

## Migration and Internal Religious Pluralism: A Review of Present Findings

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*Migration and religion are interconnected social processes. Like other aspects of culture, humans carry their religious identities with them as they traverse geographies. While some elements of cultural enactment appear to be placed on hold during experiences of relocation, only to re-emerge later in settled conditions, religion defies this tendency. Plasticity and comprehensiveness are hallmarks of many migrants’ religious repertoires. Migrants’ religiosities are shaping religion around the world. This project explores the boundaries and effects of religiosity in the context of migration by reviewing the present body of literature on this set of issues. Prominence is given to agent-based and household models of migrant decision-making and security-based explanations of human mobility. This project also briefly examines the effects of globalization on religious identity while suggesting areas of further study.*

*Keywords: Migration, Religion, Internal Religious Pluralism, Decision-making, Security*

### Introduction

Even though immigrant religion, as a post-arrival phenomenon, has been of interest to religionists for many decades, the study of migrant religion, as a migration-synchronous phenomenon, has not.<sup>1</sup> For much of its existence, migration studies has tended to focus on the political and economic reasons for human migration whereby the identification of *push* and *pull* factors is accomplished primarily through analyses of economic categories like *risk* and *reward* or *cost* and *benefit*.<sup>2</sup> Yet the more recent methodological turn-to-the-migrant has illuminated places where such models generally fail to account for the migrant as an active agent in a matrix of other sociocultural contingencies.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Richard Alba, Albert Raboteau, and Josh DeWind, *Religion and Immigration in America: Comparative and Historical Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Valerie BeMarinis and Halina Grzymala-Moszcynska, “The Nature and Role of Religion and Religious Experience in Psychological Cross-Cultural Adjustment: On-going Research in the Clinical Psychology of Religion,” *Social Compass* 42 (1995): 121–135; Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Charles Hirschman, “The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant Groups in the United States,” *The International Migration Review* 28 (2004): 1206–1234; Gerhard E. Lenski, *The Religious Factor* (New York: Doubleday, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> For example, see, John R. Harris and Michael P. Todaro, “Migration, Unemployment, & Development: A Two-Sector Analysis,” *American Economic Review* 60 (1970): 126–142.

<sup>3</sup> Several scholars have recognized the shortcomings of purely economic models of migration. Rather than discard them altogether, though, they have worked to show that economic data, when carefully integrated with other socio-theoretical models of human behavior, can indeed provide a more holistic picture of human experiences of movement. Even though migrants are recognized as autonomous individuals, their actions must also be understood within the contexts of their social relationships. Focus has therefore shifted away from destination and individualist models to household- and security-based models. See Christina Boswell and Peter R. Mueser, “Introduction: Economics and Interdisciplinary Approaches in Migration Research,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34 (2008): 519–529; Jeffery Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci, *Cultures of Migration: The Global Nature of Contemporary Mobility* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 20–37; Belachew Gebrewold and Tendayi Bloom, “Introduction: Understanding Migrant Decisions: From Sub-Saharan Africa to the Mediterranean Region,” in *Understanding Migrant Decision: From Sub-Saharan Africa to the Mediterranean Region*, ed. Belachew Gebrewold and Tendayi Bloom (London: Routledge, 2016), 1–17; Philip Martin, “Economic Aspects of Migration,” in *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, 3rd Edition, ed. Caroline B. Brettell

A growing body of anecdotal and ethnographic data indicates that migrants draw on, adapt, and add to their religious toolkits throughout their moves in order to accomplish physical, social, and spiritual ends. Religious identity can be seen, along with other micro-factors of solvency, such as economic or social capital, to influence both perceptions and realities of choice.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, religious affiliations and attachments offer the personal and socially-located criteria by which one constructs a complex evaluative schema for determining if and when to leave, as well as how to respond to particular opportunities, dangers, successes, and failures along the way.

It should be said that this essay is not specifically an exploration of religion as a selection mechanism for migration.<sup>5</sup> Whether or not religion makes people *more likely* to migrate is an area of study that requires further exploration. Rather, I investigate the relationship between religion and migrant religious practitioners in order to account for religion as a complex set of social forces that can maintain causative influence at different points of the migration process.<sup>6</sup> The primary aim is to show that across physical and chronological boundaries, one can recognize religion as a source of emotional resilience and of individual and corporate support, a medium of identity negotiation, and a means by which movers meet physical and spiritual needs.<sup>7</sup> This article reviews the literature generated on this set of issues over the last twenty years.<sup>8</sup> The fundamental questions under consideration are: 1) How do migrants enact and engage religion before, during, and after their journeys? 2) What are the effects of movement on migrant religiosity? 3) In what ways does migration affect internal religious pluralism?

The general conclusion from this broad review of the data is that mobility drives a preference for comprehensiveness of religious practice and belief over and against systematic coherence. The upshot of current research is that even though migrants almost always come into contact with religions other than their own, they typically do not convert. Instead, they adapt previous practices, adopt new ones, and generally expand their religious toolkits. The result is migrant religious repertoires that are remarkably internally plural in character.<sup>9</sup> While this claim appears commonsensical enough that it hardly needs to be stated, the reality remains that common

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and James F. Hollifield (London: Routledge, 2015), 90–114; Manashi Ray, “Crossing Borders: Family Migration Strategies and Routes from Burma to the US,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (2018): 773–791.

<sup>4</sup> Samadia Sadouni, “‘God is not Unemployed’: Journeys of Somali Refugees in Johannesburg,” *African Studies* 68 (2009): 235–249.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Phillip Connor, “International Migration and Religious Selection,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 51 (2012): 184–194.

<sup>6</sup> I follow Diana Wong and Peggy Levitt’s distinction between “traveling faiths” and “migrant religion,” whereby traveling faiths are those set into motion by desires to proselytize and migrant faiths are those religiosities that responsively evolve out of experiences of movement (“Traveling Faiths and Migrant Religions: The Case of Circulating Models of *Da’wa* among the Tablighi Jamaat and Foguangshan in Malaysia,” *Global Networks* 14 [2014]: 348–362).

<sup>7</sup> Elżbieta M. Goździak, and Dianna J. Shandy, “Editorial Introduction: Religion and Spirituality in Forced Migration,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15 (2002): 129–135; Kim Knott, “Living Religious Practices,” in *Intersections of Religion and Migration: Issues at the Global Crossroads*, ed. Jennifer B. Saunders et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 71–90.

<sup>8</sup> James Beckford’s excellent two-volume *Migration and Religions* is still by far the most comprehensive edited collection of articles on religion and migration. Nevertheless, the most recent articles it contains are from 2014. Additional voices have since joined the conversation and must be accounted for. See James A. Beckford, ed., *Migration and Religion*, Vols. 1 & 2 (Cheltenham and Northampton: Elgar, 2016).

<sup>9</sup> Karen I. Leonard, et al., eds., *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America* (Lanham, MD: Altamira, 2005).

misconceptions regarding religion and migrant religiosity persist, and have detrimental impacts on migrants and migration policy. Thus, nuanced application of the current data is much needed.

In order to properly chart the trajectory of studies regarding the migration-religion nexus, this article must also address how globalization affects the shape and texture of religion. Hypermobility and explosive growth in telecommunications technologies have increased opportunities for sociocultural cross-pollination. These changes have meant that religious practitioners gain increased access to materials, ideas, objects, and practices that may have been previously unavailable or unknown. The condensing of space and time through increased global connectivity has implications for the spectrum and contents of internal religious diversity.<sup>10</sup>

As humanity moves further into the twenty-first century, neither migration nor religiosity appear to be losing any momentum. The assumption that the growing secularization of society through modernization would continue with the end result of religion’s disappearance has not come to fruition.<sup>11</sup> Still, not all religions have responded uniformly to the changes and challenges of modernity. Some have thrived while others have declined.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the fact remains that not all people are religious, and those that are, differ in the intensity of their religiosity. In the United States, recent data on the growth of the “religious nones,” the “spiritual but not religious,” and the “unaffiliated but not atheistic or even agnostic” populations must be taken into account, especially as such findings relate to second- and third-generation migrants who may have markedly different religious experiences/affiliations than their parents or grandparents.<sup>13</sup> With these religious

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<sup>10</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1989); cf. Manuel A. Vásquez, “Religion, Globalization, and Migration,” in *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions and Transformations*, ed. Linda Woodhead, Christopher Partridge, and Hiroko Kawanami (Routledge: New York, 2016), 431–452.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan C.D. Clark, “Secularization and Modernization: The Failure of a Grand Narrative,” *The Historical Journal* 55 (2012): 161–194; John Coffey and Alister Chapman, “Introduction: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion,” in *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, ed. Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 1–23.

