Regine Herbrik
Berlin Institute of Technology, Germany

Analyzing Emotional Styles in the Field of Christian Religion and the Relevance of New Types of Visualization

Abstract In the following text the theoretical conception, the employed analysis methods and some first results of the research project "The Emotionalization of Religion" are presented. The aim of the project is to compare newer Christian congregations with a Pentecostal or evangelical orientation to Christian parishes affiliated with the Evangelical Church in Germany or the Roman Catholic Church with regard to their respective emotional culture. The employed method set includes several qualitative methods, such as videoanalysis, the analysis of guideline interviews and participant observation.* A particular focus lies within the empirical paragraph on the question: What role do new types of media usage in Christian parishes play for the development, representation and analysis of new emotional styles?

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Keywords Religion; Religiosity; Emotion; Emotional Culture; Video Analysis; Feeling Rules; Emotional Regime; New Religious Movements; Church Life

Regine Herbrik, dr, is a Research Fellow at the Berlin Institute of Technology. She is an Executive Board member of the European Sociological Association's Research Network Sociology of Religion and has published on the communicative construction of the imaginary.

email address: regine.herbrik@tu-berlin.de

Emotions in the Field of Religion

As shown by Roberts (2008), there are different kinds of options for how scientists can examine emotions. Physiological researchers discover the connections between neurological and physiological processes (for instance: of the brain) on the one hand, and certain emotions on the other. Furthermore, with the help of deficit studies, they are able to closely examine the problem of which emotions are impaired when a certain area of the brain is disabled. Moreover, to put it the other way around, they are trying to find out which emotions emerge when a certain area of the brain is stimulated artificially by activation studies. Behavioral studies ask questions concerning how emotions are linked to behavior and action, for example: Is the smiling generated by joy or does the smiling induce the joy? Historical researchers examine which emotions are particularly important for a society or for specific social groups over one or another historical period of time. In this regard, Roberts mentions John Corrigan's study as an example, which was concerned with the Bostonian protestants during the so-called "Businessmen's Revival." By carrying out field work, anthropological and ethnological researchers are able to draw comparisons between different cultures with reference to certain emotions, as well as compile lists of emotion words that are used in a specific culture or society.

Defining the emotions, which are seen as positive or negative for living a good life, and defining appropriate ways of coping with emotions is included in normative research. As religions are normative systems equipped with emotional norms of their own, normative research is of the utmost importance for studying the social field of religion. One could say that every religion has feeling rules of its own, which is how the term is used by Hochschild (1979). In my opinion, in the history of Christianity, the transition from behavior rules to feeling rules is, among other things, combined with the transition from the legislation of the Old Testament to that of the New Testament. Since the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament refer to actions, which are requested or forbidden, the two commandments of the New Testament refer to emotions:

> [37][a]nd He said to him: «You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind.» [38]This is the great and foremost commandment. [39]The second is like it: «You shall love your neighbor as yourself.» [40]«On these two commandments depend all the Law and the Prophets.» (*New American Standard Bible*, Matthew 22:37-40)

I am emphasizing the use of normative research at this point, because I think it is important to keep in mind the fact that religion deals with emotions in a regulative way. The focus of the following remarks is, however, not limited to a normative approach.

In order to lead onto the description of the research project, I would firstly like to relate to the problem of defining the term or the concept of emotion. The widely known and frequently applied definitions of emotion, like the one created by the psychologist Klaus R. Scherer, define a certain number of components, which are supposed to contribute to emotions in their entirety. Scherer and Brosch (2009) write, for example:

> [emotion is] an episode of interrelated, synchronized changes in several organismic subsystems in response to the evaluation of an external or internal stimulus event as relevant to major concerns of the organism. The three central components are (a) shifts in behavioral intention and direction, and, partially dependent on these action tendencies, (b) physio-logical changes (in cardiovascular activity, blood flow, respiration, temperature and muscle tension) and (c) expres-

> sions in voice, face and body (such as laughing, crying, shouting, gesticulating, and cringing). In addition to these classic components, most researchers count (d) the cognitive appraisal processes that determine the relevance of events and elicit and differentiate emotions and (e) the overall subjective experience, the feeling, which phenomenally integrates the episode, as components of the emotion construct. (p. 266)

From our point of view, influenced by the phenomenological branch of the sociology of knowledge, two aspects are missing in this definition: the interpretation and the social construction of events. Scherer and Brosch speak of an appraisal process and of an evaluation. However, actors are only able to appraise a situation, if they have read/interpreted it first. Therefore, it will be helpful to employ a description of emotion, which includes the consideration that human beings are characterized by their ability to interpret their environment and their situations.

