Chapter 1

Introduction:

Articulating Intersections at the Global Crossroads of Religion and Migration

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Immigration crises dominate much of the news around the world as we are writing in 2016: a makeshift, and yet increasingly permanent, camp in Calais, France houses the nearly 7,000 refugees and migrants who are desperately trying to reach Great Britain; thousands of others are dying on overloaded boats crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Africa and West Asia to Europe; and Rohingya Muslims, are being turned away from Southeast Asian countries unwilling to accommodate these refugees, who, as members of an ethnic and religious minority, are facing persecution in Bangladesh and Myanmar.[i] Policy debates have depicted migrants as criminals or potential drains on society rather than focused on the causes of the migrants' desperation such as war, neo-liberal economic policies, and religious persecution. Migrants and refugees have been vilified in some discourse to the point where at least one Republican presidential hopeful in the United States have suggested ending birthright citizenship, which is written into the 14th Amendment of the US Constitution.[ii]

The camp in Calais, demonstrates several noteworthy aspects of international migration, from the problems inherent in conceptualizing immigrants as a homogeneous group of people, to the desperation that drives migrants to risk their lives to settle in far from hospitable environments.[iii] Refugees and migrants from across the global South continue arriving in Calais as European governments reinforce fencing to prevent them from crossing the English Channel.[iv] In addition to this fencing, the camp in Calais has repeatedly been demolished by the French

authorities, and the camp's inhabitants continue to face the reality and risk of eviction and dispossession. European political leaders frame this crisis as a threat to European security and identity while humanitarian groups try to provide basic necessities and alleviate the suffering of those living in the camps. Throughout these processes of ongoing and overlapping insecurity, refugees and migrants continue to make interim lives for themselves and the temporary communities they are creating in the camp, including by building shelters and places of worship (see figures 1.1 and 1.2).[v]

***Figure 1.1 - Caption: An image showing the exterior of St. Michael's Church in The Jungle camp, Calais, France. Shortly after this photograph was taken, The Jungle was demolished once again. (c) Elodie Perriot / Secours Catholique
***Figure 1.2 – Caption: Part of the interior of St. Michael's Church in The Jungle camp, Calais. This is one of a number of places of worship built and decorated by refugee and migrant residents in the camp. 3 (c) Caritas Social Action Network

Questions about the role of religion in Calais and other immigration contexts often reveal answers that deepen and broaden our understanding of human migration. Furthermore, their answers demonstrate that religion can be central to migration at a variety of levels and across diverse spaces, from the individual, family, and community practices of migrants and those they leave behind, to the social and political contexts that characterize sites of origin, transit, and destination. Demographics show that religious minorities are more likely to migrate; activists and organizations working to aid migrants throughout their journeys are often motivated by religious narratives and ethical principles; and religious identities can shape migrants' experiences of interacting with local populations in receiving sites.[vi]

Despite these multiple dynamics, academics have often overlooked the intersections of religion and human mobility due to their secular biases.[vii] As scholars of religion have long been aware, however, for people who inhabit a religious tradition, every aspect of life may be connected to something beyond the measurable world, something that can be called "the sacred".[viii] In effect, it is "the sacred" that

motivates many people to act, feel, and think in certain ways that are not always comprehensible to those on the outside. It could, perhaps, have been academics' skepticism or even rejection of the sacred that has until recently pushed religion to a corner in the study of migration.

In spite of this skepticism and at times explicit mistrust of religion, the 1990s witnessed an increasing interest in exploring religion in a broad range of fields of enquiry.[ix] In part, this coincided with widespread debates taking place within social theory throughout the 1990s and 2000s that extensively critiqued the long-standing assumptions that modernization and modernity would be characterized by the decline of religion and the corresponding entrenchment of rationality and secularization.[x] This teleological vision assumed that modernization would lead societies away from the pre-modern "sacred" towards the modern "secular" a vision that has been effectively disproved in light of the continued, and many would argue increasing, importance of religious belief, identity, and practice around the world.

Recognizing religion's continued relevance, and especially since the mid-2000s, migration scholars have examined the intersections between religion and migration from disparate theoretical, methodological, and religious perspectives, although, in disciplinary terms, this sub-field has arguably been dominated by social science frameworks.[xi] In turn, scholars of religion, theologians, and ethicists have also explored the multiple connections between religion and migration in increasing numbers.[xii] In addition to increasingly visible religious diversity brought to "traditional" countries of immigration after a series of new immigration laws were passed in the mid-1960s, religion was brought to the forefront of migration studies--at least in the United States--by seminal studies including R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner's *Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New*

Immigration. The formation of a "Religion and Migration" program unit at the American Academy of Religion in 2007 is but one example of the growing attention paid to this important, complex, and often politically charged issue.

As observers of the development of this field of research and practice, we argue that sustained consideration of the myriad ways in which religion and migration intersect allows us to examine simultaneously the complex roles that religion plays in shaping migration patterns and experiences, and, equally to recognize the malleability of religious traditions and practices in processes of (im)mobility and migration (see figures 1.3 and 1.4). Importantly, by centralizing the importance of religion in this volume, and in the Religion and Global Migrations Book Series of which it is part, we neither intend to reify religion, nor to argue that religion is the only, or even necessarily the most important, factor underpinning experiences of or responses to migration.[xiii] Rather, by exploring the ways in which religious identity, belief and practice intersect, for instance, with race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality throughout diverse processes of migration, the volume aims to redress the abovementioned imbalances by examining migration with religion at the center. As Ager and Ager write in Chapter Twelve, "religious dynamics [determine] the fundamental experience of migration" and should thus "be integrated with analyses of the migrant trajectories and experience, not seen as epiphenomenal to them."

***Figure 1.3 – Caption: A statue commemorating Arab migration to Cuba from the Middle East, in the "Arab neighborhood" of Monte in Havana. Arab migrants to Cuba have historically been presumed to be Christians, and Qur'anic inscriptions are absent from Havana's "Arab neighborhood". © Fiddian-Qasmiyeh

***Figure 1.4 – Caption: The ceramics adorning the patio of this house on the centrally located 23rd Street in Havana document the religious convictions of the pre-Revolutionary owners of this building (pharmacists originally from the Middle East), declaring "There is no conqueror but Allah". © Fiddian-Qasmiyeh

By integrating research undertaken by leading scholars working from within and about a range of religious traditions and disciplinary perspectives, this volume

suggests that there are alternative ways of understanding the relationships, processes, and responses that characterize global migration. In this regard, we start from the premise that not all types of migrants, levels or directionalities of migration, and indeed, not all religions, are equally represented in studies of migration or in policy responses designed to address these.[xiv] Importantly, these diverse traditions have different positions of power in different geopolitical spheres.[xv] Therefore, we suggest ways in which study of these under-represented issues and dynamics can expand our knowledge and deepen our understanding. The next section highlights the diversity of forms of migration while what follows attends more specifically to the power imbalances that are inherent in these varieties of migration as well as in their study. The remainder of this introduction highlights significant ways in which reading different approaches to religion and migration together can aid us to see global migration in new ways. One of the overarching aims of this book and broader book series, is to advocate in favor of an interdisciplinary and multiperspectival approach to the study of migration (and, indeed, of religion), that benefits from placing different theoretical, ontological, epistemological and methodological viewpoints in conversation with one another.

Types and Directionalities of Migration

By 2013, the United Nations estimated there were over 232 million international migrants worldwide, including those who cross international borders for employment, education, tourism, family reunification, and asylum.[xvi] This figure does not include the people who have migrated within--rather than across--their national borders, such as rural migrants looking for work in urban areas, migrants displaced by public works projects or changing climates, or professionals in search of better opportunities.

Bearing all of these categories and "types" of migration in mind, it is clear that not all people(s) who move across national and transnational spaces are equally "visible," or of equal "interest" to different stakeholders as migrants *per se*.[xvii] In effect, dominant academic and policy perspectives have framed the terms of discussions and debates about migration and migrants, with diverse bureaucratic labels having been imposed upon migrants.[xviii] In contrast, the ways in which migrants conceptualize these processes, including the significance of religious identity, belief, and practice, and experiences have largely remained invisible or unexplored to date.

For instance, state policies label and constitute certain migrants, including those at the camp in Calais, as hypervisible, deviant Others whose moving bodies (and concomitant religious beliefs and practices) are to be controlled and/or feared. Indeed, the enforcement of border controls and the forced removal of migrants have displaced the notion of "entry" from the center of the immigration conversation to the extent that scholars increasingly talk of "the deportation regime" or "deportation nation".[xix] With the securitization of migration being inherently linked to (real or imputed) religious and ethnic identity markers, however, it is by now widely documented that such a regime remains unknown by many migrants, and not all mobile subjects' religious beliefs and practices are equally interrogated by state officials monitoring processes of international migration.[xx] These processes have changed over time so that religious and ethnic groups that were once deemed undesirable, such as Catholic and Jewish European migrants at the turn of the twentieth century in the United States, are now often welcome a century later.[xxi] In contrast, for those individuals and groups whose socio-economic profile, combined with--inter alia--their religious, ethnic, and regional background, lead to their being denominated as "tourists" or "business people" who are to be actively welcomed in

the country of destination at the present moment, borders and border controls are largely imperceptible. These professionals are usually not the "immigrants" who are considered problematic in receiving sites.[xxii]

Scholarship too has tended to focus on migration flows from the global South to the global North (South-North migration), even when migration within and across the global South (South-South migration) is arguably more significant numerically speaking, especially when highly significant processes of internal migration are also taken into account.[xxiii] As a result, little remains known about the roles of religion as diverse migrants travel and negotiate their interactions with diverse stakeholders within their regions of origin or in other regions of the global South.[xxiv] While many of the case-studies included in the book parallel the academy's dominant focus on South-North migration flows, others concretely focus on the religious dimensions of South-South migration flows,[xxv] and also from and to countries that prompt a more nuanced analysis of the South-North binary itself.[xxvi]

Indeed, the pervading focus on South-North migration is a particularly significant bias given the increasing diversification of countries of immigration, and the implications of this diversification with regards to religion: from the "classic" immigration countries such as Argentina, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States, and northern and western Europe, immigration and its effects have spread to non-traditional receiving nation-states such as India, Japan, Malaysia, South Korea, and the United Arab Emirates. Before World War II, "classic" immigration countries had historically preferred Christian European migrants; indeed, many had established clear barriers to, and at times overt prohibitions of, the immigration of non-Christian, non-European Others. Following the war, many of these receiving countries opened immigration to non-Europeans in greater numbers, and, as a

growing number of non-Christians were admitted, both migrants and hosts increasingly underwent processes of adjusting to religious diversity. This reveals an imbalance of power as Muslims, in one example, have tended to be "cultural, religious and ethnic minorities" in receiving sites, which "makes for vulnerability in interreligious and political conversation."[xxvii] Additionally, with an ever-widening range of countries (across the global North and global South alike) receiving significant, and diverse, migratory flows, the standard assumption that a Christian majority "host" population is accommodating religiously diverse immigrants no longer reflects the full reality of global migration. Tibetan Buddhist refugees in India, minority Rohingya Muslims seeking asylum in Muslim majority Indonesia, and Keralan Muslims working in the Gulf States, for example, disrupt Christian hegemony in migration contexts and in scholarly discussions of migration.

