-Latin America) has been influenced by debates on New World black culture⁵ that reiterate the importance of the colonial history of the Caribbean, a history that is of course largely responsible for the heterogeneity of the region (Trouillet, 1992; Brereton, 2009 [1981]).

Unsurprisingly, therefore, Trinidad has both similarities to and differences from its Caribbean neighbours. Trinidadian traditions such as Carnival (and, to some extent, calypso) are present in other areas of the Caribbean, albeit in slightly different forms,⁶ while Wilson's conception of Caribbean 'crab antics' and respectability versus reputation is also seen as relevant to Trinidadian society (Wilson, 1973; Littlewood, 1993; Miller, 1994; and see Chapter 1 for a more in-depth examination of Wilson's argument). However, Trinidad also differs from other Caribbean nations, its oil industry making it comparatively better off than many other Caribbean states that are more dependent on tourism for income (see, for example, Guadeloupe's work in Saint Martin in 2009). Trinidad's ethnic make-up is also more unusual for the Caribbean, given the percentage mix of those of Indo-Trinidadian and Afro-Trinidadian descent. While ethnicity has been seen as a preoccupation of Trinidadians, Miller found that ideas of cultural background could be very contradictory and in fact groups were far more merged than often portrayed (1994).⁷

However despite this, Trinidadian politics have historically been divided along ethnic lines, with a party that was seen by many within Trinidad to represent the interests of Afro-Trinidadians (the People's National Movement or PNM) against a party that was seen as representing the interests of the Indo-Trinidadian population (the United National Congress or UNC). Since Independence, the PNM have mainly been in power in Trinidad, although during my stay a coalition government with the UNC as the main party had been elected (in 2010) for only the second time in the nation's history. The village where I was based and its surrounding area had been a PNM stronghold, but due to changes in the boundaries of the electoral ward, the Member of Parliament for this area was no longer PNM. As well as feeling that Trinidad's government were now no longer working in the interest of Afro-Trinidadians and Afro-Trinidadian areas, people in the village also told me how they felt their area was being punished by the new government for their previous PNM support. This was evident, for example, in the perception that the cuts made to the government employment scheme (which Tina worked on) were primarily in PNM-supporting villages.

My work is based on living in one of these PNM-supporting villages on the northeast coast of Trinidad, where I undertook participant observation between April 2011 and May 2012, following three months of initial fieldwork in and around Port of Spain. The Trinidad and Tobago census places fewer than 2,000 people in the village while I was there (Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago, 2012) and most of those I met were born in the village or in the villages around it. The vast majority of residents were of Afro-Trinidadian descent and were Christian by religious background. These characteristics were thus in contradiction to the perception of the ruling government parties in Trinidad at that time. The coalition government were viewed by those in the village to be mostly Indo-Trinidadian, Hindu, well-off and based in and concerned with the more urban areas of Trinidad.

The local area was one of the poorest in Trinidad, but was far more cut off than many other areas, accessible only by a single, long and twisting road, much of which was in extremely bad condition. While always having been a fishing village, the area used to be a thriving centre during the British colonial period, where it also grew much of the nutmeg, citrus and cloves produced in Trinidad. However, since



Figure 0.2 Further along the main road. A shop is visible on the right side of the road; the large white building in the distance is the police station. Photograph by the author.



Figure 0.3 An abandoned house in the village, painted with the letters 'PNM' to indicate local support for the (largely Afro-Trinidadian) political party. Photograph by the author.



Figure 0.4 One of a number of chickens owned by people locally. Cocks and hens wandered around parts of the village, as did stray dogs and cats. Other village residents included frogs, toads, a range of different birds and insects, and animals from the nearby bush, such as snakes, that also sometimes came into the village. Photograph by the author.

the closure of the estates, opportunities for local employment had waned, and many young people had moved into the capital and the East–West Corridor that leads from it to find work in Trinidad’s main business and industrial zone. As was the case in many of the poorer areas of Trinidad, many people who stayed in the village (including Tina) were reliant on government employment schemes for work.

As referred to earlier, like other country areas, this coast and the ‘bush’ that surrounded it was often associated with backwardness and underdevelopment by those in Port of Spain and the East–West



Figure 0.5 Fishing boats a little beyond the pier at dusk. The northeast coast is visible in the background. Photograph by the author.