Similar to the social constructionist approaches of authors like Harré (1986), Lutz (1988) or Gordon (1990) summarized by Turner and Stets (2005) or Loseke and Kusenbach (2007), we consider emotions not just as natural biochemical reactions, we also see the emotional life of every human being influenced by socialization, culture, and tradition. It is important to point out the relevance of the sociality of the construction process. This means that we do not conceptualize emotions as constructed by an individual consciousness, but as produced within the framework of social interactions and communication in a wider sense.

Our study is concerned with emotions in the field of Christianity today. This means that we are interested in all kinds of emotions, feelings and moods, which are mutually constructed, mentioned, expressed by or observable in parishioners, preachers, pastors and other participants like organizers or church musicians during church services, celebrations and other occasions.

Before the conceptualization of the research project is presented, a few words have to be said about its foundation regarding the sociology of religion. Currently, we find a consensus in the discourse of the sociology of religion that the process of secularization, which is closely related to modernization, has not led to a demise of religion and religiosity in the life of people in late modern or postmodern societies. Some authors, on the contrary, even speak of a renaissance of religion or of resacralization (Bell 1977; Berger 1999). Concerning this, it is mostly emphasized that the well-established "conventional" Christian Churches register a decline in societal importance and in number of members. They lose their supremacy for the benefit of a variously shaped range of old and new spiritual and religious groups and practices (Luckmann 1967). Within this variety, we find meanwhile, in central Europe, too, an increasing number of religious movements and parishes, which are influenced by charismatic or Pentecostal branches of Evangelicalism (Kern 1998). At the same time, there is a growing number of parishes, which are characterized by the fact that the majority of their members have a certain shared migration background (Hüwelmeier and Krause 2009); so-called "migrant communities."

In the case of experience-oriented Christian movements and groups especially, we find an increasing number of new parish foundations in Germany, due to the so-called "Church Planting Movement." This process is at the moment discussed more in the media than in any scientific writings of the sociology of religion. The term "Church Planting" stems from the field, and describes Christian Churches' and free churches' endeavors to do re-missionary work in actual Christian-shaped, but meanwhile secularized societies. We encounter in Berlin, for example, pastor couples from South Africa, South America and the U.S., who initially bring together believers in small-scale house groups, house cells or home groups, which develop over time into independent full-grown parishes. Due to these new foundations of the past decades, an interesting and multifaceted spectrum of parishes has emerged, including charismatic and Pentecostal groups, as well as conventional parishes of the Roman-Catholic Church and of the Evangelical Church of Germany. This broad range of variety provides us with the opportunity to collect data in many different kinds of Christian communities, and to contrast our findings with each other.

A Three-Part Approach to Emotions in the Field of Today's Christian Religion

Our aim is to analyze these different religious groups and communities with regard to specific emotional coding. In contrast, different Christian groups with a neo-Pentecostal Protestant and charismatic influence are compared with the more conventional direction of the Protestant Church of Germany and the Roman-Catholic Church. By doing so, we will attempt to answer the following research questions:

- What emotional styles characterize the younger, often Pentecostal or Charismatic Christian parishes?
- To what extent do their emotional styles differ from those of more conventional churches?

Emotional style means thereby the situational condensation of the communicational codification of the emotional, which is accessible for our observation and analysis. In this study, we only focus on different types of Christian congregations. There are no other religions involved. We decided to make this restriction for two reasons. First, we think that different Christian communities are easier to compare than Christian and religious communities with other beliefs, like Buddhism or Islam. This is due to the fact that emotions historically play different roles in various religions. Second, we assume that we will find in the Christian congregations a fairly large quantity of distinguishable emotional styles. So the inclusion of different religions will be a desideratum for following studies.