<sup>12</sup> Conrad Hackett, et al., “The Changing Global Religious Landscape,” The Pew Research Center, <https://www.pewforum.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2017/04/FULL-REPORT-WITH-APPENDIXES-A-AND-B-APRIL-3.pdf>; The Pew Research Center, “The Age Gap in Religion around the World,” <https://www.pewforum.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2018/06/ReligiousCommitment-FULL-WEB.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> For summaries and analysis of large-scale data collection efforts see Alan Cooperman and Gregory A. Smith, “The Factors Driving the Growth of Religious Nones in the U.S.,” The Pew Research Center, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/14/the-factors-driving-the-growth-of-religious-nones-in-the-u-s/>; Christian Smith and Melinda Lundquist Denton, *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Christian Smith and Patricia Snell, *Souls in Transition: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of Emerging Adults* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). For understanding these changes as they relate to migrant religiosity see Alastair Ager and Joey Ager, “Challenging the Discourse on Religion, Secularism, and Displacement,” in *The Refugee Crisis and Religion: Secularism, Security, and Hospitality in Question*, ed. Luca Mavelli and Erin K. Wilson (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 37–44; Isabella Buber-Ennser et al., “Multi-Layered Roles of Religion among Refugees Arriving in Austria around 2015,” *Religions* 9 (2018): 1–17; Stephen M. Cherry, “Exploring the Contours of Transnational Religious Spaces and Networks,” in *Intersections of Religion and Migration: Issues at the Global Crossroads*, ed. Jennifer B. Saunders et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 195–224; Alex Stepick, “God is Apparently Not Dead: The Obvious, the Emergent, and the Still Unknown in Immigration and Religion,” in *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America*, ed. Karen Isaksen Leonard, et al. (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2005), 11–37; Fenggang Yang and Helen Rose Ebaugh, “Transformations in New Immigrant Religions and Their Global Implications,” *American Sociological Review* 66 (2001): 269–288.

landscapes in mind, this project also looks toward future avenues of inquiry to identify lacunae in our present research and suggests additional areas of study.

## **Defining and Measuring Migrant Religion**

Religion consists of a dynamic set of practices, beliefs, and values that, in the case of migratory decision-making and travel, includes ritual or petitionary behaviors enacted to access and marshal superhuman entities, as well as engagements with religious professionals or humans who have achieved a level of deified status, like venerated ancestors. The purposes of religious engagement include, but are not limited to, acquiring indications or affirmations of action, obtaining safety or health benefits, engaging religiously-affiliated social networks and sacred spaces, regulating emotion, and providing psycho-social support through cognitive frameworks that express and interpret the spectrum of experiences encountered along the way.<sup>14</sup>

For this project, I privilege an emic praxis-centric approach to the study of religion. Yet, in doing so, I assert that the goal of religious practice is not simply to answer existential questions, because religion is not merely an enterprise of cognitive existentialism. I rely on a critical realist epistemological framework wherein the “causal capacities” and “ontogenic powers” of religion and migration are at the fore of the discussion.<sup>15</sup> Religious practitioners seek *to cause something to happen*. Thus, while causative intention may include affirming religious belief, it is also about catalyzing desired outcomes that have material and immaterial effects in the world.<sup>16</sup> Religion *does* things. As Thomas Tweed argues, “Whatever else religions do, they move across time and space. They are not static. And they have effects.”<sup>17</sup> Shifting the definitional focus from cultural meaning-making to causative praxis accomplishes two tasks. First, it reorients observations of religious experience from the realms of the mind and belief to broader notions of lived experience. Second, it subverts long-dominant Western models that fail to explain religiosities that do not conform to belief-centric, text-based, theistic understandings.<sup>18</sup> The outcome of this is to see religion as eminently social: a complex of human behaviors organized around socially-derived and environmentally conditioned presuppositions that have been institutionalized and transmitted over time. Religious belief and praxis function as formative and informed elements of socially-situated contexts. Religions are containers of traditions but also vehicles by which these contents change.<sup>19</sup> Humans are the main agents of religious enterprises, but they are also responsively engaged with systems of

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<sup>14</sup> Following Christian Smith, I proceed with the understanding that religion is primarily a set of practices aimed at the access of and alignment with superhuman powers that can affect goods and help humans avoid ills. See Christian Smith, *Religion: What It Is, How It Works, and Why It Matters* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 22. This aligns with Roger Stump’s definition of religion as “a compelling set of beliefs and practices whose truth is presupposed by faith and that ultimately relate to superhuman entities postulated by adherents to possess transcendent attributes or powers superior to those of ordinary mortals.... Whatever form they take, these entities are considered by adherents to exert crucial influences, directly or indirectly, for good or for ill, within and beyond the realm of human affairs” (Roger W. Stump, *Geography of Religion: Faith, Place, and Space* [Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008], 7).

<sup>15</sup> Manuel A. Vásquez and Kim Knott, “Three Dimensions of Religious Place Making in Diaspora,” *Global Networks* 14 (2014): 326–347.

<sup>16</sup> Smith writes: “Religious practices are social realities irreducible to the beliefs of the people who enact them” (*Religion*, 32).

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 62.

<sup>18</sup> John R. Bowen, *Religions in Practice: An Approach to the Anthropology of Religion*, 7th Edition (London: Routledge, 2018), 3–8.

<sup>19</sup> Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 68.

religious practice and belief larger than any one person. Moreover, while religion is a complex set of social forces that maintain causative influence over the lives of migrants, individual practices also have formative power over the shape of communal behavior, institutionalized belief, and public space.

There has been great debate within the fields of migration and religious studies regarding the salience of religion among migrants.<sup>20</sup> Among these scholars, T.L. Smith was the first to argue that migration was a “theologizing” experience.<sup>21</sup> Since then, others have followed in affirming Smith’s claims by providing qualitative evidence.<sup>22</sup> The consensus among these researchers is that the disruptive nature of migration spurs further reliance on the superhuman and a heightened religious consciousness among migrants that frequently results in increased religiosity.

Others have challenged this perspective and argued that the nature of migration as a disruptive experience leads to *decreased* religiosity.<sup>23</sup> Internal disagreement persists among researchers in this camp regarding the scope and duration of this decrease. The contention is over whether deviations in religiosity are short-term responses to the immediate demands of building networks, finding a home and job, and learning a language, or whether they signal long-term acculturative adaptation to a new context wherein previous religious identity is diminished.<sup>24</sup> There is, however, consensus that disconnection from known religious contexts and social systems reduces the accountability of participants. Likewise, it is agreed that the demands of the migrational experience leave less time for religious participation or the building of religious social networks.

One notable concern is that many studies on both sides of the argument have assessed the religiosity of migrants primarily after their arrival in new locations and, in doing so, have focused on traditionally measured forms of religiosity like weekly attendance at religious services, participation in officially-sanctioned religious activities, and data collected from questionnaires about personal religious belief and self-reported affiliation.<sup>25</sup> This is not to undervalue the study of

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<sup>20</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the debate see Douglas S. Massey and Monica Espinoza Higgins, “The Effect of Immigration on Religious Belief and Practice: A Theologizing or Alienating Experience?,” *Social Science Research* 40 (2011): 1371–1389; Philip Connor, “Increase or Decrease? The Impact of the International Migratory Event on Immigrant Religious Participation,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47 (2008): 243–257.

<sup>21</sup> T.L. Smith, “Religion and Ethnicity in America,” *American Historical Review* 83 (1978): 1115–1185.

<sup>22</sup> See S.R. Warner, “Religion and Migration in the United States,” *Social Compass* 50 (1998): 59–69; Helen R. Ebaugh and J. Chafetz, eds., *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2000); Holly Straut Eppsteiner and Jacqueline Hagan, “Religion as Psychological, Spiritual, and Social Support in the Migration Undertaking,” in *Intersections of Migration and Religion: Issues at the Global Crossroads*, ed. Jennifer Saunders et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 49–70.

<sup>23</sup> Phillip Connor, “Increase or Decrease? The Impact of the International Migratory Event on Immigrant Religious Participation,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47, no. 2 (2008): 243–257; Claudia Diehl and Matthias Koenig, “God Can Wait—New Migrants in Germany Between Early Adaptation and Religious Reorganization,” *International Migration* 51 (2013): 8–22; Valerie A. Lewis and Ridhi Kashyap, “Piety in a Secular Society: Migration, Religiosity, and Islam in Britain,” *International Migration* 51 (2013): 57–66; F. Van Tubergen and J.I. Sindradottir, “The Religiosity of Immigrants in Europe: A Cross-National Study,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50 (2011): 272–288; D. Voas and F. Fleischmann, “Islam Moves West: Religious Change in the First and Second Generations,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012): 525–545.

<sup>24</sup> Diehl and Koenig, “God Can Wait,” 9–11.