Corridor. Related to this, it was also an area where outsiders might hope to find an *obeahmen/women* who could remove some forms of spiritual affliction and provide a talisman that might help an individual win a court case or stop their partner ‘horning’ (cheating on) them, even ‘putting something on’ someone to harm them. However, it was God rather than *obeah* that was evident in the village. There were a number of churches of different Christian denominations based in the village itself (Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist, Evangelical, Spiritual Baptist and Independent Baptist) and community members also attended the Catholic and Pentecostal churches in neighbouring villages (see the Appendix for more details of each of these denominations in the village).

The Trinidad census 2012 notes that the number of those affiliated with the Pentecostal, Evangelical and Full Gospel churches has more than doubled between 2000 and 2011 across Trinidad, while there has been an increase in attendance in services held by the older fundamentalist groups, such as the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah’s Witnesses (Central Statistical Office of Trinidad and Tobago,



Figure 0.6 A sign on a tree stating ‘NO KILLING OFF [sic] LIVE CHICKEN’. Many of the local streams and rivers have been used for Orisha rituals by those travelling from other areas of Trinidad. These areas are otherwise picnic or *liming* spots for those visiting the northeast coast. Photograph by the author.

2012). While it is hard to establish exact figures on a local level, this was also reported to have occurred in the villages along the coast by older residents of the area. Here I broadly group together the Seventh Day Adventist, Evangelical and Pentecostal churches that were attended by those in the community as 'evangelical'⁸ churches, the other churches in the village not having quite the same emphasis. Although in the past, there were people from the village who followed Orisha,⁹ there was only one person known to do so while I was in the field and he was on the periphery of village life. There were now no Orisha events held in the community, although Lum's (2000) work and other people in the village suggested that there had been a group based nearby at one time. As will become clear in the forthcoming chapters, relationships between the churches were not clear-cut, individuals having family members and friends attached to different churches where they attended services, people changing affiliation through their lifetime, as well as some, like Tina, who attended more than one church on a regular basis. Therefore, denominational differences were not always clear, although on occasions these were extremely important.

As well as the churches, the village had a police station, a local court, an Anglican primary school (a Catholic primary school was situated just beyond the village), a high school, a radio station, a community centre, a playing field, an internet café (with an intermittent connection), a handicraft centre, a hardware shop, two bars, and a small number of local shops and food places. There was also a fishing pier with a centre for the fisherman. This was where fish were brought in and were weighed and sold, and where the fishermen mostly spent their time when not out at sea. As well as fishing, agriculture was another means through which people survived, some selling their produce at local shops or taking this into markets in the centre. Many people grew crops for themselves and to trade with others locally, more akin to peasant economies than capitalist modes of production. CEPEP, the government employment scheme, had previously employed many people locally after the estates had closed, and there was still a little work available through this. The pensions of older people in the village were often used to sustain members of the household, as was money and goods sent by relatives who had moved out of the area (for more details on employment, family structure and relationships between the old and young, and with the rest of Trinidad, see Chapter 1).

There was little violent crime in the village itself and its immediate surroundings but the prevalence of this in the rest of Trinidad was certainly felt on a local level. At the time of my fieldwork, Trinidad

was suffering high rates of crime and violence, with 35.2 homicides per 100,000 people reported in 2010 compared to a global average of 6.9 per 100,000 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011). Many of my interlocutors were wary when travelling outside of the village, particularly if they were heading towards more notoriously dangerous areas, and they expressed a low level of trust in police, government and justice systems. Following a surge in murders, in August 2011, the Trinidad and Tobago government announced a State of Emergency (SoE). This continued until December 2011, during which time a number of urban areas with the greatest crime problems were under curfew. Due to the prevalence of the drug trade along the northeast coast (both in transporting cocaine from South to North America and locally grown marijuana), the local area, including the village, was also placed under curfew during this time. Responsibility for these problems was attributed to various aspects of contemporary life, including the current Trinidadian government (and previous governments to a greater or lesser extent), individuals personally involved and a general uncaring attitude within Trinidad. However, the ultimate reasons for such social problems were seen to be due to external agents – the Devil and the evil spirits who worked for him.