Corresponding to this diversification, the religious discourses around immigration policy and humanitarian aid are also clearly shifting from a Christian dominated one to one in which multiple religious traditions are not only contributing, but also demanding to be heard and considered to be legitimate interlocutors. Indeed, it is important to note that such debates and discussions have invariably been taking place around the world from diverse religious perspectives throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (and indeed before). There is therefore an urgent need to continue building upon existing research by identifying, and meaningfully listening to, a broader range of perspectives from migrants and scholars alike positioned within both non-Christian and marginalized Christian traditions, as we strive collectively to think more systematically and holistically about migration.

The reasons for the apparent absence or inaudibility of these non-Christian perspectives to date are manifold and include both different relationships to power

and knowledge, and a different emphasis on religious thought outside of Christianity.[xxviii] Additionally, Christianity has both explicitly and implicitly shaped academic discourse about religion in the global North, where many of the earliest connections between religion and migration have been made. We anticipate that this volume will create a space where the first steps can be taken for previously marginalized perspectives to be added to the conversations.

Re-Scripting Studies of Religion and Migration

Religion is an abstract concept that, in the Western academy, has historically been framed by Christian perspectives, with intellectuals having tended to exhibit a form of post-Reformation bias that habitually defines a religion by its sacred texts and its core beliefs. In contrast, in this book we have tried to understand "religion" broadly, inviting chapters from contributors whose research reflects a variety of methodologies, with emphases on different aspects of religion and different forms of migration so that a spectrum of sub-disciplines within the fields of both "Religious Studies" (including, for example, sociology of religion, theology, and philosophy) and "Migration Studies" (including, for example, political science, geography, and gender and sexuality studies) are represented. It has been our intention to highlight the complexity of "religion" through this book--it can, of course, provide forms and networks of support or indeed persecution, but it is also an abstract concept that encompasses beliefs, feelings, motivations, narratives, experiences, communities, identities, and embodied practices. As such, we understand religion to both shape and be shaped by the human experience, and recognize that for many it concurrently transcends that experience.

While from its roots in a Hellenized civilization, dominant forms of Christianity have tended to emphasize orthodoxy, or "correct belief," especially since the Protestant Reformation, other religious traditions (including Medieval Christianity and liberation theologies that emphasize right action or *praxis*) have historically been concerned with correct practice. For example, while there is a tradition of theology in Islam, it has been dwarfed by the science of jurisprudence, which is overwhelmingly focused on action. However, it is undeniable that in the English language "faith" has become a synonym for "religion" in popular and even within scholarly discourse. Especially with the increasing popularity of terms such as "Faith Based Organizations," it has at times been challenging to distinguish between what different people and institutions mean by faith and religion, including when these terms are used by people of diverse religious traditions and, indeed, none.

On the one hand, Jenny Lunn's concise definition of the terms religion, spirituality, and faith can be a useful starting point in differentiating their meaning. She defines "religion as an institutionalized system of beliefs and practices concerning the supernatural realm; spirituality as the personal beliefs by which an individual relates to and experiences the supernatural realm; and faith as the human trust or belief in a transcendent reality (although the word faith is also applied in non-religious contexts)."[xxix] On the other hand, such conceptual clarity nonetheless continues to be accompanied by the overlapping usage of these terms in practice.

As editors, we have debated whether we should encourage, or require, that the contributors to this volume uniformly adopt the meanings of the terms as understood within the field of Religious Studies. Ultimately, rather than prescribing that all contributors consistently distinguish between the terms "religion" and "faith, we have provided the space for authors to use the terminology that they feel most adequately

reflects their disciplines. This decision is in line with our dual aims to understand the relationship between religion and migration broadly from multiple perspectives, and to build upon existing studies in order to establish a dialogue between a variety of conceptual frameworks. Indeed, whether the distinctions between faith and religion outlined above are applicable to the diversity of religious traditions around the world, both in general and in regards to the study of migration, remains a question to be examined, rather than assumed, from a comparative perspective.

With these complexities in mind, we invited contributors to write chapters on different aspects of the religion/migration nexus from a variety of disciplinary, methodological, and epistemological perspectives. Our contributors have drawn on their expertise and analyses of specific case studies, whilst also considering the extent to which their approaches can complement and/or bring new dimensions to the study of other cases or dynamics. The chapters that follow therefore both offer state-of-the-art reviews of key approaches to the field of religion and migration, and individually and collectively suggest new ways of applying and exploring key lenses and concepts; as such they also point to areas, issues, and perspectives requiring further analysis. The comparative nature of the chapters--with most contributions drawing on multiple case-studies from around the world--directly addresses the gap recognized by Cadge and Ecklund in their review of the scholarship about religion among post-1965 immigrants to the United States: to date, they argue, research has included "richly descriptive individual case studies," and yet has also tended to be missing "systematic analytic comparison and synthesis." In addition, by bringing together these varied contributions in one volume, we purposefully seek to invite the reader to bring their perspectives and experiences into conversation with the multiple case studies, religious traditions and contexts examined in the following chapters.[xxx]

The benefits of such an approach are many. For example, the interlinked concepts of exile and diaspora have been explored with specific reference to the Jewish experience in the work of Daniel and Jonathan Boyarin and earlier by Raphael Patai. Concurrently, many have examined the concept of "diaspora" with very little or no reference to its paradigmatic use in the Jewish context.[xxxi] In contrast, in Chapter Seven, Ellen Posman encourages us to consider the implications of examining the theology of exile outside of Judaism. To do so, she draws upon the much more recent example of Tibetan Buddhists in exile and examines the way that specific, Buddhist understandings of karma may be used to explain their current experience. While the theological underpinnings of each case are different, there are points of commonality, which can lead to broader theoretical understandings of exile that cross religious borders. Additionally, scholars can mobilize these concepts to understand exile in new ways. For example, the exile of Ram and Sita in Hinduism as a particularly salient narrative among Hindus living outside of India, demonstrates the ways that migrant communities--some with extremely different circumstances than the ancient Jews and contemporary Tibetan Buddhists--variously imagine themselves in exile from their homelands.

Holly Straut Eppsteiner and Jacqueline Hagan's contribution in Chapter Two on the support that religion can provide to migrants, serves as an example of the way such comparative work can additionally broaden conversations. From deciding and preparing to leave a place of origin, through the often risky journey, to the experiences of first arriving at a destination and then settling there, Chapter Two illuminates the ways in which religion accompanies migrants throughout the migration process. This chapter exemplifies the aims of this volume in two significant ways.

First, Straut Eppsteiner and Hagan use a variety of cases to explore the roles of religion in the migration process. Focused on migration to the global North, the chapter nevertheless spans the globe to include Catholic and Pentecostal migrants from Mexico and Central America, Pentecostals and Muslims from Africa, Christians from China, and Hindus from India. Using the camp in Calais as an example, such a comparative approach could enable researchers to analyze and better understand the differences and similarities that exist between the ways Islam and Pentecostalism support refugees and migrants from Africa, the Middle East and Central Asia as they try to reach the United Kingdom.

Second, Straut Eppsteiner and Hagan introduce the concept of "lived religion," which is foregrounded in the first section of this volume, of which this chapter is a part, specifically attending to the experiences of immigrants in relation to religion. That is, this chapter and the entire volume add to religious discussions of migration focused on belief and text valuable insights concerning how religion is actually inhabited, drawn upon and transformed in daily life in relation to migration: it adds insight into how things *are*, not just how things should be. This is, of course, not to suggest that we are writing belief and text out of immigrants' religious experiences, but are instead listening to immigrants themselves as they negotiate their own religious beliefs, rituals, identities, institutions, and personal experiences of the sacred.

Lived Experiences of Religion and Migration

As noted above, Chapter Two opens the first of this volume's three main sections by introducing the concept of lived religion as a significant way to understand migrants' experiences of movement and (im)mobility. All of the chapters in this section attend

to religion within the context of immigrants' lives. Straut Eppsteiner and Hagan demonstrate religion's usefulness as a resource for psychological as well as social and spiritual support through all phases of the migration process, however, it is essential not to view religion solely through an instrumentalist lens. For while religious practices and perspectives clearly affect the immigration experience, it is our aim to understand better the full range of ways in which immigration and religion intersect, including the ways in which the sacred, ritual, belief, identity, and community shape and are shaped by immigration. Indeed, the support that religion and spirituality can offer must be viewed alongside the complexities that various contexts add to the religion and migration equation. Together, the first five chapters examine the ways in which our understanding of the lived experiences of both migration and religion is significantly enhanced by recognizing the intersectionality of religion with diverse identity markers (including race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation) and power structures (such as racism, Islamophobia, patriarchy, and heteronormativity) (see figures 1.5 and 1.6). These diverse identity markers and power structures illuminate the ways in which residents of the camp in Calais, for example, negotiate the heterogeneity of their makeshift community.