The thesis to be validated by this project goes a step beyond our observations. It says that we assume new religious movement groups distinguish themselves by specific emotional styles, which go beyond their strong orientation in experience and can be characterized particularly by specific performances of emotional states. Furthermore, we assume that these specific emo-

tional styles are to be understood as a symptom of a social development, which can be described as an emotionalization of religion, meaning that the overall emphasis lies more and more on the display of positive and/or extreme emotional states – for example, joy, security, trust, as well as the more ecstatic emotions experienced whilst performing religious activities.

We want to determine each emotional style that can be found in all the various Christian groups by means of their own expressive repertoire, which flows into religious communication and are thus made accessible for analysis. This is to be achieved by surveying into ethno- and particularly videographic allotment. Our focus lies especially on ceremonial and ritual events like church services or worship and divine services.

In three different ways we analyze the emotions linked to Christianity in direct response to communicative coding, their performance, as well as their feeling rules and expression rules.

A. Performance

As our focus is partly on the communicative emotional forms of performance in which the actors realize their rituals or services, the analysis gains access through a series of video documentations. These communicative patterns include verbal, paralinguistic, gestural, mimicking, vocalized, orchestrated, situational and interactive aspects, and, as a whole, they form the language of emotion. Based on our first thesis that the researched groups use different kinds of codes, the question arises as to which types of codification can be identified by their corresponding repertoire of expressive patterns, and which emotional styles can be therefore reconstructed. Furthermore, we analyze how the emotional styles differ between the younger and successfully growing Christian movements and the rather traditional churches. Performance does not only apply to the outside as a mode of communication, but as well – in a physical way – to the actor himself as an instance of mediation. This enables the actor to experience emotions and is a precondition for him to interpret them.

B. Meaning

To investigate the way in which the observed performance of communicative patterns are interpreted by the members of the congregations, we focus on the attributions of meaning the actors applied to the emotions associated with their religious practices. The meanings applied to the distinctive emotions of the subject, as well as to the performance of their fellow actors shall be investigated by interviews. In this manner, we should approach the meaning created in the interaction via communication. We also see this level of analysis as a contribution to the reconstruction of the characteristic feeling rules for each category of religious groups either new or traditional. These feeling rules act as an interface between the individuals and their social group.

C. Milieu

The emotions, the services and the religious experiences we focus on are not detached from the other fields of the actors' religious and everyday lives. Therefore, we ask how the witnessing, interpretation, expression and legitimation of emotions are embedded in the whole arrangements of religion and daily routine, and which features are attributed to them. Additionally, we want to know if the analysis of the secondary data shows a connection between the emotional styles of the observed groups (Evangelical, Pentecostal, charismatic, Protestant Churches or Roman Catholic) and the specific milieus their members are recruited from.

Table 1. Data Types and Analysis Methods.

Part of the Study	Data Type	Type of Data Collection	Analysis Method
A. Performance	audio-visual data of religious events	recording with video camera on tripod, transcripts of key sequences via score transcription	video analysis, sequential analysis of key sequences, picture analysis, content analysis
	video trailer, video clips, live broadcasts, photographs, pictures, screen shots, stills	data collection via web presences, video platforms	
	observation protocols	participatory observation	
B. Meaning	interview data	audio or video recording of guideline based interviews, transcription	content analysis, sequential analysis
C. Milieu	existing studies concerning the milieus the believers are recruited from observation	literature research, interviews	secondary analysis

Source: Self-elaboration.

This table shows for each part of the study the types of data which have to be collected, and it shows also how this data will be analyzed in each case. As one can see, we have to deal with a couple of different types of data. First, there is audio-visual data of several types: video films, recorded by the researchers themselves, using mostly long shot perspectives with the camera on a tripod, supplemented by observation protocols; video trailers, recorded by (semi)professional media designers, commissioned by the churches or the congregations and accessible via the web presences of the congregations; photographs, pictures, stills, also provided via the World Wide Web. Second, there is interview data, which is used to treat the question of the meaning, the feeling rules and the emotional knowledge of the people themselves. Third, as to deal with section C, analyzing the milieus the parishioners are recruited from, there is the investigation of

a pool of existing studies. Each data type is to be analyzed with the aid of respectively appropriate methods. Existing methods, however, have to be modified and refined to become applicable to the study of emotions. The sociological video analysis of emotions, for example, is to be created on the basis of more general considerations on video interaction analysis by Knoblauch (2005) and Knoblauch, Schnettler and Raab (2009).[1]

In the following, examples shall be given just for the sections A and B with special regard to the meaning of new types of visualization for section A.