Discourses around the Devil and Job were evident in many aspects of everyday life in which I participated and observed in the village. Whilst in the field, I helped out with the business ventures of the family I stayed with, as well as visiting schools, businesses, charitable organizations and the village's community centre. I regularly attended church services, going to at least two services at all local churches during my stay, but spending the majority of my time in the churches with the greatest number of people attending; the Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist and Pentecostal churches. I joined in social and church events, associations such as cooperative meetings, church social gatherings and handicraft clubs, as well as attending national events with people from the village (including Spiritual Baptist Liberation Day celebrations). I spoke at length with members of all churches in the area, community leaders, and those involved in particular activities across the village, and there were a smaller number of individuals and friendship groups (including those based on locality, workplace and church) that I would meet and engage with on a more regular basis throughout my stay. Due to my status as unmarried, without children and a 'student',¹⁰ I was referred to as 'girl' (and 'sister' by those who knew me from different churches) – young and naïve. This positioning made it easier to ask questions and to make mistakes, but also to visit people, particularly in their homes,

alone. People regularly suggested other local people who would be helpful for me to speak to, telling me where I would find them or how to contact them. I was extremely grateful for these suggestions and almost always took these up. Those I became closest to in the village (with a couple of exceptions) were generally women, and it was hardest to speak to younger men (although I did also manage this, but less regularly). The idea that I was in the village to undertake research for my studies, which I glossed as looking at the relationship between religion and medicine, seemed unproblematic. I was very grateful that so many people took the time to help me learn about this, especially as people generally did not appear to show a great level of interest in what I was doing or in any kinds of findings or outcomes – the focus was on teaching me what they already knew to be the case.

As is always the way, then, my position and background no doubt affected the data I was able to gather and my interpretation of this. Gender differences in the area meant that women tended to be more associated with churches and less with visiting bars or *liming* on the street. It was far easier for me to meet people through churches, and to be involved in these and social groups aimed more at women (such as craft clubs), and so perhaps my focus on the role of churches was somewhat inevitable. However, given that churches were the main meeting space, and evangelical Christian discourse was so strong and apparent in everyday life, it is hard to understand how I could have visited the area without examining the role this had in people's lives. I note the difference in my position compared to Herskovits and Herskovits (1947) and Littlewood (1993). Not only were they present at very different time points, but the Herskovits were a married couple, linked to the colonial state and staying for a few months, while Littlewood, a doctor with a family (who remained in Port of Spain), stayed for well over a year and lived with a religious group in the bush. As such, they were likely to have been viewed very differently and in a less junior way than I was. Clearly, direct comparison across the three ethnographies we have produced is not possible – we were different people with different interests conducting fieldwork with different foci at different periods of time and in different circumstances. All of us, and our work, are also products of anthropological trends and discussions peculiar to our period – the nature of anthropology and the foci of anthropological study have of course changed over time. Nevertheless, reflections on previous findings, conclusions and analyses from these other authors have been useful in developing this work, and add to situating the field, and my fieldwork, within historical circumstances.

A Cosmological Approach

Thus, in relation to the above, health here needs to be situated in two key ways: first, by not splitting this from cosmological understandings and practices, nor from the sociopolitical and economic circumstances and positioning of the village; and, second, by including the dynamic relations between health and these aspects, as well as historical changes and influences over time. As such, understandings of health and illness become part of wider conceptualizations of success and misfortune – the embedded moral framings and values through which ‘good things’ and ‘bad things’ happen. As is evident in my description of Tina and the village, in an area where evangelical Christianity was growing in popularity, understandings of God, the Devil and one’s moral (Christian) positioning were inevitably part of this. However, I argue that experiences of success and misfortune (and thus health and illness) also fed into the growth and appeal of this Christian framing, as did the wider context and circumstances of the village. Therefore, to bring together these different relational and dynamic components, I focus on local cosmological understandings and the moral orders in which people, institutions, organizations, events, objects and spirit agents were situated.