<sup>25</sup> For example, see Ilana Redstone Akresh, “Immigrants’ Religious Participation in the United States,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34 (2011): 643–661; Wendy Cadge and Elaine Howard Eckland, “Religious Service Attendance Among Immigrants: Evidence from the New Immigrant Survey-Pilot,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (2006): 1574–1595; Phillip Connor, “International Migration and Religious Participation: The Mediating Impact of Individual and Contextual

migrant religiosity following resettlement. Understanding how and to what degree individuals integrate or assimilate to new settings is imperative in any coherent representation of the fullness of migrational journey.<sup>26</sup> Trouble arises, though, when explanations of migrants' religious identities only consider the role of religion at the final stage of their journeys. To do so suggests that migrants somehow place their religious identities *on hold* while moving, only to resume them later in presumably less chaotic contexts.

Migration may well be a “theologizing” experience, but a migrant’s theologizing of their experience need not result in traditionally recognized forms of religious participation. While there may be declines in traditionally-measured modes of religious behavior, this does not equate to a decrease in religiosity. On the contrary, it reveals that the common benchmarks by which religiosity is measured are limited. Thus, what is often wrongly described as a lack of religiosity among migrants is more like the result of the shortcomings of our analytics frameworks.

Rather than view these different bodies of evidence as contesting datasets, it is more fruitful to focus on what they tell us when held together: Migrants display a marked level of reliance on religion before and during their journeys, but this is no indication that such heightened levels of religiosity will continue upon their arrival. There are many micro-level factors at work influencing migrant religious participation. These include personal safety, gender, marriage and familial status, educational level, employment status, and whether one adheres to a minority or majority religion in the various contexts of encounter.<sup>27</sup> It is almost guaranteed that religiosity will fluctuate over time among different individuals and groups as subsequent generations become variously integrated. More factors influence long-term religiosity than age or time in a specific location. Each generation exists in a unique social context with its own variabilities. Despite these contextual differences, some broad trends can be seen across different generations.

The Pew Research Center’s Religious Landscape Study indicates that second-generation immigrants show consistent declines in certainty of belief in God, weekly service attendance, prayer, and personal engagement with religious texts. Yet all of these trends toward decreased religiosity and non-affiliation rebound among third-generation migrants.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, even though we see decreases in these categories, others, such as feeling spiritual peace and well-being, experiencing a sense of wonder about the universe, and belief in positive and negative afterlife(s),

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Effects,” *Sociological Forum* 24 (2009): 779–803. Even studies that focus on “practice” do so through the primary rubric of traditionally measurable forms of practice. This does not account for the new modalities that migrants adopt, adapt, and operationalize as a result of their experiences. See also Matthias Koenig, “Incorporating Muslim Migrants in Western Nation States: A Comparison of the United Kingdom, France, and Germany,” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 6 (2005): 219–234; Claudia Smith Kelly and Blen Solomon, “The Influence of Religion on Remittances Set to Relatives and Friends Back Home,” *Journal of Business & Economics Research* 7 (2009): 91–102.

<sup>26</sup> For a very good example of such work, see Richard Alba and Nancy Foner, *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015).

<sup>27</sup> See Douglas Massey, et al., *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). As Phillip Connor notes, immigrants’ religion has not generally been considered a valuable metric for researchers evaluating integration. Yet religion is often a determining factor in migrants’ adaptation to a new context. See Phillip Connor, *Immigrant Faith: Patterns of Immigrant Religion in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 71.

<sup>28</sup> The Pew Research Center, “Second Generation Immigrants,” <https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/immigrant-status/second-generation/>; The Pew Research Center, “Second Generation Immigrants Who Are Unaffiliated,” <https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/religious-tradition/unaffiliated-religious-nones/immigrant-status/second-generation>.

are remarkably continuous across all three generations. The impetuses of these patterns likely vary from person to person, but some general reflections on their cause and nature are in order.

First, it should be noted that these trends may be unique to the United States. In Europe, research on second-generation Muslim populations indicates that the decrease of religious participation between newcomers and their children is selective.<sup>29</sup> Second-generation declines occur, but not at the same rates, and are dependent on many factors such as country of origin, education, and employment. The religiosity of migrants across Europe also varies in correlation to the religiosity of the population in the places they settle.<sup>30</sup> One potential explanation for these trends is that the comparatively open social atmosphere of personal religious choice and public religious expression in the United States has the effect of increasing religious laxity for one generation before religion is reclaimed by a later one.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, social pressures of cultural difference and stronger social forces against religiosity in Europe may result in the intensification of preservationist responses. Thus, minority religious groups, though still open to processes of internal adaptation and change, tend to reify public markers of religiosity to accentuate identity. It is, however, important to note that, though typically waning among the second generation, religiosity does not totally dissolve in any of these studies. It remains present as an element of immigrants’ social worlds and in most cases experiences a revivification in later generations.

### **Insecurity and the Household: Rubrics for Analyzing Migrant Decision-Making and Religiosity**

Understanding a migrant’s decision to move on from a place of settlement, be it their home country or a location along their route, requires a reevaluation of the categories of *place utility* and *duration dependence* in light of data on religion and religiosity.<sup>32</sup> This is true even for migrants who do not practice or profess any religion, since much of the socio-cultural and political realms that have purchase on migrant decision-making are shot through with implicit and explicit religious elements.

Agent-based migration studies offer us two fundamental rubrics for analyzing religion and human mobility as interdependent social phenomena. The first is that people migrate primarily when faced with insecurity.<sup>33</sup> Barriers for relocation are often high, so humans generally move only when the insecurity of their present situation becomes intolerable.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, personal

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<sup>29</sup> Karen Phalet, Fenella Fleischmann, and Snežana Stojčić, “Ways of ‘Being Muslim’: Religious Identities of 2nd Generation Turks,” in *The European Second Generation Compared: Does Integration Context Matter?*, ed. Maurice Crul, Jens Schneider, and Frans Lelie (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 341–374.

<sup>30</sup> Frank van Tubergen and Jórunn Í. Sindradóttir, “The Religiosity of Immigrants in Europe: A Cross-National Study,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50 (2001): 272–288.

<sup>31</sup> Connor, *Immigrant Faith*, 73.

<sup>32</sup> Jerome D. Fellmann, et. al., *Human Geography: Landscapes of Human Activities*, 8th Edition (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005), 88–95.

<sup>33</sup> Ibrahim Sirkeci, et. al., “Introduction,” in *Conflict, Insecurity and Mobility*, ed. Ibrahim Sirkeci, Jeffrey H. Cohen, and Pinar Yazgan (London: Transnational, 2016), 1–7; see also Ton van Naerssen and Martin van der Velde, “The Thresholds to Mobility Disentangled,” in *Mobility and Migration Choices: Thresholds to Crossing Borders*, ed. Martin van der Velde and Ton van Naerssen (London: Routledge, 2016), 3–13.

<sup>34</sup> Jeffery H. Cohen, *The Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 30–48; Jeffery H. Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci, *Cultures of Migration*, 1–19.

aspirations and promise of success in a new location rarely play as vital a role in human movement as does the impetus to escape present social, economic, or environmental insecurities.

The category of *insecurity* that instigates much human movement also informs religious praxis. Insecurity, by definition, is related directly to the fulfillment of human needs. Thus, while religiosity is not simply a product of human insecurity, insecurity may heighten reliance on religious practice and belief through attempts to influence circumstances and outcomes.<sup>35</sup> A migrant's religious worldview offers both individual and socially-located criteria by which one constructs a schema for determining if and when departure is necessary. Religion can function as a catalyst for both movement and non-movement. For some, strong religious affiliation in a place of origin can override desires to leave, even in situations where departure is a reasonable expectation.<sup>36</sup> For others, robust religiously-oriented sending structures such as churches, temples, mission organizations, relief agencies, and others instigate and accommodate the movements of individuals.<sup>37</sup>

The second rubric is that human movement is most often a calculated social strategy that is reliant on the networks of biological and socially-constructed kinship understood as the *household*. Even though migration is a response to insecurity, it is not simply a knee-jerk reaction to circumstances. Migration is not unplanned and random, but is in fact, defined by socio-cultural dispositions toward mobility. Households are the main mediators of mobility, promoting and facilitating particular attitudes in favor of or against movement.<sup>38</sup> They function as sending and receiving units by making strategic choices regarding the temporary and permanent relocation of members based on collective needs and evaluations of the present situation in which they are enmeshed.<sup>39</sup> Because of this, making the decision to migrate is most often not an individual decision. As Jeffrey Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci argue, "Although sometimes they ignore the household, and sometimes the household overwhelms the mover, the household is always present, regardless of the situation therein."<sup>40</sup> Family financial resources, the welfare of those left behind, perceived acceptance and the success of future generations in both home regions and in sites of settlement are all questions potential migrants and their social networks must answer.<sup>41</sup>

Not all members of a household will move. Communities and their individual members maintain varying levels of resiliency to disruptive events that depend on various levels of motility

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<sup>35</sup> For an introductory text on insecurity theory see Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>36</sup> Pablo Neudörfer and Jorge Dresdner, "Does Religious Affiliation Affect Migration?," in *Papers in Regional Science* 93, no. 3 (2014): 577–594.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Connor, "International Migration and Religious Selection," 184–194.