In regard to the concern of our study, the expression or display components of emotion, its communicative dimensions, are especially of interest. It is accessible with the aid of observational and video analytical methods. On the one hand, we agree with Goffman (1959), when he says that emotional expressions are not just linear representations of inner feelings, but aim at a certain expressional or display result, which is produced to meet the anticipated expectations of a certain audience. Therefore, emotional expressions conduct a crucial communicative function, which is related to the coordination of interactive processes, as well as to their motives. On the other hand, Hochschild (1979) emphasizes rightly that the research of emotional expressions should not be limited to the dimension of what she, with regard to Goffman's work, calls "surface acting," but should also include, with the aid of interview data, the dimension of "deep acting." This refers to the work that is accomplished by individuals to influence not just outer emotional expressions, but subjective, emotional feeling.

[1] Since we are convinced that a method designed for the study of emotions and emotional styles by means of video analysis shall be sensitive to interactional and communicational frames and contexts, we do not adopt methods, which limit themselves to the coding and counting of emotional expressions (like Mayring, Gläser-Zikuda and Ziegelbauer 2005).

Christianity and Visualizations

In the course of the participatory observations we have conducted up to now, directly at events of different Christian parishes, particularly in Berlin, as well as in regard to data we collected from the internet presences of certain parishes, we have increasingly gained the impression that new types of medial visualization become more and more important for the composition of liturgical events and for religious life within Christian parishes. This development entails interesting consequences for the formation of new emotional styles as discussed below.

However, first of all, a few words have to be said about the history of the Christian faith and its attitude towards certain types of visualizations like images, pictures and texts within different media.

If we are asking questions about the meaning of visualizations for the practice of Christian beliefs and for the development of emotional styles within this frame today, we are undoubtedly confronted with a broad and complex discourse, which has been conducted for centuries past. It is widely known that the position of the Christian Churches towards pictorial representations of mundane and ulterior entities has always been anything but uncomplicated. The second of the Ten Commandments, forbids God's people, who end up gathering in worship around an effigy of a golden calf in the desert, to manufacture material depictions (especially sculptural) of God.

This is the starting signal for a changeful dispute within the history of Christianity and Judaism on the question of whether or not pictorial representations of God and his creation or creatures can be reconciled with the Ten Commandments. Those images are to be considered problematic in two ways. First, the creation of an idol is highly problematic, since it could be worshiped by believers not only as a representation of God, but as actually being God himself. Second, the question is raised whether or not the creative reproduction of God's creations and the creatures themselves is a blasphemous act as well, since men claim by their reproduction the status of a co-creator, and therefore relativize the uniqueness of God's creative powers.

At this point, a distinction should be apparently introduced. Especially in regard to the religious discourse on visualization, one cannot simply speak of visualization on the whole. After all, it makes a big difference within this framework as to whether texts or images/pictures are being referred to.

Images and texts (written down speech) have been commonly described by certain characteristics for a long time. The iconic construction of meaning of pictures has been contrasted with the linguistic construction of sense, the "logos" of texts (for example, by Langer 1965). While language and writings were thought to be perceived sequentially, pictures have been characterized by the simultaneity of their perception. This description has, however, recently been challenged by authors like Krämer (2003). According to her, writings cannot just be described as sequential lines of signs, which represent spoken sounds. Krämer points out the synchronous dimension of texts, calling it *Schriftbildlichkeit*. The other way around, there are several types of images, which cannot only be characterized in terms of synchronicity, but also by their sequentiality, like comic strips, animated pictures and of course movies. The diametrical confrontation of text and picture seems, therefore, not to be helpful for the analysis of data material. Hence, it makes sense to follow Mitchell (1986), who suggested a dialectic of word and image.

The God of the Old Testament is not visible to human beings: he is invisible and unimaginable. He reveals himself to believers just through his word, his creations and his deeds in the world. Even after the new covenant of the New Testament, the vision of God remains situated in the afterlife, the time after death, and is not just described as visual perception, but as an experience, which affects the human being as a whole.