Moral Orders

I use the term ‘moral order’ to refer to the hierarchical placing of meanings and values through which subjects are defined in a particular space. This is an overarching system in which subjects are given a moral positioning: some people/organizations/things/spirit agents may be more ‘moral’ than others, what is considered ‘moral’ altering in different settings. To some extent, this follows Douglas’ (1966) argument that people order and categorize the world to be able to make sense of it and to deal with its complexity, and Durkheim (1915) saw morality as a form of social solidarity that kept society together. However, both Douglas’ and Durkheim’s approaches imply that an order is somehow fixed, enduring and understood by all to become ‘true’. Yet, cosmologies and moral orders are not ‘naturally’ occurring and enduring, but are crafted on a daily basis through practices (including bodily practices) and through discourses that interpret and seek to understand practices and events. These understandings do not exist ‘out there’ as fixed entities, but are merely stable concepts continually remade and refined on a daily basis so that they are seen as a ‘natural’¹¹ ordering – the way in which the world works and *should*

work. As these understandings are lived, they are constantly being added to, refined and reinforced, not part of a cohesive frame that is external to individuals as Durkheim suggests, but integrated within and emerging from everyday life. Experiences such as sickness and misfortune (and health and success) are examples of ways through which these cosmological understandings and moral orderings are made (and remade) so that focusing on health, illness and the body, as well as wider cases of success and misfortune, allows a consideration as to how a moral order can be crafted from the complexities of everyday life.

In Christianity broadly, one's moral positioning is connected to being a good Christian – good Christians are 'moral' people.¹² In the village, being a good Christian was largely related to actions – in general, if the individual took care of their family, community and neighbours by attending to their welfare, worked to legally obtain their income, did not drink or smoke to excess, take drugs or have sex with multiple partners and had a Christian faith, they were moral. Individuals were 'more moral' if they had an active relationship with God (including through regular prayer, for example) and 'less moral' if they engaged in the above practices, so that scales of morality emerged on a local level.¹³ Practices therefore indicated the kind of person someone was and their positioning in the moral order. Moral positioning was also attributed to others, with discussions, stories and interpretations of what people had done and what had happened allowing such distinctions to be made. An individual's perception of their own moral standing could very well be at odds with how others interpreted events and their actions. Moral orders also included spirit agents, God and the Devil forming the ends of two poles, with good and bad spirits situated along this. Whether a spirit was good or bad and how far along the pole they were situated was also discernible through their actions and wider events.

Moral orders stretched beyond the village to include people and spirits in other parts of Trinidad and internationally. Since the first priests arrived in Trinidad (and other Caribbean islands) to missionize the local population in the seventeenth century, the Caribbean has always had links with other parts of the world, developed further through slavery, colonialism, migration from various disbanded West African regiments from the United States (which arrived following emancipation), international trade and the U.S. airbases on the island between 1941 and 1950 (Brereton, 2009 [1981]). These important historical events have significantly contributed to the shaping of Trinidadian life as well as the nation, and subjects beyond Trinidad

form an intrinsic element in any cosmological and moral view of the world from the village. Furthermore, the migration of people to Trinidad over its history from Europe, West Africa, India and China has created both cultural and religious divisions and animosities, as well as a unified concept of being Trinidadian – the notion that despite such differences, ‘all o’ we is one’. Local moral ordering was another way of expressing the ethnic and religious diversity of Trinidad within a wider system – all groups of people were fitted into this cosmological order, including Hindus, Muslims, Orisha and other Christian denominations in Trinidad.

Finally, there was a material element to such ordering. While in Austin-Broos’ (2005) work in Jamaica, moral orders are symbolically embodied in the Pentecostals she focuses on,¹⁴ in the village, it was also the material condition of bodies that suggested moral value and position – healthy bodies were bodies in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, while unhealthy bodies were ‘empty’ or housed a devilish spirit. Goods, money and the physical landscape of Trinidad as a nation also materially expressed morality – moral orders were made and remade through the material as well as through practices and discourses.

Crucial to these orders was that expectations of circumstances aligned with moral positioning – those who were better Christians and morally higher *should* have better social and economic circumstances than those further down the order, they *should* prosper for their good actions while the immoral *should* fail and/or be punished. The Bible gives many examples of good Christians who are rewarded in life and able to prosper, but Job provides an example of a good Christian who goes through a period of loss and misfortune *because* of his high moral positioning. Many people, like Tina, could therefore identify with Job: they were good Christians and yet were not receiving the rewards and prosperity that came with high moral positioning, especially as others who were clearly less moral (such as Hindu politicians and businessmen) appeared to be thriving. This identification with Job did not therefore disrupt or go against a wider moral order of divine justice, but was indicative of occasions when what *should* happen did not occur, and how the Devil operated to disrupt this world order.

