

**Sarah Palin's JerUSAlem and Pentecostal faith: a hysteric
symptom of American utopianism?**

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The United States of America embodies the utopian claim that people from any religious persuasion can identify America as their homeland. This is traceable in the history of non-conforming Protestants fleeing persecution in Catholic Europe. Their establishment of utopian communities also involved the appropriation of land from the original owners and an imperative to will ignorance of this as a criminal act. The perpetuity of this legacy can be seen in the twenty-first century return to religion and the identification of America with economic opportunity rather than as socio-geographic entity. While many are still attracted to migrate to the United States, even more people live vicariously in an American utopia via increased modes of consumerism, invoking anxiety about its impact on the non man-made world.

One of the largest and fastest growing religious parallels with economic opportunism is the Pentecostal movement and its eschatological speculation of life after death. Although its national beginnings are debatable, the term "Pentecostal" has become synonymous with the aesthetics of American capitalism and its focus on technological immortality. Its growth can largely be attributed to the solipsistic metonymy of America's constitutional separation of Church from State. While secular materialists may invest in this separation to imagine the death of religion, the growth of Pentecostalism is proof that this separation was germinal. Pentecostals are

known for their millennial speculation of Armageddon, and this begs the question as to the political potential for sociopathic anarchy. In *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, Norman Cohn presented an extensive study on non-conforming Protestantism around this prospect and concluded:

The old religious idiom has been replaced by a secular one, and this tends to obscure what otherwise would be obvious. For it is the simple truth that stripped of their original supernatural sanction, revolutionary millenarianism and mystical anarchism are with us still.¹

Cohn's focus is on radical cults of the 1960s and he does not think religion plays a part in their development. Is this because religious mystical millenarianism no longer exists, or because it exists but it is neither revolutionary nor anarchical? The answer may lie somewhere in the shift from the modernist and secular sixties to the postmodern and post-secular mood of the 2008 presidential campaign. This was characterised by both Democrats and Republicans rallying to win the Evangelical vote and culminated in the nomination of Sarah Palin, the Governor of Alaska. Palin was appointed to represent a religiously based political right and her membership with a Pentecostal church enhanced this possibility. She expounded extremist solutions for climate change and economic growth but failed to rally a great deal of support. Was this because her religious-utopian focus on the supernatural made her a volatile yet inevitably weaker candidate?

At the time Palin was running for the vice-presidency, she identified her political destiny with a Pentecostal "Latter Rain" prophecy. This form of eschatology has often been likened to the 12th-century followers of Montanus, who believed that "the Heavenly Jerusalem was about to descend."² Significantly, Montanus depended on women to proselytise his eschatology by expounding ascetic extremism and mystic anti-materialism. Palin may be comparable with these women in as far as her ideas seemed extreme. However, there is a distinct difference between this American doctrine and Montanism.

Unlike the Montanists who were focused on the world to come, Latter Rain prophets often associate the land of America with a New Jerusalem. This difference is evident in the concern with a Divine flow of money and the belief that this can be accessed through the power of prayer. As Allan Anderson writes, the evangelist Kenneth Copeland formulated "laws of prosperity."³ A further example is Creflo Dollar, whose doctrine of prosperity teaching is discussed in *The Miracle of Debt Release*.⁴ His focus suggests Pentecostalism is, not a religiously, but a financially driven mysticism that fills the void in the secular wasteland by creating the image of a religious utopia. It begs further examination of the claim made by Max Weber

in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

Weber argued that Calvin established a perfect balance between “mystic contemplation and rational asceticism,” while other forms of Protestantism had “an obviously hysterical character.”⁵ As is well understood, he was attempting to explain the defeat of Germany in WWI by arguing that the economic superiority of Anglo-American culture stemmed from its Puritan base. Whereas Weber's intention was to put down the “hysterical character,” Jacques Lacan's interpretation of hysteria enables this to be seen as a hardy entity that gains strength by challenging a tyrannical discourse of mastery. By the same token Pentecostalism may appear to be based on a fragile logic and yet its agency is robustly energetic and regenerative.