At the same time, the history of the Christian Churches are of course highly interwoven with the history of the visual arts. Images have over the course of time been adored; they embellished and organized the church and its interior, taught the parish and reminded it of rules, important occasions and historical figures, and told stories, but they have also been profaned and destroyed.

Ultimately, the idea of the vision of God (*visio benefica*) becomes, within the writings of Father

Augustine, a link between religion and aesthetics, since he develops an aesthetic in the shape of "Theophanies," as Rentsch (1987) puts it.

In the course of time, the image did not only have to deal with a critical attitude in the field of religion, but also within several scientific disciplines and discourses, in which terms like *Bilderflut* (Flusser 1995) have been coined. What may place images in a bad light and strengthen caveats, could be the suspicion that the image is a sign, which does not make itself identifiable as sign, but gives the impression of a natural or objective fact.

This perspective arises, however, just in case one insists on treating the image as a sign. When one agrees to recognize the special characteristics of the image and not to subsume it under the category of signs, another understanding of the image would be possible, as suggested by Wiesing (2005), using the term *artifizielle Präsenz* (artificial presence). This approach, of course, does not exclude the possibility of using images as signs. It rather emphasizes the idea that the image is not naturally/ontologically equipped with symbolism, but may gain some in the course of its usage, as well as through the act of interpretation.

Figure 1. Still taken from a video clip on the homepage of City Kirche. *Source: (http://www.citykircheberlin.de).*

Starting Points of the Analysis of Emotional Styles in Christian Parishes

Interestingly, we find several types of screens and monitors in a number of churches, on which during the church service, contents of different types are projected.

In younger parishes, mostly of free churches, this facility seems to be almost standard. This is not in the same way true for more conventional parishes, but especially in the framework of special forms of church service, like the ones, in which rock music is played (called *Rock-Messe*), a screen is placed next to the altar. Therefore, it is no surprise that Schnettler, Knoblauch and Pötzsch (2007) in their study on new forms of the communication of knowledge also encounter so-called "PowerPoint church services." What sounded rather exotic a few years ago, is nowadays in many newer parishes so closely interwoven with the liturgy that it is hardly noticed as an alien element. Accordingly, the words of the Bible interpreted by the pastor in his sermon are projected on the screen as well as prayers, which shall be spoken by the parishioners alternating with the pastor and lyrics of hymns and chants. In addition, we find ornamental and functional images on those screens.

In most of the old church buildings, the screen is a subsequently installed part of the facility, and in contrast to the building's architecture, looks rather provisional. The positioning of the screen seems to be in some cases a difficult venture.

It has to be huge enough, so that all of the spectators might have a good view of it and can see all of the projected content, but at the same time, it should not cover other, mostly older, church facilities, which are also important for liturgical means, such as the altar, the tabernacle or the crucifix. Especially with regard to the visualization of prayers and lyrics of church and worship songs, the projection mostly replaces the prayer and song book.

This causes interesting changes in the posture of the believers during singing and praying. They do not look down at a book held in their hands, their backs are not curved, their heads are not lowered, but they look up to the screen. Since they do not have to hold a book anymore, their hands are free, so they can be either lifted up, they can perform a praying gesture or they can hold hands with their neighbor. These changes are not mere accidental details, since the positioning of the body is one of the mechanisms of action applied by liturgy (Pickstock 2010).

Additionally to the redoubling of liturgical elements, the employment of projection media enables the parishes to include the presentation of video clips in the composition of the church service. We encounter this option mainly in parishes from free churches, which in some cases have even permanently installed a number of monitors inside their church buildings. The presented video clips are produced semi-professionally by Christian media agencies. As an example, the association "Open Doors" can be mentioned, which produces particular documentary films on the topic of the persecution of Christians in

several parts of the world. The presentation of the video clips can be integrated into the sermon, for example. Thereby, an interesting interplay is created in which the spoken language of the pastor's sermon is combined with the stylistic devices, which are characteristics of cinematic concepts. Therefore, the analysis of emotional styles in this field has not only to listen to spoken words, but also has to take into account that the presented video clips are equipped with certain emotion generating stylistic devices, because of their specific possibilities to combine animated pictures, spoken commentaries and texts, as well as background music.