The Cosmological

Moral orders, and notions of what should be, were part of wider cosmological understandings of the world. Such understandings are not always clear-cut or fully elaborated, including to individuals themselves. Novel or changing circumstances may require new

interpretations, whilst some aspects of life can be lived without being consciously framed within a wider cosmology. Furthermore, these understandings may be drawn from, and relate to, various sources – sociopolitical and economic understandings, ideas of agency, personhood and self, different religious and spiritual concepts, and local medical, biomedical and scientific knowledge. Cosmologies are situated understandings that relate to those particular settings.

I conceptualize these cosmological understandings as amalgams of grouped sociocultural ideas. They are not a cohesive and bounded whole, and might be viewed in the same way as Strathern's partial connections (2004)¹⁵ – understandings that 'hang' together. There is a messiness to these amalgams, and boundaries are not always clear, but links between the component elements can be strong. It is these messy assemblages of coalescing concepts that I term 'cosmological' rather than 'psychological', 'ontological' or 'philosophical' understandings. These concepts overlap at some points and in relation to understanding different sociocultural conceptualizations and categorizations of both human and nonhuman agents and actions. However, I use the term 'cosmology' to imply a wide but not consistently developed set of ideas, where understandings can change over time, be influenced by new thinking and new information, and can be contradictory and not necessarily acted upon.¹⁶ As I will go on to explain, as well as being amalgams of concepts, these cosmologies are also amalgams of practices, discourses and material elements, all locally situated and continually being crafted.

In order to situate these cosmological understandings in relation to illness and to be able to take account of the differing responses, conceptualizations and times when these are more prevalent than others, I move away from the concept of 'beliefs' that is often applied when examining the cosmological. Instead, here I follow Barth's (2002) and Velho's (2007) suggestion that religion, and in this case cosmological understandings, may better be conceptualized as knowledge or as *ways of knowing*. The notion of a 'belief' implies a fixed idea and suggests a resulting action that relates directly to that belief. This does not necessarily occur in practice and is limited when it comes to conceptualizing that an individual may hold multiple ideas about similar things. To have competing ways of knowing is less problematic than the idea of holding competing beliefs, and allows for the notion that different forms of knowing might be drawn on at different times in relation to differing circumstances. 'Knowing' also lacks the pejorative connotations of 'beliefs' (Needham, 1972);¹⁷ in both the anthropology of religion and the anthropology of medicine, the use of

the concept of 'belief' has been seen as problematic and delegitimizing. Viewing cosmologies as ways of knowing can instead be productive in conceptualizing the messy and dynamic means through which such understandings are embedded in, and emerge from, the everyday.¹⁸

Knowledge and ways of knowing are situated in time, space and place, emerging from particular situations and constantly being altered and influenced by people, things and the environment (Haraway, 1991; Hobart, 1993; Harris, 2007; Ingold 2010; Marchand, 2010a; 2010b). Marchand and Ingold suggest that we come to know through taking 'paths' and 'wayfaring' in life¹⁹ – rather than being a matter of assembling information, knowledge is formed in (and through) everyday activities, knowledge being 'coterminous with our movement *through* the world' (Marchand, 2010a: S16, emphasis in original). Knowledge is therefore not static and fixed, or passed on through ready-packaged and direct cultural transmission as is implied in the work of earlier anthropologist in this area (Herskovits and Herskovits, 1947). It is a practical and continuous activity. Over time and through altering relationships between people, things and environments, what is known can change, being always bound up with the wider world – one does not leave one's environment to know, even when dealt with in the abstract (Harris, 2007). As a fluid and active process, and in being constantly made and remade, it is hard to reify 'knowledge' as a singular and static object (Dilley, 2010).²⁰ Knowing is not merely a cognitive process, but can be felt and practised – Harris sees knowledge-making as a form of crafting. Therefore, cosmological understandings and moral orders do not come as whole, ready-to-be-applied concepts, but emerge from culturally and historically specific interactions.²¹ Which crafting and knowledge is seen as valid is shaped by social organization and performance (Latour and Woolgar, 1979; Barth, 2002), and is therefore part of the situatedness of knowledge. This can differ for different groups – not all those in the village follow the same cosmological understandings. Differences were notable depending on age, level of education, church denomination, and family and personal background – assemblages are individually crafted as well as worked on at a wider community level.