Palin's political career exemplifies its temerity, and her behaviour in the heightened religious fever of the American elections suggests how Pentecostalism thrives on hysteric exhilaration. Just as the Calvinists made the pragmatic decision to re-open the theatres in Geneva, this could also be seen as a contingency that is necessary. It is worth noting how Palin's religious identification enabled her to be more easily crucified by the media, thereby serving to reinforce the cultural illusion of a secular norm. This also shows that while Palin's extremist ideas raise concern, they stem from the category of hysteric cultural illusion rather than from the category of psychotic delusion. According to Lacan:

The poetry makes us unable to doubt the authenticity of St John of the Cross's experience, or Proust's, or Gérard de Nerval's. Poetry is the creation of a subject adopting a new order of symbolic relations. There is nothing like any of this in Schrebers's *Memoirs*.⁶

Hundreds of years, but degrees of aesthetic refinement, lie between the poetry of St John of the Cross and American Pentecostalism. Never the less, Lacan's comparison with Schreber provides a useful reference for addressing the difference between psychotic religious delusion and hysteric religiosity. In psychosis, the signifier does not bar the question of the Other, whereas hysteria is a neurosis that is based on repression. Therefore, the signifier bars the question of the Other and in turn the neurotic response of repression constitutes a precondition for the illusion of cultural morality. By the same token, a form of cathartic hysteria and its sublimation can be seen to lie within the Pentecostal offer of salvation to the subject who feels socially alienated and exiled.

While American Puritans created a framework for salvation through public service, Weber used the term “hysteric” to refer to forms of Protestantism that gave greater emphasis to a personal experience of the Holy Spirit, among which were the premillennialists who believed the end was

nigh. One who caught Weber's eye in particular was the founder of the China Inland Mission, Hudson Taylor:

According to Hudson Taylor, China contained approximately 50 million families. One thousand missionaries could “*reach*” fifty families a day (!)and thus the gospel could be “*offered*” to every Chinese in one thousand days, or less than three years.

This is exactly the *schema* according to which Calvinism operated its Church discipline. The chief purpose was *not* salvation of those subject to it – which is solely a matter for God (and in practice a matter for them) – but to give greater glory to God.⁷

Weber thought Calvinism was defensibly logical and necessary, while he believed Taylor's heroic and often life-threatening activity to be indefensibly contingent and unnecessary. Yet this contingency was not without historical effect. Taylor attempted to express empathy for the poor by encouraging his missionaries to model themselves on poor schoolteachers. He also refused to take a political stand on imperialist powers or place social reform work before a primary focus of saving souls. Subsequently, many of Taylor's missionaries were targeted as symbols of imperialist betrayal and martyred in the Boxer Rebellion. This in turn created an opportunity for a second wave of missionaries to associate the eventual institution of Maoist communism with the anti-Christ and an imperative to seek new ways of expressing empathy for the peoples caught in its clutches.

Both Protestantism and capitalism have undergone changes since the time of Weber and Taylor. Amongst these are the many American Pentecostal organizations setting up faith-based ministries in developing countries who say they are following in Taylor's footsteps. Yet, unlike Taylor, who attempted to discard the trappings of Western culture, they often join forces with capitalistic American imperialism, thereby creating an association between Christian salvation and economic opportunism. As discussed by Hollenweger in *The Pentecostals*, the American Assemblies of God churches attempt to make followers in developing countries “theologically and economically dependent on America.”⁸ Paradoxically, this emulates the financial imperatives of nineteenth-century Anglo-American vitality that Weber identified as Calvinist in base.