***Figure 1.5 – Caption: Against a backdrop of Islamophobia and the popular equation of Islam with terrorism, the Sahrawi refugees' political leaders have distanced the Sahrawi from Islam during interactions with European visitors to the camps. This is the "invisible" mosque in the 27th February Refugee Camp, South West Algeria. © Fiddian-Qasmiyeh

***Figure 1.6 – Caption: Since the 1970s, visitors to the Sahrawi refugee camps have repeatedly been informed that "our women have never veiled." The *melhfa* worn by all Sahrawi women in the camps is commonly presented as a traditional and cultural item of clothing, rather than as one of the many forms of Islamic veiling adopted around the world. © Fiddian-Qasmiyeh

Where Chapter Two takes a broad approach to understanding the ways in which religion can support immigrants, Chapters Three and Four--by Kim Knott and

Zayn Kassam respectively--narrow their focus to explore immigrant practices and religious identities more deeply. Both chapters address the individual struggle of immigrants, their strategies for creating supportive communities, and the ways in which they reach out to host societies through both religious rituals such as processions and organizations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). Individually, and together, they demonstrate that immigration necessitates adjustments to new contexts. Sometimes these changes may be related to migrating from a place where one is part of the religious majority to one in which a migrant finds herself in the religious minority. One common hurdle identified by Knott in her chapter is the new experience of a major religious festival falling on a regular work day, while other kinds of changes are more subtle and reflect the new meanings of quotidian practices such as wearing the *hijab* in a country where Muslims are not only a minority but can be the targets of Islamophobia.[xxxii]Indeed, as Kassam notes in her chapter, Muslim migrants in the United States are in the process of constructing and reconstructing their religious identities as they interact with the broader American public sphere. Both contributions demonstrate the benefits for researchers to delve into the experiences of migrants directly so that we can understand the ways that everyday religion shapes and is shaped by the migrant experience.

In turn, Chapters Five and Six shift the lens of everyday experiences to shine a light on the significance of particular vectors of migrants' identities as they intersect with religion: race and ethnicity (as discussed by Khayti Joshi in Chapter Five) and gender, gender identity and sexual orientation (explored by Hugo Córdova Quero in Chapter Six). Indeed, together with Chapters Three and Four, these chapters highlight the salience of intersectionality in helping us better understand the nuances of migrants' lived experiences of migration and of the ways in which they interact with,

and are affected by, diverse bureaucracies, institutions and social actors throughout their migration journeys. Intersectionality as a concept and analytical framework originated in the 1980s and early-1990s as a means of exploring and explaining the overlapping experiences of oppression and marginalization faced by African American women by virtue of their race and gender in a society characterized by everyday, institutionalized racism and patriarchy.[xxxiii] Whilst neither religion nor migration were overtly prioritized in this feminist and anti-racist framework, a broader conceptualization of intersectionality has been increasingly applied by academics working within an extensive range of disciplines and social contexts, including within the multidisciplinary field of Migration Studies.[xxxiv] It has, inter alia, enabled scholars to explore the ways in which experiences and representations of, and responses to, refugees and migrants are framed and constituted according to race and gender, but also numerous other intersecting, overlapping and mutually constitutive identity markers including their legal and migratory status, their religion, class, sexual orientation, gender identity, and age, and also by corresponding power structures such as xenophobia, classism, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and ageism.[xxxv]

Such analyses have highlighted the extent to which the relative significance of these identity markers--whether self-ascribed or imposed by others--and related power structures shift across time and space; they have concomitantly demonstrated the extent to which identity and power structures can both constrain and grant particular positions of privilege. A clear example of such shifts can be seen when migrants' religious identities had positioned them as members of the dominant/majority when they lived in their country of origin, and yet they come to be viewed and treated as members of a marginalized, Othered minority in their country of destination. As noted above, this is often the case when Muslim, Buddhist, or Hindu migrants leave their

countries of origin and are repositioned as "minorities" when they arrive in countries with Christian majorities. Interestingly, however, the opposite may not always remain true. For instance, members of certain religious minority groups from the Middle East--such as Baha'is fleeing persecution in Iran--may benefit from national policies that prioritize the granting of refugee status, and resettlement to, the global North, and yet persecuted religious minorities do not automatically become accepted members of the new country's religious majority, even when they share that religion.[xxxvi] Such has been the case of three Christian Syrian refugee families who applied for asylum in Texas (United States) in November 2015 (in the aftermath of the Paris bomb attacks) and yet who have been placed in immigration detention rather than offered sanctuary in the United States.[xxxvii]

Indeed, it is often the case that racial, ethnic, and regional identities effectively take precedence over migrants' "real" religious identities during their interactions with others.[xxxviii] This has frequently occurred when Christian migrants and refugees from the Middle East, for instance, have been assumed to be Muslim by virtue of their racial, ethnic, national, and/or regional origins.[xxxix] Importantly, whether migrants self-identify with these racial and ethnic identities, or whether they are ascribed by others, is in many regards inconsequential in situations where observers "read" and impose religious identity onto migrants. This is, in effect, at the crux of Joshi's analysis of the process of the *racialization of religion*, whereby "a set of phenotypical features… comes to be associated in the popular mind with a given religion and/or with other social traits." In practice, this often means that the migrant's skin and body become sites of contestation and the migrant becomes a target for discrimination when his or her physical characteristics are equated by observers with a particular religion; this is especially the case when that religion has been Othered, demonized,

or exoticized through long-standing historical and political processes.[xl] Indeed, while "thinking through the skin" has been presented as means of developing critical, postcolonial feminist engagement with the politics of "lived and imagined embodiment," it is clearly the case that skins and bodies are often read and "mis-read" in ways that often have discriminatory and even deadly consequences.[xli] The latter is exemplified particularly poignantly through the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes by the British police in London, when this young Brazilian man's "dangerously coded body" meant that he was "(mis)recognized" as a Muslim suicide bomber.[xlii]

These processes of reading and constituting the skin and the body as the bearers of religious identity are themselves intrinsically gendered in nature, since the body is also "read" in conjunction with embodied practices and religious symbols which may be gender specific. In effect, throughout the migratory journey, religious identity markers that may have been a source of pride and even privilege in the country of origin, may become a key source of discrimination upon arrival in the host country. This is equally the case for Muslim women who wear the *hijab*, which they may be conceptualize as a "second skin," and also for Sikh and Jewish men who respectively wear turbans and *kippah*, with these symbols rendering their religious identity, belief, and practice hypervisible in the public sphere.[xliii]

In these cases, religious symbols become markers of gendered and religious difference, and are read and situated in relation both to the hegemonic cultures and religions of the country of destination, and the geopolitical context alike, both of which change over time. With regards to the contemporary geopolitical context, the "War on Terror" is a case in point, having framed the British police officers' "(mis)recognition" of Jean Charles de Menezes as a Muslim terrorist threat, but also, as stressed by Hugo Córdova Quero in his chapter, leading to the "tightening of

border controls and the decreasing possibilities for queer people to migrate, especially for transgender and intersex individuals."

Indeed, by tracing the extent to which gender, sexual orientation, and gender identity intersect with religion and migration, Córdova Quero simultaneously highlights that there are both shifts *and* continuities in terms of the relative significance of vectors of identity and related power structures throughout processes of migration. As such, veiled Muslim refugees may experience new forms of discrimination such as Islamophobia and racism, in addition to a continuation of patriarchal structures of oppression in countries of asylum or resettlement alike.[xliv] Equally, queer migrants and refugees may experience new forms of discrimination, while the prevalence of homophobia and transphobia across the global North and global South means that they will often continue to be stigmatized and perhaps even criminalized throughout their journeys. Through the cases of queer and straight Brazilian Catholics in Japan, Roman Catholic *tongzhi* and *nu-tongzhi* (queer male and female) migrants from China who have moved to Hong Kong, and Mak Nyah ("transsexual") internal migrants in Malaysia, Córdova Quero stresses that religious belief and practice may be a source of support for queer migrants even when hetero-patriarchal hegemonic religious discourses often explicitly marginalize and exclude queer individuals, partners and families by virtue of their gender identities and sexual orientations.

In addition to drawing on and negotiating religious discourses and practices in their everyday lives and interactions, the internal and international migration of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, queer and intersex (LGBTQI) individuals, couples and families has also challenged hegemonic religious discourses and practices, leading to the development of queer theological frameworks that are "(re)considering

how diversity and transnational movements further complicate those elements in the lives of queer migrants."[xlv] As such, Córdova Quero draws on the work of Joseph N. Goh to examine the ways in which "*Nyah*-Islam theology accompanies the journey of the Malaysian *Mak Nyahs* in their self-understanding of Islam and in the process of subverting the order of institutional Islam that oppresses [them]." Faith is thus simultaneously central to *Mak Nyah*'s experiences and narratives of their journeys of migration, while they also re-read and prompt the reinterpretation of religious texts, discourses and practices.

Religious Texts and Narratives in Migration

As reflected in many of the contributions discussed so far, religious texts--understood here as written and oral texts relating to particular religious traditions--often represent crucial loci for engagement between migrants, migration, and religion, although the role played by text in general and *particular* texts in religious belief and practice varies between traditions, and also between individuals and communities who practice those traditions.

Stories of migration found within religious texts offer narratives into which migrants can insert their own migration stories. In reading and listening to the stories of those who have inhabited their religious tradition before them--those who have also been on the move--migrants, if they wish, can discern the sacred in their own journeys and experiences.[xlvi] The story of the exile for Jews and Christians is paradigmatic. This narrative, that tells of the deportation of many of the people of Israel to Babylon from Jerusalem in c.586 BCE, and of their lives there away from their community and homeland and under an alien imperial power, is not only recounted in the Hebrew Scriptures but also forms the backdrop against which the majority of other texts

included in this corpus were written. In her contribution, Posman explores the development of an exilic worldview among Jews over centuries and of exile itself as a pivotal concept in the Torah.

Exile provides the context within which other stories of migration were formulated, including those of Abraham uprooting his family, leaving his home city of Ur and living as a nomad; Moses and the people of Israel leaving Egypt for the Promised Land; Joseph being sold into slavery and traveling as a slave to Egypt; and Ruth and Naomi arriving from Moab as refugees from famine. In their stories, migrants glimpse something of their own experiences and verses such as Psalm 139 "By the waters of Babylon, we sat down and wept," have been recited as poetry and prayer by those forced from their homes for centuries. For Posman, the exilic point of view undergirding and exhibited in Jewish writings became complexly intertwined with the experience of Jews living in diaspora.[xlvii]

For Muslims, movement is also an important part of textual tradition not least through the story of Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Yathrib (renamed Madinat ul-Nabi, "City of the Prophet," renamed Medina) in 622 CE, a crucial moment which marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar and a pilgrimage that Muslims are expected to re-enact in their lifetime. As migrants engage with familiar and new religious texts, they discover resonance with experiences of joy, struggle, hope and fear in the lives of women and men who have--or are remembered as having--taken these and other journeys before them. In her chapter, for example, Kim Knott recounts the story of Ahmed, a London-based Muslim Bangladeshi migrant, whose account resonates with the story of the Prophet's migration, or *hijra,* and who states, "So it is our duty also, to travel."