<sup>38</sup> Cohen and Sirkeci, *Cultures of Migration*, 20–36.

<sup>39</sup> Janet E. Benson, "Households, Migration, and Community Context," *Urban Anthropology* 19 (1990): 9–29; Kati Coe, *The Scattered Family: Parenting, African Migrants, and Global Inequality* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2014), 1–36; Manashi Ray, "Crossing Borders: Family Migration Strategies and Routes from Burma to the US," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44 (2018): 773–791.

<sup>40</sup> Cohen and Sirkeci, *Cultures of Migration*, 2; see also Sara Greco, "The Role of Family Relationships in Migration Decisions: A Reconstruction Based on Implicit Starting Points in Migrants' Justifications," *Migration Letters* 15 (2018): 33–44. For a salient, though ultimately overstated critique of household models, see Syed Ali and Douglas Hartmann, *Migration, Incorporation, and Change in an Interconnected World* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 21–45.

<sup>41</sup> Jeffery H. Cohen, "Migration, Remittances and Household Strategies," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (2011): 103–114.



and networks to capitalize on it.<sup>42</sup> A situation which causes increased insecurity for one group may not threaten another in the same way since the household’s resiliency depends on its collective resources, age, and the life cycle stage of its members.<sup>43</sup> Thus, *disruption*—as a descriptive category of human experience—is not synonymous with migratory causation.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to mediating mobility, the household fulfills several important social functions and exerts influence over its members through kinship ties and religiosity. Households maintain kinship structures across distance and time, and function as distributive units for communally-held resources—including persons—that flow multi-directionally into, within, and out of the household. Kinship structures are responsive to the needs of the group and can change to accommodate the demands of social, economic, environmental, demographic, and geographic variation. Helen Ebaugh and Mary Curry have catalogued how fictive kinship networks provide key sources of social capital among migrants.<sup>45</sup> The household is also the primary locus of religious socialization and a site from which individual and collective engagements with the larger religious worlds emanate.<sup>46</sup> Later movements, interactions, and affiliations can redefine foundational dispositions toward religious life, but those initial exposures to religion and religiosity are, on all accounts, deeply embedded in persons. Even households that deny any explicit interest in or connection to religious activities provide initial exposure to the spectrum of sociocultural participation and value-laden praxis.

Finally, the household is typically the first place one experiences the reality of sociocultural elasticity.<sup>47</sup> The spectrum of practice maintained by the older members of the household is a model of the acceptable limits of internal variability in cultural norms for younger members. Experiences of shared family practices are often accompanied or augmented by personal preferences for elements of shared praxis and deviations from the group’s norms. While collective behavioral patterns are operational when the household is gathered, those same practices need not be of import to individual family members in their own personal religious praxis. Even in households where religion is not overtly a part of the group’s collective life, members may maintain their own personal religious practices.

## **Narratives as Repositories of Migration Sense-Making**

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<sup>42</sup> Michael Flamm and Vincent Kaufmann, “Operationalising the Concept of Motility: A Qualitative Study,” *Mobilities* 1, no. 2 (2006): 167–189; John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 38–39.

<sup>43</sup> Cohen, *Culture of Migration in Southern Mexico*, 34.

<sup>44</sup> James Morrissey, “Rethinking ‘Causation’ and ‘Disruption’: The Environment-Migration Nexus in Northern Ethiopia,” in *Migrations and Disruptions: Toward a Unifying Theory of Ancient and Contemporary Migrations* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2015), 196–197.

<sup>45</sup> Helen Rose Ebaugh and Mary Curry, “Fictive Kin as Social Capital in New Immigrant Communities,” *Sociological Perspectives* 43 (2000): 189–209.

<sup>46</sup> Mieke Malipaard and Marcel Lubbers, “Parental Religious Transmission after Migration: The Case of Dutch Muslims,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (2013): 425–442; Brian L. McPhail, “Religious Heterogamy and the International Transmission of Religion: A Cross-National Analysis,” *Religions* 10 (2019): 1–16.

<sup>47</sup> David C. Dollahite, et al., “Beyond Religious Rigidities: Religious Firmness and Religious Flexibility as Complementary Loyalties in Faith Transmission,” *Religions* 10 (2019): 1–18.

While religion is not primarily a set of meaning-making structures, it does offer means for migrants to derive and make sense of their experiences.<sup>48</sup> In Christian Smith's analysis, "Religion works because humans attribute the causes of certain life events and experiences to the intervening influence of superhuman powers."<sup>49</sup> As such, religion provides individuals and social institutions with cultural foundations for grappling with the challenges incurred through human movement.<sup>50</sup>

Migrant identity can be informed by perceived social locations within the historical narrative(s) of one's faith.<sup>51</sup> As Peggy Levitt reminds us, "We must therefore examine the ways in which believers use symbols and ideas to imagine and locate themselves within religious landscapes and analyze how religious and political geographies overlap with one another."<sup>52</sup> Collective memories of migration drawn from the deep wells of ancient traditions facilitate imaginative reasoning and give migrants ways to envision and enact their own successes. These narratives might contain shared memories of religious attachment to particular places or landscapes and make possible the overlay of such attachments on new places. As an example of this, the religious artwork of migrants often displays appropriations of narrative symbolism and idiom to express the role of the divine in the migration experience.<sup>53</sup> Migrants also draw from texts that are not explicitly about migration but may be about the need for patience in the midst of suffering or mercy in times of trial. As one mover interviewed by Maria Kanal and Halina Grzymała-Moszczyńska states,

Everything that has happened to us is recorded in the Koran: 'We will experience with you a bit of fear, hunger and the loss of goods, life and fruit. Speak joyfully to the patient!' (Koran 39:10) I felt with all my heart everything described in this verse, I experienced it in Syria when we had nothing to eat for days ... and when we were afraid of raids and bombings. So God planned to put us to the test and this happened during the war (4, 30, married woman).<sup>54</sup>

Migrants may also envision their journeys as part of a larger historical dispensation or as symbolically repetitive acts associated with an event in their religious tradition. Many actively cope with difficult situations by repeating religious histories of movement. In doing so, they may speak

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<sup>48</sup> Clifford Geertz's conception of religion as such has been enormously influential and frequently overstated. He writes, "[Religion's] capacity to serve, for an individual or for a group, as a source of general, yet distinctive, conceptions of the world, the self, and the relations between them . . . . Religious concepts spread beyond their specifically metaphysical contexts to provide a framework of general ideas in terms of which a wide range of experiences—intellectual, emotional, moral—can be given meaningful form" (*The Interpretation of Cultures* [New York, Basic Books: 1973], 123).

<sup>49</sup> Smith, *Religion*, 89.

<sup>50</sup> Hagan, "Making Theological Sense of the Migration Journey from Latin America: Catholic, Protestant, and Interfaith Perspectives," *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (2006): 1554–1573.

<sup>51</sup> Peggy Levitt, "'You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant:' Religion and Transnational Migration," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 347–373.

<sup>52</sup> Levitt, "'You Know, Abraham,'" 861.

<sup>53</sup> Jorge Durand and Douglas S. Massey, "Miracles on the Border: The Votive Art of Mexican Migrants to the United States," in *Art in the Lives of Immigrant Communities in the United States*, ed. Paul DiMaggio and Patricia Fernández-Kelly (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 214–215. See also Gloria Giffords, *Mexican Folk Retablos: Masterpieces on Tin* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974); Octavio Solis, *Retablos: Stories from a Life Lived Along the Border* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2018).

<sup>54</sup> Maria Kanal and Halina Grzymała-Moszczyńska, "Uchodźczynie Syryjskie w Turcji: Specyfika Radzenia Sobie z Sytuacją Przymusowej Migracji," *Intercultural Relations* 5 (2019): 95–131.

of their own movement as being part of a larger divine plan.<sup>55</sup> Buddhists may draw inspiration and solace for the journey in recalling Buddha’s period of wandering before finding enlightenment. For Muslim migrants, the journey might awaken memories of the prophet Muhammad’s escape from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina), known as the *Hijra*, or of Ishmael’s mother Hagar, the maidservant of Abraham’s wife Sarah who was made to wander in the wilderness with her child.<sup>56</sup> Likewise, the tropes of Exodus, Exile, and Diaspora have loomed large in the minds of Jews, Christians, and Mormons through thematic associations with their own journeys.<sup>57</sup> Throughout the experience of movement, these spatio-temporal associations bring a sense of coherence to daily life.