Cosmological understandings and concepts of moral order might therefore be framed as 'ethno-epistemic assemblages' (Irwin and Michael, 2003) – locally situated knowledge, made up of differing elements that more or less 'hang' together as part of the same group and that can be drawn on as the basis for other understandings. In being made and remade over time and through refinements and changes to component parts, these cosmological understandings

reflect the particularities of the period in which both my interlocutors and I were located – they drew on the past and were likely to alter in the future. These ethno-epistemic assemblages are therefore situated and contingent, embedded within other elements, and were historically and politically specific (Navaro-Yashin, 2009: 9). Ingold's (2010) understanding of knowing as developing through wayfaring is perhaps particularly useful for thinking about the West Indian context. The many cultural influences and backgrounds of those who came and stayed in the West Indies, as well as the wider power structures and influences from outside the area, have been integrated to a greater and lesser extent in everyday life and remain an intrinsic part of notions of Caribbean-ness. The drawing together (and keeping separate) of the many component elements that make up the history of the islands means that Caribbean culture is at the same time both multiple and whole – composed of more than one and less than many (Strathern, 2004). This fieldwork is focused on one village that is at the same time made up of connections with, and relations to, other areas of Trinidad and beyond its borders. While it can no longer be conceptualized as an isolated and clearly defined location as Herskovits and Herskovits (1947) presented it in 1939, by focusing on the village as a fieldsite, I do not seek to 'explain it' as a particular object, but view it as 'a contingent window into complexity' (Candea, 2007).

In the discussions that follow, I focus on understandings of illness, health and the body within wider cosmological understandings of a moral order. Moral ordering lays out the world in particular ways and furthermore suggests a way that things *should* be. Living and sustaining such an order is not straightforward and calls for a constant crafting through discourses and practices, such as drawing on the story of Job. The book is divided into two parts. The first part gives a background to the relations and institutions within and beyond the village, the broad cosmological framings by the community and how such understandings were presented, discussed and disputed. In the second part, I examine concepts of illness, health and the body, the role of spirits and the spiritual in these, and how illnesses were treated. I move from conceptual understandings of the individual body to a view of the body at the material level, and how community members apply similar concepts about their own bodies to Trinidad as a nation, the body of the state. Both were linked by concepts of morality and maintenance, constructing two types of body crossing these levels – bodies that were healthy and Christian, and bodies that were open to the working of evil spirits. Cosmological understandings, including a moral order, are both crafted and embodied through individual

and community practices and discourses, and events that take place more broadly. Understandings are thus situated within their wider contemporary context and I discuss how such cosmological ideas position individuals and events, giving a sense of control and order in an otherwise disordered world. I conclude by drawing together these different bodies to examine how wider concepts of evil and morality emerge and can be drawn on to interpret and apply order to current circumstances. I consider why some cosmological frames are particularly meaningful and link those locally to a wider Christian church and communities beyond Trinidad itself, shifting focus from the local to the global. Health here then is not confined to individual bodies, or even to the local community, but is connected to worldwide systems and flows, stretching into the cosmos.

Notes

1. Names in the book have been changed, but in so doing they continue, where appropriate, to reflect the custom of nicknames ('home names') given by local community members to refer to other community members. These were more frequently applied to men than women, and Tina, like many other women in the village, did not have a nickname. Throughout the book, local terms for plants have been used and are indicated in italics. Local terms more generally are also indicated in italics, while phrases are in speech marks. In addition to changing names, I have also taken steps to make people unidentifiable and to present them in a way I hope they would be satisfied with.
2. While I employ the terms 'village' and 'local' throughout this work, these are intended to refer to a space that hangs together through various tensions rather than necessarily a geographical location and that is bounded in its ability to be distinguished from the not-village and not-local. My use of these terms to describe the fieldsite and its boundaries are examined in more detail in Chapter 1.
3. Kleinman's interview questions for drawing out a patient's explanatory model (EM) were added to the DSM 5, for example (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).
4. Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert describe *obeah* as 'hybrid' or 'creolized' beliefs 'dependent on ritual invocation, fetishes and charms' (Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert, 2011: 155). *Obeah* particularly refers to African-derived activities with religious elements (Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert, 2011), in the past and elsewhere also termed, or linked to, 'High Science' – practices that draw on the Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses, allegedly lost books from the Old Testament. Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert, as well as Laitinen (2002), stress that the term *obeah* is used to refer to a range of practices and beliefs (see both of