In her research among transnational Hindu communities, Jennifer B. Saunders also found that understandings of immigration experiences are framed by religious texts and narratives. For example, *dharmashatric* parameters about householders' responsibilities guide these transmigrants as they negotiate competing demands between participating in rituals with extended family members who remain in India and their duty to support them financially. Thus, educational and professional opportunities in receiving countries such as the United States are interpreted as following one's religious duty or *dharma*.[xlviii] At the same time, the recitation of epic narratives, such as the *Sundarkand* of Tulsidas' *Ramcharitmanas*, continuously place transmigrants' experiences within a larger religious story of exile and migration (see figures 1.7 and 1.8).[xlix]

***figure 1.7 – Caption: Temporary altar arranged for a community ritual, Atlanta, Georgia. © Jennifer B. Saunders
***figure 1.8 – Caption: Fellowship after *Sundarkand* recitation, Atlanta, Georgia. © Jennifer B. Saunders

Religious stories and texts are thus central to the experiences of many migrants, providing a means to understand and re-narrate their own lived experiences; this also clearly exemplifies the ways in which migrants themselves are active agents who interpret not only their own predicaments and experiences, but also religious texts themselves. Indeed, re-readings completed through the lens of immigration shed new light on old texts, leading to them being understood in new ways precisely as a result of migration experiences. Within the Christian tradition, for instance, Jean-Pierre Ruiz explores a range of texts including Ezekiel 20, Matthew's Parable of the Day Laborers, and the Apocalypse from the perspective of Latino/a immigration in the United States. In *Readings from the Edges: The Bible and People on the Move*, he describes his reading strategy as "the practice of not only reading *about* immigrants, but also reading *as* immigrants and reading *with* immigrants."[l] Similarly, as Posman

discusses in Chapter Seven, Jewish experiences of living in diaspora have influenced interpretations of the Torah.

(Re)Conceptualizing Religion and Migration

Religious narratives are thus intimately related to experiences of migration, and also to a range of conceptual lenses that are used to analyze processes and experiences of migration, including in particular exile and diaspora, as discussed by Posman.[li] Complementing Posman's analysis of these concepts, Stephen Cherry's contribution (Chapter Eight) examines religion and migration through the interconnected lenses of diaspora and transnationalism, noting the salience of globalization in understanding the flows and connections that migrant populations develop, maintain and negotiate in our contemporary world. While recognizing that religion has become a focus for diaspora scholars only relatively recently, in his chapter, Cherry highlights that "religious adherents, communities, ideas and practices have always fluidly transcended borders, making them some of the oldest transnational entities in existence." In addition to tracing the different meanings and usages of the concepts of exile, diaspora, and transnationalism, both Posman and Cherry explore the relevance of their respective concepts comparatively to understand various immigrant communities' experiences of religious identity, practice, and politics, across time and space.

Although these chapters are concerned with the ways that theoretical concepts shape our understandings of various migrant experiences and processes, they are both grounded in seeing these concepts through migrants' eyes. Reflecting the increasing recognition of the limitations of the traditional assimilation models that underpinned migration studies, academics have by now extensively examined "how, why and to

what effect migrants retain personal ties, political allegiances, religious identities and practices, linguistic and cultural features, and broader memories, in their new settlement country."[lii] However, the recognition of the salience of these ongoing and (re)new(ed) connections with the homeland does not necessarily inform us as to whether these migrants identify themselves as exiles, refugees, diasporans, transnational migrants (or "transmigrants"). Thus, Posman argues that the terms "exiles" or "diasporans" may be more or less appropriate to describe the members of a particular migrant community depending on that community's "mindset about [its] host society." Concurrently, the differences between an exilic, diasporic, or a transnational outlook may hinge on the migrant community's perception of its homeland.[liii]

Posman and Cherry approach their respective concepts from different methodological perspectives. On the one hand, Posman uses biblical texts to demonstrate the varied theological positions implied by exile in the specific case of Judaism before expanding her scope to consider other contemporary exile/diaspora communities and the ways in which the terms can be used in various contexts. Cherry, on the other hand, is grounded in social scientific methodologies in his exploration of contemporary religious communities with a focus on the flows of various material and non-material resources through interconnected social networks across time and space.

Coming from very different perspectives, both Chapters Seven and Eight provide significant and complementary insights into situations in which the members of migrant groups are able to organize and mobilize around shared identities, experiences, and causes to benefit their own communities and, in some cases, even others. Thus, although both chapters address exiled Tibetan Buddhists, they discuss them in quite different ways. Posman's lenses of diaspora and exile foreground the

longing for and connection to the Tibetan homeland while Cherry's transnational lens reveals the ways the community is making home (and religious homes) in India and has transformed Indian Buddhism. Applying these concepts to the example of Calais introduced above, could also enable us to better understand the extent to which the experiences of these refugees- and migrants-in-transit can be framed through the lenses of exile--for instance of being exiled from an inhospitable homeland as in the case of Syrian, Afghan, and Iraqi refugees--and/or of transnationalism--as transnational migrants who continue to draw on resources from a homeland that still has resources to offer while at the same time transforming religious life in their makeshift camp.

Theologies and Philosophies of Religion and Migration

Christian theologies of migration have burgeoned in recent years, and are diverse in terms of the social and geographical location of authors, theological conclusions reached, and theological sub-discipline (i.e., doctrine, liturgy, ethics, mission).[liv] Many reflections have been written from a white, Western, host society perspective, and draw on biblical texts and theological concepts to suggest the need for hospitality to be shown towards migrants.[lv] They are usually addressed to members of churches in the global North, encouraging engagement with migrants and migration, and fundamentally, encourage recognition of the image of God present in all migrants. Daniel Groody--the author of Chapter Nine--has penned the beginnings of a systematic theology of migration, seeking to connect key Christian doctrinal concepts with migration through the language and imagery of "crossing the divide."[lvi] In turn, Ilsup Ahn has proposed a theology of forgiveness in relation to undocumented migrants.[lvii] However, not all Christian theology positively encourages the welcome

of migrants.[lviii] Some have drawn on biblical passages such as Romans 13:1-7 to suggest that earthly government is divinely ordained, and that crossing borders without "legal papers" is therefore sinful, and that people of faith have primary responsibilities towards their own family and nation-state.[lix]

Theologians who have experienced migration themselves, or inhabit communities with extensive experience of migration, have added crucial perspectives, and in particular, have argued for the need to move beyond calls for hospitality to address the global injustices that are causing people to migrate in the first place.[lx] They also challenge the ways in which some theologians have tended to talk of migrants as if they are "they" and outside the "we" of the Church. Carmen Nanko Fernandez, writing of Latino Catholics in the United States, aptly states: "We are not your diversity! We are the Church!" Noting that thirty-nine percent of American Catholics are Hispanic but yet only thirteen percent of those ordained for diocesan priesthood are, she describes Latinos as the "marginalized many".[lxi] Furthermore, Peter Phan, a Vietnamese Catholic theologian, has written about the need to do "inter-multi-cultural" theology from the immigrant perspective of being "betwixt-and – between"--given that being a migrant involves the experience of being "*neither*-this-*nor*-that, to-be-*both*-this-*and*-that, and to-be-*beyond*-this-and-that" and Nancy Bedford, an evangelical Argentinian American, has encouraged "learning to speak of God from more than one place."[lxii] This notion of inhabiting more than one space concurrently is a central feature of the transnationalism that Cherry describes in his chapter, and as he suggests, religious ideas are affected--shifting, altering, adapting--as the people who hold them travel backwards and forwards in multi-directional ways.

In turn, Filipina Catholic Gemma Tulud Cruz has explored theology and ethics in relation to migration while living and working in the United States and Australia,

and theologies exploring migration within Asia and Africa have added crucial horizons.[lxiii] Many liberation theologies that have emerged in the global North, including Mujerista, Latino, and Asian-American theologies, address experiences of migration explicitly and implicitly.[lxiv] Each asks: who is God for us, and how can we understand God, in a context where we are marginalized and oppressed? Some ask, more particularly, who is God in the light of the experience of those of us who have migrated, been displaced and/or now live in diaspora?

Since theologizing is usually undertaken by those who inhabit a religious tradition--it is written from the inside--scholars from social scientific disciplines who study religion and migration have tended to be suspicious of its aims, as noted above. Indeed, they have asked some important questions: Is the intention to convert migrants? Will the church seek to impose its power? Concerned about the answers--perhaps not least because as Joshi points out in her chapter, we need to be wary of the fact that "Christian domination over the religious "other" was part of the colonial projections into Africa and Asia"--theology has often been excluded from discussions concerning intersections between religion and migration, and from "secularized" humanitarian and political practice.[lxv] In this volume, however, we have aimed to suggest that theologians, religious scholars, and philosophers of all religious traditions have a crucial voice to contribute to conversations--in part because how the sacred and divine are understood is often important to migrants themselves. As Straut Eppsteiner and Hagan make clear in their chapter, religious beliefs and practices--which draw on and in turn shape theology or religious ideology since, as Knott points out, "practice is inseparable from discourse"--are valuable sources of support to migrants before, during, and after their journeys (see figure 1.9).

***Figure 1.9 – Caption: In Nogales, on the border between Mexico and the United States. © Susanna Snyder

Writing from a Christian theological perspective, Daniel Groody suggests in Chapter Nine that theology should be present at the conversation table because it can help us to look at "migration in light of our relationship with ourselves, others, our countries, and ultimately God." It complements what others can bring, asking different questions and exploring some aspects in deeper ways. His essay explores the ways in which Christian theology might be able to assist us in constructing right relationships, and through that, justice, in relation to migration. He suggests that four key theological concepts--human dignity, solidarity, communion, and conversion--could address the negativism, narcissism, nationalism, and nihilism that interfere with building these right relationships. In essence, he suggests that Christian theology can offer us a different way of understanding what it means to live and be in the world. In Chapter Ten, Benjamin Schewel, in turn, explores the philosophical concept of transcendence as an intrinsic part of religious traditions, and suggests that this--without focusing on one particular theology or religious ideology--can in and of itself encourage "us to sacrificially strive to universally expand the basis of intimate community life." If we recognize our unity as opposed to focusing on our "otherness" or difference from one another, we may be able to offer a more meaningful and ultimately humane response to those experiencing different forms of migration.