One very special kind of usage of screens could be observed in an Evangelic church in Meckenheim (Germany), where a so-called "Twitter church service" has been celebrated. This event is described by the responsible pastor of the church in his internet blog, which is called *Pastorenstückchen* (which translated means tail of rump, which has been reserved for the pastor in former times). In fact, one of the participants of the event comments on this on his blog, in which one can find a screenshot of the "twitterwallr," which had been projected onto a screen during the church service.

Figure 2. Screenshot of the twitterwallr. *Source: (http://pastorenstueckchen.de/2011/02/ruckblick-auf-den-ersten-twitter-gottesdienst).*

The parishioners had the opportunity to send their comments on the text for the sermon (1 Corinthians 13) to the internet application Twitter via smart phone or laptop by using the church's Wi-Fi connection. Those comments, which were marked with a certain hash tag, were projected onto the screen and were, therefore, visible to the whole congregation. Following the pastor's blog entries, this event was invented to transfer the concept of verbal "Bible sharing" (that is, talking about one's own thoughts about a certain Bible passage) into a visual manner. The idea was, according to the blog entries, to include more people simultaneously into the discussion than could be involved in a verbal conversation.

Christian parishes use new media formats, however, not only for live visualization during church services, but also as a means of self-representation and for the documentation of church life, both for the group members themselves and for the outside world. This can be well observed with a look at the homepages presented by parishes on the web, which provide their visitors with images, texts and video clips. We find this not only in free churches, but also in the cases of quite conventional ones. The variety of utilized media formats ensures us that the employment of methods for video and picture analysis is unavoidable for researching emotional styles in the religious field.

By looking at an example of a video clip taken from an annual review presented by a free church from Berlin, it becomes clear, that the composition of sequences serves as a reminder and as a kind of a pictorial, external memory (like a photo album) for the parish, archiving its shared activities and memories. It also functions as self-representation towards outsiders, since it can be watched and downloaded via the parish's website.

The video shows the parish's pastor baptizing several people in the Havel-river in Berlin. This sequence is interesting in regard to our research questions because it presents a multimodal dramaturgy of consecutive emotional styles. At the beginning of the sequence, the people going to be baptized stride slowly and solemnly into the river together with the pastor. Their facial expressions are concentrated and awed. One woman raises a hand in a praying gesture. During the process of each baptism the transition from this starting position/pose to another emotional style, which is rather unconstrained, happier, almost exuberant, is noticeable. Subsequent to the last baptism this second style culminates, supported by the changing background music, with a cheering gesture of the pastor, who even jumps up a little bit, while leading the newly baptized Christians back to the shore. The group seems to bring back this style to the beach, where other people wait for them. Finally, we see the almost invariably beaming faces of the newly baptized persons, each presented in a close up.

One can also find picture series on the web documenting special church services and other Christian events. The usage of such pictures

Figure 3. Press pack of an annual event – Freakstock. *Source: http://freakstock.de.*

tells us, that not only the spoken word is regarded as something important to keep and to communicate. In fact, it seems much more to be a matter of showing the visible parts of the liturgy, which appear highly appreciated in this framework. Featured are, for example, liturgical acts, objects, interactions between the celebrating clergymen, their gestures and the positions of the participants in the church.

Especially in picture series presented by free churches, the focus is not only on the liturgical acts of clergymen, but also on the "audience" – the participants of the church services. The presented photographs are taken from the press pack of an annual event called "Freakstock," which is organized by a free church named "Jesus Freaks." The organizers of the event provide the press not only with textual descriptions of the happening, but also with pictures, which have been taken during the past years.

We see prayer postures[2] and interactions between participants. The panning shot of the audience indicates that not just the events on the "stage" seem to be important for the organizers, but also the emotional postures, gestures and mimics of the participants.

Another example is given in the following to illustrate the importance of the analysis of textual data, also collected from internet presences of parishes. The following text passages are taken from a letter, which has been published on the homepage of a free church located in Berlin. The author of the letter describes, what she experienced when she visited a church service of the mentioned free church for the first time.

