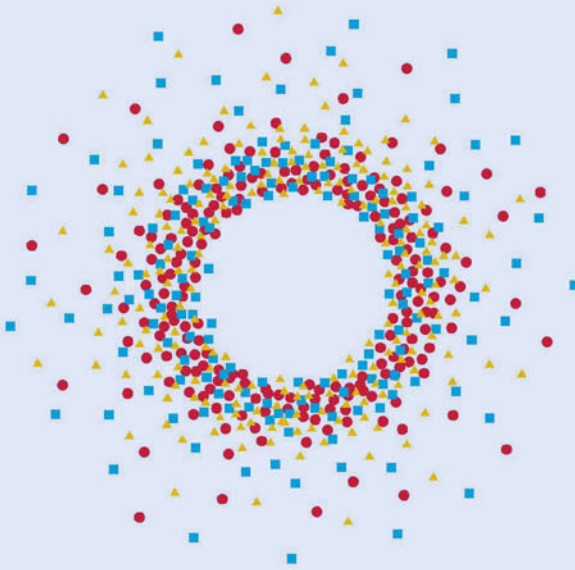




CHRISTIANITIES OF THE WORLD

# Christianities in Migration

The Global Perspective



*Edited by* Elaine Padilla  
and Peter C. Phan



PALGRAVE MACMILLAN'S  
CHRISTIANITIES OF THE WORLD

Series Editors:

Dale Irvin is president of and professor of World Christianity at New York Theological Seminary, in New York City.

Peter C. Phan is the inaugural holder of the Ignacio Ellacuría Chair of Catholic Social Thought, Theology Department, at Georgetown University.

In recent decades there has been an increasing awareness in the academy of a reality called World Christianity. The expression refers to the fact that today Christianity is no longer predominantly Western, but has become a more truly worldwide religion. This "catholicity," a hallmark of Christianity and a fruit of Christian missions, has resulted in a massive demographic shift in the over- all numbers of Christians from the global north (Europe and North America) to the global south (Africa, Asia, and Latin America). At the same time, the twin forces of globalization and migration have simultaneously intensified the inter-connections and amplified the differences among the various expressions of Christianity worldwide, radically transforming the character of Christianity as it finds expression in diverse forms all over the globe. In the twenty-first century Christianity can only be expected to become even more multiple, diverse, and hybridized. At the same time one can expect to find something that is recognizably Christian among them to make it possible to have a meaningful conversation. We call that conversation "Christianities of the World."

To help understand this new phenomenon Palgrave Macmillan has initiated a new series of monographs appropriately titled "Christianities of the World" under the general editorship of Peter C. Phan and Dale T. Irvin. The intention of the series is to publish single-authored or edited works of scholarship that engage aspects of these diverse Christianities of the world through the disciplines of history, religious studies, theology, sociology, or missiology, in order to understand Christianity as a truly world religion. To these ends the editors are asking:

- How has Christianity been received and transformed in various countries, especially in Africa, Asia, and Latin America (the non-Western world) in response to their cultural practices, religious traditions (the so-called "world religions" as well as the tribal or indigenous religions), migratory movements, and political and economic globalization (inculturation and interfaith dialogue)? In particular, how have newer forms of Christianity, especially those that identify with the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement, changed the face of World Christianity? What are the major characteristics of Christianities both old and new? What new trajectories and directions can one expect to see in the near future?
- How should the history of Christian missions be narrated? How does one evaluate the contributions of expatriate missionaries and indigenous agents? How should one understand the relationship between missions and churches?
- How should theology be taught in the academic arena (be it in universities, seminaries, or Bible schools)? How should various Christian theological

loci (e.g., God, Christ, Spirit, church, worship, spirituality, ethics, or pastoral ministry) be reformulated and taught in view of world Christianity or Christianities of the world, in dialogue with different cultures and different religions, or targeted toward particular ethnic or religious groups?

- How does the new reality of world Christianity affect research methods? How should courses on Christianity be taught? How should textbooks on Christianity as well as on world religions generally be structured? What should curricula, course work, required texts, faculty hiring, criteria for tenure and promotion, research, and publication look like in the academic world that is responding to the questions being raised by the Christianities of the world?

The issues are far-ranging and the questions transformational. We look forward to a lively series and a rewarding dialogue.

*Pentecostalism and Prosperity: The Socio-Economics of the Global Charismatic Movement*

Edited by Katherine Attanasi and Amos Yong

*Interfaith Marriage in America: The Transformation of Religion and Christianity*

By Erika B. Seamon

*Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology*

Edited by Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan

*Theosis, Sino-Christian Theology and the Second Chinese Enlightenment: Heaven and Humanity in Unity*

By Alexander Chow

*Muslim-Christian Dialogue in Post-Colonial Northern Nigeria: The Challenges of Inclusive Cultural and Religious Pluralism*

By Marinus C. Iwuchukwu

*Christian Responses to Islam in Nigeria: A Contextual Study of Ambivalent Encounters*

By Akintunde E. Akinade

*Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions*

Edited by Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan

*Theologies of the Non-Person: The Formative Years of EATWOT*

By M. P. Joseph

*Christianities in Migration: The Global Perspective*

Edited by Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan

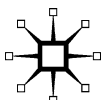
# **Christianities in Migration**

## **The Global Perspective**

Edited by

Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan

palgrave  
macmillan



CHRISTIANITIES IN MIGRATION

Selection and editorial content © Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan 2016

Individual chapters © their respective contributors 2016

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2016 978-1-137-03287-4

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission. No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission. In accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

First published 2016 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of Nature America, Inc., One New York Plaza, Suite 4500, New York, NY 10004-1562.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

ISBN: 978-1-349-55612-0

E-PDF ISBN: 978-1-137-03164-8

DOI: 10.1057/9781137031648

Distribution in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world is by Palgrave Macmillan®, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available from the Library of Congress.

A catalogue record for the book is available from the British Library.

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
Introduction <i>Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan</i>	1
Chapter 1 Christianity as an Institutional Migrant: Historical, Theological, and Ethical Perspectives <i>Peter C. Phan</i>	9
Chapter 2 “Singing the Song of the Lord on Foreign Soil”: What the Early Centuries Tell Us about the Migrant Factor in the Making of Global Christianity <i>Jehu J. Hanciles</i>	37
Chapter 3 Dislodgings and Reformation: Expanding Christianity in Africa and in the Diaspora <i>Elias K. Bongmba and Akintunde E. Akinade</i>	55
Chapter 4 Intercultural Church: A Challenge in the Asian Migrant Context <i>Agnes M. Brazal and Emmanuel S. de Guzman</i>	71
Chapter 5 Emerging Christianities in Japan: A Comparative Analysis of Brazilian and Filipino Migrant Churches <i>Kanan Kitani</i>	89
Chapter 6 Migration and Mission Routes/Roots in Oceania <i>Jione Havea</i>	113
Chapter 7 Graced by Migration: An Australian Perspective <i>Patricia Madigan</i>	135

Chapter 8	
Reimagining Boundaries in Europe: Migrant Utopias and Theological Eschatology	153
<i>Michael Nausner</i>	
Chapter 9	
Migration, Pastoral Action, and Latin America	173
<i>Ana María Bidegain Greising and Gabriel Bidegain Greising</i>	
Chapter 10	
Migration and Christianity in a Canadian Context	193
<i>Thomas E. Reynolds</i>	
Chapter 11	
Faces of Migration: US Christianity in the Twenty-First Century	221
<i>Susanna Snyder</i>	
Chapter 12	
Religion, Environmental Racism, and Migrations of Black Body and Soul	245
<i>James Samuel Logan</i>	
Chapter 13	
Latino Migrations and the Transformation of Religion in the United States: Framing the Question	263
<i>Allan Figueroa Deck, SJ</i>	
Chapter 14	
Transnational Religious Networks: From Africa to America and Back to Africa	281
<i>Moses O. Biney</i>	
Chapter 15	
The End of Christianity	299
<i>Elaine Padilla</i>	
<i>Bibliography</i>	321
<i>List of Contributors</i>	339
<i>Index</i>	343

## Figures

5.1	Brazilian and Filipino Populations in Japan	94
5.2	The Male and Female Ratio of Brazilian Migrants (Thousands of Units)	95
5.3	The Male and Female Ratio of Filipino Migrants (Thousands of Units)	95
5.4	The Number of Foreign Language Services in Different Churches	98



# Introduction

*Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan*

*To walk is to fall forward.*

*Each step we take is a halted tumble, a prevented collapse, an interrupted disaster. As such, to walk becomes an act of faith. We bring it into being daily, a miracle of two temporalities: an iambic dance, a sustaining and letting go of oneself.*

—Paul Salopek, “Fuera del Edén”

*Religion begins—and ends—with bodies: birthed bodies and dead bodies; polluted bodies and purified bodies; enslaved and freed bodies that are tattooed, pierced, flagellated, drugged, masked, and painted; sick bodies and healed bodies; gendered bodies and racialized bodies; initiated and uninitiated bodies; bodies that are starved and fed, though fed only this way; exposed bodies and covered bodies; renounced and aroused bodies, though aroused only that way; kin bodies and strangers’ bodies; possessed bodies and emptied bodies; and, as humans cross the ultimate horizon of human existence—however that horizon is imagined—bodies that are transported or transformed.*

—Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*<sup>1</sup>

*Christianities in Migration: The Global Perspective* is the third and last volume of the trilogy entitled *Theology and Migration in World Christianity: Contextual Perspectives*. As its title suggests, the book migrates through continents, regions, and nations in order to tell the stories of diverse kinds of nomadic dwellers of yesterday and today. It departs from Africa, moves toward Asia, Oceania, and Europe, and settles in the Americas, that is, Latin America, Canada, and the United States. It follows the well-worn paths of migration that migrants still tread on today, though often in back-and-forth movements and in multiple directions, a fact that points to the porousness of space in spite of state borders. Its movements tacitly seek to subvert master/slave, north/south, and west/east dominant narratives of migration. The underlying theological presupposition of the volume is that human society, even at its worst, has been founded on migration. Consequently, its survival depends on developing a theology of migration that helps thwart exploitative and violent practices against migrants and at the same time promotes those practices that favor modes of fruitful coexistence.

Since their beginning, humans moved out of their habitats, roamed across deserts and mountains, navigated over rivers and oceans, inhabited

dry lands as well as watery swamps. Some six hundred thousand years ago a few hundred first *homo sapiens idaltu* ventured out beyond the Ethiopian Rift Valley and their mother continent of Africa. Thanks to their migration, today humans everywhere enjoy the most multifaceted forms of social life, with “complex language, abstract thought, inner drive to produce art, talent for technological innovation, and the continuous birth of humanity,” as the Pulitzer-winning journalist Paul Salopek muses after his seven-year journey from the Ethiopian Rift Valley in Africa to Tierra del Fuego in Argentina.<sup>2</sup> Starting from what is known as Kilometer 0, this route of the earliest migrants is one of the world’s richest treasure troves of information on human mobility for today’s anthropologists.

The fossils of the *homo sapiens idaltu* tell tales not unlike those of present-day border-crossers: their urge to migrate, even at the risk of life and limb; their capacity to create worlds that can be reshaped time and again; their desire to go beyond the established limits, and their enrichment through cross-fertilization with others.<sup>3</sup> From a theological perspective, the potential for re-creation comes from the perception of both what hinders life and what lies ahead, not yet actualized but having the potential to liberate it. In some theological sense, therefore, the *homo sapiens idaltu* tell us that to migrate is to live and vice versa.

It is unlikely that our ancestors were reflecting theologically on human longings, the potential of what lies beyond the boundaries, the creation of imagined communities, let alone the cross-fertilizations of cultures, nor are many of today’s migrants likely to do so either. In fact, as Miguel de la Torre points out, many migrants prefer to stay home with their families and friends, their own music and language, their own culture and traditions. However, as de la Torre goes on to note, “they attempt the hazardous crossing because foreign policy has created an economic situation in their home countries in which they are unable to feed their families.”<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, more often than not migrants are subjected to untold and unimaginable sufferings. So were the 12 million slaves who were brought bound and shackled by Europeans across the Transatlantic and Mediterranean waters. Centuries later, millions of Europeans themselves were fleeing poverty, violence, and genocide. Today, women and children are being trafficked across borders and forced into low-paying jobs, slavery-like marriages, and prostitution.<sup>5</sup>

The success or failure of migrants to settle down in their places of destination and to flourish, as the following chapters will show, depends in part on the laws restricting or favoring their access to the resources available to citizens and permanent residents.<sup>6</sup> There are many “cruel dynamics” in the present system of globalization that impede fruitful cultural cross-pollination.<sup>7</sup> A combination of unemployment, age and sexual exploitation, war and terrorism, and climate change, to name a few, breeds homelessness, driving many into migration and diaspora. In these conditions, creating life anew can become a way of surviving the vagaries of travel, the search for refuge, and the bargaining and negotiating for a permanent home.<sup>8</sup>

According to the statistics of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations for 2013, there are about 236 million international migrants, with an increase of 65 percent in the global north, and 34 percent in the southern hemisphere.<sup>9</sup> About half of them reside in: the United States of America (45.8 million or 20 percent of the global total), the Russian Federation (11 million), Germany (9.8 million), Saudi Arabia (9.1 million), the United Arab Emirates and the United Kingdom (7.8 million each), France (7.5 million), Canada (7.3 million), and Australia and Spain (6.5 million each). In addition, the statistics of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for 2013 show that there are 10.4 million refugees worldwide.<sup>10</sup> From these numbers it is clear that millions of persons are seeking every year to move away from deplorable and unsafe conditions, leaving their imprints on these ancient migration routes—participants in some of the greatest en masse migrations ever experienced and known.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the likelihood of harsh conditions awaiting them, migrants decide, in faith and hope, to emigrate, pulled by the opportunities for a better life they perceive to be available in the countries of destination. At some point in their migratory movements—before, during, or after settlement—migrants seek to create, first in their minds, a home-like environment to guarantee their survival and enjoyment of life.<sup>12</sup> Whether their imagined map is true to life or distorted is not the point. Rather, what is important is the “push and pull” exerted by the undesirable versus desirable political, social, economic, and religious conditions that motivate them to migrate. In general, the other side of the boundaries they cross, and the places of destination in which they wish to settle, are perceived to offer greater resources and opportunities for a better life. It is in this hope that migrants are willing to sacrifice their current conditions for the sake of longed-for opportunities.

*Christianities in Migration: The Global Perspective* intends to offer theological insights on human mobility as it has affected Christians throughout history on all levels—regional, national, and international—and for any reason—social, political, economic, and religious. Thanks to migration, whether forced or voluntary, temporary or permanent, internal or intercontinental/international, legal or undocumented, planned or sudden, Christianity has become an indigenized religion and “World Christianity.” In this process, the boundaries of homelands contract and expand<sup>13</sup>; native and imagined spaces are enlarged; transnational and ethnic communities emerge in the diaspora; and Christian churches are founded.

The volume mimics Christian migrants’ past and present journeys and face-to-face encounters with them as they cross borders, or are settled around the globe, each chapter presenting a unique situation. The authors try to tell the migrants’ stories with the hope that an adequate theology of migration will emerge out of the lives of “flesh and blood” migrants.

This eclectic approach to migration through a theological lens seems to be called for by the multidimensional nature of the subject matter. It is difficult to make a hard-and-fast categorization of migration when viewed globally, multiculturally, and multiethnically. The multiplicity of contexts and lived

experiences produces a complex set of meanings of migration, which calls for further study. Similar to Amal Datta's *Human Migration*, which draws from a wide range of social theories, this volume includes types of migrations that fall within broad classes—primitive, forced, impelled, free, and mass<sup>14</sup>—which vary in time (temporary/permanent), distance (short/long), types of boundaries being crossed (internal/external/areal units), the manner in which decisions to migrate are made (voluntary/impelled/forced), the kinds of individuals involved (family/clan/individual), the types of political organization of the migratory patterns (sponsored/free), the causes spurring migration (economic/noneconomic), and the aims (conservative/innarration).<sup>15</sup> This volume seeks to show broadly how migration entails transitioning, moving from one social setting or society to another, which can demand, though not in all instances, radical adjustments to communities and individuals, and for some, acceptance of hierarchical patterns that place them at a disadvantage in society.<sup>16</sup>

Broadly speaking, for theology, moving across space also entails the theological homemaking of Christianity since religious belief and practice are unavoidably contextualized in time and space. In an attempt at constructing a theology about migration, the chapters in this volume move from the place of origin to that of destination and back. In what Thomas Tweed calls “kinetics of dwelling,” religious belief and practice, like a pendulum, oscillate backward and forward, between the native country and the land of settlement, in order to establish their place in the world in ways that signal a new beginning, joining the familiar with the unfamiliar.<sup>17</sup> The Christianities of the place of origin and that of destination, when kept in connection with each other, can cushion the painful consequences of migration and provide the space for adaptation and creativity in the new country. As will be made clear in this volume, there is a continual and intentional process of mapping, building, and inhabiting Christian belief and practice in various parts of the world, to cross borders, to cross-fertilize, and to create new modes of theological thinking and Christian practice.

Our ultimate goal is to accentuate the priority of the migrants as persons over the legal system that controls their bodies and measures their worth accordingly. We hope that the volume will make a contribution to the improvement of national and international labor laws, prevention of exploitation, enforcement of medical coverage by employers, the softening of borders, and the humanization of border control systems, among others. The main questions under consideration include: How have globalization and migration affected the theological self-understanding of Christianity? What are the specific social, political, cultural, and religious characteristics of Christianity in a particular region in relation to globalization and migration? In light of globalization and migration, how is the evangelizing mission of Christianity to be understood and carried out? What ecclesiastical reforms are required to enable the church to meet the challenges of globalization and migration?

The volume opens with Peter C. Phan's chapter tracing the history of Christianity as a series of mass migrations from Palestine, where the new

religion began, to the four corners of the world in the twenty-first century. He argues that without migration Christianity would not have been able to become what it should be, namely, “World Christianity.” To the four “marks” of the church—one, holy, catholic, and apostolic—he suggests that another mark be added: “migrant.” The church is not only a migrant institution *de facto* but also *de jure*, insofar as migration allows the church to live out its essentially eschatological nature. He ends by explaining how the “migrantness” of the church requires the practice of hospitality, one of the distinctive virtues of Christian ethics.

“Singing the Song of the Lord on Foreign Soil” by Jehu J. Hanciles develops further the migrantness of the church, telling the story of the global expansion of Christianity from its earliest beginnings and arguing for the indispensability of migration in assessing twenty-first-century trends in Christianity. The chapter uses migration as a lens to interpret biblical data in order to survey the movements of specific types of migrants that transformed Christianity into the globalized faith that it is today. The chapter by Elias K. Bongmba and Akintunde E. Akinade, “Dislodgings and Reformation,” offers a perspective on the phenomenon of migration understood primarily as movements and transformation within Africa, in particular through the missionary and evangelistic work of Samuel Johnson of Nigeria, Joseph Mamadu in Cameroon, and William Wade Harris in Côte d’Ivoire. It shows how the churches established by these missionaries are now part of the center of African Christianity and subsequently in the West, with some implications for the global religious landscape.

From the African continent the volume migrates to Asia, starting with the chapter by Agnes M. Brazal and Emmanuel S. de Guzman entitled “Intercultural Church.” It highlights itinerancy in Asian Christianity, describing its major features and identifying the ministries for migrants as recommended by the Asian Bishops’ Conferences. It categorizes the Asian migrant churches in four general models—monocultural host church, monocultural migrant church, multiculturalist church, and intercultural church—and proposes an intercultural approach. The next chapter, “Emerging Christianities in Japan” by Kanan Kitani, offers a survey of the recent migrant churches, especially Evangelical/Pentecostal, created by the Brazilian and Filipino migrant populations in Japan. It highlights how their forms of Evangelicalism have transformed Japan’s religious and ecclesial landscape, and vice versa, how Japan has impacted the manner in which these migrants practice their Christian faith.

The chapters on Oceania and Australia continue to weave migration with the Christian faith and practice. Jione Havea argues in “Migration and Mission Routes/Roots in Oceania” that to speak of migration entails a hermeneutical reflection that draws on recent experiences and memories of ancestors. In this way the impact of Christianity on the region and the reactions of the islanders to the Christian mission can offer an honest way forward through the challenges and opportunities in Oceania. In “Graced by Migration” Patricia Madigan highlights the remarkable changes in the

face of Christianity and the migrants' ongoing contributions to the shaping of modern Australia, as well as their presence that has "graced" the Catholic Church in Australia with a more complete image of its catholicity and reminded it of its prophetic mission.

The conversation on migration shifts to Europe with Michael Nausner's chapter entitled "Re-imagining Boundaries in Europe." Starting with his migratory background, the author reflects on the biblical and theological significance of migration, and ends with a migratory interpretation of theological eschatology, in which the migrants' utopias serve to re-imagine the boundaries of Christian identity in Europe.

From there, the volume migrates to the Americas, outlining past, present, and possible future Christian responses in Canada, Latin America, and the United States. The chapter "Migration, Pastoral Action, and Latin America," by Ana María Bidegain and Gabriel Bidegain Greising, deals with the impact on migration in Latin America as it faces problems of labor resulting from processes of modernization, and with the dynamic responses of the church to migration since the turn of the twentieth century, as propounded by the Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM) at its meetings from Medellín in 1968 up to Aparecida in 2007. The next chapter by Thomas E. Reynolds, "Migration and Theology in a Canadian Context," unpacks some of the social realities of migration in Canada, including its peculiar histories—past and more recent—as episodes in a colonial project, as these bear upon Christian churches and their call for a theological response.

The following four chapters investigate the legal status, race and ethnicity, and identity of migrants in the United States, and address their past and present migrations and ensuing conditions. "Faces of Migration," by Susanna Snyder, highlights the key ways in which migration is bringing about changes in the US-Christian religious landscape, identity, practice, and theology, including advocacy, which has resulted in the search for a new "we" comprising new and established migrants and native-born Christians. "Religion, Environmental Racism, and Migrations of Black Body and Soul," by James Samuel Logan, portrays migration by zeroing in on the Black body and soul. Logan's recounts the forced migrations of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean, their hanging from trees and mutilations condoned by White supremacy, Black resistance against the forces of slavery and Jim Crow, and the eclectic mix of Black religions that gave rise to Black struggle and freedom. Allan Figueroa Deck in his "Latino Migrations and the Transformation of Religion in the United States" provides a historical analysis of the migration experiences of Latin Americans into the United States, and on that basis grounds his discussion of the present dynamics of migration in the United States. In showing the unique blend between religions and their evolution in the Americas, the chapter also poses some future trends that can lead to strong movements away from organized Christianity. "Transnational Religious Networks," by Moses O. Biney, offers a view on migration as transnationalism through ethnographic research conducted among African Immigrant churches in the New York metro area. Using the

data as lens through which to outline the modes of transnational religious networks, and the social, psychological, and religious benefits they derive from them, the chapter argues that support from native soils is needed to counteract experiences of marginalization and of downward social mobility Africans often suffer.

The last chapter, “The End of Christianity,” by Elaine Padilla brings to a conclusion the volume’s emphasis on territories. It unfolds diverse views on time and space, and using the trope of *spacing* (the reshaping of space), it underscores how the organic components of geographical borders can affect territories with both scarcity and abundance. The chapter ends with the eschatological call for Christians to respond to migration with methods of theological reflection imbued with emotions, to envision realities capable of healing wounds caused by splitting or delimiting practices, and to cocreate new worlds by softening borders across boundaries.

At the close of our trilogy on theology and migration in World Christianity we are deeply aware that the many pages that have been written are barely adequate to the theme and call for further theological reflection. Violence and war, poverty and scarcity of natural resources, human trafficking, religious persecutions, climate change and natural disasters, anti-immigrant policies, and other factors that cause migration, and about which these volumes have spoken, seem to be growing worse today. However, there is ground for hope. Responses by religious people and institutions are multiplying to alleviate the plight of migrants everywhere. As we conclude the trilogy, and especially this last volume, we hope that the work will bring forth further reflections and activities to welcome migrants among us. Perhaps like the remains of *homo sapiens idaltu*, ours will tell of our efforts to love the strangers among us, near and far.

## Notes

1. Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 98.
2. Paul Salopek, “Fuera del Edén,” *National Geographic* 33, no. 6 (December 2013): 38; translation by Elaine Padilla.
3. See Paul Tillich, “Mind and Migration,” *Social Research* 4, no. 1 (January 1937): 295–305.
4. Miguel de la Torre, *Trails of Hope: Testimonies on Immigration* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 16.
5. See P. C. Emmer, *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986); and Kamala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema, eds., *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition* (New York: Routledge, 1998).
6. For a detailed discussion on irregular migrations, see Barbara Bugusz et al., eds., *Irregular Migration and Human Rights: Theoretical, European and International Perspectives* (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004).
7. See the call for deromanticizing migration by Nancy Elizabeth Bedford in “Between Babylon and Anathoth: Toward a Theology of Hope in Migration,”

- in *Compassionate Eschatology: The Future as Friend*, ed. Ted Grimsrud and Michael Hardin, 42–55 (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).
8. See the chapter “Finding Ruth a Home,” in Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Imagination & Feminist Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 102.
  9. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “World Migration in Figures: A Joint Contribution by UN-DESA and the OECD to the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development,” October 3–4, 2013, <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf>.
  10. The UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency, “Refugee Figures,” <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d.html>.
  11. Salopek, “Fuera del Edén,” 39.
  12. Amal Datta, *Human Migration: A Social Phenomenon* (New Delhi: Naurang Rai of Mittal Publications, 2003), esp. 21–25.
  13. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 10.
  14. Datta, *Human Migration*, 0.
  15. *Ibid.*, 20–21.
  16. *Ibid.*, 19–20.
  17. See Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 80–122.



## Chapter 1

# Christianity as an Institutional Migrant: Historical, Theological, and Ethical Perspectives

*Peter C. Phan*

Already as early as the apostolic age, a couple of decades after the death of Jesus of Nazareth, the Jesus Movement—then still largely a sect *within* Judaism—felt the need to express its basic beliefs, which eventually marked its distinction and, much later, in the fourth century, separation from other Jewish competing groups, and its emergence as a legal “religion” within the Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> The thrust of these early professions of faith is Christological, expressed in pithy formulas such as “Jesus is the Christ” (Acts 2:36; 10:36; Col. 2:6), “Jesus is the Lord” (1 Cor. 12:3; Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:11), or “Jesus is the Son of God” (Rom. 1:4; Acts 9:20; 13:33; Heb. 4:14). Later this Christological profession of faith is expanded into a Trinitarian structure, the clearest examples of which are: Matthew 28:19–20 (“baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit”) and 2 Corinthians 13:13 (“The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with all of you”).

At the Byzantine synod of Constantinople I, convoked by the emperors Theodosius I and Gratian in 380 and assembled the following year, a slightly revised version of the creed or symbol of Epiphanius of Salamis was adopted. This symbol considerably expands the terse statement of Nicaea I, Christianity’s first ecumenical council, on the Holy Spirit (“And in the Holy Spirit”) and is appropriately called the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. In addition, the creed also includes in its third article on the Holy Spirit a statement on the church as an object of faith. This latter addition is of great importance for the subsequent theology of the church. Officially, for the first time, Christianity is here presented as *church* (*ecclesiā*), and no longer as a Jewish sect (*synagoga*). The church as the object of faith is professed to have four characteristics, which later ecclesiology calls the “marks of the true church”: unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity (*eis mian hagian katholiken kai apostoliken ekklesian*).<sup>2</sup> The exact meaning of these four

terms as a description of the church and their significance for ecumenical dialogue on the nature of the true church of Christ have long been debated among the various churches, especially since the Protestant Reformation. In this debate, by and large, the four “notes” have been taken in a dogmatic sense, that is, they are viewed less as empirical criteria for the true church—it is difficult if not impossible for any church to produce universally acceptable data in proof of its full possession of the four marks—than as theologically essential constituents of the/any church of Christ.

In contrast, there is another—much less studied—feature of Christianity that is both empirically verifiable and theologically significant, namely, its character as a *community of migrants*. Migration is, as will be shown later, not only a permanent reality of the church, from the very beginning of its existence down through the ages and especially today, but also the means to secure its continued existence and growth by worldwide expansion. In this way migration has played a pivotal role in Christianity’s becoming a truly global (“catholic”) religion. Furthermore, migration also saturates the church with an *eschatological* orientation, transforming it from a social organization into a religious community of faith constantly on the march toward its final fulfillment in the reign of God. Without migration, Christianity would not become what it should be. Consequently, taking into account the centrality of migration in the formation of the church and its nature, I propose to enlarge the formulation of the third part of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed to read: “We believe in one, holy, catholic, apostolic, and migrant church.”<sup>3</sup>

In what follows, first, an overview of the two-millennium history of the church is given to show how it has been marked by constant migrations of various types and that it was through this human mobility that Christianity was able to survive and expand and in the process become “World Christianity.” The second part sketches an ecclesiology in which it is argued that migration is a major catalyst for the realization of Christianity’s eschatological dimension. Thus, migration is not simply an accident of history in the development of Christianity (church as migrant *de facto*) but constitutes its very nature as an eschatological community (church as migrant *de jure*). The last part outlines a Christian ethics appropriate to Christianity as an institutional migrant.<sup>4</sup>

### **Christianity, a Migration Movement in World History**

As a social institution, the church is unavoidably influenced by events, factors, movements, and trends in the secular society, and this is especially true in matters concerning migration, which has an enormous impact on all aspects of life in the countries as well as the churches of both origin and destination. Except for explicitly religious purposes such as missionizing, Christians voluntarily migrate, or are forced to do so, for the same reasons, undergo the same migration dynamics, and are governed by the same migration policies as other migrants, religious or otherwise. Consequently, to understand Christian migration, it is necessary to place it within the larger context of global migration in general.

Among the many factors causing migration, war and trade are the most prevalent in ancient times. While empires and civilizations were kept separated from one another by natural barriers such as mountains, deserts, and seas, they were constantly brought together by two frequent human enterprises, namely, war and trade. Emperors and kings often forced or paid different peoples to fight wars against other countries and undertook colonization to expand their power and territories. At times they uprooted the entire conquered population and deported them to distant lands to prevent insurgency. Soldiers returning from foreign campaigns and prisoners of war taken as slaves brought new cultures and languages back to the victors' homes. In these and other ways, elements of various cultures—Egyptian, Ethiopian, Greek, Jewish, Latin, Persian, Indian, Chinese—were mixed together and were found everywhere in the ancient world.

More frequent and widespread than the migration of armies and peoples through warfare was the daily migration of merchants through trade, which established long-lasting interregional, transnational, and transcontinental exchanges of goods, cultures, and peoples. The most important trade route of the ancient world was the Silk Road, which stretched westward from the Great Wall of China through Central Asia and India to the Mediterranean coast. At the other end of the Silk Road in Syria and Arabia, caravans regularly crossed the deserts and carried goods among the cities and to the seacoasts. In addition, ships plied the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and parts of the Pacific Ocean to bring goods from China and India to markets in Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and Rome and the other way round.

Through these migrations the four major civilizations in antiquity, namely, Greco-Roman, Persian, Indian, and Chinese, in which cities played a central role, came into contact with and cross-fertilized one another. In addition, there were a large number of nomadic tribes scattered from Siberia across Central Asia into modern Russia and northwestern Europe. They were grouped into several families of distinct cultural and ethnic identity: Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Turkish, and Mongolian. Migration was their way of life, and by the first century AD, they reached the Mediterranean world and changed its urban civilization. South of the Mediterranean, on the African continent, there were also numerous migratory tribes and peoples who, also through warfare and trade, moved along the Nile River and by the first century came into contact with the urban civilizations in the north. Further south, also in about the first century, several major waves of migration took place among the Bantu-speaking peoples along the Congo River.

Finally, from Asia, and possibly from northern Europe and even Africa, tribal peoples crossed the seas to the Americas, north and south, many millennia earlier. At about the same time, there were a series of migrations by sea from Southeast Asia to present-day Oceania. Some fifty thousand years ago, another wave of migrants came to Australia, Tasmania, and New Guinea. Some ten thousand years ago, agriculturalist peoples migrated to Melanesia and Micronesia, and later to Polynesia.

With regard to migration as an organized mass movement, practically all contemporary studies on migration date this phenomenon to the beginning of the modern era, though it is recognized that from the very origins of our human species, extensive migratory movements did occur as large groups of our ancestors left Africa to populate the rest of the world, and continued to take place regularly in the subsequent millennia.<sup>5</sup> *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, an authoritative and comprehensive study of the subject, despite acknowledging that there was a variety of forms of migration in the premodern era, deems it “sensible to begin a survey of world migration in the ‘modern’ period.” This historical periodization is predicated upon Immanuel Wallenstein’s claim that modernity was “marked by the flourishing of long-distance trade and the opening up of global lines of communication.”<sup>6</sup> It is argued that the European world mercantilism that emerged in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, in distinction from the previous empire-building world economies of China, Persia, and Rome, brought about the hitherto largest process of forced migration—the shipment of tens of millions of slaves from Africa to the New World of both North and South Americas.

After considering this forced African emigration, the historical account of world migration would move on to chronicle the successive waves of population movements: (1) the voluntary, often state-sponsored, settlement of Europeans in their colonies (e.g., Britain, the Netherlands, Spain, France, Portugal, Germany, and Italy); (2) the massive emigration from Europe to the United States, Canada, and South America in 1850–1933; (3) the indentured labor migration, especially from China, India, and Japan, to the United States and the victorious Allied States after World War II; and finally, (4) the current post–Cold War global movements of displaced peoples and refugees on a scale not seen since the end of World War II.<sup>7</sup> One common conclusion of surveys of world migration is that chattel slavery and indentured labor, which fueled migration, are intrinsic parts of the evolution of capitalism on the global scale.<sup>8</sup>

Whatever the scholarly merits for dating the beginning of world migration to the modern period, it offers a comprehensive and helpful description of migration, emigration, immigration, and the migrant, and thus provides a useful template to understand Christian migrations. On the basis of population movements since the rise of modernity, it is common to classify forms of migration as follows:

- internal versus intercontinental/international migration;
- forced versus free migration;
- settler versus labor migration;
- temporary versus permanent migration;
- illegal/undocumented versus legal migration; and
- planned versus flight/refugee migration.<sup>9</sup>

Of course, these six binaries are not mutually exclusive dichotomies. On the contrary, often each side of these dyads merges with its opposite. They are, as Robin Cohen suggests, rather “more akin to Weber’s ‘ideal types,’

which can be briefly defined as archetypes for analytical, evaluative and comparative purposes.”<sup>10</sup>

Even though migration is rooted in the human instinct to wonder and wander in search of better opportunities and new horizons, it has often been triggered throughout the centuries by, as alluded to earlier, war and trade. Other factors include population increase, natural disasters, poverty and famine, civil disturbances, political oppression, religious persecution, and human trafficking. Of course, these phenomena were powerful catalysts for Christian migrations as well, which were no rare and isolated events but part of a frequent and established pattern of humanity’s attempts to survive and expand across seas and continents. A brief survey of Christian history will show that it has periodically been punctuated by massive migrations and that in this way Christianity has spread throughout the globe and has eventually become “World Christianity.”<sup>11</sup> We now turn to the major migrations of Christians that have left an indelible mark on the formation of Christianity.

1. The first Christian migration, one that radically transformed Christianity from a Jewish sect into a worldwide migrant institution, occurred with the Jewish Diaspora.<sup>12</sup> By the fourth century BC, there were already more Jews living outside than inside the land of Israel.<sup>13</sup> The Book of Acts testifies to the prominence of Jewish communities with their synagogues in most of the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. The destruction of the Second Temple in AD 70 and the subsequent massive migrations of Jews out of Israel introduced radical changes to Judaism worldwide. Religious leadership shifted decisively from the priesthood to the rabbinate; piety no longer focused on temple sacrifices but on the study and observance of the Torah; synagogues assumed greater importance as centers of worship rather than the Temple; and the land of Israel became known by its Roman name of Palestine.

The Jewish Diaspora also played an important role in the spread of Christianity in the first centuries of the Christian era. It is repeatedly reported in Acts that Paul, whenever he went, preached first to the Jews, most often in their synagogues, and that even though his mission to the Jews was a failure as a whole, the first important converts and leaders of the early church (e.g., Titus, Timothy, Apollo, Priscilla and Aquila, Barnabas, and many other men and women) came from Diaspora Judaism. Prior to the crushing of the revolt of the Judeans by the Roman general Titus, Jewish Christians, more precisely, Greek-speaking Jewish Christians (the “Hellenists”), had already migrated from Jerusalem after Stephen’s martyrdom (*ca.* 35) and the killing of James, the brother of John, by Herod Agrippa I in 44. As the result of this migration, Christian mission, as Acts (11:19) reports, was extended not only to Jews in the Diaspora but also to Gentiles throughout Judea and Samaria and even as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch.

2. Following on the heels of this first migration was another, much more extensive, exodus of the Christian community out of Jerusalem and Palestine. Eight years after James, “the brother of the Lord” and the leader of the Jerusalem church, had been executed by order of the Sanhedrin (*ca.*

62) came the destruction of the Temple in AD 70 by the Roman general Titus. This momentous event and the subsequent suppression of the Jewish revolts of 115–17 and 132–35 caused mass migrations not only of Jews but also of Christians. The Christians' departure from Palestine coincided with the evangelizing activities of the church, symbolized theologically by the legend that the twelve apostles were assigned different parts of the world and that before leaving, each composed one of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed. However, what actually occurred seems to be that the Christian community, numbering by that time in the thousands, emigrated en masse from Jerusalem and from Palestine as a whole, either by force or voluntarily, into different parts of the world.<sup>14</sup>

Five areas were the destinations of this second Christian migration, where eventually they built a great number of vibrant and mission-minded communities. The first is Mesopotamia and the Roman province of Syria, with its three major cities, namely, Antioch, Damascus, and Edessa. Antioch, the third largest city in the Mediterranean world, might be called the cradle of Christianity as a religious movement since it was there that the followers of Jesus were first called "Christians" (Acts 11:26). It was in Syria too that some of the early documents of Christianity were composed or translated into Syriac such as the Gospel of Matthew, the *Didache*, the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, the *Diatesseron*, and several apocryphal writings such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Acts of Thomas*, and the *Odes of Solomon*. Syriac became the language of choice for Christians in eastern Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, India, Mongolia, and China. In the three tiny protectorate kingdoms under the Parthian Dynasty of the Persian Empire—Osrohoene (with Edessa as capital), Adiabene (with Arbela as capital), and Armenia—Christians established vibrant communities with the help of not only evangelists but also Jewish and Christian merchants, migrants, and slaves, so much so that around 301, Armenia officially declared itself Christian, the first nation to do so (perhaps Osrohoene had done so earlier). As for church leaders and theologians, Syrian Christianity produced such luminaries as Addai/Thaddeus, considered the founder of the Syrian Church, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin of Syria, Bardaisan of Edessa, Tatian the Syrian, and Gregory the Illuminator, the alleged founder of the Armenian Church. (More details on these churches will be given in point no. 4.)

The second area is Greece and Asia Minor. From the New Testament, especially from Paul's letters and Acts, names of cities such as Thessalonica, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, Philadelphia, and many others, where there were Christian churches, are well known. 1 Peter (1:1) is addressed to "the exiles of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." Even if the "exiles" of the Diaspora here are to be understood figuratively and spiritually, still there is no doubt that the migration of Christians from Jerusalem to these cities of Greece and Asia Minor contributed significantly to the establishment of strong Christian churches there by the beginning of the second century. Among church leaders we find Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna; Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons; and Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia.

Most significantly, Christians in Asia Minor suffered persecution for their faith. From the letter of Pliny the Younger, the governor of Bithynia, to the emperor Trajan, we learn that Christians were required to invoke the Roman gods, to offer wine and incense to a statue of Trajan and images of Roman gods, and to curse Christ. Doubtless, many Christians were forced to flee and migrate for safety, and those who were arrested were killed, among them Polycarp being the most famous.

The third destination is the western Mediterranean, including Italy, France, Spain, and North Africa. We do not know when and how the Christian movement arrived in the western end of the Mediterranean region, but there is little doubt that Christian migrants and merchants had a strong hand in establishing the churches there, certainly long before the arrival of Paul or any other apostle. The extent to which Peter had a role in the founding of the Roman church is not known, but according to tradition, he, together with Paul, was martyred there. However, from the fact that the first Roman Christians spoke *koine* Greek rather than Latin, it is clear that they were foreigners, hence, migrants, or members of a lower class. We know for certain that by the mid-50s, when Paul wrote his letter to the Roman Christians, there had been already groups of Christians among the large Jewish community estimated at fifty thousand. Furthermore, we also know that many of these Christians were migrants from Asia Minor from the fact that they celebrated Easter on the fourteenth of Nisan, even if it fell on a weekday, whereas others celebrated on the Sunday following the fourteenth of Nisan, a difference that would involve Pope Victor in an unfortunate dispute with the churches of Asia Minor in 189. We also know that the imperial capital attracted renowned Christian teachers from the East, such as Justin from Syria, Marcion from Pontus, and Valentinus from Alexandria. Lyons in southern Gaul also enticed Christian migrants, the most famous among whom was Irenaeus from Smyrna, later bishop of the city. In Roman North Africa, Carthage, a heavily multicultural city where one could hear indigenous African, Punic, Latin, and *koine* Greek languages spoken in the streets, was a powerful magnet for Christian migrants. Persecutions also were responsible for Christian migration: in Rome in 64 under Nero, in 95 under Domitian, in 250 under Decius, in 257 under Valerian, and in 284–305 under Diocletian; in Lyons in 177, when some fifty Christians lost their lives; in Carthage in 180, when a number of Christians, among them Perpetua and Felicitas, were killed. Christianity in the western Mediterranean also produced major church leaders and theologians: Clement of Rome; Hippolytus, also of Rome and the author of the *Apostolic Tradition*; Irenaeus of Lyons; Tertullian and Cyprian, both of Carthage; and of course, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and many others in later centuries, when the church enjoyed peace and prosperity.

The fourth destination of early Christian migration is Egypt, in particular Alexandria. As with the western Mediterranean, when and how Christians went to Alexandria is not known. But as the preeminent intellectual center and the most cosmopolitan city of the ancient world, and with a large Jewish contingent with their own political leadership and special rights granted by

the emperor, Alexandria was the destination of choice for Jewish Christian migrants. Already Acts (2:10) mentions Egypt as the country of origin of some among the crowd present on the day of Pentecost, and Apollos is identified as an Alexandrian Jew who had become a follower of the Way (Acts 18:24–25). At any rate, by the middle of the second century, Christians, who most probably had migrated from Jerusalem, succeeded in establishing the most famous theological school in antiquity, with a distinct method of biblical interpretation and with a star-studded faculty including Pantaenus, Clement, and Origen. By the same token, Alexandria also hosted the most powerful heresy, that is, Gnosticism, with famous teachers such as Basilides and Valentinus.

The fifth destination of early Christian migration is East Asia, and more precisely, India. Unfortunately, it remains shrouded in mystery, since there is no incontrovertible historical evidence of the presence of a Christian community in India until the fourth century when one bishop by the name of John attending the council of Nicea (325) signed the document on behalf of all the churches of Persia and of India. However, according to the oral tradition, the apostle Thomas (or Bartholomew) was the first missionary to go to India. According to the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, the apostle Thomas accepted the invitation of an Indian king named Gundaphor to build a palace in northern India. Instead of building the palace, however, Thomas gave money to the poor and converted Indians by his preaching and miracles. The angry king condemned him to death, and tradition locates the site of his burial at a shrine in the southeastern city of Mylapore. However, according to a number of oral traditions and folk songs of the Indian churches, Thomas is said to have landed in 52 in south India, along the Malabar Coast, and not in the north. His preaching and conversions angered the Brahmins, and when he refused to worship the goddess Kali, he was put to death. Whatever the historical validity of these diverse traditions about Thomas's mission to India, it is certain that Christian migration to India did take place rather early. These Christians were merchants, as trade between the Middle East and India was frequent and active, refugees from the Persian persecutions, and of course missionaries. These Indian Christians used Syriac in their liturgy and rice cakes and palm wine in their Eucharist. They adapted well to their surroundings so that eventually they became a separate caste, a sign that they were granted social and political standing by the Indian rulers.

3. The third major movement in early Christianity was the migration of the Germanic tribes (*gentes*), which not only threatened the security of the Roman Empire but also posed severe challenges to the rapidly growing church. From Tacitus's *Germania* and *Agricola* and Caesar's *Commentaries* we learn that various groups of tribes inhabited northern Germany, southern Sweden, Denmark, and the shores of the Baltic, and were greatly feared for their barbarity and bellicosity. The chief Germanic tribes include the Vandals, the Goths, the Alemani, the Angles, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Lombards. By the first century, these tribes came into contact with the Romans, and in succeeding centuries, they became an increasing menace



to the Roman Empire, both east and west. From the third through the sixth century, the most important migrations in European history took place as these tribes spread out in great migrations southward, southeastward, and westward.

Early in the fifth century, in the West, the Vandals began a migration that eventually took them farther south than any other Germanic tribe. In 406, they invaded Gaul and in 409, they crossed the Pyrenees into Spain. While in Spain, they fought against the Romans and the Visigoths (West Goths), another Germanic tribe. In 429, under the leadership of Gaiseric, the Vandals crossed over into Africa, and by 435, controlled most of the Roman province of North Africa, including Carthage. Even though they were Arian Christians, the Vandals did not spare Christianity in North Africa and destroyed many churches, Donatist and Catholic alike. In 442, the emperor Valentinian III (419–55) recognized Gaiseric (d. 477) as an independent ruler, and the Vandal migration ceased.

In the third century AD, another important Germanic tribe, namely, the Goths, who had settled in the region west of the Black Sea, split into two groups, the Ostrogoths (East Goths) and Visigoths (West Goths), the former settling in the Ukraine, the latter further west of them.<sup>15</sup> By the fourth century, the Visigoths were at the borders of the East Roman Empire. At the end of Constantine I's reign (d. 337), they had settled in Dacia as agriculturalists or served in the Roman army, and many had accepted (Arian) Christianity. About 364, a group of Visigoths ravaged Thrace, and again in 378 did the same. In 395, the Visigoth troops in Roman service elected Alaric as their king, and under his leadership, they attacked Italy and ransacked in Rome in 410. Under Alaric's successor, Ataulf, they went into southern Gaul and northern Spain, and under Euric (466–84) completed the conquest of Spain. Toledo became the new capital of the Visigoths, and their history henceforth became essentially that of Spain. In *ca.* 587–89, Reccared (d. 601), one of the Visigoth kings, converted to Catholic Christianity from Arianism, thus facilitating the fusion of the Visigothic and the Hispano-Roman populations.

The Ostrogoths, on the other hand, were made subject to the Huns until Attila's death (453) when they migrated to Pannonia (roughly modern Hungary) as allies of the Byzantine Empire. In 471, they chose Theodoric as king, who was commissioned by the Byzantine emperor Zeno to take Italy away from Odoacer. In 488, the Ostrogoths entered Italy, defeated Odoacer, and established the Ostrogothic kingdom with the capital at Ravenna. In 535, Byzantine destroyed the Ostrogothic kingdom, and subsequently the Ostrogoths disappeared as a national identity.

Another migration that also had a significant impact on early Christianity is that of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. The Angles, who seem to have come from what is now Schleswig, migrated to England in the fifth century, and founded the kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. Their continental neighbors, the Saxons, also came to England in the late fifth century and laid the foundations for the later kingdoms of Sussex, Wessex, and Essex.

By the middle of the fifth century, there was a flood of immigrants pouring into the western Roman lands. The Vandals who crossed into North Africa were said to number more than one hundred and fifty thousand, while the number of “barbarian” settlers in Gaul was said to reach one hundred thousand. While it is true, as Peter Brown has shown, that “it is profoundly misleading to speak of the history of Western Europe in the fifth century as ‘the Age of the Barbarian Invasions,’”<sup>16</sup> still there is no doubt that the migrations of these tribes posed great challenges as well as enormous opportunities for the early church.

4. Another migration, which had an enormous and permanent impact on the shape of Christianity, was occasioned by Constantine’s transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire from Rome to Byzantium and the subsequent establishment of the imperial court at Constantinople (the “New Rome”). As a result, there were not only momentous geopolitical changes but also a shift of the Christian center of gravity. Gradually there emerged a new and different type of Christianity, commonly known as “Orthodox Christianity,” both within the “Byzantine Commonwealth,” which was part of the Holy Roman Empire, and outside the Byzantine/Roman sphere of influence, each church developing its own liturgy, theology, monasticism, spirituality, and organization. The latter churches include the Coptic Church, the Jacobite Church, the Church of the East (the Nestorian or Assyrian Church), the Ethiopian Church, and the Armenian Church. Due largely to migrations and missions, Christians of these churches were scattered in far-flung geographical areas comprising Adiabene, Armenia, Georgia, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, South Arabia, Central Asia, India, and China.<sup>17</sup> Out of these churches there emerged a “Syriac Christianity” comprising the Syrian Orthodox Church (the Jacobite Church), the Church of the East (the Nestorian or Assyrian Church), and the Maronite Church of Lebanon. Again, thanks to migration, these churches are no longer confined to the Middle East but have sizeable diaspora communities in Western Europe, the Caucasian states, North and South America, and Australasia.<sup>18</sup> However, of those Orthodox non-Byzantine churches that were located primarily in the Middle East after the Islamic conquests in the eighth and ninth centuries, most managed to survive under the *dhimma* law, and in the process have developed into a new form of Christianity, namely, Arab/Islamicized Christianity, with its own theological literature in Arabic, forms of monastic life, and spirituality.<sup>19</sup>

While the early expansion of the Oriental Orthodox (non-Chalcedonian) churches is geographically wider and ethnically more varied than that of the Byzantine Orthodox Church, the latter’s overall influence within the “Byzantine Commonwealth” under the jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople is by far greater, deeper, and more extensive.<sup>20</sup> This comes as no surprise as the Byzantine Orthodox Church enjoyed imperial patronage and as a result, experienced unprecedented expansion, especially toward Greece, the Balkan countries (especially Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria), and Russia. Separated from Latin Christianity, especially after 1054, the Great Church developed its own distinctive ways of being

Christian, monasticism (Mount Athos, "the workshop of virtue"), theology (hesychasm and Gregory of Palamas), liturgy (Liturgy of Saint Chrysostom), art (iconography), and architecture (the Hagia Sophia).

However, after the Islamic victory over the Byzantine Empire in the eighth century, like its non-Byzantine sister churches, the Byzantine Church suffered grievously under the Ottoman Muslim rule. The fateful year of 1453, when Constantinople, "God-protected city," was sacked by Mehmed II's Turkish army, spelled the end of the glorious history of the Great Church and the beginning of its long and still-ongoing "captivity." Christianity in Constantinople/Istanbul is but an empty shadow of its former self, drastically reduced in number and influence. With the irreversible decline of "Second Rome," the Muscovite patriarchate arrogated the title of "Third Rome," whereas the churches in the Balkan gradually claimed independence from Constantinople, gained autocephaly, and established their own national patriarchates.

Once again, migration, both forced and voluntary, played a huge and determinative role in shaping the future of the Orthodox Church. The recent history of two Orthodox Churches illustrates the huge impact of migration on their formation. Claiming the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus as its founders, the Armenian Church has undergone extensive migrations and, as a result, in addition to the Catholicosate of Holy Mother See at Ejmiacin in the Republic of Armenia, the church has in the diaspora the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia in Antelias, Lebanon, and two patriarchates (Constantinople and Jerusalem). Domination of Armenia by the Ottoman and Russian Empires caused waves of migration and deportation, culminating in the genocide of 1915–23, in which 1.5 million Armenians were killed by the Ottoman Turks. The genocide, as well as World War II, caused a global diaspora of the Armenian Church, and today Armenian Christians are found not only in the Middle East but also in Europe, the United States, Canada, South America, and Australia.<sup>21</sup>

Another Orthodox Church that has been deeply affected by migration is the Russian Church, and perhaps no church has been more beset with problems as the Russian Orthodox Church in the diaspora. The Russian revolution of 1917 not only ended the Russian Empire but also fragmented the Russian church in the aftermath of the establishment of national Orthodox churches in Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. More important, with more than a million Russians dispersed in different parts of the world, and with the issue of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox communities outside the Soviet Union, extremely complex issues regarding whether these communities with their episcopal leaders, especially in Europe and the United States, should owe obedience to the patriarchate of Moscow or to the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, admitted no simple solutions, not only because of conflicting canonical ordinances but also, and perhaps especially, because of the antireligious policies of the Communist regime of the Soviet Union. However this diaspora is evaluated from the ecclesiastical point of view, there is no doubt that it has opened up immense possibilities

for the Russian Orthodox Church as its members came into contact with the West and the Western churches, both Catholic and Protestant, benefitting from and contributing to a much richer Christianity and Western culture.<sup>22</sup>

5. Another mass migration, which radically altered the map of Christendom, coincided with the so-called discovery of the New World during the “Age of Discovery” under the royal patronage of Spain and Portugal. From the end of the fifteenth century the two Iberian countries competed with each other in discovering and occupying new lands outside Europe from which various goods would be brought back home. Thanks to these maritime expeditions, South America was brought under the dominion of Spain (except Brazil, which came under Portugal) and Asia under that of Portugal (except the Philippines, which belonged to the Spanish crown). Though the Iberian conquests were motivated primarily by commercial interests and colonization, they were deeply intertwined with Christian missions. By means of what is known as “royal patronage” (Portuguese: *padroado real*; Spanish: *patronado real*), various popes, especially Alexander VI (pope, 1492–1503), granted the Iberian countries, first Portugal, then Spain, the right to possess the lands they discovered—lands lying a hundred leagues (later changed to 370 leagues) west of the Cape Verde Islands would belong to Spain, and lands lying east of that demarcation line would belong to Portugal. In return, the two countries would financially support church missionary activities. Once again, it was migration—the movement of massive numbers of religious missionaries and secular Europeans to Latin America and Asia—that built up a new form of Christianity that, though at first heavily marked by European Christian traditions, eventually developed distinctive ways of being Christian that reflect the cultures and religious traditions of its own indigenous peoples.

6. From about 1650 to World War I (1914–18) migration played an increasingly vital role in modernization and industrialization in world economy.<sup>23</sup> As the authors of *The Age of Migration* have noted: “The movement of people was one of the great forces of change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.”<sup>24</sup> Warfare, conquest, the emergence of empires and nation-states, and Europe’s search for new wealth produced enormous migrations, both voluntary and forced. By the nineteenth century other European powers joined the commercial and colonizing projects started by Portugal and Spain: France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Holland vied with one another in the “scramble for Africa,” with most African countries, except Liberia and Ethiopia, falling under the domination of Europe. Almost all Asian countries, too, were colonized. Between 1800 and 1915 an estimated 50 to 60 million Europeans moved to overseas destinations, and by 1915, an estimated 15 percent of Europeans lived outside Europe. Again, it is the massive migrations of Europeans to Africa and Asia that, together with a large number of missionaries, especially Protestant, expanded Christianity in ways hitherto unimaginable and produced new forms of Christianity that eventually bear little resemblance to the European churches.

Historians of migration have frequently noted how colonial expansion and the attendant international migrations have produced, largely through

chattel slavery and indentured labor, much of the capital that was to unleash the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unfortunately little, if any, attention has been given to the role migrants have played in transforming the churches of the countries of destination. Once they have settled down permanently, often with their families reunited with them, they formed ethnic communities, and more often than not, also their own Christian communities. They worshiped according to their own liturgical traditions, in their own languages, under the leadership of their own clergy, and in their own churches. This is especially the case with African Protestant slaves; Italian, Irish, and Polish Catholics; and German Lutherans in the United States. These immigrant Christians and many other groups have not only preserved their distinctive forms of Christianity in their new country but have also made immense contributions to American Christianity, which in fact is essentially a medley of these ethnic Christianities.<sup>25</sup>

7. World War II, more than any other armed conflict, caused worldwide large-scale migrations. Not to mention the huge number of prisoners transported to far-flung prisons and six million Jews deported to concentration camps, the Nazi regime forcibly recruited people of the occupied countries to replace the 11 million German workers conscripted for military service. Since 1945 Europe experienced massive migrations, as the authors of *The Age of Migration* have noted: "The upsurge in migratory movements in the post-1945 period and particularly since the mid-1980s, indicates that large-scale immigration has become an intrinsic part of European societies."<sup>26</sup>

Massive migrations were spawned by events such as decolonization, which was accompanied by the return of former colonists to their countries of origin and the migration of colonial subjects to colonizing countries; economic growth in Western Europe and its labor demand that was met by the use of workers from poorer countries as "guest workers"; the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, which precipitated the movement of people from the Eastern to the Western bloc; the formation of the European Union in 1993; the creation of the borderless Schengen Area in 1995; the expansion of the European Union in 2004 and 2007; the global economic crisis since 2008, and so on.

While the huge economic, political, and cultural impact of these intra-European migrations has been widely noted, their transformation of the shape of Western Christianity has been little studied, and yet it is beyond doubt that Christianity in several countries has been significantly affected by Europe's internal migrations. For instance, between May 2004 and April 2008 one million Poles emigrated, principally to the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Germany, and the presence of these Polish Catholics has rescued the rapidly declining local churches but has also changed the face of Catholic and Protestant Christianity in these host countries. On May 1, 2004, ten new states were admitted to the European Union (known as EU10), all of which have a preponderantly Orthodox Christianity, and again the migration of these Orthodox Christians is bound to exert an extensive impact on the Christian churches of the countries of both origin and destination.

After World War II, there was a slowdown in migration to the United States due to its anti-immigration policies. However, the trend was reversed in 1965 when the ethnic quota system was abolished (the Immigration and Nationality Act), enabling the dramatic influx of Asians who emigrated, mostly due to political instability and armed conflicts in their home countries (the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Pakistanis, and Indians). However, restrictive immigration policies produced irregular migration, especially in the United States, where in the 1970s there were more than ten million undocumented migrants, mostly from Mexico.

In Asia, while European countries were closing their doors to migrants, countries that were economically advanced or oil-rich but with small or declining demography (Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Emirates) imported the workforce from poorer Asian countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia, China, India, and Vietnam. The African continent was in full transformation. The wars of anticolonial liberation, the establishment of dictatorial regimes, the exploitation of mineral riches, the apartheid system in South Africa, and regional, interregional, and tribal conflicts produced a steady stream of refugees and migrants. Finally, in the Middle East, the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, and Syria caused massive migrations. In particular, the Iraq War wrought havoc upon the most ancient centers of Christianity, reducing to rubbles Middle Eastern Christianity.

This historical overview has established beyond doubt, I hope, that migrations of Christians throughout their history—internal and international, free and forced, temporary and permanent, legal and undocumented—have produced what is called “World Christianity.” Consequently a theological study of World Christianity must place migration front and center as its hermeneutical lens so that the church may appear not only as a migrant institution *de facto* but also *de jure*. The fifth mark of the church, namely, “migrantness”—in addition to unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity—is another way of expressing its eschatological nature.

### **The Church as Migrant: An Eschatological Ecclesiology**

In recent decades, as the Constantinian era of the church, during which it settled down comfortably in the world and was intimately intertwined with secular power, has come to an end, there has been a keen awareness of the fact that the church is a pilgrim on the march toward the *Eschaton*. For instance, in Roman Catholic ecclesiology, the Second Vatican Council’s dogmatic constitution on the church *Lumen Gentium* devotes a whole chapter entitled “On the Eschatological Nature of the Pilgrim Church and Its Union with the Church in Heaven” (Chapter VII). In what follows it will be argued that migrations not only have helped establish Christianity as “World Christianity” (the “catholicity” of the church) but also have kept alive the sense of its eschatological nature (the church as “pilgrim”).

It is highly significant that the early Christians, who believed that they were no longer “sojourners and strangers” but “fellow citizens” with Jews in God’s household, paradoxically greeted one another as *paroikoi*, foreigners and migrants. Clearly, for them migration is an essential part of the Christian’s permanent self-consciousness and theological—and not merely sociological—identity. No doubt this self-description has an eschatological and spiritual overtone insofar as Christians consider themselves to be the pilgrim people of God on the march toward the kingdom of God. At the same time, their social and political status as migrants and strangers, without a permanent residence and citizenship, as well as the persecutions they suffered, lent depth and poignancy to their theological reflections on their social condition.