Likewise, Ager and Ager suggest the importance of bringing theological and spiritual-ideological resources to the discussion. They argue for a "dialogical approach" that can provide "a basis for the provision of principled, holistic and contextual support to forced migrants by a diversity of groups and agencies." Citing a 2013 UNHCR document entitled *Welcoming the Stranger* that brought together different strands of religious teaching on migration, they recognize that theologizing can be reflective and does not need to be coercive. It is, however, important to note

that theology and religious ideology can intersect negatively with the experience of migrants, and be a cause of uprooting or challenge in receiving countries: as Hugo Córdova Quero points out, for instance, the hetero-patriarchal framework of many religious traditions/theologies can make life extremely difficult for migrants who identify as queer or LGBTQI.

Public Policy, Advocacy and Activism

Building upon the arguments and frameworks presented in Groody's and Schewel's contributions, the final two chapters further explore the role of religious actors and discourse in public debates and policies pertaining to migration (Erin Wilson and Luca Mavelli, Chapter Eleven), including faith-based humanitarian responses to conflict and disaster-induced displacement (Alastair Ager and Joey Ager, Chapter Twelve). As noted above, the restrictive immigration and deportation regimes that increasingly characterize not only in the global North but also the global South can most helpfully be understood, as Wilson and Mavelli state in their chapter, in relation to idealized notions of community, security fears related to terrorism--what has been called the "securitization of migration" and fear of the "Other"--and the fact that migrants can provide a convenient scapegoat for society's ills. They argue that the role played by religion in the public square in contesting these developments has been significant, and is indeed a key way in which religion, politics, and migration intersect.

However, the extent and shape of religious activism and advocacy varies from country to country, and depends in part upon the relationship of a state to organized religion. At one level, religious bodies--or faith-based organizations (FBOs) as they are often known--have offered practical support to migrants experiencing

vulnerability at all stages of the migration process.[lxvi] They also, often through projects that offer practical support, help to foster relationships between established and newcomer populations as Wilson and Mavelli's discussion of the JRS Welcome Network Program in Paris reveals.

At another level, FBOs have contested the current treatment of migrants, and advocated for more just immigration policies. Wilson and Mavelli analyze diverse examples, including the roles played by FBOs on the Australian Minister for Immigration's Council on Asylum Seekers and Detention, and the work of the Love Makes a Way Movement in Australia--an interdenominational group of Christians that practices civil disobedience to oppose the detention of immigrant children. In the United States, Catholic Bishops have come together to make statements calling for more humane immigration policies and an end to immigration detention there, and the New Sanctuary Movement brings people of different denominations and religions together to offer spaces for "undocumented migrants"--or as Nanko-Fernández puts it, those who are "alternately documented"--to stay safely away from the reach of the Department of Homeland Security.[lxvii] The U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops has issued numerous letters and statements calling for dignity and solidarity, the Jewish Anti-Defamation League has called for Comprehensive Immigration Reform in the United States and Muslim groups including the Islamic Society of North America and the Muslim Public Affairs Council have actively supported the passage of the DREAM Act.[lxviii] In Europe, religious organizations have been equally active, pushing for the reform of legislation and advocating for migrants as individuals and as a whole. They have partnered with other non-profits in holding protests outside immigration detention facilities and in calling for an end to arbitrary deportations.

Wilson and Mavelli suggest that by enacting practices of political resistance or solidarity, FBOs are resisting sociodicy--a secular form of theodicy that enables us to blame migrants for their own vulnerability. This resistance, they suggest, largely involves religious organizations challenging governmental and broader political discourses and practices that frame migrants as a threat, and attempting to reposition migration as a humanitarian issue rather than a security one. This involves emphasizing the shared humanity of migrants and members of host populations, which as we have seen is also a key aspect of theologizing migration. Indeed, theological/ideological ideas underlie and support much of this action such as those of transcendence (as discussed by Schewel) and solidarity, dignity, and justice (as posited by Groody). FBO involvement, whether seemingly practical service or more explicitly engaging public policy, are all political practices, and contribute to the policy milieu.

Migrants themselves are often at the forefront of such activism in the public square. From organizing hunger strikes in detention facilities as a protest against exploitative wages ($1 a day for cleaning or cooking inside facilities) or the system of immigration detention itself to the DREAMers who called for an amnesty for young people in the US without authorization, migrants are leading voices calling for shifts in policy and for more humane legislation. Again, for some, religious belief and practice can be important ethical stimuli and a source of sustenance for such action, as is also explored in Ager and Ager's chapter on faith-based humanitarian responses to forced migration. For Eritrean and Ethiopian migrants and refugees camped at Calais, for instance, their places and practices of worship are highly significant on multiple levels (see figure 1.10).

***Figure 1.10 – Caption: This image of Christ knocking on door of soul was painted by a refugee for St. Michael's Church in The Jungle, Calais. It adorns the entrance to the church, welcoming newcomers. (c) Anna Rowlands

Religious organizations and communities, by themselves, can only do so much, however. Both Wilson and Mavelli, and Ager and Ager, powerfully argue that it is essential for shifts towards greater religious literacy on the part of policy makers. Currently, Wilson and Maveilli suggest, policy-makers often only engage with religion in its institutional and hierarchical forms and thereby miss the complexity and diversity of religious and spiritual expression on the ground. There is thus a need for the adoption of "religious-sensitive policy-making", and they suggest a number of practical steps that officials and politicians could take in order to work towards this. Indeed, a number of "faith literacy" materials are currently in development for UNHCR staff and their partners.[lxix]

Indeed, texts have played an important part in motivating non-migrants to stand alongside those who are migrating. Texts from various religious traditions indicate moral imperatives to work for justice, support the vulnerable, and welcome the stranger. The residents of Medina who supported the resettling exiles from Mecca in 622 CE became known as the Helpers or Ansār, and were praised in the Qur'an (sura 8:74): "Those who believe, and adopt exile, and struggle in the path of God, and those who give them asylum and aid--these are all in truth the believers; for them is forgiveness and a provision most generous." In turn, sura 60:80 encourages Muslims to show kindness and practice just dealings with those who are righteous.[lxx] As Ager and Ager note in their chapter, the mantra *atithi devo bhava* or "be one for whom the guest is God" in the Taittiriya Upanishad, suggests seeing divinity in the guest who is welcomed. For Christians, biblical verses such as Hebrews 13:2--"Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers, for by doing that some have entertained angels without

knowing it"--and Matthew 25:35 where Jesus suggests that he can be glimpsed in strangers--"For I was a stranger and you welcomed me"--are often quoted in publicity material of church-based immigration and refugee organizations encouraging both direct support and advocacy.[lxxi] Documents such as *Welcoming Christ in the Migrant* published by the U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops in 2011 directly root their call for solidarity with migrants on the basis of the memory that we too were migrants.[lxxii]

A range of recently forged contemporary texts are also suggesting new ways of imagining and constructing relationships between migrants, sending countries, receiving countries, and religious communities. Scholars of religion and theology have advocated for different approaches to migration based on sacred texts, and popular articles in the press, and posts on Twitter, Facebook and blogs, are doing likewise.[lxxiii] In August 2015, in the middle of the furor over the so-called migrant "swarm" assembled in the camp at Calais, tweets and posts sent by a Church of England priest, Giles Fraser, from an Egyptian Church in the migrant camp--including of posters and messages written by migrants themselves--contributed to developing public religious conversation about unfolding events. Text is thus key in both suggesting new ways in which migration and religion can and should intersect, and in providing a forum for sharing these ideas.

Conclusion

This volume is itself, of course, a new text which is deeply interconnected with other texts, including the religious texts and academics texts cited above and throughout the following chapters, but also including the books which we have, and will continue to commission for the Religion and Global Migrations Book Series of which this volume forms a part. To date, the series has published studies regarding the establishment of

African diasporic Pentecostalist and Protestant churches in Canada, the relationship between Islam and "secular citizenship" in France, the Netherlands and the UK, the intersections between religion and migration in the Black Sea Region, and the role of faith-based humanitarian--and in particular Christian-inspired humanitarian-responses--to forced migration, but also vis-a-vis the histories of the settlement of multiply marginalized Sikh and Ahmadiyya migrants in Canada and Germany, the experiences of and state responses to Muslim mobilities within, across and from the global South, and the significance of Islamic traditions of sanctuary and protection within the Middle East through the case-studies of local responses to Syrian and Iraqi forced migrants.[lxxiv]

However, this volume and the broader series aim to be more than a series of texts: rather, we hope to both reflect and advance more holistic, multi-perspectival and interdisciplinary *conversations* relating to the connections between religion and migration. As part of this aim to advance these conversations, we draw on four key points that are guiding our own on-going research into these areas, as possible models to be explored and taken further to achieve these aims.

Firstly, there is an urgent need to include more voices in thinking about the relationship of the migrant with the sacred, the ethical responsibility from within a variety of religious traditions that host societies have toward immigrants, and the religious narratives that can frame immigrant experiences. Echoing Ruiz's reading strategy as "the practice of not only reading *about* immigrants, but also reading *as* immigrants and reading *with* immigrants," one of the editors of this volume (Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh) has been exploring the potential for academics to increasingly co-author pieces *with*-- rather than writing *about*--migrants and refugees.[lxxv] Such a strategy has been advocated, and exemplified, by Qasmiyeh and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh,

who also point to the potential for academics to explore the development of alternative rhetorical voices, for instance by invoking Homi Bhabha's third space of enunciation: a "contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation…it is in this space that we will find those words with which we can speak of Ourselves and Others. And by exploring this hybridity, this 'Third Space', we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves."[lxxvi] Respectively a poet and translator who was born in a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon, and an academic in the field of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies, they develop such a rhetorical device by writing in the "third voice" to reflect on "the increasingly fluid ways in which both camps/cities and normative and symbolic religious/spiritual practices and identities are conceptualized."[lxxvii] As they argue,

> Rather than systematically presenting these two voices as separate and distant interpretive positions…this third voice…neither negates nor confirms our respective views. [Rather than speaking] ideal-typically from the position of insider and outsider, the third voice aims neither to dilute nor to artificially amplify the divergences and similarities of our opinions. As a result, [the chapter] at times presents a clearly identifiable speaker whose lived experiences are immediately recognisable as "their own," while at other times the authors' voices and perspectives are blurred.[lxxviii]

Such collaborative and "blurring" strategies, in which migrants' perspectives are brought to the fore and the hierarchy between academics and research subjects are disrupted, are also at the core of other forms of participatory research, including exciting research emerging at the intersections between the arts, humanities and the social sciences.