It must also be said that overlap and contradiction are two aspects of such religio-spatial associations. Different groups can appropriate the same narrative in drastically different ways. For example, African slaves in the American South viewed the account of Israel’s exodus from Egypt as the story of their coming salvation, while the very colonists and slave owners subjugating them and wiping out Native Americans often interpreted their own story as a mirror of Israel’s entry into the Promised Land with a mandate to rid it of its idolatrous and morally destitute inhabitants.

### **Personal Religiosity and Assistive Religious Structures**

From the earliest stages of migratory planning, potential migrants rely on religious resources to make a decision about whether or not to migrate, and if so, when and how to do so. Personal networks typically cannot provide all the necessary access or means required to make a successful journey. Individuals must also draw on assistive agents like state officials who issue visas and control points of exit and entry, smugglers who provide clandestine transit, and potential part-time employers along the journey.<sup>58</sup> As part of these negotiations, many rely on direct divine intervention and augment their attempts through engagement with local religious resources.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Maria Kanal, “Exploring Coping Strategies of Urban Refugee Women in Iskenderun, Turkey,” presentation at The Migration Conference, Bari, Italy, June 18-20, 2019.

<sup>56</sup> Ian Richard Netton, *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam* (Richmond: Curzon, 1993); David Hollenbach, “Religion and Forced Migration,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, ed. Elena Fiddian-Qasimiyeh, et. al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 449–459. See also Stump, who writes, “During Muhammad’s rule, *hijra* to Medina also became an obligation for the faithful, a means of expressing their commitment to Islam. Based on these precedents, Islamic jurists later interpreted *hijra* as the migration of adherents from *Dar al-Harb*, the ‘Realm of War’ where non-Muslims ruled, to *Dar al-Islam*, the ‘Realm of Islam’ where the principles of Islamic law prevailed” (*The Geography of Religion*, 68).

<sup>57</sup> Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan, “Introduction: Migration in Judaism, Christianity and Islam,” in *Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1–5; Ellen Posman, “Home and Away: Exile and Diaspora as Religious Concepts,” in *Intersections of Religion and Migration: Issues at the Global Crossroads*, ed. Jennifer B. Saunders et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 175–194; Emanuela Trevisan Semi, “From a Mythical Country of Origin to a Multi-Diaspora Country: The Case of Israel and the Moroccan Jewish Diaspora,” in *Migration in the Mediterranean: Socio-economic Perspectives*, ed. Elana Ambrosetti, et al. (London: Routledge, 2016), 213–221.

<sup>58</sup> Joris Schapendonk, “The Dynamics of Transit Migration: Insights into the Migration Process of Sub-Saharan African Migrants Heading for Europe,” *Scandinavian Journal for Development Alternatives and Area Studies* 28 (2009): 171–203.

<sup>59</sup> U. Adjama, “Les motivations socioculturelles de departs en pirogue artisanale du Sénégal vers les îles Canaries (Espagne),” in *Les migrations africaines vers l’Europe: Entre mutations et adaptation des acteurs sénégalais*, ed. P. Demba Fall and J. Garreta I Bochacha (Lleida: Remigraf-ifan, 2012), 103–118; Eppsteiner and Hagan, “Religion as Psychological, Spiritual, and Social Support,” 49–70; Jacqueline Maria Hagan, “Faith for the Journey: Religion as a Resource for Migrants,” in *A Promised Land, A Perilous Journey: Theological Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 3–19; Jacqueline Hagan and Helen Rose Ebaugh, “Calling Upon the Sacred: Migrants’ Use of Religion in the Migration Process,” *The International Migration Review* 37,

Prayer is one of the most common practices employed throughout the journey. O.M. Kalu's research shows that for many Nigerian migrants, "The journey begins with prayers in churches and prayer camps for travel visas, to prayers in immigrant churches for everyday survival needs such as working permits, employment, and money for rent/mortgage, health insurance, and other bills."<sup>60</sup> Holly Eppsteiner and Jacqueline Hagan note the propensity of migrants to visit sites of religious pilgrimage where they deposit petitionary offerings and request safety for themselves and family members.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, Kim Knott shows how some potential migrants position themselves to become part of transnational religious communities prior to their departure by joining online prayer groups.<sup>62</sup>

Migrants also reach out to religious leaders, as conduits of divine affirmation and assistance, to gather information regarding the many unknown variables of the migration experience.<sup>63</sup> Some partake in *ayunos*, a religiously hybrid ceremony combining fasting and prayer with the solicitation of a prophetic prediction of migrational success.<sup>64</sup> For many of the migrants Hagan interviewed, movement was dependent on an affirmative response either directly from God or from a religious leader.<sup>65</sup> She writes, "So strong is the migrants' steadfast belief in these official blessings and so powerful is the psychological benefit of them in the minds of migrants and their family, they may, in fact, exceed the value of a legitimate visa or passport issued by the state."<sup>66</sup> Among the Senegalese migrants catalogued in Usha Adjamah's research, the decision to move in precarious situations is made possible by their belief that God will provide safe passage.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, Rijk Van Dijk's work identifies many synonymous activities among Ghanaian sending communities.<sup>68</sup> Maria Kanal's research also demonstrates that when a success is achieved, gratefulness is commonly expressed in religious terms by recognizing the divine or superhuman entities responsible for the positive outcome.<sup>69</sup>

Once on the move, religion also offers means for migrants to remain connected to their sending communities. The transnationalism that characterizes the present era of migration is the result of migrants maintaining networks in sending locales to a greater degree than in the past. Cellular phones and the internet provide a range of avenues for low-cost or free communication

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no. 4 (2003): 1145–1162; O.M. Kalu, "The Andrew Syndrome: Modes of Understanding Nigerian Diaspora," in *African Immigrant Religions in America*, ed. J.K. Olupona and R. Gemignani (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 61–85.

<sup>60</sup> Kalu, "The Andrew Syndrome," 82.

<sup>61</sup> Eppsteiner and Hagan, "Religion as Psychological, Spiritual, and Social Support," 52.

<sup>62</sup> Knott, "Living Religious Practices," 75–78.

<sup>63</sup> Hagan, "Faith for the Journey," 7–11; Hagan and Ebaugh, "Calling Upon the Sacred," 1145–1162.

<sup>64</sup> Leah Sarat, *Fire in the Canyon: Religion, Migration, and the Mexican Dream* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Hagan and Ebaugh, "Calling Upon the Sacred," 1150–1152; Hagan, "Religion and the Process of Migration," 78–83.

<sup>65</sup> Hagan, *Migration Miracle*, 20–58.

<sup>66</sup> Hagan, *Migration Miracle*, 57.

<sup>67</sup> Adjamah, "Les motivations socioculturelles," 103–118.

<sup>68</sup> Rijk A. Van Dijk, "Autonomy in Times of War? The Impact of the Libyan Crisis on Migratory Decisions," in *Understanding Migrant Decisions: From Sub-Saharan Africa to the Mediterranean Region*, ed. Belachew Gebrewold and Tendayi Bloom (London: Routledge, 2016), 80–98; "From Camp to Encompassment: Discourses on Transsubjectivity in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27 (1997): 35–59.

<sup>69</sup> Kanal, "Exploring Coping Strategies of Urban Refugee Women."

with assistive agents and members of home communities.<sup>70</sup> Likewise, many maintain ties to religious leaders in their places of origin who can act as consultants along the way.<sup>71</sup> Other online communities and tools provide information for migrants and broaden the network of resources for decision-making.<sup>72</sup> Many of these resources are religiously oriented. In the end, assuring words from preferred religious leaders and guides are never more than a few clicks away as migrants access spiritual resources like webcasts of sermons or a weekly *khutbah*.<sup>73</sup> In addition to didactic resources, many versions of sacred texts are available for free or for nominal fees online, and daily text services exist so migrants can sign up to receive notes of inspiration.

While the digital sphere of religious involvement is growing, migrants also continue to make use of traditional modes of religious interface by frequenting brick and mortar religious sites as places of refuge, sustenance, and guidance.<sup>74</sup> To this end, migrant camps often maintain several makeshift religious structures.<sup>75</sup> Likewise, many wayside locations have shrines constructed by migrants to honor saints who remind them of home or who are believed to have been of help along the way.<sup>76</sup> Eppsteiner and Hagan record the kinds of behaviors migrants engage in at such sites, noting the promises to God and their saints of choice that they will maintain if safe passage is provided.<sup>77</sup> In the midst of the turmoil of constant movement and directionlessness, for many migrants these spaces are places of hope, rejuvenation, and divine affirmation that they too will make it to the end of a sometimes-treacherous journey. Beyond providing immediate physical and spiritual needs, religious organizations are also taking on an increasing role as advocates of immigrant rights.<sup>78</sup> Many draw on common faith resources of various faith traditions to assert the value of human life and imperatives to protect the marginalized.<sup>79</sup>

Finally, local religious networks also provide an important function for those who remain behind. Not only do non-movers commonly partake in religious activities to ensure the safe journey

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<sup>70</sup> Urry, *Mobilities*, 157–182.