Among early Christian writings there is arguably no more eloquent description of Christians as migrants than the anonymous letter known as the *Letter to Diognetus*. Written in the second or third century by an unknown Christian to an equally unknown inquirer, it seeks to answer to three questions concerning: “what God they [Christians] believe in and how they worship him”; “the source of their loving affection that they have for each other”; and “why this new race or way of life has appeared on earth now and not earlier.”<sup>27</sup> In the course of answering these three queries, the author contrasts, in a string of striking antitheses, the Christians with their contemporaries. Given the beauty of the text, a lengthy quotation may be permitted:

For Christians cannot be distinguished from the rest of the human race by country or language or customs. They do not live in cities of their own; they do not use a peculiar form of speech; they do not follow an eccentric manner of life. This doctrine of theirs has not been discovered by the ingenuity or deep thought of inquisitive men, nor do they put forward a merely human teaching, as some people do. Yet, although they live in Greek and barbarian cities alike, as each man’s lot has been cast, and follow the customs of the country in clothing and food and other matters of daily living, at the same time they give proof of the remarkable and admittedly extraordinary constitution of their own commonwealth. They live in their own countries, but only as aliens [*paroikoi*]. They have a share in everything as citizens [*politai*], and endure everything as foreigners [*xenoi*]. Every foreign land is their fatherland, and yet for them every fatherland is a foreign land. They marry, like everyone else, and they beget children, but they do not cast out their offspring. They share their board with each other, but not their marriage bed. It is true that they are in the flesh, but they do not live according to the flesh. They busy themselves on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven. They obey the established laws, but in their own lives they go far beyond what the laws require. They love all men, but by all men are persecuted. They are unknown, and still they are condemned; they are put to death, and yet they are brought to life. They are poor, and yet they many rich; they are completely destitute, and yet they enjoy complete abundance. They are dishonored, and in their very dishonor are glorified; they are defamed, and are vindicated. They are reviled, and yet

they bless; when they are affronted, they still pay due respect. When they do good, they are punished as evildoers; undergoing punishment, they rejoice because they are brought to life. They are treated by the Jews as foreigners [*allopbuloi*], and are hunted down by the Greeks; and all the time those who hate them find it impossible to justify their enmity. To put it simply: What the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world. The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body, and Christians are scattered through all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but does not belong to the body, and Christians dwell in the world, but do not belong to the world . . . The soul, which is immortal, is housed in a mortal dwelling; while Christians are settled among corruptible things, to wait for the incorruptibility that will be theirs in heaven.<sup>28</sup>

Needless to say, the portrait of the Christians as drawn in this celebrated letter should not be taken as a historically accurate description of the behavior of each and every early Christian. Surely, not all early Christians conducted themselves in the praiseworthy manner as the letter claims. Rather than as factual description, the letter should be seen as presenting the ideal behavior of Christians. On the other hand, it should not be dismissed out of hand as a piece of self-serving propaganda, either. Historical evidence, as reported earlier, tends to support many if not all of the letter's statements about early Christians. Whatever the historical validity of its claims about early Christianity and the value of its apologetics for the superiority of Christianity over pagan religions and Judaism, the letter's idealistic portraiture of the Christian can certainly be viewed as an exceptionally rich and profound theology of migration. An extended commentary on this theology is not feasible here; suffice it to highlight its main points as significant contributions to a contemporary theology of the Christian as a migrant.

1. A Christian qua Christian does not possess a separate country, language, or customs. As Christians, therefore, migrants may adopt any of these things as their own, wherever they live. Moreover, though strangers, they must do their best to contribute to the welfare of their new homeland.
2. As best as they try to be inculturated into the new society and as much as "every foreign land is their fatherland," as Christians, migrants will and must remain to a certain extent strangers to their adopted country, of course not in language and customs, which they share with others, but in their religious worldview and moral behavior: "They live in their own countries, but only as aliens. They have a share in everything as citizens, but endure everything as foreigners." The theology of migration must therefore be not only transcultural, contextual, and cross-cultural but also countercultural by which the migrants can both incorporate and critique the surrounding cultures.
3. Because of their difference from the surrounding world, migrants, and especially Christian migrants, will inevitably experience discrimination and even persecution. They will be treated at times as "foreigners and enemies" by those to whom their beliefs and behaviors are incomprehensible



and perhaps even an indirect reproach: "When they do good, they are punished as evildoers."

4. Even so, Christian migrants should not retaliate with violence against those who oppress them. Rather, "they are poor, and yet they make many rich . . . they are reviled, and yet they bless; when they affronted, they still pay due respect." Of course, this willingness to do good in spite of injustice is not a passive abdication of one's responsibilities for justice and fairness; rather, nonviolence and doing good are seen as the most effective ways to overcome hatred and injustice.
5. The motivation for such behavior of returning good for evil is hope, which is the virtue par excellence of migrants. This hope is not for material remuneration but for "the incorruptibility that will be theirs in heaven." Eschatology is then an intrinsic part of any theology of migration that sees it not only as a personal and societal curse—which it certainly is—but also as an urgent call for self-transcendence and for a collective action to overcome structural evils.
6. Finally, migration is a permanent feature of the church, and not just a historical phenomenon of the early church or of any other period of church history. Like unity, catholicity, holiness, and apostolicity, "migrantness" is a note of the true church, because only a church that is conscious of being an institutional migrant and caring for all the migrants of the world can truly practice faith, hope, and love.

The theology of migration as proposed by the *Letter to Diognetus* is based, I suggest, on the theology of the migrant's life as *imitatio Christi*. After all, Jesus is the paradigmatic migrant who dwelt between the borders of two worlds. Through the incarnation, ontologically, he stood between divinity and humanity and embraced both. Already as a child, he experienced migration to Egypt. As an adult, politically, he lived between colony and empire; culturally, between Roman and barbarian; linguistically, between Aramaic and Greek; religiously, between the Chosen People and the *goim*. During his ministry, he was itinerant and homeless, having nowhere to lay his head, unlike foxes that have holes and birds that have nests (Lk 9:58). As a migrant, Jesus was a "marginal Jew," to use the title of John Meier's multivolume work on the historical Jesus. His migration carried him over all kinds of borders, both geographical and conventional: Palestine and the pagan territories, Jews and non-Jews, men and women, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, the powerful and the weak, the healthy and the sick, the clean and the unclean, the righteous and the sinners. Because his multiple border-crossings were a threat to those who occupied the economic, political, and religious centers of power, he was hung upon the cross, between heaven and earth, between the two cosmic borders, a migrant until the end.<sup>29</sup> That is why he could truly say that whoever welcomes a migrant/stranger, welcomes him: "I was a stranger [*xenos*] and you welcomed me."

To grasp both what the early church understands by migration and the ethical behavior it urges toward the migrant, it is useful to remember that *migration* and *migrant* are modern categories whose sociological and political connotations cannot anachronistically be retrojected to the situation of late antiquity, even though, as shown earlier, the classification of migration resulting from contemporary studies proves helpful in highlighting the commonalities between migration in our times and that of the patristic age. However, the terms used by the Fathers to describe the condition of Christians and their meanings, different from those of today, may enlarge our contemporary understanding of migration and migrants.<sup>30</sup>

In describing the Christian migrant, early Christian writers had at their disposal the three biblical terms of “stranger” (or alien), “foreigner,” and “sojourner.” Though these terms are often used interchangeably in English translations of the Bible, they denote three distinct categories of people in biblical times. A “stranger” (Hebrew *zār*, Greek *xenos*, Latin *hospes*) is one who does not belong to the house or community or nation in which he or she lives and is often considered an enemy (Isa. 1:7; Jer. 5:19; 51:51; Ezek. 7:21; 28:7, 10; Obad. 11). A “foreigner” (Hebrew *nokri*, Greek *allotrios*, Latin *alienus*) is one of another race, and because non-Jews were regarded as idolatrous, the term also designates someone worshiping idols. Hence, Jews were forbidden to marry a foreigner (Deut. 7:1–6). A “sojourner” (Hebrew *gēr*, Greek *paroikos*, Latin *peregrinus*) is someone whose permanent residence is in another nation, in contrast to the foreigner whose stay is only temporary. Sojourners were protected by the Law. Jews must not oppress them (Exod. 22:21); they must even love them (Deut. 10:19). Sojourners are grouped with orphans and widows as defenseless people whom God protects, and God will judge their oppressors (Jer. 7:6; 22:7, 29; Zech. 7:10; Mal. 3:5). However, sojourners must observe some of provisions of the Law, such as observance of the Sabbath and the Day of Atonement (Exod. 20:10; Lev. 16:29) and abstention from eating blood (Lev. 17:10, 13), immorality (Lev. 18:26), idolatry (Lev. 20:2), and blasphemy (Lev. 24:16). The Good News of Jesus is that those who were strangers (*apēllotriōmenoi*) (Eph. 2:12) from Israel, and so were “strangers and sojourners” (*xenoi kai paroikoi*). (Eph. 2:19) have been made “fellow citizens [*sumpolitai*] with the saints and of the household of God [*oikeioi tou theou*]” (Eph. 2:19).

It is most interesting that early Christian writers, while convinced that Christians were no longer “strangers and sojourners” but “fellow citizens” with regard to Israel and constituting the household of God, considered themselves as *paroikoi*—sojourners, displaced people without a home and a nation, migrants—by far the early Christians’ favorite term to describe themselves. This self-consciousness as foreigners, strangers, and sojourners is found in Clement of Rome’s letter to the Christians in Corinth (*ca.* 96). It was sent from “the church of God which sojourns [*paroikousa*] in Rome” to “the church of God which sojourners [*paroikousei*] in Corinth.” Polycarp, the bishop-martyr of Smyrna (d. 155), also addressed his letter to the Christians in Philippi: “To the church of God which resides as a stranger

[*paroikousei*] at Philippi.” Similarly, the *Martyrium Polycarpi* was sent “from the church of God which resides as a stranger [*paroikousa*] at Smyrna to the church of God residing as a stranger [*paroikousei*] at Philomelium and to all the communities of the holy and catholic church residing in any place [*paroikiais*].”

While this self-awareness as sojourners and foreigners may be given an eschatological and spiritual interpretation, it was quite likely exacerbated by the fact that Christians in these areas—Rome, Corinth, and Asia Minor—were mostly migrants, without full civic rights, and were subject to discrimination and persecution.

### **A Christian Ethics of Welcoming the Stranger and Hospitality**

Being themselves sojourners and migrants, how should Christians treat other migrants and sojourners? My focus is not on the early Christians’ view of wealth and poverty and the duty of almsgiving nor on how they actually practiced charity in general.<sup>31</sup> Rather I will concentrate on what the early Christians taught about the duty of welcoming the stranger—the functional equivalent of today’s migrant—and specifically the virtue of hospitality. It is interesting to note that the Latin *hostis* (enemy) originally meant stranger (*hospes*) and that the dividing line between stranger and enemy was very thin, especially in closely knit communities, in which people were defined primarily by kinship through blood or marriage. In such communities, the outsider/stranger was often perceived as a threat, and what the stranger most urgently needed was welcome, material assistance, and acceptance as a full member of the community. Hence, the virtue most highly recommended to the community was *philoxenia*, literally, love of strangers or hospitality.

Needless to say, the early Christians were well schooled in the duty of hospitality, a practice that already figures prominently in the Old Testament, perhaps due to Israel’s nomadic existence and reflecting the Bedouin traditions. Hospitality is however more than a social custom. Rather, as the example of Abraham demonstrates, it is also an expression of gratitude and faithfulness to God, who is Israel’s generous host. Abraham’s welcome toward the three strangers turned out to be hospitality extended to Yahweh himself (Gen. 18:1–8). Indeed, throughout the Old Testament God is depicted as entertaining Israel with abundant and endless banquets and as deeply concerned for the stranger, as the divine provision of cities of refuge (Num. 35:9–35; Josh. 20:1–9) and care for the sojourner (Exod. 22:21; Lev. 19:10; Deut. 10:19) make abundantly clear. Consequently, failure to provide for the stranger’s physical needs is a serious offense, equivalent to breaching the covenant with God, and brings about God’s punishment (Deut. 23:3–4). Furthermore, the duties of the host also extend to securing the safety and welfare of the guests, as the stories of Lot (Gen. 19:8) and the old man of Gibeah (Judg. 19:24–25) vividly illustrate.

For the early Christians, however, the most radical motive for, and example of, hospitality was Jesus’s behavior and his teaching. Jesus often used

images of food and drink and banquet to illustrate the kingdom of God he proclaimed. During his ministry he fed hungry people (Jn 6) and as a “friend of tax collectors and sinners” (Mt 11:18), he shared table fellowship with them. He said that people would “inherit the kingdom” depending on whether they have fed the hungry, slaked the thirsty, clothed the naked, visited the sick and the imprisoned, and welcomed strangers: “I was a stranger and you welcomed me” (*xenos ēmēn kai suvēgagete*) (Mt 25:35). Given the importance of hospitality to strangers in Jesus’s life and teaching, it is not surprising that his followers presented it as foundational to understanding the mission of the church. Indeed, Acts, which narrates the church’s earliest missionary activities, may be read as a collection of guest and host stories played out among itinerant preachers such as Paul and the local communities. This reciprocal welcoming, preeminently at meals, was to become one of the main attractions to Christianity, and lack of it would be a powerful countersign to the nature of the church as *koinōnia*, as is made eloquently clear by Paul’s reproaches to the Corinthian Christians for their abuses of the Lord’s Supper in excluding and dishonoring the poor (1 Cor. 11:17–34). 1 Peter, which is addressed to the “chosen sojourners of the Dispersion” (*ekklektois parepidēmois diasporas*), strongly urges Christians “to be hospitable to one another without complaining” (*philoxenoi eis allēlous aneu goggusmou*) since they themselves were all resident aliens and transient strangers. Hebrews (3:2) adds another motive for the practice of hospitality, with implicit reference to Abraham: “Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers [*philoxenia*], for by doing that some have entertained angels without knowing it.” In 3 John, the elder commends Gaius for practicing hospitality, treating as friends those who were strangers (*xenous*), condemns Diotrephes for failing to do so, and insists that Christians should support (*hupolambanein*) itinerant missionaries.<sup>32</sup>

Writers of the patristic era continue to insist on the practice of welcoming strangers, most of whom were migrants and missionaries. Hospitality for them was all the more necessary because inns were scarce, filthy, dangerous, and most often were nothing more than brothels.<sup>33</sup> Clement of Rome, writing in 96 to Corinthian Christians involved in a power struggle, recommended hospitality as a way to resolve the ecclesiastical crisis. He singled out the example of Abraham and Rahab as models of hospitality to the stranger for which the former was granted a son in his old age and the latter was saved from death.<sup>34</sup> The second-century document *The Didache* urges Christians to welcome any orthodox teacher of the faith who came their way as well as everyone who came to them in the name of the Lord. Travelers must also be helped in any way possible, but they should not stay more than three days.<sup>35</sup> Tertullian (*ca.* 160–*ca.* 225), in his impassioned plea for the toleration of Christianity, pointed to the Christians’ loving and generous care of the poor and the stranger:

Each man deposits a small amount on a certain day of the month or whenever he wishes, and only on condition that he is willing and able to do so. No one

is forced; each makes his contribution voluntarily. These are, so to speak, the deposits of piety. The money therefrom is spent not for banquets or drinking parities or good-for-nothing eating houses, but for the support and burial of the poor, for children who are without parents and means of subsistence, for aged men who are confined to the house; likewise, for shipwrecked sailors, and for any in the mines, on islands or in prisons. Provided only it be for the sake of fellowship with God, they become entitled to loving and protective care for their confession. The practice of such a special love brands us in the eyes of some. "See," they say, "how they love one another"; (for they hate one another), and "how ready they die for each other"; (for they themselves would be more ready to kill each other).<sup>36</sup>

Cyprian (*ca.* 200–58), Tertullian's fellow countryman and bishop of Carthage, invoked Jesus's eschatological discourse in which he identified himself with the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the naked, the sick, and the imprisoned, and the bishop urged the Christians under his care to practice charity toward them.<sup>37</sup> In general, the Fathers of the Church reiterated Christ's identification with the strangers and those who suffer and require almsgiving as a form of sharing the earthly goods. Thus, Cyprian, after raising ransom money for the release of the Numidian Christians from their barbarian captors, said: "The captivity of our brethren must be reckoned as our captivity, and the grief of those who are endangered is to be thought of as our grief... Christ is to be contemplated in our captive brethren."<sup>38</sup> Gregory of Nyssa reminded the rich that they must recognize Christ in the poor: "Do not despise these people in their abjection; do not think of them as of no account. Reflect what they are and you will understand their dignity; they have often taken upon themselves the person of our Savior."<sup>39</sup> John Chrysostom, famous for his fulminations against the rich and their greed, said: "Do you really wish to pay homage to Christ's body? Then do not neglect him when he is naked. At the same time that you honor him here with hangings made of silk, do not ignore him outside when he perishes from cold and nakedness."<sup>40</sup> For Augustine, there is a hidden identity between Christ and the suffering Christians: "For consider, brethren, the love of our head. He is in heaven, yet he suffers here, as long as his church suffers here. Here Christ is hungry, here he is thirsty, is naked, is a stranger, is sick, is in prison. For whatever his body suffers here, he has said that he himself suffers."<sup>41</sup>

Matching deeds to words, the early church spent much of its material possessions to care for the strangers and the poor by means of charitable institutions. This social welfare work was supported by the individual community with the local bishop bearing responsibility for it. The direct administration was entrusted to a deacon, who had deaconesses and widows at his disposition for special services. Thus, in Caesarea of Cappadocia, Bishop Basil had buildings constructed at the edge of the city to receive travelers and sick persons, especially lepers, and staffed them with qualified personnel. In Antioch, the Christian community possessed a rather large hospital and a special inn for strangers. The high esteem for hospitality by monasticism

is testified by the presence of a guest house (*xenodochion*) in every cenobitic community. Works of social welfare were also sponsored by bishops such as Ambrose of Milan, Paulinus of Nola, Martin of Tours, Nicetius of Lyons, and Sidonius Apollinarius of Clermont. In Rome, under the vigilant care of popes such as Leo the Great, Gelasius, Symmachus, who founded three homes for the poor, and above all Gregory the Great, the practice of charity was extensive. For example, in 251, the Roman Church took care of 1,500 widows, orphans, and destitute persons.

The early church's concern for the migrants was however not limited to providing material assistance. True to her spiritual mission, it devoted much of its energies and resources to the evangelization of the migrants, especially the various Germanic tribes. In this respect, care for the migrants went hand in hand with mission. Around 340, Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia, ordained Ulfilas (*ca.* 311–83) to the episcopacy to serve the Christians in the lands of the Goths. Through Ulfilas, who translated the Bible into the Gothic language (except the Books of Kings so as not to encourage the Goths' bellicosity), the Arian form of Christianity was spread to the Germanic tribes.<sup>42</sup> Within decades the Goths converted en masse to Christianity, and by 400 the Vandals, the Burgundians, the Lombards, and others also embraced the Christian faith.<sup>43</sup>

Lest we form an idealistic picture of the early church's teaching on the migrant and the stranger and its social welfare for them, it is necessary to note, albeit only briefly, that its dealing with one group of migrants, namely, the Jews, was deplorable. As noted earlier, the migration of Christians from Jerusalem to other parts of the Roman and Persian empires coincided largely with the Diaspora after AD 70, and Jewish and Christian migrants tended to settle in the same cities. In this coexistence the relationship between early Christians and Jews was highly complex and diverse, but this is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of it. Suffice it to note that though the relationship between the two religious groups was marked by mutual hostility, it was by no means universally the same in the Roman and the Persian empires where Christians and Jews were often treated differently by the authorities. On the other hand, groups of Christians and Jews continued to have friendly relations with one another, with Christians, including the clergy, participating in Jewish festivals and attending synagogue services, until late fourth century. Nevertheless, from the end of the first century, there began among Christians an anti-Jewish attitude, which was later embodied in the *Adversus Judaeos* tradition. Virulent forms of this tradition are found, for example, in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, Melito of Sardis's *On the Passover*, and John Chrysostom's sermons at Antioch. Such anti-Judaism was stimulated by a mixture of political, economic, and religious considerations, and one of its oft-repeated themes is that the Diaspora was a divine punishment for the Jews' rejection of Jesus as the Christ and that the Jews were condemned by God to eternal migration for their faithlessness (the myth of the "Wandering Jew").<sup>44</sup> To this extent it may be argued that the care for migrants that the early Christians fervently urged was intended primarily for fellow believers

and not for the members of other religions, especially Judaism, though of course assistance to people outside the Christian faith did certainly occur.

Studies have shown that in the twenty-first century economic and demographic disparities will continue to affect the mobility of labor and skills. Richer societies are experiencing rapid population aging, requiring the import of migrant working-age populations from low-income countries. International migration and internal mobility are one way of solving labor shortage in wealthy countries. While most migrants are able to improve their income, access to education, or personal security, as well as contributing to the economic development of their regions of origin, especially through remittances, many of them are also at risk of being exploited or experiencing discrimination. Their precarious condition will be improved through smart migration, integration, and nondiscrimination policies.

While all these measures should be promoted, it is also important to view migration from the theological perspective. For Christianity, and, it may be added, for all other religions, migration has played a decisive role in the expansion, formation, and indigenization of Christianity. Without migration, Christianity would not have become “World Christianity” as it is today. Furthermore, migration also keeps alive the communal sense of the essentially eschatological nature of the church. Finally, it affords the arena par excellence where one of the characteristic Christian virtues, namely, hospitality toward the stranger, can be practiced.

## Notes

1. For studies on the relations between Judaism and the nascent Jesus Movement, see a vast number of works: Heshel Shanks, ed., *Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism: A Parallel History of Their Origins and Early Development* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archeological Society, 1992); and Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).
2. This does not mean of course that the two “religions” have “parted ways” and ceased to interact with each other. See Becker and Reed. A brief but illuminating essay on this topic is Judith Lieu, “Self-Definition vis-à-vis the Jewish Matrix,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Origins to Constantine*, ed. Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young, 214–229 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
3. Amendment of the creed is not without precedents. For example, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, the anonymous fifth-century pseudo-Athanasian symbol *Quicumque* adds “*filioque*” (and the Son) after “from the Father.” The eleventh council of Toledo (675) does the same thing. With regard to the true church, Pope Pius XII in his encyclical *Mystici Corporis* (1943) writes: “If we would define and describe the true church of Jesus Christ—which is the holy, catholic, apostolic, Roman Church.” Surely, “migrant” is a far more universal and pervasive feature of the church of Christ than “Roman,” both dogmatically and empirically.

4. The focus of this essay is Christianity as a migrant institution. Of course, other religions have also been shaped by migration. On Judaism and Islam, see the volume *Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions* of this series, ed. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
5. In his *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1999), Jared Diamond gives an overview of human migration from the *homo australopithecus* and the *homo erectus* (seven million years ago) through the *homo sapiens* (one million years ago) to the last major migrations in ancient times, that is, when Polynesians sailed to Hawaii in AD 100 and when Polynesians sailed to New Zealand in AD 1000. Diamond shows that these global migrations have produced profound and irreversible changes for both the human species and the ecology.
6. Robin Cohen, ed., *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1. The quotation from Wallenstein is taken from his *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origin of European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 15. See also Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Culture, Society and the World, 1400 to the Present* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999).
7. For a survey of recent migration in the United States of America, Europe, Asia, Australia, and Africa, see Leonore Loeb Adler and Uwe P. Giellen, eds., *Migration: Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).
8. For helpful studies on migration in general, see Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, eds., *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2014); Thomas Faist, Margit Fauser, and Eveline Reisenauer, *Transnational Migration* (Madden, MA: Polity, 2013); Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory: Thinking across Disciplines* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind, eds., *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007); Paul Collier, *Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); David G. Gutiérrez and Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo, eds., *Nation and Migration: Past and Future* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and Joseph H. Carens, *The Ethics of Immigration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
9. For these categorizations, see Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, 5–6. For a helpful discussion of various terms related to migration such as “migrant,” “immigrant,” “emigrant,” “migratory workers,” “international workers,” “aliens,” “illegal immigrants,” “asylum seekers,” “skilled transients,” “multinational transferees,” “capital assisted migrants,” and “refugees,” see Adler and Giellen, *Migration*, 10–13.
10. Cohen, *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, 6.
11. Beside the older works on church history such as Kenneth Scott Latourette’s seven-volume *History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper, 1937–1945); and *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper, 1953), the most important contemporary work on the history of Christianity is the monumental nine-volume *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge:



- Cambridge University Press, 2006). Indispensable tools for the study of World Christianity are: Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross, eds., *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910–2010* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); and Patrick Johnstone, *The Future of the Global Church: History, Trends and Possibilities* (Downers Grove: IVP Books, 2011). Helpful general surveys of Christianity as a world religion include Douglas Jacobsen, *The World's Christians: Who They Are, Where They Are, and How They Got There* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Sebastian Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008); Noel Davies and Martin Conway, *World Christianity in the 20th Century* (London: SCM Press, 2008); Dyron B. Daugherty, *The Changing World of Christianity: The Global History of a Borderless Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010); Charles Farhadian, ed., *Introducing World Christianity* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).
12. Helpful works on the Diaspora during the Greco-Roman time include: Menahem Stern, "The Jewish Diaspora," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, ed. Shemuel Safrai and Menahem Stern, 117–183 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974–1976); Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, trans. A. Burkill, rev. and ed. Geza Vermes and Fergus Miller (Edinburgh: Clark, 1973–1987), 1–176; Tessa Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); and Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
  13. See Arnold Ages, *The Diaspora Dimension* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), 3–7.
  14. Histories of the early church are of course legion. However, studies on migration as a social phenomenon during the patristic era are scarce. The most useful single-volume histories of the early church include: Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church* (London: Penguin Books, 1967); *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); and Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003). Multivolume histories include: Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, rev. ed. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1937–1945); Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, eds., *History of the Church* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965–1981); Jean-Marie Mayeur, Charles et Luce Pietri, André Vauchez, and Marc Venard, *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Desclée, 1995). A helpful introduction to the various backgrounds of early Christianity is Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987). One work that is highly useful for understanding Christianity as a world movement, with emphasis on the Christian expansion into Asia, is Dale Irvin and Scott W. Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement: Volume I: Earliest Christianity to 1453* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001). For what follows, see this book, pp. 57–97. For a history of Asian Christianity, see Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia: Volume I: Beginnings to 1500* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998).
  15. See Walter A. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans. A.D. 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980);

- E. A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); Thomas S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).
16. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 104.
  17. On these churches, see David Bundy, "Early Asian and East African Christianities," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Constantine to c. 600*, ed. Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris, 118–148 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
  18. See Anthony O'Mahony, "Syriac Christianity in the Modern Middle East," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Michael Angold, 511–535 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
  19. On this Arab Christianity, see Françoise Micheau, "Eastern Christianities (Eleventh to Fourteenth Century): Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Angold, 373–403; and Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); and *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the "People of the Book" in the Language of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).
  20. For a historical overview of the "Byzantine Commonwealth," see Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971); Jonathan Shepard, "The Byzantine Commonwealth, 1000–1550," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Angold, 1–52.
  21. On Armenian Christianity and the diaspora, see S. Peter Cowe, "Church and Diaspora: The Case of the Armenians," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Angold, 430–456.
  22. On the Russian diaspora, see Sergei Heckel, "Diaspora Problems of the Russian Emigration," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*, ed. Angold, 519–537.
  23. For an excellent account of world migrations, see Castles, De Haas, and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 84–197. These pages survey migration before 1945, migration in Europe since 1945, migration in the Americas, migration in the Asia-Pacific region, and migration in Africa and the Middle East.
  24. *Ibid.*, 8 4.
  25. On immigrant Christianities in the United States, see Charles Hirschman, "The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant Groups in the United States," in *Rethinking Migration*, ed. Portes and DeWind, 391–418.
  26. Castles, de Haas, and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 1 23.
  27. For the English text of this letter, see C. Richardson, ed., *Early Christian Fathers* (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 213–222.
  28. *Ibid.*, 217–218.
  29. On Jesus as a border-crosser and migrant spirituality, see Peter C. Phan, *In Our Tongues: Perspectives from Asia on Mission and Inculturation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 13–50.
  30. For a presentation of patristic theology, see the four-volume *Patrology*, the first three authored by Johannes Quasten (Utrecht/Antwerp: Spectrum, 1950–1960) and the fourth edited by Angelo Di Berardino (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1991).

31. On this, see the following works: L. William Countryman, *The Rich Christian in the Church of the Early Empire: Contradictions and Accommodations* (Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1980); Justo L. González, *Faith & Wealth: A History of Early Christian Ideas on the Origin, Significance, and Use of Money* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990); Martin Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); Redmond Mullin, *The Wealth of Christians* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984). For primary sources, see Peter C. Phan, *Social Thought: Message of the Fathers of the Church* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984); and R. Sierra Bravo, *Doctrina social y economica de los padres de la Iglesia* (Madrid: COMPI, 1976).
32. See John Koenig, *New Testament Hospitality: Partnership with Strangers as Promise and Mission* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985).
33. See E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 67.
34. See Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, 48–49.
35. See *ibid.*, 176–177.
36. See Charles J. Dollen, James K. McGowan, and James J. Megivern, eds., *The Catholic Tradition: Social Thought*, vol. 1 (Wilmington, NC: McGrath Publishing Co., 1979), 85–86.
37. For a complete English text of Cyprian's *De opere et eleemosynis* (On works and almsgiving), see *ibid.*, 97–114. For key excerpts of it, see Phan, *Social Thought*, 86–91.
38. Phan, *Social Thought*, 39.
39. *Ibid.*, 132.
40. *Ibid.*, 39.
41. *Ibid.*
42. See George W. S. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels: A Study of Its Style and Textual History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926) and the 1939 edition; and E. A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966).
43. See Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (New York: Holt and Co., 1998); and Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, ed., *Christianity and Paganism: The Conversion of Western Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).
44. The bibliography on Judaism and early Christianity is vast. The following deserve mentioning: A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae Until the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935); Jacob Neusner, *Judaism and Christianity in the Age of Constantine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Peter Richardson, ed., *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity 2: Separation and Polemic* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1986); James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study of the Origins of Antisemitism* (New York: Athenaeum, 1974); H. Schrenberg, *Die christliche Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1–11Jh)* (Frankfurt and Berne: Lang, 1982); Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in Late Fourth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

## Chapter 2

# **“Singing the Song of the Lord on Foreign Soil”: What the Early Centuries Tell Us about the Migrant Factor in the Making of Global Christianity**

*Jehu J. Hanciles*

Migration is as old as humanity and has been a prominent factor in the history of human progress.<sup>1</sup> Migrant movements have also played a vital role in the cross-cultural spread of religious ideas, beliefs, and practices; and this is reflected in the formation, scope, and patterns of growth of major religions over time. Of course, the basic creedal convictions enshrined within a particular religion or faith system also help to determine the energy and resolve with which migrants proselytize or maintain religious ideals across cultural frontiers. Christianity and Islam, among the world’s top dominant faiths, have benefited the most from migration movements in part because they both espouse a universal vision that not only mandates worldwide outreach but also imagines a single global community.

This chapter makes the case that the migration of Christians has been a critical factor in the expansion of Christianity. More specifically, it argues that extensive migrant movement transformed Christianity into a globalized faith in the first five centuries of its existence. In what follows, the term “migration” is employed as a loose description of movements from one country, place, or locality to another for an extended period of time. The commonplace distinction between migrants (persons who “choose” to move) and refugees (persons “forced” to move) is eschewed, in part because the motives and factors that shape migrant movements are much too varied for such a simple dichotomy, especially given the complexities of the ancient world. Moreover, even in the best of cases, elements of “compulsion” and “expulsion” are impossible to detangle. It could be argued that all migration is “forced” in some sense.<sup>2</sup>

The reference to a “globalized faith” also requires brief comment. My working definition of globalization is that it signifies a growing consciousness of the world as a whole,<sup>3</sup> as well as increasing convergence or deepening

interconnectedness among its peoples. There is no consensus among scholars of globalization about the phenomenon's historical roots or antecedents.<sup>4</sup> Western perspectives often betray thinly veiled ethnocentrism that privileges Western initiatives or contributions: American-centered views tend to identify it as a post-Cold War phenomenon, while Eurocentric assessments date it either to groundbreaking developments associated with the Industrial Revolution or to the emergence of modernity and colonial-capitalism expansion from the sixteenth century. Only a handful of scholars insist that the processes of globalization have been unfolding for thousands of years and that ancient developments or other enduring elements of human existence on the planet mark its earliest forms.<sup>5</sup>

Part of the problem lies in the widespread tendency to treat economic globalization as the sum total of the phenomenon. A recognition that processes of globalization are multidimensional—incorporating distinctive, if interrelated, aspects—allows for the possibility that different dimensions (cultural, political, economic, etc.) have different starting points. This is not to deny the quantum leaps and extraordinary breakthroughs of recent decades (or centuries); but rather to indicate that globalization is a long-term historical process that, “over centuries, has crossed distinct qualitative thresholds.” In this regard, its increasing visibility over time is just as important as the accelerating velocity of change and interaction; and judging elements of continuity (“flows from prior change”<sup>6</sup>) is just as critical as identifying truly novel aspects. As Nayan Chanda puts it, “If one looked under the hood of our daily existence, one could see a multitude of threads that connect us to faraway places from an ancient time.”<sup>7</sup>

The view that processes of globalization have been going on for millennia is foundational to the argument that extensive migrant movement transformed Christianity into a demonstrably globalized faith in the first five centuries of its existence. “Globalized” in this case points to unparalleled cross-cultural expansion spanning several major regions, multiple civilizations, and various empires of the inhabited world. By 600 AD, the obscure religious movement that emerged in first-century Palestine had spread as far west as present-day Portugal, northwestward to Ireland, eastward into China and south Asia, and at least as far south as present day Sudan (in Africa). Integral to this expansion were extensive migrant movements and commercial networks that formed the sinews of escalating interregional exchanges.

To be sure, the diverse and expanding movements were anything but unified or cohesive. Indeed, these were marked by sectarian strife, disparate ecclesiastical blocs, linguistic plurality, and differing liturgical practices. Within a few centuries, the cross-cultural diffusion of the Christian faith had produced an irrevocable diversity that defied the imposition of a single creed or theological vision. Even so, the extensive spread of the Christian faith linked the experiences and self-understanding of distant communities, making it possible to detect “a remarkable degree of commonality among the churches of the world in the fourth through sixth centuries,” Dale Irvin and Scott Sunquist argue.<sup>8</sup> These historians specifically put it as:

In their training of leaders, their ethical teachings, their hierarchical structures, and their monastic communities, churches shared far more than they disagreed on. Moreover, Christians from various parts of the world still visited one another, influenced one another, and shaped one another's futures. Despite its internal differences, the world Christian movement was still recognizably one.

In essence, Christianity's emergence as a globalized faith was marked by the paradoxical conjunction of "global" and "local" that is a major hallmark of globalization. In the event, it is noteworthy that Christianity became a global movement long before it became a European religion.

### **"Foreigners and Strangers" in the Biblical Tradition**

As hinted earlier, the link between extensive migrations and the worldwide spread of belief systems is also true of other major world religions like Islam and, to a much lesser extent, Buddhism. But the role of migration in the global expansion of the Christian faith is arguably the most paradigmatic, in part because migrant movement is not simply incidental to the story or merely a function of historical happenstance. From a biblical perspective, migration emerges as both a metaphor for the life of faith and a distinctive feature in the divine plan.

In both Old and New Testaments, the same Greek word *paroikos* (meaning one who does not belong, or "the other") is applied to every category of migrant: the stranger, the alien, the foreigner, the sojourner, the displaced or uprooted person, even the legally classified resident alien.<sup>9</sup> Not only do we encounter every major form of migration in the biblical account, the "spirit of migration" also defines biblical religion and permeates the biblical record. Unlike other major religious traditions, migration is as intrinsic to the Christian faith as it is integral to missionary action.

In the Old Testament, Yahweh's purposes and designs repeatedly unfold within the experience of migration and dislocation. In other words, it is very often the case that the men and women who receive divine commissioning were for the most part individuals whose lives reflected displacement and the experience of being aliens in a foreign land. This is most evident in the lives of the patriarchs and other prominent figures like Moses, Daniel, and Esther. Equally significant, the fact of being a foreigner or an alien is repeatedly affirmed as emblematic of obedient faith and a badge of identity for those who live under God's promise.<sup>10</sup> "It is as a nomadic pastoralist," notes Andrew Walls, that Abraham "experiences those divine encounters that become the basis of Israel's religion."<sup>11</sup> Indeed, Abraham is celebrated as a model of faith precisely because he "went, even though he did not know where he was going . . . [and lived] like a stranger in a foreign country" (Heb. 11:8, NIV).

Even after settlement in the Promised Land, the migrant motif remained etched in Israelite consciousness and religious identity. David, another

prominent model of biblical religion, declares unequivocally, “We are foreigners and strangers in your sight, as were all our ancestors” (1 Chron. 29:15). And in the Book of Psalms (39:12) in which the experience of displacement and sojourn often marks the life of the believer, we read the plaintive supplication, “Hear my prayer, Lord . . . I dwell with you as a foreigner, a stranger, as all my ancestors were.” It is also of utmost significance that God of Israel enjoined specific treatment of the migrant alien as a hallmark of the covenant relationship and a testimony of His people’s redemption (Lev. 19:33–34). Old Testament scholar Daniel Carroll puts it more forcefully:

We should recognize that the way [the Old Testament law] deals with the foreigner says something very important about the heart of Israel and of its God who gave them these rules . . . It is not just that specific laws serve as a model for other nations. The laws reflect something deeper: Israel’s stance toward the foreigner was part of the larger fabric of its ethical life. It was part of the ethos of what it meant to be a people of God.<sup>12</sup>

The biblical record also indicates that migration frequently provided the central impetus for missionary engagement and active witness as a people of God. In the Babylonian Exile, for instance, the experience of being foreigners in a distant land necessitated missionary encounters and afforded possibilities of faithful witness (cf. Dan. 2:26–30; Esther 2:5–11; 8:11–17). For the exilic community, an immigrant minority status produced searching theological questions and a new religious understanding that the God of Israel was not merely a tribal deity but the God of all humanity (Jer. 46–51; Isa. 56). This produced a new affirmation that Yahweh “will gather others to them besides those already gathered” (Isa. 56:8).

The prominence of migration and dislocation in shaping religious development and missionary purpose takes on even greater significance in the New Testament. The Gospel writers leave us in no doubt that Jesus’s life experiences included the travail of a refugee, the pain of uprootedness, the hostility that greets the unwelcome stranger, and the isolation of homelessness. In the postresurrection period, the theme of migration emerges not only as a defining element in the life and expansion of the church but also as a distinguishing factor in the identity and survival of the new community of faith.

To start with, the designation “Christian” emerges out of refugee movement triggered by the martyrdom of Stephen. Much later, adherents of the new Christian movement are evocatively described as “aliens and strangers,” as “those who reside as aliens, scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia” (1 Pet. 1:1; 2:11, NASB). John Elliott argues that the common tendency to treat such texts as a general figurative reference to the earthly pilgrimage of all Christians—“exiles” in the present world until they arrive in a future heavenly home—is terribly misguided.<sup>13</sup> The terms “aliens” and “strangers,” he insists, describe the concrete social and political situation of the addressees.<sup>14</sup>

Thus these groups of Christians actually living as resident aliens in a foreign environment were encouraged to see their challenging circumstances as an occasion for witness to their faith in God alone. Being foreigners or outsiders, in other words, was tied to Christian vocation. Thus, resident alien status in a hostile environment presented an opportunity to demonstrate their unique religious identity; and the trials and frustrations of their existence (including submission to "every authority") ought to allow "genuineness of . . . faith" to become even more explicit (1 Pet. 1:7). To the end that while their neighbors may class them as "strangers" they must never have grounds to label them as "evildoers" (3:17).

All this is neither to belittle the harrowing and traumatic experiences associated with migration and displacement nor to ignore the obvious fact that migration and exile were sometimes linked to divine judgment. Even less is this an attempt to "spiritualize" migration; though it is widely recognized that the act of migrating tends to intensify religiosity. The case being made is that the concrete (rather than symbolic) experience of migration defined the religion of the Hebrews and shaped the emergence and spread of the Christian movement. If the disempowerment and vulnerabilities intrinsic to the migrant-outsider experience sharpened receptivity to divine action and provision, being strangers in foreigner lands raised the stakes for religious fidelity. As Timothy Smith poignantly observed, "Migration was often a theologizing experience."<sup>15</sup>

### **Migration and the Spread of Christianity beyond the Roman Empire**

Historical analysis of the powerful and central role of various forms of migration in the "global" spread of Christianity runs into at least two historiographical obstacles. The first, and most obvious, is that common bugbear of all historical research: namely, the scantiness of the historical record, and the necessity of extracting important conclusions from fragmentary and inconclusive material. In this case, the dense fog that often inhibits full grasp of the exact nature and extent of migrant movements in earlier eras is compounded by the often elusive, yet tantalizing, threads that connect migrant phenomenon to missionary activity and Christian expansion.

Second, the fundamental historical question of whether the causal link between human migration and Christian expansion is self-evidently or consistently favorable easily troubles analysis. The safest conclusion is that history does not offer a single clear answer. In many historical situations, such as the rapid spread of the Christian movement through extensive Jewish Diaspora networks in the first century, migration clearly advanced the spread of the faith. In other instances, however, migration patently inhibited or reversed Christian expansion. Most notably when established Christian communities were crushed or overwhelmed by invasions involving people of other faiths—the spread of Islam providing an obvious case in point.



I would suggest, however, that a different insight emerges if one limits the query to the migration of Christians. This qualification makes tremendous difference to the historical assessment. Thus, the main thesis pursued here is that the migration of Christians has typically contributed to the spread of Christianity.<sup>16</sup> It is easy to grasp that “the missionary is a form of migrant,”<sup>17</sup> but it is of even greater import to affirm that every Christian migrant is a potential missionary.

The powerful role of migrant movements as a primary form of missionary mobilization is arguably most obvious in the first few centuries of Christianity’s existence. This is partly because the spread of the faith was more clearly linked to regular activities of ordinary men and women. For instance, in his denunciation of second-century Christianity, the Greek writer Celsus identifies the missionaries as “workers in wool and leather, and fullers, and persons of the most uninstructed and rustic character.”<sup>18</sup> Responding to Celsus’s critique in the third century, Church Father Origen (*ca.* 185–254) did not challenge this characterization. Rather he attests, with forgivable overstatement, that “Christians do not neglect, as far as in them lies, to take measures to disseminate their doctrine throughout the whole world.”<sup>19</sup>

Later historical analysis provides ample confirmation that the spread of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire in the first three centuries was mainly through “preexisting social networks.”<sup>20</sup> The extensive movements of peoples generated by new infrastructure (including impressive road construction), the growth of cities or cosmopolitan centers, and the attendant weakening of traditional structures were contributing factors.<sup>21</sup> Empire formation created a somewhat unified world and ease of movement; but the exigencies of empire generated widespread dislocation and innumerable migrant groups. All this had marked impact on the early Christian communities whose members lacked a common homeland or ties of blood and were also deeply conscious of their identity as outsiders or foreigners.<sup>22</sup> A situation poignantly depicted by the unknown second-century Christian apologist who explained that,

though they [Christian believers] are residents at home in their own countries, their behavior there is more like that of transients; they take their full part as citizens, but that also submit to anything and everything as if they were aliens. For them, any foreign country is a motherland, and any motherland is a foreign country.<sup>23</sup>

But the spread of Christianity beyond the Roman Empire into a “global” faith was a more complex process that involved many different categories of migrants. In my estimation, four in particular stand out: transnational leaders, captives, refugees and exiles, and merchants. The rest of this chapter scrutinizes each of these categories to establish the central role of migration, dislocation, and resettlement in the emergence of Christianity as a globalized faith in the first five centuries of its existence.

### Transnational Leaders

The early Christian movement was greatly served by "networks of mobile leaders."<sup>24</sup> Among these were particular individuals whose lives and outlook were marked by dual citizenship or dual nationality. Quite often, their ministry required active engagement with more than one cultural group; and they most readily grasped the limitations of any distinctive cultural expression of the faith. Since no particular nation (or people group) completely claimed their allegiance, transnational leaders brought an outsider's sensibility to Christian service and Christian mission. This allowed them to function as cultural brokers. They constantly moved or ministered in the intersection of two cultures and were inevitably involved in efforts to translate the Gospel message as it penetrated a new cultural environment. Bicultural and multilingual (i.e., spoke two or three languages/dialects), transnational leaders were key agents of Christianity's cross-cultural expansion.

An obvious example was Paul, the apostle to the gentiles whose missionary labors loom large over the first generation of Christians. Paul was a transnational: specifically a Diaspora Jew and Roman citizen born in the very cosmopolitan city of Tarsus, "a center of extensive commercial traffic with many countries along the shores of the Mediterranean, as well as with the countries of central Asia Minor."<sup>25</sup> As historian William Ramsay attests, Paul "had been trained to a far wider outlook on the world than the people of Jerusalem could attain to . . . [and] could appreciate the universality of the Savior's life and message to the world in a more complete way than any of the Palestinian Christians."<sup>26</sup> It was also as a migrant-missionary-traveler that Paul formulated the key theological precepts that became foundational to the life of the church. These included the striking notion that those who were "foreigners to the covenants of the promise . . . [or] once were far away have been brought near through the blood of Christ," allowed to exchange the status of "foreigner and alien" for citizenship and belonging (Eph. 2:12–13; 19).

Other notable transnational leaders include Gregory the Illuminator (died *ca.* 337), a child of Parthian parents who settled in Armenia, became a Christian in Cappadocia (central Anatolia, Turkey), and returned to Armenia (*ca.* 300), where he became the chief architect of Armenian Christianity.<sup>27</sup> There is also Ulfila/s or Wulfila (*ca.* 311–*ca.* 383), the Gothic Christian of Cappadocian ancestry and outstanding fourth-century missionary figure who translated almost the entire Bible into the Gothic language.<sup>28</sup> His story deserves brief attention.

Although Bishop Ulfilas ("Apostle of the Goths") became "bishop of the Christians in the Gothic land" (at the age of 30), details of Ulfilas's background and early life are tantalizingly sketchy. The available evidence indicates that his ancestors were Christians (from Pontus) who were carried off into permanent captivity during Gothic incursions into Asia Minor in the third century. His Gothic name (which means "Little Wolf") suggests that "the family intermarried with Goths"<sup>29</sup>; it also hints at the possibility that

he was of mixed race. How or when Ulfilas became a Christian is unknown. But he emerges as a member of “the Pontic church in exile,”<sup>30</sup> an Arian Christian community mainly comprising “displaced foreigners living under Gothic rule.”<sup>31</sup>

Fluent in Greek, Latin, and Gothic, Ulfilas undertook the tremendous task of translating the Bible into Gothic from Greek and Latin. In order to reduce the Gothic language to written form, he first had to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters, four of which he invented in order “to express the peculiar sounds of the Gothic language that were absent from Greek and Latin.” It is also well known that he omitted the Books of Kings because he feared that the tales of military exploits would only fuel the passions of the Gothic tribes who “were especially fond of war.”<sup>32</sup> The translation of the Bible into Gothic was Ulfilas’s greatest achievement. Medieval historian Richard Fletcher was convinced that this undertaking reflected Ulfilas’s migrant outlook. As he put it:

To no one had the notion occurred of translating the scriptures into a barbarian tongue which had never been written down before. Perhaps, as is often the case with simple but revolutionary and liberating ideas, it could only have come to one who was himself in some sense an outsider.<sup>33</sup>

It is fascinating to note that in this Gothic translation, the word sinner is rendered “outcaste” or “wanderer.” Charles Scott, an early biographer of Ulfilas, explains that this was because “in the age and among the tribes, where every stranger was a foe, the simplest and the worst punishment an injured community could inflict was to drive the offender from their midst. He became a wanderer on the face of the earth.”<sup>34</sup> In the event, this Gothic bible not only gave the Gothic people access to the truths of the Christian faith it also added considerable impetus to the spread of the Gospel among other Germanic tribes.

### **Captives as “Involuntary Missionaries”**

The role of Christian captives in the spread of the faith among the variety of tribes and peoples beyond the Roman Empire is well attested. In a period of incessant warfare and territorial aggression, the condition of servitude was common and the slave population within the structure of empire was substantial. Naturally, the supply and size grew with each successive conquest or reconquest. And, of necessity, most of the slaves in any particular domain were foreign. Indeed, in the Roman Empire, having exotic slaves was one the prime marks of luxury. But it is the capture and enslavement of peoples within the empire’s domain that is germane to our story.

The successive invasions of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes from northern and western Europe initiated an era of turbulent migrations and “vast movements of peoples.”<sup>35</sup> The seizure of as many captives as possible was a primary objective of these repeated raids into Roman territories. In

the eyes of the invaders, "human booty was as desirable as temple treasures or the jewel-cases of rich ladies; captives, some of whom might buy their release, others of whom would be carried into a life of slavery."<sup>36</sup> Naturally, raids into Christian territory or the capture of predominantly Christian provinces by enemy invaders resulted in large numbers of Christian captives being carried off to foreign lands. Since they often converted their captors to the Christian faith, the contribution of such Christian captives on the global spread of Christianity in the first millennium was considerable. In his classic *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, British historian Edward Gibbon describes them as "involuntary missionaries."<sup>37</sup>

It was through such captives that the Goths, "the first of the northern peoples to adopt the faith in large numbers,"<sup>38</sup> were won to the Christian faith.<sup>39</sup> The establishment of Christianity in the kingdom of Georgia also dates to the witness of a female Christian captive known as St. Nino, whose life of prayer and healing miracles led to the conversion of Queen Nana, then King Mirian III of Iberia (Eastern Georgia), and subsequently the Christianization of the whole kingdom. According to a fourth-century account, "The men believed because of the king, the women because of the queen, and with everyone desiring the same thing a church was put up without delay." Thus emerged one of the earliest Christian kingdoms.

Similarly, the well-known story of the Christianization of Aksum (modern Ethiopia) in the fourth century starts with the abduction and captivity of two young Syrian Christians, Frumentius and Aedesius, who were sold into slavery to the king of Axum after their ship was attacked and all adults aboard massacred. Their subsequent influence within the king's household, and the ascent to power of the king's son (whom Frumentius had tutored) paved the way for the officially sanctioned spread of the Christian faith throughout the kingdom.

In successive wars between the Roman and Persian powers, from the third century onward, the Persians frequently "deported large numbers of captives from the eastern borders of the Roman empire into their own domains."<sup>40</sup> These hordes of captives included Christians who made converts from among the Persian population. In 363, for instance, the Persian shah Shāpūr II or Shāpūr the Great (309–379) recaptured five provinces beyond the Tigris (including the city of Nisibis) and resettled vast number of prisoners farther east in Persia.<sup>41</sup> Included among this group were about a hundred thousand Christian families. These deported Christians, who called themselves the "captivity," contributed greatly to the spread of Christianity within the Persian Empire.<sup>42</sup>

The best-known account of missionary expansion linked to captivity is that of Saint Patrick (*ca.* 387–*ca.* 460/493), the British migrant and Apostle to the Irish. The details of this well-known story need not be recounted here. Of relevance is the fact that the experience of captivity and migration not only transformed Patrick's previously nominal Christian faith but also produced a missionary calling. While in captivity, he recalled:

I used to pasture the flock each day and I used to pray many times a day. More and more did the love of God, and my fear of him and faith increase, and my spirit was moved so that in a day [I said] from one up to a hundred prayers, and in the night a like number, besides I used to stay out in the forests and on the mountain and I would wake up before daylight to pray in the snow, in icy coldness, in rain, and I used to feel neither ill nor any slothfulness, because, as I now see, the Spirit was burning in me at that time.<sup>43</sup>

The traumatic experience of captivity fomented a missionary impulse in Patrick that not even escape and return to the safety of his parents' home in Britain could suppress. Dana Robert correctly surmises that "Patrick's self-understanding as a wanderer under God's protection, and as someone who operated on the margins of society, was essential to his calling as a missionary."<sup>44</sup> This "call" came in the form of "a vision of the night" in which Irish voices pleaded with the young migrant to "come...walk again among us." The symbolism and significance of Patrick's major role in the establishment of Christianity in Ireland has had extraordinary durability. In succeeding centuries, the Irish church would play a significant role in the worldwide spread of the Christian faith. Indeed, more than one and a half millennia later, Ireland ranks second in the world in terms of the number of missionaries sent per Christian population.<sup>45</sup>

### Refugees and Exiles

By the sixth century, entire tribes and nations had embraced the Christian faith, including the Abyssinians, the Goths, the Franks, the Georgians, and some Arab populations. But the tide of Christian refugees and exiles was sustained by recurrent wars (prominently between the Roman and Persian Empires), land seizures, state persecution of Christians (notably within the Persian Empire), and the rise of Islam. Bitter doctrinal divisions within the expanding church were also an important factor. Frequently, the exile and dispersion of Christian leaders and groups whose theological ideas were sanctioned as "heretical" also served to disseminate those ideas even farther afield; and so extend the reach of Christian influence!

This means that, however painful and ignominious the reality of exile might be for powerful ecclesiastics, it helped some to (re)discover a missionary function. Thus, when (in the middle of the third century) Dionysius of Alexandria was banished to the remote Libyan desert, his preaching led to a number of conversions among people who had never heard the gospel. Enforced exile also allowed a bishop of Arbela (modern Arbîl, Jordan) to convert the population of the village in which he took refuge.<sup>46</sup> Bishop Ulfilas (mentioned earlier) also migrated with a considerable number of refugee Christians into Roman territory when intense persecution was orchestrated against the Christian population by the Gothic rulers. He spent the rest of his life in exile as bishop of "a new Christian nation arising from a small-scale and quite involuntary migration."<sup>47</sup> But the story of the Persian

church (or the Church of the East, as it called itself) affords the most conspicuous examples of how the movements of countless Christian refugees and exiles constituted a major factor in the spread of the faith.

In sharp contrast to the Roman Empire where Christianity became the official faith in the early fourth century, the Persian empire retained Zoroastrianism as the state religion. Christians in the Persian (Sassanid) Empire remained a minority and Christianity, originally centered among the immigrant (and non-Persian) population, remained an "outsider" religion. Even so, the Persian church (or Church of the East) grew to a considerable size. In 410 it boasted 6 metropolitan sees and over 30 bishoprics; and by the time of the Arab invasion in the mid-seventh century it had become an independent patriarchate with 10 metropolitan sees and 96 bishoprics.<sup>48</sup> By then, also, Persian Christians included members of the royal household and some high officials. This multilingual and multicultural church identified itself as "the People of God" in the Persian realm and carved a mode of existence that was both distinctive and indigenous.<sup>49</sup> But its existence and growth came at a heavy price.

As noted earlier, Persian rulers frequently "deported large numbers of captives from the eastern borders of the Roman empire into their own domains."<sup>50</sup> In fact, the fortunes of the Persian church were hopelessly entangled with Persian-Roman hostilities. In the first two and a half centuries when the Roman state persecuted the church, successive tides of Christian refugees were received with much favor by Persian rulers. This state of affairs altered dramatically from the early fourth century when the Roman state adopted Christianity as the official religion and began to champion its cause. The espousal of Christianity by its archrival sealed its rejection by the Persian rulers and cast a dark cloud of suspicion over Persian Christians that often erupted in severe persecution. In the words of Shāpūr II, "They [Christians] live in our territory and share the sentiments of Caesar our enemy."<sup>51</sup>

Over the next two centuries, the Persian church was caught in an unpredictable cycle of state tolerance and state persecution that produced recurrent migrations. A 40-year period of fierce persecution under Shāpūr II in the fourth century (from 339 to about 379) produced a "multitude of martyrs" as well as a flood of Christian refugees who migrated eastward toward southern Asia (and India) and southward into Arabia.<sup>52</sup> These waves of Christian migrants contributed to the eastward expansion of Christianity. A strong tradition reports that one of these Christian refugees, Thomas of Cana, reached the Malabar coast in southwest India, "bringing with him a group of Christian families" comprising "as many as four hundred people, including deacons, priests, and a bishop."<sup>53</sup>

Later, in the early sixth century, groups of Nestorian Christians exiled by subsequent Persian persecution settled among the Huns (a nomadic, warlike, Mongolia tribe from central Asia), who already held other Christian captives.<sup>54</sup> These Nestorian exiles not only ministered to the Christian captives they joined but also made converts among the Huns and reduced the latter's language to a written form for the first time. Remarkably, they were joined

in their efforts by a Monophysite Armenian bishop, in a striking example of missionary function transcending deep theological difference.

### **Merchants**

Christianity established its earliest strongholds in the main commercial cities of the Roman Empire, and migrant merchants were among its most effective missionaries. The Jewish communities that produced the earliest converts were heavily involved in commercial enterprise; and Jewish Christians were often merchants whose involvement in trade made them capable migrant missionaries. Since trade routes (by land and sea) connected cities of the Roman Empire with distant lands and peoples, merchants remained prominent agents of mission in the global expansion of Christianity. As Kenneth Latourette observed, "The merchant from the Roman Orient was a not unfamiliar sight in the ports of India, and even from distant China came silks for the markets of the Mediterranean world."<sup>55</sup>

Nonetheless trade between the empire and the Far East increased dramatically from the first century AD when "sailors learnt to use the monsoon winds to navigate the passage to India from the Red Sea around the coast of Arabia."<sup>56</sup> This made it possible to complete a round trip, navigating some three thousand nautical miles of sea from Alexandria to India, in three months (down from thirty months).<sup>57</sup> The world had shrunk considerably. Increased speed intensified contact and triggered a huge increase in trade.

### **The Syrian Connection**

The main centers of trade between East and West lay in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, principally the province of Syria. Few races, it is noted, demonstrated a greater instinct for trade than the Syrians.<sup>58</sup> This trait was also manifest in the life and mission of the church. Nestorian in its faith,<sup>59</sup> centered within the Persian empire, intimately connected with the nerve centers of interregional trade (including the historic silk routes that extended over four thousand miles from Syria to Beijing), the Church of the East evinced extraordinary missionary activity. Its hordes of widely traveled merchants supplemented the evangelistic outreach of Eastern Christianity's clergy and "wandering monks."<sup>60</sup> All told, the missionary ventures of Eastern Christians "exceeded, the much more celebrated missionary successes in Europe."<sup>61</sup>

Missionary migration was a prominent characteristic of the Church of the East,<sup>62</sup> and this trait was directly linked to its existence as a minority faith confronted by a dominant state religion. Eastern Christian spirituality, we are told, "produced a corps of devoted people able and willing to travel immense distances and live under the harshest conditions."<sup>63</sup> But it was not only Christian refugees who became migrants. A good proportion

of Persian merchants were Christians whose movement and trading efforts helped to expand the faith eastward into Asia.<sup>64</sup> So integral was commercial activity to the mission of the church that, among Syrian Christians, the word "merchant" became a metaphor for missionary. A verse from a much-quoted fourth-century Syrian hymn makes this outlook quite explicit:

Travel well girt like merchants,  
That we may gain the world.  
Convert men to me,  
Fill creation with teaching.<sup>65</sup>

It was mainly through Syrian merchants and monks that Nestorian Christianity penetrated as far east as China and south Asia.

The earliest beginnings of Christianity in India are enveloped by a shadowy mist in which the efforts of elusive figures left barely discernible traces—just enough to ensure perennial disputations among historians! But the link between the earliest Christian communities in India and the missionary outreach of the Persian Church is indisputable. Thomas of Cana, the Persian Christian who fled persecution and took some four hundred Christian settlers with him to India (see earlier), was a merchant. In fact, it is quite possible that the community of settlers that came with him was "an extended Christian family of merchants."<sup>66</sup> According to tradition, Thomas of Cana used his wealth to earn the favor of a local ruler and purchase land on which he built a church.