Indeed, this leads to the second key point: the potential to open up a space for a wider conversation including both migrants and refugees, whilst simultaneously cross-fertilizing insights derived from the social sciences with perspectives, and practices, from the arts and humanities. One of the other co-editors of this volume, Susanna Snyder, is currently developing a project in which refugee and migrant artists, musicians, and poets will be involved in both research and outputs in order to examine the intersections between immigration activism, spirituality, and the arts. Through a combination of participatory research methods including participant observation and in-depth open-ended interviewing, and by engaging critically with a range of aesthetic texts produced by refugees and migrants including visual art, drama, music and narrative, the project aims to centralize the perspectives of refugees and migrants, and to draw further interdisciplinary links between aesthetics, spirituality, and responses to migration; the project's findings and her interlocutors' voices will then be brought into conversation with the Christian theological and ethical tradition.

A similar approach is being developed by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh to examine the significance of religious identity, belief and practice for local communities "welcoming" refugees from Syria who remain within the Middle East, including both "citizen" hosts but also established Palestinian and Iraqi refugees who are welcoming "new" refugees as they arrive in cities and camps across Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan.[lxxix]Through a combination of ethnographic research conducted by local fieldworkers and creative writing workshops involving both hosts and refugees, this ongoing project starts from the premise that refugees and hosts not only have "lived experiences" that are worthy of documentation, but that they are writers, readers, and analysts of their own experiences, and of the diverse responses that are developed and

implemented by different actors, including local communities motivated (implicitly or explicitly) by faith.[lxxx] Building on emerging work on refugees, writing and rights from within/across the humanities, these writing workshops do not aim to elicit "refugee writing" (where the writer is constituted as a suffering victim), but rather to establish creative spaces for participants to simultaneously document, trace, and resist experiences of and responses to conflict-induced displacement.[lxxxi] Creative writing is here conceptualized as a means to elicit narratives and provide a space to analyze local responses to forced migration in a participatory fashion, but also to ensure that the perspectives of conflict-affected people are audible in dissemination activities across time and space.

This equally relates to the third key issue that we believe requires further attention: that of the significance of religion throughout diverse processes of South-South migration. In 2013, it was estimated that six out of every ten international migrants remained in the global South, and throughout the 2000s approximately 90 percent of all refugees have remained in the global South (a figure which increases when considering that the vast majority of internal forced migrants remain in their countries of origin in the South).[lxxxii] Nonetheless, major gaps remain regarding the roles of religion throughout processes of internal and international migration within migrants' regions of origin or in other regions of the global South. The chapters in this volume have provided insights into such processes, including by contemplating the role of religion in conceptualizing Tibetan displacement in and across South Asia, in the experiences of Rohingya migrants seeking safety in and from Burma, and in the creative reconfigurations of religious texts and practices by Malaysian *Mak Nyah* internal migrants and Chinese *tongzhi* and *nu-tongzhi* migrants living in Hong Kong.

With such spaces being places of settlement and sanctuary (and at times discrimination, violence and persecution) to both new and established migrants and refugees, a further line of investigation also revolves around the roles of religion in the encounters between not only migrants/refugees and citizens, but also between different migrant and refugee groups themselves. Such a focus on migrant-migrant, refugee-migrant, and refugee-refugee encounters would provide invaluable insights that could further enrich the expanding literature on the roles of religion in (forced) migrants' experiences of settling in, and negotiating diverse dimensions of their "host" communities and host states.

Finally, we suggest that researchers should continue critically reconsidering conceptualizations of various spaces as sites of encounter. As Cherry states in his chapter, transnational social fields are located in actual places while also transcending those places. Transnational migrants and their communities cross borders in multiple ways, including in a virtual manner, when time, money, or legal status may restrict physical crossings. Furthermore, we should recognize that there is a continuum between internal migrants who move within their countries of origin to cities as processes of urbanization (and ex-urbanization) spread through the global South and international migrants, who are often negotiating religious differences in related ways--as in the case of Saunders' research in Delhi, India and the United States.

Cyberspace, the borderlands, camps such as that found in Calais, urban and suburban neighborhoods, religious institutions, policy discussions, and the seas are all junctures where refugees, migrants, scholars, activists, and host populations can meet and recognize their shared humanity and their unique experiences. Religion is often an essential part of the humanity that individuals bring to these encounters. It shapes the conversations at these global intersections at the same time that these exchanges

simultaneously influence, and are influenced by, religious practice, belief, and identity. As we argue throughout the volume and in our conception of the Religion and Global Migrations series, the conversational crossroads should include multiple religious and academic perspectives to understand more fully the scope of these processes and to engage meaningfully with, and respond to, a broader range of migrant and refugee experiences in theory, policy, and practice.

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[i] Matthias Blamont, "The 'Jungle' Migrants of Calais: A Day in the Life," *Reuters*, August 4, 2015, accessed November 30, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/08/04/us-europe-migrants-calais-insight-idUSKCN0Q912620150804.

[ii] Asma Khalid, "What's in Donald Trump's Immigration Plan and How it Could Affect the GOP," *National Public Radio*, August 18, 2015, accessed March 6, 2016, http://www.npr.org/sections/itsallpolitics/2015/08/17/432605103/whats-in-donald-trumps-immigration-plan.

[iii] While the camp in Calais was originally named "The Jungle" by refugees and migrants when the camp was established in 2002 to reflect its inhuman conditions, we refrain from using this moniker to avoid further reproducing the dehumanizing rhetoric used in public and political representations of this space. See Joseph Harker, "Stop Calling Calais Refugee Camp the 'Jungle,'" *The Guardian*, March 7, 2016, accessed March 7, 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/07/stop-calling-calais-refugee-camp-jungle-migrants-dehumanising-scare-stories.

[iv] The camp in Calais has been repeatedly demolished and reconstructed in different forms – the original camp was demolished in early 2015, with a new makeshift settlement being established near the original site; in early-2016, this new was once

again destroyed, with mass evictions and demolitions taking place as we write in March 2016. Another French camp housing over 2,500 refugees at Grande-Synthe (near Dunkirk), has "far worse" conditions than Calais' "The Jungle", and yet has largely remained on the margins of media and political representations of the European "migration crisis." Matt Broomfield, "Refugee Crisis: Police Block Aid to French Camp 'Far Worse' than Calais Jungle," *The Independent*, January 6, 2016, accessed January 21, 2016, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-police-block-aid-to-french-camp-far-worse-than-calais-jungle-a6799266.html.

[v] A large proportion of the camp's inhabitants in Calais are young and male although increasing numbers of women and children have been arriving in this space (and indeed in across Europe) throughout 2015-2016. A separate area within the camp has been reserved for women and children. See Mike Snelle, "Inside the Calais Jungle, Where Men Live in Solidarity and Shame," *The Telegraph*, August 14, 2015, accessed March 6, 2016, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/men/the-filter/11801006/Inside-the-Calais-Jungle-where-men-live-in-solidarity-and-shame.html.

[vi] Raymond Brady Williams, *Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 37.

[vii] See Chapters Eight and Ten, this volume.

[viii] The sacred can be understood to be something powerful and beyond the natural world even when, for many, it is simultaneously within the natural world. See also Schewel's chapter in this volume.

[ix] Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Faith-Based Humanitarianism in Contexts of Forced Displacement," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 429-439. For instance,

see World Faiths Development Dialogue, "Key Issues for Development," WFDD Occasional Paper 1 (Oxford, 2002); Gerard Clarke, "Faith Matters: Faith-Based Organizations, Civil Society and International Development," *Journal of International Development* 18, no. 6 (2006): 835–848; Gerard Clarke and Michael Jennings, eds. *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organizations: Bridging the Sacred and the Secular* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Séverine Deneulin with Masooda Bano, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script.* (New York: Zed Books, 2009). While the increased interest in studying religion from the 1990s could be traced to "neutral" academic aims of better understanding the world, it is, equally, essential to note that research focusing on religion has also often been driven by a combination of instrumentalist and securitization agendas. The first has often been driven by the desire to understand how religion could be mobilized to achieve certain "desirable" outcomes--such as channelling foreign development and humanitarian aid via religious institutions to maximize human development outcomes--, while the second has framed certain forms of religious identity, belief and practice as threats to international security, especially since the events of 9/11 in the United States. The trends to instrumentalize or securitize religion in processes and contexts of migration are examined and critiqued in a number of the contributions to this volume, including Straut Eppsteiner and Hagan, and Kassam.

[x] For instance, see José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World (*Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Jürgen Habermas, *The Future of Human Nature* (Polity: Malden, Mass, 2003).

[xi] See, for example, Tony Carnes and Fenggang Yang, eds., *Asian American Religions: The Making and Remaking of Borders and Boundaries* (New York: New

York University Press, 2004), R. Stephen Warner and Judith G. Wittner, eds., *Gatherings in Diaspora: Religious Communities and the New Immigration* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), Prema Kurien, *A Place at the Multicultural Table: The Development of an American Hinduism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), Peggy Levitt, *God Needs No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing American Religious Landscape* (New York: The New Press, 2007), Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *God's Heart Has No Borders: How Religious Activists Are Working for Immigrant Rights* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). This predominance of social science research is also the case in the study of migration more broadly.

[xii] Karen McCarthy Brown, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), Manuel A. Vásquez and Marie Friedmann Marquardt, *Globalizing the Sacred: Religion across the Americas* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), Elaine Howard Ecklund and Wendy Cadge, "Immigration and Religion," *Annual Review of Sociology* 33, no. 17 (2007); Susanna Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Daniel Groody and Gioacchino Campese, *A Promised Land, A Perilous Journey* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008); Elaine Padilla and Peter Phan, eds.,*Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Fleur S. Houston, *You Shall Love the Stranger as Yourself: The Bible, Refugees, and Asylum* (London: Routledge, 2015); Hussam Timani, Allen Jorgenson, Alexander Hwang, eds., *Strangers in this World: Multireligious Reflections on Immigration* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015); Kristin Heyer, *Kinship across Borders: A Christian Ethic of Immigration* (Georgetown University Press, 2012); Gemma Tulud Cruz, *An Intercultural Theology of Migration: Pilgrims*

in the Wilderness (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2010); Ilsup Ahn, *Religious Ethics and Migration: Doing Justice to Undocumented Immigrants* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Readings from the Edges: The Bible and People on the Move* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2011).

[xiii] Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *The Ideal Refugees: Gender, Islam and the Sahrawi Politics of Survival* (Syracuse N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2014), pp. 14, 199.

[xiv] On this point, also see Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *South-South Educational Migration, Humanitarianism and Development: Views from the Caribbean, North Africa and the Middle East* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015), especially pp. 1-2.