Pentecostals distance themselves from the Calvinist emphasis on good works by teaching that salvation is being re-born in the Holy Spirit, and together awaiting the return of Christ. This provides a sense of moral purpose and social connection, thereby filling the gap created by the political neo-Conservative focus on liberal individualism and the postmodern intellectual focus on cultural plurality. At the same time, an ironic thread of

economic pragmatism flows through Pentecostal ecclesiology. By relating immortality to conditions for behaviour and pledges of unconditional loyalty, and by associating the New Jerusalem with an American city, Pentecostals serve to keep the utopian project of nineteenth-century capitalist industry alive. This is exemplified by its emphasis on tithing one tenth of income, thereby competing with the promise of security through the workers' union. A further difference between the Pentecostals and a nihilist millennial cult is the intermediary organisation, the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International, set up by Demos Shakarian.⁹

The problem for this utopian agenda of industrial evangelism is how it impacts on the sanctity of nature. As Paul Tillich argued in *The Protestant Era*, the development of authoritarian economics with a Protestant reformist reaction against Catholicism created the groundwork for relating personal salvation to narcissistic and irresponsible consumerism. As he states, "the danger of the Protestant humanist development of personality, especially on Calvinistic soil, is that of separation while Catholicism, especially of the Greek Orthodox type, is in danger of losing, or never reaching, a fully developed personal life."¹⁰ Tillich called for a new type of Protestantism that can deliver the natural world from the "the symptom of demonic possession in the grip of which modern society lives."¹¹ Given that the Pentecostals are the children of the Protestant-led industrial revolution, his comment compels speculation as to how they will respond to its legacy of climate change and industrialist arguments for a continuum of irresponsible development.

Palin's role in the 2008 elections provides significant material for studying the Pentecostals and their relation with the utopian American fantasy of religious freedom. Her ascendancy undoubtedly fuelled the idea that American Pentecostal churches will be the spiritual leaders of the new millennium, while her failure to win office did not necessarily equate with the demise of this utopian agenda. Although American political life is implicitly Judeo-Christian, Palin's arrival on the political stage drew focus on the problem of separating this religious heritage from secular activity. Even though Palin is her own person, her behaviour can be compared with culturally exclusive aspects, such as the Pentecostal concept that sermons should not be written or rehearsed. This cultural characteristic was exemplified by her style of orally spontaneous free association and blundering confidence. As a result, she also made transparent her ignorance of social geography, and while this naivety may have been endearing to some, the implication of her ideas on the natural environment invoked concern in many others.

On further speculation, Palin's odyssey in the American election typifies how, while Pentecostals are supernaturally focused on the existence of

demonic forces, they direct this pre-Enlightenment notion into contemporary registers for mystic speculation. Since the Counter Reformation, the Catholic Church preserved outlets for supernatural speculation as the preserve of a financially based religious organization. In contrast, Pentecostal supernatural inquiry is inimically linked with the commercial aesthetics of laissez-faire capitalism. This is exemplified by the way Pentecostals create a forum for mass worship by employing the latest forms of popular art and technology, thereby bringing new meaning to Walter Benjamin's statement that "mass movements ... constitute a form of behaviour that particularly favours mechanical equipment."¹²

Therefore, unlike the religious terrorist organisations that are feared because they oppose American ascendancy and cultural imperialism, Palin suggests how American Pentecostals identify their sanctification with transcendent capitalism and America as an eschatological rather than a socio-geographical location. Like ancient Rome, this indicates a militant ethos that is based upon loyalty and valour. Unlike the Roman Empire, Pentecostal culture is based on a much more abstract and non-geographical form of *chairoi*. If this should result in the totalitarian rule of one Pentecostal Church, then the field of religious faith would take on the absolute of cultural psychosis. Instead, Pentecostals are limited by the Protestant separation of Church from State. Therefore, their mystic supernatural focus can be understood in Lacanian terms, as barred by the signifier. It is not the psychosis of the fundamentalist religious terrorist who is exiled from the State, but a hysteric symptom of American utopianism.

This hysteric element can be further studied in Palin's political aspiration to be the first woman vice-president. While more conventional feminists aspire to be recognised in the same context as the rational male mind, Palin's profile portrays a more behaviourally transgressive feminism. It is comparable with a Baroque pursuit of mystic ecstasy that reached aesthetic heights in the Confessions of St Theresa, exemplified by Palin's confidence in promoting the sensual aspect of maternal love by emphasising her choice of mothering a Down-syndrome child.