In China too, the first encounter with Christianity is linked to the activities of Persian migrant Christians who gained access to the Middle Kingdom in the fifth century when Sassanid Persia opened trade connections with China.<sup>67</sup> The earliest record of Christian presence in China identifies a Nestorian immigrant family that settled in Kansu along the Silk Road in 578.<sup>68</sup> From the Chinese perspective, Christianity (described as the "luminous teaching") came from the same distant land from where the trade routes began: namely, Daqin or Syria. Eventually, with the arrival (in AD 635) of a group of Nestorian missionaries from Mesopotamia, led by Syrian Bishop Alopên, Christianity was established in the Middle Kingdom. This historic moment is commemorated by the remarkable Nestorian Monument in Xian (Sian), then the largest and most cosmopolitan city in the world due to its bustling population of international traders and religious missionaries.<sup>69</sup>

The earliest efforts to render Syrian words into Chinese characters produced less than satisfactory results.<sup>70</sup> Even so, the cross-cultural expansion of the faith, mediated though the activities of migrants, allowed the church to survive in China for more than two centuries—longer than classical Pentecostalism has been in existence—until 835, when Emperor Wuzong, an ardent Taoist, issued an edict expelling all foreign religions from the mainland.



### **Conclusion: Migration and the Reemergence of Christianity as a Global Faith**

In the final analysis, the remarkable missionary efforts of Eastern Christianity ended in ruins. Except in India, where the presence of several million Christians today testifies to the fruit of Nestorian missionary efforts, the missionary successes of Eastern Christians were short lived. In the event, Christianity's global spread was curtailed and eclipsed by an aggressively expanding Islam from the seventh to fourteenth centuries. With the almost total destruction and decline of Eastern Christianity, Europe emerged (by 1500) as the new geographical heartland of the Christian faith and European Christianity its dominant expression. Remarkably, this development coincided with the European age of overseas exploration and the "discovery" of distant lands and peoples. It also launched a new era of unprecedented migrations that had equally momentous implications for worldwide Christian expansion. But colonial conquest and economic domination so shaped missionary enterprise that the migrant motif was obscured, and the image of the missionary as an agent allied with colonial power has dominated assessments.

Importantly, the reglobalization of Christianity over the past two to three centuries has seen the emergence of Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia as the new centers of the Christian faith and rendered the role of migration in Christian expansion more conspicuous than ever before. As I argue elsewhere, it is primarily through unprecedented migration movement that non-Western Christians have been thrust into missionary action.<sup>71</sup> This is because migrants from the new heartlands in non-Western world now dominate international movement. It is therefore of utmost importance to note that, according to recent data, Christians constitute nearly half (49 percent) of this migrant movement.<sup>72</sup> The present era of globalized Christianity is different in important ways from the earlier era; not least in the volume and velocity of human mobility. What remains unchanged is the fact that how the story unfolds will largely depend on the actions and decisions of people who move. They move not because they are missionaries; they are missionaries because they moved.

### **Notes**

1. See Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 7; Ian Goldin, Geoffrey Cameron, and Meera Balarajan, *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future*, kindle ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).
2. People may move because they can or want to; but they hardly do if they don't have to.
3. Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992), 8.
4. Cf. Peter N. Stearns, *Globalization in World History*, kindle ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009).

5. See Nayan Chanda, *Bound Together: How Traders, Preachers, Adventurers, and Warriors Shaped Globalization*, kindle ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*, kindle ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); David Held, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 87, 89f., 327–331.
6. Stearns, *Globalization in World History*, loc. 218f.
7. Chanda, *Bound Together*, loc. 44.
8. Dale T. Irvin and Scott Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement: Vol I: Earliest Christianity to 1453* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001), 253–254.
9. For a helpful treatment, see John Hall Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2005), 24–26.
10. Cf. *ibid.*, 28.
11. Andrew F. Walls, "Mission and Migration: The Diaspora Factor in Christian History," *Journal of African Christian Thought* 5, no. 2 (2002): 3.
12. M. Daniel Carroll, *Christians at the Border: Immigration, the Church, and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 99.
13. Elliott, *A Home for the Homeless*, 41–48.
14. *Ibid.*, 35–36.
15. Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *The American Historical Review* 83, no. 5 (1978): 1174.
16. Massive out-migration of Christians can contribute to the decline of Christian presence in a particular locale; but the migrants also take their religious beliefs and practices with them, potentially extending its impact.
17. Walls, "Mission and Migration," 6.
18. Origen, "Contra Celsus," III: 55, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885); <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0416.htm>.
19. *Ibid.*, III: 9. See A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, vol. IV (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1979), 468.
20. Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997), 18–21, 55–70. Stark estimates that the new movement grew from an obscure sect of 1,000 members in AD 40 to about 34 million adherents (or 57 percent of the population) by the AD 350.
21. Cf. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The First Five Centuries*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), 10; see also Walls, "Mission and Migration," 4.
22. Cf. Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, 69.
23. "Letter to Diognetus," in *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 144–145.
24. Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, 56.
25. M. G. Easton, *Baker's Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981), 537; M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1970), 93f.

26. William M. Ramsay, *St. Paul: The Traveler and Roman Citizen* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2001), 45.
27. Cf. Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 19; Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, 1 13.
28. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, kindle ed. (Boston: Mobile Reference, 2009), loc. 65990.
29. Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997), 73.
30. Walls, "Mission and Migration," 5.
31. Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 7 6.
32. "Epitome of the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius, Compiled by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople," 2:5.
33. Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 7 7.
34. Charles Archibald Anderson Scott, *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths, Together with an Account of the Gothic Churches and Their Decline* (Cambridge, UK: Macmillan and Bowes, 1885), 135–136.
35. For an intimate account of the impact of such Germanic raids on provincial Christian communities, see Gregory of Pontus (or St. Gregory's), *Canonical Letter*—Henry R. Percival, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church: Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, vol. xiv (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), 602.
36. Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion*, 6 7.
37. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, loc. 65990.
38. Latourette, *The First Five Centuries*, 107, 211; also, Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, loc. 65990.
39. Cf. "Epitome of the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius, Compiled by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople," Book Two, Chapter V. Philostorgius's work is no longer extant. What we have is an Epitome of it compiled by Photius, who was appointed to the Patriarchal see of Constantinople, AD 853, and under whom the schism between the Eastern and Western churches was formally consummated.
40. Latourette, *The First Five Centuries*, 227.
41. Cf. Samuel H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia: Beginnings to 1500*, vol. 1 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 143.
42. S. P. Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties," in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 4; see also Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1 43.
43. *The Confession of St. Patrick*, n o.1 6.
44. Robert, *Christian Mission*, 148.
45. Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross, eds., *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910–2010* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 259.
46. Latourette, *The First Five Centuries*, 104.
47. Walls, "Mission and Migration," 5.
48. Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 3.
49. *Ibid.*, 12–19.
50. Latourette, *The First Five Centuries*, 227.
51. Quoted in Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 1 40.
52. *Ibid.*, 101, 275.

53. Ibid., 266.
54. Ibid., 208–209.
55. Latourette, *The First Five Centuries*, 100.
56. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 58.
57. Cf. Chanda, *Bound Together*, loc. 711. The speed of transportation remained unchanged until 1780 when steamships were invented.
58. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 54.
59. The term "Nestorian" was applied to the Church of the East long after the events in the fifth century that produced the name. Its use here does not imply any pejorative judgment.
60. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 100.
61. Philip Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia—and How It Died*, 1st ed. (New York: HarperOne, 2008), 10.
62. Walls, "Mission and Migration," 6.
63. Ibid.
64. Jean-Pierre Charbonnier, *Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000*, kindle ed. (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2007), loc. 577.
65. See, for example, the hymn quoted in Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 175. The original hymn is in Syriac from Santi Ephraim Syri and can be found in his book with the title *Hymni et Sermones*.
66. Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement*, 203.
67. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. 1, 291.
68. Ibid., 291f.
69. Chanda, *Bound Together*, loc. 686.
70. Cf. Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, loc. 599.
71. See Jehu J. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008), 119f., 283–302.
72. Muslims constitute the second largest religious group of migrants (27 percent). See Phillip Connor and Catherine Tucker, "Religion and Migration around the Globe: Introducing the Global Religion and Migration Database," *International Migration Review* 45, no. 4 (2011): 994.

## Chapter 3

# Dislodgings and Reformation: Expanding Christianity in Africa and in the Diaspora

*Elias K. Bongmba and Akintunde E. Akinade*

Migrations have contributed significantly to the growth of the church in Africa. As emphasized in this chapter, migrations understood as movements, relocations, and dislocations, whether temporary or permanent, have offered a new impetus for religious ferment and transformation. According to Bengt Sundkler, one of the doyens of the studies of Christian independency in Africa, migrations play an important role, for instance, in the development of Christianity in Africa, and could become “a new key” in studying the history of Christianity on the continent.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars have followed suit and are now paying attention to migration as a factor in the spread of Christianity in Africa. This factor can prove challenging since migrant communities seldom benefit from the stability of a settled community. Some of the members in being refugees, or the leaders of Christian initiatives in contexts of migrations, or laborers, do not reside in an area permanently or for a long period of time. Nevertheless, migration is at the heart of African Christianity. Historically, religious pilgrims have engendered new modalities of faith and piety in new and unexpected places.

The transitory nature of migration is such that people are continuously on the move due to conflicts and scarcity of resources, something that Meredith McKittrick has documented well in her recent study.<sup>2</sup> Such studies, which address migration in the expansion of Christianity in Africa, start from diverse angles: including identity issues, African agency, the growth of Christian independency, or colonial political struggles. In this chapter, we discuss a few cases where movements of people for various reasons have resulted in the expansion of the Christian movement in the African context. For instance, from the beginning of the Christian movement, African movements within the continent, which may not have been migratory as understood today, have accounted for the phenomenal growth of the present Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In the West and Central African Regions, other movements of Africans motivated by religious perspectives or economic and political relocations have led to similar church growth and

expansion patterns. Migrations, whether conceived as an internal or external phenomenon, have significantly contributed to the impetus to reinterpret Christianity in order to fit in with the “signs of the times.” Both dimensions also underscore the fact that Africans have consciously redefined the meaning and purpose of the Good News.

### **James Johnson and the Church Missionary Society**

In Nigeria, one of the individuals whose migration would shape its Christianity significantly, especially among the Yoruba, was the Reverend James Johnson.<sup>3</sup> Johnson has been hailed over the years for many things, including his zeal to evangelize, and his desire to promote scholarship among the local people as well as produce the kind of literature that offers a dialog with other groups in Africa, especially the Muslims.

Johnson was the quintessential convert who became a leading African with the skill and desire to evangelize, which made missionaries admire and rely on him. He was designated by the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1875 to be a point man to the Muslims, because Western missionaries viewed Islam as a major obstacle to the evangelization of Africa. Johnson would go on to serve with a nationalistic and evangelical zeal, recruiting local leaders to produce Christian literature that would introduce Christianity to Muslims. In addition to this literary production, the Church Missionary Society also engaged other Yoruba clergy to gather data on indigenous Yoruba religions.<sup>4</sup>

### **Joseph Mamadu and the establishment of Baptist Churches in Cameroon**

In Cameroon, internal migrations led to conversions and expansions of the church, especially when several people from what is now the Northwest Province of Cameroon traveled to the coastal town of Victoria (now Limbe) in search of work in 1910. These men included Joseph Mamdu Dom (often referred in the literature mainly as Joseph Mamadu), Daniel Hangu, Robert Nteff, Robert Jam, and Johannes Tonto. While in Limbe, they were influenced by Cameroonian evangelist and pastor Joseph Burnley, who brought them into the church but also trained them to preach and share the Gospel. Burnley and his church then sent them back to the northwest of Cameroon as evangelists. The broad context of this engagement is not known in its entirety. For instance, we do not know the full circumstances of their conversion. There is no written account of the negotiations that led these men to return home as evangelists after having gone to Southern Cameroon looking for work. Was it the promise of employment with the Baptist mission that made them willing to go back? Did they fall on hard times when they arrived at the coast and so ministry seemed to them like the only option? Most observers of the Christian tradition in Cameroon would agree that while these are valid questions, what remains relevant is the testimony of these

men being retold several times. They simply felt called to share the Gospel to their own people, and something like the low pay of only five shillings a month that Joseph Mamadu earned as an evangelist demonstrates that financial gain would not have been a major factor.<sup>5</sup>

Getting involved in the work in the Grasslands area was an arrangement that was worked out between the missionary Adolf Othner, who was already working in the Kom area of the Grasslands, and evangelist Burnley, who was the primary mentor of these evangelists. Mamadu, who with the others returned to the Grasslands as an evangelist, remains a historic figure in the spread of the Christian story and in the building of the Cameroon Baptist Convention. By the time that Elias Bongmba, one of the authors of this chapter, was growing up in the village of Ntumbaw where the Baptist Church was located in Njirong, the name Mamadu was already prominent because one's standing and longevity in the church was determined by when they were baptized. People often said, "I was baptized by Mamadu himself," just as people in the New Testament period talked of the baptism of Paul or the other apostles. Bongmba's parents and members of their generation were the ones who talked about this legacy.

Mamadou was born in Ngen, a town in the Bum region in the Mentchum Division. He worked with his parents on the farm, and from 1900 to 1914 Mamadu served as assistant to the Fon (chief) of Kwanga. As a servant in the Fon's palace, he handled many objects and one of them was the cup from which the Fon drank. The Fon's cup is very important in the Northwest Province because he not only drinks from it, but he also uses it to pour libation to the ancestors and bless all who come and kneel before him for blessings. Ken Priebe argues that this education in the court of the Fon would serve Mamadu well later in life when he became a Christian leader.<sup>6</sup>

The shaping of Mamadu's character as an itinerant leader was bound to endure the ironies of a far greater destiny. One day Mamadu accidentally broke the cup, and fearing punishment, he escaped and traveled to the coastal region of Cameroon to search for different employment. As was the custom, Mamadu traveled with other people from the Grassland region. While at the coastal town of Victoria, now Limbe, he worked as a domestic servant for some members of the army. He also took the opportunity to attend a primary school for four years to get an education that would be crucial in his work as an evangelist. The contact he established with German missionaries started a journey that would lead to his conversion and baptism into the Baptist Church. Reverend Burnley, the Cameroonian pastor at the church, was the most helpful and influential person in the life journey of Mamadu when he became a Christian in 1918 and a member of the Victoria Baptist Church. The North American Baptist Missionary Reverend Carl Bender invited Mamadu to attend classes at the mission station in Soppo.<sup>7</sup> Mamadu accepted, and it was during this time that he was trained to work as an evangelist.

Mamadou returned to the Grasslands as a preacher and evangelist in 1922, four years after he was baptized. Lloyd Kwast, a former Baptist missionary

to Cameroon, writes: "In 1922 Joseph Mamadu was sent back to his home village, far to the north, to establish the first Baptist church in the grasslands. Later, such men as Robert Nteff, Robert Jam, Daniel Hangu, Samuel Nji, Thomas Toh, Johannes Tonto and others returned to their ancestral homes to preach the Gospel and plant churches."<sup>8</sup> These men returned to their homes to start pioneering evangelistic work. Mamadu began his work in the Bum area in 1922 (Songka and Funfuka and later Ndu Field), and was assisted by Samuel Nji and Thomas Toh. Robert Nteff went to his home region to evangelize and started his work in Wombong, in the Kom area, in 1923. He was assisted by evangelist Robert Jam. Evangelist Daniel Hangu started his ministry in Bangoland in 1927, and John Tonto went to Babanki Tungo in 1927.<sup>9</sup> These places are all located in what is today the Northwest Province, at the time called the Western Grassfields of Cameroon.

When Mamadu first went to his own area, he preached to the Fon of Songka, who had invited his subchiefs to hear the message that Mamadu brought from the coast. Mamadu also asked the Fon for land on which to build a church. Mamadu traveled and preached in this area, organizing Christian communities and activities that would make the church attractive to the locals. For example, he organized hunting expeditions for members of the church. This was a very shrewd thing designed to fill a great need because many people in the region hunted to get meat for their families. One doubts if Mamadu would have described such activity as a social ministry, or if he or any of the missionaries would have described it along the lines of the social Gospel in the tradition of Walter Rauschenbusch.<sup>10</sup>

Though a possibly farfetched idea, as one looks back at those activities, what Mamadu organized for the members of the churches he established was remarkable because the missionaries of the German Baptist Mission and, later, the North American Baptist Conference, who worked in Cameroon and also engaged in social services, did not describe their ministry as belonging to the social Gospel. These missionaries arriving in Cameroon at the turn of the century, especially before World War I, knew of Rauschenbusch's work and theology. Those who served in the Baptist churches in the North American Baptist conference would have also known his father, Arnold Rauschenbusch, who was regarded as the "teacher of the conference." They both taught at the denomination's seminary when it was still located in Rochester. Yet while the German and American Baptist missionaries simply did not embrace the social Gospel of Rauschenbusch, its main proponent, and Mamadu would have not been an exception, traces of Rauschenbusch's concerns for the people could be found in the practical and social components of Mamadu's ministry.

Mamadu was a preacher and evangelist of his day because he repeatedly confronted the people about popular religious practices and urged them to put up a fight against evil forces, abandon witchcraft, "juju," and any claims to special powers, except what they conceived as the power of God through Jesus Christ. Priebe reports that people in the Misaje area of Donga Mantung Division still remember that Mamadu had such power of God and could



overcome all other forces.<sup>11</sup> Mamadu reportedly confronted a certain Daniel Bang because he was wearing protective medicines around his neck, and proceeded to violently remove them and to invite him to accept the Gospel. Bang believed the message, followed Mamadu, and eventually enrolled as a student at the Baptist school at Mbirkpa.<sup>12</sup>

The work that was done by Mamadu reflects the argument that has been made by scholars like Ogbu Kalu that Christianity is an African story. Mamadu is credited with organizing the first Baptist Church in the Grasslands at Songka, near his own home village, in 1924. The establishment of that church is significant because it was the beginning of the Baptist Church's work in the region that would eventually become a stronghold of the Cameroon Baptist Convention. That same year, Mamadu's mentor and pastor, Burnley, visited the new church after trekking from the coast to Songka. During this maiden visit to Songka, Burnley baptized 40 people, who would be the first members of a local Baptist Church in the region. This was a historic development, and it underscores the fact that many churches were started not by missionaries, but by local evangelists. Consistent with our thesis, some of these evangelists had relocated or moved to one region of the country where they were internal economic migrants, and then returned to their own areas as preachers.

As one would expect, pioneer missionary work is a major religious and cultural event and comes with challenges and hardships because the very nature of such work is disruptive of the local customs and culture. Introducing change was bound to cause conflict, and Mamadu would come face-to-face with some of the difficulties caused by introducing changes that would affect the culture, lifestyle, and religion of the people. The chief of Dumbu village did not want Mamadu to start a church. It is alleged that the chief tried to poison Mamadu with palm wine. We do not have details of how this plan was forged and if the plan was actually carried out. It is also alleged that there was a violent confrontation in which the chief destroyed the drum used by the new Christians and assaulted Mamadu with a stick. Mamadu was firm on building the church and eventually succeeded in building it at Dumbu. The details of this confrontation are sketchy, and we do not know if the account is written to reflect a triumphalist view of the spread of the Gospel, or if in fact Mamadu or his followers might have done something to provoke the confrontation.

Mamadu next moved out of the Wum and Aghen areas into the Wimbun area of Donga Mantung Division. In 1927, he started a group at Mbonsankfu, close to Ndu town. He had six converts at this location. This has been described mostly as a prayer group and the first church that Mamadu reportedly started in the Wimbun area was in the Ngulu in 1927. We are merely curious here because in starting the church at Ngulu, Mamadu left Mbonsankfu, passed the villages of Wowo, Sen, Ntumbaw, and Njirong, before going down to Ngulu to establish a church. The best explanation we find comes from Priebe, who reports that Mamadu had met the Fon of Ngulu at Mbonsankfu and struck a friendship with him. This explanation

is plausible because it would not have been unusual for the Fon of Ngulu to be present at Mbonsankfu, since Mbonsankfu is in Ndu, the headquarters of the Wiya Clan and Ngulu village is part of the Wiya Clan. Priebe also states that Mamadu always respected the authorities of the villages in which he preached, since he needed their permission for his operations. Missionaries and evangelists in different parts of Africa often approached the local rulers on grounds that if the nobility was converted, the rest of the village would follow. It did not always work that way since in many cases, it was the members of the lower classes who converted to Christianity. The mass conversions anticipated by Western missionaries did not always take place, although they took place in some places like in the Kingdom of the Kongo.<sup>13</sup> It is interesting that Mamadu reportedly traveled with a gun and used it to shoot game and then presented the meat as a gift to the chiefs he visited. The chief of Ngulu also exchanged gifts with the evangelist.

Migration can be evident in the preaching and establishment of churches in the region following Mamadu's ministry. Mamadu started churches in the villages of Taku, Wat, and Kup with the support of their chiefs. He appointed pastors to lead these churches. The pastor that Mamadu appointed for Taku, Ifiom, reportedly came from Nigeria, and the pastor he placed at Kup village, Isaac Kiyo, came from the first church Mamadu started, Songka Church. Missionary Johannes Sieber tried to establish a church at Sop village, but did not succeed; later, however, Mamadu was successful in this task. He established churches in neighboring villages of Ntumbaw (church shared with Njirong village and church building was in Njirong), Sehn, Ngu, but faced resistance at Sinna. The group at Mbonsankfu was moved to Ndu in 1928, and in 1936, 60 people were baptized, making Ndu one of the largest churches in the region. At this time, the North American Baptist Missionary Johannes Sieber, who was stationed at Mbiripka in the Mbaw plain, moved the headquarters of his mission station to the village of Ndu.<sup>14</sup>

Interestingly, later in his life, because Mamadu faced difficulties and was forced to migrate from place to place, church planting everywhere he went, Christianity progressively witnessed the culmination of its African indigenization. At Binka, where he served as pastor, he killed a leopard, and according to Wimbun customs, the skin of the leopard should have been given to the Fon. Mamadu wanted to keep the skin so that he could take it back to his own people. In a compromise move, Mamadu was allowed to keep the skin but he had to move to Ndu, where he carried his evangelistic activities. This compromise did not resolve all issues and in 1940, Mamadu left Ndu. He started churches at Ande, in the Mbembe Missaje area. Then Mamadu returned to his home in 1955 and opened a church at Su-Bum where he served as pastor. There he lived to see the formation of the Cameroon Baptist Convention in 1954 as an autonomous Christian denomination in Cameroon and attended its General Session held at Mbem in 1959. He spoke to all the delegates present and one would say, especially for the Grassland region, many of those delegates would have come from churches he founded. The establishment of the Cameroon Baptist Convention as an independent church

brought to an end the era of the North American Baptist General Missionary Society, incorporated in New Jersey (United States) as the Cameroon Baptist Mission USA in 1935 through the leadership of Paul Gebauer.<sup>15</sup> Most of the churches that Mamadu founded were organized into this Cameroon Baptist Convention area called Ndu field. This was an expansive field and today, the former Ndu field has several fields.

Mamadu died in February of 1968, following a long career of migratory forms of evangelization, which resulted in the establishment of many churches in a region that would eventually become a strong center of Baptist work in Cameroon. His colleagues, whose journeys we have not traced here, were pioneers of churches in different parts of the Grasslands, pioneer work that has been recognized even by missionaries. The testimony of one of them, Paul Gebauer, a social anthropologist and missionary, hails Mamadu in the following manner:

On this field (Ndu) you meet the most unique African saint, Evangelist Mamadu. To look at him is a definite disappointment. To many a missionary he has been a permanent headache. Tall, awkward, stubborn to the point of impertinence, he has been a question mark to many. "Is that Mamadu?" One of our [or] your missionaries asked when she saw him. It is! He is the man who covered every tribe of every inland field long before any missionary dared to enter. The glory of having brought the Gospel to tribes unknown belongs to Mamadu, an African of Africans.<sup>16</sup>

One cannot help but notice what some would perceive as the harsh words of Missionary Gebauer, who indicates that Mamadu was a "permanent headache" for missionaries, "awkward, and stubborn to the point of impertinence." These are unfortunate terms by any assessment, especially for today's readers, who do not have Mamadu's account of the relationship between him and the missionaries. But it is important to note as Gebauer also points out that Mamadu was a pioneer "who conversed every tribe of every inland field long before any missionary dared to enter." Because Mamadu did this, the glory of church expansion in the region belongs to him. This is important because one can cast a critical eye on the claim made by Lloyd Kwast that "the opening of the grasslands by missionaries Orthner, Sieber and Gebauer accounts for much of the increase in 1931."<sup>17</sup> He seems to argue that such an increase in number resulted from the "opening" of the region by missionaries, a view that raises the question of what he means by "opening"? What happened to the opening of the region by Cameroonian evangelists from 1922 in the four strategic areas of the region? One could interpret Kwast's statement as ignoring the early work done by Cameroonian evangelists or as devaluing the impact made by the Cameroonian evangelists. Especially in the chapter where he discusses the historical development of the Baptist Church in West Cameroon, Kwast emphasizes on such areas where Mamadu did not preach. He states: "The 1935 upswing was due, in part, to the American Baptist efforts in Mbem and Mambila by Missionaries Gebauer and Dunger." This is correct, but the broad idea that missionaries

opened up the Grasslands does not tell the whole story and takes away from the strong evangelization work of the Cameroonian evangelists, former economic migrants to the southern part of the country.

Migrations can and often change some people permanently. In the case of Mamadu and his colleagues, they became Christians and were trained and sent back to their homes to become evangelists. However, in Mamadu, this change was noticeable also in other ways. He turned against local beliefs like witchcraft, and criticized “juju” (an amorphous term that sometimes refers to indigenous practices that may not necessarily be harmful to people). He was a new person and in some cases did not bother confronting local chiefs as he did in Dumbu to establish the church. We note with curiosity that some things do not change even if one is away from home. When Mamadu killed a leopard in the Wimbun area, he insisted on keeping the skin of the leopard, rather than give it as tribute to the Fon of Binka and be given the title “nformi,” by the Fon of Binka as the Wimbun traditions require. He decided to keep it because he would have needed it upon his return to settle among his own people in Bum. One can argue that the greatest change and the greatest impact that migration brought to Mamadu was his change to become a Christian and an evangelist in the Grassland. The opening of so many churches contributed greatly to the growth of the Cameroon Baptist Convention.

### **The Emerging Harrist Church in Côte d’Ivoire**

William Wade Harris was born in Liberia among the Grebo people.<sup>18</sup> He was called to be a prophet to his own people, and his work went through several phases. First, between 1913 and 1914, he preached for the conversion of people into Christianity and constructed worship houses. In phase two, between 1915 and 1924, Harris left his ministry even though more people followed his teachings. Some joined other churches, but others continued to practice his teachings on their own.<sup>19</sup> Third, followers like John Ahui built strong indigenous churches. Fourth, between 1924 and 1945, the church shaped and established its position as a nationalist institution. Fifth, since 1945, the church has developed into a major ecclesial organization.

Liberia was created by the United States of America as a colony in Africa to which blacks were sent in a massive political project of repatriation. Among those who would return to Africa and settle in Liberia were people like Edward Wilmot Blyden, who would play an important role in shaping the new nation as a Christian leader, educator, and politician. Other influential black intellectuals who engaged in the Liberian project were Alexander Crummel and John Henry Smyth. These individuals shared a suspicion of the Western evangelization of Africa, and argued that Africa would be better served by blacks who themselves should take the lead in Christianizing Africa.<sup>20</sup>

When settlers arrived in Liberia, they signed treaties with local leaders, among them the Grebo people. The relationship was not always congenial, but the Grebo people worked to adapt. Walker points out that the settlers

planned to transform Liberia by building schools and churches on land they bought from the Grebo people, but differences in culture led to the war of 1857. Following new treaties, the Grebo resumed participation in the new arrangements and adopted some of the lifestyles of the settlers. Christian mission agencies working in Liberia at the time included the Methodist and Episcopalians, and missionaries learned local languages and published materials in these languages. As was the case in several other African countries, Africans who accepted the Christian message engaged actively in spreading the new faith to their own people.<sup>21</sup> However, missionaries continued to control the church and destroyed local religious symbols in order to ensure the supremacy of Christianity.

We do not have exact records about the birth of William Wade Harris; scholars point out that he was born between 1850 and 1865 (quite a wide gap) in Graway, near Cape Palmas, close to the border with Côte d'Ivoire. David Shank has argued that Harris was probably born about 1860.<sup>22</sup> He reportedly lived with Rev. Jessie Lowrie of the African Methodist Episcopal Church where he learned how to read. He was baptized in the Methodist Church but later joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church after traveling as a worker on ships in West Africa. He might have been introduced to independency in Nigeria where he attended a Wesleyan separatist church. When he returned to Liberia, he worked as a brick mason, and later became a teacher in a boarding school. Harris married Rose Badicak Farr and they had six children. He then worked briefly as a lay minister in the Methodist Church but changed his religious affiliation and became an Episcopalian. He continued to preach, urged people to abandon local beliefs, and opposed the use of the sasswood to determine if someone was guilty of witchcraft.

Harris later worked as an interpreter for the state of Liberia and as a peace-maker. He opposed a chief for not being a good state servant and when Harris missed a summons to answer for his actions, he was fired. Things did not look good for Harris because he was also suspected of being in a plot against the Liberian government, and on February 13, 1909, he replaced the Liberian flag with the British flag. He then was arrested, tried, and convicted of high treason and sentenced to jail. Harris had a religious experience in jail and claimed that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him and asked him to preach the Gospel to nonbelievers. He thus claimed that he had been commissioned as prophet and also saw himself playing the role played by Shadrach, Meshack, and Abednego or serving as a watchman like Ezekiel in the Hebrew Bible.

On leaving jail, he wore what would later become his signature office regalia as Prophet Harris.<sup>23</sup> He left Liberia and moved to Côte d'Ivoire in 1913. His wife died before that departure and two women accompanied him, one of whom would later give birth to his son. While one cannot discount the fact that he was concerned that there could be more trouble in Liberia, there is also no doubt that he moved back to Liberia because he was motivated by a religious vision to preach the Gospel. Harris was not sent by his denomination as a missionary. During what turned out to be a relatively

short sojourn in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana he reportedly preached to many people; some estimate that between 100,000 and 200,000 people believed his message and became Christians.

When Harris entered Côte d'Ivoire, he made an impact on the people of Dida. Harris asked the people who were waiting for him ashore to sing.<sup>24</sup> They told him that Dogbontcho, the woman who led singing, was paralyzed. The prophet ordered that she should be brought forward to sing. When the prophet insisted, the woman stood up, and with the help of a cane was brought to the place to sing. One individual from the Lauzoua community told the prophet that they did not know the songs of God and since the prophet is the one who brought the message, he should teach them to sing. The prophet reportedly told them that God does not have favorite songs and listens to everything people sing. The prophet then took a calabash from one of the women who was traveling with him and gave it to Dogbontcho to sing. First, she sang a love song, and when the prophet asked her to sing another one, she sang one that had both religious and cultural meaning. The people joined in, the prophet came out of the boat and joined them in singing and dancing, and the woman who was leading started dancing too; a miracle had taken place. The prophet exhorted them to use their music for the glory of God.

By the time Harris had arrived in Côte d'Ivoire the religious worldview of the country had been complicated by colonial presence partly due also to the arrival of Christianity. Harris began his preaching among the Ebrié ethnic group who had a rich tradition of belief in Yakan the creator God and nature spirits who assisted people in managing different aspects of their personal and economic life. French presence in the country dates back to 1842, and they eventually took control of the country as a colonial territory. Observers point out that Harris arrived in a country that was ready for a religious awakening and he wasted no time in preaching on the coast with his two female companions. He carried on itinerant preaching, persuading people to become Christians. Harris called on people from the Methodist church to join him in his efforts in Côte d'Ivoire. It should be noted that Harris was also on a crusade to change the culture of those who accepted his message to give up local religious objects and most of them were burned.<sup>25</sup>

Harris, as he had done in other places, preached the Gospel in Côte d'Ivoire with a great sense of urgency. It is not clear why he was convinced that he needed to preach with such conviction for there is no evidence that he had some eschatological vision. Scholars of the Harris movement point out that upon his experience in Liberia, Harris became aware that the colonial authorities might hinder him from preaching. His strategy was to preach the Gospel while on the move, and so this prompted his sense of earnestness. He likewise cultivated local leadership that would continue the work of the church after him. Perhaps nothing demonstrates the urgency with which Harris carried out his evangelistic calling more than the fact that he also visited the Gold Coast (Ghana) to preach and perform miracles.

Harris utilized a well-known Christian strategy; newly converted people were asked to put away what the colonials, missionaries, and now local evangelists like Harris thought were “fetishes” or pagan objects. This was a controversial move on his part, but French colonials did not rebuke Harris. One can only think that it did not matter to the French colonials that local religious symbols were being destroyed on the orders of an African preacher. Harris baptized many people who followed his teachings and preaching.

It is not hard to understand the zeal Harris had in conversion. He was convinced that Christianity was superior to indigenous religion. Sheila Walker points out that Harris talked to people about what he thought were abuses of the traditional religion. Baptism was a way of renunciation of one's previous beliefs and an initiation into a new and freeing situation.<sup>26</sup> Harris also owed his appeal to the fact that many people believed that he had extraordinary spiritual powers and could work miracles. For example, it was believed that Harris's presence drove away spirits. When some villagers in Lahou hid religious objects rather than burn them as Harris told them to do, the objects burned mysteriously. There are also claims that baboons attacked a village that refused to accept his message. At one time when Harris needed water for baptism he reportedly called rain to fall from heaven. Labri, the one who was in charge of a spirit in Banoua had to flee when he could not prevent Harris from entering his village. Harris entered the village to preach and one of the converts was Labri's wife. It is also claimed that Harris scolded a team that was working on a ship on Sunday for disrespecting God and that ship reportedly burned mysteriously. Harris did not have the resources of the Christian communities that one could call mainline churches. He promoted education and called on people to send children to school. He did not start schools, but appreciated the value of education, especially for the younger people. He promoted a social ethic that was grounded on love, assisting other people in need.

Although things seemed to have gone very well for Harris, they did not last long. Colonial authorities in Côte d'Ivoire arrested him, and after having jailed him, and reportedly beaten him, they deported him to Liberia where he continued to preach. The French colonial officers did not give him an opportunity to return to Côte d'Ivoire to follow up the work he started, but he had already established a thriving congregation there. Some conflicting accounts suggest that Harris was simply told to leave, and that he had voluntarily agreed to return to Liberia. It is not exactly clear why the authorities in Côte d'Ivoire arrested him, but there were complaints that Harris was simply running an African institution that had no connection with any European organization. If this is the case, the point then was not that colonial authorities were anti-religious, but that they were unwilling to allow an African initiative in Christianity to thrive. One of the colonial requirements of the postcolonial African state-churches was to maintain their Western connections before they could be granted any well-deserving recognition. As Walker argues, if there was any group that would have suffered loss because of the preaching of Harris, it would have been the Catholic Church.<sup>27</sup> It is

also possible that such a phenomenal growth in church membership simply threatened the colonial authorities because they saw many things through power dynamics. The successes of the movement could have been perceived as a threat if the population was ever encouraged to rise up against their empire. This strange concern was unfounded because Harris encouraged people to work hard in order to become like the French who were then governing the country.

The imprint of Harris upon African Christianity has been long lasting. After the deportation of Harris back to Liberia, new leaders emerged who continued to seek his guidance and leadership. Among them, Noé Tché-Tché worked to rebuild the early churches that were destroyed by colonial officials. The other leader who emerged was John Ahui, a preacher who also preformed miracles. The only difference between their leadership and that of Harris is that while Harris was not a radical nationalist, in fact he was one who was critical of some traditional practices, these new leaders wanted church members to stop European practices. This change in direction, which one would have thought could have reversed enthusiasm for the church, was warmly welcomed; people continued to join the church.

The new leaders developed a literacy plan for the church. A mission's brochure that contained four parts was published. The first part on religion carried the teachings of Harris. The second section on the nature of the Christian community called for a spirit of solidarity, love, charity, and hard work among the members. On their actions as members of the congregation, they were encouraged to pay attention to sacraments because their participation in them was required of those who had accepted Jesus. They also compiled the Ten Commandments and added some rules imposed by Harris, especially the prohibition against drinking alcohol. Alongside this brochure was another of the earliest documents of the church in Côte d'Ivoire, a hymnbook with the title *Dida Harrist Hymnody*.<sup>28</sup>

Scholars of the Harris church inform us that what eventually emerged in Côte d'Ivoire was an indigenous church that blended traditional hierarchy with modern ecclesial church structures. Therefore, the church structure resembled a village social organization that while grounded on the teachings of Harris used much of the teachings and practices of Western missionaries.<sup>29</sup> Elders, apostles, and ministers led the church. Initially, they were not paid but earned their own income in what one would call a modern version of tent-making ministry. The ministers did the preaching and led prayers. The apostles carried the administrative functions of the church and administered the rules, and the elders served as advisers to the apostles and the ministers. There were also guardians whose duties included ensuring that there was order, and enforcing the rules in the church.

The early indigenization in the emerging Harrist Churches was most visible also in how these churches developed an architecture that reflected an African point of view. The buildings, which became the center of the lives of the people, were decorated according to the national colors. Each church building had a statue of Harris and of an angel near the altar. As in many



Christian churches, the cross was an important symbol because it signified for them the cleansing of sins. But this cross also represented that of the prophet Harris, who carried one cross with him all the time. Other symbols were authentic but common to Christianity. There was a triptych of three panels reflecting humanity being given the key to prosperity, the coming of Christianity, and because of the previous two, human ability to overcome evil.

Members of the congregation believed that the blessing of God would enable them to deal with all difficulties including illnesses. The leaders and ministers provided leadership on this lived Christianity where their lifestyle was considered a determinant of how they received blessings. In other forms of regulations, the church established laws observing the Sabbath and proscribed illicit sexual relations as actions that would bring disrespect to ancestors. In perhaps what was an outcome of the teachings of Harris, the church considered witchcraft a serious sin. Those involved in it were called to confess before the congregation.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the Harrists Church took strong roots among the Ebrie people who, to this day, continue to see the community as an African institution that commends the social system of the village and its institution. Despite some of the rigid laws of the church, early leaders of the emergent church have been flexible on issues like polygyny. One important distinction they continue to make is that Harris was a prophet sent by God to black people as Jesus was sent to the whites. Harris is honored with his own day of celebration, for his followers recognize Jesus as the creator of God's prophets.

### **Adventures and Testimonies: African Churches in the Diaspora**

Immigrant religious communities bring a new sense of vitality to the institutional expressions of Christianity, which are in rapid decline in the West. Speaking on Europe, Philip Jenkins states that "when we measure the declining strength of Christianity in Europe, we must remember how much leaner the statistics would be if not for the recent immigrants and their children, the new Europeans."<sup>30</sup> They also engender a new awareness of "missions from the periphery" to the people of the West. The influences of Pentecostal and charismatic churches from Africa, Asia, and Latin America are now spreading all over the world. Whether in New York City, Dallas, Chicago, London, or in the Ukraine, these churches are consciously changing the direction of the flow of missionary activities in the world today. In their strategies, methods, and theological emphasis, these non-Western missionary movements are different from the Western missionary movement that preceded it. This is due to the fact that these churches from Africa, Asia, and Latin America are developing theological and missiological paradigms that are informed by their own experience, which is usually from "the underside of history." The forces that shaped the Western missionary movement, which include the ideologies of imperialism and empire, are conspicuously absent from

these newer missionary movements to the West. African Christianity affirms the fluidity and mobility of faith. As a movement working through time and space, it is open to continuous reinterpretations and the decentralization of knowledge. The forms and structures of African Christianity are not determined from one center; rather, they are polycentric. Some of its trends underscore the radical indigenization of faith, liturgy, and theology. African Christianity in the diaspora also offers insights for understanding the *modus operandi* of the early church. Both processes emphasize the power of the spirit, communal well-being, proximate salvation, charismatic renewal, and laity empowerment. These factors have contributed to the indigenization, interpretation, and adaptability of African Christianity in its internal and external forms of migration. For all intents and purposes, this phenomenon underscores the indigenous character of global Christianity.

African Christians in the diaspora have contributed to the resurgence of the Christian faith in the West. A religious tradition that was once on the throes of near death has been brought back to life by emerging churches and assemblies. The Redeemed Church of God (RCCG) from Nigeria is at the forefront of a new evangelistic outreach to the West. This phenomenon has also reshaped the narrative concerning the territoriality of the Christian West. Its North American headquarters is in Dallas-Fort Worth. In 2013, the church dedicated a \$15.5 million Pavilion Center for its ever-expanding Redemption Camp. African immigrant congregations are challenging the normative notion of the West as the exclusive haven of European and Euro-American Christianity. Contemporary discussions in global Christianity are reassessing the map of the Christian West with Africans as visible members of that landscape.

### **Conclusion**

Immigrant religious communities are consciously contributing to the renewal of Christianity all over the globe. In our contemporary world, there is hardly any major city that is not multireligious and multicultural largely because of the constant migration of peoples of diverse nationalities and religions. When people move, they take their religious identity with them, and in cultural contexts, religious affiliation has become one of the veritable ways of coping with deracination. In the Americas, immigrant religious communities are reformulating the credentials of the Christian faith. Latinas/os, Africans, and Asians are adding their own spiritual understanding, faith, and practice to Christianity. No longer confined to the periphery of the Christian faith, these churches are now part of the center of the Christian faith. In fact, in the Americas and in other parts of the globe, a new spiritual *zeitgeist* that challenges the complacency of established ecclesiastical structures is under way. Immigrant religious communities have engendered this awakening. Christianity in the twenty-first century will be largely defined by the religious genius, paradigms, and formulations in these churches.

### Notes

1. Bength Sundkler, "African Church History in a New Key," in *Religion, Development and African Identity*, ed. Kirsten Holst-Peterson (Upsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1987), 75.
2. Meredith McKittrick, *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity, and Colonialism in Oyamboland* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002).
3. E. A. Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836–1917* (New York: Routledge, 1970).
4. For example, another church leader of Nigerian Christianity that could be studied in light of migration and movement is Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the first Anglican black bishop consecrated in Nigeria. See Peter McKenzie, *Hail Orisha! A Phenomenology of a West African Religion in the Mid-nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publisher, 1997).
5. Ken Priebe, "Strategies for Evangelistic Outreach Learned from the Life and Ministry of Five Cameroonian Evangelists who Brought the Gospel to the Grasslands of Cameroon," DMiss, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1994, 4 6.
6. *Ibid.*, 47.
7. The Benders served as North American Baptist Missionaries to Cameroon. Their daughter got married to the Evangelical theologian Carl F. H. Henry, founding editor of *Christianity Today*.
8. Lloyd E. Kwast, *The Discipling of West Cameroon: A Study of Baptist Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 90.
9. *Ibid.*, 111.
10. Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York: HarperOne, 2008); Walter Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1917).
11. See original reference in William Kiyam, interview by Rev. I. Kome Songka, Cameroon, 1987.
12. We are indebted to Ken Priebe and Isaac Kome for these references.
13. Adriaan Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450–1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
14. Priebe, "Strategies for Evangelistic Outreach," 47.
15. Kwast, *The Discipling of West Cameroon*, 9 0.
16. Paul Gebauer, "Christ at the African crossroad," in *In All of the Cameroons*, ed. M. L. Leuschner (Cleveland: Roger Williams Press, 1949), 101.
17. Kwast, *The Discipling of West Cameroon*, 9 1.
18. We have depended on a number of sources for this chapter. Some of the best sources on the life of Harris include: Sheila S. Walker, *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast: The Prophet Harris and the Harrist Church* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); David A. Shank, "A Prophet of Modern Times: The Thought of William Wade Harris, West African Precursor of the Reign of Christ," PhD thesis, University of Aberdeen (Scotland), 3 vols; "The Hymnody of the Harrist Church among the Dida of South-Central Ivory Coast (1913–1949): An Historico-Religious Study," PhD thesis, University of Birmingham (England), 2 vols, 1989.
19. Walker, *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast*, 1 45.
20. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
21. *Ibid.*, 1 1.

22. Shank, "A Prophet of Modern Times."
23. Walker, *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast*, 1 5.
24. We are indebted to James R. Kribill for this account. See his "DIDA Harrist Hymnody (1913–1900)," *Journal of Religion in Africa* XX, 2 (1900): 118–152; also his full-length dissertation, "The Hymnody of the Harrist Church among the Dida of South-Central Ivory Coast (1913–1900)."
25. Walker, *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast*, 37.
26. Ibid., 39–40.
27. Ibid., 5 1.
28. See Kribill, "DIDA Harrist Hymnody (1913–1900)," and his full-length dissertation, "The Hymnody of the Harrist Church among the Dida of South-Central Ivory Coast (1913–1900)."
29. Walker, *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast*, 1 1.
30. Ibid.

## Chapter 4

# Intercultural Church: A Challenge in the Asian Migrant Context

*Agnes M. Brazal and Emmanuel S. de Guzman*

*Interculturality goes beyond binary thinking of “us” and “they” as well as the exoticization of diversity, in favour of an empowering in-beyond.<sup>1</sup>*

The irreversible flow of migrants across the globe is making an impact on the shape of the church of the future. What does it mean to be church among peoples of difference who are struggling to find their place in one space? This chapter attempts to draw an itinerary of the Asian church in migration. It describes some features of the contemporary Asian migration landscape and identifies the migrant ministries highlighted in the Episcopal statements. It then situates Asian churches within four general models of church response to migration and focuses on how their ministries can adopt a more intercultural approach.

### The Asian Migration Landscape

There has been migration within Asia in the precolonial times (e.g., migration of Malays and Indonesians to the Philippines, Koreans to Japan, Chinese to Korea) as well as during the colonial period (e.g., Indians to Malaysia, migrant workers from China to various parts of Asia). Contemporary migration within Asia, however, was precipitated in the early 1970s when the petro-rich countries in the Middle East began recruiting workers from south and southeast Asia for their booming oil economy. With rapid industrial development in the 1980s, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, and Malaysia emerged as new destinations for both regular and irregular migrants. In the 1990s, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand also began receiving migrant labor. Following the postwar guest worker migration in Europe, migrants in Asia can only be employed for a short period, oftentimes two years, and workers are not allowed to bring their family members to settle.

Aside from labor migration, political ideological rivalries among the superpowers have led to conflicts forcing the displacement of peoples such as the

Vietnamese boat refugees, the Hmong in Laos and Thailand, Kampuchean in Thailand, and Afghans in Pakistan. Refugee camps have likewise emerged as a result of ethnic conflicts: between Sunni Muslims and Shiite Muslims in Pakistan; Buddhists and Hindus in Sri Lanka; Muslims and Christians in some parts of Indonesia as Sulawesi and Maluku; Moros and Christians in the southern part of the Philippines; Muslims and Christians in India suffering violence at the hands of extremist Hindus; Christians in Pakistan at the hands of extremist Muslims; and the “One Bhutan-One People Policy” against the ethnic Nepali minority.

Amid this context, there are some Asian cultures that for centuries have not been used to the presence of foreigners or other ethnic groups. The population of North and South Korea has been almost homogenous for many centuries. A major challenge today for the Koreans is to go beyond the “secret bond and intensity of ‘one-nation-ism.’”<sup>2</sup> Japan, for example, has a very strong insider/outsider consciousness. The Japanese bishops note how “in contemporary Japanese society differences in race, gender, language, culture, customs, laws and religion tend to be threatening to the Japanese and deepen tendencies toward discrimination and exclusivism.”<sup>3</sup> Internal migration to Goa, India, has likewise fueled the sentiment of “Goa for the Goans only.”

In terms of religion, Christianity is a minority religion in Asia, roughly two hundred million in a population of over three billion, of which less than one hundred million are Catholics.<sup>4</sup> One finds Asian Catholic migrants especially in those coming from the Philippines, the state of Kerala in India, and the island of Flores in Indonesia. In some countries of the Middle East, the migrants’ right to worship is not recognized, and they are not allowed to bring religious objects such as the Bible and the rosary. In Japan, Catholic migrants can also be found among the Nikkeijin, particularly the descendants of Japanese who emigrated to Brazil and Peru. The foreign Catholics have already outnumbered the native Japanese Catholics.<sup>5</sup> Proportionally however, most migrants are from other religions. Thus, the Church, while addressing the pastoral needs of Catholic migrants, must also extend assistance to the non-Catholics.

In the context of a plurality of religions and the increased mobility of peoples fostered by globalization, interreligious marriages have also increased. Some Filipino women migrate to Japan as tourist brides. A number of these marriages however are invalid and in the case of divorce, leave the wives without legal claims. The divorce rate is relatively high because of language and other cultural gaps.<sup>6</sup> Taiwanese bishops also note the increase in the number of foreign brides from the Philippines married to non-Catholic Chinese husbands. They express concern regarding the education and religious formation of the children.<sup>7</sup>

### **“Ministries” Highlighted in the Asian Episcopal Statements**

Contemporary migration has taken many churches in Asia by surprise. Migration was initially viewed as a “nonissue” by the churches and as a

responsibility of the state. Responses to migrants' needs were coming more from individuals than from the church as a community. Catholic migrants, on their own initiative, looked for a venue and a priest to celebrate the liturgy in their own language. Starting in the mid-1980s, Asia's episcopate began to recognize the need to minister to/with migrants. The churches in Asia though have not given equal attention to the issue of migration, with some coming up with pastoral statements more than others. The following pastoral "ministries" pertaining to migration have been highlighted by the Episcopal conferences of Asia.

### ***Ministry of Welcome***

This includes the provision of assistance to newly arrived migrants and refugees in the form of transit dormitories, canteens, medical/legal/emergency assistance offices, and orientation sessions on the culture and laws of the land.<sup>8</sup> Ship visitation and opportunities for sound socialization and entertainment are also provided to seafarers (sea-based migrants) at the port, as what the Apostleship of the Sea<sup>9</sup> and other Christian maritime organizations are doing. Initial welcome has to be complemented by efforts toward the gradual integration of migrants through the following ministries.

### ***Ministry of Worship***

The celebration of the Eucharist oftentimes functions as a central event that gathers Christian migrants in fellowship. Liturgical services in their own language or rite<sup>10</sup> help keep the faith of the migrants alive as they try to adjust in their new environment. Compared to the Japanese liturgies, Brazilian and Filipinos liturgies employ more festive music. The Japanese bishops affirm the need to respect different ways of worship.<sup>11</sup> Felipe Muncada, a Filipino missionary who works with migrants in Japan, notes the presence of encouraging initiatives to integrate Hispanic/Filipino/Portuguese mass liturgies with the Japanese liturgy. Different languages are used for the songs and readings.<sup>12</sup>

In their 1989 statement, the Taiwanese bishops also stated that non-Catholics can use the parish for their social activities. In 2004, *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi* (EMCC 56) clarified that in the spirit of ecumenism, "if priests, ministers or communities not in full communion with the Catholic Church do not have a place or the liturgical objects needed for celebrating worthily their religious ceremonies, the diocesan Bishop may allow them to use a church or a Catholic building and also lend them whatever may be necessary for their services."

### ***Ministry of Storytelling/Teaching***

The church of arrival can offer possibilities for sharing of stories with/among migrants such as table fellowships, counseling services, and formation programs for the migrants and their families. These can address in

particular the needs of intermarriage problems, fostering mutual respect for religious practices, and the transmission of values to children.<sup>13</sup> Coming from a major sending country, the Philippine bishops recognize the need for pastoral care for both the migrants as well as the families left behind. Church personnel both clergy and laity have been deployed for these purposes. Religious congregations are encouraged to adopt a ministry to the migrants.<sup>14</sup> Some private schools in the Philippines conduct special gatherings for students left behind, who are increasingly becoming the majority of their school population. The Episcopal Commission for Migrants and Itinerant People conduct programs for the sons and daughters of overseas Filipino workers. The issues and needs of fathers left behind as well as those of migrant families with HIV can also be addressed. Courses on migration are also introduced in seminaries and other formation programs to orient priests, seminarians, religious, and the laity to be able to ensure a quality in the Church's response and for them to relate better with those from other countries.<sup>15</sup> The Church likewise helps raise the bigger public's awareness of migration issues through the commemoration of National Migrants Sunday, which the Catholic hierarchy formally established in 1982. In the 2005 celebration in Taiwan, for example, the occasion focused on the migrants' contribution to Taiwan.

Migrant workers are not just objects of evangelization but are—as Pope John Paul II underlined referring to Filipinos in particular—evangelizers and missionaries themselves.<sup>16</sup> No systematic study has been done as to the extent to which migrant workers are invigorating the churches abroad. The Philippine bishops however note: “Many are the stories of the positive effects of their faith witness on others.”<sup>17</sup> In order to harness this potential, an appropriate catechesis should be given to migrants before they go abroad.<sup>18</sup> In the host country, catechesis can be given in their own language.<sup>19</sup> The Taiwanese bishops affirmed that foreign workers can be messengers of the good news of God's reign, and underlined how “the Roman empire was converted by foreign workers, slaves, soldiers and merchants who were believers in Christ.”<sup>20</sup>

Language is an important factor for integration in the host country. The Korean bishops view it as the duty of the employers to provide for this. The Japanese bishops regard the enhancement of language skills as one of the tasks of the Japanese church to be done in collaboration with civic groups and the government to facilitate integration.<sup>21</sup>

### ***Ministry of Advocacy and Networking***

Advocacy aims at transforming the field of power relations so people are given a voice in the decisions and actions that affect them. This includes exposing structures of inequality in global migration and advocating for the rights of migrants, including their right to reunite with families and to redefine citizenship.



### ***On Rights of Migrants and Their Families***

A key concern for advocacy is the protection and the defense of the rights of migrants and their families. The Philippine episcopate notes the fact that “the work of a migrant worker benefits more the receiving country than the country of origin.”<sup>22</sup> It is therefore only just that they are protected by the host country. Taiwanese bishops concur that the work of migrants has helped Taiwan to become competitive in the world market.<sup>23</sup> They urge employers to treat their workers fairly. If workers feel respected, they work better thus this can also benefit the employer.

On the issue of irregular migration, parishes and other local Christian communities should be used as venues to educate the people about illegal recruitment and how to avoid this.<sup>24</sup> Taiwanese bishops address legislators and magistrates to come up with a solution to the paradoxical situation of the shortage of labor on the one hand, and the large number of irregular migrants who become victims of deception and exploitation on the other. Governments in East and Southeast Asia do not deal squarely with the labor shortage problem by raising the quota or number of regular labor migrants allowed to enter the country. This is because though not officially admitted, their economies need irregular migrants as a much cheaper source of exploitable labor. The Taiwanese bishops admonish the government to legalize the irregular workers and grant them an amnesty to stop the various forms of exploitation and legal violations. This in turn, according to them, would further boost Taiwan’s economic development as well as instill goodwill so that they too can expect their citizens to be treated equally when abroad.<sup>25</sup> The Japanese bishops also criticize the Immigration Law of Japan, which does not provide residential status for those who do unskilled labor and is very restrictive in the activity migrants can engage in. They propose that the Immigration Law be amended based on a human rights framework.<sup>26</sup> The Korean bishops on their part plea for a development that is “in communion with all nations” and assert that it is “by cooperation for the development of people that the new Korea can be achieved.” They warn that “if we insist merely on our own interest while ignoring these important aspects we will have to face being called ‘economic animals’ and will gradually be isolated from the global community.”<sup>27</sup> They stress that the positive contribution of migrants to the Korean economy can be recognized by giving them protection by law.<sup>28</sup>

The Philippine bishops also take to task embassies to first and foremost put the protection of migrants, even of irregular migrants, as their duty.<sup>29</sup> This is in the context of many complaints against embassy officials who do not sufficiently attend to the needs and problems of overseas contract workers. The Philippine bishops mark as a positive event the ratification of the United Nations’ International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, hoping that other nations will join in order that the law be enforced.<sup>30</sup> The Episcopal conferences of Japan and Taiwan, both receiving countries, support its ratification.<sup>31</sup>

As regards the gender dimension, the Federation of Asian Bishops Conference admits that many Asian societies view women as inferior. In the migration context, women become victims of sexual harassment and exploitation, a source of cheap labor, and are forced to withstand inhuman working and living conditions.<sup>32</sup> Filipino bishops urge that the policies and programs on migrant workers should be gender-sensitive.<sup>33</sup>

### ***On Migration/Tourism as a Development Strategy***

Some countries have capitalized on the mobility of peoples to develop economically. In the mid-1970s, the Philippine government under Ferdinand Marcos had adopted migration as a development strategy. While many positive things have been brought about by labor migration, there is also a human and social cost to overseas work. The bishops thus teach that “because so much harm often goes hand in hand with Filipino overseas employment, the State should not promote overseas employment as a means to sustain economic growth and achieve national development.”<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the domestic economy of the Philippines has not really improved after three decades of deployment of workers overseas. The bishops thus advocate instead that the Philippines should harness its political will to move toward industrialization in order that it can provide jobs for Filipinos at home.

Another development strategy adopted by many countries in Asia is tourism. In 1991, dubbed as “Visit Indonesia Year” by the Indonesian government, the national conference came out with a pastoral letter acknowledging both the potential for improving people’s lives, which tourism can bring, as well as the dangers it poses. They speak beautifully of a spirituality of tourism when people can find God “in the beauty of nature, in traditions of people and in the culture of the hosting country.”<sup>35</sup> In the encounter of peoples from various backgrounds, tourism can open the road to dialogue and growth in knowledge and understanding of one another. It can help in the redistribution of resources with the flow of capital from the rich countries to the economically poor ones, to finance various tourist-related work producing industries. Observing what has happened in other Asian countries, the bishops warn of the danger of sex tourism where women and young girls are lured into prostitution<sup>36</sup> as well as the destruction of the environment under the banner of “tourism development,” both in exchange for cheap economic profits.

### ***Church Structures to Support these Ministries***

It has been recommended that a diocesan desk for migrant concerns be established.<sup>37</sup> The parish family life apostolate is also encouraged to address specifically the families left behind.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Models of Asian Migrant Churches***

While it is important to focus on specific ministries or forms of pastoral care in response to the migration phenomenon, it is equally crucial to reflect on

the bigger question of what kind of church is evolving in the migration context. In what model of church are the various ministries being performed? In this section, we shall attempt to identify various models of pastoral actions and theological insights in addressing the needs of migrants,<sup>39</sup> as they can be observed in the Asian churches. Models are conceptual maps or typologies that help simplify and explain actual experiences. The models we shall be discussing are not exclusive of each other; the practices may overlap. They are also not meant to be exhaustive but serve as invitation to further reflections from those who work with migrants in Asia. Four models of the church are elaborated on, namely, the monocultural host church, the monocultural migrant church, the multicultural church, and the intercultural church. We shall deal more with the intercultural church model—which is still in its seminal stage of development—and propose it as a vision toward which different churches can direct or orient themselves.

### ***Monocultural Host Church***

In this model, migrants of varied backgrounds are incorporated into one church (hence, “mono”)—the host church with its culture. It is based on the “melting pot” image of a migrant society. Migrants are expected to melt and blend in with the mainstream culture. The individual foreign migrant is assimilated into the religious practices of the receiving society. Proponents of this model believe they are committed to the Pauline vision of Christ’s community of saints: “As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ, there is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female, for all of you are one in Christ Jesus” (Gal. 3: 28). This pre-Pauline baptismal formula affirms that all sociocultural differences are transcended in Christ. They now have equal standing in the church. While differences in biology, ethnicity, and social status remain, their cultural-religious significance are no longer valid within the Christian community.

In actual practice however, since the Gospel cannot but be embodied in a particular culture/language, the culture of the host church remains the norm in this model. In some monocultural host churches, overassertion of cultural identities is seen as a threat to the unity of the whole, and thus they do not encourage special ministries for particular ethnic or linguistic groups. In others, some possibilities for the celebration of liturgies in their own language may be provided (e.g., twice a month, in the main church or parish basement). In a parish in Taiwan, a Filipino migrant El Shaddai (charismatic) community was relegated to celebrating their liturgies in the parish basement because the usually tolerant Buddhist neighborhood could not understand why they have to use drums and electric guitar in their liturgical celebrations. Their style of worship contrasts radically with the usually solemn Chinese liturgical celebrations.