<sup>71</sup> Levitt enumerates the phenomena associated with such transnational religious existence: “Some migrants sustain long-term, long-distance memberships in the religious organizations to which they belonged prior to migration. They still make significant financial contributions to these groups, raise funds to support their activities, host visiting religious leaders, seek long-distance spiritual and practical guidance from them, participate in worship and cultural events during return visits, and are the subject of nonmigrants’ prayers in their absence” (“You Know, Abraham,” 351).

<sup>72</sup> Amira Halperin, *The Use of New Media by the Palestinian Diaspora in the United Kingdom* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2018); Jowan Mahmud, *Kurdish Diaspora Online: From Imagined Communities to Managing Communities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

<sup>73</sup> Olivia Sheringham, *Transnational Religious Spaces: Faith and the Brazilian Migration Experience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>74</sup> Hagan, *Migration Miracle*, 127–134.

<sup>75</sup> Jennifer B. Saunders, et al., “Introduction: Articulating Intersections at the Global Crossroads of Religion and Migration,” in *Intersections of Religion and Migration: Issues at the Global Crossroads*, ed. Jennifer B. Saunders et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 1–4.

<sup>76</sup> Eppsteiner and Hagan, “Religion as Psychological, Spiritual, and Social Support,” 51, 57.

<sup>77</sup> Eppsteiner and Hagan, 51–54. Cf. Durand and Massey, *Miracles on the Border*.

<sup>78</sup> Jessica Eby, Erika Iverson, Jenifer Smyers, and Erol Kekic, “The Faith Community’s Role in Refugee Resettlement in the United States,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24 (2011): 586–605; Denis Kim, “Catalysers in the Promotion of Migrants’ Rights: Church-Based NGOs in South Korea,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (2011): 1649–1667; Margarita Mooney, “The Catholic Bishops Conferences of the United States and France: Engaging Immigration as a Public Issue,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 49 (2006): 1455–1470.

<sup>79</sup> Julia Mourão Permoser, Sieglinde Rosenberger, and Kristina Stoeckl, “Religious Organisations as Political Actors in the Context of Migration: Islam and Orthodoxy in Austria,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (2010): 1463–1481.

and arrival of migrants to their new destinations, they also provide a means of financial support as community resources are pooled through the work of various religious organizations that promote the care of migrants as morally just. Hagan found that mothers of migrants in Catholic communities in Mexico and Central America commonly light candles before their family members set out and maintain the flame until news of safe arrival to their destination.<sup>80</sup> Likewise, nonmovers make use of local religious officials to ascertain information regarding the whereabouts and safety of their loved ones who are on the move.<sup>81</sup>

### **Religion, Identity, and Place-making in Motion**

Place-making is a ubiquitous human activity accomplished through varying modes of spatial engagement. In the contexts of mobility and migration, place-making is a particularly pressing task. Movers must actively negotiate and construct new spaces in environments that often lack stable social networks or familiar cultural elements.<sup>82</sup> In such instances, personal religiosity can become a primary means of doing so.<sup>83</sup> As an element of place-making, the spatial management of difference can include purposeful juxtapositions of one's religious identity with others. This can take place through various modes of self-presentation, but is not limited to bodily displays, and may also include extensions of the person or group into the larger social spheres where migrants affirm both difference and belonging.

Recreating the household is of the utmost importance as an act of reconstituting group identity in a new location.<sup>84</sup> The process of household construction, or *homebuilding*, can take the form of actual buildings filled with furniture, décor, and other items that constitute the symbolic worlds of its members. It can also take place in the absence of any physical structures, when the group and its many interlinked networks comprise a habitable space of shared identity defined by interactive norms, attire, adornment, hairstyle, language, participation in both sacred and profane actions, and other internally and externally intelligible markers. Homebuilding is an act of "dwelling" that takes place in contexts of "crossing."<sup>85</sup> Beyond basic housing needs, homebuilding, through the replication and inhabitation of particularly religious spaces, can also be a source of healing from traumatic migration-related and migration-instigating events.<sup>86</sup>

On the one hand, constructing the household is consonant with constructing the group's ethnicity and entails boundary demarcation.<sup>87</sup> The structure of the group reflects its most central claims about itself and its interactions with the world. Hansen accounts for the ways that Hindu

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<sup>80</sup> Eppsteiner and Hagan, "Religion as Psychological, Spiritual, and Social Support," 52.

<sup>81</sup> Hagan, *Migration Miracle*, 33–38.

<sup>82</sup> Paolo Boccagni, *Migration and the Search for Home* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 49–64; Manuel A. Vázquez and Kim Knott, "Three Dimensions of Religious Place Making in Diaspora," *Global Networks* 14 (2014): 326–347.

<sup>83</sup> Celia McMichael, "Everywhere Is Allah's Place: Islam and the Everyday Life of Somali Women in Melbourne, Australia," *Refugee Studies* 15 (2002): 171–188.

<sup>84</sup> Mark Graham and Shahram Shosravi, "Home is Where You Make It: Repatriation and Diaspora Culture among Iranians in Sweden," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 10 (1997): 115–133.

<sup>85</sup> John Eade, "Religion, Home-Making and Migration across a Globalising City: Responding to Mobility in London," *Culture and Religion* 13 (2012): 469–483; see also Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*.

<sup>86</sup> Marwa Shoeb, Harvey M. Weinstein, and Jodi Halpern, "Living in Religious Time and Space: Iraqi Refugees in Dearborn, Michigan," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20 (2007): 441–460.

<sup>87</sup> Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, "Reproducing Ethnicity," in *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2000), 385–408.

migrants in South Africa build homes in the typical “Indian style” as a way of recreating a previous place in a new land. These home sites are replete with many layers of religious decoration that reflect mythological understandings, religio-physical orientations, and other elements of ritual and iconography.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, the identities persons maintain in the household may stand in conflict with those of broader social world and require negotiation between multiple senses of group and self. Maintenance of contested identities across geographies often causes tension among sending and receiving populations, which can leave migrants in a liminal social landscape.

Migrants also actively structure spaces beyond the home. Religious enactment through embodied performance can transform public or profane spaces into sacred sites.<sup>89</sup> This is most evident in recognizably “religious” practices like public gatherings and rituals that might involve prayer, processions, offerings, sacrifices, cleansings, preaching or wearing religious adornments.<sup>90</sup> Transformations can also be achieved through less overt means only recognizable to religious insiders, such as covert religious behaviors and presentations of the self or private ritual activities intended to sacralize a particular space without the knowledge of others in the space. Moreover, in the absence of distinctive or publicly-defined religious spaces, it is common for migrants to transform other kinds of locations into religious space. This is true for the majority of Muslim migrants in Finland, who typically meet in homes due to the fact that there are no official mosques in the country.<sup>91</sup>

Embodied performance can also serve to connect previous and present sites of worship or religious enactment. Enacting a ritual or set of religious behaviors has the effect of actualizing a previous site or sites of divine access. For Hindus, this process can be seen in the notion of replication, whereby worshipers enact rituals associated with a temple in another location with the effect that the benefits of worshipping at that temple are realized in the new location.<sup>92</sup> For many migrants, these activities bring previous, and often geographically distant, sites of religious engagement into existence in new locations. In the case of Robert Orsi’s now famous account of a Bronx Lourdes shrine, the holy water that poured forth at the site was, according to the knowledge of its users, New York City public water. Yet these same religious participants simultaneously understood the water as holy water, having a sanctified continuity with the water which miraculously emerged from the rocks in Lourdes, France.<sup>93</sup>

## **Globalization, Migration and Internal Religious Pluralism**

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<sup>88</sup> Thomas Blom Hansen, “In Search of God’s Hand: On Masculinity and Religion,” in *Pieties and Gender*, ed. Lene Sjørup and Hilda Rømer Christensen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 123–142.

<sup>89</sup> David Garbin, “Marching for God in the Global City: Public Space, Religion, and Diasporic Identities in a Transnational African Church,” *Culture and Religion* 13 (2012): 425–447.

<sup>90</sup> Knott, “Living Religious Practices,” 79.

<sup>91</sup> Tuomas Martikainen, “Muslims in Finland: Facts and Reflections,” in *Islam and Christianity in School Religious Education*, ed. Nils G. Holm (Abo: Abo Akademi University Press, 2000), 203–227. See also Chantal Saint-Blancat and Ottavia Schmidt di Friedberg, “Why are Mosques a Problem? Local Politics and Fear of Islam in Northern Italy,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (2005): 1083–1104; Annalisa Buttici, *African Pentecostals in Catholic Europe: The Politics of Presence in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016); Barbara Daly Metcalf, “Introduction: Sacred Words, Sanctioned Practice, New Communities,” in *Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1–27.