> ...But then the sermon. A wave of energy set against me. The words coming from the mouth of the preacher captivated me immediately. They found their way directly into my heart. It widened, absorbed all of the confidence and trust in God that built itself up in the church during the sermon. The power, the strength of the Holy Spirit had been literally touchable. And they grew with each new sentence. A warmth flew through my body and seemed to emit healing rays.
>
> ...Until now, there was not one sermon that could not be carried in everyday life. Or that is not kept safe in one's heart, and be it just one sentence which had been touching. Which maybe awoke old memories, which brought tears or let the whole body remain in near breathlessness, so as not to miss a single word, not to miss hearing a message.
>
> ...When the blessing is issued, it can almost be captured with the fingertips, so palpable it seems to be. [source: http://www.citykircheberlin.de «translation R.H.»]

The description of the sermon and the blessing entails many emotional sensations, which seem mainly to be experienced in a bodily manner. The words of the sermon come from the body (mouth) of the preacher and travel into the body (the heart) of the believer, where they shall be kept. By doing so, the words establish a connection between the bodies of the pastor and his audience.

Lastly, an example shall be given of what we can learn from the interviews we conducted with believers. The following short quote is taken from an interview with a young man in his early twenties, who is highly engaged in his work for a free church in Berlin. When we asked him, what emotions are, according to his point of view related to the "antagonist" of God, he said:

> I would not say that all the emotions I have, like angst, for example, that this is ascribed to the devil. I believe that God gives anxieties as well. Anxieties are also there to warn us. It is good to be scared so that we do not take too much risk. ... I believe that at least the devil or evil, when it tries to wield power over humans, gains ground via these negative emotions. Just as God can and will show himself to humans by "the good." [translation R.H.]

Emotions are interpreted in these remarks as intermediaries or media, which can be used by different transcendent powers and thus also fulfill different functions. Emotions might be read symbolically as signals referring to something else, such as warnings. They seem, moreover, also to be understood as gateways for the exertion of the influence of divine or diabolic powers and, therefore, enable a connection between transcendent entities and humans.

Conclusions

To summarize, five key points shall be emphasized:

1. The importance of visualizations in the form of images/pictures and texts for Christianity is well-known. For hundreds of

[2] Another project, also located at the Cluster of Excellence "Languages of Emotion," focuses on the emotions of admiration and adoration (see Schindler et al. forthcoming).

years, artistically designed church windows, illustrated church interiors and opulent Bible editions and prayer books have born witness of this. It seems, however, to be interesting how Christian parishes include nowadays visualizations by means of new technical solutions. This development may be partly caused by the factor that the lifeworld of religion is not unlinked to the other lifeworlds believers dwell in, but is rather in fact tightly interwoven with them. Recent developments in the field of new media technologies and its associated reception and viewer habits do not halt in front of church doors, but are applied by church service organizers and pastors, matching the particular culture of a parish.

2. For the analysis of emotions in Christian parishes, the employment of new means of visualization provides an important entry point. This is especially true with regard to the performative, communicative dimension of emotions, which becomes accessible for us when we interpret image and video data materials created by members of the parishes themselves.

3. By doing so, it becomes clear, that the photographs, images and video clips the parishes present on their web pages, provide the spectator, among other things, with a visual/visualized knowledge of the "feeling rules" (Hochschild 1979) or parts of the "emotional regime" (Riis and Woodhead 2010:10) of a parish or a recurring event. In a pictorial/visual way, these materials give information on the questions surrounding what emotions and in particular what forms of expressions of those emotions are acceptable and even socially desired in a certain parish or at a certain event.

4. At the same time, the forms of visualization we found in the data can be interpreted as one of several hints suggesting that there is a development going on in Christian Churches throughout Germany, which can be described with a term Meyer (2006) coined with regard to Pentecostal Churches in Ghana. She speaks of "religious sensations" and addresses different aspects by using this term. On the one hand, the term describes the increasing accentuation of a "sensational" dimension in religious life, which is characterized by "sensation" as an impressive and extraordinary event. On the other hand, it also signifies the integration of all the senses into the design of church life.

5. This expansion of religious life to all dimensions of perception and cognition can be seen as the foundation for the emergence of new emotional styles, which are also to be felt, expressed and communicated with and via all the senses. It confirms also empirically, that the analysis of emotions in the field of Christianity today has to consider the close connection between emotional sensations and the body, as suggested theoretically by Mellor (2007).

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