The host church can also have projects like local tourism, language skills, and professional development modules. Legal, medical, and health assistance

may be given. There may be a committee in the parish in-charge of taking care of the special needs of the migrants.<sup>40</sup> Migrants are basically beneficiaries of the services of the host church whose staff are from the mainstream culture. The staff might not necessarily possess the linguistic skills to communicate to the migrants in their own language. In some cases this may be a conscious decision to help the migrants adopt to the mainstream culture. In other cases, this is simply due to the lack of qualified personnel.

In terms of the church's attitude toward popular religiosity, migrants can be viewed as needing "purification" from their "superstitious" and "queer" practices rooted in some "primitive" worlds. The host culture sees itself as "cleansing" the migrants to "cloth them with Christ." A similar attitude may or may not be reflected in the church's relation with migrants of other Christian faiths and religions.

The monocultural host church thus is a vehicle to socialize the migrants into the local Christian culture. In turn, this appeals to migrants whose goal is to be accepted by conforming to the local ways of the host culture. This model is usually adopted when the population of migrants is small or when a monocultural migrant church is nearby.

### ***Monocultural Migrant Church***

The monocultural migrant church model refers to a church community of one ethnic identity of migrants who may be living together in a particular section of a town or a city. They establish their own parish such as a "Vietnamese church." In Cambodia where Vietnamese have migrated in several waves in the past, churches in exclusive Vietnamese Catholic villages have developed around Phnom Penh in the late 1990s. They worship solely in Vietnamese, thus excluding the Khmer Catholics.<sup>41</sup>

The monocultural migrant church can also be in the form of a religious organization as a national association of migrants or chaplaincy, like a "Filipino Catholic center," which is annexed to a parish or recognized by the diocesan leadership. Though living in different parts of the metropolis or region, the migrants organize on the basis of their national and religious affiliation. The monocultural migrant church can likewise take the form of a refugee church at the borders of countries, such as the refugee camp for Sri Lankans run by the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India.<sup>42</sup>

In all these cases, ethnolinguistic affiliation is intimately linked to religious identity, and the ministers are immigrants or sent by the church of national origin. Communication and interaction takes place among members of the same ethnolinguistic group. The ministers render services similar to what the ethnic-based groups would receive in their countries of origin. In this church, migrants continue the cultural and religious customs from their homeland. The religious environment is, for example, Korean; the language, symbols, and leadership are Korean; and the Gospel is explained through the lens of the Korean experience. Because of the strong ethnic component of this model, migrants foster a strong link with their country of origin in various

ways. Analogously, the church here is the “salt” that serves as the additive, or preservative, or gives binding strength to cultures. As salt accents the flavor of food, the national or ethny-based church is a conservator of the cultural identity of migrants.

For migrants residing in the country of their former colonizers, the monocultural migrant church today provides a “home” as well as a net of solidarity to resist the overpowering culture of the host society. Where there are political restrictions to religious practices, the ethny-based church provides sanctuary and security for migrants to express their Christian faith according to their cultural tradition. In many Asian countries, the Christian church is a minority and its members are immigrants. In Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia, the Catholics came mostly from the neighboring country, Vietnam, and were traditionally considered “churches of immigrants.” Monocultural migrant churches have thus given the impression to the locals in Asian countries that Christianity is an alien or foreign religion.

This model may find support in the image of the church as a migrant on earth—an “alien and exile” as reflected upon in the first letter of Peter (2:11), and a “stranger and foreigner seeking a homeland” according to the author of the letter to the Hebrews (11:13–14). These images are based on the historical conditions of Christians in the diaspora. The audiences of the letters were suffering from actual geographical dislocation, sociocultural uprootedness, and persecution. As a wandering people in search of home, the church is in a condition of “now and not yet,” whose hope is anchored on the promise of God of a “heavenly home.”

### **Multicultural Church**

The third model develops from the bringing together of the monocultural migrant church on the one hand and the monocultural host church on the other. It is distinctive from the other models in the sense that various migrant groups (thus the term “multicultural”) are structurally allowed to organize based on their ethnicities and to conduct in the parish or the diocese, their own worship, programs, and activities, under a clergy from their ethny. Though on some special occasions, the different groups gather for a common liturgical celebration, they are for the most part relatively autonomous.

This model assumes that cultures are autonomous spheres, with their own histories, identities, traditions, and languages, which they can preserve in the receiving society. Today’s multicultural church promotes cultural variety by giving each migrant group freedom to develop and grow in their communal life of faith according to their cultural wisdom and resources, and under the headship of their own leaders. In a diocese, for example, each ethnic community has its own territorial domains, with their own churches (Chinatown, Korean town, Indian village, Vietnamese street, etc.). There is little effort done for the groups to relate with one other, as there is also less opportunity for communication exchange and common activities. Rather

than looking at the group differences as a “problem,” diverse migrant groups are sources for invigorating the host church.

Competition and rivalry do arise between the migrant communities in seeking recognition and privileges from the host church, like the use of places, requests for religious services, the attention of ministers, and for financial support as well. In these situations, the host church enforces policies and rules that will respect diversity and promote equal opportunities by separating the various groups as much as possible. As various cultural practices in this church model are respected, other Christian faiths and religions are at the very least tolerated. Analogously, the multicultural church is a “salad bowl” consisting of separate ingredients, each with its own taste, shape, texture, and identity. These ingredients (cultures) are tossed and joined together without losing their identities.

This model may have some similarities with the early Christian house churches, some of which may have been organized along ethnic lines. This is very possible as house churches have been established in the immigrant section of cities where migrants settle by ethnic groups. Naturally, Christians would join house churches that are nearer to their place. The house church of Prisca and Aquila may have been a predominantly Jewish Christian church as they themselves are Jewish; the two house congregations referred to in Romans 16:14 and 15 may have been composed mostly of Greek-speaking Gentile converts who were slaves or former slaves.<sup>43</sup>

As there are many *ekklesiae* within Paul’s reach, they all are united in the one church of Christ. Though separated by distance and circumstances, each community strives to be faithful to Christ’s teachings and to work out their own expression of discipleship that fits their culture’s ways. At times Paul praises the efforts of the communities, and at other times, critical and challenging words are spoken, especially when dissensions and factionalism are breaking the church apart. Moreover, the well-being of each community rests on the shoulders of the leaders who Paul thanks for their zeal and commitment. They come from the ranks of their respective churches and they include women, slaves, new converts, former prisoners, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters and relatives, the young and the elderly (see Rom. 16:1–23).

### ***Intercultural Church***

While the understanding of what interculturality means continues to develop, among its main elements, as identified by the International Network on Cultural Policy, are the creation of spaces for interactions among diverse cultures, the call for mutual listening and dialogue, and a consequent positive transformation in the view of the other.<sup>44</sup> Wolfgang Welsch criticizes a type of intercultural discourse that regards cultures as islands or homogenous spheres. He thus prefers the term “transculturality” to focus on the mixtures of and permeations between cultures.<sup>45</sup> However, the term “transculturality”

can also lend itself to being misunderstood as “supracultural,” and thus we prefer to retain the term “interculturality” while nuancing its meaning.

The three models described earlier tend to view culture as a total way of living shared homogeneously by its members. This culture is crafted in a distant past and passed on to generations with minor changes. In this view, the migrants among themselves and the host church as well are seen as possessing systems of living that are essentially dissimilar to one another. Some of the models endorse separation of migrants, while others pursue assimilation with the host church.

The intercultural model we speak of takes another perspective in the sense that culture is understood as dynamic, heterogeneous, and negotiated.<sup>46</sup> When people lived settled lives and encounters between different cultures were minimal, it seemed rational to think of cultures as monolithic wholes. Today when there is so much intermingling of cultures, the impossibility of thinking of cultures as homogenous entities has become more apparent. The notion of “pure” and exclusive culture has given way to a culture with the intrinsic character to interconnect with others. A certain amount of foreignness is present in every culture. As Filipino anthropologist Fernando Zialcita phrased provocatively, “We are all mestizos.”<sup>47</sup>

The intercultural model is also attentive to the heterogeneous and negotiated character of cultures. Culture is not a monolithic whole, rather, there exist multiple identities and divergent practices based on class, gender, age, sexual orientation, and so on. Migrants negotiate their culture and identities within a context of power relations. Cruising intercultural relations, migrants in their “in betwixt-and-between” predicament (“both this and that, and simultaneously, neither this nor that”)<sup>48</sup> find a way to survive and make meaning of their existence. The *raison d’être* of maintaining or rejecting a traditional cultural practice/identity in the migrant context is rooted in how this ultimately facilitates the experience of well-being in the new context.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, in a largely prereflective mode, migrants become mediators of different cultures. They have the potential to reflexively discern the strengths and weaknesses of both cultures. However, for cultural exchange to be truly mutual, it is necessary to equalize power relations through society’s recognition of the cultural capital of migrants as well as migrants’ increased access to economic capital.

### ***Intercultural Church as Third Space***

Interculturality thus is also “transculturality,” which highlights the creation of identities ensuing from the process of cultural negotiation. This does not mean that people lose their identity; on the contrary, interculturality makes people appreciate better the richness of cultures, their own and others. Culture is a synergy of the old and new, past and present, native and foreign, local and global.

In line with an intercultural vision, and aware of how Japanese Christians themselves can be exclusivist, the Japanese bishops emphasize that

the church is to be a community in which people of all generations from many different places, different ways of life and different cultures enter into relationships with one another, mutually accepting the differences that exist among themselves... This effort to overcome differences between peoples does not mean trying to assimilate the others by imposing one's own lifestyle on them, but should be seen as bringing to birth a new society and culture within which we can all live together.<sup>50</sup>

The movement toward in-beyond or transcending identities, participated in by migrants and the receiving local church, makes the intercultural model distinct from other designs. The view of the church as an internally undifferentiated and externally disassociated body is replaced by an embodied church of intersecting multiple heterogeneous bodies that is moving to a new configuration in Christ. The church, particularly its hierarchy, is not exterior to nor an arbiter of cultures. The entire church is the believers' sustained practice of mutual exchange and cooperation, remodeling ever anew in continuing growth process.

Indeed, the greatest resources of the intercultural church are the migrants. As the global church affirms, migrants are the "hidden providential builders," the "living sign," and an "effective reminder" of the church's identity as communion, characterized by unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity (EMCC, 17, 18, 97, 103).

### ***Interculturality and the Trinity***

The Trinity is a Christian symbol that captures the spirit of the intercultural church. At the heart of the Christian doctrine is the mystery of the one God characterized by relationality, equality in diversity, and creativity.<sup>51</sup> The Trinity speaks of a God who freely initiates friendship, life, and love. In the language of the creed, God emerges entirely as a God-in-relation. In the community of friendship, the triune God is animated by mutual partnership and commitment.

The Trinity is not a hierarchy of persons. There is no first, second, and third places in the Trinity, and there is also no higher, middle, and lower states. Rather, while referring to distinct individualities, the three persons/hypostases are at the same time equal because they all share the same ousia or substance. God is one who is both similar and different. In this diversity, God's gracious love is abundant to flow in the creation of the universe and that same love continually overflows to produce goodness in every creature. This means that all things and persons of whatever identity are potentially or in fact actual bearers of the Trinitarian love.

For these reasons, the intercultural community welcomes the "others" as equals, with their diverse gifts, to cocreate the church into the image of the



Trinity. As in the Trinity, cultural creativity and mutual fecundity is a process of dynamic communion and interdependence, mutual relations with peoples of other cultures, including that of the migrants. This implies also working in the secular world to make it a reflection of the Trinitarian love. Believers are urged to politicize their love that seeks to transform social structures into effective instruments of human liberation and human solidarity. The intercultural church is not for itself, but to serve the greater humanity, which moans for equality and solidarity.

### **Journeying toward an Intercultural Church**

The ministries we have discussed in the second section of this chapter can be exercised within most, if not all, of the church models. To make the ministries more intercultural in orientation, here are some added areas of consideration.

#### ***Ministry of Welcome***

In the ministry of welcome in an intercultural church, a migrant is accepted into a church of mutually influencing cultures and not in just one local culture. The local residents and ministers also are not in their “own” church but in an intercultural space. The category of “host and guest” is meaningless in this model. What would be significant are the acts of “hosting and guesting,” which are required of all in God’s home. Hospitality is creating a free, friendly, and engaging space where the partnership of strangers can develop in a dynamic relationship of making each other find a home and be at home. The intercultural community is God’s graced shelter for friendship and fellowship in a “home away from home.”

#### ***Ministry of Worship***

Mutual enrichment characterizes the worship in an intercultural church. *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi* (EMCC 46) underlines the need for “in-depth work of evangelization and of enabling the local Catholic community to know and appreciate certain forms of devotion of migrants and thus to understand them. From this union of spirit a more participated liturgy can also develop, one that is better integrated and spiritually richer.” Valuable as they are, popular religious expressions contain also conservative, pietistic, dualistic spiritualism, and patriarchal-hierarchical values and assumptions. These will have to be revised in favor of values and styles that interculturality promotes, such as openness to change and new perspectives, equality and mutual respect of gender and other identities, holistic approach to spirituality, ethic of participation, and involvement in social concerns. By integrating these into the religious practices, migrants can fashion new forms of Christian worship.

### ***Ministry of Dialogue with Peoples of Other Faiths***

While the Asian Church's active involvement in interreligious dialogue is beyond doubt, it is surprising that there is very little reference in the Asian Church teachings on migration on interfaith/interreligious dialogue with migrants. This was mentioned only in the case of intermarriages. An intercultural church can function as a bridge of solidarity to cross or heal divides and establish cultures of solidarity between migrants of different faiths. This can be done through various forms of dialogue. In the West, interreligious dialogue has been identified mainly with formal dialogues at the doctrinal level. In Asia, interreligious dialogue happens both at the formal and at the informal level. A most basic approach is the dialogue of life where believers from various faiths (especially those living near each other) interact in daily life. C. S. Batumalai calls this good neighbor-ology. The dialogue occurs in the context of daily life—in the supermarket, the factory, the hospital, the office—through cordial relations. More organized multifaith communities can also engage in collaborative projects.

To facilitate dialogue and harmonious relations with peoples of other faiths, Catholic educational institutions can promote in their curriculum mutual understanding of different religions by offering courses, for instance, about the Islamic faith. They can likewise organize activities for students to have interactions with migrants of other faiths, either in the school, or facilitate intercultural immersions for the youth (e.g., a Moslem immigrant can live with a Catholic immigrant or national for a weekend or a week).

Non-Christian immigrants may also be allowed to use spaces for social activities in the parish. The activities held therein may be an opportunity to know each other's faith<sup>52</sup> as well as a chance to identify and tap cultural mediators on both sides, who can bridge cultural and religious blocks to promote mutual understanding (EMCC 61). In places where there are no spaces for worship for peoples of other faiths, a social activity hall turned into a special chapel (e.g., Moslem chapel) can be set aside in the parish if there is a fairly large number of migrant believers from this group in the area.

### ***Ministers for an Intercultural Church***

An intercultural church requires ministers (ordained and lay) who can function as effective cultural mediators. Such a big task needs a team of ministers who think, feel, and act intercultural. This means that they are grounded in their own cultural and religious identity, which they bring as a gift in the dialogue with peoples of difference. The minister ideally must also know the language and culture both of the migrants and of the receiving society in order that he or she can truly function as a "bridge, linking the community of migrants to the host community" (EMCC 77). The best model would include migrants, former migrants, or children of migrants who grew up living in several cultural worlds. This team has to be committed as well as competent psychoemotionally, spiritually, relationally, and intellectually. Sending

and receiving churches should not assign ministers who are troubled with problems or are simply in need of some respite. A certain maturity in personability is desired to escort the mutually enriching cultures in their communal search for God.

As mediators of relationships, ministers exercise evocative leadership to engender mutual empowerment. It involves appreciating acts of collaboration, trusting people and accompanying them even in learning from mistakes, nurturing personal and group confidence, as well as challenging harmful thinking and behaviors that obstruct intercultural respect. It is equally important for ministers to accept their limitations, to ask help from migrants, and to be evangelized by the migrants.

Regarding migrant chaplaincy, it is better if the chaplain works in a team partnership with a local priest, if not the parish priest himself. He must have a grasp of the dynamics of migration and formation in intercultural communication (EMCC 78). In relation to the choice of a chaplain for the migrants, there is a need for mutual collaboration between the church in the sending and the receiving countries. Churches in the sending countries should avoid sending problematic priests or those with questionable orientations to minister to the migrants. In the Philippines, while the Episcopal Commission for Migrants and Itinerant People prescribes that priests sent to be chaplains abroad must be approved first by the Commission, many a times this has not been strictly observed.

Ministers also need to be critical of the use of biblical narratives that tend to monopolize the truth about God and give legitimacy to an ideology of supremacy and exclusion. To offer a liberating message to migrants, they have to read the Bible from the perspective of the “others” whose voices are hidden, suppressed, or distorted in the written texts. It is envisioned in the intercultural church that theological reflections will be about experiences of God and Jesus “from the margins,” “from the underside,” “from the Canaanites,” “from the borderland,” “from the outcasts,” and “from the belly of the empire.” And where religions intersect, Christians are obliged to explicitly share their story of God-in-Jesus as a saving story for humanity, yet with openness that their story is not the whole story as there are also other narratives of redemption in their midst.<sup>53</sup>

## Conclusion

There is a food originating in Mexico (also popular in the Philippines) that consists of diced and chopped ingredients such as meat (usually tripe or pork meat), bell pepper, sometimes carrots and tomatoes, as well as onions, garlic, chili, hominy or beans, herbs, and spices. As these are mixed and slowly stewed for hours, some ingredients melt and blend while other chunks remain. The chunks retain their identities yet their flavors have become opulent because of their comingling with others. Carefully combined, no particular ingredient will be too strong in taste at the expense of other ingredients. The result is a flavorful dish with pleasant aroma and richly hued by the variety of colors. This dish is

modestly named “menudo” (small cuts or pieces). It is served in big open bowls brought to the table steaming and fiery. Consumers attest that taking menudo for breakfast stimulates the senses, nourishes the insides, and clears the head.

The intercultural church will take a long process of mixing and cooking, of mutual negotiation and exchange, of navigating through betwixt-and-between and moving in-beyond. The taste of this church is yet to be savored, but it is an exciting opportunity to “cook” something new in the cuisine of migratory relations. It is said that because of its spices, menudo has medicinal condiments that replenish vitamins of the body, soothe the stomach, and stimulate the gastric juices to overcome any loss of appetite. This must be delightfully good for the global-wide church! Would this be a foretaste of things to come? In the dining hall, we can only hope that God the Patient Chef will be pleasantly amazed.

### Notes

1. My thoughts on migration, Agnes M. Brazal.
2. Jon Huer, “Subway Culture Shapes Image of Korea,” accessed November 2010, [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2009/05/137\\_44995.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2009/05/137_44995.html).
3. Catholic Bishops’ Conference of Japan (henceforth, CBCJ), Episcopal Committee for Social Activities, “Seeking the Kingdom of God which Transcends Differences in Nationality,” 1992 in Graziano Battistella, CS, “The Teaching of the Church in Asia,” in *Caring for Migrants: A Collection of Church Documents on the Pastoral Care of Migrants*, ed. Fabio Baggio, CS, and Maurizio Pettina, CS, 1104 (Strathfield: St. Paul’s Publications, 2009). Unless otherwise stated, all the Asian church documents mentioned in this chapter came from the book *Caring for Migrants*.
4. Battistella, “The Teaching of the Church in Asia,” 1104.
5. Georg Evers, *The Churches in Asia* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2005), 29.
6. See *ibid.*, 26–27; and Masaaki Satake, “Filipina-Japanese Inter marriages: A Pathway to New Gender and Cross-Cultural Relations,” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 13, no. 4 (2004): 450.
7. Chinese Regional Bishops’ Conference (henceforth, CRBC), “Solidarity, a Pastoral Service for Foreign Workers,” 1998.
8. CBCJ, “Seeking the Kingdom of God which Transcends Differences in Nationality,” 1992.
9. Savino Bernardi, *The Pastoral Care of Seafarers*, Exodus Series 8 (Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center, 2005), 14.
10. Catholic Bishops’ Conference of India, Statement of 29th CBCI General Body Meeting, “Youth for Peace and Harmony,” 2010, no. 8c, accessed February 2011, <http://catholicdiocese-lucknow.com/fifth.htm>. See also Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi: The Love of Christ towards Migrants* (Vatican City: 2004), nos. 38, 56; henceforth, EMCC.
11. CBCJ, “Seeking the Kingdom of God,” 1992.
12. Felipe Muncada, SVD, “Japan and Philippines: Migration Turning Points,” in *Faith on the Move: Toward a Theology of Migration in Asia*, ed. Fabio

- Baggio and Agnes M. Brazal, 44 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008).
13. FABC, "Final Statement: The Asian Family toward a Culture of Integral Life," 2004.
  14. Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (henceforth, CBCP), On the Occasion of National Migration Day, 1988. See also "Second Plenary Council of the Philippines," Art. 56, no. 3.
  15. CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God," 1992.
  16. CBCP, "On the Occasion of National Migration Day," 1988, no. 3.
  17. CBCP, Acts and Decrees, Second Plenary Council of the Philippines, 1991.
  18. Ibid., Art. 56, no. 1.
  19. CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God," 1992.
  20. CRBC, "On the Question of Foreign Workers," no. 6.
  21. CBCK, "Do No Wrong to the Stranger," 1993; CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God," 1992.
  22. CBCP, "Comfort My People."
  23. CRBC, "Solidarity, a Pastoral Service for Foreign Workers," 1998.
  24. CBCP, "On the Occasion of National Migration Day," 1988.
  25. CRBC, "On the Question of Foreign Workers," 1989, no. 4. See also CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God," for the Japanese bishops' proposal to legalize the status of irregular migrants.
  26. CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God," no. 2.
  27. CBCK, "Do No Wrong to the Stranger," 1993, no. 1.
  28. Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea (henceforth, CBCK), Justice and Peace Committee, "Do No Wrong to the Stranger for You Were Once Strangers Yourself," 1993, no. 2.
  29. CBCP, "Comfort My People," 1995.
  30. Ibid.
  31. CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God"; CRCC, "Showing Concern to Migrants," 2007.
  32. FABC, Fourth Plenary Assembly Final Statement, 1986, no. 3.7.7.
  33. CBCP, "Comfort My People," 1995.
  34. Ibid. This was supported by the Taiwanese bishops in their statement, "Showing Concern to Migrants and Itinerant People," 2007.
  35. Indonesian Bishops, "The 'Thanksgiving Year,'" 1991.
  36. FABC, "Journeying Together toward the Third Millennium," Final Statement, 2.2.1.
  37. CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God," 1992; and CRBC, "Solidarity," 1998.
  38. CBCP, "Comfort My People," 1995.
  39. This section is based on Emmanuel de Guzman's article "Mapping the Church on the Move," *Exodus Series 12: A Resource Guide for the Migrant Ministry* (Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center, 2010).
  40. CRBC, "On the Question of Foreign Workers," 1989.
  41. Didier Bertrand, "Religious Practices of Vietnamese in Cambodia and Inter-Ethnic Relations," *Asian Migrant* 10, no. 3 (1997): 91.
  42. Tom Albinson, "The Church on the Refugee Highway," accessed September 2010, <http://iafr.org/downloads/handouts/The%20Church%20on%20the%20Refugee%20Highway%20v201009%20-TAlbinson.pdf>.

43. James S. Jeffers, *The Graeco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity* (Downer's Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 1999), 85–86.
44. Annual Ministerial Meetings, "Interculturality Moving towards a Dialogue among Nation," International Network on Cultural Policy, accessed May 2005, [http://www.f-duban.fr/Sitaduban/Master1/Plurinling\\_USA/plurilinguisme\\_files/multiculturalism-in28326\\_1.html](http://www.f-duban.fr/Sitaduban/Master1/Plurinling_USA/plurilinguisme_files/multiculturalism-in28326_1.html).
45. Wolfgang Welsch, "Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today," in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash, 194–213 (London: Sage, 1999).
46. For an elaboration on this from the perspective of Bourdieu's theory of cultural practice, see Agnes M. Brazal, "Interculturality in the Migration Context: Missiological Reflections vis-à-vis P. Bourdieu," in *Utopia hat einen Ort: Beiträge für eine interkulturelle*, ed. Elisabeth Steffens and Annette Meuthrath, 125–134 (Welt aus vier Kontinenten. London: Frankfurt am M ain, 2006).
47. Fernando Nakpil Zialcita, *Authentic though Not Exotic: Essays on Filipino Identity* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2005), 211.
48. Peter Phan, *Christianity with an Asian Face: Asian American Theology in the Making* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 3–25.
49. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 209.
50. CBCJ, "Seeking the Kingdom of God," 1992, no. 3.
51. Agnes M. Brazal, "Cultural Rights of Migrants: A Philosophical and Theological Exploration," in *Faith on the Move*, ed. Baggio and Brazal, 82–86.
52. CRBC, "On the Question of Foreign Workers," 1989.
53. See Jaume Flaquer Garcia, "Itinerant Lives: Notes on an Inter-Religious Theology of Migration," accessed September 2009, <http://www.fespinal.com/espinal/lilib/en128.pdf>.

## Chapter 5

# Emerging Christianities in Japan: A Comparative Analysis of Brazilian and Filipino Migrant Churches

*Kanan Kitani*

To a casual observer Japan appears to be a model of racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious homogeneity. Echoing his predecessor Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, Tarō Asō (in)famously declared during a ceremony at the new Kyushu National Museum in Dazaifu, Fukuoka prefecture, that, unlike any other nation, Japan has “one nation, one civilization, one language, one culture and one race.”<sup>1</sup> Asō might perhaps have in mind the fact that of Japan’s population of 127 million, 98.5 percent are ethnic Japanese, the rest being composed of ethnic minorities such as the Ainu and the Ryukyuan peoples, and foreign workers, mainly Brazilians, Peruvians, Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos.<sup>2</sup> Asō’s claim of national unity for Japan can be justified at least since 1947 when Japan adopted a new constitution in favor of a democratic government. Japan’s cultural homogeneity is greatly facilitated by the fact that more than 99 percent of its population speaks Japanese as their first language. Interestingly, presumably because he is a Roman Catholic, Asō did not include Shinto in his list of the things that unite his fellow Japanese, since, as a “religion,” Shinto is arguably an “invented tradition” designed to unite all Japanese despite their different religious affiliations.<sup>3</sup>

This portrait of Japan as a highly homogeneous society has been hotly contested, and even if it was true to life, it has been considerably blurred. Thanks largely to migration, whatever homogeneity that could be claimed for the Japanese society in 2005 has eroded. Over the past 20 years, since Asō’s pronouncement, Japanese demographics has been drastically changed by the arrival of a large number of foreign residents into the country. In the two decades of 1991–2011, the number of foreigners residing in Japan almost doubled, from 1,218,891 to 2,078,508. Among them, the number of Brazilians and Filipinos, who are defined as “newcomers,” has rapidly increased after the revision of the Immigration Control Law in 1990, which authorizes the legal entry of Japanese descendants and their spouses up to

the third generation. Today, 210,032 Brazilians and 209,376 Filipinos live in Japan, making up the third and the fourth largest ethnic groups, respectively, after the Chinese (674,879) and the Koreans (545,401).

In regions where large numbers of foreigners reside, the increasing proliferation of store signs in Portuguese and English is altering the urban landscape. Few Japanese visit these stores, many of which are ethnic businesses owned and run by foreign residents and catering mainly to their fellow nationals, and few understand what goods are being sold or what services are being rendered in these stores, with their advertising signs in languages that are unintelligible to most of them. In general, there is little communication and interchange between the native-born Japanese and the new immigrants in their daily activities.

Furthermore, new immigrants that are Christians bring with them their own distinctive religious traditions and ways of worship. More importantly, they almost always form their own churches and congregations, often with their own styles of ecclesiastical organization and spiritual leaders coming from their own ethnic communities. Like ethnic stores, these migrant churches are unfamiliar sights to Japanese eyes. As will be shown, these churches mostly fall into one of three broad groups: Catholic, Protestant, and Evangelical/Pentecostal. Among these three groups, the increase of ethnic Pentecostal churches in Japan is becoming significant, with endless stories of old warehouses suddenly being renovated for use as churches.

A great deal of research, particularly in sociology, has been done on the rapid increase of migrant workers in Japan and on the education of their children.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, relatively few studies have focused on the religious activities of these migrant communities. Masanobu Yamada of Tenri University is one of the pioneers to conduct research on Brazilian migrant churches. He surveyed the many churches attended by Brazilian migrants in the central eastern region of Japan, and his publications provide the foundation for further research into the religious activities of Brazilians in Japan. Extensive research on the religious activities of Filipino migrants has been conducted by scholars of Sophia University, beginning with Takefumi Terada, who looked mainly at the activities of Filipinos in the Catholic Church in Japan. In 2012, a comprehensive study, *Nihon ni Ikiru Imin tachi no Shukyo Seikatsu* (The religious life of migrants living in Japan), was compiled and published by Hizuru Miki and Yoshihide Sakurai. The study focuses not only on Christianity but also on Islam and new religious movements.

To date, these are the most significant studies of the religious life of migrants in Japan. This paucity of scholarship may be accounted for by the tendency of researchers on migrants in Japan to attach little importance to the religious dimension of their lives. Many Japanese see religion merely as a lifestyle option, made up of “events” such as festivals that are not part of everyday life. Furthermore, the majority of Brazilian and Filipino newcomers to Japan are of the Christian faith, whereas many Indonesians and Malaysians are of the Islamic faith. The Japanese, who are comfortable with the notion of many gods and goddesses (*kamis*), are generally unfamiliar with these two



monotheistic religions and find it difficult to negotiate these religious territories. On the other hand, today, foreign-born Catholics residing in Japan outnumber Japanese-born Catholics. Consequently, we can no longer afford to ignore their steady increase and their particular styles of Christian life and religious activities. Moreover, this phenomenon is by no means limited to the Catholic Church. In recent years, the number of migrants has swelled the ranks of both the Pentecostal Churches that were started in Japan and the Pentecostal Churches that were brought from their home countries. The Christianities of migrants, especially their activities in Christian churches, have wrought drastic and lasting changes to many facets of Japan's Christian landscape.

With this background in mind, this chapter will focus on the religious activities of migrants, specifically Brazilians and Filipinos, who make up the third and fourth largest migrant groups in Japan, respectively. As is to be expected, Brazilians and Filipinos do experience a disorienting change in their religious situation as they migrate to Japan. In their home countries, where almost 90 percent of the population is Christian, they enjoy the privileges and benefits accruing to the majority, whereas in Japan, where Christians comprise less than 1 percent of the population, they suffer many disadvantages.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, even though Brazil and the Philippines were in the past ruled by Portugal and Spain and as a consequence have a shared legacy of Iberian Catholicism, the pattern and mode of Portuguese and Filipino migrants' religious activities in Japan are not necessarily identical. As a rule, Brazilians tend to form their own Protestant, particularly Pentecostal, churches and have their own worship centers, whereas Filipinos, who arrived in Japan at an earlier juncture and in accord with their ecclesiology, tend to join and attend existing local Catholic churches rather than creating their own churches and founding separate places of worship.

Against this background, this chapter will examine and compare the churches of Brazilian and Filipino migrants in Japan. It begins first with a brief survey of migrations and migrants, especially Brazilians and Filipinos, in Japan to provide the context for understanding the emergence of their migrant churches. Second, it discusses the involvement of Brazilians and Filipinos in their churches, the different types of each group's involvement, and migrant women's involvement in their churches amid an increasing female migrant population. Third, the chapter ends with a discussion of the impact of migrant churches on Japanese Christianity and society.

### **Migrations and Migrants in Japan**

Our age has been rightly dubbed "The Age of Migration."<sup>6</sup> Mobility and migration have of course been constant features of human history; however, it is undeniable that today more than ever migration has become massive, international, and global. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs Report, in 2013, the number of international migrants worldwide reached 232 million. By any criterion and measure, migration, rural

and urban, national and transnational, forced and voluntary, temporary and permanent, legal and illegal, is unquestionably a phenomenon with enormous implications for national and international orders.<sup>7</sup> Migration is the hub around which a host of other, mutually implicating issues and problems constellate. On the national order, in countries of origin as well as of destination, migration affects the future of national economy, citizenship, political parties, and social services. On the international order, migration implicates issues such as the nation-state system, identity politics, the activities of the United Nations, regional and international conflicts, the share of land and natural resources, national security, globalization, and cultural and linguistic diversity.

Several trends of contemporary migration are of great interest to our theme of migrant Christianities in Japan.<sup>8</sup> First, as the authors of *Transnational Migration* have pointed out, migration in the twenty-first century has become “transnational” (note: not simply “international” and “global”) with three crucial features. First, transnationalization or cross-border processes, in which migration involves sustained ties, events, and activities across the borders of several nation-states and nonstate agents. Second, transnational social spaces, which are created by cross-border processes and include such things as kinship groups, circuits, and communities. The last-mentioned kind of transnational social spaces is of great relevance for our theme, as they include cross-border religious groups and churches, especially those that belong to “world religions” such as Christianity, and diaspora communities. Third, internationality, by which the social practices of agents—individuals, groups, communities, organizations—across the borders of nation-states help overcome territorialism (the conflation of society, state, and territory) as well as essentialism (the conflation of society, state, and nation).<sup>9</sup> In sum, all the three characteristics of transnational migration—transnationalization, transnational social spaces, and transnationality—obtain particularly well in migrant Christian communities, in Japan as well as elsewhere.

Another important trend of contemporary migration is that countries that traditionally had not been countries of destination have become so in recent times. Japan is one such country among several Asian ones.<sup>10</sup> According to the International Organization for Migration, the number of foreign residents in Japan, as mentioned earlier, has nearly doubled in the decade 1991–2011. By country of origin, the largest group came from China, followed by Korea, Brazil, the Philippines, and the United States. The many reasons for this upsurge in the demand for migrants in Japan include the drastic decrease in population, the attendant shrinkage of the labor force, and, to a lesser extent, humanitarian settlement programs.<sup>11</sup> In what follows, for our study of new Christian migrant communities in Japan, attention will be focused on Brazilian and on Filipino migrants.

### ***Brazilians in Japan***

The influx of Brazilians in Japan began about 20 years ago, when the economic boom in Japan coincided with the economic crisis in Brazil (see Figure 5.1).

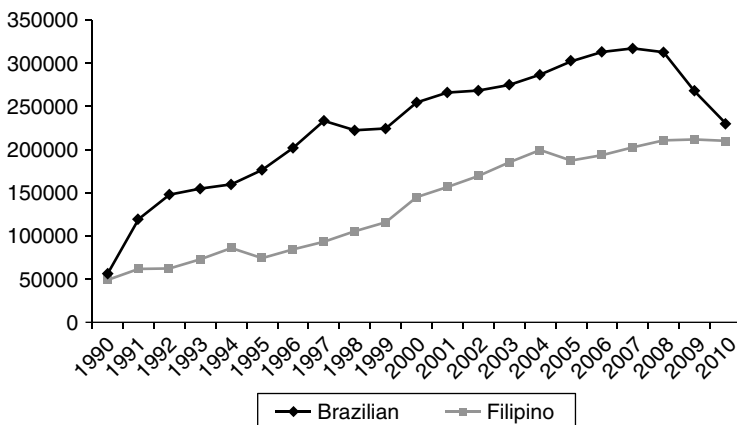
Japan had experienced a rapid economic growth in the preceding decades thanks to its military procurement during the Korean War and the Vietnam War, stabilizing its economy and increasing its presence in the international community. By contrast, Brazil experienced economic and political instability, causing a major emigration of Brazilians to countries around the world, including Japan. Approximately 1.4 million Brazilians emigrated during this period.<sup>12</sup> At that time, Japan's GDP was US\$3.02 trillion, compared to Brazil's US\$462 billion, which made working in Japan attractive to Brazilians.<sup>13</sup>

A hundred years ago, however, the economic situations of Brazil and Japan were just the reverse. Japan was experiencing an excess of rural population due to industrialization, while Brazil was suffering from a labor shortage after the abolition of slavery in 1888. As a result, the Japanese government, in agreement with the Brazilian government, sent excess workers as emigrants to Brazil starting in 1908.<sup>14</sup> In addition to Brazil, Japanese citizens also emigrated to Peru, Bolivia, and the United States, especially Hawaii.

The flow of Japanese emigration to Brazil began to decline during the 1970s. A reverse movement of Brazilians to Japan took place. To facilitate the entry of Brazilians to Japan, in 1990 the Japanese government revised the Immigration Control Law to authorize the legal entry of Japanese Brazilian descendants and their spouses up to the third generation. The new law triggered the influx of migrant workers, especially from Brazil, so that most Brazilians residing in Japan after 1990 are either descendants or spouses of Japanese migrants in Brazil. They were issued residential status visas without any limitations on their employment. As migrant workers, many Brazilians are subjected to excessive hours of manual labor in the so-called three-K jobs (*kitsui*, *kitanai*, *kiken*, i.e., hard, dirty, and dangerous jobs). Thanks to their work at such three-K jobs, Brazilian migrants are able to send remittances to Brazil to the tune of 20 billion yen per year (approximately US\$212 million).<sup>15</sup>

The male-to-female ratio in the Brazilian migrant population in Japan is almost even (see Figure 5.2). Most Brazilian migrants, both male and female, came to Japan through brokers to work at factories in the heavy manufacturing or food-processing industries around the Tokai region.<sup>16</sup> Angelica, 36, who works at a manufacturing facility in Suzuka City, Mie prefecture, earns 180,000 yen per month (approximately US\$2,300).<sup>17</sup> According to her, Brazilian women in Japan are becoming more and more independent from their Brazilian husbands:

We earn enough money so we do not have to be dependent on our husbands. Brazilian women are becoming much more independent in Japan and are investing in ourselves. Many women dress nicely these days. Some have divorced their unfaithful husbands. This is only possible when women have equal jobs to men. I think women have more chances to take on jobs nowadays because there are more jobs suited for women in Japan, such as working as caregivers in welfare facilities or as sanitation workers



**Figure 5.1** Brazilian and Filipino Populations in Japan.

Source: Ministry of Justice (1991–2011).

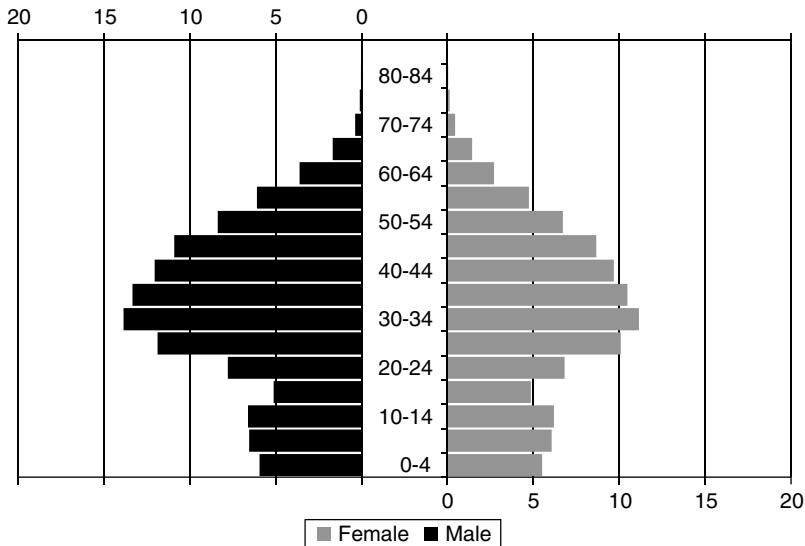
### *Filipinosi nJ apan*

In contrast, Filipinos migration to Japan differs from that of the Brazilians. Unlike Brazilians, few Filipinos are eligible for the residential visa. For most of them there are only two lines of work available to obtain an entry visa, that is, as a trainee or as an entertainer.<sup>18</sup> Although these are legal ways to enter Japan, they are problematic from a humanitarian perspective. The trainee system allows foreign nationals to stay in Japan for up to three years to learn professional skills as trainees. Sadly, it has become a convenient way to supply cheap manual labor to factories and depopulated farms.<sup>19</sup> Ronald, 24, a first-year trainee at a welding factory in Osaka, earns only 50,000 yen per month, even though he works ten hours a day, six days a week. According to Ronald, “The trainee system is exploitative. I work at the same job as my Japanese coworkers yet my salary is far below theirs. I am not sure I can continue working like this for the next three years.” He is hoping to get a raise the following year upon completing his one-year training period.<sup>20</sup>

The entertainer system allows Filipino women to come to Japan with working visas that permit them to stay, in most cases, for up to six months.<sup>21</sup> As many researchers have noted, the term “entertainer” is a euphemism for prostitute; Filipino women in Japan are often seen as sex workers.<sup>22</sup> In fact, however, not all Filipino women in Japan work in the sex industry. Many work as hostesses at nightclubs and pubs without any obligation to have sex with men. Some also work professionally as English teachers, professors, and business owners. However, it is also true that a great number of Filipino women enter Japan to “entertain” Japanese men. At first, it was Japanese men who went to the Philippines for sex tours in the 1970s. The flow was reversed in the 1980s when social deterioration occurred in the Philippines. Japanese tourists, mostly men, became reluctant to go to the Philippines because of its political instability. For this reason, brokers started bringing

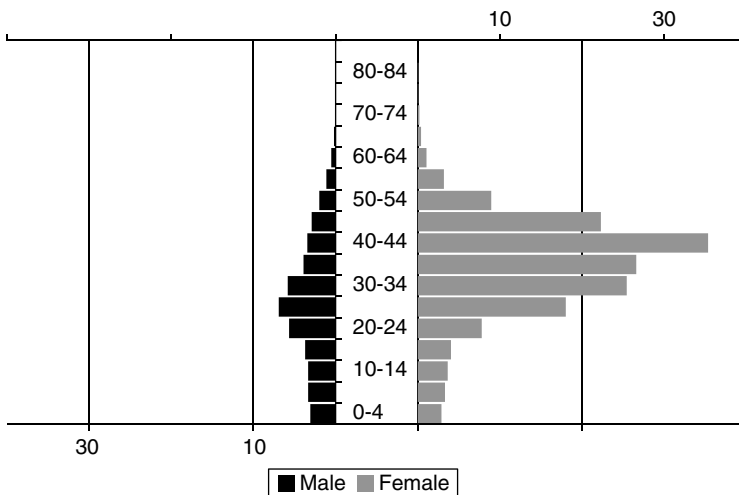
Filipino women to Japan as entertainers. Satake suggests that close to 94 percent of migrant workers from the Philippines are females who hold entertainer visas.<sup>23</sup> Thus, unlike Brazilians, the majority of Filipino migrant workers in Japan are female (see Figure 5.3).

In addition, many clubs and pubs where Filipina entertainers work are associated with organized crime syndicates, the *yakuza*, which put Filipina entertainers at risk.<sup>24</sup> Kitamura, 65, who is a patron of Filipina clubs around



**Figure 5.2** The Male and Female Ratio of Brazilian Migrants (Thousands of Units).

Source: Ministry of Justice (2010).



**Figure 5.3** The Male and Female Ratio of Filipino Migrants (Thousands of Units).

Source: Ministry of Justice (2010).

Osaka and a former club owner, describes the poor working conditions of Filipina entertainers as follows:

Because Filipinas have contracts with their brokers in both countries, they already owe a significant amount of money upon coming to Japan. Most girls work for six months in Japan, earning 70,000 yen per month, but the money they receive is only for five months and the amount will be paid in full at the airport when they return to the Philippines. The brokers will take the rest of the money as “promotion fees.” The brokers are the most problematic. They take away the passports from the Filipinas to prevent their escape, and some force Filipinas to work as prostitutes. It is not just a rumor that bars and clubs where Filipinas work have yakuza ties. This also affected me. One day, a yakuza came to my workplace and threatened to destroy my social position for having a relationship with one Filipina who was associated with this yakuza. I eventually paid 6,000,000 yen to save myself. As a consequence, my business went down and I lost my wife and children.<sup>25</sup>

It may be noted in passing that in addition to the damage to the female migrants, families of the host society are also adversely affected by the entertainer system. Many Japanese men who frequent pubs where Filipinas work are married men and thus risk destroying their families. Daiji Tani, bishop of the Catholic diocese of Saitama, once introduced a Filipina who was a victim of human trafficking and who said: “I do not understand why Japanese wives are letting their husbands have sex with prostitutes. If I had a husband, I would never let him do so.” Some wives go so far as to put a box of condoms in their husbands’ suitcases when they go overseas on business. Bishop Tani points out that it is the responsibility of Japanese women not to condone their husbands’ buying sex from prostitutes; otherwise they indirectly contribute to human trafficking.<sup>26</sup>

### **Migrants and Christian Churches in Japan**

Brazilians and Filipinos living in Japan as foreigners are not simply migrants but also Christians. Apart from the difference in residential status, Brazilians and Filipinos share a common characteristic: a majority of them are Christians and want to live their Christian faith by taking part in the activities of the local Christian churches. Of course, churches function primarily as places of worship, and attending church services is for migrants the principal way of living out their Christian faith. However, for hardworking migrants in Japan, churches are also places where they gather, socialize, and rest. They attend church services not only to fulfill their religious duties but also to create opportunities for sharing information and building fellowship and social networks with other migrants. Unfortunately, the support system in Japanese churches is not sufficient for these purposes. Because the Christian population in Japan is less than 1 percent, there are simply not enough churches to support migrant Christians. In addition, the average age of Japanese

Christians is high, making it difficult for them to change their churches to welcome new members.<sup>27</sup>

### ***The Three Types of Migrant Churches in Japan***

When the first wave of migrants came to Japan in the 1990s, they had no choice but to attend Japanese churches. This may be termed the first phase of Japanese migrant churches. In the second phase, as they slowly shifted from temporary workers to settlers, they started to form their own churches. In the third phase, as their churches grew, migrants imported ethnic churches from their countries of origin.

The migrant churches in Japan can thus be categorized into three types, according to the three settlement phases. The first is the “grafting-type,” in which a Japanese church provides for migrants services in languages other than Japanese. The second is the “seedling-type,” in which a church is established and administered by the migrants themselves. Last, the third phase is the “sapling-type,” in which a church is imported from the migrants’ country of origin. The characteristics of these three types will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

#### *Grafting-Type Churches*

*The Catholic Church:* Although the number of Catholics is declining in Brazil and in the Philippines, they remain one of the largest Christian bodies in both countries. It is natural to assume that the first place where Brazilian and Filipino migrants in Japan would go to worship is the Catholic Church. In 2006, there were about 580,000 foreign Catholics in Japan, for the first time outnumbering native Japanese Catholics who totaled about 450,000.<sup>28</sup> There are certainly visible changes in churches with increasing numbers of foreign Catholics, especially Brazilians and Filipinos. Today, out of 1,005 local Catholic churches in Japan, 177 offer English services, 70 Portuguese services, and 35 Tagalog services (see Figure 5.4).<sup>29</sup>

Churches are being revitalized by new migrant members.<sup>30</sup> Because most migrants are relatively young, their worship style is often alive and vibrant, frequently featuring a band during masses. Japanese members of the Catholic Church are aging without new people filling the pews; fortunately, the influx of migrant Catholics is infusing new life into the Church. Currently it is in the process of change, attempting to shift away from being a “Japanese church” to being a “church in Japan,” the former referring to a church of a single nationality, the latter to a church composed of people of diverse nationalities.<sup>31</sup> To be able to respond to the needs of foreign Catholics, the Catholic Church in Japan is bringing in priests and nuns from various countries to serve their nationals, and simultaneously sending Japanese priests and nuns abroad for training in the languages and the cultures of various migrant groups.

*Protestant Churches:* Unlike the Catholics, Japanese Protestants seem less excited about the influx of foreign Christians into the country. For example,

	Catholic Church	UCCJ	Assemblies of God
Total Number of Church	1005	1724	212
English Services	177	9	5
Portuguese Services	70	0	3
Tagalog Services	35	0	2

**Figure 5.4** The Number of Foreign Language Services in Different Churches.

Source: Ministry of Justice (1991–2011).

the United Church of Christ in Japan (UCCJ), which is the largest Protestant church, has only 9 churches out of 1,724 that offer English services and not a single church that offers services in Portuguese or Tagalog. Because the UCCJ is only an association of 35 different denominations, each denomination autonomously manages its own activities. For the UCCJ, therefore, it is difficult to create a single, coherent church policy. Moreover, sermons in the UCCJ churches are relatively long and place emphasis on higher criticism in biblical interpretation. Migrants, most of whom do not speak Japanese, find it impossible to understand them and very few attend these services.

Other than the UCCJ, several churches of the Assemblies of God in Japan offer services in Portuguese and English. In Japan there are also churches of the Brazilian *Assembléia de Deus*, which were formed by Brazilian migrants or missionaries from Brazil in recent years. According to the spokesperson for the Assemblies of God in Japan, although the Assemblies of God in Japan and the Brazilian *Assembléia de Deus* do not have much interaction with each other, the Japanese Assemblies of God has been supporting Brazilian pastors and missionaries to obtain visas to enter Japan for religious activities.

#### *Seedling-Type Churches*

“Seedling-type” churches are those founded by the migrants when they have settled down in the new country. Because these churches are like underground churches and therefore do not have a juridical personality, it is difficult to determine their exact number in Japan.<sup>32</sup> Japanese people know about them only when they chance to encounter such churches in their neighborhoods.<sup>33</sup>

Seedling-type churches are nondenominational and unaffiliated with any Japanese official church. They are managed independently. Their worship services are conducted in contemporary style, lasting two–three hours, led by energetic pastors, and with between 30 and 200 attendees. Most churches hold several services a week in addition to the Sunday service.

Brazilians are a step ahead of Filipinos in forming this type of church thanks to their residential status and financial resources. As mentioned earlier, Filipinos have difficulty obtaining visas to stay longer than three years unless they marry a Japanese citizen, and in most cases, they are underpaid. As building a church requires time and money, it is hard for Filipino



migrants to form a new church. Furthermore, Filipino women, though more numerous than Filipino men in Japan, are not accustomed to taking on leadership roles in the church. Liza B. Lamis, of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, explains the nature of Filipino women as follows: "The cultural construction of a Filipina as a docile, silent and obedient woman is a strong evidence of inherited colonial culture imposed on women . . . This docility and meekness is further reinforced and strengthened by Christian teachings about women that are imposed on women by the traditional church. Religious and secular education has never been liberating and empowering for Filipino women. In fact, women were educated to femininity, where being feminine means being silent, docile and obedient."<sup>34</sup> In fact, it is rare to see female pastors in Filipino churches in Japan. They do all of the work in church except for leading the flock. In addition, rather than attending the Japanese Catholic churches with no services in English, or forming their own church, Filipino women tend to attend Evangelical or Pentecostal churches that offer English services. It is impossible to cover all Filipino and Brazilian seedling-type churches in Japan since they are mostly hidden; a sample of these migrant churches is provided here.

*Filipino Churches:* Kani Mission is a unique church started by a former migrant-turned-deacon named Rev. Deacon Glenn B. Yamashita. Kani Mission is affiliated with the Anglican/Episcopal Church of Japan as a branch church of the Chubu Diocese. It has 20–30 Filipino members, meeting every Sunday morning, and the services are primarily in English. Because Kani City, Gifu prefecture, is an industrial area, most of the congregation is factory workers, with an almost equal male-to-female ratio.

Immanuel Christian Fellowship is an independent church designed to mainly serve Filipinos. It is an Evangelical church with about one hundred Filipino members. Pastor Cecilio Niño Solito is an energetic person who preaches his sermon in Tagalog and English. The church not only provides Sunday service in the afternoon, but also Bible studies for Japanese-speaking children born into Japanese Filipino families, and a Japanese service once a month. Although it is a nondenominational church, the church is affiliated with the Evangelical Free Church of the Philippines, which has 70 local churches in Visayas, Luzon, and Mindanao. As Immanuel Christian Fellowship is located in Nagoya City, the third largest city in Japan, the majority of the attendees are female because most big cities have more employment opportunities for Filipino women than men. Immanuel Christian Fellowship holds services at an old warehouse that has been turned into a house of worship. Interestingly, Immanuel Christian Fellowship is associated with the Brazilian Assembléia de Deus. Brazilians make their premises available to Filipinos to show mutual cooperation as fellow migrant Christians. In the front of the warehouse, the sign says, "Immanuel Christian Fellowship"; and in the back, the sign says, "Assembléia de Deus."

*Brazilian Churches:* Igreja Evangélica Betel spawned off from a local Japanese church. It has six churches around the Tokai region with its main church at Suzuka, Mie prefecture.<sup>35</sup> Pastor Hiroshi Hiramatsu is Japanese,

studied theology in Brazil, and gives his sermons in Portuguese. The Igreja Evangélica Betel's congregation totals about two hundred members, whose nationalities include Brazilian, Peruvian, Bolivian, and Japanese. Igreja Evangélica Betel holds two services every Sunday, one in Portuguese and the other in Japanese. Pastor Hiramatsu is the leader in both of these two-hour services.

Among Brazilian churches in Japan, Missão Apoio is the best-known Evangelical/Pentecostal church, with 24 branch churches around the eastern central region of Japan. Since its foundation in 1993, it has expanded to include 20 churches in Brazil, 6 in Peru, 2 in the Philippines, and 1 each in Indonesia, Bolivia, and Portugal. Pastor Laelso da Silva Santos is the representative of Missão Apoio in Japan and has been actively collaborating with other churches in Japan. He serves as a member of the Standing Committee of the Japan Pentecostal Fellowship and has co-organized various revival movements in Japan. Although Missão Apoio has been collaborating with other churches in Japan, especially through volunteer work after the Tōhoku earthquake and the tsunami in 2011, they have maintained relative ethnic homogeneity within its local churches. At Kariya Church, which is the head church of Missão Apoio, translations in other languages are not offered, unlike in other seedling-type churches. The pastors in many Missão Apoio churches are generally very young, ranging from twenties to forties, and all are married men whose wives support them in their ministries.<sup>36</sup>

In general, a significant characteristic of most churches of the seedling-type is inclusiveness.<sup>37</sup> They try to attract as many nationalities as possible to participate in services offered in Portuguese or English. Furthermore, they are becoming more active in reaching out to the Japanese by offering services in Japanese or staffing interpreters during non-Japanese services. They firmly believe that it is their God-given mission to convert the Japanese to Christianity. Yamada suggests that this mission is a reversal of their migrant status. Though weak by social standards in the new country, these migrants consider themselves empowered to offer God's grace to the people of the host society.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, Yamada adds, through their missionary outreach to the Japanese, migrants, who are at the bottom of the society, embrace self-affirmation and acquire their dignity. By engaging in the mission to convert the Japanese who they consider are suffering from spiritual poverty, migrants show the richness of their redemption. Yamada's theory is supported by Hizuru Miki, who argues that by reaching out to the Japanese people migrants are able to overcome the social distance between them and their hosts and at the same time come to realize their self-identity.<sup>39</sup>

### *Sapling-Type Churches*

Today, with the ubiquitous presence of social media, migrants are able to communicate frequently if not daily with their families and friends in their home countries. Leaving one's homeland does not necessarily require integration into the host country. As mentioned earlier when referring to the three characteristics of contemporary migration, and as Linger and Tsuda

put it, the Brazilian diaspora community in Japan is deterritorialized, forming transnational communities that allow Brazilian migrants to be connected with both the host society and their homeland society.<sup>40</sup> In addition, they are also able to maintain their transborder ethnic ties with other migrants and diasporic communities around the world.

These transborder ethnic connections among migrants are not limited to their personal and familial relationships or to cultural activities. They are also extended to the religious sphere. Consequently, these strong ties contribute to the expansion of the migrants' homeland-based churches into the countries of the diaspora. These churches can be defined as belonging to the sapling-type, that is, the new type of church that emerges after the establishment of the grafting- and seedling-type churches, corresponding to the third phase of the migrants' settlement within the host society.

This type of church is imported from the migrants' countries of origin, in this case, Brazil and the Philippines. At present, the sapling-type churches brought from Brazil and the Philippines include Iglesia Ni Cristo from the Philippines, the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (also known as Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus), and churches affiliated with the Assembléia de Deus from Brazil.

These churches have branches in several countries other than Japan. However, unlike seedling-type churches, sapling-type churches send pastors to Japan with sufficient funds to systematically "plant" the church as one of their saplings. In addition, unlike seedling-type churches, sapling-type churches maintain the separation between Japanese and non-Japanese. They do not seek coexistence with different linguistic groups, but rather build the church for each group separately. Thus, sapling-type churches are mostly homogeneous communities in which migrants form close-knit communities of faith.<sup>41</sup>

*Filipino Churches:* Iglesia ni Cristo (hereafter INC) is an indigenous Filipino Christian church founded by Felix Manalo in 1914. It is the second largest Christian denomination after Roman Catholicism in the Philippines, according to a 2011 survey.<sup>42</sup> There are five thousand INC churches in the Philippines, and since the 1960s, INC has expanded to about 90 countries, including Japan. Currently, there are 32 INC churches and small communities in Japan, covering almost the entire country from Hokkaido to Okinawa, except for Shikoku Island.<sup>43</sup>

As a religion that has a Filipino founder, INC followers consist mostly of Filipinos. The three pillars of INC teachings are: (1) venerating the founder Felix Manalo as the last prophet of God, as well as the angel from the East mentioned in Revelation 7:2–3; (2) rejecting the traditional doctrine of the Trinity as potentially polytheistic; and (3) believing there is no salvation outside INC.<sup>44</sup> Because it teaches that there is no salvation outside INC, its followers can marry only fellow believers. This teaching produces certain results, such as gaining for INC non-Filipino members who are married to Filipinos. Thus, as Miki has noted, some Japanese men have converted to INC after marrying Filipino women, although their number is low.<sup>45</sup>

In addition, there is El Shaddai, a Catholic charismatic renewal movement. The group meets once or twice a month after the English mass at Meguro and Takanawa Catholic Church in Tokyo; at Kariya Catholic Church in Aichi prefecture; and from time to time at the University of the Sacred Heart and Gyosei Academy in Tokyo.

*Brazilian Churches:* The Brazilian Assemblies of God (Assembléia de Deus) is a Pentecostal church and the most populous Protestant denomination in Brazil. As the Assembléia de Deus is the most successful Protestant denomination in Brazil, so it is also in Japan, being the most populous church of Brazilian Protestants there. Currently, the Assembléia de Deus has more than 50 churches in Japan, recently established by Brazilian migrants or missionaries from Brazil.<sup>46</sup> Rafael Shoji estimates that 24 percent of Brazilian Protestants in Japan belong to the Assembléia de Deus.<sup>47</sup> Organizationally, the Assembléia de Deus is divided into several congregations, with each congregation managing its affairs independently from other congregations. Despite their autonomy, the architectural style of the Assembléia de Deus churches is almost identical. Its buildings are generally more sophisticated than those of the other Brazilian churches. They are likely to have a beautiful podium, a stage for the band, a uniform-wearing choir, and pastors sporting expensive suits. They are very active, with church services or meetings even on weekdays after work.