At the same time, her passionate support for the gun lobby demonstrates a more aggressive side and indicates a connection between Pentecostal culture and a defensive pioneer spirit. One important factor here is how issue of race, class and gender underpin Pentecostal aesthetics. For example, an essence of white supremacy is traceable in the Pentecostal doctrine, which teaches that "Anglo-Saxons are the descendants of one of the ten lost tribes of Israel that disappeared in the Assyrian captivity," as discussed by Hollenweger in *The Pentecostals*. Whether Palin believed this doctrine or not, her youthful white beauty lends itself to the formation of

white-supremacist fantasy. Although Palin did not exploit this mythical aspect, the fact that she did not make a stand on such issues may have also detracted from her chance of representing the Pentecostal vote. This is due to the fact that American Pentecostalism began as a mixed-race phenomenon, even though patristic and white clerics such as Charles F Parham promoted a British Israelite theology.

Palin's whiteness and religious affiliation drew on a racial fantasy and ignited loyalty in those who support it. But this does not represent Pentecostal faith in its entirety, and so may have contributed to her decline. In one sense, Pentecostalism thrives on urbanity and changes in popular attitudes and permissive tastes. Yet Pentecostal churches "have combined paganism with Christianity" in pre-industrial countries.¹³ Due to its propensity to reject more systemic and canonical theology, Pentecostal churches nurture a laissez-faire approach to the Christian catechism. This also lays, by degrees, the foundations in developing countries for a takeover by commercial American interests. Subsequently, what it accrues in aesthetic vitality is lost through its readiness to act as a vehicle for the homogenising and spiritually reductive effect of commercial globalisation.

This shadowy relationship with corporate power can be further explored in the Pentecostal teaching that denies the Trinity and replaces this with a radical form of nominalism called the Oneness doctrine. In this theistic schema, self and Other is entertained as a supernatural difference between the self as God and the Other as the non-follower of Christ. In turn, the "loser" who fails to emulate a commercial image of youthful beauty and financial success signifies this Other, not the politically driven religious terrorist. This commercialism lends itself to interpreting the commodity fetish as a symbol of sanctification and the community of Early Christian love with loyalty to a commercial brand. Pentecostal faith sanctions the information technology native to associate the New Jerusalem with abundant financial success by repressing knowledge of its pagan underpinning. Therefore, it is understandable how this new form of Protestantism burgeons alongside commercial interests and why Palin's political platform appears to lack systematic levity.

In turn, this can be interpreted as the agency of the hysteric structure in being able to create a "symbolic real" for the believing community, by upholding an "imaginary real" of the crucified body. As Slavoj Žižek states:

God the Father is the "real Real" of the violent primordial Thing; God the son is the "imaginary real" of the pure *Schein*, the almost nothing which the sublime shines through his miserable body; the Holy Ghost is the "symbolic real" of the community of believers.¹⁴

Žižek's concept can also be applied to explain the significance of Palin's Pentecostal faith. She introduced a new dimension in American social history by associating a Latter Rain prophecy with her entry onto the platform of the American presidential elections. This not only exemplifies how Pentecostals invest in an "imaginary real," but also how their activity in this arena inevitably could have an impact on the formation of America's "symbolic real" by promoting the idea that America is God's place for a New Jerusalem. It is different from a secular focus on the "symbolic real" promotion of the free-market and globalisation because it upholds an "imaginary real" of an American Christian morality. This "imaginary real" represses knowledge of the "real Real" immoral, historical act, such as the appropriation of land from traditional owners.