their books for more detail of the history of *obeah*). *Obeah* practices present in the local area as well as in much of the rest of Trinidad have been viewed in the literature as either a religion, as witchcraft or as occult practices, with authors arguing about the politics of legitimization in relation to these labels and the resulting consequences of their use (Paton and Forde, 2012; Lynch, 2014). Such categorizations are unhelpful in the Caribbean context, as in practice, people mix *obeah* work with Catholic and other more denominationally linked actions, and, probably due in part to the many different churches in the Caribbean, also mix practices linked to one church with practices from another. Such a pragmatic approach to spiritual and other practices is found in many ethnographies of the Caribbean, where different religious denominations and practices coexist (e.g. Brodwin, 1996; Guadeloupe, 2009; Paton and Forde, 2012) and cultural backgrounds are drawn together in individual actions and notions of national identity (e.g. Khan, 2004; Guadeloupe, 2009). In the local area, the term *obeah* was used to refer to practices that were seen as witchcraft or devilish.

5. These are chiefly around Herskovits' idea of the transportation and continuity of African cultural tradition to the New World versus Frazier's notion of cultural creation in the context of the deprivation and discrimination experienced by individuals of African descent in the New World (Yelvington, 2001). Herskovits saw 'a culture' that had 'survived' slavery, while Frazier saw 'a people' being 'stripped of its social heritage' (Frazier, cited in Yelvington, 2001: 229). It has also been suggested that the annihilation of the indigenous populations of Arawaks and Caribs has left the Caribbean with no 'native' voice, as Trouillot states: 'This is a region where Pentecostalism is as "indigenous" as Rastafarianism, where some "Bush Negroes" were Christian long before Texans became "American", where some "East Indians" find peace in "African" rituals of Shango' (Trouillot, 1992: 24). However 'Carib' (which is used to include all First Nations people in Trinidad) identity is present and represented through community organizations (e.g. the Santa Rosa First Nations Peoples Community), the leader of the Caribs, the Carib Queen, and the Santa Rosa festival.
6. Carnival in Antigua is a summer festival, for example (Hughes-Tafen, 2006).
7. As well as a heavy focus on ethnicity and identity, anthropologists have examined Trinidadian cultural traditions and festivities such as carnival (Miller, 1991; Scher, 2002) and calypso (Warner, 1982). Religious aspects of health and healing have also been considered in relation to folk medicine and Shango (Simpson, 1960, 1980; Mischel, 1957, 1959), and in relation to mental illness and the religious cult around 'Mother Earth' (Littlewood, 1993).
8. In order to distinguish between them, when referring to the Evangelical church, I use an upper case 'E', while to refer to the churches I have grouped together as 'evangelical', I use lower case.
9. Orisha (also known as Shango) practices incorporate elements of West African (Yoruban) religion influenced by Catholicism. In other parts of Trinidad, Orisha is linked to the Spiritual Baptist faith; however, many