The other popular church among Brazilians in Japan is the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (hereafter UCKG). The UCKG is a fast-growing neo-Pentecostal church founded in Brazil in 1977. Since its foundation, the church has been attracting a great deal of attention and scrutiny concerning its controversial theology, numerous allegations of financial impropriety, political ties, and the use of media. One of the most well-known controversial incidents occurred in 1995, when one of the pastors of UCKG kicked an image of Our Lady of Aparecida, the patron saint of Brazil, during a show broadcasted by UCKG-owned TV Record. The controversy grew, causing a “holy war” involving the Catholic Church and national TV Globo, drawing vast public attention.<sup>48</sup> The church has continued to expand into 176 countries, and has 5,000 temples in Brazil. Its expansion is beginning to approach that of the Assembléia de Deus.<sup>49</sup>

The UCKG began planting its church in Japan around 1996. Currently, under its original Portuguese name, Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (IURD), it has 2,000 members with 18 temples, all open every day for prayer meetings.<sup>50</sup> The preaching for each day has a particular theme. For example, Monday’s theme is financial problems, and Friday’s is liberation from evil spirits. These two themes summarize the church’s theology well. Because Pentecostals emphasize salvation in the present life, the UCKG, along with some other Pentecostal churches, adopts the so-called prosperity gospel.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, the UCKG is famous for collecting tithes from its members, a practice that has been successful because of this very prosperity gospel. Church members make every effort to pay tithes out of their poor salaries, regarding the relationship between God and humans to be similar to a contract in which the

latter pays tithes (10 percent of pretax income) in order to gain favor in God's eyes. The basic teaching is that "the more you give, the more you receive." In some Brazilian Pentecostal churches, the pastors explicitly urge the congregation to tithe so as to be abundantly blessed by God. Coins are not welcomed for the collection plate, which means that attendees are pressured to give at least 1,000 yen (approximately US\$12) at each service.<sup>52</sup> Some researchers have also noted that Pentecostalism is sought by many migrants as a way to overcome real problems, especially poverty and diseases.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the controversies surrounding the church, the UCKG has been successfully expanding throughout the world by taking advantage of the Brazilian migrants' networks. Moreover, in 2005, the UCKG opened a church exclusively for the Japanese in the center of Tokyo. This temple is a very important symbol for the UCKG in terms of its intention to make Japan the base of its Asian expansion efforts.<sup>54</sup>

### **The Growth of Monoethnic Churches**

Among the aforementioned churches, the sapling-type churches and other churches that maintain ethnic homogeneity are the most popular churches among migrants. For Brazilians, those churches are mainly Pentecostal, such as the Assembléia de Deus, the UCKG, and the Japanese-born Missão Apoio. Rafael Shoji estimates the religious demographics of Brazilians in Japan as follows: 47 percent Protestant, 26 percent Japanese new religion, 21 percent Catholic, and 6 percent others.<sup>55</sup> Within the 47 percent Brazilian Protestant population, the most successful churches are the Assembléia de Deus, which has more than 50 churches in Japan; followed by Missão Apoio, which has 24; and the UCKG, which has 18. Some other nondenominational Brazilian churches closed their doors after 2008 because of the recession triggered by the bankruptcy of the Lehman Brothers in 2008, followed by the Tōhoku earthquake and the tsunami disaster in 2011. However, those Pentecostal churches that survived these disasters still enjoy a considerable amount of church attendance. A visit to these churches reveals that Pentecostal churches in Japan are filled with energy and enthusiasm.

Among the Filipino migrants the largest church in Japan is INC, which has 32 branches, including extensions and centers for worship services.<sup>56</sup> Because INC meetings are mostly held at the apartment of one of its members, their activities are unknown to outsiders. Terada states that it is almost impossible for outsiders to participate in INC's services for research purposes.<sup>57</sup> However, judging by the number of its congregations, INC has certainly been successfully expanding in Japan. The third and current executive minister Eduardo V. Manalo came to Japan on October 30, 2011. His visit brought more than a thousand INC members to Tokyo. The gathering was the one and only event at which the Japanese could witness a large group of INC members living in their midst.

Brazilian and Filipino monoethnic churches are of course different from each other. However, they do have some common aspects that make them

popular among migrants. First of all, because these churches are ethnically homogeneous, with no Japanese employers as members, the migrants do not have to feel inferior to them. Being all migrants of the same nationality, church members are empowered to participate equally in church activities. Furthermore, because there are no other ethnic groups in the same church, they do not have to fight for monopoly of church activities. Members of monoethnic churches do not worry about rivalries between ethnic groups. They can make full use of church facilities for activities that are vital for migrant churches—cook ethnic foods, share meals after the services, and hold language and catechism classes for their children. For adults, these churches function as places where they can feel at home with their peers and share their experiences as migrant workers. For children, especially those born in Japan, these churches provide spaces where they can familiarize themselves with Brazilian or Filipino culture and learn to speak the Portuguese or Filipino languages. The churches are home away from home, where migrants can nurture fellowship and share their faith and lives with one another.

Despite its manifold advantages, this monoethnic character, however, may bring about some unfortunate consequences. Alec LeMay of Sophia University suggests that there is tension between Filipino Catholics and non-Filipino Catholics concerning the ownership of the English mass at some churches. He points out that Filipinos tend to assume the English mass to be their exclusive property as they vastly outnumber other ethnic groups.<sup>58</sup> In fact, once, during the English mass at the Tamatsukuri Church in Osaka, there were only a couple of non-Filipino attendees surrounded by two hundred Filipinos. On the other hand, some Filipinos have complained that they are treated as unwelcome guests by the host churches and excluded from the decision-making process, and that churches favor white Catholics over Filipinos.<sup>59</sup>

The second reason why monoethnic churches are popular among migrants in Japan is that their pastors actually deal with the real problems faced by their congregations. They not only act as role models for their flocks but also give practical counsels in their sermons. For example, they give advice on how to act appropriately in work places or how to be a good husband, wife, and/or parents, how to be economically successful, and how to deal with negative emotions. The pastors' cell phone numbers are usually known to every church member or are posted on church websites so that they can easily be reached for help.

### **The Role of Women in Migrant Churches**

The most noteworthy aspect of migrant churches is the active role women play in them. It is not an overstatement to say that migrant churches would not exist without these women. In Brazilian and Filipino churches, a male priest is functionally a leader, but it is the women working in the background who are the main pillar of the church. They welcome the faithful upon arrival to

the church, function as prayer and worship leaders during the service, teach children at Sunday school, and provide food—most likely ethnic dishes from their country of origin—after the service. These women provide migrants separated from their native lands with a home away from home.

The women are also responsible for the transmission of the faith to the next generation, a vital task for the survival of the migrant churches. They actively engage in evangelization within the home, taking their children as well as their Japanese husbands to church services. In their host countries, in spite of the fact they face the dual hardships of being both women and migrants, they play a key role in the church. In fact, women are responsible for the growth of ethnic churches, mostly Pentecostal or evangelical churches, in Japan. Significantly, there are more women than men in both Brazilian and Filipino churches. Among Filipino migrants in Japan, women outnumber men by far and so represent a much larger presence in the churches. Similarly, the number of female Brazilian migrant laborers is also on the rise. As a result, Brazilian churches also manifest the same trend, with female church attendees outnumbering their male counterparts. This overwhelming number of women among migrants is so significant a phenomenon that it has been dubbed the “feminization of migration.”<sup>60</sup> For migrant women, who most often have to face a wide range of challenges as both migrant and female, migrant churches act as a support system, and in turn migrant women perform an invaluable service to migrant churches, creating a feedback loop between the church and women: the more the church supports women, the more women support the church.

### **Migrant Churches and a New Christianity in Japan**

In the recent literature on Christianity as a global religion (“World Christianity”), much has been made of the fact that in the near future the center of gravity of Christianity will shift from the traditional seats of power located in the global north, that is, Europe and the United States, to the global south, as the great majority of Christians will live in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.<sup>61</sup> Among English-language historians of Christianity, who have written extensively on the rise of global Christianity, the names of Andrew F. Walls,<sup>62</sup> Lamin Sanneh,<sup>63</sup> and Philip Jenkins<sup>64</sup> deserve special mention. Of the three, the last has achieved something of a celebrity status, thanks to his popularizing style and media savvy. Jenkins predicts that by 2050, 72 percent of Christians will live in the global south, which comprises the economically challenged countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Jenkins foresees an eclipse of liberal Christianity of the global north and the dominance of the more conservative, evangelical/Pentecostal form of Christianity of the global south, with its emphasis on biblical inerrancy and the gifts of the Spirit such as prophecy, glossolalia, miraculous healing, and exorcism. The face of the future church will, in turn, be changed to reflect those changing demographics.<sup>65</sup> He predicts that the typical future Christian will dramatically change from white, rich, aged individuals of the

global north to the racially and ethnically diverse, poor, and young people of the global south.

From what has been said in this chapter about the contemporary types of Christian churches in Japan, it is clear that World Christianity has indeed arrived. While the literature on World Christianity referenced earlier is a treasure trove of information, few if any of them have studied at length the impact of migration on the shape of World Christianity. The specific contribution of this chapter to the study of World Christianity consists in its focus on how global migration has created a new Christianity, or better, Christianities, and the types of churches of migrants, through the creation of international, global, and, above all, transnational networks among diverse Christian communities.<sup>66</sup>

For reason of space, the study focuses on the churches of Brazilian and Filipino migrants in Japan. It shows how their church formations differ from each other according to the variations in their residential status, occupation, area of residence, and income. The churches of these two groups of migrants are categorized according to the three phases of the migrants' settlement in Japan, from first entry into the country to temporary workers to new permanent residents. The churches are termed "grafting-type," "seedling-type," and "sapling-type," respectively, with examples given for each category.

How will these three types of migrant churches in Japan evolve in the near future is a matter of speculation. In the meantime, several questions may be asked. First, how will the Japanese Catholic Church, which is more often than not the first spiritual community and the "home away from home" for Catholic migrants in Japan, and which so far has been the foremost example of the grafting-type church, develop new ministries to welcome and integrate them into their communities? What policies regarding the ministry of the Word and the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, will be formulated? Will efforts be made to conduct sacramental celebrations, especially the Mass, in the migrants' languages? Will worship and liturgy be conducted for each ethnic group separately to maintain and foster their ethnic and national identities? Or will the various groups be amalgamated into one international community with celebrations in English as the common language?

Second, as more migrants put down new roots in their host countries, the seedling-type churches emerge. Will these churches merge with existing churches in Japan, leading to more international churches, using English as the common language? Will the migrant churches be eventually absorbed into the historically more ancient, organizationally more established, institutionally more powerful, and financially more prosperous churches, and will they, in the short run, lose their ethnic, cultural, and religious identities?

Third, as more of the sapling-type churches are brought over from the migrants' countries of origin, how will they relate to the churches already existing in Japan? Will there be parallel churches competing with one another for membership and resources? How will these sapling-type churches in Japan relate to the churches back home? What kinds of transnational networks will



be constituted to maintain and foster ecclesial ties among the churches back home and those in the diaspora?

Fourth, it is clear that in all these types of churches women, though not in official leadership positions and despite all kinds of discrimination against them in society and in the church, play behind the scene as it were, as has been shown, a vital role in maintaining and transmitting the faith in their communities. How can women be empowered to take on official leadership roles in churches, both Catholic and Evangelical/Protestant, where they have traditionally been excluded from such positions?

At present, certain and well-grounded answers to these questions are not yet available. What can be said with certainty, however, is that a new Christianity is emerging in Japan. The face of Japanese Christianity has changed drastically. It is no longer “Japanese” Christianity; more accurately, it is Christianities in Japan. This trend is going to be even more widespread and deep, as the declining birthrate and the increasing age of the Japanese population will demand more migrants to sustain the country’s labor force and economic growth. In Japan, Christians have been unable to break the “wall of 1 percent” and Christianity has been a minority religion. However, with the coming of Christian migrants, not only from Brazil and the Philippines but also elsewhere, soon, if not already, Christianity in Japan will break the ceiling or the “wall of 1 percent.” But Japanese Christianity will no longer be homogeneous, if it ever was, and certainly not be the same as it was some two decades ago. Whatever Christianities in Japan will be in the future, migrants will play a determinative role in shaping their identities and their role in the Japanese society.

### Notes

1. As reported by the *Japan Times News*, October 18, 2005.
2. Of course, claims of racial and ethnic homogeneity for Japan have not gone unchallenged by both the ethnic minorities themselves and Japan scholars. See George De Vos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, *Japan’s Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); John Lie, *Multiethnic Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Michael Weiner, ed., *Japan’s Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2009). The last-mentioned work is especially helpful in its analysis of six minority groups in Japan: the Ainu, the Burakumin, the Chinese, the Koreans, the Nikkeijin, and the Okinawans. Among the key themes investigated are the role of the ideology of “race” in the construction of Japanese identity, historical memory and its suppression, contemporary labor migration, Chinese communities, “mixed-race” children, and the construction of black otherness.
3. On Shinto as an “invented tradition” with its triple components of shrine, myth, and ritual, see John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). See also Jason Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), which provides a fascinating account of how Japanese officials invented

the very concept of “religion” after 1853 to carve a space for Christianity and certain forms of Buddhism, to enshrine Shinto as a national ideology, and to relegate the popular practices of indigenous shamans and female mediums to the category of “superstition.”

4. Takamichi Kajita, Kiyoto Tanno, and Naoto Higuchi, *Kao no Mienai Teijuka NikkeBraziljin to Kokka, Shijo, Imin Network* (Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2005); Jeffrey Lesser, ed., *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003); Daniel Linger, *No One Home: Brazilian Selves Remade in Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Joshua Hotaka Roth, *Brokered Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Migrants in Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); Takeyuki Tsuda, *Strangers in the Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
5. According to the statistics in 2010–2011, there are 86.8 percent Christians in Brazil, 94 percent in the Philippines, and 0.8 percent in Japan. See IBGE 2010, <http://www.censo2010.ibge.gov.br/en/> (retrieved: October 10, 2012); *Social Weather Stations 2011*, <http://www.sws.org.ph/pr20110420.htm> (retrieved: October 10, 2012); *Christian Year Book 2011* (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shimbunsha, 2011).
6. See Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 5th ed. (New York: The Guilford Press, 2009).
7. On various aspects of migration, see the highly readable Paul Collier, *Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind, eds., *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* (New York: Routledge, 2008); and Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
8. For a list of six general trends in contemporary migrations, see Castles, de Haas, and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 12–17. The six trends are: (1) The globalization of migration (more and more countries are significantly affected by migration); (2) the changing directions of dominant migration flows (new countries have become countries of origination and destination); (3) the differentiation of migration (many types of migration); (4) the proliferation of migration transition (traditional countries of emigration have become countries of destination); (5) the feminization of labor migration (more and more women have not only played a role in migration but also become aware of women’s role in migration; and (6) the growing politicization of migration (domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships, and national security policies of states around the world are implicated). Needless to say, these trends are reflected in various degrees in migrations in Japan.
9. Thomas Faist, Margit Fauser, and Eveline Reisenauer, *Transnational Migration* (Cambridge: Olity Press, 2013), 7–17.
10. One very helpful study of migration in Asia is Sunil S. Amrith’s *Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
11. One forecast predicts that by 2060 the total Japanese population will shrink to 80 million.

12. Maxine L. Margolis, *Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3–6.
13. Kajita, Tanno, and Higuchi, *Kao no Mienai Teijuka*, 13.
14. Linger, *No One Home*, 20–21.
15. Norio Kinshichi, Burajirushi, *História do Brasil* (Tokyo: Toyo Shoten, 2009), 267.
16. The central eastern area of Japan includes Shizuoka, Aichi, Gifu, and Mie prefectures. This region is home to well-known manufacturers such as Honda, Toyota, Suzuki, Sharp, and Sony.
17. Interview by Kanan Kitani, Suzuka city, Mie prefecture, February 14, 2010. The personal names given in this chapter are either only first names or pseudonyms to protect the informants' privacy. Many migrant workers are in fact hesitant to provide their personal information because their status in Japan is unstable.
18. Masaaki Satake and Mary Angeline Da-anoy, *Filipin-Nihon Kokusai Kekkō: Ijyu to Tabunka Kyosei* (Tokyo: Mekong Publishing, 2006), 19.
19. Research and Legislative Reference Bureau, *The Problem of the Immigrant Policy and the Foreign Workers Policy in a Depopulation Society* (Tokyo: National Diet Library, 2008), 84–85.
20. Interview by Kanan Kitani, Osaka city, Osaka prefecture, September 16, 2012.
21. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, foreigners with working visas can apply to renew their status in Japan to up to one year; however, most Filipino women are forced to leave after six months. See <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/toko/visa/chouki/visa3.html> (in Japanese).
22. Kevin Bales, *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 109–110; Maria Rosario Piquero Ballescas, *Filipino Entertainers in Japan: An Introduction* (Quezon City: The Foundation for Nationalist Studies Inc., 1993), 77; Castles, de Haas, and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 170–171; Satake and Da-anoy, *Filipin-Nihon Kokusai Kekkō*, 14–15.
23. Satake and Da-anoy, *Filipin-Nihon Kokusai Kekkō*, 11–14.
24. Mike Douglass and Glenda S. Roberts, eds., *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 104; Satake and Da-anoy, *Filipin-Nihon Kokusai Kekkō*, 13.
25. Interview by Kanan Kitani, Amagasaki city, Hyogo prefecture, October 19, 2012.
26. Daiji Tani, *Ijusha to Tomo ni Ikiru Kyookai* (Tokyo: Joshi Pauro Kai, 2008), 113–114.
27. Churches without websites are still a large majority in Japan. It is almost impossible for those churches to accommodate multilingual services and translations or modify the worship style to accommodate the needs of migrants.
28. *Ibid.*, 25.
29. *Christian Year Book*, 2011.
30. Tani, *Ijusha to Tomo ni Ikiru Kyookai*, 27–29.
31. *Ibid.*, 33.
32. Hizuru Miki and Yoshihide Sakurai, eds., *Nihon ni Ikiru Imin tachi no Shukyo Seikatsu: Nyukamah no Motarasu Shukyo Tengenka* (Kyoto: Minerva Shobo, 2012), 9.

33. Nelson H. H. Graburn, John Ertl, and R. Kenji Tierney, eds., *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 121.
34. Liza B. Lamis, *Raising Women's Voices: Resisting Abuse towards Healing and Wholeness* (Quezon City: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 2006), 29.
35. Masanobu Yamada, "Anju no Chi toshite no Purotesutanto Kyokai: Mieken Beteru Fukuin Kyokai no Jirei," in *Americasu Sekai ni okeru Ido to Grobarizasyon*, 188 (Tenri City: Tenri University, 2008a).
36. Because some Pentecostal churches emphasize that God's grace is visible, such as achieving affluence and establishing a happy home, it is vital for the pastors to show that their marriages are stable.
37. Although Missão Apoio still preserves ethnic homogeneity, in recent times it has begun the process of inviting people from diverse national backgrounds to be part of the church.
38. Masanobu Yamada, *Dekasegi no Shukyo Katsudo to Shakaika*, handout of the oral presentation at the sixty-seventh convention of Japan Religious Society (2008), 8.
39. Miki and Sakurai, *Nihon ni Ikiru Imin tati no Shukyo Seikatsu*, 14–16.
40. Linger, *No One Home*, 17; Tsuda, *Strangers in the Homeland*, 155.
41. Yamada Masanobu, "Brajiru ni okeru Seimeishugiteki Kyusaikan: Nikkei Shinshukyo to Pentekostarizumu," *Shukyo to Shakai* 9 (2002): 87.
42. "First Quarter 2011 Social Weather Survey," April 20, 2011, <http://www.sws.org.ph/pr20110420.htm> (accessed on October 10, 2012).
43. Hizuru Miki, "Kinnen ni okeru Gaikokuseki Jyumin to sono Shukyo," *Shukyo Jiho* 114 (2012): 9.
44. J. Gordon Melton and Martin Baumann, eds., *Religions of the World: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices*, 2nd ed. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 1387; Takefumi Terada, "Iglesia Ni Cristo: A Case Study of New Religious Movement in the Philippines," *The Southeast Asian Studies* 19, no. 4 (1982): 432–433; Albert James Sanders, *A Protestant View of the Iglesia ni Cristo* (Quezon City: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, 1964), 66.
45. Miki, "Kinnen ni okeru Gaikokuseki Jyumin to sono Shukyo," 9.
46. Some of the Assembleia de Deus's churches are listed on the following web-sites: Assembleia de Deus Belém: <http://www.assembleiadedeusnojapao.com/>; Assembleia de Deus Igreja Evangelica: <http://www.assembleiadedeusjapao.com/>; Assembleia de Deus Missão Shekinah: <http://www.ad-japao.com/>; Assembleia de Deus Ministério Cristo Para Todos: <http://www.cristoparatodosjp.com/website/>; Assembleia de Deus Obra Missionaria no Japão: <http://www.adomj.com/>; Assembleia de Deus Missão Comadet no Japão: <http://ad-okagijp.blogspot.jp/>.
47. Rafael Shoji, "Religiões entre Brasileiros no Japão: Conversão ao Pentecostalismo e Redefinição Étnica," *REVER: Revista de Estudos da Religião* (2008): 65.
48. Raul Reis, "Media and Religion in Brazil: The Rise of TV Record and UCKG and Their Attempts at Globalization," *Brazilian Journalism Research* 2, no. 2 (2006): 172; Masanobu Yamada, "Brajiru ni okeru Purotesutanto Kyokai no Shakaiteki Ninchi," *Ibero Amerika Kenkyu* 26, no. 2 (2004): 69–70.
49. Reis, "Media and Religion in Brazil," 170.

50. A list of UCKG churches in Japan can be found at the following website: <http://iurdjapao.com/home/iurds-no-japao/>.
51. Timothy Steigenga and Edward Cleary, eds., *Conversion of a Continent: Contemporary Religious Change in Latin America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 221.
52. In fact, migrants in Japan donate a lot of money to their churches. At one migrant Pentecostal church I attended in Shiga prefecture, a glass jar was used to collect money so that everyone could see the amount each one gave. Clearly it was used as a means to step up the competition among the members in the amount of donation. Of course, nobody had the audacity to put coins into the glass jar.
53. John Burdick, *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); R. Andrew Chesnut, *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997).
54. Reis, "Media and Religion in Brazil," 179.
55. Shoji, "Religiões entre Brasileiros no Japão: Conversão ao Pentecostalismo e Redefinição Étnica," 5 5.
56. The list of INC gatherings in Japan can be found at the following website: <http://www.iglesianicristo.ws/congregation/Japan/Japan.html>.
57. Terada, "Iglesia Ni Cristo," 427.
58. Alec LeMay, "Teaching the Second Generation: Understanding Multicultural Dialogue through the Eyes of the Japanese-Filipino Family," *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 26 (2008): 82.
59. Maria Carmelita Kasuya, "Interview Record 4: Filipino Catholic Communities in Japan," *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 26 (2008): 167–168; Tani, *Ijusha to Tomo ni Ikiru Kyookai*, 63–64.
60. Castles, de Haas, and Miller, *The Age of Migration*, 154–155; 179–181; Youna Kim, *Transnational Migration, Media and Identity of Asian Women: Diasporic Daughters* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Nana Oishi, *Women in Motion: Globalization, State Policies, and Labor Migration in Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).
61. A monumental and indispensable tool for the study of World Christianity is *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910–2010*, edited by Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), which was brought out in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, 1910. Helpful general surveys of Christianity as a world religion ("World Christianity") include: Dale T. Irvin and Scott W. Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement: Volume I: Earliest Christianity to 1453* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001); and *History of the World Christian Movement: Volume II: Modern Christianity from 1453–1800* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012); Douglas Jacobsen, *The World's Christians: Who They Are, Where They Are, and How They Got There* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Sebastian Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008); Mark A. Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith* (Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press Academic, 2009); Noel Davies and Martin Conway, *World Christianity in the 20th Century* (London: SCM Press, 2008); Dyron B. Daugherty, *The Changing World of Christianity: The Global History of a Borderless Religion* (New York:

- Peter Lang, 2010); Charles Farhadian, ed., *Introducing World Christianity* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); Justo L. González, *The Changing Shape of Church History* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2002); Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley, eds., *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815–c.1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Hugh McLeod, ed., *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1914–c.2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
62. See his *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996); and *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002).
  63. Sanneh's most important works include: *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989); *Encountering the West: Christianity and the Global Cultural Process* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993); *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003); and *Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
  64. See Philip Jenkins's *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; third edition, 2011). Jenkins's other works of significance for World Christianity include: *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia* (New York: HarperOne, 2009); *God's Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe's Religious Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
  65. See Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, x i.
  66. As pointed out earlier, few studies of migrants in Japan have investigated their religious (Christian) communities and activities. Even in the West, scholarly studies of the religious life of migrants have just begun. To be noted are: Karen I. Leonard et al., eds., *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America* (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2005); Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, Jane I. Smith, and John L. Esposito, eds., *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States* (Oxford: AltaMira, 2003); Michael W. Foley and Dean R. Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants: How Faith Communities Form Our Newest Citizens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chaletz, *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (Oxford: AltaMira, 2000).

## Chapter 6

# Migration and Mission Routes/Roots in Oceania

*Jione Havea*

Migration was no big deal for our ancestors, as evident in Paula Taumoepeau's recollection: "*Manatu ki he talanoa 'emau kui ki be'ene fanga kui. 'Obovale kuo nau puli 'o lau uike, a'u 'o lau māhina. Nau foki ange 'o talanoa e 'otu motu ne nau ō ki ai, 'o a'u ki Fisi mo Ha'amoā. Na'e 'ikai ko ha me'a lahi ia kiate kinautolu*" (I recall my grandfather telling about the generation of his grandparents. Some would disappear for weeks, even months. They return to tell of the islands that they visited, as far as Fiji and Samoa. That was not a big deal to them).<sup>1</sup> It is appropriate to open this reflection with the recollection by a native of Oceania who is named Taumoepeau (*Tau-mo e-peau*) in part because his name suggests someone who has "been (*tau*) upon waves" or who has "fought (*tau*) with waves." Tau-mo e-peau is what happens when the people of Oceania migrate. Back then, migration involved getting sprayed, salted, lost, then rereading the winds, currents, and stars to find one's path in the sea. Migration used to involve getting wet in the sea. Nowadays, people fly over the routes of migration with ease and confidence.

Metaphors of voyage and navigation continue to live in the names of people—for example, Vaka, Moana, Taari, Folau, Peletai, Galu, and so on—and in the *haka* (movements of the body) in our cultural dances. In some dances, the body of the dancer glides as if it was a smooth day at sea with satisfying winds and accommodating waves. In others, the body wobbles and shuffles, falls and leaps, as if the waves toss and roll one around. The body of the dancer "presses the waves"<sup>2</sup> in some dances, but leaps and bounces around in other dances as if it is fighting the waves, Tau-mo e-peau, gasping for survival. Shifting from the rolling and tossing waves in the sea to the coconut-oiled bodies of dancing natives, the memories of sea migration live on, even if islanders now prefer to travel in vessels that zoom with engines and horizontal sails (wings).

Back then, the natives of Oceania were a people of the sea. This point has recently been made sharply in a poem by Samoan poet Aurora Epa Elisaia,

first read at a memorial service in New York (October 8, 2009) to remember the victims of the tsunami waves that hit America and Western Samoa (September 29, 2009), as well as Tonga (on the other side of the international dateline):

We are people of the sea . . . sons and daughters of land, sun and waves . . . soon we will bury our people en masse. Families lie together side by side, Never before have we done so, never more do we want to . . . We are resilient and strong and while breath is still in us, we will still strive forward, to rebuild again. We have always been people of the sea, but we try now to turn our backs on her; she has hurt us beyond words . . . for now we will comfort and be comforted, but maybe someday not so distant, we will be once more—people of the sea.<sup>3</sup>

We are a *sea of people* also, with diverse drifts and meanderings. Micronesians have their peculiarities, and there is nothing micro about those. Melanesians have theirs also, even though the Polynesians have over the years, and still do now and then, entered their waters and messed with their people, goods, customs, and wisdoms. The diversity between us is clear, as Isaac Dakei, general secretary of the United Church of the Solomon Islands, explained to the June 2011 General Conference of the Methodist Church of Tonga (at Nuku'alofa):

Our boats tell something about our differences. You have small boats with sails. You need wind to voyage. We have longer boats without sails because we have more people, more powerful people, to row our boats.

We are a sea people, still, but we deal with the sea differently, relying on our different environments and the ways of our diverse people. There is no *one* Pacific way. We have a sea of ways.

This chapter moves through three sections that circle around matters we in Oceania face when we travel and migrate, from departure to arrival, with a middle section on how we find our paths.<sup>4</sup> Observations, musings, and suggestions for theological and hermeneutical reflection will be woven and mangled, drawing upon recent experiences and memories of how our ancestors used to do things.<sup>5</sup> The sections are written in sequence, as demanded by this linear medium of communication, writing, but they ought to be read in juxtaposition, as if they are three waves that meet, crossing each other, at the point known as the node (I learned this English name at South Tarawa, Kiribati, from David Upp). At the node, which we Tongans call *lua*, the water is silky smooth on the surface. But underneath, different waves and currents pass over and under each other, leveling each other's rise, as they move from and toward different directions. The node does not roar or spray. It is a murmuring place, absorbing each other's disturbance. It is a place of whispers,<sup>6</sup> of telling, and the overlaying of *talanoa* (story, telling, conversation).<sup>7</sup>



A closing section winds this chapter up, reflecting on the bearings of migration on Christianity in Oceania. Studies on the history and development of Christianity in Oceania—focusing on the impact of Christianity on the region and the reactions of the islanders to the Christian mission—are available, allowing the closing section to address the challenges and opportunities that Oceania poses to Christianity. What bearing (effect, direction) does a region charted by the paths of migration and peopled by migrants have for Christianity? Christian missionaries saw Oceania as a place to be settled and civilized, but under the surface (as in the case of nodes) are currents of transition, movement, and fluidity. This chapter is thus an invitation to rethink the Christian mission in response to migration and to Oceania.

### Departure Taxes

Migration requires departure and disconnection. Shuttling and shifting is the goal. The migrant does not intend to return home. Homecoming is not on the travel-log (which was not written for our ancestors), but longing for home will always be constant and painful.

Among Polynesians, there is tremendous pride in remembering that our ancestors were migrants. We speak of their “great migration” and we carve their *vaka* (*waka*, *waa*, boat) on our totems and meeting houses, and recall their stories and legends to our children. Some of us even tattoo onto our bodies the waves, sails, or the fishing hooks with which we imagine our ancestors survived their voyage. In some cases, the fishing hook is the one with which Maui fished up land to be their next home. Our memories are seasoned with the saltwater sprays of migration. Our talanoa have wavy flavors.

But ask any of us where our ancestors came from, and there will be silence. A node. Maoris among us might reply, “Hawaiki!” But they would not be able to tell where this place was. The Hawai’ians might claim the honor, appealing to the similarity between the names Hawaiki and Hawai’i. Samoans too claim Hawaiki, which they say is Savai’i (one of the three larger islands of Samoa). The name Samoa (*Sā* means “sacred,” *moa* means “center”) in fact suggests that it is the sacred center of the universe.<sup>8</sup>

The Tongans might join by shifting the conversation to “Pulotu” (to where the spirits of the ancestors return) and explain that this place is where the sun sets. One of our fisherman ancestors, Kae, had been to Pulotu, and he came back to tell about it, because he left fish to mark the way (in the sea!) for his return. Pulotu exists in the Tongan story, but no Tongan can take anyone there. At this point, some Samoan might say, “Pulotu is at Falealupo, in Savai’i!” I imagine a roar of laughter would erupt in response. We pass the node, even before the I-Kiribati joins with their four versions of their origin—*Kai-N-Tiknaba* (tree of resting place), *Te Uea-Ni-Kai* (at Tabiteuea island), *Onotoa* (six warriors), and the story of Nareau (North Tarawa)—or link the Polynesian Pulotu to Bouru, the land of the spirits that Nakaa the net-repairer guards. Fijians too have multiple stories, even if the story of

Degei is the more popular one. The missionary Thomas Williams “sought in vain for a single ray of tradition relating to the origin of the Fijians.”<sup>9</sup>

The point for me here is that the natives of Oceania are proud of being daughters and sons of migrants, but we do not know from where our roots come. We have forgotten, and that is no loss. Our roots are mythical, and we are not troubled by that. We are people of myths also, and this has to do with being people of the sea. The mythical world links with the spirit world, and those are as real as the material world.

Oral people too forget. Recently at Onotoa Island (Kiribati), I met grandchildren (in their eighties) of a Tongan adopted by an I-Kiribati couple (brought together by blackbird traders) in the late 1800s.<sup>10</sup> They remember their grandfather by the name Tion Tāmoa, and that he was around ten years old when he was brought to Onotoa, but they have no recollection of or connection with his Tongan roots. At this stage, Tion’s roots are mythical, even for the elders two generations after his arrival. This does not mean that his Tongan roots are not true, especially for the surviving grandchildren, Merian and Tion, and for their growing households.

Migration happens because people leave their roots and the stability of firm groundings. We do not all know why our ancestors migrated. According to one Solomon islander named Patrick Woria, whom I met in Suva, legends tell them that their ancestors migrated because of environmental pressures. They migrated in search of safer homes and greener pastures. They migrated because their first homes were no longer habitable. Woria’s people have an explanation, but many other islanders do not know why their ancestors migrated, or whether there were indigenous people in the land where they arrived. I imagine that there would have been stories of dispossession if that were the case. But we do not have stories similar to those in the books of Joshua and Judges.

I imagine that there can be several explanations for why our ancestors left their first homes: natural cause, supernatural inkling, spirit of exploration, fleeing personal or social matters, or because they were pushed away. I suspect that they did not set to sea in order to spread some godforsaken tradition or culture. I do not believe that they knew where they were going, just as we don’t know from where they came. I want to believe that they voyaged because there is something intoxicating about drifting away from safety to live floating lives—like what locals in Onotoa call *Aba tabebeiti*, floating lands—and set roots along one’s routes. In other words, they migrated because they preferred to live and think in transit. They were not disciples of Elijah, who wanted Israel to stop wavering between two opinions and instead decide whether to be on the side either of Ba’al or of Yhwh (1 Kings 18:16–29).<sup>11</sup> As a sea people, our ancestors were transiting people, between places, positions, homes, roots. They would therefore be able to understand the implications of the people not answering Elijah “a word.”

More recently, natives of Oceania who live overseas speak and write of being in a Pacific Diaspora.<sup>12</sup> Many of us have forgotten that our homes were the first Pacific Diaspora. Will two or three generations from now know

where their roots are? Will they long to know and reconnect? Will the technology of record keeping help them remember, or help them forget? Will they be suspicious of the accounts of their roots (as we are of the scriptures of our days)?

Migration happens when there is disconnection, and its upshot is the forgetting of roots. The cost to migration, or “departure tax” (a fee paid at some airports prior to departure, even for domestic flights as in Vanuatu and Kiribati), to use a more recent image, is the mythologizing of roots. This is not a problem for peoples of the sea, of myths, and of orality. This is the way things are; this is “normal.” It only becomes a problem when the myths are rejected as if they are not meaningful, as if they are not rooting, or venerated as if they happened, as if they represent reality. Both extremes are challenges for tellers of myths, for interpreters of customs, for keepers of traditions, for weavers of cultures, and for flag bearers of nations. Many Christian theologians and biblical critics perform those tasks also, and they too are not free of the challenges of taking their “texts” too lightly or too zealously.

To mythologize is to “story one’s roots,” and sometimes this involves intentionally hiding something about one’s roots. Stories store as well as put out of sight. Myths help people forget, and this too is normal in Oceania. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to hide and forget the precontact world. This is in part because Western and Christian lenses and preferences help us forget our roots, but also because of our transiting makeup.

No migration is free of “departure tax.” Mythologizing one’s roots is expected, and it enables one to cross into new lands, to meet new peoples and cultures, to become as local as possible. When, on the other hand, one’s roots are sanctified and one migrates, sets out, in order to spread those, the chance to engage and embrace new peoples and new cultures is difficult. In such cases, crossing of cultures can be disruptive, painful, and even destructive.

In Oceania, Christianity in its many shapes came in the arms of voyagers. It did not come as a myth but as “the truth,” and our people engaged it. Nonetheless, signs that Christianity is a foreign body to Oceania remain. A good indication of this is the names of our churches. At Piula Theological College (Apia, Western Samoa), for instance, three different Bachelor of Divinity theses refer to the same church by three different names: Methodist Church in Samoa, Methodist Church of Samoa, and Samoan Methodist Church. The Methodist Church is named differently in Samoa. Though there have been many attempts to contextualize the Methodist Church, and Christianity in general, traces of foreignness linger. Another example is the concept “bread of life,” a reference to Jesus that is meaningful in the context of Holy Communion, in Tuvalu, where the word for bread is *falaaoa* (flour). Bread is foreign to Tuvalu, and so is the concept of *falaaoa o te ola* (bread of life). These traces suggest that Christianity did not submit its necessary “departure tax.” In this regard, Christianity (which brought much excess baggage) fails to meet the requirements for migration.

One of the tensions in the current Pacific Diaspora is between those who hold strong to their island roots against those who advocate letting

go completely, in order that they live as locals in their new homes (in other island groups or in Western nations). Between those are ones who seek some kind of negotiation between the island home cultures and the adopted cultures. Cultural negotiation is easier for those who migrate freely than for ones who are uprooted (as in blackbirding) or because of deception (as the people of Banaba, Kiribati, who were moved to Rabi, Fiji), and different further for indentured workers (from the region and from abroad).<sup>13</sup> Migration requires movement, which involves some form of uprooting and displacement. To survive those meaningfully requires negotiation and intervention, for departure is always taxing.

### Paths in the *Vahanoa*

The paths of migration connect sea, sky, and land. That islanders chart their paths in the sea according to the alignment of the stars is a practice that we share with other indigenous people, and is known to writers from all over. The Aboriginal people in Australia have Songlines, also known as “Dreaming” tracks, which reveal the paths across the land and sky that creator-beings and ancestors took during the Dreaming time. The Songlines follow the way (footprints) of the ancestors. These paths are remembered in their songs, stories, dances, and artworks. Aboriginal Songlines identify landmarks, such as digging and ceremonial sites, mountains and waterholes, which the singer, storyteller, performer, or reader of art locate and follow in the process of singing, telling, performing, or appreciating artwork.

Songlines represent the intersection of memory, tradition, and land. In following the sequence of the Songlines, Aborigines navigate the wide land, with many dry and wet lakes, and deserts, languages, and ways of Australia. One cannot comprehend Songlines without crossing the landscape, for these are songs and stories of the land, and their melodies echo the contours of the land. To sing or retell Songlines requires walking, observing, and respecting the sacred land. To keep Songlines alive, and the land sacred, movement takes place. Migration happens in order for the Songlines to survive. In this regard, one may argue that Songlines function as scripture for Aborigines.<sup>14</sup>

“Like all other peoples, Pacific islanders possess their own indigenous forms of history, accounts of ancestors passed down through chants, songs, and oral traditions. These too speak of voyages, many of epic proportions.”<sup>15</sup> We celebrate the navigation skills of our ancestors in our dances and songs. One of my favorite Tongan songs includes the phrase *taulanga he vavā* (harbor/destination in the air), which suggests that one’s journey is guided by, and toward, a harbor or destination (*taulanga*) that is in the air (*vavā*). It is interesting that the song avoids naming sky (*langi*) as the harbor or destination, but uses the word *vavā*, which carries the meanings of *vahanoa* (wilderness, ocean). The air is a wilderness, just as the sea and land are. Wilderness here does not mean empty or dead space. In Tuvalu, for example, the sea is *Fale-o-ika* (home for fish). The sea is not forsaken or deserted, for it is a home. The sea is not barren but, as one elder in Onotoa put it, it is a “deep

storehouse.” And in Kiribati, the sea is *Tarri* (brother, sister). The I-Kiribati (native of Kiribati) is a sibling to the sea. In these island nations, strong relational affections toward the sea as wilderness is expected. Consequently, as it was back then, migration involved crossing the rich and enriching sea to which one relates and depends, according to the harbor or destination (taulanga) in the air (vavā).

If islanders only traveled according to the stars, they would travel only at night, and we would therefore be *people of the night* as well. Island navigators did not fix their eyes to the vavā alone. They depended on the signs in the sea as well, like the range of reefs between island groups, and the kinds of fish caught on the way. The *ika-ni-beka* roams the warmer deep waters around Micronesia and the equator, and the *fua* and *vete* will head for Tonga toward the warmer months (to lay their eggs). The sea is filled with pointers for island navigators, known as the *muli-vaka* (back of the boat) in Tuvalu. Those who assume that the sea is empty of markers and signs would probably think that there were no people in the paths of Israel during their wilderness journey (Exodus-Deuteronomy). Midianites, Edomites, Moabites, and many more were there and were trampled upon.

Island navigators also felt the sea, as in the Tongan legend preserved in one of the village titles from the Ha'apai group, *Fāfā-ki-tahi* (feel or touch the sea). The title originated from a blind man who usually traveled solo by canoe or raft from island to island. When asked how he found his way around, he replied that he could tell which part of the sea he was in by touching and feeling the sea (fāfā-ki-tahi).<sup>16</sup> He was a true man of the night, who traveled not according to the stars but according to the feel of the water. He was a man of the vahanoa who probably got lost a few times, but he was persuasive enough to convince the ones on the island to where he arrived that he actually set out to come to their island. Great travelers too do get lost, and have stories to harbor their journey when and where they arrive. Those stories have many grains of sea salt!

Polynesians regularly speak of the great migration of our ancestors, and we tease one another that there were many boats and several got lost during the voyage. The lost ones ended up at the other islands, from where those whom we are teasing come. In jest, we speak of lost boats. In reality, we have lost *kāinga* (relations). The drifts of the vahanoa rip us from one another in the course of migration.

Paths in the vahanoa are not straightforward. It is easy to lose the way, and one learns to depend on one's imagination. An adventurous spirit with a heavy dose of courage help one navigate the vahanoa. There is no certainty when it comes to the fluid paths in the vahanoa. Certainty is the illusion of modern minds. In Oceania, fluidity is the context of migration, which is continually “up for grabs.” From my limited experience of navigating narrow passages through reefs in the islands, I have learned two important lessons: one, “going with the flow” (of waves and currents) makes the difference between passing through the passage or bruising on the reef; and two, I learn to “trust the path.”

The narrower the passage the stronger the currents and the washouts, and it is a waste of energy fighting against those. It is much safer to maneuver according to the interval of the waves and the directions of the currents. This is where *fāfā-ki-tahi* would be helpful, but stopping or hovering over the rush of a flowing passage is not possible. If one is not familiar with the passage then one learns and maneuvers “on the run,” in the flow. If one’s timing is correct so that one catches the right break, one simply needs to stay on the brow of the wave and it will take one through. In this regard, the liquid context determines how a voyager passes through the passage. That is what “going with the flow” means in the *vahanoa*. It is not the silencing of oneself in submission to more powerful screams, as if one has no will, but learning to feel the strength of the liquid context.

Narrow passages are not straight. There is usually a turn but this will not be visible from far away, whether one approaches from the lagoon or from the open sea. The turn becomes visible as one comes to it, and so one must learn to “trust the path” instead of what one observes from far off. In the *vahanoa*, the voyager learns to listen to the context rather than force her or his observation from a distance upon it. And the direction that one gets from the fluid context is solid!

Obviously, the practices of contextualization would be different if people of the *vahanoa* designed those. At least the starting point would be the context in which one depends and trusts, with courage, to turn according to the contours of the context. The context is first, instead of the thoughts or teachings one seeks to appropriate for a new context. And the final step will be according to “local interests,” instead of some foreign agenda, whether Christian, civilized, or otherwise, that is supposed to be “good for us.” In this regard, we need to pull the “local interests” (especially of small island nations) back from the whirlpool of “the common good.”

One of the late entries into the theological scene in Oceania is the attention to climate change, with the low-lying coral atolls of Kiribati and Tuvalu used as poster faces to drive individuals, companies, and nations to account for their carbon footprints. Whose interests are served in the politics of climate change?<sup>17</sup> As I write (mid-2011), the Australian government fights to set conditions and clear the way for its “carbon tax” and the names of Kiribati and Tuvalu are beckoned to make mass producers of carbon feel guilty, change their ways, atone for and recompense their misdeeds. I doubt that the damages that the carbon civilization has caused the environment can be reversed, or stopped, but I also trust that transformation of ways is possible.

Apart from a few leaders who speak on behalf of their nation and reap the benefits of climate change, the majority of locals I spoke with in Tuvalu and Kiribati are not worried by the threats of climate change. The sea is rising, they admit, and they build seawalls. But they say that the land is also rising, and that is comforting to them. Their worry is not the rising of the sea but the erosion of the land, and the two of course interconnect. They are more worried about storms and tsunami waves, like the ones that devastated

American Samoa, Western Samoa, and Tonga (2009), and the punishing series of droughts.

The vahanoa is a place of migration and displacement where one faces the temptation to “take roots upon drifts.” When one submits, one forgets that vahanoa is one’s routes (paths), instead of one’s roots (origin). The challenge here, therefore, is how the natives of Tuvalu and Kiribati might be who they are, as cultural and theological subjects, apart from the political and economic drifts of climate change. My aim here is to register that the peoples of Tuvalu and Kiribati have gifts, wisdom and cultures that deserve hermeneutical and theological engagement, rather than pressing them under foreign interests in climate change, which submit them under the guilt of the world’s economic powers.

The vahanoa is place of endurance and survival, of which the natives of Oceania are capable in the limited land spaces of island contexts. Endurance and survival sometimes require natives to move, as one Niuatoputapu (Tonga) survivor of the 2009 tsunami explained. The local chief and government had offered families in his village land plots at a higher elevation, away from the sea. Many of his neighbors refused the offer, because they like Naboth (1 Kings 21) did not want to give up ancestral lands. He, on the other hand, shifted home for the sake of his children. After relocating, whenever there is an earthquake, his former neighbors run for higher grounds, even in the darkness of the night, while his children sleep with no fear. His family has transformed their new location into a home, and they stretch out (*fakaloloa*) with more comfort.

Coming to terms with the conditions of vahanoa reminds us of the transitory natures of migration. This does not mean that relocation is the only answer to threats, but that migration involves movement. Furthermore, migration and vahanoa resist stability and rigidity. Those on the other hand are opportunities for difference to multiply.

### Arrival Duties

Modern-day travelers enjoy “duty free shopping” and sometimes forget that arrival comes with responsibilities, with “arrival duties.” The first responsibility is to pay respect to the ancestors of the land to which one arrives. I was reminded of this arrival duty when B’aranite Kirata took me (August 2011) to the village of his mother, Tabuarorae (Onotoa, Kiribati). I was ahead of this retired protestant minister, and began to cross the causeway to the first of the “floating islands.” He called me back, and took me to the side where he asked me to sit with him at the burial site of his ancestors. “Mauri-o” (Greetings!), he began, and then continued in I-Kiribati, his mother tongue. I found out later that he does not know who were buried at that site, but he greeted them on my behalf and sought peace for our journey to continue. He did for me what he did for his four-year-old granddaughter two weeks earlier, having arrived from Tarawa to Onotoa for the first time, and this was one of the practices he learned from his father when relatives and friends visit.

Instead of rushing across the causeway, B'aranite's ritual reminded me that island time is flexible when it comes to crossing the land of the ancestors. This occasion reminds me of a conversation several years ago with Walter Fejo, an elder and minister from Arnhem Land, at the top end of Australia, of how Aboriginal people too are respectful of sites when they journey. They know where boundaries are, and they pause to pay their respects. Like their ancestors, B'aranite and Walter "knew of reality as interconnected between that which is visible [material world] and that which is invisible [spirit world]."<sup>18</sup> Arrival cannot be rushed, because permission and acceptance are necessary in order for welcome to be received. Welcome to land is not given by those who occupy the land, but by the honor of those who were there in the past. Pausing on the journey is needed for acceptance to be received.

A second arrival duty is the bearing of gifts. I failed in this respect at Tabuoraroë, unlike someone who came through earlier and left a rolled tobacco under a clamshell at the burial site. That traveler was probably a local from another village, or another island, and s/he knew the custom. Though I remembered to take kava for the men and sweets for the children and women at Onotoa, I was not prepared for B'aranite's ancestors. At the next ancestral site, I was prepared: not with tobacco but with a smooth coral rock to throw at stray dogs.

Gift giving is not unique to the people of Oceania. Like others, we take gifts and receive welcome and sustenance. As islanders for whom the content and size of a gift is determined by one's place and role, the gifts are sometimes grand. When that happens, locals say that one has fulfilled one's duty well. Others say that huge gifts are excessive and wasteful, especially when calculated according to dollar figures. Still others would say, noting that islanders tend to "think big" in a context where everyone knows everyone else's business, that gifting is "showing off" of one's status and wealth. Our economics of gifting has infused all sorts of valuing, and there is some truth to all of those views.

Many are the stories of exchange of goods in the early days of contact with Europeans. A nail, a scrap of metal, a fire-stone, for food, water, coconuts, and so forth. There was deceit and loss of lives. But reception was given to the Europeans due in large part to the effects of gifting. If there were no goods exchanged, would there have been any welcome? This is not only because goods have value, but also because goods were given in gifting cultures. Who received the better gift is not important here, even though natives have a version of the popular African anecdote: "The white man told us to close our eyes for prayer. After his prayer, we opened our eyes to find the bible and book of disciplines in our hands but he had our island in his hand." What is more important here is that one respects the expectations and responsibilities that come with arrival into gifting cultures.

It is the more privileged travelers who often forget, intentionally sometimes, the responsibilities in entering gifting cultures. Gifting is linked to respect, and both are important for establishing and maintaining relations.



Back then, as elders prefer to put it, one claims land with a bush-knife. One arrives, clears an area, plants coconuts at the edges to mark the limits, and then waits for the villagers to come and build one's home. This is another arrival duty: patiently wait for the village to build one's home. In Oceania, especially in the outer islands, away from partially modernized capital islands, it takes a village to build a home. They know which pandanus or coconut trunk is appropriate for the posts, and where to get material for the structure, the thatches, the lashes, and so forth. Waiting for the village is, again, out of respect, and in "island time" as well. Once one's home is ready, one becomes local and is expected to participate in the building of the next home. One continues to learn from the locals: what to plant when, where to fish at which tide, and so forth. These practical needs give islanders the chance to share knowledge and pass wisdom from one voyager to the next, from generation to generation. The daily and practical, ideological and informational intersect, and consensus was not always reached on what the "correct" island wisdom was. But they were all real.

Island cultures are highly structured. They are like Christian churches, which Father Taukei'aho Tuli explained to be full of rules: "*Ko 'e te manga kotoa 'oku ai e lao ki ai*" (For every step, there is a rule). The most structured are the kava ceremonies and the gatherings at community meeting places,<sup>19</sup> where there is a place for everyone, including being seated outside of the gathering, and the rituals performed at funerals, where the principles of cultural tapu/tabu/taboo peak. These are the quintessential representations of island customs. Knowing what those are helps one know her/his place, and what the village expects of her/him.

One of the illusions that European voyagers and migrants share is the assumption that their acceptance, or rejection, had something to do with who they were. On the contrary, whether they are received or pushed away has more to do with the expectations of the local community. Take the case of the LMS missionary John Williams whose welcome to Savai'i, Samoa, is not remembered in the lights of the expectations of local people. Prior to Williams's arrival from Tonga with the assistance of a Samoan couple, Puaseisei and husband Faueā, the paramount chief Malietoa visited the prophetess Nāfanua at Falealupo, where Pulo-tu is located. He went to ask her to name a *head* for his government. Nāfanua told him to go back as there are only *tails* in the land; he was to wait as the head for his land would come from above. Would Malietoa have welcomed Williams and received the Christian message (August 24, 1830) if he did not believe Nāfanua first? In my island eyes, Williams's success was due to the expectation of this local chief.

There is a similar story from Kiribati, concerning the tribe of Matang. The Matang men did something unpardonable and so the tribe was expelled from the islands. They loaded up their canoes and left to reform their ways somewhere in the sea. Many years later, Europeans started to arrive and the I-Kiribati took the fair-skin visitors to be their Matang cousins who returned as better people. Europeans are called I-Matang and they sit at the

place of the Matang in the Maneaba (community meeting house), which is the side toward the lagoon. Owing to the longing of I-Kiribati people for their expelled cousins, the Europeans became acceptable and received a place (as I-Matang) at the Maneaba.<sup>20</sup> Welcome is due to the expectations and goodwill of locals, and it is one's arrival duty to learn and appreciate their welcome.

One also needs to learn to know when islanders are fooling around, and may be making fun of her/him. Islanders tell as many lies and jokes as other people, with island twists of course.<sup>21</sup> Humor plays a big part in island cultures, and it is not uncommon for islanders to laugh their heads off even on Sundays (when they are supposed to be devout and mellow). It is difficult to objectify and describe the various flavors of island humor, but one has not really arrived until one is able to laugh along with and at the locals, as well as at oneself. The more biting a joke is upon oneself, the louder one laughs in appreciation.

If there is a bottom line to the arrival duties that I am sketching, it is simple: I am asking for appreciation of and respect for locals and their cultures. Failure to respect the locals and their cultures is what sparks the clashing of cultures. Many missionaries were murdered in the early days of the Christian mission to Oceania because they broke cultural taboos. Some of those may be trivial in the eyes of outsiders, like permitting young men to eat yam before they are married and have their first child, or touching the hair of a chief,<sup>22</sup> but they are taboo in the hearts of locals.

Attention to migration tends to be on the migrants and the skills necessary for surviving the voyage, but not on the locals at the receiving end. In the Hebrew Scriptures, this is the primary preoccupation since movement began from the garden, and from Babel, Ur, Canaan, Egypt, Judah, all the way to the return from Babylon with Ezra and Nehemiah. The migrants and their right to occupy wherever they were going is privileged, but the lot of the peoples of the land is not registered. If islanders with sensitivity to arrival duties were the authors of the biblical account, I imagine that they would be more understanding of and be in solidarity with the peoples of the land, the natives, the locals.

Failing to respect locals continues in theological circles, especially painful for local theologians. Father Mikaele Paunga explained to me in Nausori his recent experience at a theological conference in Queensland. One of the exposure events involved going to a nearby island to learn from the insights and wisdoms of Aboriginal people. They were shown aboriginal paintings, which is a form of indigenous Songline. On one painting was a luscious, healthy, beautiful tree: Australia of the ancestors. On the next painting, a tree trunk, cut off from its green head and branches, blackened, dead: Australia after the colonialists arrived. Behind him, Paunga heard someone say, "This is not theology." Some Balanda, white person, disrespected Aboriginal ways and wisdom, and insults the respect that natives give to I-Matang. Disrespect for locals and their ways continue to be a mark of theology and Christianity.

There is no denying that our ancestors did things considered savagery in their own eyes and in the eyes of the West,<sup>23</sup> and were not always friendly. It was not out of place for Hamilton, a surgeon on the ship *Pandora* (1791), to comment: “The people of Nomuka are the most daring set of robbers in the South Seas and with the greatest respect and submission to Capt. Cook, I think the name of Friendly Islands is a perfect misnomer.”<sup>24</sup> But out of respect for the locals, the gaps need to be filled, and misperceptions need to be mended. In the Cook Islands, the natives were not all cannibals. Cannibalism was a practice only of warriors, and only during wartime, as a show of power. And the people of Nomuka, renowned for their navigation skills, robbed because the white explorers and their crews failed to observe the expectations of sharing cultures. They were cannibals and robbers for a reason, and the rest of their people should not be stereotyped as being the same. It would be equally unfair for locals to think that all white people are Nazis or Missionaries.

Arrival is a step toward resettlement, and it is taxing for migrants as well as for locals. It is naïve to assume that arrival is free, or that resettlement ends the tossing and turnings. Resettlement is ongoing, never complete, as is life. This being the case, why do some people in Tuvalu and Kiribati resist resettlement to another and higher land as a solution for climate change? Why don’t they want to move? Have they given up on being peoples whose roots are in migration? B’aranite’s son, Otineta, helped me see things differently. “I prefer it here,” he said, “being surrounded by water.” He is a son of the sea, and he has many brothers and sisters in Kiribati and beyond. Even in the face of rising seas and the swells of climate change, people do not want to flee from the sea. Resettlement is not an attractive option because home needs to be surrounded by water.

Arrival marks the end of movement, but it is not the end of changing. As far as islanders are concerned, migration makes arrival watery, changeable, in transit.

### Christianity in Oceania

Into Oceania, Christianity arrived as a migrating religion. Its impacts on and reception into our islands, cultures, and peoples, for good and for worse, have been documented (see n.9). My intention here is not to praise or criticize Christianity in Oceania, but to invite *talanoa* (conversation) on what it could look like now that it has come to Oceania. If Christianity was to come again, how might it come differently? I am more interested in looking forward than in looking backward, realizing of course that it is necessary to look both ways. I present my invitation for *talanoa* along the three stages of migration around which I offered the foregoing reflections.

*Caveat lector*: I am neither a church historian nor a missiologist, but a native Christian who is convinced that our region, peoples, and customs have something to contribute to the Christian church and mission.<sup>25</sup> What concern me in this closing section therefore are the impacts that Oceania can

offer Christianity. In other words, I am looking again at Christianity with the interests of Oceania.

\* \* \*

*Departure taxes:* Before the arrival of Christianity, the peoples of Oceania were already roaming the region for purposes of “family reunion, migration and trade.”<sup>26</sup> Upon arrival, the Western Christian missionaries took advantage of the navigational skills of the natives to help direct them around the southern seas, and their eagerness to influence (sometimes with force) one another. In Fiji, the success of Josua Mateinaniu in the westward islands is unmatched. In September 1836, ten months after he was sent to scout and mingle with the Tongans who had migrated to that part of Fiji, over three hundred Tongans followed Mateinaniu into the Methodist missionary Cargill’s chapel.<sup>27</sup> A Fijian scout became a native missionary! The Methodist mission in Fiji was aided further by the then young Tongan church, which sent six Tongan teachers in June 1838 (12 years after the arrival of Methodist missionaries to Tonga in 1826).<sup>28</sup> It is not clear what training and preparation these teachers received, but it is obvious that this “mission field” was beginning to bear fruits.

That however was not the first instance of native teachers being sent from one island to another. In 1821 and again in 1823, the London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary John Williams took Tahitian teachers to the Cook Islands.<sup>29</sup> The LMS mission successfully landed in Tahiti before the Methodist mission came to Tonga,<sup>30</sup> and these were the two big players (the Catholics were there also, but did not have as much an impact) in Oceania.

It was not long before Oceania qua mission field became a mission agency, at least for other islands in the region. The native teachers were sent out like “subalterns,”<sup>31</sup> subjects who were outside of the hegemonic power structure but who were necessary for the task at hand. According to mission records, they were sent as “teachers” but in the eyes of the natives, they came as Christian “missionaries.” Whether they are teachers or missionaries, the impression given is that the natives were (in the) dark.

They went as Christian teachers/missionaries with no angst about denominational divide.<sup>32</sup> The native Tahitians went as part of the LMS mission, while the Tongan natives were sponsored by the Methodists. When the native teachers/missionaries were received, they were identified not by their denominational roots but by their home islands. In Samoa, for instance, where Tahitian LMS and Tongan Methodist teachers/missionaries were both embraced, they established the *lotu Tahiti* (Tahitian faith, religion) and *lotu Tonga* (Tongan faith, religion).<sup>33</sup> Lotu Tahiti stood for the Congregational Church and lotu Tonga for the Methodist Church, and this was how the two denominations were first received. When native Samoan teachers/missionaries went to other islands, like Tokelau, Tuvalu, and Kiribati, they went as teachers/missionaries of lotu Tonga and lotu Tahiti. It was only later, when the Western sending bodies began to manage and fund the two “conferences” in Samoa, that they were renamed as Methodist and Congregational churches.

The native teachers/missionaries figuratively “paid departure taxes” by disconnecting from (i.e., “forgetting”) their mission boards. Did it matter which mission board they were serving? What might have happened had the mission boards left things to the Tahitians and the Tongans? These hypothetical questions invite consideration and talanoa especially in light on the foregoing discussion of migration in Oceania.

What might Christianity look like in Oceania if it had paid its departure taxes? Insofar as migration drifts natives away from their roots, which they mythologize in order to remember but that process also allowed them to forget, one of the challenges for Christianity in Oceania is how/whether to drift away and mythologize its roots in order to remember and at once forget them. This seemed to be possible at first with the spreading of lotu Tonga and lotu Tahiti, but with the successes of the missions the two sending bodies pulled the reins back for the sake of economic support and leadership, both of which have to do with power and politics. Weren’t the natives Christian enough to run their own churches?