Palin's relationship with an Assemblies of God church exemplifies how this ahistorical ecclesiology creates an agency for American imperialism and causes further casualties of American democracy. An article in *The Washington Post* by Hannah Strange is a case in point.¹⁵ It discusses how Palin's appointment as the governor of Alaska was prophesied by an evangelist, Thomas Muthee, who, in 2005 visited her Assemblies of God church in Wassila. Strange states that Muthee established his ministry by identifying a "demonic presence" in the town of Kiamba in Kenya, where "God had called him" to preach in 1989. He sited the "demonic" with a healing service called the Emmanuel Clinic that was run by a local woman called Mama Jane. Muthee made a video in which he claimed Jane engaged in fortune telling and he suggested this was linked to numerous car accidents near her home. Word of her alleged witchcraft was spread through Evangelical websites and YouTube. She fled for her life after the townspeople called for her to be stoned to death and the police broke into her house "killing her pet python they believed to be a demon."¹⁶

The name of Jane's clinic indicates that the community was already engaging with a Christian vernacular and that modern avarice had long replaced pre-industrial forms of sorcery. Given this, Muthee's charge of witchcraft seems to have more in common with the competitive agenda of business franchising. These modern capitalist concerns are further indicated in the association between Christian salvation and American patriotism made in Palin's reference to Muthee. She identified him as the prophet who predicted her rise to power while she was accepting an honorary degree from an institution created by the Wassila Assemblies of God church. The pastor Ed Kalins supported this idea by stating how "Alaska will be the refuge for American evangelicals upon the coming 'End of Days'."¹⁷ This imaginary association shows how Pentecostals tend to link American sovereignty with an urban utopia and construct an identity around atavistic

consumer culture.

Palin's support of a Latter Rain prophesy is characteristically structured around identifying the socio-geographic region of America with a capitalist focus on urban development and private wealth. This synonym is traceable to the Canadian William Branham, who authored this prophecy.¹⁸ Branham was a self-appointed prophet who promoted the laying on of hands as a way of transmitting the Holy Spirit, and who believed himself to be the reincarnation of the prophet Elijah. He led a religious revival of miraculous healing in the period just after WWII and predicted the end of the world in 1977. His teachings were formalised by the setting up of a Bible School at Sharon, where a further prophesy was made in 1948 that Alaska would be the place where the rapture of the saints would occur. Thus, Palin's nomination could be identified as a further stage of this prophecy.

This eschatology is tied to the industrial revolution, because it corresponds with increased migration and transient living and its method of proselytising has less in common with a pre-modern subject than it does with the travelling salesman. This urbanity suggests it is a by-product of modern capitalism rather than a resistant sub-culture. Yet it represents a utopian ideal of individual expression and a supplement for the controlling and conforming models of corporatism. It does this by purposefully condoning the transgression of conventional norms and codes for appropriate behaviour as exemplified by the activity of speaking in tongues. This public spectacle follows from a culturally organised breaking down of inhibitions. Therefore, the subject who is most oppressed and marginalised has the greatest to gain from this aesthetic form of sublimation.

This practice marks out Pentecostalism from other American religious groups; significantly, it began in a poor black district of Los Angeles, led by an African American pastor, William J Seymour. In the spring of 1906, hundreds of people crowded to a stable at 312 Asuza Street to participate in a spiritual revival of speaking in tongues that lasted for seven years. As Robert Mapes Anderson describes, the colour divide collapsed and women and men danced, hugged and kissed without concern for the divide of race, class and gender.¹⁹ This created a mythical image of the Early Christians, as stated in Galatians 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus."²⁰ News of this legendary event soon spread around the globe.

Yet, as Mapes argues, American Pentecostalism began as an aesthetically ahistorical rather than a theologically developed platform, and its "radical social impulse" was "finally a more conservative conformity."²¹ However, a more sinister rather than conservative element continues through what is called the Neo-Pentecostal emphasis on exorcism and its

connection with economic opportunity. Pentecostalism transformed American aesthetics by created an “imaginary real” for the American liberal idea of a self-educated and self-made entrepreneur. But it also created an opportunity for the return of the “Real real.” This is indicated by the propagation of lay doctrines that seem to be based upon atavistic consumerism.