- locally practising Spiritual Baptists rejected this connection. For more details, including the history and contemporary positioning of Orisha in Trinidad, see Henry (2003).
10. People in the village were familiar with students who came from the University of the West Indies (UWI) staying and conducting studies in the village, so with my links to the university it was perhaps inevitable that my position would be as a 'student' during my visit. I lived with a family who had previously put up students – unlike many people locally, having the space and facilities to do so – and being unmarried and without children also probably contributed to this framing. People were generally sympathetic with my student position and took time to explain things to me, seeing me as there to learn. At the same time, I was different from other students who had come to the area – unlike previous students in the village, I stayed for far longer and got more involved in the community. I was told that being white and not Trinidadian also made me different from previous students, but these were aspects, I was informed, that would mean that people locally would take my work more seriously. Those in the village were surprised at my age, that I was not married and did not already have children, but my position as student somewhat compensated for this – through conversations, it emerged that some people had assumed that I had either forsaken these things in order to study (as one person told me, I was a 'geek') or that I would do these things after I finished my studies.
 11. This approach links to the work of anthropologists such as Strathern (1988) and Martin (1991), who have demonstrated that many 'natural' relationships and 'innate characteristics' are culturally constructed and created. Furthermore, work in Science and Technology Studies (STS) has noted ways in which scientific understandings and conceptualizations are also culturally situated and constructed, questioning the assumed 'naturalness' and neutrality that often accompany these (e.g. Latour and Woolgar, 1979; Latour, 1998; Knorr-Cetina, 1999; Mol, 2002).
 12. Within evangelical Christianity in particular, those who are immoral are associated with the Devil – they are part of the moral order, but at the opposite end to the good Christian, far from God and close to the Devil.
 13. It is worth noting that none of these practices linked to attendance at a particular church, or to church attendance more broadly. However, church leaders (and their families) were held to the highest expectations of good Christian behaviour, often leading to accusations of hypocrisy if they were not seen to match up to these.
 14. Austin-Broos discusses the politics of moral order in the context of Jamaica and elsewhere (1991; 1997; 2005), noting how moral orders can be used politically against particular groups for particular reasons. She identifies the body in particular as a site of morality on which moral order is placed and that indicates the morality of the individual – the body symbolically 'linking matter with values' (2005: 183). She uses the example of imbuing the body with morality through 'racing': notions of race that are then ascribed to the body. Skin colour but also 'colour' as seen through other

- bodily features – such as a particular ‘kind’ of nose – can be ways in which a body is ‘raced’ and particular values and attributes are attached to it.
15. Or indeed Mol’s coordination of the different bodies constructed by different experiences (clinical, laboratory-based, surgical, personal) of atherosclerosis (2002).
 16. Power (1987) also understands cosmologies in a similar way – as not static but changing over time – although he does not follow this conceptualization through further.
 17. As Latour (2014) notes, lawyers do not *believe* in the law; the law is just the law without room for discussion as to whether someone *believes* in this or not. This can also be linked to Good’s argument that biomedicine suggests that lay understandings of illness are *beliefs* which can be compared to scientific *knowledge* (1994).
 18. Through conceptualizing cosmological understandings as ways of knowing, I also attempt to level the hierarchy that implies that some understandings are more valid or important than others. While I use this reframing as a conceptual tool to do this analytically, it is worth noting that those in the village do themselves place more value and validity on some understandings over others. Whether conceptualized as beliefs or ways of knowing, ideas about the world were not accepted unquestioningly; individuals disputed, experimented and played around with these concepts – there was not a simple passing down of ideas from one generation to the next.
 19. Concepts of wayfaring and the surfaces involved in wayfaring are seminal to Ingold’s framing. He suggests that knowledge is not built from data acquired at static positions or from carefully selected vantage points, but grows and changes with human subjects and the world through which they journey. The body is entwined with things and the environment to create knowledge, rather than embodying these (Ingold, 2010: S136).
 20. There are various discussions in the literature as to whether the use of the noun ‘knowledge’ suggests too static a category, with authors such as Harris (2007) and the contributors to his edited collection preferring instead to refer to ‘knowing’ and ‘ways of knowing’ rather than the more problematic term ‘knowledge’. I here stick to the use of the noun, but stress its nonstatic qualities. Following Dilley, I am not seeking a cognitively framed account of knowing, but ‘a phenomenologically informed account of social, cultural, political, and moral relations (rather than inner cognitive states)’ (2010: S190). As Harris (2007) suggests, not all experiences become part of knowledge and not all knowledge becomes articulated into understandings of theories of that certainty. Furthermore, not all knowledge is necessarily articulated through language. Knowledge about the spiritual is perhaps particularly not limited to language and some of my interlocutors responded to my questions about how they knew God was with them, or communicating with them by saying they felt it or they just ‘knew’. Again, through seeing knowledge as an ongoing crafting co-created by people, things and the environment, the focus on the internal cognitive processes of a person is shifted into a co-construction through differing encounters.
 21. Which in this context include such diverse elements as the historical and cultural background of Trinidad and the local area, the growth of evangelical

and Pentecostal forms of Christianity in Trinidad, the wider Caribbean and beyond, local, national and international political and socioeconomic situations, the Japanese tsunami, the discovery of oil in Trinidadian territory, a new pastor at a local church and cases of sickness within the family.