Wanting to break from the sending Mission body bubbled in my denomination since the beginning and came to a boil in 1885. Methodists succeeded in 1826 to land in Tonga, and after a civil war that followed soon after, King Taufa’ahau was inspired to break from the Australian Methodist Conference to be lotu Tonga. In 1880 he declared, “Tonga should have an independent church...the missionaries and the whole world should see that I am determined to have the separation.”<sup>34</sup> He was supported by Rev. Shirley W. Baker, who was his prime minister, but Rev. James Moulton (who established Tupou College in 1868) and the Tongan district opposed.<sup>35</sup> The missionaries were divided, and the church and the nation were also divided, resulting in the exile of Tongans (who supported Moulton and the district) to Fiji in 1885 and the establishment of the Church of Tonga. My grandfather was one of the supporters of Moulton, so I grew up admiring his and other Tongan commoners’ courage to resist their king. Recently, I have come to appreciate Taufa’ahau’s desire to drift lotu in Tonga away from its roots. This is because part of me imagines that Taufa’ahau was also responding to the spirit of migration in Oceania.<sup>36</sup>

Christianity roots followers in salvation and deliverance through remembrance; migration in Oceania uproots natives (putting them on routes) and weaves movement with remembering and forgetting. This (albeit simplistic) juxtaposition of Christianity with migration in Oceania indicates that they share certain characteristics, but with a slight difference, that Christianity drives to take root. What Christianity in Oceania still lacks is the courage to be a migrating church, to allow itself to drift, to find and belong to new homes. If it had continued to be lotu Tonga and lotu Tahiti, it would have belonged and been at home in Oceania.

\* \* \*

*Paths in the vahanoa:* The winds have changed in Oceania, but the course of Christianity has not changed much since it arrived. Most worship events in the mainline denominations offer the prayers, sing the hymns, and repeat

the messages of the missionaries. In the early days, Sunday school, Christian education, and prayer meetings caused revivals that brought people into the Christian faith, and those activities are still conducted these days as if people have not converted. The orders of worship from the nineteenth century are still followed in the twenty-first century, according to the directions of the early missionaries. Put another way, Christianity in Oceania is stuck in the missionary era.

Furthermore, Christianity is kept alive in translation. The observation by Lamin Sanneh applies to Oceania as well, "Christianity could avoid translation only like water avoiding being wet."<sup>37</sup> Does the translated Christianity that is perpetuated in Oceania do justice to its source? To Oceania? Does it matter?

We received Christianity and its institutions and theologies, together with the Bible and hermeneutical approaches, from Western missionaries. We are grateful for those, I think, but we cannot free ourselves from the West if we continue to use and/or adopt its hermeneutical agendas. To continue using Western approaches is to keep the fires of the colonial era alive<sup>38</sup> over the ashes of which hover the ghosts of the missionary era.

The paths that Christianity sailed in Oceania have not been straightforward both for the missionaries and for the peoples of Oceania. In the early days, Oceania was a "wilderness" and "hinterland" for European missionaries and explorers.<sup>39</sup> Oceania was misperceived as an empty region to be claimed and divided, between foreign governments and mission boards. Three general attitudes toward Oceania consequently developed. First, there are those who romanticize our sea of islands as some kind of carefree paradise. They come as tourists who commodify our gifts, cultures, and peoples. They see the performance of cultural memories as entertainment, our reciprocating hospitality as generosity, and our children as darkened cheeks to pinch and squeeze as if they are fruits or vegetables. Second, there are those for whom Oceania is the part of Asia Pacific to fly over.<sup>40</sup> There is nothing to gain, so it is better to avoid it except for the occasional business opportunities. Third, there are those who come to save Oceania from itself. They come with their own (foreign) understanding of what it means to be saved, and of how it should be done. These attitudes, which overseas Christian organizations share, do not see the peoples and churches of Oceania as subjects worthy of engagement or of consultation. The churches in Oceania consequently developed self-doubt and a deep sense of dependency on their overseas parents.

How might churches in Oceania find confidence in and among themselves? It will help if there is cooperation on both sides: the overseas partners to change their attitudes toward island churches, and the island churches to "talk back" and "give back" to the global church commune. The missionary era was when overseas mission boards were "parents" and "sponsors," and now is the time to be "partners." More importantly, there needs to be a shift of labels as well as of attitudes on both sides. Within Oceania, it would be helpful also if partnership between regional churches and bodies are encouraged.<sup>41</sup>

Some movement has taken place in recent years, especially around the fields of theology and hermeneutics. Several church leaders have made significant contributions to contextual theologies and to biblical studies,<sup>42</sup> to which the recently inaugurated (August 2013) Oceania Biblical Studies Association commits. These efforts seek to hear local interests and traditions in the theologies and interpretations that are produced in Oceania, in other words, to listen for and to be contextualized in Oceania.<sup>43</sup> Though there is movement on the theological and hermeneutical fronts, resources and opportunities are still limited.

At the home-island-church front, there is a widening gap between what takes place in the theological circles and the worshipping communities. The advances in contextual theologies and in island hermeneutics have not filtered through to the practices and rituals of local congregations. Contributing to this gap is the ongoing favoring of the “correct ways” that the missionaries brought, and the fear to navigate the “narrow and crooked passages” of Oceania. Churches have become settled, rigid, and they ignore the fluidity of their Oceanic setting.

One of the *paths in the vahanoa* for the churches to travel is to close the gap between theological insights and the rituals of worshipping communities. Whereas there is some courage in the former to be rooted/routed in the fluidity of Oceania, the latter is still stuck in the heaven-ward gaze of the missionary era.

\* \* \*

*Arrival duties:* As long as churches in Oceania remain trapped in the missionary era and under the shadows of its heavenward theologies, Christianity will not have fully arrived into Oceania. In light of previous reflections on migration, arrival involves fulfilling of duties and responsibilities in the interests of islands and islanders, their roots and routes. There are key duties that remain for Christianity to meet, such as paying proper respects to our ancestors and participating in (rather than patronizing) the reciprocal cultures of islanders, and these could easily be met if the Christian churches *break out* of the missionary hold.

To *break out* is not to disrespect or disregard, but to step out in order to arrive, and then to build upon both the purposes of the escapees and the gifts of the new location. Take the motto on the Coat of Arms of my island home of Tonga as an example: ‘*Otua mo Tonga ko hoku tofi’a* (God and Tonga are my inheritance).

The Coat of Arms was designed in 1875, when Tonga’s constitution was created, under the influence of Christian teachers. It is under Christian guidance that Tongans grow up thinking that our inheritance is both God and Tonga. But it is ridiculous to speak of inheritance in Tonga, and in all patriarchal cultures, where women do not have the same right to inheritance as men. The motto of our nation is exclusivist, and this is the mindset that fuels our imagination when struck by the fever of nationalism. Shouldn’t we change our imagination?<sup>44</sup>

I add another set of questions, drawing upon the Tongan word ‘*Otua*. Prior to the arrival of Christianity, ‘*Otua* was the generic name for the deities (the chief ones were the Tangaloa deities, each taking care of a specific domain—sky, land, sea, underworld) that our ancestors worshipped. A derivative of this is *Atua*, used in other Polynesian languages (Maori, Samoa, Tuvalu, etc.) for their deities. With Christianity, both ‘*Otua* and *Atua* started being used as names solely for the Christian God. The ‘*Otua* in the Tongan Coat of Arms is understood to refer to the Christian God. Why doesn’t the Coat of Arms refer to the Tangaloa deities as well? Why aren’t the Tangaloa deities, Gods of our ancestors, the inheritance of Tongans as well?

The use of “inheritance” in Tonga’s Coat of Arms is problematic, and also problematic is the exclusivist use of ‘*Otua*. Christianity has robbed the Tangaloa deities of the status of ‘*Otua* and Tonga will remain under the disrespecting spell of Christianity until Tongan Christians affirm that there is more ‘*Otua* for Tongans than just the Christian one. Until Christian churches in Tonga *break out* from the monotheistic stronghold and pay proper respect to our ancestors, Christianity will not have fully arrived.

Spraying salt on the wounds of Tongans is the favoring of interfaith and ecumenical relations over against indigenous beliefs as if the Tangaloa deities did not serve a religious role. Faiths and denominations from foreign lands are respected more than local systems of belief (unfairly marked as paganism). The explanation most Tongans give for this preference is that the religious systems that the *palangi* (white, European) brought are more advanced, more enlightened, more correct than those of the local (darker) people. This fuels color biases, of which Christianity takes advantage: the palangi religions are better than the “paganism” of darkened locals. The locals are consequently conditioned to think that the palangi are better mainly because of their skin color. Other islands in Oceania share the same inferiority complex, and so too in other mission fields in the Global South.

*Breaking out* of the demeaning hold of color biases is one of the arrival duties that Christianity owes Oceania. When this takes place, Christianity opens itself to learn from the dark skin locals and reciprocity is more real. This will require accepting that Christianity is a foreign religion to Oceania, becoming aware of color privileges, and accounting for the conditionings of color blindness.<sup>45</sup>

## Notes

I wrote this chapter during my study leave (July–December 2011), funded and supported by the Faculty of United Theological College and School of Theology, Charles Sturt University. I shared my thoughts with other natives on and between islands—recollecting memories and reflecting on engagements with fellow natives and some non-natives—in Oceania: Viti Levu (Fiji); Tarawa, Beru, and Onotoa (Kiribati); Funāfuti, Fatato, and Funāfala (Tuvalu); and Tongatapu (Tonga).



1. Taumoepeau remembered this during a conversation outside the meeting hall where the first gathering of Oceania Biblical Studies Association met in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand (July 10, 2010). Taumoepeau is a descendant of the people whom the Australian teacher and missionary A. Harold Wood called "The Vikings of the Pacific." For Wood, "The Tongans' daring voyages and far-ranging conquests made them 'The Vikings of the Pacific.' They acquired a reputation for arrogance that has not left them in modern times." See A. Harold Wood, *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. Volume I: Tonga and Samoa* (Melbourne: Aldersgate, 1975), 2.
2. Another revealing Tongan name is *Lomi-peau* (pressing the wave down, as if to iron it out), which was given to the boat of one of our chiefs, for it traveled as if it could hold the waves down.
3. Cited in Lani Wendt Young, *The Pacific Tsunami "Galu Afi": The Story of the Greatest Natural Disaster Samoa Has Ever Known*. © Hans Joachim Keil, 2010 (345–46; italicized in original). The tsunami claimed the lives of 144 people in Western Samoa, 33 in American Samoa, and 9 in Tonga (because of the international dateline, the tsunami is recorded as hitting Niua Toputapu in Tonga on September 30). Their names are remembered in Lani's moving work, together with the stories of survivors, friends and relatives of victims, rescuers and aid workers, caregivers and supporters, locally and internationally.
4. Francisco Lozada Jr. follows similar stages, from unsettlement, to journey (crossing borders), and resettlement, in "Journey and the Fourth Gospel: A Latino/a Exploration," *Interpretation* 65 (2011): 264–275.
5. This chapter is, insofar as its roots are in the routes of the natives of Oceania, a small homage to the spirit of orality that flooded the veins of our voyaging ancestors.
6. See Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Efi, "Whispers and Vanities in Samoan Indigenous Religious Culture," paper presented at the Parliament of the World's Religions, Melbourne (December 3, 2009), available at <http://www.parliamentofreligions.org/news/index.php/tag/academic-papers/> (cited July 21, 2011).
7. See Jione Havea, ed., *Talanoa Ripples: Across Borders, Cultures, Disciplines...* (Auckland: Masilamea Press and Massey University, 2010).
8. Ualetenese Papalii Taimalelagi, *Migration: The Study of Western Samoan Migration and the Roles of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa* (BD thesis, Pacific Theological College, Suva, 1980), 1.
9. Kim Gravelle, *Fiji's Times: A History of Fiji* (Suva: The Fiji Times Ltd., 1992), 6.
10. Blackbirding was more extensive than Faa'imata Havea suggested: natives of Vanuatu, New Caledonia, and Solomon Islands to Australia around 1863 (in *Identity Crisis! Issues Facing Pacific Migrant Youth* [Nuku'alofa: Tonga National Council of Churches, 2006], 86). There were I-Kiribati, Rotuman, and Tongan blackbirds also.
11. Alisi Tira, the only woman on the faculty of Tangintebu Theological College, South Tarawa, preached on this text at the college chapel on August 7, 2011. She called for a decision, on behalf of God and Jesus Christ, but I held back.
12. See, for example, Tu'itupou Kaea, *Tongan Diaspora* (BD thesis, Pacific Theological College, Suva, 1980); Taimalelagi, *Migration*.
13. Indentured workers to Fiji included Solomon islanders, Ni-Vanuatu, and Indians. Cf. Winston Halapua, *Living on the Fringe: Melanesians of Fiji*

- (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 2001), and Rajendra Prasad, *Tears in Paradise: A Personal and Historical Journey, 1879–2004* (Auckland: Glade, 2004).
14. I say more about Songlines in “Digging behind Songlines: Tonga’s Prayer, Australia’s Fair, David’s House,” in *Not behind Our Backs: Feminist Challenges to Public Theology*, ed. Anita Monro and Stephen Burns, 105–116 (London: Equinox, 2015).
  15. Patrick Vinton Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 3.
  16. The story of *Fāfā-ki-tahi* is different from a recent, more humorous one of a Tongan ship traveling to New Zealand. In the middle of the night, the crew saw the lights of another ship coming from the opposite direction. The Tongan captain flashed signals to greet the other ship, and asked where they were heading. “To New Zealand” was the reply!
  17. See also Jione Havea, “The Politics of Climate Change, a Talanoa from Oceania,” *International Journal of Public Theology* 4 (2010): 345–355.
  18. Kalafi Moala, *In Search of the Friendly Islands* (Auckland: Pacific Media Centre, Auckland University of Technology; and Honolulu: Pasifika Foundation Press, 2009), 131.
  19. They who say that Pacific Islanders do not attend meetings have not attended an I-Kiribati Maneaba gathering, or sat through a Samoan or Tongan *fono*. Our people too can hold long meetings and give winding speeches.
  20. On the characterization of natives as wanting the colonizers to enter and dispossess them, see also Uriah Y. Kim, “Where Is the Home for the Man of Luz?” *Interpretation* 65 (2001): 250–262 (esp. 258).
  21. To illustrate island humor, take this fish story, which I heard from B’aranite Kirata. There were three young men: Fijian, I-Kiribati, and Tongan. Each was bragging about the success of his father the previous night. First, the Fijian straightens out one hand, and with the other he points to his sternum, “My father caught a fish this big.” The I-Kiribati replies, “That’s nothing.” He stretches out both hands, “My father caught a fish this big!” It was twice the size of the Fijian’s fish. The Tongan silently takes a stick and slowly draws a circle on the ground around him. The other two were confused. “What kind of fish looks like a circle?” He replies, “No, that’s not the shape of the fish. That’s the size of the eye of the fish.”
  22. See Mikaele Paunga, “The Clash of Cultures. French, English, Catholic and Oceanic Cultures Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow,” in *Catholic Beginnings in Oceania: Marist Missionary Perspectives*, ed. Alois Greiler, 157–182 (Hindmarsh: ATF, 2009).
  23. See, for example, Maretu, *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands*, trans. ann. and ed. Marjorie Tuainekore Crocombe (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1983).
  24. Cited in Kalafi Moala, *In Search of the Friendly Islands* (Auckland: Pacific Media Centre, Auckland University of Technology; and Honolulu: Pasifika Foundation Press, 2009), 19.
  25. See also Jione Havea, “Who Is Strange(r)? A Pacific Native Muses over Mission,” *JTCA: The Journal of Theologies and Cultures in Asia* 7 & 8 (2008): 121–137; and Jione Havea, “From Reconciliation to Adoption: A

- Talanoa from Oceania,” in *Mission as Ministry of Reconciliation*, ed. Robert Schreiter and Knud Jørgensen, 294–300 (Oxford: Regnum, 2013).
26. John Garrett, *To Live among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania* (Geneva and Suva: WCC and Institute of Pacific Studies, 1982), 102.
  27. Ibid., 103.
  28. Ibid., 105.
  29. Ibid., 30–31.
  30. LMS missionaries came to Tonga in the late 1790s, but were not successful. Three of them were killed in Tonga before the mission successfully landed in Tahiti. “Cook’s Voyages had stated that the Tongans knew the names of 150 other islands, and it was therefore supposed that Tongatapu had some influence over other groups. Thus Tongatapu and Tahiti was regarded as a testing-ground for a general mission to the South Seas.” See Wood, *Overseas Missions*, 8.
  31. In the British army, subalterns were soldiers who were subordinates placed in the front line because they were seen as expendable. For a discussion of subaltern subjects in theology, see Sathianathan Clarke, *Dalits and Christianity: Subaltern Religion and Liberation Theology in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).
  32. Cf. Courtney Handman, “Mediating Denominational Disputes: Land Claims and the Sound of Christian Critique in the Waria Valley, Papua New Guinea,” in *Christian Politics in Oceania*, ed. Matt Tomlinson and Debra McDougall, 22–48 (New York: Berghahn, 2013).
  33. See Wood, *Overseas Missions*, 258.
  34. Ibid., 166–167.
  35. Garrett, *To Live among the Stars*, 80, 272–276.
  36. More divisions split my home church. Queen Salote helped merge the Methodist church with her great-grandfather Taufa’ahau’s church in 1924, forming the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga (FWCT). That did not last. Out of the FWCT emerged the Free Church of Tonga in 1928 and Tokaikolo in 1978. And from the Free Church of Tonga, the Free Constitutional Church of Tonga broke in 1984. See Manfred Ernst, *Winds of Change: Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands* (Suva: Pacific Conference of Churches, 1994), 82–85, 150–152.
  37. Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 99.
  38. Ibid., 58–59: “The tradition of exegesis that has been practiced in the West seems to have run its course. There are too many instances of recycling and cultural discounting, and too willing a tendency to suppress difference, for us not to think that the envelope can’t be pushed much further. The standard exegesis spins faith into just more cultural filibuster.”
  39. See Pio Manoa, “Redeeming Hinderland,” *Pacific Journal of Theology* 43 (2010): 65–86.
  40. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Other Asias* (Malden, Oxford, and Carlton: Blackwell, 2008), 9–10, 248.
  41. See Jione Havea, “Kautaha in Island Hermeneutics, Governance and Leadership,” *The Pacific Journal of Theology* Ser II, no. 47 (2012): 3–13.
  42. See, for example, Sione ‘A. Havea et al., *South Pacific Theology: Papers from the Consultation on Pacific Theology, Papua New Guinea, 1986* (Oxford: Regnum, 1987); Garry R. Trompf, ed., *The Gospel Is Not Western: Black*

- Theologies from the Southwest Pacific* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1987); Russell Chandran, ed., *The Cross and the Tanoa: Gospel and Culture in the Pacific* (Suva: SPATS, 1988); Lydia Johnson and Joan H. Filimoni-Tofaono, eds., *Weavings: Women Doing Theology in Oceania* (Suva: Weavers, SPATS, 2003); Charles W. Forman, "Finding Our Own Voice: The Reinterpreting of Christianity by Oceanian Theologians," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 115–122; and the various developments in journals like *Pacific Journal of Theology*, *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, and *Melanesian Journal of Theology*.
43. See also Jione Havea, "Diaspora Contexted: Talanoa, Reading, and Theologizing, as Migrants," *Black Theology* 11, no. 2 (2013): 185–200.
  44. Jione Havea, "Cons of contextuality...Kontextuality," in *Contextual Theology for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Stephen Bevans and Katalina Tahaafe-Williams, 38–52 (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011).
  45. See also Anthony G. Reddie's claims that God affirms blackness in *Is God Colour-Blind? Insights from Black Theology for Christian Ministry* (London: SPCK, 2009).

## Chapter 7

# Graced by Migration: An Australian Perspective

*Patricia Madigan*

Today Australia is a land of many faiths, many languages, and many cultures. Its 23 million residents come from 230 countries, speak more than 190 languages, and follow more than 100 religious faiths. Around 44 percent of Australians were either born overseas or have one or both parents born overseas. In the 2011 census, 61 percent of Australians identified as Christian, including 25 percent as Catholic Christians, non-Christians number 7.5 percent, and people with no religion 22 percent.<sup>1</sup>

In a very real sense such diversity is not a new phenomenon. Even before the arrival of British colonizers in 1788, an ancient and diverse society was already in existence in the form of the many Indigenous peoples who had arrived from Asia more than fifty thousand years ago. They belonged to over five hundred different clan groups or “nations” spread over the land, many with distinctive cultures, beliefs, and languages. Although there are no accurate estimates of the population before European settlement, recent research suggests that prior to 1788 there were approximately seven hundred languages spoken in a population estimated to be about 750,000 people.<sup>2</sup> The face of Australia has changed remarkably in just over two hundred years, and the ongoing migrant contribution to Australian society, culture, and prosperity has been an important factor in shaping modern Australia. However, it is also true to say that these developments have not always taken place easily, and not without great challenges and moments of division, confusion, and crisis.

The policies, and especially the praxis, of churches in Australia have made their own significant contributions to the immigration debate, just as Australia’s experience as a country of migrants has been transformational for the Christian churches. At first, churches mainly reflected the concerns of the wider national debate, but as time passed, they began to find their own distinctive voice and, in most recent times, have developed a prophetic voice in Australian society. In this way, they could be said to have discovered and grown in their own Christian identity and become more truly themselves.

### **Federation (1901) to World War II (1947)**

As Australian priest-sociologist Cyril Hally has pointed out, the very existence of contemporary Christianity in Australia is one consequence of the vast movement of European peoples over the past two hundred years.<sup>3</sup> However, the churches also brought with them their historical divisions that were social as well as religious.<sup>4</sup> The military chaplains who accompanied the new foundation in 1788 were Church of England clergymen and for the first decades of the settlement that Church enjoyed a state-backed monopoly with a close relationship between the church and the state as was customary in England of that time. Presbyterians, Methodists, and Roman Catholics were present, but it was not until the early 1820s that they became more actively visible.

At first the division was between convicts, who were predominantly Irish and Catholic, and their masters, whose political and religious allegiance was to the established Church of England,<sup>5</sup> with an underlying conflict of interest between labor and capital.<sup>6</sup> Soon, as life in the colony developed, other divisions emerged between convicts and free settlers, settlers and squatters (who occupied land without legal title), whites and blacks, workers and owners; and later, one colony against another and trade unions against employers.

Such was the division between the establishment Anglicans and the general Irish Catholic population on the day of the inauguration ceremony of the Commonwealth of Australia on January 1, 1901, in Sydney, when the mass choir sang "O God our help in ages past / Our hope for years to come," and William Smith, the Anglican archbishop of Sydney and primate of Australia, recited a prayer of thanksgiving. Cardinal Patrick Moran, the Catholic head of church, was absent from the platform. He was vexed at the precedence being given to the Anglican archbishop in the procession and ceremony, and had organized his own celebration outside St. Mary's Catholic Cathedral with many priests, nuns, and Catholic people present. After this the secular celebration of the event began.<sup>7</sup>

Despite some ambivalence regarding immigration, Australia between the two world wars continued to open its borders to immigrants. Between 1901 and 1940 a total of some one hundred and forty thousand non-British European immigrants arrived in Australia.<sup>8</sup> Although the Great Depression and the war had temporarily put a halt to immigration of any significance, Australia was beginning to broaden its view of its place in the wider world. As colonial society moved toward a measure of national unity, some divisions disappeared and there developed a working balance of relationships among others, in a pragmatic approach that has continued to be a feature of Australian constitutional life. The development of creative relationships among the churches in the wider context of the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century has also been significant.

### **World War II (1947) to the Mid-1960s: Assimilationist Model**

After 1945 Australia became included in changing world patterns as World War II and its aftermath turned a trickle of migrants into a flood, with massive

numbers of displaced persons needing to be accommodated. Australia found itself a major participant in the new twentieth-century movement of peoples around the globe.

From this time the Australian government's thinking regarding immigration evolved through some broad social policy frameworks that have been described as (a) the assimilation policies of the postwar period from 1947; (b) the integration phase from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s; and (c) multiculturalism, along with associated access and equity strategies to the present day.<sup>9</sup> The response of the churches, in particular the Catholic Church, which received the largest and most varied number of immigrants, is discussed within this framework. A postmulticultural phase has also been proposed that incorporates concepts such as "social cohesion."<sup>10</sup>

Prior to World War II the Australian government had no refugee policy, simply treating refugees as ordinary immigrants, subject to the restrictions of the largely unarticulated White Australia policy.<sup>11</sup> The Catholic Church in Rome had not yet issued any official statements on migration, although in 1941 Pius XII, in developing the Catholic Social Teachings of *Rerum Novarum* (On Capital and Labor) and *Quadregesimo Anno* (On Reconstruction of the Social Order), had spoken of the right of the family to vital space, and in 1948 the same pope laid down the principle that every person has a natural right to emigrate and to be received into the country of their immigration.<sup>12</sup>

So the Australian bishops were largely operating in a policy vacuum when they formed a subcommittee on Migration in 1944 and appointed Bishop Terence McGuire as its spokesman. Bishop McGuire advised them that the government would soon set up schemes of immigration and the Church would be wise to take advantage of these schemes rather than undertake separate ones. At the September 1945 Episcopal Conference, the hierarchy promised their cooperation with the Australian government's new immigration policy being put forward by Arthur Calwell who had been appointed that year in Ben Chifley's postwar Labor government as minister for immigration.<sup>13</sup>

In 1947 the Federal Catholic Migration Committee (FCMC) was formed, with Bishop McGuire as its chairman, and in 1949 it was renamed the Federal Catholic Immigration Committee (FCIC) with Monsignor George Crennan as national director. This coincided with the beginning of free and assisted migration to Australia. Catholic Migration offices were opened in all the capital cities and state committees were formed consisting of diocesan representatives.<sup>14</sup> The bishops also sent Archbishop Justin Simonds to Europe soon after the ending of the war, to see the needs of war-stricken countries and gauge how best the Catholic Church of Australia could respond.<sup>15</sup>

These actions by the bishops required some courage and determination as they were taken against a background of public controversy in Australia over the immigration issue. Capturing some of this controversy, on December 27, 1944, a leading Catholic newspaper, *The Advocate*, had published an editorial describing immigration plans as "uninformed and unrealistic."<sup>16</sup> The Premiers' (State Leaders) conference in August 1946 passed a resolution stating that Australia was opposed to the principle of large-scale settlement of refugees. And in 1947 there was a lively debate in Australia about whether

it should assist with the refugee problem by becoming involved with the United Nations International Refugee Organization.<sup>17</sup> However, the first report of the FCMC in 1948 told of the cordial relationships it had established with the Federal and State Migration Departments whose officials cooperated generously—a relationship that continued over the years.<sup>18</sup>

At the bishops' meeting in May 1949, Archbishop McGuire informed them that this would be a crucial year for FCIC as Australia's immigration program was booming. While in 1947 the government brought out 6,303 migrants, in 1949 the target would be 72,000 with the number rising to 80,000 in 1950 and to 87,000 the following year. The minister was predicting that by June 1950 there would be 112,000 displaced persons in Australia, of whom 44,800 would be Catholics.<sup>19</sup>

To respond to this need the role of the Diocesan Immigration Offices (DIOs), which had been established by 1950 in the larger dioceses, was:

- to sponsor migrants who do not qualify for government assistance;
- to arrange for interest-free loans for migrants through the International Catholic Migrant Loan Fund;
- to provide counseling services for migrants;
- to notify parish priests of migrants' location;
- to liaise with government and other agencies concerned with migrants; and
- to liaise and cooperate with migrant chaplains.<sup>20</sup>

One of the principal tasks of the FCIC and the DIOs was also to obtain the services of priests who shared the language and culture of the various migrant communities, who would utilize existing parish facilities. A basic assumption was that eventually migrant children would become "normal" members of existing parishes.<sup>21</sup> The Catholic Bishops of Australia issued their first Pastoral Letter on the issue of migration in 1950 calling on Australian Catholics to welcome migrants, adopting the assimilationist approach to immigration that was current at the time:

By genuine friendliness, helpful advice and warm endeavours toward happy social intermingling shall they make more easy and happy the *assimilation* of our New Settlers into a way of life that is Catholic and Australian. Be tolerant of their customs that differ from our own. In time they will learn our ways and adopt them. Help them to understand our customs...introduce them to the Parish Priest as soon as possible.<sup>22</sup>

This was two years before the Catholic Church in Rome published its first detailed document on Catholic principles of migration in the 1952 Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia* by Pius XII.

The International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) was established by the Vatican in 1951 with a role in strengthening the effectiveness of the work of Catholic institutions throughout the world in the area



of migration.<sup>23</sup> By this time the Catholic bishops in Australia already had some understanding and working knowledge of what was needed in order to respond to the influx of immigrants who were flooding into postwar Australia. Their decision to provide chaplains of appropriate cultural backgrounds and linguistic skills to minister to migrant needs through already existing parish structures differed from the Vatican's recommendations to set up national churches with chaplains directly responsible to Rome,<sup>24</sup> an issue that is still a live discussion topic today.

The Australian Bishops' messages of this period echoed Cold War concerns that prevailed in the society of the time. The three main concerns of the 1951 Australian Catholic Bishops' Social Justice Statement, *The Future of Australia*, were that (1) population pressures and poverty among Asia's millions would turn "covetous eyes on the empty spaces of countries like Australia"; (2) the "swift southward march of Communism" would lead to "the military and political conquest of the entire world"; and (3) Australia needed a much larger population to protect itself.<sup>25</sup> The 1953 Australian Catholic Bishops' Social Justice Statement—*Land without People*—reflected similar concerns.<sup>26</sup> In describing migrants who fled totalitarian regimes as "living symbols of the failure of Communism to satisfy human nature's basic demands," the Australian Catholic bishops' statement, read in Catholic churches on Immigration Sunday 1961, saw such migrants as likely allies in their opposition to communism.<sup>27</sup>

The FCIC of the Australian Catholic Church, of course, was only one of many Western NGOs that emerged to play important roles in both providing relief to needy people and in pressing governments to develop mechanisms for responding to these needs during the formative period of the League of Nations and later the United Nations. During the 1950s and 1960s, a number of NGOs, particularly religious agencies, continued to provide substantial relief and were essential to the functioning of refugee support. One 1953 analysis found that fully 90 percent of postwar relief was provided by the religious agencies.<sup>28</sup> Churches and NGOs such as the Christian World Service took the lead in lobbying for resettlement opportunities and in providing the resources needed for resettlement of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Large church agencies were able to mobilize congregational support and to assist refugees arriving in their communities by providing food, shelter, and moral support.<sup>29</sup>

Within this period of the history of migration in Australia, assimilation, as an underlying objective of the White Australia policy, was seen as necessary to full acceptance into society, although it was not always clear what "assimilation" might mean. To many it meant the disappearance of any characteristics that marked off individuals from each other. Often physical appearance and cultural behavior were mixed up together.<sup>30</sup> Up until the mid-1960s the "New Australians," as they were known, entered an Australia that was overwhelmingly Anglo-Australian in ethnicity and culture. Under assimilation policy, new arrivals were expected to learn English, adopt existing cultural norms, and become indistinguishable from the Australian-born population

as rapidly as possible. The “old ways” were to be abandoned for the much more progressive, democratic, and liberal “new ways” in a one-way process. However, for others, the expectation that individuals would somehow change their personality, language, behavior, and beliefs to become imagined “real Australians” was seen as “silly” as it created a great deal of resentment, and was a barrier to effective integration into Australian society.<sup>31</sup>

Toward the middle of the 1960s, the assumption about the assimilability of the immigrants began to be questioned as knowledge of the relatively high rate of return of migrants (between 17 and 25 percent) began to circulate.<sup>32</sup> The inadequacy of the White Australia policy was also becoming more and more evident in several respects, especially as it could be shown pragmatically not to be in the economic, social, or political interests of Australia.<sup>33</sup>

### Mid-1960s–1972: Integration Model

A number of changes in society and church between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s led to a serious questioning of the policy of assimilation that had prevailed until that time. This period is generally referred to as the integration period, in which it was recognized that it is not only the migrant who needs to adjust to the culture and way of life of the host country, but that the host society also needs to adjust. There was a greater acceptance of the fact that migrants would hold on to their culture of origin and that it could become part of their Australian identity. During this period the Second Vatican Council took place, during which documents such as *Gaudium et spes* (On the Church in the Modern World) were transformational in opening up the Church to “the joys and the hopes, the grief and the anxieties of the people of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted.”

By the early 1960s the proportion of migrants coming to Australia from the United Kingdom was declining. Behind the assimilationist facade, there had been a steady creation of ethnic and religious organizations and networks and the system of encouraged assimilation simply eroded as immigration shifted toward southern Europe<sup>34</sup> and from Soviet-bloc countries.<sup>35</sup> The Catholic Church found itself very much strengthened in numbers. The rate and size of the increase in the population in Australia during the post-World War II period was second only to Israel. Not only did the Australian Catholic population more than double between 1947 and 1971, but it became even more ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diversified than the general population.<sup>36</sup> This put enormous pressures on the Australian Church’s institutions, especially Catholic parishes and schools.

Italian Catholics were now the largest immigrant group and constituted one in seven of all Catholics in the Australian Church. Although for recent Italian arrivals in Australia the Catholic Church was an institution that was familiar, and on which they thought they could rely in their process of adaptation to the new social environment, the religious cultures of Italian and Australian Catholics were essentially different. The pastoral difficulties associated with the assimilation of Italian Catholics became known as the

“Italian problem” with neither group understanding the other’s customs and mentality.<sup>37</sup> As migrant chaplain Adrian Pittarello explained,

For Australians religion is primarily for the individual, for Italians it is for the community; for Australians it is primarily a matter of personal conscience and commitment, for Italians it is primarily a matter of social manifestation and social experience. Australians go to church because it is their duty, Italians go to church because it is a feast-day. The feast-day for Australians is a withdrawal from public life—one spends it with one’s family and doing one’s own things—going to church is one’s private thing. For Italians the feast-day is an enhancement of public life; one goes out to meet other people and to socialize with them—going to church is part of this social life, actually its highest experience.<sup>38</sup>

By the mid-1960s, the limitations of assimilation policy had been highlighted by enquiries that had uncovered the inequality experienced by people for whom English was not the first language and their relative isolation from the wider Australian community.<sup>39</sup> The 1973 report of the *Inquiry into the Departure of Settlers* focused on the need to provide new arrivals with services in the initial settlement period if they were to stay and settle successfully.<sup>40</sup>

Another important element in the shift toward a policy of integration was the gradual removal of discrimination from within the immigration program as the White Australia policy was gradually modified from 1966 until it was finally abolished in 1973. By the late 1960s, government policy measures began to respond with a greater awareness of the diverse needs of the migrant population as more migrants continued to arrive from countries other than the main English-speaking countries.<sup>41</sup> Pittarello observed that since certain forms of Italian devotion had become accepted as part of parish life, it was a sign that the attitude of the Australian Catholic Church in general toward migrants had improved.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, along with the wider Australian community, the Catholic Bishops were also progressing in their understanding from an assimilationist to an integrationist model of immigration policy. This is evident in the Catholic Bishops’ Immigration Sunday Statement of 1967 in which they situate their growing understanding in the context of the teaching of the Second Vatican Council:

During the Vatican Council, which concluded last year, voices were raised frequently... to stress the need of reminding the Christian world of the great social moral and religious implications of migration, which, too often, is viewed purely from the economic angle.

They go on to say,

It is disturbing to hear of people leaving Australia, where the greatest national need is population; Australia’s best investment is people.

Australia cannot afford the loss of people. Neither can Australia allow cause to be given for settlers to be dissatisfied and unhappy in the country to which they bring a precious contribution in their persons and their skills and into which, in consequence, they have a right of gradual and harmonious *integration*.<sup>43</sup>

### Shift to Multiculturalism (1972–1996)

The early 1970s saw the first questioning of large-scale assisted migration. From 1972 to 1975 the intake of migrants was severely curtailed because of the economic situation and increasing unemployment. For a few years government policy on immigration was unclear and seemed to be marking time. A new era opened with the election of Gough Whitlam as prime minister of a Labor government in December 1972. The Whitlam government officially dismantled White Australia and also abolished the Immigration Department as “incurably racist” (although it later needed to be reconstituted as the new Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs by the Fraser Coalition government in 1975). In 1973 A. J. Grassby, the minister for immigration, released a stimulating document entitled *A Multicultural Society for the Future*. In this he articulated a vision for the acceptance of people from non-European origins into an Australian “society based on equality for all,” in which migrants were “integrated with our society by virtue of their involvement with the Australian workforce . . . without losing, at least in the first generation, their essential ethnic character.” And Australian multiculturalism was born.<sup>44</sup>

By the mid-1970s, there was general commitment to some form of multiculturalism as public policy. In 1975 the foreign-supported government of South Vietnam, with an estimated Catholic population of around 10 percent, fell to North Vietnamese forces creating within weeks around fifty thousand Vietnamese refugees. While there was some concern over the arrival of large numbers of Vietnamese and Lebanese in the mid-1970s, there was remarkably little disorder or disharmony.<sup>45</sup>

The years 1975–1976 saw an increasing arrival of asylum seekers from Timor and Vietnam. Many were Chinese and Catholic and their case was taken up by the Catholic Church among others. Some four thousand Vietnamese refugees alone arrived in Australia in the years 1975–1977. The Annual Report of FCIC in 1975 noted the immediate response of the Catholic people, and the helpful collaboration of the immigration officials here and the intergovernmental organization abroad. It was felt in 1978 that government could do more and Catholic representatives suggested that the Australian church should take a thousand refugees and be entirely responsible for their settlement. The August Episcopal Conference of 1978 encouraged a deeper study of the refugee problem by Australian Catholic Relief, the St Vincent de Paul Society, and the Federal Immigration Office. The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace called on the government to take more refugees.<sup>46</sup>

In 1975, at a ceremony proclaiming the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, the prime minister referred to Australia as a “multicultural nation.” Speeches

from opposition leader and prime minister demonstrated that multiculturalism was becoming a major political priority for both sides of politics.<sup>47</sup> In 1977 multiculturalism was first officially defined by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council report, *Australia as a Multicultural Society*.<sup>48</sup>

The years 1977 and 1978 were watershed years for both the Catholic Church and Australian society as both produced policy documents that demonstrated their deepening understanding, and their commitment to living in a multicultural society. In 1977 the Australian Catholic Bishops' produced their Social Justice Statement—*A New Australia...Some Reflections on the Impact of Migration on Australian Society*—that anticipated the recommendations of the 1978 Vatican document *The Church and People on the Move* and spoke of promoting cultural pluralism within the Church. The bishops state that they hope “to stimulate serious reflection and discussion on why we need to develop a truly multicultural society.” They declare that a policy of assimilation is “unjust” and call for cultural pluralism.<sup>49</sup> A major government document of this period was the Galbally Report (1978), which addressed issues to do with living in and planning for a multicultural Australian society and has shaped public policy ever since. Its solutions were secular and included welfare, the subsidy of Ethnic Community Councils, creation of local migrant service points, the multilingual Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), and, eventually, funding of religious schools on an equal basis. Included were such societal goals as “All members of our society must have equal opportunity to realize their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services,” and “Every person should be able to maintain his or her own culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures.”<sup>50</sup>

Cyril Hally comments that, just as the multicultural philosophy of the Galbally Report was considerably in advance of public opinion in Australia at the time, the sentiments of *A New Australia* were not yet universally shared by the Catholic community. Nevertheless, both represent a serious effort to reflect upon the implications of the migrant presence in contemporary Australian church and society.<sup>51</sup> Another movement that was discernible around this time was a shift from *migration* as a concept, a policy or a program, toward a concern for *immigrants*—a significant mark of multiculturalism that entered the debate from the mid-1970s and dominated it.<sup>52</sup>

However, from as early as 1975 Australia also witnessed a growing hostility to immigration and multiculturalism as globalization and economic rationalism began to cut into the demands for immigrant labor, even while attempting to make its policy more rational in economic terms.<sup>53</sup> By the late 1980s the international system of refugee protection—so carefully built up in the post-World War II period—was breaking down.<sup>54</sup> Between 1947 and 1985 Australia had accepted 4.3 million persons as well as receiving nearly 100,000 refugees between 1976 and 1985.<sup>55</sup> In the 1980s immigration became a highly contentious issue. Many Australians felt that their identity as a people was being challenged. By the end of the 1980s polls showed that 60–70 percent of Australians were in favor of reducing immigration and

were opposed to multiculturalism.<sup>56</sup> The fragile bipartisan political support for multiculturalism broke down as Liberal Party leader John Howard criticized both multiculturalism and Asian immigration in 1988.<sup>57</sup>

In 1988–1989 migration numbers reached a peak of 124,700.<sup>58</sup> *The Economist* called 1989 the “year of the refugee.” In that year, after a break of about ten years, people once again began arriving by sea on Australian shores.<sup>59</sup> Around 650 Indochinese were delivered in 14 separate boats to our shores by 1992.<sup>60</sup> As Australia’s economy went into recession in 1990, concerns about the levels of migration grew and politicians sought to mobilize voters around the issue.<sup>61</sup> Migration admissions were cut, strong commitment to multicultural activities waned, and serious challenges to the “client politics” of organized migration interest groups emerged.<sup>62</sup>

By 1991, with statistics showing that approximately 23 percent of Australia’s population was born overseas, a far higher proportion than in North America,<sup>63</sup> a strong reaction was asserting itself. Pauline Hanson, leader of the One Nation political party, claimed that multiculturalism should be “abolished.” And while multiculturalism as public policy survived all these attacks, there was no longer the enthusiastic and widespread support for it that was evident before 1988. While those opposed to the cuts appealed to compassion and humanitarianism and newer ideals about Australia as a “nation of immigrants,” the formal immigration program was cut back from one hundred and forty thousand (1988–1989) to seventy-six thousand (1993–1994).<sup>64</sup> From 1972 to 1992 Australia had become known as a pioneer in effective multiculturalism, as a safe haven for thousands of refugees, as a pioneer in settlement services, and as a humane liberal democracy. Yet, in a few short months, this reputation was destroyed.<sup>65</sup>

In March 1993, electoral defeat forced the Liberals to reconsider their attitudes toward multiculturalism and their failure to cultivate ethnic communities.<sup>66</sup> In 1999, after 15 years of often acrimonious debate, multiculturalism was reaffirmed as government policy<sup>67</sup> and the Australian government set out its renewed principles for multiculturalism in its *New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*.

As James Jupp has noted, in a post-9/11 world, public discourse around multiculturalism has developed to include terms such as “integration”<sup>68</sup> and “social cohesion,”<sup>69</sup> a change he observes would not have happened but for the rise of Islamic militancy and associated events. He perceives that the official Australian approach to multiculturalism in all its variants has skirted around the “elephant” [of religion], concentrating on languages, values, customs, and “culture,” and social justice issues such as racism, refugees, and equality of access to social and economic goods. The basic assumption in a secular society is that religion should be left alone and “mainstream” religious organizations should be free of political interference, while at the same time being allowed to exert legitimate pressure upon the political process. He sees “only the Catholic Church as presenting a carefully crafted alternative set of views.” Therefore “post-multiculturalism” has meant a slow and cautious movement reasserting Australian traditions and values but without

denigrating other cultures.<sup>70</sup> He concludes that, in fact, “integration” looks very much like multiculturalism and religious variety will have saved secular multiculturalism just as it has already posed a challenge to assimilation.<sup>71</sup>

### AP ostmulticulturalA ge?

A report prepared for the Australian Council of Churches in 1978 described the churches as generally unprepared and, without an overall migration and ethnic affairs policy, responding with “a diversity of unintegrated services” and “a series of ad hoc reactions” to changing events and government initiatives.<sup>72</sup> However, after that time, Australian Catholic Church records show a church growing in its understanding and developing at the same time a coherent theology of migration appropriate for an Australian multicultural society.

At the turn of new millennium, the Catholic Church in Australia produced texts such as the 1991 Issues Paper from the Australian Social Justice Council, *I Am a Stranger: Will You Welcome Me?*, the Statement *On the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Refugees*, launched by Archbishop Francis Carroll in 2001, and *Graced by Migration: Implementing a National Vision in Pastoral Care for a Multicultural Australian Church* (2007). These initiatives occurred within the wider international framework of Vatican documents such as *Exsul Familia* (1952) and the documents of the Second Vatican Council, as well as *Pastoralis migratorum* (1969), *The Church and People on the Move* (1978), and *Erga migrantes caritas Christi* (The love of Christ toward migrants, 2004).

In their regular communications concerning migration issues the Australian bishops call their Christian flock to values of promoting the good of the nation, to higher ethical considerations, reminding them of their moral and pastoral obligations to their fellow human beings. The *Brief Statement* read in churches on Immigration Sunday in 1967 is one example:

We, of a great migrant-receiving country, must remain ever mindful of these dislocations and problems and be ever ready with friendliness and understanding for all whose condition is one of grave anxiety, intense loneliness, and general need of human support.

In their promotion of Christian values the bishops assure the Australian government of their practical support through a wide range of services provided through the Catholic Immigration Offices at national and state levels, religious institutes, Church organizations, and many dioceses and parishes. Important initiatives to help refugees and asylum seekers, they note, have ranged from intervention at the policy and advocacy levels to providing refugees and asylum seekers, and those who have been granted Temporary Protection visas, with advice and assistance with housing, employment, clothing, friendship, support, and pastoral care. The contribution of these support networks, they point out, is invaluable.<sup>73</sup>

Not all were impressed. In 1971, one Catholic priest commented,

We are not free from the “merely-save-the-faith” or “merely-give-spiritual-aid” approaches... Catholics should do more to change community attitudes and government policies. We can work too cosily within the existing system, enjoying the benefits of compliance, making no more than token condemnations of serious shortcomings that are quite incompatible with Christian beliefs.<sup>74</sup>

However, from the mid-1970s, as Australia began to turn its back on its 150-year-old policy of encouraging immigration for purposes of population growth, national security, and economic development, the bishops took on a more prophetic role of reflecting on the moral and ethical dimensions and the implications of the migrant presence for contemporary Church and society.<sup>75</sup> As postwar international structures developed the bishops remind Australia of its legal commitments—to UN Human Rights obligations as a signatory of the UN Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees<sup>76</sup> as well as under Australian law in the Racial Discrimination Act of 1975.<sup>77</sup>

When Australian governments argued, during the 2000s, that Australia could not afford to increase the refugee program of twelve thousand people per year, the bishops consistently challenged them, saying, “We are not persuaded by this argument, particularly as the number of humanitarian places approved overseas by the Australian Government through its Migration Officers is currently at about one third of the level of 20 years ago.” They also called for an abandonment of the so-called Pacific Solution whereby asylum seekers are taken to nearby countries.<sup>78</sup> This advocacy has not been ineffective since in 2012 Australia received almost one hundred and eighty-five thousand migrants under its various formal migration streams, with the number of humanitarian entrants increasing to twenty thousand.<sup>79</sup>

By the year 2000, the Australian Catholic Church had moved a long way from its earliest assimilationist assumptions, now seeing integration of migrants into parish structures as a two-way process. Among its recommendations were that parishes should encourage migrants to contribute to parish liturgies, and also encourage the English-speaking community to seek opportunities to experience the liturgy and culture of the migrants; efforts should also be made to ensure that migrant groups are represented in such areas of parish life as consultative and decision-making bodies.<sup>80</sup>

The Australian Catholic Bishops’ Statement of 2002 acknowledges that “the Catholic Church in Australia has been strengthened in many ways by migrants.” This has not only been by numerical increase but they have “enabled the Church to know itself better.” Migrants have brought with them “symbols, practices, and devotions which add visible substance to the Church’s catholicity,” since they “enrich the Church’s openness to, and inclusiveness of, all peoples and cultures.” The arrival through migration of Christians from the Eastern churches, too, has given the people of Australia “a more complete image of the Catholic Church, of its universality, as well



as the longevity and richness of its traditions and the colourful variety of its rites.”<sup>81</sup> Interreligious dialogue with believers of other religions is seen as “stem[ming] from the mission of every parish community and its significance within society.”<sup>82</sup> The landmark statement *Graced by Migration: Implementing a National Vision in Pastoral Care for a Multicultural Australian Church* (2007)<sup>83</sup> embodies the church’s most mature understanding up till now of the journey it has made with other Australians, through policies of assimilation, integration, and multiculturalism, to a postmulticultural stage of a renewed embrace of integrated multiculturalism.

### Conclusion

The document *Graced by Migration* acknowledges the blessings of the journey that has been made. It provides a fitting review of the impact that migration has had on the Catholic Church and Australian society and attempts to envision the future. In recognizing the migration experience at the heart of the story of Abraham our father in faith, and in the life of Jesus who became a child refugee, it develops cohesive biblical and theological foundations for pastoral care in a multicultural church. It situates migration at the heart of the Christian experience as we journey toward God’s Kingdom. In essence, “the Australian Church is called to fashion a new history, perhaps very different from its previous history, in its journey and pilgrimage to embrace the triune God.”

The statement also develops a theology of Church and a theological basis for the church’s voice to be heard in the public square of a multicultural, secular, democratic society. It describes how, in his own day, Jesus often found himself in opposition to the dominant political and religious forces. His message, therefore, is “a challenge to the absolutization of all religious and ethnoreligious heritages and every cultural tradition.” The church is called to bridge cultures and languages, bringing culturally diverse peoples together, borrowing from the different cultural elements and interpreting across the different cultural divides. The fact that the Catholic Church in Australia is multilingual and the most multicultural of any local church in the world means that “it is Pentecostal in the true meaning of the event.”

Migration has been good for the Catholic Church in Australia, injecting youthfulness and high rates of participation into parish liturgical life. Research shows that while the majority of Australian-born Mass-attenders are over 60 years old, the majority of overseas-born Mass attenders are aged between 40 and 59. Catholics born overseas are better Sunday Mass attenders than Catholics born in Australia by 21 percent. On average, Catholics born overseas are better educated than those born in Australia. Catholic women born overseas were better Mass attenders than either women or men born in Australia. For migrants, belonging to the Australian Church provides a familiar place of security in a different and sometimes discriminatory host country.

As a Church, Catholics continue to provide opportunities to foster a multicultural society. There are Episcopal Vicars for Immigration in the larger

archdioceses, diocesan multicultural Masses are celebrated each year in many cities. Refugee and Migrant Sunday is celebrated in all parishes and Catholic schools throughout Australia in the last week of August each year. Catholic Education Offices consistently promote multicultural awareness programs that foster awareness and respect for the diversity of cultures present within the community.

Bringing immigrant peoples together, integrating them into cohesive parish communities with their mainstream fellow parishioners, healing ancient and recent wounds of war and division, and speaking out on behalf of the immigrant, the refugee and the asylum seeker have all been part of the work of the Church. The document *Graced by Migration* admits,

It has not been a perfect record, but it is a record of which the Church can be proud...its stances on behalf of the impoverished Irish migrant and the Muslim asylum seeker...[have] been prophetic...The values and principles that the Church inspires in its members have contributed significantly to social integration and to the spiritual richness of our nation.

The vision for the future is for a Catholic Church that is “truly catholic”—one that reaches outward in the spirit of cross-cultural understanding and interfaith dialogue to create an Australia of mutual trust that is a showcase of cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity; that contributes to the social wealth of the nation through its teachings of transcendent values, ethical norms, and moral behavior via its educational, health, and welfare systems; and that creates an Australia that is a harmonious place of justice and peace, welcoming its newcomers, the stranger and the foreigner, the asylum seeker and the refugee, the student and the business person, the immigrant and the tourist. An “intercultural model of pastoral care” is a prophetic sign of the unity of humanity as it welcomes with hospitality the foreigner, seen as a revelation of God, and relates ecumenically with other churches and in dialogue with the believers of other faiths.

The statement then surveys the real difficulties that may hinder the implementation of this vision, including the aging demographic profile of the Catholic Church as a whole, and the decline in numbers and aging of clergy and religious. It presents a large number of strategies to be implemented at parish, local, or national level to implement its vision. Some of these strategies include: broadening the Australian episcopacy in its cultural and linguistic profile, doing more to encourage incorporation of the languages and religious customs of the various religious heritages present in Australia into the liturgy, finding more space for popular religion, including migrant women on boards of management and executive committees, developing pastoral approaches suited to second-generation youth with “hyphenated” or even triple identities, while continuing to represent to the wider Australian society the mind of the Church on immigrant, refugee, and transnational matters.

This vision and these strategies, which are the fruits of the long and intensive Australian experience of responding to the needs of wave after

wave of migrants during the twentieth century, are to be valued. However, the practical reality of their implementation will depend on whether the Catholic Church, in which decision-making at an international level often obstructs planning on the basis of need at a local level, will have the flexibility it needs to respond to the pastoral needs of the local church so clearly presented.

### Notes

1. Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed August 31, 2013, <http://www.abs.gov.au/>.
2. Australian Museum, <http://australianmuseum.net.au/Indigenous-Australia-Introduction> (accessed August 31, 2013).
3. Cyril Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church* (Richmond, Vic.: Clearing House on Migration Issues, 1980), Paper 6, 1.
4. Frank Engel, *Australian Churches in Conflict and Unity 1788–1926* (Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1984), 11.
5. Patrick Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History 1788–1967* (Sydney: Nelson, 1968), 5.
6. James Jupp, “Religion and Integration in a Multifaith Society,” in *Multiculturalism and Integration: A Harmonious Relationship*, ed. Michael Clyne and James Jupp, 135 (Canberra: ANUE Press, 2011).
7. C. M. H. Clarke, *A History of Australia*, vol. 5 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981), 178.
8. Brian Murphy, *The Other Australia: Experiences of Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 44, 56–57.
9. Ibid., 4; Australian Government Department of Immigration, “Chapter One: The Policy Context,” in *Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants 2003*, 2 4.
10. Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Diversity and Social Cohesion Program (DSCP), [http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/dscp/\\_pdf/dscp-2013-14-information-booklet.pdf](http://www.immi.gov.au/living-in-australia/delivering-assistance/government-programs/dscp/_pdf/dscp-2013-14-information-booklet.pdf) (accessed September 3, 2013). In common usage such terms as “assimilation,” “integration,” and “multiculturalism” can have a number of generally accepted meanings.
11. Charles Price, “Refugees and Mass Migration: Australia,” *International Migration Review* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 82.
12. Frank Mecham, *The Church and Migrants 1946–1987* (Haberfield: St Joan of Arc Press, 1991), 84–85.
13. Ibid., 1 7.
14. Ibid., 1 8.
15. Ibid., 7.
16. Frank W. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1978), 50.
17. Mecham, *The Church and Migrants*, 1 4, 1 6.
18. Ibid., 2 7.
19. Ibid., 32.
20. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, 4 5.
21. Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church*, 2 4.

22. Archbishops and Bishops of Australia, "On Immigration" (1950), in *Caring for Migrants: A Collection of Church Documents on the Pastoral Care of Migrants*, ed. Fabio Baggio and Maurizio Pettenà, 965 (Strathfield: St Pauls Publications, 2009); my italics.
23. International Catholic Migration Commission, <http://www.icmc.net/history> (accessed September 2, 2013).
24. Lewins, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, 5 2ff.
25. Australian Catholic Bishops' Social Justice Statement 1951, *The Future of Australia*, <http://www.nla.gov.au/apps/cdview/?pi=nla.aus-vn6006684-sl-v> (accessed September 5, 2013).
26. Australian Catholic Bishops' Social Justice Statement 1953, *Land without People*, <http://archive.catholicherald.co.uk/article/28th-august-1953/1/warning-to-land-without-people> (accessed September 5, 2013).
27. Federal Catholic Immigration Committee, "A Brief Statement—Immigration Sunday 1961," in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 969.
28. Elizabeth G. Ferris, *Beyond Borders: Refugees, Migrants and Human Rights in the Post-Cold war Era* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1993), 37. Originally published in Bruce J. Nichols, *The Uneasy Alliance: Religion, Refugee Work and US Foreign Policy* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 68.
29. Ferris, *Beyond Borders*, 3 6–39.
30. James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (Cambridge University Press, c2007), 19–20.
31. James Jupp, "Politics, Public Policy and Multiculturalism," in *Multiculturalism and Integration*, ed. Clyne and Jupp, 45.
32. Charles Price, "Australian Immigration: 1947–73," *International Migration Review* 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1975): 308–309; and Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church*, 14.
33. James Jupp, "From White Australia to 'Part of Asia': Recent Shifts in Australian Immigration Policy towards the Region," *International Migration Review* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 209–210.
34. Jupp, "Religion and Integration," in *Multiculturalism and Integration*, ed. Clyne and Jupp, 138.
35. Australian Government Department of Immigration, "Chapter One: The Policy Context," 25–27.
36. Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church*, iii.
37. Ibid., 30; Adrian Pittarello, *Soup without Salt: The Australian Catholic Church and the Italian Migrant* (Sydney: Centre for Migration Studies, c1980), 53–55, 84.
38. Pittarello, *Soup without Salt*, 8 8.
39. Charles Price, "Southern Europeans in Australia: Problems of Assimilation," *International Migration Review* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1968): 7.
40. Australian Government Department of Immigration, "Chapter One: The Policy Context," 27.
41. Ibid., 27–28.
42. Pittarello, *Soup without Salt*, 87.
43. Federal Catholic Immigration Committee, "A Brief Statement—Immigration Sunday 1967," in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 973–976; my italics.

44. Price, "Refugees and Mass Migration," 84; Mecham, *The Church and Migrants*, 102, 104–105; Murphy, *The Other Australia*, 201–202.
45. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 120; Mecham, *The Church and Migrants*, 108.
46. Mecham, *The Church and Migrants*, 113.
47. Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Fact Sheet 6, <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/06australias-multi-cultural-policy.htm> (accessed September 6, 2013).
48. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 81–82.
49. Quoted in Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church*, 28.
50. Jupp, "Politics, Public Policy and Multiculturalism," in *Multiculturalism and Integration*, ed. Clyne and Jupp, 42.
51. Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church*, 28.
52. Murphy, *The Other Australia*, 4.
53. Jupp, "From White Australia to 'Part of Asia,'" 207, 209–210.
54. Ferris, *Beyond Borders*, 63.
55. Price, "Refugees and Mass Migration," 81.
56. Robert Birrell, "Immigration Control in Australia," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 534 (July 1994): 117.
57. Jupp, "From White Australia to 'Part of Asia,'" 221.
58. Gary P. Freeman and Bob Birrell, "Divergent Paths of Immigration Politics in the United States and Australia," *Population and Development Review* 27, no. 3 (September 2001): 534.
59. Christine Stevens, "Asylum Seeking in Australia," *International Migration Review* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 876.
60. Birrell, "Immigration Control in Australia," 112.
61. *Ibid.*, 117.
62. Freeman and Birrell, "Divergent Paths," 534, 536, 538.
63. Birrell, "Immigration Control in Australia," 116.
64. *Ibid.*, 117.
65. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 117, 192.
66. Jupp, "From White Australia to 'Part of Asia,'" 222.
67. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 95.
68. Jupp, "Religion and Integration," in *Multiculturalism and Integration*, ed. Clyne and Jupp, 145ff.
69. Australian Government Department of Immigration and Citizenship, DSCP program.
70. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 118.
71. Jupp, "Religion and Integration," 145–149; and Clyne and Jupp, "Epilogue: A Multicultural Future," in *Multiculturalism and Integration*, ed. Clyne and Jupp, 191–198.
72. Arthur Faulkner et al., *A Review of the Australian Council of Churches' Work Concerning Migration and Ethnic Affairs* (Sydney: A.C.C., 1979); Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church*, 33–34.
73. Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers" (2002), in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 1072.
74. H. O'Leary, "Legislation on Migrant Care," *Australasian Catholic Record* (April 1971): 129.
75. Hally, *Migrants and the Australian Church*, 28.