A report by Julian Duin in *The Washington Post* on the centennial celebration of Asuza Street in January 2006 provides material to support this.²² The event attracted attendees from over thirty countries. According to Duin, many protagonists deny the Trinity and preach the Oneness doctrine, based on enunciating the “I am.” Many use the term “little gods” to promote the idea that a Christian can “create reality” through the ability to “speak things into existence.”²³ Therefore, while more orthodox churches expound a more conventional catechism, these teachings suggest an “inverted millenarianism” as suggested by Frederic Jameson.²⁴

Consequently, Pentecostalism has a politically opacity that makes it utopian and thus engenders hysteric vitality. This element is reflected by the commercialism of the Christian rock industry and the contradictory message of morality and permissiveness, from Elvis Presley to Beyoncé Knowles. As argued by Richard Kyle in *Evangelicalism: An Americanised Christianity*, “the demands of consumerism made Christian lyrics the junior partner in this marriage.”²⁵ For the same reason, Palin’s odyssey in the presidential elections reflected that Pentecostalism does not draw its strength from the theological foundations of the Christian canon, but from a vicarious relationship with the secular platform of American capitalism.

From the start, it was clear that Palin’s extroverted religiosity was intended to compensate for John McCain’s introverted faith, and therefore compete with the Democrats’ increased focus on the religious vote. Although McCain’s record of service to his country fitted the prescription of a messianic saviour, he held fast to the concept that religion is a private affair. This pietist inclination was not in tune with the mood of the 2008 election. Palin’s gender and youth should have given her an edge, yet perhaps not enough for the media savvy, fashion conscious group of younger Pentecostal voters.

Barack Obama is partly of African descent, making him a symbol of deliverance from prejudice and discrimination. Therefore, his charisma was interconnected with his ethnicity, creating an “imaginary real” for the lure of the gaze. Yet he also had to avoid appearing narcissistically motivated by personal agendas. By detracting attention away from the corporeal arenas of race and gender, he was more able to represent the unifying “symbolic real” of the global marketplace. In contrast, Palin invested in an “imaginary real” of American myth by emphasising her gender. This unavoidably also

drew attention to her whiteness. Rather than increase her appeal, it betrayed a factional divide of racial difference and made it more difficult to represent the "symbolic real." Her "imaginary real" America was too close to a derogative image of a lower educated and primitive white. This provided an opportunity for the repressed "Real real" to return as her political crucifixion.

Her 2007 visit to the Little Norway Festival, in Petersburg, Alaska aided this process via a photograph showing a group of Norwegian Alaskans wearing Viking helmets and furs surrounding a smiling Palin, who is also wearing a fur. John McCormack posted the photograph in *The Weekly Standard*, shortly after Palin presented her controversial policy on firearms and the natural environment.²⁶ According to Juliet Eilperin's article in *The Washington Post*, Palin opposed "a 'rural preference' policy that would give subsistence hunters priority access over sport hunters to the areas where aerial hunting is conducted."²⁷ This indifference to matters of conservation and promotion of blood sports suggests she is motivated by the erotic pleasure of exercising brutal power over the fragile and the vulnerable. Given this context, this scene and her position in it brings to mind Wagner's image of the terrifying Valkyrie.

Palin's creation of an "imaginary real" did little service to her campaign because it was structured around the presentation of positive visual images that could be easily reversed. Also, her campaign relied on her personal history as a beauty queen, as well as her mothering of a Down-syndrome baby and a pregnant teenager. The appeal of this heroic and yet vulnerable femininity was reversed as soon as Palin opened her mouth to speak. On September 3, during her acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, Palin presented her famous analogy of comparing a lipstick wearing "soccer mom" with a pit-bull terrier. In turn, this suggests the nightmarish image of a vagina dentata. From then on, her Pentecostal identity became weaponry to be turned against her, as in Pat Oliphant's cartoon for *The Washington Post* depicting Palin speaking in tongues.²⁸

Although Palin's election failure, welcomed by her opponents, made her a heroic martyr to her supporters, it did not signal a decline in the Pentecostal influence. On the contrary, it played an important part in electing Obama, signposted by *The New York Times* in a report by Laurie Goodstein,²⁹ who noted that the Pentecostal pastor Joshua DuBois was to be named the director of Washington's faith-based initiatives office following his handling of religious outreach for Obama's campaign.