[xv] For example, the relationships between migration and religion viewed from within South East Asia or the Middle East and North Africa will be quite different than those from the perspective of North American or European academics, states-people or policy-makers.

[xvi] UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *International Migration Report, 2013* (New York: UNDESA, Population Division, 2013), accessed March 23, 2015, http://esa.un.org/unmigration/documents/worldmigration/2013/Full_Document_final.pdf.

[xvii] Raghuram Parvati, "Which Migration, What Development? Unsettling the Edifice of Migration and Development," *Population Space and Place*, 15, no. 2 (2009): 103–117, 108.

[xviii] Roger Zetter, "Labelling Refugees: Forming and Transforming a Bureaucratic Identity." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4, no. 1 (1991): 39-62. Recognizing the politics of labeling and categorizing forced migrants, in this chapter we use the term "refugee" to refer 1) to people who are outside of their country of origin or habitual residence, have a well-founded fear of persecution on the grounds of their religion,

race, nationality, political opinion and/or membership of a particular social group, and whose state of origin is unable to unwilling to offer them protection and therefore meet the international refugee definition outlined in the *1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees*, and 2) also to those who have fled widespread conflict and human rights violations as outlined in the broader regional definitions of the *Organisation of African Union Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa* (1969), and the *Cartagena Declaration on Refugees* (1984). Asylum-seekers are individuals whose refugee status has not yet been determined by the relevant authorities. Other people whose states are unable or unwilling to protect them (and who, indeed, may fear persecution by their states of origin) and who are in need of international protection may be offered other labels, such as Humanitarian Migrants. Although the experiences, fears and hopes of refugees, asylum-seekers, and migrants may have both similarities and differences, it is often held that international migrants still have recourse to protection from their state of origin, via, for instance, consular services. There is no globally accepted definition of a "migrant"--see Bridget Anderson and Rob Blinder, "Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences," The Migration Observatory, October 25, 2015, accessed March 7, 2016, http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/who-counts-migrant-definitions-and-their-consequences. The United Nations defines an international migrant to be a person who has resided in a foreign country for a period of over one year, irrespective of the reason for departure from the country of origin, or the reason for residing in the foreign country.

[xix] Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz, eds. *The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space and the Freedom of Movement*, (London: Duke University Press,

2010); Daniel Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation: Outsiders in American History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[xx] See, for instance, Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Yousif M. Qasmiyeh, "Asylum-Seekers and Refugees from the Middle East and North Africa: Negotiating Politics, Religion and Identity in the UK," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23, no 3 (2010): 294-314; Laura Zahra McDonald, "Impact and Insecurity: The Securitisation of State Relations with British Muslim Communities," in Gabriella Lazaridis and Khursheed Wadia, eds, *The Securitisation of Migration in the EU: Debates since 9/11* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[xxi] Another example that demonstrates the extent to which "desired" or "tolerated" groups of migrants change over time, is that both the United Kingdom and the United States have introduced increasingly strict visa requirements for international students from particular geopolitical regions--especially from South and South East Asia, the Middle East and both North and Sub-Saharan Africa--, highlighting the extent to which policies regarding student mobility have been simultaneously "religionized," racialized and securitized in the twenty-first century. For instance, see Michael Ewers and Joseph Lewis, "Risk and the Securitisation of Student Migration to the United States," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 99 (2008): 470–482; Sarah Mulley, "The UK's Immigration Crackdown Will Lead to a Loss of International Talent, *The Guardian,* May 24, 2013, http://www.guardian.co.uk/com-mentisfree/2013/may/24/uk-immigration-crackdown- loss-international-talent; Matthew Taylor, "Immigration Crackdown Deterring Foreign Students, Says Universities Chief, *The Guardian*, January 9, 2013, http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/ 2013/jan/08/immigration-foreign-students-universities.

[xxii] The International Organization for Migration (IOM) notes that skilled migrants are "usually granted preferential treatment regarding admission to a host country (and [are] therefore subject to fewer restrictions regarding length of stay, change of employment and family reunification)." Such migrants, like those arriving on student visas, service contracts, tourist visas, etc., are "documented migrants" who have entered a foreign country lawfully, and in accordance with the country's relevant immigration rules and laws. In turn, irregular migrants are those who lack the legal status to remain in the country of residence or transit, whether this be due to "unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or the expiry of his or her visa." These individuals may have entered a country with valid documentation, and yet have stayed longer than originally authorized, or for instance, having taken on employment when on a student visa prohibiting such employment. The terms "clandestine", "undocumented", and "irregular" migrants are often used to refer to these individuals, but, as the IOM notes, "The term 'irregular' is preferable to 'illegal' because the latter carries a criminal connotation and is seen as denying migrants' humanity." IOM, *Key Migration Terms*, n.d., accessed March 7, 2016, https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms.

[xxiii] Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *South-South Educational Migration.* The terminology we use here reflects McEwan's suggestion that "it is most useful to think of North/South as a *metaphorical* rather than a *geographical* distinction." Cheryl McEwan, *Postcolonialism and Development* (Oxford: Routledge, 2009), 13. The terms global North/South transcend the connotations of typologies such as "First" and "Third World," "developed" or "developing" which "suggest both a hierarchy and a value judgement" (*ibid.*, 12); this terminology also transcends the inherently *negative*

framework implicit in the usage of the term "*non*-West" as the counterpoint to "West".

[xxiv] Notable exceptions include Anita H. Fábos and Riina Isotalo, eds., *Managing Muslim Mobilities: Between Spiritual Geographies and the Global Security Regime* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *The Ideal Refugees*; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *South-South Educational Migration;* Tahir Zaman, *Islamic Traditions of Refuge in the Crises of Iraq and Syria* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[xxv] See, for example, Ager and Ager, Cherry, Knott, Córdova Quero and Posman, all in this volume.

[xxvi] Such is the case discussed by Córdova Quero (this volume) of the migration of Catholics from Brazil--an "emerging" global super power which had in fact "overtaken the UK economy in 2011 to become the world's 6th largest economy"--to the "non-traditional" immigration country of Japan--a country which many observers have argued does not "fit squarely into the 'global north'" in spite of its position as a highly industrialized state. See Peter Dauvergne and Déborah BL Farias, "The Rise of Brazil as a Global Development Power," *Third World Quarterly*, 33, no. 5 (2012), 903-917, 905. Devon Knudsen, "South-South, Middle-South, or Just Non-Western? Categorizing Japanese ODA to Africa," *African Arguments*, 21 June 2011, http://africanarguments.org/2011/06/21/south-south-middle-south-or-just-non-western-categorizing-japanese-oda-to-africa/. On the complexities of conceptualizing "the global South", see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *South-South Educational Migration* (especially Chapter 2).

[xxvii] Susanna Snyder, Zayn Kassam, Anna Rowlands, and Narzanin Massoumi, "Theologies and Ethics of Migration: Muslim and Christian Perspectives," in

Rescripting Religion in the City: Migration and Religious Identity in the Modern Metropolis, eds. Jane Garnett and Alana Harris, 17-36 (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2013), 19.

[xxviii] Gayatri C. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-313.

[xxix] Jenny Lunn, "The Role of Religion, Spirituality and Faith in Development: A Critical Theory Approach," *Third World Quarterly*, 30, no. 5 (2009): 937–995, at 937–938.

[xxx] Cadge and Ecklund, "Immigration and Religion," 360.

[xxxi] Daniel Boyarin and Jonathan Boyarin, "Diaspora: Generation and the Ground of Jewish Identity," *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 4 (1993): 693-725; Raphael Patai, *Tents of Jacob: The Diaspora Yesterday and Today* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1971).

[xxxii] On the dangers of the veil becoming an "overdetermined signifier for Muslim women," see Claire Dwyer, "Veiled Meanings: Young British Muslim Women and the Negotiation of Differences," *Gender, Place and Culture*, 6 no. 1 (1999): 5-26, 5.

[xxxiii] A key text in intersectionality is Kimberley Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991): 1241–1279. For the application of intersectionality in feminist theory and politics, see Anna Carastathis, "The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory," *Philosophy Compass* 9, no. 5 (2014): 304-314; and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13, no. 3 (2006): 193–209.

[xxxiv] As noted by Jane Garnett and Alana Harris, "feminism's longstanding critique of religious affiliation and practice around issues of power and agency has meant that the triangulation of intersectional theory with faith or belief has been little-navigated territory." Jane Garnett and Alana Harris, "Introduction," in *Rescripting Religion in the City: Migration and Religious Identity in the Modern Metropolis*, eds. Jane Garnett and Alana Harris, 1-15 (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2013), 7. For an overview of intersectionality in/and migration studies, see the 2015 special issue by Ramon Grosfoguel, Laura Oso and Anastasia Christou "'Racism', Intersectionality and Migration Studies: Framing some Theoretical Reflections," *Identities* 22, no. 6 (2015): 635-652, DOI: 10.1080/1070289X.2014.950974. For a brief overview of intersectionality and forced migration studies, see Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Gender and Forced Migration" in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, eds. Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 395-408.

[xxxv]On the relationships between gender, religion and forced migration, for instance, see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *The Ideal Refugees*; Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Engendering Understandings of Faith-Based Organisations: Intersections between Religion and Gender in Development and Humanitarian Interventions," in *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Development*, eds. Anne Coles, Lesley Gray, and Janet Momsen (London: Routledge, 2015): 560-570; Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Chloe Lewis, and Georgia Cole, "'Faithing' Gender and Responses to Violence in Refugee Communities: Insights from the Sahrawi Refugee Camps and the Democratic Republic of Congo," in *Gender, Violence and Forced Migration*, eds. Ulrike Krause and Susanne Buckley-Zistel (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016). On the intersections between age/generation, religion and migration, see Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Inter-

Generational Negotiations of Religious Identity, Belief and Practice: Child, Youth and Adult Perspectives from Three Cities," in *Rescripting Religion in the City: Migration and Religious Identity in the Modern Metropolis*, eds. Jane Garnett and Alana Harris (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 163-176; Mark Sommers, "Young, Male and Pentecostal: Urban Refugees in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 14 no. 4 (2001): 347–370.

[xxxvi] In the United States, for instance, the Lautenberg Amendment prioritizes the granting of asylum and facilitation of resettlement for Iranian religious minorities from Iran, via a reduction in the evidentiary standard for their claims for refugee status. See Andorra Bruno, *Refugee Admissions and Resettlement Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2015).