76. Australian Episcopal Conference, "On Refugees" (1978), in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 1012.
77. Archbishops and Bishops of Australia, "Racism and the Conversion of the Human Heart" (1988), in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 1020.
78. Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference Statements, 2002 and following, in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà.
79. Michael Bleby et al., "We came by boat—how refugees changed Australian business," *Business Review Weekly*, August 29, 2013, updated November 29, 2013, [http://www.brw.com.au/p/business/we\\_came\\_by\\_boat\\_how\\_refugees\\_changed\\_pHm96uKvMaQT2B2NFCdcRJ](http://www.brw.com.au/p/business/we_came_by_boat_how_refugees_changed_pHm96uKvMaQT2B2NFCdcRJ) (accessed March 24 2015).
80. Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, "On the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Refugees" (2000), in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 1051–53.
81. Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, "On the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Refugees" (2000), in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 1041.
82. Australian Catholic Migrant and Refugee Office, "Message for Refugee and Migrant Sunday" (1999) in *Caring for Migrants*, ed. Baggio and Pettenà, 1037. See also the Message of the Holy Father for the 88th World Day of Migration 2002: *Migration and Inter-Religious Dialogue*, [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/messages/migration/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_mes\\_20011018\\_world-migration-day-2002\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/migration/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_20011018_world-migration-day-2002_en.html) (accessed September 10, 2013).
83. Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, *Graced by Migration: Implementing a National Vision in Pastoral Care for a Multicultural Australian Church* (2007), [http://www.acmro.catholic.org.au/index.php?option=com\\_docman&task=doc\\_download&gid=60&Itemid=25](http://www.acmro.catholic.org.au/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=60&Itemid=25) (accessed September 14, 2013).

## Chapter 8

# Reimagining Boundaries in Europe: Migrant Utopias and Theological Eschatology

*Michael Nausner*

### Prelude

In the fall of 1731 count Leopold von Firmian, archbishop of Salzburg, issued an edict of expulsion forcing tens of thousands of Protestants to leave their homes. The archbishop, who was a nobleman from Tyrol, had enjoyed a Jesuit education and was intent on re-creating the old power and splendor of the Roman Catholic Church in the archdiocese of Salzburg. While propertied subjects had three months to leave their homes for good, nonpropertied subjects had to get out of Salzburg within eight days. The protests from all over Europe that the execution of this expulsion with the help of six thousand imperial troops violated the agreement of Westphalia were not heard before 1740, when the regulations in Salzburg were changed. By then all the Protestants had already left the area. The emigrants settled in the protestant parts of southern Germany, in East Prussia, in the Netherlands, and in the new English colony of Georgia. Especially those going to Georgia were hoping to establish a Christian utopia in the New World, a dream, which they were denied in a Europe marred by the wars of religion.

The trauma of expulsion was remembered and kept alive in the families of many Salzburgers throughout the centuries. My own paternal grandparents were among the descendants of the Salzburgers who had settled in East Prussia, which during World War II came under the rule of the Soviet Union. When their family had to flee toward the end of the war, they decided to return to the regions in Austria from where their ancestors had emigrated more than two hundred years earlier.<sup>1</sup> I grew up in Austria in the 1960s and 1970s as a third-generation refugee with the memory of these two migrations (one from Austria to East Prussia in the eighteenth century and one from East Prussia to Austria in the twentieth century) recounted by grandparents, aunts, and uncles countless times. There is no way to construct my own identity in abstraction from these often religiously interpreted narratives of migration: they form an integral part of the fabric of my becoming.

### Introduction

With this brief prelude, I wanted *first* to point out that the one writing this chapter is not a purely “sedentary European,” but someone whose background is shaped by migratory experiences and who therefore never felt unambiguously part of Austrian society. Second, I wanted to offer a short glimpse into the history of migration in the case of one Central European autobiography that is but one example of uncountable others, each with its distinct particularities.<sup>2</sup> But this prelude also serves as a brief “anamnesis” of my own migratory identity in order to tune in existentially to the experience of contemporary migrants from beyond Europe, heeding Daniel G. Groody’s warning: “When we forget our personal and collective immigration stories, we easily repeat the same mistakes of the past.”<sup>3</sup> My claim will be that close attention to migrant voices and their utopias is a necessary ingredient for an eschatology suited to a migratory theology. This is so, as Peter C. Phan reminds us, because hope “is the virtue par excellence among migrants.” To him therefore eschatology is “an intrinsic part of any theology of migration that sees it not only as a personal and societal curse—which it certainly is—but also as an urgent call for self-transcendence and for a collective action to overcome structural evils.”<sup>4</sup> No structural evils can be overcome without attention to the perspectives of those who have suffered and who still suffer under current structural restraints. Their voices are direly needed for the formulation of a theological eschatology, a theology of hope that is worth its name.

It is my hope that today’s *global migration* may continuously lead to a constructive reimagination of the boundaries of European Christianity exceeding the new permeability of confessional boundaries that the *inner-European migration* caused in Austria and Germany after World War II. Notwithstanding the many conflicts that occurred due to the sheer numbers of refugees, “in some respects one can speak of a religious renaissance in the time after the war caused by the waves of migration.”<sup>5</sup> What initially was overwhelming for the Austrian and German populations that had not moved during the war eventually became a source of spiritual renewal. Similarly one can hope that the current shift in the demographics of Christianity in Europe in the long run will have the effect of an increasing self-understanding of Christian identity as interrelated with migrating people worldwide. The fear of many Christians that it is non-European immigration as such that threatens Christianity is a flawed perception. After all, as Darrell Jackson and Alessia Passarelli convincingly show in their booklet *Mapping Migration*, “non-European migrants to Europe represent not the de-Christianisation of European Society but the de-Europeanisation of European Christianity.”<sup>6</sup> A rising insight into the profound significance of such de-Europeanization is of the essence for Christianity in Europe if it does not want to get stuck in its self-centeredness.

My hope in such a shift is for a deepening awareness in European Christianity that Christian faith continuously needs to recognize varying



provincial limitations. This would be in tune with Dipesh Chakrabarty's analysis a decade ago that a decentralization of Europe is necessary due to the limitations of its intellectual tools to understand the rest of the world.<sup>7</sup> Chakrabarty highlights the migratory experience as necessary for understanding provincial restraints. About his insights regarding European provinciality, he writes: "Being a migrant made me see more clearly than I had in the past the necessary unstable relation between any abstract idea and its concrete instantiation."<sup>8</sup> Europe's conviction that other areas of the globe need to "catch up" to modernity has not taken into consideration the shifting significance of the abstract idea of modernity when applied to other cultural contexts. It is especially the reluctance of the European colonizers to try to see the world with the eyes of the other that contributed to its flawed perception of itself and other cultural regions. Chakrabarty asks passionately: "Did European colonizers in any country ever lose any of their languages through migration? No. Often the natives did. Similarly migrants in settler-colonial or European countries today live in fear of their children suffering this loss."<sup>9</sup> I am convinced that attention to the multiple languages and voices of migrants in Europe is not so much an issue of altruism on part of the churches but that it needs to be an essential aspect of European Christianity's passage into the future. European Christianity needs the voices of the migrants to imagine a common future and to develop a sounder eschatological self-understanding. Such a renewed eschatological self-understanding implies a utopian thinking that reimagines spatial and temporal boundaries, thereby preventing European Christianity from projecting transformation into the distant future and from isolating itself from other cultural spheres. To hold together spatial and temporal aspects of eschatology is a key concern of this chapter. It is akin to Vitor Westhelle's conviction that "places and locales play an important role in the understanding of history and eschatology" and that therefore postcolonial eschatology needs to articulate "itself in places that have been colonized and still are being colonized."<sup>10</sup> Migration, often seen as problem number one in European countries, is understood here as a genuine chance for transformation of European Christianity toward a community sensitively related across time and space.

And since thought is always related to places, as Chakrabarty reminds us,<sup>11</sup> I want to willingly admit the impossibility of writing on or from "Europe" as such, since my subject position comes with a specific perspective and equally specific limitations. I am developing my thought from a small theological institution in southwestern Germany that is touched and influenced by migratory currents on a number of levels.

After these introductory remarks, this chapter will first deal with contemporary migration in the European context; second, it will describe the migratory context of Germany; third, it will make some biblically inspired comments on the theological significance of migration; and finally sketch an eschatological theology of migration, in which migrants' utopias are included as a necessary aspect of a reimagination of spatial and temporal boundaries in Europe and beyond.

### **Migration in the European Context**

The twentieth century is a time period in Europe full of major events triggering movements of people across the continent: the two world wars, the independence of many European colonies, the establishment of the European Union, the fall of the iron curtain, and the unraveling of the former Yugoslav republic, to mention some of the major cases. Whoever thought the twenty-first century would bring cultural and political stabilization to Europe must think again. It seems as if the various attempts to stabilize European cultural and economic identity contribute to the undoing of such intended stability. In 2012 the funds needed to secure the fiscal sanity of the area of the Euro currency are reaching astronomic amounts at the same time as the indebted countries within the area are forced to impose socially hazardous austerity programs on their citizens. Uprisings in these indebted countries are becoming common, and non-European Union citizens are on the move, migrating to more prosperous parts of the European Union (EU). At the same time the efforts to halt immigration from outside the EU are continuously intensified, and the private agency FRONTEX is receiving increasing funds from the EU countries to forcefully seal off the southern European border. At the same time *within* the EU racist physical and symbolic violence belongs to everyday life in all member states.

It seems decisive to me not to treat these violent acts just as unfortunate wrongdoings by individuals, but to analyze them as symptoms of a general atmosphere of forgetfulness in European culture of its own migratory background. Such amnesia is supported by the tendency in the media to report on migration in the Mediterranean predominantly as a threat to European identity.

### ***Europe's Contested Southern Border***

Today one of the most important public discourses on migration and immigration is triggered by the stepped-up efforts along the southern European border mentioned earlier. The disappearance of border controls within the European Union is accompanied by a noticeable increase of border control along the outer borders of the EU, especially in the Mediterranean. The new border regime, therefore, is not just an issue relevant for the countries along the coastal regions in the South, but for the entire EU. That the construction of the southern European boundary constitutes a matter of all of Europe is underlined by the fact that the already mentioned European border control agency FRONTEX, funded by the EU, has its headquarters in Warsaw, Poland, which has its shores at the Baltic Sea and is thus situated hundreds of miles north of the Mediterranean. Not only has FRONTEX multiplied its expenditures with a factor of 15 between 2005 and 2010<sup>12</sup> following an agreement between the most powerful countries in the EU to "control" immigration,<sup>13</sup> but discussions regarding a border fence between Greece and Turkey are not coming to an end.<sup>14</sup> These plans, of course, have

precedence not only at the border between Mexico and the United States of America, but also at the southwestern border of the EU, where already in 2005 the Spanish enclaves in Morocco, Ceuta and Melilla, had a third fence added to the existing twin ten-foot razor-wire fences in order to prevent African migrants from crossing the line into the EU.<sup>15</sup> In other words, the Mediterranean from Turkey in the East to Morocco in the West during the past few years has developed more and more into a highly contested border zone between the continents of Europe and Africa with dire consequences for migrants trying to cross this area.<sup>16</sup> The Italian island Lampedusa situated between Tunisia and Malta, where the bodies of dead migrants are floating ashore on a regular basis, has become a symbol for the conflicting power dynamics between the global North and the global South. I am convinced that key insights on cultural identity are to be gained from the analysis of boundary dynamics of a particular cultural sphere, and in terms of European identity the increased attempts to seal off a border zone that has been porous for millennia is just a futile attempt at protecting an imagined cultural purity that never existed. Therefore the Swedish writer Henning Mankell's claim that in a certain sense Lampedusa, and not Brussels or Paris, is the center of Europe, rings true.<sup>17</sup> Fortunately not only NGOs,<sup>18</sup> but political parties and individuals are also increasingly taking notice of the consequences for migrants of the construction of a "fortress Europe."<sup>19</sup> The emerging European border regime is increasingly being analyzed critically in academic discourses as well.<sup>20</sup>

### ***From Migration to Transmigration***

The "problem" with migration in the perception of the general European public arises from the aforementioned amnesia of the foundational significance of migratory dynamics for any given culture. In spite of the painful history of the twentieth century with its nationalistic outbursts, the ghost of entitlement of a certain sedentary group of inhabitants over a fixed territory is omnipresent in Europe, albeit with the boundaries shifting from inner national boundaries to the outer borders of the European Union. Even though today a continuous nomadic lifestyle is practiced by less than 1 percent of the world's population, migration as a *form of transition* from one societal context to another has proven a permanent reality in Europe. The sociological theories with roots in the nineteenth century, which saw migration as a passing phenomenon on the way toward sedentary life, were proven wrong. But their legacy is alive and well. In Germany the sociologist Georg Simmel was one of the earliest researchers dealing with the spatial aspects of social mobility.<sup>21</sup> Simmel constructed a clear dichotomy between *constructive* (students, businessmen, workers, professors) and *destructive* (vagrants, adventurers) mobility, a dichotomy that seems hopelessly narrow and antiquated from a contemporary perspective of globalization. Nevertheless, Simmel's conviction that the *fixed institutions* of the nation state are superior to wandering civilizations is mirrored in sociological thinking until the end

of the twentieth century. Until today “international migration is perceived as a spatially and temporally narrowly limited exception in an otherwise sedentary life.”<sup>22</sup>

In the context of globalization, however, international migration has changed dramatically, and one might speak today of *transmigration* since people’s change of location does not occur between clearly fixed societal locations any more. Rather, transmigration has to be understood in the context of *transnational social spaces*, which are stretched pluri-locally *between* and *above* diverse places of habitation. Such pluri-local social spaces are constructed by the life praxis of transmigrants. Transmigration, of course, does not entirely replace traditional forms of migration such as emigration, immigration, and remigration. But it adds to the current global complexity and creates a need to continuously rethink the relation between social spaces and surface areas.<sup>23</sup> The complexities of contemporary globalization are one of the reasons why a new awareness also in Germany is on the rise that “migration is a common issue not only in terms of the history of sociology, but a great human phenomenon of universal validity.”<sup>24</sup>

### Migration in Germany

The last major Protestant study on the effects on migration in Germany entitled “‘...for you have been foreigners in Egypt’: Recognizing and Shaping Diversity”<sup>25</sup> introduces Germany as a country from which throughout the latest centuries many people emigrated to the Americas and to Eastern Europe. As mentioned earlier, after World War II millions of people of German origin migrated into Germany from the Eastern parts of the former German Reich and from many other parts of Eastern Europe. When the German economy became stronger in the early 1960s and needed workers, the so-called guest workers from Southern European countries started a new kind of immigration, among them many Muslims from Turkey. This immigration was followed by immigrants from Eastern Europe after the fall of the iron curtain. In addition an increasing number of immigrants fleeing from war, economic hardship, and political oppression, mainly from the Middle East and former Yugoslavia, can be seen in Germany.<sup>26</sup> Given the development in the second half of the twentieth century, it will strike the bystander as odd that a fierce political discussion is going on to this day whether or not Germany is an *Einwanderungsland* (immigration country). The self-declaration as *Einwanderungsland* would acknowledge that a great part of the millions of immigrants have come to stay and are (becoming) part of German culture, and that they are not returning “home” after their work in Germany has been done or the situation in their countries of origin has calmed down. The principal view of foreigners as labor force and temporary residents is certainly part of the explanation why still in the early 1980s the conservative coalition in power included the objection to the definition of Germany as a country of immigrants in its coalition agreement.<sup>27</sup> This agreement neglects the tremendous benefits Germany received from immigration through the

centuries. Jewish migration, of course, is one of the major instances of such benefits.<sup>28</sup> The general resistance to the label *Einwanderungsland* may have contributed to the fact that it took until 1999 in Germany before citizenship principally was made independent from kinship. In other words the traditional *ius sanguinis*, regulating citizenship in accordance with descent, was replaced by the *ius solis*, regulating citizenship in accordance with territorial principles.<sup>29</sup>

When the former president of the German Federal Republic Christian Wulff, in late 2011, specifically honored the contributions of Turkish immigrants to German prosperity,<sup>30</sup> it triggered strong reactions from the political right wing. A new study released by the federal government, however, supports this understanding of immigration as an important reason for the success of the German economy. According to the study one out of three businesses between 2005 and 2010 was founded by an immigrant. In an article based on this study, the German daily *Frankfurter Rundschau* concludes that in spite of big obstacles for non-German business founders “migrants are indispensable for the (German) economy.”<sup>31</sup> Moreover, during the past few years, Germany accepted only one hundred thousand immigrants per year, which for a nation with more than eighty million inhabitants is a comparatively small number. The number of people with an “immigration background,” however, is fifteen million, which means that almost 20 percent of the German population has immigration background. Slightly more than four million people are Muslims, that is, about 5 percent of the German population.<sup>32</sup>

The presence of Muslims is seen in Germany as one of the greatest challenges in terms of migration today. Many Germans consider Muslims not to be a genuine part of German culture and see the increasing number of Muslims as a threat to Germany. Fears of an Islamization of Germany are reiterated in the boulevard press, and the impression is nurtured—more or less explicit—that concentrated efforts are being undertaken to make Germany a Muslim country. The number of Muslims in Germany, however, is not to be equated with practicing Muslim believers. Only an estimated 20 percent of Germany’s Muslims are organized in faith communities.<sup>33</sup> President Wulff took a stand regarding Muslim presence in Germany when he declared Islam to be a part of German culture alongside Judaism and Christianity. He was rebuked by high-ranking officials such as the interior minister Hans-Peter Friedrich, who claimed that of historical reasons Islam cannot be seen as a part of Germany.<sup>34</sup> This debate mirrors the long-standing general understanding that Germany still is *not* a country of immigrants and that people coming to Germany would stay only temporarily.

Germany’s ever-evolving cultural identity is mirrored in the increasing presence of Christian migrant churches in diverse confessional settings. In many ways the church context is a microcosm of the larger societal context, but the intentional creation of intercultural spaces for the practice of Christian life is the exception. From my confessional perspective (United Methodist) one of the greatest challenges regarding the increasing presence

of migrants in the church is the mirroring of the common perception of migration as a problem rather than a fundamental human condition.<sup>35</sup> As a consequence, with rare exceptions, migrant Christians are not included in regular church activities but worship separately within their own ethnic and/or language group. Oftentimes the contact with native Christians is limited to sharing facilities, which means that most often migrant Christians are unable to flee from societal marginalization even while in church.<sup>36</sup> The fact that Christian practice to a large extent reproduces the societal mechanisms of exclusion of migrants calls for concentrated efforts on the part of lay people, ministers, and theologians alike to highlight the (theological) significance of the presence of migrants in any given community. There is an ongoing need to reflect on migration as a foundational reality for the life of the church in order to deepen the awareness of the principal tension between a Christian way of life and a culture defined by territorial borders.<sup>37</sup>

In the remainder of this chapter I want to contribute to such a reflection. Inspired by Daniel G. Groody's double approach I will try "to offer a theological interpretation of a social reality and a social interpretation of a theological reality."<sup>38</sup> In other words, I am engaging in the kind of *mutual hermeneutics* Judith Gruber is referring to, that is, a hermeneutics that consists of the mutual operation of a *theological interpretation of migration* on the one hand and a *migratory interpretation of theology* on the other.<sup>39</sup> I will therefore first offer some biblical perspectives for a theological interpretation of migration with a special eye to their eschatological significance and then try out a migratory interpretation of theological eschatology with the help of utopian discourses by female migrants in Germany.

### A Theological Interpretation of Migration

Given the complexities of migration in Europe in general and Germany in particular described so far, it is important for European Christianity neither to understand migration as an exception, thereby buying in to "the elitist construction of an immovable identity,"<sup>40</sup> nor to forget the multiple ways in which Christian identity itself is rooted in migratory experience.

Accounts of the migratory context of much of the Jewish Christian tradition abound. The Bible describes migration as a basic condition in human coexistence. Ever since biblical times migration has posed the challenge to the sedentary population to protect the rights of the weak (cf. Exod. 22:20ff; Lev. 19:33ff; Deut. 18:18f; Isa. 58:7ff) in the face of prejudice against the "alien."<sup>41</sup> Many treatments of migration from a biblical perspective start with Abram—the ancestor of Jewish, Christian, and also Muslim faith—and his departure from his home in order to migrate to a promised land he does not even know (Gen. 12ff). This is without any doubt one of the most formative migration stories for the Jewish Christian tradition. In addition to this key narrative the story of Joseph (Gen. 37ff), the Exodus from Egypt (Exod. 3ff), the forced migration to Babylon (2 Chron. 36; 2 Kings 24), and the return to Israel (Esra 2), they can be seen as crucial experiences of migration

in the biblical canon. Each of them in its own way has major significance for the development of the Jewish Christian faith tradition. Neither the Jewish nor the Christian tradition can be properly understood without an awareness of these stories. To this can be added the story of the Moabite Ruth (1–4), who together with her mother-in-law Naomi migrates into Israel, which for the Christian tradition is significant since it establishes Jesus's migration background.

From a Christian perspective Jesus's family's escape to Egypt (Matt. 2:14–15) is important to remember, as well as Jesus's "vagabonding" lifestyle and Paul's journeys around the Mediterranean. But also in the formative phase of the early church migration is part of the self-understanding of Christians. Early Christians, as Peter C. Phan points out, "considered themselves as *paroikoi*—sojourners, displaced people without a home and a nation, migrants—by far the early Christians favorite term to describe themselves."<sup>42</sup> To this day Christianity is threatened to misconstrue itself lest it is mindful of the complex dynamics of being *in* the world but not *of* the world (cf. John 15, Letter to Diognetus). While Christians often have used this phrase to stand aloof of the problems of the wicked world, we may read it as an encouragement with eschatological underpinnings not to be adjusted to an oppressive status quo. Miroslav Volf expresses the theological significance of a migratory experience of being *in* but not *of* a specific culture succinctly when he writes that "stepping out of enmeshment in the network of inherited cultural relations is a correlate of faith in the one God."<sup>43</sup> I am not so sure, however, that his differentiation between the Jewish necessity of becoming a stranger<sup>44</sup> and Christian departure as "no longer a spatial category" is helpful. According to Volf such Christian departure is taking place "within the cultural space one inhabits" since it is about a difference that "is internal to the culture."<sup>45</sup> It is risky business to differentiate between the Jewish tradition as inheriting the *land* (Gen. 12:1) and the Christian tradition as inheriting the *world* (Rom. 4:13).<sup>46</sup> In such a comparison an implicit juxtaposition between Jewish particularity and Christian universality takes place without taking into consideration the long history of Christian anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism with its oftentimes violent polemics against Jewish mobility. After all it was physical migration that already in early Christianity started to be seen as "divine punishment for the Jews' rejection of Jesus as the Christ,"<sup>47</sup> as Phan is pointing out. The long and painful Christian history of seeing migrating Jews (the proverbial "wandering Jew") as the paradigmatic "other" against whom Christian identity was construed needs to slow down a too naïve celebration of migration as a central Christian characteristic. This is especially true for the European and of course the German context that to this day is haunted by its anti-Semitic heritage. There is, however, a long forgotten consciousness also in Christianity of a necessary migratory identity of those following Jesus, whom Phan calls the "paradigmatic migrant."<sup>48</sup> Such a paradigmatic migratory Christian identity, of course, should not be misused from a position of relative privilege to comfort people who have been *forced* into migration! But it does highlight the necessarily dynamic relation

of Christianity to a certain culture or place. Phan detects in the *Letter to Diognetus*, written around the turn of the second century CE, a Christian relation to culture that is promising for today as well. The letter describes Christians as living in their own countries only as aliens (*paroikoi*) and as enduring everything as foreigners (*xenoi*).<sup>49</sup> Indeed, in this letter the seeds for a contemporary theology of migration can be found.<sup>50</sup>

Before I sketch a contemporary migratory theological eschatology, I want to meditate on two biblical visions of community that I consider central for a renewed eschatological imagination: *multilingual community* and *table fellowship*. Regarding multilingual community, it is a long-standing tradition to read the story of the tower of Babel (Gen. 11) in conjunction with the narrative of Pentecost (Acts 2). According to many voices in this tradition the *punishment* of the spreading and diversification of the languages is juxtaposed with the *blessing* of the unification at Pentecost. I am here joining those scholars who ever since Claus Westermann's interpretation of the passage<sup>51</sup> highlight the blessing of diversity that is expressed in the scattering of the people in Genesis 11:9. Walter Brueggemann, for example, sees the *scattering abroad* as "part of God's plan for creation and the fulfillment of the mandate of 1:28."<sup>52</sup> If such linguistic scattering is part of God's original plan for creation it can be concluded that diversity of languages is part of the renewal of creation as well, which is of importance for the imagination of a migratory eschatology. Volf errs when he contrasts humanity before Babel as speaking *one* language (cf., e.g., Gen. 10:31) with the Pentecostal community speaking *many* languages.<sup>53</sup> Instead the tower project is an attempt at homogenizing the previously existing diversity, an attempt at creating transparency and uniformity in the place of ambiguity and communication. By letting this homogenizing project fail, God liberates humanity from uniform homogeneity to lively plurality.<sup>54</sup>

Jacques Derrida in his article *Des Tours de Babel* expresses this in a language that brings its contemporary significance to the fore. God, according to Derrida, responds to the "colonial violence" of the tower's architects by imposing on humanity "the irreducible multiplicity of idioms."<sup>55</sup> It is this irreducible linguistic multiplicity that can be considered as an integral aspect of divine creation, and therefore multiculturalism is not a punishment but a recreation of the circumstances before Babel and a divine interference against any attempt at homogenization. The Babel story, Jürgen Ebach maintains, ends with God reestablishing multiculturalism.<sup>56</sup> Ebach draws out the obvious implications for our contemporary situation of globalization: thanks to God *globabelization*, that is, forced homogenization, has failed.<sup>57</sup> The descent of the Spirit on an intercultural multitude gathered in Jerusalem (Acts 2) is then not so much an undoing of the scattering after the disaster of the tower project (Gen. 11), but rather a continued blessing of multilingual community. Surely it is not a coincidence that the birth of the church described in Acts 2 takes place in a very intercultural setting.<sup>58</sup> Migrants from all over the known world of antiquity had gathered in Jerusalem. *The Spirit's gift is not an erasure of such ethnic and linguistic difference but rather a new gift of communication across difference.*



Of course there is one important difference between Genesis 11 and Acts 2: the miracle of understanding. It is of the essence, however, that this new understanding does not come at the cost of diversity and difference: rather the new situation implies a new listening to difference, as Brueggemann points out. He acknowledges the issue of *speech* but emphasizes the importance of *listening* when he writes: "Perhaps the miracle of Pentecost concerns a new gift of speech. But we should not miss the hint of the text. The newness concerns a *fresh capacity to listen* because the word of God blows over the chaos one more time."<sup>59</sup> If the pneumatological awakening implies open ears to people of other tongues, such listening to voices of difference must be of the essence for a theological eschatology of migration as well,<sup>60</sup> and therefore listening to migrant voices, to which we will turn at the end of this chapter, is a necessary component of a constructive eschatological imagination.

One of the most succinct accounts of an eschatological vision that combines *multilingual community* and *table fellowship* can be found in the conclusion of Jesus's rather harsh description of the coming kingdom of God as community around a set table in the gospel of Luke. He ends his challenging narrative with the following vision: "Then people will come from east and west, from north and south, and will eat in the kingdom of God" (Luke 13:29). Here Christian community is imagined as a multilingual table fellowship that engages in sharing gifts across linguistic/ethnic difference. The implications for the most central Christian practice of table fellowship, Holy Communion, are important here, because to me this vision challenges an understanding of communion as boundary marker of Christian community. It also helps to realize that the eschatological dimension of the Eucharist is about more than the salvation of the individual souls of the participants. Celebrating the Eucharist always also entails an experience and an exercise of imagining God willed community together with those not physically present at the table. A certain "Eucharistic permeability" is required for such an imagination. With this term Andrea Bieler and Luise Schottroff emphasize the economic and political significance of the Eucharist.<sup>61</sup> Bread and wine shared at communion are also reminding those who share that they are part of an economic system favoring some and oppressing others. Issues of economic justice and marginalization of migrants converge. What Groody says about the US-American context is increasingly true for the European context as well: "Given that the agricultural industry in the United States is sustained largely through immigrant labor, the bread and wine that even comes to the table is most certainly the result of immigrant labor."<sup>62</sup> Eucharistic permeability reminds us of the connections between current migration and the eschatological migration expressed in the coming to the table in God's kingdom from all corners of the earth. In a sense then, the Eucharist binds together the memory of troublesome migrations in the past (cf. the roots of the Eucharist in the Jewish Passover remembering the Exodus from slavery in Egypt<sup>63</sup>), the plight of current migrants, and the eschatological migration to the table in the kingdom of God. Inasmuch as Christians gathered

around Christ's table are anticipating the coming to this very table from all corners of the earth, an opening up for and listening to migrants already present around the Christian community would seem to be an intrinsic part of gathering for the Eucharist.

A key point still awaits elaboration from the perspective of an eschatological theology of migration: according to the synoptic gospel narratives (Mark 14:12–16; Matt. 26:17–19; Luke 22:7–13). Jesus himself as a Galilean migrant had to rely on a landlord in Jerusalem and his hospitality in order to celebrate the last supper. When he shared bread and wine with his disciples he did not generously invite into his own mansion, but as a migrant with a foreign Galilean dialect was dependent on someone else to open the doors for this table fellowship to happen. So as we listen in on the eschatological conversations at the last supper (cf. Mark 14:25), we actually do listen to a communication among a band of Galilean migrants that without any doubt went entirely unnoticed by the religious and political establishment of the time.

### **A Migratory Interpretation of Theological Eschatology**

Then and now listening to the marginal voices of migrants sheds light on the conditions of any given culture and on the possibilities of its future transformation. Given the interpretation of the dispersal of the people after the building of the tower of Babel as part of the prehistoric creation narratives (cf. Westermann), and thus in a certain sense as an early imagination of the goal of humanity as a whole, intercultural conditions can be read as prime sites for reimagining God given creational diversity. If the new creation is understood as a continuous process toward the re-creation of (a diverse) humanity, migrants need to play a key role in the eschatological imagination of the church. What Ruth Mayer says about diasporic communities in terms of their *utopisches Verweispotential* (utopian capacity to refer) needs to be reflected upon in Christian eschatological discourse. Paul Gilroy has shown even earlier that an essentialist orientation back to the country of origin oftentimes is abandoned during experiences of oppression, and identity discourses are creatively developed in new directions.<sup>64</sup> The general perception of diasporic communities as nostalgically longing back to their origin is challenged by research showing their creative development of new and future oriented identities, where essence and purity are not sought any more, but rather the “necessity and recognition of heterogeneity and diversity, of difference and hybridity.”<sup>65</sup>

Acknowledging such hopeful and creative imaginations of a different future in migratory communities, the final part of this chapter is dedicated to a few suggestions for rethinking Christian eschatological imagination based on migrant discourses. These discourses, I believe, can help to identify and resist eschatological models that imagine spatial or temporal purity in the beyond. They can serve, therefore, to reimagine both temporal and spatial boundaries of Christian community. In order to make this case for a

contextually sensitive theological eschatology my focus will be on a particular migratory context in Germany. This will be my version of a migratory interpretation of theology, my attempt to discern the potential for theological eschatology of a certain utopian discourse circulating among migrants in Germany.

The analysis of this utopian discourse is provided by María do Mar Castro Varela, a migration researcher with Spanish background, who has conducted extended interviews with female migrants in Germany and gathered her conclusion in a book entitled *Unzeitgemäße Utopien* (Untimely utopias). In it she is analyzing the relation among utopia, migration, and gender. Her special interest is the question of the possibility of political transformation and the creation of social justice in and through the visions of female migrants.<sup>66</sup> Castro Varela is coming to the conclusion that among female migrants in Germany “utopias have not lost their mobilizing force.”<sup>67</sup> Her insistence that the utopias and visions of these female migrants have the potential of constructive transformation of the entire society is reminiscent of the paradigm of liberation theology and its preferential option for the poor. While liberation theology focuses its attention on the liberating potential of the perspective of the socioeconomically poor, a theological eschatology informed by the utopias of migrants analogously practices a “preferential option for the stranger”<sup>68</sup> and focuses its attention on the visionary perspective of migrants. If eschatology is understood as a continuous creative transformation toward the re-creation of the entire cosmos,<sup>69</sup> creative societal transformation and a challenge of the unjust status quo needs to be seen in the horizon of eschatology. And it is such constructive challenge to the societal status quo that Castro Varela is identifying in the utopias of second- and third-generation female migrants in Germany.<sup>70</sup> She is specifically looking for the critical impetus of utopian thinking against violent hegemonic discourses and lamenting the light-handed dismissal of utopian thinking in a society where the utopia of neoliberalism is unapologetically celebrated. Castro Varela is, together with Sheila Benhabib, siding against Francois Lyotard’s understanding of utopia as one of the grand narratives that need to be overcome. Utopian thinking instead is read as an important aspect of critical thinking. Utopias, however, become detrimental to critical thinking if they are thought of as reachable goals, but not if they are understood as “non-places,” or, as Ernst Bloch insisted, hope that has to be disappointed. Fulfilled hope has lost its mobilizing force. Castro Varela emphasizes that the critical potential of utopia is still needed even after 1989, when the slogan of the *end of utopia* emerged following Baudrillard’s diagnose of the demise of sociopolitical utopias. A decisive difference to previous utopias is that postmodern utopias are reemphasizing spatial aspects<sup>71</sup> and turning away from the temporal utopias of modernity.

If utopias from the margin have political significance for the wider society—and immigrants occupy a large segment of the margins in Europe—utopias formulated by female migrants are of double interest. And, as Castro Varela points out, they are barely accounted for in academic research. But

it is precisely these discourses, from their position half inside, half outside, that provide a specific and revelatory perspective on issues of hegemonic conditions.<sup>72</sup> Three of Castro Varela's assumptions are of special interest for a theological eschatology in a migratory context: (1) Migration and utopia are related in that they unveil multiple belongings. They expound the problems of the concepts of "home" and "identity." (2) In the utopias of female migrants educated hope (*docta spes*) in the sense of Ernst Bloch can be identified. (3) These utopian discourses are not temporal alone, but always also connected to spatial discourses.<sup>73</sup>

Much in the sense of the aforementioned description of the Christians' relation to the world in the *Letter to Diognetus* the utopian discourses of migrants can function as analogies for theological imagination by exemplifying what multiple belonging means. Listening to migrant utopias can help to make concrete the Christian vocation to be *xenoi* in society (cf. Letter to Diognetus) in solidarity with those who are considered and treated as *xenoi* by the establishment. For Christian community an awareness of a certain existential homelessness can have transformative potential, especially when surrounded by a political atmosphere in Europe that takes for granted that the real "home" of Turkish migrants is in Turkey, even if they have lived in Germany for generations. Listening in on migrant utopias, however, should not be equated with just "dreaming of a better future" together, but it can aid the development of the kind of utopia Ernst Bloch describes as tested and understood hope that criticizes reality, anticipates a distant goal, and mobilizes historical action.<sup>74</sup> These migrant utopias oftentimes emerge out of an intense experience of longing, which Ernst Bloch, very much against the tradition of German idealism, considered "the most certain being."<sup>75</sup> These utopias, of course, are distant from any *grand narrative* of global transformation, but from a theological perspective they can be seen as seeds of societal transformation toward the eschatological table fellowship. No concrete vision of the future can fully grasp the promised, and of course migrant utopias cannot either. But the small utopias, as Johanna Rahner reminds us, are always also a taste of God's great utopia. Without them also God's future remains mute, without speech, without color, and unreal.<sup>76</sup>

An eschatologically relevant reimagination of both temporal and spatial boundaries occurs in migrant utopias. The metaphor of the boundary plays a decisive role in the production of visions, as Castro Varela reminds us.<sup>77</sup> In accordance with her observation that migrant utopias are not temporal alone but spatial as well, a theological eschatology in tune with migrant utopias will help any Christian community to develop a new sensitivity both for its anticipation of the future (its understanding of temporal boundaries) and its relation to its physical surroundings (its understanding of spatial boundaries). Utopias are never just a reimagination of temporal boundaries, but always also a challenge to current spatial boundaries (cf. the Greek meaning of *u-topos*: nonplace). They simultaneously divide space and regulate what is possible in a certain time span.<sup>78</sup> The reimagination of boundaries in times of systematic exclusion needs to be part of the eschatological

self-understanding of the Christian church,<sup>79</sup> especially for the church in Europe. Too much carnage litters the road of the history of European mission and its exclusively temporal understanding of eschatology. “Christian Apocalypse projected the true home into redeemed future,” as Catherine Keller comments. “But by bringing ‘Jerusalem’ down from a supranatural Above, it cut hope free from geography.”<sup>80</sup> Such oblivion of the significance of space had the result that European colonial missions “at best manipulated, and routinely annihilated, the particularities of native spatiotemporalities.”<sup>81</sup> Today’s migrants in Europe oftentimes come from precisely those places of violent encounter with European civilization and its accompanying Christian mission. This circumstance gives the Christian church a new chance with the help of migrant utopias to reimagine its temporal and spatial boundaries. The reflections on my own migratory background with which I started this chapter, and the church community’s realization of its own cultural and theological migratory identity may not ease the pain of those among us who have been forced into migration and homelessness. But it may contribute to a deeper awareness that claims to land are necessarily transitory, and it may thus open up for a genuine conversation with and inclusion of the migrants who try to make a living in our midst.

As I have tried to show in this chapter, a reimagination of temporal boundaries may emerge out of a rereading of the eschatological imagery of the migration from all corners of the world to the table in the kingdom of God (Luke 13:29), and a reimagination of spatial boundaries of Christian community by close attention to migrant utopias, which are needed to give texture to God’s great utopia here and now.

### Notes

1. For a thorough historical study about these particular incidents of emigration and return, see George Turner, *Die Heimat nehmen wir mit: Ein Beitrag zur Auswanderung Salzburger Protestanten im Jahr 1732, ihrer Ansiedlung in Ostpreußen und der Vertreibung 1944/45* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008).
2. The proceedings of a conference on migration and confession document the tremendous impact the movement of 12 million refugees after World War II had on the Christian landscape in Germany and Austria. Not since the reformation and the wars of religions had Europe experienced a comparable upheaval. Cf. Uwe Rieske, ed., *Migration und Konfession: Konfessionelle Identitäten in der Flüchtlingsbewegung nach 1945* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2010), 7.
3. Daniel G. Groody, “Fruit of the Vine and Work of Human Hands: Imagination and the Eucharist,” in *A Promised Land, a Perilous Journey: Theological Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008), 302.
4. Peter C. Phan, “Migration in the Patristic Era: History and Theology,” in *A Promised Land*, ed. Groody and Campese, 57.
5. Rieske, *Migration und Konfession*, 8.

6. Darrell Jackson and Alessia Passarelli, *Mapping Migration: Mapping Churches Responses, Europe Study* (Geneva: Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe—World Council of Churches, 2008), 24.
7. Cf. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
8. Ibid., xii.
9. Ibid., xviii.
10. Vitor Westhelle, *After Heresy: Colonial Practices and Post-Colonial Theologies* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books 2010), xviii.
11. Cf. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, x viii.
12. While in 2005 the expenditure was a little more than six million euros, the amended budget for 2010 exceeded ninety million euros. There are no indications that these expenditures will go down any time soon. FRONTEX, "Budget and Finance," [http://www.frontex.europa.eu/budget\\_and\\_finance/](http://www.frontex.europa.eu/budget_and_finance/) (accessed February 10, 2012).
13. Cf. "Europeans join forces on migrants," *BBC News*, July 5, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4653371.stm> (accessed February 10, 2012).
14. Cf. "Greece plans Turkey border fence to tackle migration," *BBC News*, January 4, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-12109595> (accessed February 10, 2012).
15. Cf. "Spain rushes to build 3rd fence for Melilla enclave," *New York Times*, October 5, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/04/world/europe/04iht-spain.html> (accessed February 10, 2012).
16. A moving documentation of the toll on migrants, which the execution of this border regime is taking, can be found in Gabriele del Grande, *Das Meer zwischen uns: Flucht und Migration in Zeiten der Abschottung* (Karlsruhe: Loeper Literaturverlag, 2011). The book is translated from the Italian original by Judith Gleitze.
17. Cf. Michael Nausner, "Alla luce di Lampedusa: Una riflessione teologica sulle frontiere europee," in *Protestantesimo, Rivista trimestrale pubblicata dalla facoltà di teologia* 66, no. (2011): 341–356.
18. Two of the most active ones in Germany are: *borderline-europe* (<http://www.borderline-europe.de/>) and *Pro Asyl* (<http://www.proasyl.de/>).
19. "Fortress Europe" is a term commonly used by critics of European immigration policy. One of the polemical references of the term is the Nazi expression "Festung Europa" for the attempt to hold Europe as a fortress against the allied powers. Cf. the blogspot of the journalist Gabriele del Grande, one of the most vocal and initiated critics of the European praxis of sealing off the southern European border: [http://fortresseurope.blogspot.com/2006/02/immigrants-dead-at-frontiers-of-europe\\_16.html](http://fortresseurope.blogspot.com/2006/02/immigrants-dead-at-frontiers-of-europe_16.html) (accessed February 10, 2012).
20. See, for example, Sabine Hess and Bernd Kasperek, eds., *Grenzregime: Diskurse, Praktiken, Institutionen in Europa* (Berlin/Hamburg: Assoziation A, 2010); Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe, ed., *Turbulente Ränder: Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007).
21. Cf. Lutger Pries, *Internationale Migration*, 3rd ed. (Bielefeld: transcript, 2010), 6.
22. Ibid., 8.

23. Cf. *ibid.*, 9.
24. Ulrich Dehn, "Migration im Kontext: Motivgeschichtliche und diasporaltheoretische Perspektiven," *Interkulturelle Theologie* 37, nos. 2–3 (2011): 146.
25. Kirchenamt der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland, ed., "...denn ihr seid selbst Fremde gewesen." *Vielfalt anerkennen und gestalten: Ein Beitrag der Kommission für Migration und Integration der EKD*, EKD Texte 108 (Kirchenamt der EKD: Hannover, 2009).
26. Cf. Reinhard Henkel's categorization of immigrants to Germany. Reinhard Henkel, "Migration nach Deutschland und Globalisierung aus der Sicht der Religionsgeographie—Fallbeispiel Mannheim/Heidelberg," *Interkulturelle Theologie* 37, nos. 2–3 (2011): 173–184 (175f).
27. Cf. KonradAdenauerStiftung (KAS), "Geschichte der CDU: Ausländerpolitik, Ausländerrecht," <http://www.kas.de/wf/de/71.8978/> (accessed January 16, 2012).
28. Regarding the economic and cultural significance of Jewish migrants for many European regions after the expulsion from Spain in 1492, see Tobias Brinkmann, "Jewish Migration," *European History Online*, published December 3, 2010, <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/jewish-migration/jewish-migration> (accessed February 10, 2012).
29. Cf. María do Mar Castro Varela, *Unzeitgemäße Utopien: Migrantinnen zwischen Selbsterfindung und Gelehrter Hoffnung* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007), 76.
30. Cf. "Wulff dankt Türken für Beistand zum Wohlstand," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 16, 2011, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/bundespraesident-im-sz-gespraech-wulff-dankt-tuerken-fuer-beitrag-zum-wohlstand-1.1145168> (accessed January 16, 2012).
31. Daniel Baumann, "Meine Firma, eure Zukunft," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, February 13, 2012, pp. 2–3, esp. 2.
32. "...denn ihr seid selbst Fremde gewesen," 13.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Thomas Vizthum, "Innenminister—'Islam gehört nicht zu Deutschland,'" *Welt Online*, March 3, 2011, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article12691814/Innenminister-Islam-gehoert-nicht-zu-Deutschland.html> (accessed March 13, 2012).
35. Regarding the issue of inclusion of migrants in the United Methodist Church (UMC) in Germany, the coordinator of international churches in the UMC in Germany has undertaken a case study in the Frankfurt area. Cf. Carol Ann Klotz Seckel, "Then Let Us No Longer Be Strangers: Diversity in the Church," DMin thesis, Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington DC, 2011. It is worth mentioning that the very existence of the UMC in Germany is due to the missionary work of returning emigrants in the middle of the nineteenth century, a fact that may have been repressed ever since the Methodist Church was declared "German" before World War II.
36. Cf. Dehn, "Migration im Kontext," 155.
37. Still one of the best explications of this tension can be found in: Kathryn Tanner, *Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997), 93–119.
38. Groody, "Fruit of the Vine," 301.
39. Cf. Judith Gruber, "Remembering Borders: Notes toward a Systematic Theology of Migration" (unpublished paper 2012), 3.

40. Ibid., 7.
41. Cf. "...denn ihr seid selbst Fremde gewesen," 8.
42. Phan, "Migration in the Patristic Era," 49.
43. Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996), 39.
44. Volf quotes Franz Rosenzweig, who describes the Jewish people as "a stranger and a sojourner"; cf. *ibid.*
45. Ibid., 49.
46. Cf. *ibid.*, 50.
47. Phan, "Migration in the Patristic Era," 54.
48. Ibid., 58.
49. Cf. *ibid.*, 55.
50. Cf. *ibid.*, 56.
51. Westermann diverges from Gerhard von Rad and interprets God's scattering of the people over the earth and into many language groups as an act of protection from dehumanizing unification. Cf. Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament I.1*, 3rd ed. (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974/83), 739.
52. Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 98.
53. Cf. Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, 228.
54. Cf. "...denn ihr seid selbst Fremde gewesen," 20.
55. Quoted in Volf, *Exclusion & Embrace*, 227.
56. Cf. Jürgen Ebach, "'Wir sind ein Volk.' Die Erzählung vom 'Turmbau zu Babel': Eine biblische Geschichte in aktuellem Kontext," in *Weltdorf Babel: Globalisierung als theologische Herausforderung*, ed. Giancarlo Collet, 27 (Münster: LIT, 2001).
57. Ibid., 40.
58. Cf. Michael Nausner, "Kulturelle Grenzerfahrung und die methodistische Konnexio," in *Kirchliches Leben in methodistischer Tradition: Perspektiven aus drei Kontinenten*, ed. Michael Nausner, 275–295 (Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2010).
59. Brueggemann, *Genesis*, 104; emphasis in the original.
60. Åsa Nausner in her dissertation investigates the difficulties of dominant groups to listen to the culturally other. Cf. Åsa Nausner, "Listening to the Cultural Other: A Christian Ethics of Transformative Listening," PhD diss., Drew University, 2011.
61. Cf. Andrea Bieler and Luise Schottroff, *The Eucharist: Bodies, Bread & Resurrection* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2007), 4ff.
62. Groody, "The Fruit of the Vine," 310.
63. Cf. *ibid.*, 303.
64. Cf. Dehn, "Migration im Kontext," 151.
65. Ibid., 152.
66. Castro Varela, *Unzeitgemäße Utopien*, 7.
67. Ibid., 13.
68. Gruber, "Remembering Borders," 12.
69. Jürgen Moltmann, for example, insists that eschatology needs to embrace concrete cosmology in order not to drift off into a gnostic myth of salvation. Cf. Jürgen Moltmann, *Das Kommen Gottes: Christliche Eschatologie* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 285ff.



70. Cf. Castro Varela, *Unzeitgemäße Utopien*, 15f. In the following I am summarizing parts of Castro Varela's argument in chapter 1.1, pp. 16–25.
71. Reinhard Henkel in his work on religious geography has acknowledged the importance of a diagnosed *spatial turn* for a new understanding of denominational developments in Germany. Cf. Reinhard Henkel, "Migration nach Deutschland und Globalisierung aus der Sicht der Religionsgeographie—Fallbeispiel Mannheim/Heidelberg," *Interkulturelle Theologie* 37, nos. 2–3 (2011): 173–184 (173f).
72. Cf. Castro Varela, *Unzeitgemäße Utopien*, 27.
73. Cf. *ibid.*, 28–30.
74. Cf. *ibid.*, 36.
75. Quoted in *ibid.*, 38.
76. Cf. Johanna Rahner, "'Lasst euch nicht vertrösten!' Das 'Reich Gottes' als eschatologische Metapher im theologischen Disput." Lecture given at the annual meeting with *Interkonfessioneller Theologischer Arbeitskreis (ITA)* in Erfurt, Germany, January 13, 2012.
77. Cf. Varela, *Unzeitgemäße Utopien*, 184.
78. Cf. *ibid.*, 52.
79. For a constructive suggestion to rethink Christian identity in relation to the (home)land, see: Michael Nausner, "Homeland as Borderland: Territories of Christian Subjectivity," in *Postcolonial Theologies: Divinity and Empire*, ed. Catherine Keller, Michael Nausner, Mayra Rivera, 118–132 (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2004).
80. Catherine Keller, *Apocalypse Now and Then: A Feminist Guide to the End of the World* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996), 142–143.
81. Cf. *ibid.*, 147.

## **Chapter 9**

# **Migration, Pastoral Action, and Latin America**

*Ana María Bidegain Greising and  
Gabriel Bidegain Greising*

Although the presence of great indigenous civilizations with significant nuclei of populations has left its trace on the history of Central and South America, the presence of a large number of Europeans, Africans, and Asians, who have similarly given shape to their demographic profile, cannot be ignored. The pastoral action of the Catholic Church and of the Protestants of European origin accompanied this process in the nineteenth century. And while in the twentieth century the European and Asian migration processes continued, the novelty was the great mobility among Latin American countries, a reality less well known than the migration of Mexicans and Central Americans to the United States. Interestingly, in parallel form, the increase of the pastoral action of the Catholic Church among migrants since the middle of the twentieth century has been relatively understudied. Since the decade of the 1980s the institutions of the Catholic Church have become intermediaries between the states and the migrants. They have been among the greatest spokespersons for the needs of the immigrants to the authorities of the states and at the same time have been collaborating in requiring the states to promulgate rights and to provide benefits for immigrants. Similarly, the Catholic Church has worked with organizations of the Latin American civil society and in many cases has joined their efforts as a promoter and major funder. This chapter, carried out by a demographer and a historian of the Church, gives an account of this process by showing how the demographic changes have been accompanied by the pastoral action of the Church.

### **From Immigrants' Receiver to Emigrants' Rejector**

Migration as a great challenge is not something new to Latin American and Caribbean regions. On the contrary, the diverse waves of migration have formed the current region's population. Although the media and even some US-American academics view Latin America as a region of emigrants, it has

been the recipient of the large contingents of Europeans and Asians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; not to mention the Iberians (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries) and the enormous contribution of the African population related to the forced migration caused by slavery during the centuries of colonial domination and that in some cases, such as Brazil, lasted throughout the nineteenth century.

The Latin American and Caribbean particularity rests precisely in that enormous ethnical and cultural diversity that brought the different waves of immigration without erasing distinct traits even of those populations originated from *Abya Yalá*.<sup>1</sup> The colonial imposition of the culture of Latin origin (Spanish, Portuguese, and French), with their languages, religiosity, and their homogenizing attempt, continued by the policies of independent republics in the nineteenth century, was a crucible that romantically pictured members of the elite as representatives of the general population. It was a pretense that an apparent miscegenation could erase the differences with 12 million of European immigrants expected to whiten and help civilize the regions.<sup>2</sup> Since the eighteenth century there was clarity about the need to inhabit the continent with the colonial population in order to secure the territorial domination, especially in South America, where the population, including the indigenous, was low in numbers. The policy followed by Republican leaders who soon accepted the motto of “to govern is to populate” proposed by Juan Bautista Alberdi influenced not only his native Argentina but also the neighboring countries.<sup>3</sup>

During the colonial period, though there were pastoral voices and practices that denounced the injustices of slavery and domination over the indigenous populations, in general terms the main lines of government responded pastorally, and in the majority of cases evangelization efforts were confused with acculturation. In the nineteenth century the Latin American Catholic Church, on the one side, was hunted by liberal regiments and, on the other side, as it was subjugated to the centralism and Romanization imposed by Vatican Council I, it became unable to develop the proper pastoral leadership that could confront the challenges it was facing. The Catholic Church could not tend to the needs of the diverse population subject to the pro-European cultural homogenization imposed by the Republican liberalism, being accomplished through the educational system and seen as a fundamental strategy for consolidating the dependent capitalistic system in the regions. Education did not reach the entire population. And where it arrived, it was not of the same quantity and quality. Also rather than being integrated into the labor market, in the majority of cases it failed to expand or increase the social stratification combined with the racial factor. Even racial discrimination based on the principle of “purification of the blood” continued to be applied in numerous ecclesiastical instructions up to the mid-twentieth century with the reception of the Second Vatican Council, which reviewed pastoral proposals and demanded the reevaluation of orders and congregations.

During the nineteenth century immigration was presented as a solution to problems related to labor as a result of the need for quantity and quality.

Antislavery laws had forced the immigration of Africans to stop. However, it was replaced by the arrival of Asians (Chinese and Japanese) mainly to Peru, Cuba, Caribbean Islands under British rule, and in small amounts to Brazil. The immigration of people from the Middle East also began in the nineteenth century and increased in the early decades of the twentieth; several traditional countries served as hosts—Brazil, Argentina, Mexico—along with countries such as Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela that in the twentieth century would become a great center-receiver of migrants. None of these groups were Catholics. Although such diversity was recognized as a pastoral challenge, religious freedom was granted to them. For many, however, social and cultural adaptation proved difficult, except for some Middle Easterners who in their majority were Maronite and relatively easily integrated into local Catholicism.

The nineteenth-century immigrants of European origins experienced a different situation. By the time they flooded into South America, the pastoral migration was settled, yet many immigrants were receiving a response from churches in the places of origin of the immigrants. The most notable case was the Foundation of the Missionaries of St. Charles (Scalabrinians) in 1887, by the Bishop of Piacenza (Italy) Beato Juan Bautista Scalabrini (1839–1905), who had the clarity about the phenomenon of the socioeconomic nature that their region was experiencing, which was causing the emigration of its population. He as the ecclesiastical authority faced this challenge by responding with a form of pastoral accompaniment.

In 1876, upon being appointed Bishop of Piacenza by Pius IX, Juan Bautista Scalabrini engaged in a wide range of pastoral and social activities. He traveled the entire diocese, on several occasions on foot to the outlying parishes. Scalabrini reorganized the seminary giving the ecclesiastical studies an emphasis not only on the ecclesiology, the theology of the sacraments and preaching, but also in the training for the attention of the social problems of its time. He also engaged in social work that benefited from the involvement of the laity, arranging their efforts according to associations of Practical Catholic Action that would heroically assist him in personally caring for those sick with cholera. By selling his assets, including his horse, the chalice, and the pectoral cross, Scalabrini likewise saved many of his fellow citizens from starvation, conditions of semi-slavery, and eventually, from apostasy. For their benefit, the congregation of the Missionaries of Saint Charles was founded in 1887—to tend to the religious, moral, social, and legal needs of the migrants. He supported the work of the clergy and the laity caring for the Italian orphans and the sick in the outskirts of the city, and founded the congregation of the Sisters of the Apostles of the Sacred Heart in October 1895. In following his advice, another congregation, the Secular Missionary Escalabrinianas, was born in 1961. Soon Bishop Scalabrini was to be known as the apostle to the Italian migrants around the world.

Latin American local churches in some cases saw the needs of the newcomers that had to be taken care of by pastors, but they did not have enough personnel with the necessary skills to be able to provide this care. This was

the reason why immigrants who were able to settle down and to attain a certain level of prosperity and of organization maintained and strengthened ties with their churches in Europe and requested the arrival of priests and pastors. But often they also would appoint lay people of the same group to tend to the needs of the community. These solutions were not always well received by the local churches. On many occasions confrontations occurred with the priests and bishops, who had a vertical vision of Church authority where the hierarchy had the "truth" and congregants were meant to passively hear the sermons and receive the sacraments. In other words, the loss of strength and sense of community that would allow for the development of pastoral ministries would also factor in the mentioned challenges that immigrants were facing in adjusting to their new reality. The Vatican did not have a special concern regarding the emigration of Catholic Europeans to Catholic countries such as Latin America and the Caribbean. However, Leo XIII worried about the departure of Europeans to the United States or to other Protestant countries.<sup>4</sup>

Some bishops in Latin America showed special concern for the European immigrants. For instance, Don Macedo Costa from Brazil, after the establishment of the Republic of Brazil in 1890, submitted to the conference of bishops gathered in San Paulo a document in which the entire chapter was devoted to the need for spiritual care of European immigrants. Nonetheless, it is significant that though the populations of African and Indian origins were equally affected by migratory politics, these were overlooked.<sup>5</sup>

Gradually the local churches were being "europeanized" as little attention was being paid to the problems of the local population against the process of capitalistic modernization accompanying immigration and to the Project of Romanization and centralization of the Church in the figure of the pope established in Vatican I. The "clericalization" built into the Church model proposed by Vatican I delegitimized autonomous lay organizations. They were replaced by traditional orders and religious congregations or organizations of laity of the new type under clerical control. The priest by naming their leaders from among the elite of the community members exercised control over all religious experience in order to subordinate the population. It ultimately created a chasm between those who held on to popular traditions and the new European "whiter" religious tradition educated according to the new parameters. Furthermore, the racism of this process was veiled in its rejection of popular religion. Racism, on the other hand, became overtly expressed when religious congregations of European origin refused to receive in their ranks "Negros," "Indians," mulattos, or Latin American and Caribbean born candidates who did not belong to the white elite or to echelons with economic and political power.

Europeanization also played a significant role in the selection of a hierarchy formed in Rome and in the rest of Europe. European congregations were in charge of the seminaries, and so the massive immigration of religious leaders was mainly represented by Europeans, as in Brazil. Although the great waves of European immigration stopped by the 1930s, this European

ecclesiastical model remains despite reforms brought by the Second Vatican Council. The process was not homogeneous in all Latin American and Caribbean countries, because some received very little presence of migration and of European clergy as was the case of Colombia. But the process of Romanization definitely influenced the model of the Church mainly supported in the ecclesiastical body that allowed the strong connection with the state and the identification with the economic, social, and the current political system that limited its vision about the reality of the migrant population, equally international and internal.

In the twentieth century a certain Catholic nationalism linked to the political development, mainly of conservative nature, but more sensitive to the local social reality, was also growing. It was strongly reflected in Argentina, where a mixture of diverse traditions that composed it made it more sensitive to the great pastoral challenges arising from the impact of not only international immigration, but also the internal migration caused by "decomposition" of the traditional agrarian structures. The transformations of capitalism after World War II and the difference in economic development between the regions or the internal armed conflicts as in the case of Colombia produced a strong migration from the countryside to the city. This raised new pastoral challenges against huge masses of completely underserved populations who piled in the neighborhoods of the peripheries of cities.

In the Assembly of the Bishops of the Latin American meeting in Rio de Janeiro, in 1955, a call was made in order to wake up the social and missionary awareness to benefit the most needy. Paragraph number 91 says, "Must urgently apply special care in all Latin American countries, the work of spiritual care for the immigrants according to the norms of the Apostolic Constitution 'Exsul Familia' and concrete provisions, in every case, of the S. C. Consistorial." Paragraph 92 adds, "The support for the immigrant must be intensified, by means of the Secretariats of placement, social service, medical and legal assistance, vocational guidance and accommodation to the environment, etc.; this work can be facilitated by extending the national plan already existing local agencies."<sup>6</sup>

In the second half of the twentieth century, Latin America and the Caribbean stopped receiving the enormous flow of migrations that had occurred in the past, but the mobility between the countries of the region increased. In the 1960s there were more than 1.5 million people who migrated to various South American countries, while in the 1990s the number increased to 11 million. Argentina, Venezuela, Brazil, and Costa Rica were major receiving centers.<sup>7</sup> Today, the main recipients of immigrants are Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

In relation to Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, emigration has been oriented toward the United States upon the signing of the "Bracero Program," which began in 1942. It was the migration agreement that opened the borders for Mexican farmers to tend the crops in California and other states because of the scarcity of workers brought about by World

War II. The "Railroad Bracero Program," from 1945, allowed the entry of many Mexican and Central American workers. These programs were completed by 1964. Mexican and Central American workers continued crossing the border in order to work during the harvest times and returned back to Mexico via a "smooth border" that lasted until the early 1980s. In addition to the migration of workers caused by the lack of jobs at home, political conflicts and natural disasters were other aspects that led to the mass migrations to the United States and the Caribbean.