Palin's flamboyant behaviour and self confident naivety can be related to Pentecostal aesthetics because it reflects its utopian agenda of anti-elitism, joyous spontaneity and the assurance of personal experience. By

the same account, the witch-hunt undertaken by the Assemblies of God pastor based in Africa shows how it flourishes in the mystically veiled shadow lands of tele-Evangelical and Internet shamanism. Her association with these primitive forms of exclusion and her support for the American Gun Lobby may reinforce an old stereotype of American Pentecostals as red necks and poor white trash. Yet, support for Obama from a new generation of Pentecostals suggests an entirely different image: better-educated, hip, urban, black. It shows how the Pentecostals represent the utopian concept of America as a land of religious freedom in keeping with the mercurial nature of a hysteric symptom.

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NOTES

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- ² Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium* 26.
- ³ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 221.
- ⁴ Creflo Dollar, *The Miracle of Debt Release* (College Park: Creflo Dollar Ministries, 1999).
- ⁵ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [1930], trans Talcott Parsons (London: Unwin University Books, 1965) 141.
- ⁶ Jacques Lacan, *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan: Book III The Psychosis* (1955-1956), ed Jacques Alain Miller, trans Russell Grigg (London: Norton, 1993) 78.
- ⁷ Weber, *Protestant Ethic* 137.
- ⁸ Walter J Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches*, trans R A Wilson (Minneapolis: Ausberg Publishing, 1973) 69.
- ⁹ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* 6.
- ¹⁰ Paul Tillich, *The Protestant Era*, trans James Luther Adams, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1997) 117.
- ¹¹ Tillich, *Protestant Era* 168.
- ¹² Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed Hannah Arendt, trans Harry Zohn (London: Fontana Press, 1992) 253.
- ¹³ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* 65
- ¹⁴ Slavoj Žižek, *On Belief: Thinking in Action* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001) 82 -3.
- ¹⁵ Hannah Strange, "Sarah Palin Linked Her Electoral Success to Prayer of Kenyan

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Witch Hunter," *The Times*, date of access: 28 September 2008, <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/global>>

¹⁶ Strange, "Sarah Palin."

¹⁷ Strange, "Sarah Palin."

¹⁸ Richard M Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948", *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 4 (Spring 1982) 34.

¹⁹ Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: the Making of Pentecostalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) 69.

²⁰ New International Version.

²¹ Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited* 240.

²² Julia Duin, "Azusa St. and modern Pentecostalism: The 100 year celebration of what? Pentecostals to Mark Centennial," *The Washington Times*, date of access: 28 September 2008, <<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2006/jan/01>>.

²³ Duin, "Azusa St."

²⁴ Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146 (1984) 53.

²⁵ Richard G Kyle, *Evangelicalism: an Americanized Christianity* (Piscataway: Transaction Publishers, 2006) 280.

²⁶ John McCormack, *The Weekly Standard*, date of access: October 14 2008, <<http://www.PMwww.weeklystandard.com/weblogs/TWSFP/Palin-Norfest.jpg&imgrefurl>>.

²⁷ Juliet Eilperin, "Enviro Group Expands Palin Wolf-Hunting Policy Ad," *The Washington Post*, October 1 2008, date of access: October 14 2008, <http://www.Buyvoices.washingtonpost.com/44/2008/10/01/enviro_group_expands_buy_of_wo.html>.

²⁸ Deborah Howell, "The Power of Political Cartoons," *The Washington Post*, 28 September 2008, date of access: February 14 2009. <www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/09/26/AR2008092602961.html>.

²⁹ Laurie Goodstein, "Leaders Say Obama Has Tapped Pastor for Outreach Minister," *The New York Times*, January 29 2009, date of access: February 14 2009. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/29/us/politics/29faith.html>>.