[xxxvii] Tom Dart, "Syrian who Fled War only to Arrive amid US Refugee Panic Mystified by Hostility," *The Guardian*, December 17, 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/17/christian-syrian-refugee-i-thought-america-would-accept-me.

[xxxviii] On the intersecting roles of religion, regional identity and migration, see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, "Asylum-Seekers and Refugees."

[xxxix]Dart, "Syrian who Fled War." This equation between the Middle East and Islam is not, however universal across time and space, but rather contingent to a large degree on geopolitical frameworks. Throughout much of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, "Arabs" were assumed to be Christian in Cuba, for instance. See Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Embracing Transculturalism and Footnoting Islam in Accounts of Arab Migration to Cuba," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 18, no. 1 (2016): 19-42, DOI: 10.1080/1369801X.2014.998257.

[xl] Equally, of course, "reading" migrants' skin and equating it with a particular religion can also lead to migrants being framed as members of a privileged community in the host context, as occurs when that skin/religion is conceptualized as normative and desirable. An example could be migrants from Northern Europe who are assumed to be Christian, migrating to other regions or countries where whiteness and Christianity may be "marginal" in demographic terms, whilst remaining normative and desirable.

[xli] Sara Ahmed and Jackie Stacey, eds., *Thinking Through the Skin*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2001).

[xlii] Madeleine-Sophie Abbas, "White Terror in the 'War on Terror,'" *Critical Race and Whiteness Studies*, 9, no. 1 (2013).

[xliii] Heidi Safia Mirza, "'A second skin': Embodied Intersectionality, Transnationalism and Narratives of Identity and Belonging among Muslim "omen in Britain,' *Women's Studies International Forum* 36, no 1 (2013): 5-15.

[xliv] Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Gender and Forced Migration," 406.

[xlv] Córdova Quero, this volume.

[xlvi] This is also an argument explored by Wilson and Mavelli in this volume. Also see Damaris S. Parsitau, "The Role of Faith and Faith-Based Organizations among Internally Displaced Persons in Kenya," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 473-492.

[xlvii] Snyder et al, "Theologies and Ethics of Migration," 22.

[xlviii] *Dharmashastras* are Hindu legal texts that instruct Hindus on proper behavior. These texts cover a wide variety of seemingly profane topics including marriage, profession, and diet. See Donald R. Davis, Jr., "Hinduism as a Legal Tradition,"

Journal of the American Academy of Religion 75, no. 2 (2007): 241-67; *The Laws of Manu*, trans. Wendy Doniger and Brian K. Smith (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1991).

[xlix] Jennifer B. Saunders, "Sundarakand Katha: Performance and Bhakti in Hindu Atlanta" (paper presented at the Asian Pacific Americans and Religion Research Initiative Conference, Berkeley, CA, 2006).

[l] Ruiz, *Readings from the Edges*, 64.

[li] On the complex relationship between exilic and diasporic memories, as viewed through both the classical and post-modern conceptions of diaspora, see Thomas Lacroix and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Refugee and Diaspora Memories: The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 34, no. 6 (2013): 684-696.

[lii] For alternative models to the "assimilation model" that was dominant in early migration studies in the English-speaking world, see Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's discussion of the Cuban school of migration and Ortiz's concept of transculturation, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Footnoting Islam." Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Refugee and Diaspora Memories."

[liii] Exiles may envision the homeland in such a way that the country they left behind does not qualify as the "ideal homeland." For example, Cuban exiles may understand themselves as exiles because the current political situation in the Cuban nation-state does not match their understandings of what Cuba should be. On the relationship between exilic memories and diasporic memories of homeland, see Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Refugee and Diaspora Memories."

[liv] Importantly, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, theology tends to be a Christian word, and a significant gap that remains to be addressed in the literature is extended theological reflection from different religious traditions. Exceptions include

Snyder et al, "Theologies and Ethics of Migration"; Hussam S. Timani, Allen G. Jorgenson, and Alexander H. Hwang, eds., *Strangers in This World: Multireligious Reflections on Immigration* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015;) Padilla and Phan, *Theology of Migration*.

[lv] e.g. Heyer, *Kinship across Borders;* Groody and Campese, *A Promised Land;* Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking*.

[lvi] Daniel G. Groody, "Crossing the Divide: Foundations of a Theology of Migration and Refugees," *Theological Studies* 70 (September 2009): 638-667.

[lvii] Ilsup Ahn, *Religious Ethics and Migration: Doing Justice to Undocumented Workers (*New York: Routledge, 2014).

[lviii] See Ager and Ager, this volume.

[lix] e.g. James R. Edwards, Jr., "A Biblical Perspective on Immigration Policy," in *Debating Immigration*, ed. Carol Swain (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 46-62.

[lx] e.g. Miguel de la Torre, "Moving Beyond Hospitality," *Journal of Lutheran Ethics* 10, no. 4 (April 2010): 1-11.

[lxi] Carmen Nanko-Fernández, *Theologizing in Espanglish: Context, Community and Ministry* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2010), 1, 3-4; see also Carmen Nanko-Fernández, "Alternately Doucmented Theologies: Mapping Border, Exile and Diaspora," in *Religion and Politics in America's Borderlands*, ed. Sarah Azaransky (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), 33-55.

[lxii]Peter Phan, "The Experience of Migration in the US as a Source of Intercultural Theology," in *Migration, Religious Experience and Globalization*, eds. Giaocchino Campese and Pietro Ciallella (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2003), 150-151, 154; Nancy Bedford, "To Speak of God from More Than One Place: Theological

Reflections from the Experience of Migration," in *Latin American Liberation Theology: The Next Generation,* ed., Ivan Petrella (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2005), 95-118, 112-113.

[lxiii] Gemma Tulud Cruz, *Toward a Theology of Migration: Social Justice and Religious Experience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Fabio Baggio and Agnes Brazal, *Faith on the Move: Toward a Theology of Migration in Asia* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008); Agbonkhianmeghe Orobator, *From Crisis to Kairos: The Mission of the Church in the Time of HIV/AIDS, Refugees, and Poverty* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2005).

[lxiv] See for example Rita Nakashima Brock, Jung Ha Kim, Kwok Pui Lan and Seung Ai Yang, eds, *Off the Menu: Asian and Asian North American Women's Religion and Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007); Orlando O Espin, *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Latino/a Theology* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2015); Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz, *En La Lucha/In the Struggle: Elaborating a Mujerista Theology*, 10th Anniversary Edition (Fortress, 2004).

[lxv] see Ager and Ager in this volume, and also Alastair Ager and Joey Ager, *Faith, Secularism and Humanitarian Engagement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[lxvi] See Straut Eppsteiner and Hagan, Wilson and Mavelli, and Ager and Ager, all in this volume.

[lxvii] Nanko-Fernández, "Alternately Documented Theologies"; see also Marie Friedmann Marquardt, Susanna Snyder, and Manuel A. Vásquez, "Challenging Laws: Faith-Based Engagement with Unauthorized Immigration," in *Constructing Immigrant "Illegality": Critiques, Experiences, and Responses*, eds. Cecilia Menjívar and Daniel Kanstroom (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Susanna Snyder, "Faces of Migration: US Christianity in the 21st Century," in *Christianities in*

Migration: The Global Perspective, eds. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[lxviii] See Kassam in this volume; Marquardt et al, "Challenging Laws."

[lxix] UNHCR, "2012 High Commissioner's Dialogue on Protection Challenges Theme: Faith and Protection, Overview of Follow-Up Actions," UNHCR, 2013, accessed August 30, 2015, http://www.unhcr.org/524ac7fd9.pdf; UNHCR, *Partnership Note*.

[lxx] Snyder et al, "Theologies and Ethics of Migration."

[lxxi] Also see Wilson and Mavelli in this volume.

[lxxii] See http://www.usccb.org/about/migration-and-refugee-services/national-migration-week/upload/M-7-267-NMW-Brochure.pdf, accessed 9 March 2016.

[lxxiii] For example, Fleur S. Houston, *You Shall Love the Stranger as Yourself*; Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking*; Donald Senior, "'Beloved Aliens and Exiles': New Testament Perspectives on Migration," in *A Promised Land, A Perilous Journey*, eds. Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008), 20-34; Daniel Carroll R, *Christians at the Border: Immigration, the Church, and the Bible.* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008).

[lxxiv] Thomas Aechtner, *Health, Wealth, and Power in an African Diaspora Church in Canada* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Carolina Ivanescu, *Islam and Secular Citizenship in the Netherlands, United Kingrom and France*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Lydia Roupakia and Eleni Sideri, *Religions and Migrations in the Black Sea Region*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming); Alastair Ager and Joey Ager, *Faith, Secularism and Humanitarian Engagement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Michael Nijhawan, *The Precarious Diasporas of Sikh and Ahmadiyya Generations*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Fábos and Isotalo, eds., *Managing Muslim Mobilities*; Zaman, *Islamic Traditions of Refuge.*

[lxxv] Ruiz, *Readings from the Edges*, 64.

[lxxvi] Fiddian-Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh, "Asylum-Seekers and Refugees," 300–301; See Homi K. Bhabha, "Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences," in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader, 2nd Edition,* eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 2006), 155–7, pp. 156 and 157 respectively.

[lxxvii] Yousif M. Qasmiyeh and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Refugee Camps and Cities in Conversation," in *Migration and Religious Identity in the Modern Metropolis,* eds. Jane Garnett and Alana Harris, 131-143 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 133-134.

[lxxviii] *Ibid., 133-134*

[lxxix] Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Refugees Helping Refugees: How a Palestinian Camp in Lebanon is Welcoming Syrians," *The Conversation,* November 4, 2015; Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Elena and Yousif M. Qasmiyeh, "Refugee Neighbours and Hospitality," *The Critique,* December 1, 2016.

[lxxx] On research participants as analysts of their own experiences of bureaucratic labeling and academic research, also see Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "On the Threshold of Statelessness: Palestinian Narratives of Loss and Erasure," *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Studies* 39, no. 2 (2016)*:* 301-321.

[lxxxi] Rachel Potter and Lyndsey Stonebridge, "Writing and Rights," *Critical Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (2014): 1 – 15; Lyndsey Stonebridge "Statelessness and the Poetry of the Borderline: André Green, W.H. Auden and Yousif M. Qasmiyeh," *Textual Practice* 29, no. 7 (2015): 1331-1354; Lyndsey, J. Stonebridge. *Placeless People: Writing, Rights and Refugees* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Potter and Stonebridge, "Writing and Rights."

[lxxxii] United Nations (2013) Trends in International Migrant Stock, 2013 Revision. Table 1.