<sup>92</sup> Bowen, *Religions in Practice*, 222.

<sup>93</sup> Robert Orsi, “Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion,” in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 3–21.

In the last two decades, many scholars have turned their attention to the intersection of religion and globalization.<sup>94</sup> Identifying the nature and role of religion in migrants' lives during an epoch of globalization is a complex and daunting task. Discussions abound regarding the composition and function of religion within and in response to a globalizing world. The central tension across the years has been over religion's capacity to withstand or influence globalizing forces.<sup>95</sup> Initiated more than three decades ago, when attempts to quantify and catalogue the phenomenon of globalization came to the academic fore, these questions persist today and impact the discussion of how migrants view and enact their religious identities.

Security now depends on complex networks of international actors and institutions. Even the most remote communities are now affected by far-away economic and political events. As a result of this "thick globalization," significant variables in the migratory process have changed.<sup>96</sup> Travel is more fluid and trips are shorter than before. Transmission of information occurs more quickly and more broadly. The intensified interconnectivity and influence of our ultra-mobile globalized society promotes what Steven Vertovec refers to as "super-diversity."<sup>97</sup> Migrants can respond to all of these forces in a variety of ways that include adoptive and adaptive behaviors aimed at assimilation or with isolationist behaviors intended to preserve identity. Often, migrants espouse both adoptive and protectionist positions, depending on the issue at hand. Moreover, while the pressures of a dominant or majority culture can be overwhelming, assimilation is rarely unidirectional, nor does it necessarily lead to the erasure of ethnic identity.

Religion is both movable and mutable. Globalization facilitates greater access to a broader spectrum of religious ideas and expressions. Dislocation from familiar social contexts and geographies often eventuates in migrants' innovative religious behavior and a propensity toward practical religious elasticity.<sup>98</sup> While migrants employ elements that represent traditional forms of religiosity, it is not uncommon for them to make use of known religious symbols and idioms in new ways that confront or subvert established power structures. Moreover, migrants of one religion may even make use of the sacred space of another.<sup>99</sup> Thus, even though migrants often retain strong ties to the religious practices and beliefs they maintained in their sites of origin, many exhibit

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<sup>94</sup> José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Thomas J. Csordas, ed., *Transnational Transcendence: Essays on Religion and Globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Mark Juergensmeyer, ed., *Religion in Global Civil Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Mark Juergensmeyer, Dinah Griego, and John Soboslai, eds., *God in the Tumult of the Global South: Religion in Global Civil Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Donald E. Miller and Tetsuanao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Kenneth Thompson, "Globalization and Religion," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ronald N. Jacobs, and Philip Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 471–485.

<sup>95</sup> For seminal literature offering contrasting perspectives on this issue, see J. Meyer, et al., "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology* 103, no. 1 (1997): 144–181; R. Robertson, "The Globalization Paradigm: Thinking Globally," in *New Developments in Theory and Research: Religion and the Social Order*, vol. 1, ed. David G. Bromley (Greenwich, CT: JAI, 1991); Levitt, "You Know, Abraham."

<sup>96</sup> Vásquez, "Religion, Globalization, and Migration," 431–452.

<sup>97</sup> Steven Vertovec, "Super-Diversity and Its Implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (2007): 1024–1054.

<sup>98</sup> Knott, "Living Religious Practices," 72.

<sup>99</sup> Elizabeth Frantz, "Buddhism by Other Means: Sacred Sites and Ritual Practice among Sri Lankan Domestic Workers in Jordan," *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (2010): 268–292.



a sense of openness to complementary and alternative religious symbols and practices.<sup>100</sup> Afogame identifies how cultural mutability occurs at the global intersections of traditional African religions and larger universalizing traditions like Christianity and Islam. He asserts that “African religions and cultures within the threshold of globality and globalization are characterized by their negotiation between continuity, change and transformation.”<sup>101</sup> These negotiations play out in contexts well beyond traditional religious spaces and with far-reaching effects on social organization and participation.

The case of Somali migrants in Finland illuminates how they must negotiate religious identity while pursuing healthcare needs. Marja Tiilikainen recounts the story of Asha, an educated Somali migrant looking for healthcare services. Asha’s story is unique in that she converted to Islam following her arrival in Finland. Tiilikainen captures Asha’s steadfast devotion to her new faith and the challenges she faced in securing acceptable forms of medical intervention when ill. She writes, “Asha was familiar with biomedicine and Finnish health care. As a modern, religious Muslim woman, she only wanted to rely on the Koran and the Prophetic tradition, in order to elicit protection from evil. She negotiated with different kinds of knowledge, and tried to find appropriate help for her situation.”<sup>102</sup> Yet not all Somali migrants share Asha’s commitments. Tiilikainen continues, “There are also Somali women who, however, resist the cultural and religious change; although they are aware of ‘contemporary’ Islam, they arrange saar-rituals secretly. As an elderly woman explained: ‘God forgives us. He knows that when a woman is ill, there is no other choice.’”<sup>103</sup> The decision of these Muslim women to engage in traditional Somali spirit-possession rituals demonstrates that even for migrants who practice more conservative modes of religiosity, the boundaries of orthodoxy and tradition are easily blurred in moments when life-altering decisions need to be made.<sup>104</sup>

The above case is not anomalous, as much of the research shows that for many potential and actual migrants, “the primary concern is what ‘works,’ meaning that there is a greater concern with which religious authority is putatively acclaimed to guarantee success...rather than his or her denominational identity.”<sup>105</sup> While it might be assumed that the diversification of praxis would lead to the eventual dissolution of religious particularity, Fenggang Yang and Helen Ebaugh have shown that “internal and external religious pluralism, instead of leading to the decline of religion, encourages institutional and theological transformations that energize and revitalize religions.”<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Amber Gemmeke, “Enchantment, Migration, and Media: Marabouts in Senegal and in the Netherlands,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 14 (2011): 685–704; Susan Molins Lliteras, “A Path to Integration: Senegalese Tijanis in Cape Town,” *African Studies* 68 (2009): 215–233.

<sup>101</sup> Adogame, “Sub-Saharan Africa,” 529.

<sup>102</sup> Marja Tiilikainen, “Somali Women and Daily Islam in Diaspora,” *Social Compass* 50 (2003): 59–69.

<sup>103</sup> Tiilikainen, “Somali Women and Daily Islam,” 67.

<sup>104</sup> For examples of ways similar dynamics are at play in a different migrational context, see Tracy J. Andrews, Vickie Ybarra, and L. Lavern Matthews, “For the Sake of our Children: Hispanic Immigrant and Migrant Families’ Use of Folk Healing and Biomedicine,” *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* (2013): 385–413

<sup>105</sup> Obadare and Adebani, “The Visa God,” 33–34; Julie Picard, “Religious Mobilities in the City: African Migrants and New Christendom in Cairo,” in *Religious Conversions in the Mediterranean World*, ed. Nadia Marzouki and Oliver Roy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 43–59.

<sup>106</sup> Yang and Ebaugh, “Transformations in New Immigrant Religions,” 269.

Hence, Asha's case is fairly rare, since migrants infrequently convert along their journey.<sup>107</sup> Instead, the more common outcome is greater internal religious diversity, as represented by the women in Tiilikainen's study performing saar-rituals. This diversity frequently operates as a positive feedback loop that increases migrant reliance on religion and the growth of religion through agglomerative momentum.

Thus, even though tensions may exist between multiple spheres of migrants' religiosities, the various forms of praxis are not necessarily mutually exclusive in the eyes of many migrants. Centralized religious structures that promote institutional or elite forms of belief and praxis remain present through the many religious organizations constituting the migration relief infrastructure. This means that even though migrants often spend a great deal of time in spaces of innovation and adaptation, the agencies they interact with represent the more traditional expressions of the associated faith communities. These different expressions of religiosity remain simultaneously present and viable within the same religious market.

### **Concluding Remarks and Suggestions for Further Study**

Migration and religion are interconnected social processes. Humans travel with their religious conceptions, while also accumulating beliefs, expressions, and practices along their journeys. Movement necessitates the maintenance, translation, and transference of ethnic and religious identities across space and time.<sup>108</sup> The religious identities of many modern migrants are influenced by the global nature of the religions they practice.<sup>109</sup> Adherents often identify with a sense of universality that knits the distinct expressions of these faiths together despite geographic variabilities.<sup>110</sup>

Religion plays several roles in the migration process. It is a decision-making resource, a set of practices and structures that can both empower and limit migrants' capacities, as well as a source of support and self-efficacy throughout the journey. Religion functions differently for different migrants, but most often it is a source of resolving bads and ensuring goods.<sup>111</sup> In a world where much can change from day to day, religious identity, as enunciated in practice and presentation, can give migrants a sense of direction and rootedness unavailable elsewhere.<sup>112</sup> By maintaining certain routines and rituals from their sites of origin, religions "situate the devout in the body, the home, the homeland, and the cosmos."<sup>113</sup> Current research also shows that migrants around the

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<sup>107</sup> Sebnem Koser Akcapar, "Conversion as a Migration Strategy in a Transit Country: Iranian Shiites Becoming Christians in Turkey," *International Migration Review* 40 (2006): 817–853; Laurent Fouchard, André Mary, and René Otayek, eds., *Entreprises Religieuses et Réseaux Transnationaux en Afrique de l'Ouest* (Ibadan: IFRA/Karthala, 2005).

<sup>108</sup> Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, "Introduction," in *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations*, ed. Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2000), 13–28.

<sup>109</sup> Peggy Levitt, "Local-Level Global Religion: The Case of Dominican-U.S. Migration," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37 (1998): 74–89.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. John R. Bowen, "Beyond Migration: Islam as a Transnational Public Space," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 5 (2004): 879–894.

<sup>111</sup> Smith, *Religion*, 22–23.

<sup>112</sup> Paolo Boccagni, "What's in a (Migrant) House? Changing Domestic Spaces, the Negotiation of Belonging and Home-making in Ecuadorian Migration," *Housing, Theory and Society* 31 (2014): 277–293; *Migration and the Search for Home*, 1–28.

<sup>113</sup> Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 74.

world engage religion in similar ways. Key among these is the propensity of migrants to reach out to religious leaders for assistance in petitionary activities aimed at gathering information for many variables of the migration experience. Formal and informal religious structures help migrants to navigate the complex realities faced along the way by providing for both physical and psychological needs. Around the world, the presence of religious agents in the migration infrastructure is growing. States recognize the valuable assistance these formal and informal agents provide and are therefore cooperating with them more than before. Globalization is bringing about other changes to the ways migrants and religion interface.

Migration also facilitates cultural mutability and blending,<sup>114</sup> which in turn means that “Migration has consequences for how religions are lived in practice.”<sup>115</sup> Migrant religion is not “conservative,” as is often thought, meaning that it tries to preserve some form of religiosity, be it institutionalized or otherwise, from the location of origin. Rather, migrant religiosity is marked by the same complexities and creativities, sometimes even more so, than that of sedentary populations.<sup>116</sup> Plasticity and comprehensiveness are hallmarks of many migrants’ religiosities. The forces of globalization allow different expressions of religiosity to remain simultaneously present and viable across religious markets. The result, for migrants, is a wider range of potential resources for preparation and assistance throughout the decision-making process.

Migration and religion have been and will remain central elements of the human experience. The task at hand is to better account for their mutual influence on one another. This can be best accomplished by integrating the study of religion and migration within the new “mobilities paradigm.”<sup>117</sup> Continuing study that avoids destination models of movement and centers on agent-based decision-making frameworks will provide the best data for analysis. Above all, the study of migration’s primary causes is required. The factors generating the insecurities that instigate migration need ongoing transdisciplinary investigation. It would be most beneficial to build a large body of small-scale location-specific ethnographic studies for comparative analysis. Religion must be considered as a legitimate variable in the personal and household security decision-making matrices. In addition, further research is needed on religion as a selection mechanism for migration. Again, localized studies at points of origin could illuminate how institutional and community religious structures foster or discourage mobility.

More data about migrants’ engagements with religion along their journeys is badly needed. The nascent research in this area has been immensely illuminating but has only scratched the surface. Observing and collecting information from individuals along the migration route has its own ethical dilemmas, among which is the propensity towards a kind of researcher voyeurism in situations of profound human struggle and suffering. Thus, accomplishing this task in a way that maintains the dignity of movers is paramount. Data is necessary to understand migrants and migration. Yet, rather than being purely descriptive, the work of data collection and documentation should maintain prescriptive applications, with the intention of alleviating suffering and increasing security for those who move in and because of precarious situations.

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<sup>114</sup> Stump, *Geography of Religion*, 10.

<sup>115</sup> Knott, “Living Religious Practices,” 72.

<sup>116</sup> Peter van der Veer, “Transnational Religion: Hindu and Muslim Movements,” *Global Networks* 2 (2002): 95–109.

<sup>117</sup> Mimi Sheller and John Urry, “The New Mobilities Paradigm,” *Environment and Planning* 38 (2006): 207–226, 213–214; Urry, *Mobilities*, 44–62.

Potential areas of study for migrants on the move are many. Much research thus far has focused on the psychological roles that religion plays for migrants. This research must certainly continue as it is essential for understanding particular aspects of migrants' experiences. In addition, researchers must also inquire about the specific types of religious practices migrants engage in to bring about changes to their environments and resolve personal and corporate problems they encounter along the way. This may include further investigations of the role religion plays to meet healthcare needs,<sup>118</sup> practices of cultural maintenance such as dress and foodways,<sup>119</sup> specific instances of religious boundary-crossing like the use of other religions' spaces, adoption and adaptation of other religious practices, propensities for religious conversion, and the growing tendency toward religiosities that are emotionally and physically "experiential" in character.<sup>120</sup> Each of these inquiries must address the experiences of both transnational migrants and internally displaced persons.<sup>121</sup>

Increased connectivity with other religious participants can lead to both peaceful and violent interactions. Global religious conflict is coloring the interactions of migrants in profound ways, sometimes leading to fractious encounters between migrants of different faiths.<sup>122</sup> The intensity and associative traumas of the migration experience can also increase conflict between different migrant populations, when religion and personal religious identities are flashpoints.<sup>123</sup> Further study of these trends is necessary.

Finally, religion is still not considered seriously enough when creating and debating immigration and refugee policy.<sup>124</sup> Faith communities play increasingly important roles in sending, supporting, settling, and integrating migrants.<sup>125</sup> Yet religion can also be a barrier depending on the sending or receiving context.<sup>126</sup> Unfortunately, national debates about norms and belonging often neglect the role of religion.<sup>127</sup> Those attempting to understand migration and to assist migrants, be they states or receiving communities, cannot appropriately do so if they do not

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<sup>118</sup> Cf. James R. Cochrane, "Religion in the Health of Migrant Communities: Asset or Deficit?," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (2006): 715–736.

<sup>119</sup> Florence Bergeaud-Blacker, "New Challenges for Islamic Ritual Slaughter: A European Perspective," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33 (2007): 965–980.

<sup>120</sup> Caroline Jeannerat, "Of Lizards, Misfortune and Deliverance: Pentecostal Soteriology in the Life of a Migrant," *African Studies* 68 (2009): 251–271; Jeanne Rey, "Mermaids and Spirit Spouses: Rituals as Technologies of Gender in Transnational African Pentecostal Spaces," *Religion & Gender* 3 (2013): 60–75.

<sup>121</sup> Damaris Seleina Parsitau, "The Role of Faith and Faith-Based Organizations among Internally Displaced Persons in Kenya," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24 (2011): 493–512.

<sup>122</sup> Raoudha Elguédri and Mohamed Cherif Ferjani, "Religious Diversity and Freedom of Conscience in the Arabic Countries Facing Globalization and Migration," *Religions* 8 (2017): 1–12.

<sup>123</sup> Sarah Hamood, *African Transit Migration through Libya to Europe: The Human Cost* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2014), 41. See also news coverage of such events, e.g., "Migrants killed in 'religious clash' on Mediterranean Boat," *BBC News* (April 16, 2015); "'Religious Tensions' Spark Gunfight in French Migrant Camp," *The Telegraph* (January 27, 2016).

<sup>124</sup> Elżbieta M. Goździak, "Spiritual Emergency Room: The Role of Spirituality and Religion in the Resettlement of Kosovar Albanians," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 15 (2002): 136–152.

<sup>125</sup> Eby, et al., "The Faith Community's Role in Refugee Resettlement," 586–605.

<sup>126</sup> Lewis and Kashyap, "Piety in a Secular Society," 57–66. For a contrasting perspective see Malipaard and Lubbers, "Parental Religious Transmission after Migration."

<sup>127</sup> Janet Bauer and Andrea Chivakos, "What's Islam Got to Do with It? American Pluralism, Ethnographic Sensibilities, and Faith-Based Refugee Resettlement in Hartford, Connecticut," in *Not by Faith Alone: Social Services, Social Justice, and Faith-Based Organizations in the United States*, ed. Julie Adkins, Laurie Occhipinti, and Tara Hefferan (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), 145–164.

consider the primary mode by which many migrants attempt to resolve their problems, express their identities, and understand their experience. Understanding migrant religiosity is a key to appropriately engaging the challenges and benefits of global human movement.

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