In 1965, the United States established new immigration regulations that favored the migration of a qualified force, which determined the migration of many professionals, including a large number of South Americans who were pursuing their educational goals in the United States, and upon completion of their training could be invited to stay for work in US-American companies. The lack of jobs and the political crisis in South America in the 1960s and 1970s increased the migratory flow, an effect that Latin American countries have denounced as a "brain drain." This type of emigration has been a cause for concern, because it is a loss of investment in human capital formation and in spending in poor countries of the developing world. On the one hand, this process generates shortage of skilled manpower in the countries of origin, and on the other, it benefits already developed countries that did not absorb the training costs. This concern is highlighted in the Bishop's Conference in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968. The document denounces the "exodus of professionals and technicians to more developed countries."<sup>8</sup>

### **Internal and Intraregional Migration**

Since internal rural-urban migrations became prominent in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico from the 1920s through the 1930s, and from the 1950s through the 1960s, and were widespread across the continent, this process of internal migration gained the attention of Latin American theologians and pastors. Large shantytowns of impoverished cities in Latin America were presented as a great challenge and scandal for the Christian conscience, laity, priests, and staff of the religious congregations who saw in that situation the place for pastoral action and locus of theological reflection. From other intellectual horizons, journalists, academics, and political activists also began to denounce the enormous difficulties of those impoverished masses that were incorporated into the electoral political system, for the benefit of the traditional "chieftains," before being integrated into the cultural and productive processes of the cities.

As early as 1972, theologian Juan Luis Segundo, SJ urged awareness of international migrations in Latin America, calling particular attention to the enormous cultural jump caused by these migrant populations that he termed the "fantastic voyage."<sup>9</sup> The move was into areas of one million square kilometers and within a few days/hours of travel of a cultural time that should have spanned for forty centuries. He alluded to the cultural difference between an individual who lived in a traditional culture, or sometimes even

a nomadic indigenous society, and the Amazonian residing in the rainforests or other forests that were being exploited in the 1970s or the highlands. They were forced to abandon a culture they had known well and to emigrate to the Western capitals of the twentieth century due to modern models of development. Segundo labeled the trip "fantastic" because in a very short time, these migrants were forced to undertake a cultural journey similar to the first-known settlers of Asia and Europe, and to those who progressively have settled in Western cities since the early twentieth century. For these people from Latin America, a migration that might have taken centuries was occurring in a matter of days or even hours.

Cultures juxtapose in the blink of an eye, "so it is an internal migration towards the major Latin American cities that is mixing up instant populations that have been separated culturally for at least 20 centuries." Segundo adds, "This means that a large part of the Latin American continent is doing the most fantastic and catastrophic trip which can be described in terms of culture such as 'make a five thousand-year journey in five days.'"<sup>10</sup> Segundo consequently wondered if the Church's pastoral methods have varied or have been adapted to keep the same pace as the aforementioned high-speed journey.<sup>11</sup> Following a speech of Paul VI in 1963 during the Council, he told the Brazilian bishops that they were living in countries of quick social and cultural changes, and pastoral methods had to keep in step with these changes. An answer to these sociocultural contexts of impoverished majorities in the peripheries came through social and pastoral action of the laity that also birthed a theology of liberation among the religious and priestly sectors.

Segundo, in engaging in this peculiar method of dialogue that dealt with that emergent reality, put the spotlight on the "uprooting" as the fundamental problem from which the whole pastoral project should be reviewed. "Uprooting," according to him, can be defined as "the loss of their own cultural roots without having found others to replace them."<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Segundo argued that in conventional societies cultural roots are nourished by tradition, and unquestionably, from generation to generation, by frameworks that inform people how to conceptualize their worldview, a reality still palpable in many regions of Latin America and the Caribbean. Part of the uprooting process of these migrants entails shifting, in the short period of one day, from their traditional reality to the large urban society of the twentieth century. In addition, in the new reality, nobody informs these migrants of how they can best integrate into the new culture. With a distance between these two realities being too far, the migrants might spend all their lives searching for ways to acculturate yet without success.

Simultaneous to the internal migration developments during the second half of the twentieth century have been the growth of intraregional emigrations to Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and Costa Rica from neighboring countries. Thus Colombia, Paraguay, Nicaragua, Bolivia, and Chile are among those who exhibit the higher volumes of migrants accumulated within the region. By 1980 the total number of intraregional migrants was 2 million people who, in 1900, according to the census data had amounted



to 2.2 million; in 2000, this figure rose to 2.9 million. According to the IMILA,<sup>13</sup> and taking into account the nature of census data and the limitations of the estimates derived from them, around the year 2010 the number of immigrants from all countries of the region reached 6 million, which accounted for 1 percent of the total population of Latin America and the Caribbean. That outlook highlighted the absolute volume of immigrant-residents in Argentina and Venezuela surpassing the above numbers by 1 million.

The reasons for these migrations have been economic and political as well. As it happened in Central America from the 1980s to the first decades of 2000, because of the armed conflicts, several neighboring countries and not only Venezuela, but also Ecuador, Panama, Costa Rica, and the United States, received a large influx. "In the demographic dynamics and changes in migratory patterns that have prevailed in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, and have become visible in the past 30 years, new requirements to estimates of international migrations have been raised,"<sup>14</sup> producing challenges for both recipient countries and those losing their populations.

The creation and development of the various departments of the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) and joint attention to common challenges and problems allowed the implementation of a human pastoral mobility looking at the problem as a whole, including interrelationships between the policies of the different national states. The Conference of Bishops that took place in Puebla in 1979 affirmed that migrations constitute a massive phenomenon that demanded immediate attention (n.71), and formulated guidelines for practical action in the social order (b. 1290–y1292) and pastoral work (n.1291). As a result, shortly after Puebla, the ordinary CELAM in San José, Costa Rica, in 1985 recommended the creation of a specialized agency to deal with the issue of internal migrations as part of CELAM. The Secretariat for the Pastoral of the Human Mobility (SEPMOV) was established at the meeting of the episcopate in 1987, with the directive to focus on "the problems of migration in different regions and the provision of preferential care to refugees and displaced persons."<sup>15</sup> The organization and management of SEPMOV was handed over to the Mission of San Carlos Borromeo (Scalabrinians), which shows an opening and recognition of the role of lay and religious women in particular in the area of pastoral work. The CELAM bishops entrusted the direction of the pastoral work with immigrants to this community of religious women, who have been coordinating it since. But above all, the intent was to fan the charisma of the community with an attention to the migrant. The SEPMOV program was established based on five lines of work: (1) animation and pastoral coordination of the Human Mobility in Latin America; (2) studies on the immigration issue; (3) training for the pastoral care of human mobility; (4) broadcasting and information; and (5) interagency collaboration that included both NGOs and government agencies such as the multilateral.

These lines of work allowed institutions of the Catholic Church to become intermediaries between the state and the migrants, and to play the role of

spokespersons on behalf of the immigrants. These collaborated in advocating for the rights of immigrants to receive benefits from the states. At the same time, they worked with Latin American civil society organizations, and in many cases became main sponsors.

Since the 1980s, the Latin American Bishops of Puebla 1979 have created various regional, national, and local organizations that have been working on the migration issues in accordance with the needs and changes that have operated in each region experiencing mass immigration flows. Each Episcopal Conference in each country has established a National Commission of migrations that works directly under its aegis.<sup>16</sup> These agencies of the Church at the national level, on the one hand, are linked to the Secretariat for the Pastoral Human Mobility, SEPMOV of CELAM, and on the other, to the various diocesan and sometimes local organizations that are directly working with migrant populations. Based on the needs of migrants, they primarily provide shelter and food, but also advise them in relation to proper documentation and their rights, sensitize the rest of the population with regard to the situation of the migrant, develop training for occupational reorientation, provide employment, and collaborate with other public and private institutions that are dedicated to helping immigrants in line with the provisions of the Episcopal documents. These organizations determine the origin of the immigrants' cultures and provide strategies to look for ways of intracultural dialogue that facilitate the inclusion of migrants into the host society. The Secretariat for the Pastoral Care of Human Mobility (SEPMOV), which is headquartered in Bogota, advises the Episcopal Conferences, studying the different types of mobility in Latin America, and providing reflection, animation, coordination of services, and activating the Church around the continent.

In addition to the work of the Episcopal Conferences, the interest for migrants among religious congregations increased. Particularly, similar to the specialized work of the female and male branches of Scalabrianians dating back from the nineteenth century (this is the institution that has the greater accumulated knowledge and attention to immigrants), a Jesuit network specializing in cases of refugees was founded in 2003. This Jesuit service for refugees mobilizes a network of institutions and organizations within the Company of Jesus, its centers of social research, universities, and lay movements.

At the same time, civil organizations in societies that are facing many problems being confronted by immigrants play a very important role in the enforcement and follow-up of the decisions at the government level. In 1996 the first Conference of Regional migration took place in the city of Puebla, Mexico, in order to promote cooperation between the countries of the region of Mesoamerica. It sought to address the issues that have been taking place at the common borders, confronting the traffic of people and protecting the rights of the undocumented migrants. These civil organizations, including many of those with religious origin such as the Center of Immigration Studies in Latin American (CEMLA), not only offer a bridge

between migrants and the states, but also with international organizations such as CEPAL, CELADE, UNFPA, and IOM. The intent is to move forward with social policies that study and promote sensitivity in the receptive population toward the reality of the immigrant.

### **International Migration in the Context of Globalization and Pastoral Challenges**

Since 1980 the emigration of Latin Americans toward the United States and Europe, especially Spain, has intensified, even as intraregional flows have not declined. While intraregional migration has always been of considerable magnitude, it has been considered a phenomenon taking place in only some countries. Nonetheless, since the 1980s new migratory patterns have been generating changes in the region. What distinguishes the situation in relation to former times is not only the intensification of international migration, but also its diversity according to its origins, destinations, and arrangements, all result of the cumulative process we call "globalization."<sup>17</sup>

Due to the technological advancements in the areas of communication, globalization has transformed the world into a small village. Everything socializes—goods, finance, sports, and culture—paradoxically raising national barriers that prevent the free movement of persons, especially of those who frequently face the abuse of their personal dignity and violation of their rights.

The results of migrations being fueled by the process of globalization are not the same for everyone. It can lead to all forms of ethnic discrimination and social contradictions. The migration of people with documentation does not compare to that of those who do not have it. Discrimination can vary also according to the complexities involving ethnic factors, as in differing between light- and dark-skinned Latin Americans. Those who have already acquired relative power in their country, even if it is minimally higher, benefit at least by being able to afford the expenses of safe travel, when compared to those who have to cross the borders walking, or go across deserts or rivers, or have to take precarious vessels to plunge into the ocean, or move atop the dreaded train called "the beast" that passes through Mexico (from South to North). Different situations make the disadvantaged immigrants vulnerable to the violation of their fundamental rights. This painful path is not new. For several decades it is toured not only by young men but also by women with their little children, and by adolescents and children traveling alone. Today the administration in the United States has recognized this humanitarian crisis, but its response has been slow in pace, something being denounced by NGOs and groups that are working on the defense of comprehensive immigration reform such as the Episcopal Conference of the United States.<sup>18</sup>

Currently, more than 20 million Latin Americans and Caribbeans live outside their country, amounting to more than 10 percent of the total number of migrants in the world.<sup>19</sup> Because the migration process has affected all social strata and all ethnic diversity in different levels, and has entailed more

than five centuries of various waves of immigration composed of diverse Latin American populations, it remains a pastoral challenge for both receiving churches and those whose memberships are declining.

The general theme of "inculturated evangelization" of the Conference in Santo Domingo in 1992 gave special attention to the conditions of the life and culture of various migratory flows congregated in major urban centers. It was based on the image of Jesus, who during his childhood became a pilgrim and went through the experience of displacement due to political reasons such as those that have occurred and continue occurring in Latin America. The conference highlighted the need to educate disciples to become missionaries, training them to empathize with the experience of the immigrants.<sup>20</sup>

Based on the major trends of the migratory phenomenon on the continent, CELAM in Santo Domingo designed the pastoral plan that began with urging bishops to strengthen human pastoral mobility, distribution of projects, and efforts between the diocese and the national Episcopal Conferences while raising awareness among the public sectors with a view to the establishment of more equitable legislation, respectful of the cultural diversity of the migrant. Another need being addressed was that of providing aid to the populations of rural areas in Latin America and the Caribbean, and for governments to offer cultural and socioeconomic alternatives that could reduce the immigration flows from the countryside to the city. Above all, they called attention to the inability of governments, of both ejector countries and recipients of populations, to take actions toward alleviating the social conditions that spur migration, state reforms that could adequately minimize these ailments.<sup>21</sup>

The US Conference of Catholic Bishops followed in this search for effective pastoral responses that the Latin American and Caribbean bishops have been pursuing. In January 2003 the conferences of Mexico and the United States convened and presented a multiparty pastoral letter that has set the standard for the Catholic pastors in reference to the immigration subject. Its statement is clear, "Together on the Road of Hope, We Are No Longer Foreigners."<sup>22</sup> The theological basis was Matthew 25:35 stressing the fact that receiving an immigrant is as receiving Jesus. Therefore, the responsibility of Catholics is to take the lead in creating possibilities for the conversion of hearts and minds toward the development of a culture and practice of hospitality in the communities that receive immigrants like Mexicans who come to settle in the United States. The letter not only sought to give a structure to the pastoral work both in United States and in Mexico, but to give guidance to Catholics who were facing that reality globally. Therefore, the letter argued that the Church should provide assistance alongside those meeting the religious and spiritual needs of migrants, refugees, and newcomers, including beyond the sacramental services, and regardless of their immigration status. The bishops since then have garnered financial support in various parishes and Catholic organizations for the development of networks dealing with social services for migrants and their families during their period of settlement. "Whenever possible, also provide legal services, at reasonable

prices or free of charge, to help even those who have been arrested,” the letter exhorts. This activity for more than one decade has been coordinated and carried out by Caritas (Catholic Charities). The joint letter likewise urged the national authorities to act accordingly: (1) in the particular case of the United States, the development of an overall immigration reform in reference to Latin Americans; (2) and from the Latin American side, the establishment of funding and promotion of politicoeconomic structural changes capable of promoting well-being and preventing the exit of populations from their places of origins and their cultural environments.

The increase both in number and in the difficulties migrants were facing motivated CELAM to attribute the problem to the lack of justice in human relations. Its Ordinary Assembly #31 of 2003 thus placed the pastoral work of human mobility within a session of the Department of Justice and Solidarity of CELAM. All the bishops of the United States and the Latin American and Caribbean regions insisted upon the need for long-term solutions that could prevent unauthorized migration, beginning with addressing the causes driving forced emigration, and their search for security or economic opportunities outside of their places of origin.

Consistent with the 2003 pastoral letter, in 2004, the Committee on Migration of the Bishops of the United States along with the Catholic Legal Immigration Network, Inc. (CLINIC) called for comprehensive immigration reform as a priority not only for the Catholic Church, but as essential to the United States. Along with several other Catholic organizations and non-Catholics campaigning for Justice for Immigrants in June 2004, these joint efforts sought to educate the public about migration problems and ethical living (common to the Christian tradition), and at the same time to create the political connections among congressmen supporting a positive immigration reform convenient for immigrants. Even in the face of opposition in the political sphere during the reformation process, bishops have continued to address the need to establish laws that seek to achieve the kind of comprehensive immigration reform that recognizes the cultural values of the immigrants, and that supports social organizations that promote reform.

The final document emerged from the meeting of Latin American bishops at Aparecida in May 2007. We could see the difference with previous conferences related to the treatment of the immigration problem. It is no longer one or several sections that address the issue, but it is present as the main theme of the document since immigration was recognized as a structural problem that had to be given priority.<sup>23</sup> The assessment is based on the experiences of the region but emphasize the global nature of the phenomenon and is inspired by the documents of the Pastoral Pontifical Council of the migrants and itinerant people, Caritas Christi in particular.<sup>24</sup> This document highlights the fact that in the past decades migration is the largest movement of people of all times, involving 200 million human beings, also becoming a structural reality of contemporary society and an increasingly more complex problem from social, economic, cultural, political, religious, and pastoral points of view.

The second chapter of the final document drawn up by the Latin American bishops at Aparecida was dedicated to analyzing the impact of globalization (61–62) on Latin American societies; the profound changes of economic order; the social, political, and cultural crises; violence in its various forms (78–81); the culture of individualism and consumerism (44, 51); and displacement as another of the most pressing phenomena of contemporary reality.<sup>25</sup> It states:

One of the most important phenomena in our countries is the process of human mobility, in its double expression of migration and itinerancy, in which millions of people migrate or are forced to migrate within and outside their respective countries. The causes are diverse and are related to the economic situation, the violence in its various forms, the poverty that affects people, and the lack of opportunities for research and professional development. The consequences are in many cases of enormous gravity to personal, family and cultural level. The loss of human capital of millions of people, qualified professionals, researchers and large farm sectors, increasingly impoverishes us. Labor exploitation, in some cases, generates real slavery. A shameful trafficking of people, which includes prostitution, even of minors. The situation of refugees deserves special attention which puts in question the capacity for hospitality of our society and churches.<sup>26</sup>

Facing this reality requires looking at it from the perspective of the suffering reflected on the countenance of “the poor.” The revisions of CELAM are along these pastoral lines, a return to this great theological axis proposed in 1970 that derived from this “option.” However, the novelty of the Aparecida document lies in the sections that it dedicates exclusively to the issue of migration in its pastoral guidelines. “The Church as mother should project itself as a Church without borders, a familiar church, paying attention to the growing phenomenon of human mobility in its various sectors.” It considers the borderless and familiar Church to be essential for the development of the pastoral mindset and spirituality in the service of brothers in mobility, “establishing appropriate national diocesan structures that facilitate the meeting of the foreigner with the particular Church for host.”<sup>27</sup>

The return to the poor as the locus theologicus and pastoral reflection foregrounds critical situations in the field of human mobility, such as: violence against women, especially girls and adolescents, victims of trafficking, rape, bondage, and sexual harassment (48); the situation of Afro-descendants who carry with them the memory of the enslavement of their ancestors (88); and along with Indians and poor farm laborers who are dispossessed of their lands. The poor confronts no other alternative but to emigrate to the doubly vulnerable terrain, sloped and unfertile, or flee to the cities where they are joining the mass of unemployed “to live crammed in the belts of misery” (492). The conditions of misery and violence of armed gang groups, guerrillas, or paramilitaries, as the case may be, are also profoundly impacting with changes in customs, culture and, even religion (90). Theologically speaking, such “living conditions of many abandoned, excluded and ignored in their

misery and pain, contradict any project on the parenthood of God and challenge believers to a greater commitment to the culture of life." The "kingdom of life" (372) requires a denunciation of the "practice of discrimination and racism in its various expressions, because it offends the most profound human dignity which is to be created in the image and likeness of God" (552).

At the same time the Bishops of the Aparecida document emphasized two positive aspects of internal (between countries and regions) and international migration processes. First, remittances can be primarily a sign of love among members of families. Second, these can offer the means for collaboration between poor and wealthier countries or regions, despite the control and financial gain of the banking institutions and states. The exchange of currency of migrants in remittances to their countries of origin has become an important and, at times, irreplaceable source of income for various countries in the region, helping welfare and upward social mobility of those who manage to successfully participate in this process. There is an extensive bibliography of major scholars of the region on the positive and negative aspects of remittances. Likewise, there is evidence that the contribution of migrants is higher than the services they receive or remittances that they send to their countries of origin.<sup>28</sup> The bishops state on paragraph 416: "The generous remittances sent from the United States, Canada, the European countries and others, by Latin American immigrants, is evidence of the capacity for sacrifice and mutual love in favor of their own families of origin and homelands. It is, generally, the aid of the poor to the poor."

Another positive aspect that characterizes the continent is the growing diversity and cultural richness that movement brings; its "cultural and religious pluralism" (498). The variety and richness of Latin American culture stems from its movements, from those more native to those that with the passage of history and the mixing of their people have narrowed the distance among nations, families, social groups, and educational institutions. The wealth and value of civil coexistence is quite evident in the various data analyses (42). The bishops concluded the document on an optimistic note: "This new reality based on intercultural relations, where diversity does not mean threat, does not justify hierarchies of power of one over the other, rather dialogue and celebration of difference, interrelation, and a revival of hope."

Ban Kim Moon, in the message from the general secretary of the United Nations on the occasion of the International Migrants Day of December 18, 2012, reflected in the following manner:

Constantly around the world there are people who leave their countries in search of a more secure or better life. Worldwide, there are more than 214 million people on the move. Many of them experience hardship and they end up facing even bigger problems, such as human rights' violations, poverty and discrimination. Although these migrants experience much fear and uncertainty, they also have hope, courage and determination to achieve a better life. With the right support, they can contribute to the progress of society.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, the Latin American bishops have shown that human mobility must be used as an occasion to promote the ecumenical dialogue of life (247) emphasizing the need to move from multiculturalism into interculturalism. Tolerance in this scenario is not enough; sympathy and respect are required in all possible ways, especially in reference to cultural identity. This is the reason why dialogue, listening, trust, and empathy are core values of the New Pastoral of 2007, which focuses on women, Afro-descendants, indigenous, mestizos, and the inhabitants of the marginal areas of big cities that have been traditionally displaced from their own homelands (143). All this has required creating structures that would shelter the diversity and transform the missionary work being developed in large cities—the main recipients of masses of immigrants.

Cardinal Mario Bergoglio, now Pope Francis, was among those who greatly influenced this conference. When redacting these documents, not surprisingly, the situation of migrants and refugees was put at the forefront of the contemporary problems in need of being addressed. Above all the emphasis was on the need for change from a fearful mentality and rejection of the unknown for one that would welcome the encounters with strangers, a possible basis also for their pastoral messages. Perhaps Pope Francis's collaboration in this document contributed to his first trip to the island of Lampedusa to receive Africans who had crossed the Mediterranean under great danger in order to reach European shores.

Between Latin America countries, migration flows through fluid and absorbent borders. These are heavily guarded borders, as the one between Mexico and United States of America, with a 5-meter-high wall that has 1,800 control towers and more than 20,000 guards. Even though on the one side there was the establishment of trade agreements such as NAFTA that would promote the free circulation of goods and capital, instead of facilitating migration, it demands that Mexicans on the southern border with Guatemala prevent the upward immigration flood from the southern countries. Nonetheless, the "unwanted migrants" seep in. They often cross the border legally. More than 50 million cross this Mexico-US border each year.<sup>30</sup>

Mexico has been a unique case in the region, because it is the receiver of people who are in transit (transmigrants) toward the United States. This uniqueness of Mexico has created innovative pastoral experiences, such as the establishment of shelters at strategic points coordinated by the Ministry of Human Mobility in Mexico. Transmigrant transit is not easy. On the contrary, it offers a path full of obstacles and dangers, which frequently results in death. The migrants are Central American, Caribbean, South American, and even African and Asian. The United Nations describes it as:

[The] routes they take tend to be controlled by criminal gangs and corrupt authorities who constantly extort migrants. This is one of the reasons for the Pastoral Action of missionaries who set up shelters in these routes of migrants. They are determined to work with these transmigrants, defending their dignity



and seeking to prevent the multiple violation of their human rights such as: assault, kidnapping, disappearance, torture, the rape of criminal groups, violence by the authorities themselves, stress, and anguish arising from harassment and the sales organizations related to human trafficking.<sup>31</sup>

The most dramatic case that has come to the forefront constitutes the arrival of thousands of American children and adolescents who go through Mexico and the Rio Grande by themselves. Children and teenagers come to the United States in search of refuge, escaping from the enormous crime waves in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, or in other cases in search of their parents, who, forced by hunger, had to emigrate and settle in the United States.<sup>32</sup> This has been a long-lasting reality. It did not begin with the present administration even as it is now increasingly becoming public. Many Americans unfortunately refuse to recognize that these children do not pose a threat to national security, but are refugees in need of care. The bishops of the Central American countries together with the US-American Catholic organizations are calling for solutions to this problem that have deepened since 2011. On July 10, 2014, the bishops of Mexico and United States met to reiterate the urgency of valuing the human dignity of undocumented migrants, as well as of strengthening government institutions or the development of a truly democratic participation in the matter of serving these people, and firmly combating the shameful activity of criminal groups and organized crime. They made a specific call to Catholic businessmen to invest in Central America in order to create jobs, a long-lasting form of contributing in the promotion of justice and equity. They also urged the families not to expose their children to dangerous journeys. They called the attention of the US authorities in general and of the US Congress in particular, stressing their imminent response to the rise of this humanitarian emergency, and for the administrative bodies of the Mexico-US border states to assume the role of helpers in this painful problem. The bishops join Pope Francis in his exhortation: "Today many parts of the world are calling for greater security. But until there is no reversal to the exclusion and inequality within a society and among diverse people, it will be impossible to eradicate violence... It is evil crystalized in unjust structures, from which a better future cannot be forged... Inequality is the root of all evil in society."<sup>33</sup>

Pope Francis, son of poor immigrants to Argentina, has likewise brought to the Catholic Pastoral Center his concern about migrations with the purpose of transforming the existing perspective. He demands that this situation and all related issues be recognized and addressed in prevalent models of economic development, requiring the change of perspective in analysis and actions. On several occasions the issue of the incapacity of economic models to generate equity has been presented, and with migration alongside it, "an attitude of defense and fear, disinterest or marginalization, which ultimately corresponds precisely to the culture of discarding, can turn into an attitude which at its core has culture of encounter, the one attitude capable of building a more just and fraternal world, a better world."<sup>34</sup>

## Conclusions

Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as Anglo-Saxon America, have been formed by the arrival, in different historical periods of time, of various migration contingents leading to the great ethnic and cultural diversity now enriching the whole continent. The pastoral response has varied over the centuries, from confusing evangelization with acculturation to embracing the wealth existent in cultural diversity, now seeking to tackle the challenges they face in promoting a culture of encounter and reception. Theology became Latin American when it assumed the continent's problems. It is not by chance that one of the most outstanding theologians of the twentieth century, Juan Luis Segundo, in 1972, designated the uprooting of migrant populations as a theological location from which to reflect on the experience of God and also as one of the greatest pastoral challenges. The fact that different sectors have deepened and achieved what the Bishops of the Aparecida 2007 meeting recognized as the central place migrations hold in theology and its significance for the Latin American clergy privileges the promotion of ecumenical dialogue in its shift from multiculturalism to interculturalism. This involves moving beyond mere tolerance and difference to the necessary sympathy and respect, and in all possible ways protecting the cultural identity of each person. Dialogue, listening, trust, and empathy have become core values of the new pastoral method and the focus of Latin American theological reflection.

## Notes

1. Abya Yalá is the name given by the Kuna to the whole of what is now the American continent.
2. Around 6.4 million went to Argentina, 4.4 million to the South of the Brazil, and 800,000 to Uruguay and Cuba.
3. Juan Bautista Alberdi, *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización de la política de la República Argentina* (Valparaíso: El Mercurio, 1852). Reeditado en la edición digital 2012, Red ediciones, 3–10.
4. Alfonso Esponera Cerdan, "La inmigración y la Iglesia en Argentina a fines del siglo XIX," <http://Users/bidegain/Downloads/Dialnet-LaInmigracionEnArgentinaAFinesDelSigloXIX-2707749.pdf> (accessed January 7, 2014).
5. Oscar Beozzo, "As Igrejas e A migração" (Churches and immigration), in *Imigrações e História da Igreja no Brasil*, ed. Dreher Martin, 9–64 (Aparecida, Brasil: CEHILA/Ed Santuario, 1993).
6. Carta Apostólica, "Ad Ecclesiam Christi" del Papa Pio XII a los obispos latinoamericanos, La Conferencia General del CELAM, Rio de Janeiro (1955), [http://www.celam.org/doc\\_conferencias/Documento\\_Conclusivo\\_Rio.pdf](http://www.celam.org/doc_conferencias/Documento_Conclusivo_Rio.pdf) (accessed on February 12, 2015).
7. Argentina recorded 1.531.940 (2001 census), Venezuela 1.024.121 (1990 census), and Brazil 546.00 (2000 data) Mario Santillo, "Balance de las migraciones actuales en América Latina," *Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* (Buenos Aires: CEMLA, 2005), [www.scalabrini.org/Triuggio/Santillo\\_spagnolo.doc](http://www.scalabrini.org/Triuggio/Santillo_spagnolo.doc) (accessed on March 15, 2014).

8. Parte referida a la Justicia en: Documentos Finales de Medellín II, Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, [http://www.celam.org/doc\\_conferencias/Documento\\_Conclusivo\\_Medellin.pdf](http://www.celam.org/doc_conferencias/Documento_Conclusivo_Medellin.pdf) (accessed on February 12, 2015).
9. Juan Luis Segundo, *Acción pastoral latinoamericana: sus motivos ocultos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Búsqueda, 1972), 9.
10. Ibid., 10–11.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 13.
13. IMILA Bank of data on information on the International Migration of Latin America and the Caribbean of CEPAL.
14. Laura Calvelo, *Viejos y nuevos asuntos en las estimaciones de la migración internacional en América Latina y el Caribe*, Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía (CELADE) División de Población de la CEPAL, Secretaría General Iberoamericana (Santiago, Chile: Editorial CEPAL, 2011).
15. Hna. Ligia Ruiz Gamba, “Pastoral de Movilidad Humana en el CELAM,” in *Soure Missionnaire di San Carlo Borromeo News*, Scalabriniane, <http://lnx.scalabriniane.org/wp/?p=1395> (accessed on February 12, 2015).
16. For example, in Argentina is the Fundación Comisión Católica Argentina or Foundation of the Catholic Commission of Argentina (FCCAM); in Uruguay, Comisión Católica Uruguaya de Migraciones or the Catholic Commission of Migrations (CCUM); and in Brazil, the Pastoral Service for the Immigrant, and so on.
17. Alejandro Canales, “Panorama actual de la migración internacional en América Latina,” *Revista Latinoamericana de Población* 3, nos. 4–5 (2009): 65–91.
18. “Migration and Refugee Services,” United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, [www.usccb.org/about/migration-and-refugee-services](http://www.usccb.org/about/migration-and-refugee-services) (accessed on July 4, 2014).
19. Jorge Martínez and Daniela Vono, “Geografía migratoria intrarregional de América Latina y el Caribe al comienzo del siglo XXI,” *Revista Geografía del Norte Grande* 34 (2005): 39–52.
20. “The word of God becomes flesh to gather in a single village that were scattered, and make them ‘citizens of heaven’ (Phil. 3:20; cf. Heb. 11, 13–16). So the son of God is made Peregrine, going through the experience of displaced persons (cf. Mt. 2, 13–23), as a migrant in an insignificant village (cf. Jn 1) (46), educating his disciples to be missionaries, making them go through the experience that migrates to rely only on the love of God, whose tidings they are carriers (cf. Mc 6, 6b–12).” No. 186 of CELAM documents of the Conference in Santo Domingo of 1992, [http://www.celam.org/doc\\_conferencias/Documento\\_Conclusivo\\_Santo\\_Domingo.pdf](http://www.celam.org/doc_conferencias/Documento_Conclusivo_Santo_Domingo.pdf) (accessed on November 25, 2013).
21. See CELAM documents of the Santo Domingo Conference of 1992, particularly its conclusions in paragraph #187, [http://www.celam.org/doc\\_conferencias/Documento\\_Conclusivo\\_Santo\\_Domingo.pdf](http://www.celam.org/doc_conferencias/Documento_Conclusivo_Santo_Domingo.pdf) (accessed April 3, 2014).
22. US Conference of Bishops, “Juntos En El Camino De La Esperanza Ya No Somos Extranjeros: Carta pastoral de los Obispos Católicos de los Estados Unidos y México sobre la migración,” <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/immigration/juntos-en-el-camino-de-la-esperanjuntos-en-el-camino.cfm> (accessed on April 14, 2014).

23. "Discípulos y Misioneros de Jesucristo para que nuestros pueblos en Él tengan vida," V Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano y del Caribe, <http://www.celam.org/aparecida/Espanol.pdf> (accessed on June 27, 2014).
24. Pontificio Consejo para la Pastoral de los Emigrantes e Itinerantes, "*Erga migrantes caritas Christi*," [http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/migrants/documents/rc\\_pc\\_migrants\\_doc\\_20040514\\_erga-migrantes-caritas-christi\\_sp.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/migrants/documents/rc_pc_migrants_doc_20040514_erga-migrantes-caritas-christi_sp.html) (accessed on June 6, 2014).
25. Monsignor Mario Bergoglio (today, Pope Francis), the archbishop of Buenos Aires, had a predominant role in the final draft of this document as well as Oscar Rodríguez, archbishop of Tegucigalpa, who has led the change in the Catholic Church since. Some analysts predicted that echoed in this document are the cornerstones of Vatican II 68 statements made by CELAM in Medellín and in the theology of liberation.
26. "Discípulos y Misioneros de Jesucristo," paragraph #73, <http://www.celam.org/aparecida/Espanol.pdf> (accessed on June 27, 2014).
27. Documentos conclusivos de la V Conferencia Aparecida, 8.62 Migrantes # 412, CELAM, <http://www.celam.org/aparecida/Espanol.pdf> (accessed on February 12, 2015).
28. See the papers presented in the section under the title, "Debates contemporáneos y agenda política sobre migraciones internacionales en América Latina y el Caribe," of the VI Congreso de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Población (ALAP) in Lima, Perú (Agosto 2014). Among them the following are worth noting: Alejandro Canales (Universidad de Guadalajara, México), "El debate de las migraciones en las sociedades avanzadas: Un enfoque desde América Latina"; Jorge Martínez Pizarro (CELADE/CEPAL, Chile), "Los progresos formales en la agenda de derechos y la paradoja de los retrocesos reales"; Raúl Delgado Wise (Red Internacional de Migración y Desarrollo/UAZ, México), "Temas críticos del debate sobre migración y desarrollo en América Latina"; Jorge Durand (UG/Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, México), Colapso migratorio en la región histórica de la migración mexicana.
29. See Ban Kim Moon, general secretary of the United Nations, Message for the International Migrants Day, December 18, 2012, <http://www.un.org/en/events/migrantsday/>.
30. Benoit Breville, "Les deux manières de se perdre," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Manière de voir* #128 (Paris, France: Le Monde, 2013).
31. The agencies of the United Nations (UNFPA and ONUMUJER) as well as civil organizations have made visible such violence.
32. "Informe del Comité sobre Migración de la Conferencia de Obispos Católicos de los EE. UU," Misión a Centroamérica: Viaje a Estados Unidos de menores no acompañados, [http://www.movilidadhumana.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/USCCB\\_Mission-To-Central-America\\_Spanish.pdf](http://www.movilidadhumana.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/USCCB_Mission-To-Central-America_Spanish.pdf) (accessed on August 16, 2014).
33. Pastoral de Movilidad Humana: Conferencia Episcopal de Guatemala, July 2014, "Declaración conjunta de los Obispos de los Estados Unidos, Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala y Honduras sobre la crisis de los niños migrantes," <http://www.movilidadhumana.com/declaracion-conjunta-de-los-obispos-de-estados-unidos-mexico-el-salvador-guatemala-y-honduras-sobre-la-crisis-de-los-ninos-migrantes/#more-1558> (accessed August 16, 2014).

34. Pope Francis's message on the occasion of "Coloquio Mexico Santa Sede sobre movilidad humana y desarrollo," Mexico, 2014, <http://www.movilidadhumana.com/mensaje-del-santo-padre-francisco-con-ocasion-del-coloquio-mexico-santa-sede-sobre-movilidad-humana-y-desarrollo/#more-1562> (accessed on July 14, 2014).

## Chapter 10

# Migration and Christianity in a Canadian Context

*Thomas E. Reynolds*

The experience of diversity is not unusual in Toronto, where I live. In fact, it is the norm. As of the 2006 Census, some 43 percent of the city's population was of racial minority status, and the number is expected to rise to 63 percent by 2031.<sup>1</sup> There are many places where diverse peoples coexist in public spaces, but Toronto is one of the most diverse in the world. Indeed, with increasing intensity, throughout the past 50 years globalization has dramatically increased transnational migration, consequently reshaping socio-political, economic, cultural, and religious identities in Canada. My own home church is an excellent example, a downtown United Church of Canada community. With a long-standing and active Jamaican constituency, and a new and growing Asian membership (mostly Korean, but also Japanese), our church is now learning about being an "intercultural" community, thinking differently about its identity and mission.

As Andrew Walls has pointed out, we are living in a time of major migrations.<sup>2</sup> From about 1500 to 1950, Europeans migrated by the millions to the Western Hemisphere, to Africa, and to Asia. This story involved the destruction, enslavement, and/or forced transport of Indigenous peoples. But since about 1950, most of the migration has been coming from the other way around—from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia to Canada, the United States, and Europe. In places like Vancouver, Montreal, Toronto, and other major metropolitan areas in Canada, one can readily find the whole world at worship. This is a sign of the demographic transformation of the church, a church beyond Christendom and more fittingly called a "World Church."<sup>3</sup>

Many celebrate such diversity in Canada as an unprecedented opportunity, as do I. Yet it is important not to gloss the fact that this can obscure problematic features, some of which uphold white settler privilege in Canada. For example, in transnational migration situations the celebration of differences can too easily become a facile gesture toward diversity-in-general, an abstraction that itself is a refusal to engage diversity-up-close and in a way that is

accountable. It also can underplay real discrimination, conflict, and struggle, and indeed neutralize the capacity of differences to disrupt and unsettle dominant cultures and institutions. Too often talk of difference equalizes cultures in a way that trivializes them as commodities at a museum gift store (the store of course itself managed by a dominant culture). It can also evade addressing the pervasive racial dominance of whiteness, inscribing “culture” as an elemental attribute of nonwhite immigrants. Indeed, whiteness is often considered “Canadian” and racialized persons “from elsewhere,” even if families have existed in Canada for generations. Power inequities extended through structural systems that privilege some groups over others—whether by gender, race, ability, sexuality, class, or culture—open a complex set of issues to be addressed in relation to migration. Specific Canadian histories of colonial domination and cultural exclusion are implicated. And faith communities must find new ways to engage these, naming, resisting, and transforming inequities and healing damaged relations that linger from the past.

My own perspective is shaped by the fact that I am an immigrant from the United States, hired to teach theology at a University of Toronto seminary. Happily situated in Canada, I am profoundly aware that I come with privileges as an educated, white, male professor that many if not most migrants to Canada do not have. Yet my privilege is not complete, for I struggle as a single parent with two sons, the oldest diagnosed with autism. Immigrating to Canada has been particularly challenging because my autistic son was initially declared a liability to the health care system and our application for landed status stalled. At the time of this writing, our second effort to apply for permanent residency is pending. While waiting, my son’s work permit has been “delayed,” requiring that I personally pay for basic health care coverage for him that most Canadians take for granted. I am thus at the borders, dwelling in Canada but only marginally, neither a citizen nor a landed immigrant.

While the main focus of this chapter will speak to racial, cultural, and religious issues connected to migration and Christianity, it is important to remember that issue of disability and health factor into the equation as well. Many migrants cannot bring disabled, sick, or aging family members with them to Canada due to strict border control policies. Of course, other features of migration and Christianity also merit consideration—such as gender and sexuality, inculturation or contextualization in liturgies and practices, and political theologies, just to name a few. However, the discussion here aims more generally to present a sense of the social realities of migration in Canada insofar they bear upon Christian churches and call for response.

The chapter evolves in three steps. First, it briefly describes what is happening in Canada today, outlining the current trends in the demographics of immigration. Second, it details peculiar histories—past and more recent—as episodes in a coherent colonial project, and paints a portrait of the issues that call for constructive responses from faith communities. The conclusion then sketches several features in Canadian contextual approaches to Christian faith focused on migration. Though there is not space to detail

specific interventions, my contention is that the Canadian situation offers hopeful prospects for robust Christian responses to migration realities.

Indeed, Canadian theologian Mary Jo Leddy suggests that Canadian contexts have something unique and interesting about them that can speak to others in different contexts. She notes:

(The) geography of Canadian experience is marked by multiple intersections. Canadians have learned to live, somewhat tensely, at some of these intersections. Theologians are now beginning to think at these intersections, and the implications are important for anyone of faith seeking to understand this time and this place. . . . The new global reality is marked by its own intersections, and theologians from elsewhere can learn from the particular struggles and achievements of theologians who are taking the particularities of Canada seriously.<sup>4</sup>

It is the sense of “intersections” that migration realities in Canada underscore with bold strokes. They bear witness to a colonizing dynamics that still plagues the present. Further, they call to mind the fact that marginalization is a complex matrix of realities that emerge at the blended intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, (dis)ability. One feature is often coupled with others—for example, as in the case that disability occurs more frequently among racialized and economically underprivileged minority groups. Migrational realities highlight such intersectionality.

### **A Portrait of a Changing Present Context**

Migration today presents a multidimensional matrix of features. It involves (1) relocating movement either by choice or by necessity in the form of diaspora, exile, displacement, (2) caused often by economic hardship, war, political upheaval, (3) negotiates various features of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, and national identity, and because of these (4) highlights experiences of loss, change, liminality, discrimination, opportunity, and transformation. Though migration is not a new phenomenon in human history, globalization has rapidly increased its pace. The recorded numbers of international migrants have increased steadily in recent years. For example, according to the United Nations International Migrant Stock, there were over 155 million migrants in 1990. In 2000 the numbers had grown to top 178 million, surging to near 214 million in 2010, amounting to 3.1 percent of the world's population.<sup>5</sup> The World Migration Report 2010 projects that by 2050 there may be 405 million migrants.<sup>6</sup> Without doubt, such large-scale crossing of boundaries and mixing of peoples has had and will continue to have a massive and unprecedented impact on the world landscape, transforming the identities of local communities.

Not unexpectedly, a great proportion of migrants settle in developed countries like Canada, many having left regions burdened by debilitating debt and economic or political instability. Migration, therefore, accounts



for the greater portion of population growth in industrialized and high-income countries.<sup>7</sup> Yet it would be wrong to assume that the West is the primary destination of migrants, as Asia received ten million more migrants in 2010 than North America.<sup>8</sup> And regions like the Middle East indicate record high numbers of migrant stock, constituting a significant segment of the population.<sup>9</sup> Further, against common assumptions, migration exportation is not primarily from the less-developed two-thirds world, for the Russian Federation and India are among the top three with the largest emigrant numbers.<sup>10</sup> Even so, migratory patterns most generally flow from less-developed toward more-developed countries, for economic, political, and social reasons.

### ***The Changing Face of Canada***

Within the matrix of this global scenario, the reality of migration has made the population of Canada among the world's most rapidly changing. Canada is a spacious domain with a small population relative to its land size as the world's second largest country. With a population of 33,476,688 people, according to a recent 2011 Census report, Canada's population density is about 3.7 persons per square kilometer.<sup>11</sup> This fact creates a sense of "space" that partially shapes the country's self-perception as a hospitable place, a nation with room enough to share. Such hospitality is a trait embodied long ago by Canada's Indigenous peoples who first shared resources and land with earliest settlers (a point too often forgotten by settler cultures who think it is they who now offer hospitality on land that is theirs). It also stems from the hard-won fact that historic French- and English-speaking populations have had to learn to coexist and collaborate, even amid continuing tensions. Of course, it would be hasty to say that hospitality is the whole story, as Canada is a colonial project with darker, violent sides, despite its projected image of being peace loving and benign. For now, however, it is enough to say that Canada's present builds upon past heritages that are stretched into new and unforeseen configurations as current global and local economic realities encourage migration, opening new opportunities and challenges for Canada as an increasingly complex mosaic of differences.

Migration is indeed changing the human landscape of Canada. The 2011 population number quoted here is greater by approximately two million (5.9 percent) since the previous census in 2006, the rate of growth between 2006 and 2011 higher than that between the census in 2006 and in 2001 (5.4 percent), making Canada's growth percentage now the highest among G8 countries. Because of persistently low fertility rates among Canadians, this increase in population is due mainly to immigration. In fact, according to the 2006 Census, immigration accounted for over 69 percent of population growth between 2001 and 2006.<sup>12</sup> Of North American countries besides Bermuda, Canada has the highest share of migrants relative to population size, accounting for 21.3 percent of the total population in 2010 (up from 18.1 percent in 2000).<sup>13</sup> Projected until 2031, the foreign-born population

of Canada will likely increase four times faster than the rest of the population, totaling between 9.8 and 12.5 million, depending on immigration levels. By 2031, at least one person in four could be foreign-born, with almost half of Canadians aged 15 and older born outside Canada.<sup>14</sup>

Most of this population will be of racial and ethnic minority status and will likely live in one of Canada's metropolitan areas. As a result of changes in immigration policies during the 1960s, the past several decades has seen a shift away from the primarily European-based immigration that has formed the base of Canadian society for over two centuries (and we shall soon detail some of these histories). The result has been an explosive diversification. Statistics Canada estimates that by 2031 those belonging to what is officially labeled "visible minority" groups will comprise up to 63 percent of the population of Toronto, 59 percent of Vancouver, and 31 percent of Montreal.<sup>15</sup> Almost half of the second-generation (the Canadian-born children of immigrants) will belong to this group, nearly double the proportion in 2006. The result, according to Statistics Canada, is that by 2031, 29–32 percent of Canada's population—between 11.4 and 14.4 million people—will likely belong to racial and ethnic minority groups, which is nearly twice the proportion (16 percent) and more than twice the number (5.3 million) reported in 2006. Strikingly, in contrast, the rest of the population in Canada is projected to increase by up to 12 percent.<sup>16</sup>

Immigrants are themselves diverse. In a report from 2008, Statistic Canada noted that 58.3 percent of the more than 1.1 million immigrants arriving between 2001 and 2006 were born in Asian countries, including the Middle East.<sup>17</sup> Projections show that South Asians—the largest minority group—could represent 28 percent of the racial and ethnic minority population by 2031, up from 25 percent in 2006, whereas the share of Chinese could decline from 24 percent to 21 percent. Unlike South Asian women, Chinese women in Canada have one of the lowest fertility rates. Also, people born in China are more likely than South Asians to emigrate from Canada. Canada's black and Philippine populations, which were the third and fourth largest ethnic minority groups in 2006, could grow to double in size by 2031. Indeed, the Philippines recently became the largest source country, with migrant from there composing 13 percent of the immigrant population (compared to Indian and Chinese migrants, at 10.8 percent). Moreover, Arab and West Asian groups could more than triple, as they have the fastest population growth among all groups.<sup>18</sup>

### ***The Transformation of Religion in Canada***

Diversity is also increasing in terms of religious affiliation. While 59 percent of new immigrants are Christian, the number of faith identified non-Christian persons is expected to almost double from 8 percent of the population in 2006 to 14 percent by 2031. About half of this population would be Muslims, up from 35 percent in 2006, though accounting for only 9 percent of new immigrant numbers. The great majority of Muslims come from

Pakistan, followed by India and Bangladesh. Concomitantly, the proportion of the Christian population is expected to decline from 75 percent to about 65 percent, and the portion of persons without any religious identification could rise from 17 percent to 21 percent.<sup>19</sup> The strong secular base of Canadian society accounts for this decline. It is no accident, then, that we are already seeing a decline in pastoral leadership and a corresponding draw from outside Canada—such that, for example, 60 percent of Catholic priests in Toronto are migrants and from racial and ethnic minority groups. And with largely Catholic populations from the Philippines, it may be that Catholic communions in Canada will grow in numbers primarily because of immigration.

Overall, newcomers are more religious than Canadian-born persons. And more religious often means more conservative, the tendencies of many migrant communities from the Global South being an example. Religious conservatism among immigrants—both theologically in terms of doctrine and culturally in terms family and community values—is perhaps in part a result of the necessity for group belonging when negotiating a new social landscape, and may become further entrenched as it pushes up against a strongly secularized Canadian culture. In fact, a tight sense of community already characterizes many of those coming from non-Western contexts, which implicitly or explicitly resist the individualism of secularized Canada and the way it atomizes persons as self-interested consumers. Indeed, religious faith often forms the bonds of community life. It makes sense, then, that a 2006 report indicated that 41 percent of the immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1982 and 2001 had a high degree of religiosity, compared with 26 percent of people born in Canada.<sup>20</sup> This data is corroborated by a recent Pew Research Center report.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, the Pew Research Center report notes that six in ten newcomers to Canada are self-identified Christians, comprising the largest category of immigrants (second to those identifying themselves as nonreligious).<sup>22</sup> In the near future, then, a large portion of Christians in Canada could be immigrants with conservative tendencies, as older mainline denominations dwindle in size and more conservative churches grow. Many of these Christians, for example, will be from South and Southeast Asia.<sup>23</sup> And surveys reveal that Asian Christians tend to go to evangelical Protestant or Catholic churches, as Asians' cultural values generally lean toward the conservative in relation to the family, patriarchy, hierarchy, and same-sex relationships. Overall, immigrant religious groups are embracing debates that pit them against the majority public opinion and against mainline theology. For example, as Michael Valpy and Joe Fiesen note, in the Anglican Church, Chinese Canadians have been at the forefront of the split over same-sex unions. And Presbyterians from South Korea, Ghana, and Trinidad have put a decidedly traditionalist stamp on a church that once was more liberal. At a recent United Church conference in Toronto, Korean pastors walked out when leaders opened the gathering with an ecumenical Buddhist prayer.<sup>24</sup> Immigration patterns in part help explain the numerical struggles of more

liberal Protestant denominations in Canada, such as the United Church of Canada, Anglicans, and Lutherans.<sup>25</sup>

Statistics Canada reports that between 1991 and 2001, the number of Catholics in Canada increased slightly, while the number adhering to Protestant denominations continued a long-term decline. This is noteworthy because for more than one hundred years Protestants outnumbered Catholics. In 1901, Protestant faiths accounted for 56 percent of the total population, compared with 42 percent for Roman Catholics, reflecting immigration patterns of the time. Prior to 1961, most European immigrants came from the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. However, by 1971, as the sources of immigration changed dramatically, for the first time since Confederation, Catholics outnumbered Protestants representing 46 percent of the population compared to Protestants at 44 percent. Further, of the 1.8 million immigrants who came to Canada between 1991 and 2001, Roman Catholics accounted for nearly one-quarter (23 percent), the highest proportion for any major religion among these recent arrivals. A hefty portion of this percentage came from the Philippines, Hungary, and Italy.<sup>26</sup>

Most of the decline in Protestant denominations during the 1990s occurred within the six largest denominations. Only one of these groups recorded growth during the decade: Baptist, which increased 10 percent to 729,500 largely due to immigration from the Global South. The two major influences in the declines among the largest Protestant denominations are that fewer young people reporting these denominations and many adherents of these faiths are now aging and dying, descendants of European immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to 1961. Yet newer immigrants are not replacing them. Protestant groups showing the greatest increase are more conservative and account for large numbers of immigrant Christians: they include Evangelical Missionary Church (a Methodist body), up 48 percent to 66,700; Hutterites, up 22 percent to 26,300; Adventists, up 20 percent to 62,900; and Christian and Missionary Alliance, up 12 percent to 66,300. Many immigrants now simply report "Christian" identification rather than other affiliation, reflecting their adherence to traditions falling to the theological right of mainline denominations.<sup>27</sup>

Of course, there is considerable variation in levels of religiosity among immigrants from different regions of the world. For example, high levels of religiosity were most prevalent among immigrants from South Asia (i.e., India and Pakistan). In contrast, low levels of religiosity were most prevalent among immigrants from East Asia (such as China and Japan) and Western and Northern Europe (countries such as France and the United Kingdom), areas with a high degree of secularization in the society.<sup>28</sup> In fact, according to a recent study, 17 percent of newcomers list no religious affiliation, the solid majority of them coming from China, followed by Hong Kong, the United Kingdom, and the United States.<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, prior to 1971, less than 1 percent of the Canadian population reported having no religion. In 2001, that percentage increased to 16 percent of the population, or just under 4.8 million people, compared with 3.3 million a decade earlier.

Immigration was a factor, as one-fifth of the 1.8 million immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001 reported they had no religion, especially individuals born in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.<sup>30</sup>

Based on this portrait, it is clear that Canada is fast becoming a more complex racially, ethnically, and religiously diverse society. Migration is a pressing reality in our time—a “sign of the times”—that is shaping the situation of Christianity in Canada and, accordingly, demands careful consideration by theologians. As Canadian theologian Douglas John Hall notes, entering into the specificity of one’s time and place and thinking contextually from that location is the sign of healthy Christian faith.<sup>31</sup> Let us then explore some of the salient features of the Canadian context of migration as they are born out of historical achievements and failures.

### **Situating the Present: Engaging Histories and Contemporary Issues**

The context of migration and diversity in Canada is complicated and quite different from that of the United States. For example, diversity in Canada was not fueled by slave trade from Africa, nor did the establishment of a republic situate its political sensibilities vis-à-vis rupture from English rule. Instead, Canada is a nation fashioned in the cauldron of a bicultural French-English cooperative venture, eventuating in a federation of provinces. However, Indigenous peoples have been a significant influence as well, even in the throes of colonization. Perhaps this influence was at work in the course of twentieth-century developments, as waves of migrants began to transform the original bicultural matrix into a diverse array of cultures, resulting in the adoption of multiculturalism as an official government policy in 1988. Since then, successive waves of migrants have opened up a multiplicity of Canadian identities, raising a number of challenges. The Canadian experience of “intersections” is one of failures as well as successes. And both might offer lessons to other contexts.

### ***Historical Precedents***

The starting point in the history of migration in Canada lies in trade and settler populations that over centuries established themselves on land initially occupied by Indigenous peoples. Established in 1867, making it a relatively young country, Canada is composed mostly of English- and French-speaking immigrant populations, whether multigenerational or first generation. Yet like Australia and its American neighbors stretching to the southern hemisphere, Canada is dwelling place for numerous Indigenous peoples with long histories on “Turtle Island” before explorers “discovered” and made the land their home by gradual displacement and violent takeovers and assimilations.<sup>32</sup>

Canada is, in fact, a colonial project built in relationship to Indigenous peoples, whose disenfranchisement was—and still is—the condition of the

nation's founding. The poplar Canadian philosopher John Ralston Saul argues that key features of the Canadian ethos come from "Aboriginal inspiration"—for example, the inclusive circle, with its ethos of fair-mindedness, egalitarian partnership, and vision for the common good.<sup>33</sup> The first peoples of Canada shape the distinctiveness of Canadian history, even in colonization. Indeed, they are identified in the Constitution as one of the founding nations of Canada, though their long struggle for recognition belies this fact.

As a colonial project, Canada has a long history of migration episodes. One of the major migrations to Canada happened during the American War of Independence, when over 90,000 "Loyalists" relocated. About 10 percent of this group were black, promised freedom in exchange for their loyalty, though they experienced much discrimination in Canada and as a result many emigrated to Sierra Leone to escape the hardship.<sup>34</sup> This example is just one of many instances where Canada's history of immigration is not flattering, despite Canada's popular image of being an inclusive, collaborative, and peacemaking country. Since 1867, policies of exclusion and assimilation were commonplace until the late twentieth century. For example, during the first half of the twentieth century immigration policies were designed to control who entered Canada based upon race, ethnicity, social class, and nationality, with "white Europeans" being the preferred "stock," after Americans and white citizens of the Commonwealth.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such policies took varied shapes. For one, Canada's expansive colonial project invoked the European dictum of *terra nullius* to claim land it desired as "empty" and fair game for settlers, which meant displacing Indigenous peoples who claimed the land as their home. And, as Richard Day notes, this meant two additional factors: first, the removal of native peoples through processes of extraction and assimilation, and second, their replacement with Europeans recruited to "fill in" the empty land.<sup>35</sup> The Indian Act of 1876 served the purpose of controlling Indigenous nations by relocating them on reserves. The history of residential schools was also part of this project, removing children from reserves so that they could be "civilized and made fit" for society, a program for which Canadian churches took responsibility in 1910 at the government's request and with minimal government funding.<sup>36</sup> Beyond the fact of cultural genocide, stories of abuse and neglect on a grand scale make this history one heavy with the burden of accountability for Canadian churches.

As depopulating the land meant repopulating it, the "immigration problem" emerged. Initially, the Immigration Act of 1869 aimed to open Canada primarily to healthy, wealthy, and Anglo-Saxons. However, it quickly became evident that many newcomers were non-English and non-French, creating the category of the immigrant as an internal "other" besides Aboriginal people. For example, between 1881 and 1885, thousands of Chinese and Irish male laborers were conscripted to build a national railroad connecting newly established British Columbia and the eastern Provinces. Many remained afterward. The resulting upset was symbolized in the Chinese Immigration

Act, which levied a \$50 head tax on Chinese migrants to dissuade permanent settlement.

The “problem” of foreigners coalesced into a Canadian form of nativism in the early 1900s. Methodist minister and Social Gospel Movement leader J. S. Woodsworth reflects prevailing attitudes in a famous book, *Strangers Within Our Gate*, published in 1909. Noting steady increases in immigration, he exclaims: “We have entered a new era in our history. The immigrants are upon us! For good or ill, the great tide is turning our way, and is destined to continue to pour in upon us.”<sup>37</sup> His way of addressing the situation became influential. Woodsworth encouraged that various “lower-grade” Europeans should be excluded from Canada because they would “lead to degeneration of our Canadian people.” He used scales of valuation based upon race and nationality that reproduced old stereotypes, ranking the desirability of immigrants—with Southern Europeans low on the list and “Orientals” typified as unable to assimilate. Accordingly, he rejected the “melting pot” ideal, whereby all might gradually become mixed in advantageous mingling, and instead favored policies of either exclusion or assimilation into British Canadian traditions—which interestingly omitted reference to the French Quebec heritage in Canada.<sup>38</sup>

Woodsworth’s views correspond with immigration policies, which largely limited nonwhite, non-European, and non-American populations from migrating to Canada by prohibitive head taxes and restrictive quotas. For example, in 1903 the head tax on Chinese immigrants was increased to \$500, following gradual increases over the years since the Chinese Immigration Act. The number of Japanese immigrants in 1920 was limited to 150 per year, reduced from the “gentlemen’s agreement” of 1909 with Japan, following an anti-Japanese and anti-Chinese race riot in Vancouver, which would allow only 400 males migrants per year to apply for immigration.<sup>39</sup> The 1923 Chinese Immigration Act all but excluded any migration from China. Asians from the subcontinent of India were in large blocked not only by restrictive quotas but also by legislation that mandated migrants to Canada arrive on “continuous voyage” from their country origin, effectively denying passage for most from the subcontinent. In September of 1930, an Order in Council was issued prohibiting the landing of “any immigrant of any Asiatic race,” except wives and minor children of Canadian citizens.<sup>40</sup> And though black populations settled in Canada as early as 1620, came to Canada as Loyalists from the United States, escaped slavery through the Underground Railroad, and small numbers (mostly of Caribbean origin) were allowed to enter as worker in the coal mines of Nova Scotia, they were mostly restricted because of being considered unable to assimilate.<sup>41</sup>

The racial implications of these examples are ongoing features of Canada’s immigration policies, present since the beginning but playing out in various ways that resist treatment in a uniform manner. Immigrants have been measured according to citizenship-making criteria, the gist of which determines who “gets in” and is often biased in ethnocentric and racist terms. An example is the 1939 refusal by the Mackenzie King government to allow the

landing of 900 Jews fleeing persecution from Nazi Germany, which though mimicking similar rejection by other countries also made Canada complicit in the Holocaust. White, European, and Christian are normalized in relation to nonwhite, non-European, and non-Christian, which are considered components of the “diversity problem.”

Another example comes on the heels of World War II as immigration restrictions were gradually removed because of an economic boom and a growing need for skilled workers in Canada. In 1947 both the Chinese Immigrant Act and the “continuous passage” rule were repealed. Yet in the very same year, the prime minister stated to the House of Commons:

Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a “fundamental human right” of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy . . . The people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population.<sup>42</sup>

Hints of such a protective posture linger on in the government’s immigration policies. The nonwhite immigrant “other” is constructed according to a kind of citizenship-making criteria, measured by their capacity to be “desirable” and to assimilate into an already established Canadian “character” and set of core values, and problematized accordingly as a marker of diversity.<sup>43</sup> It is no accident that racial and ethnic minority groups are commonly assumed to be immigrants and thus treated as “foreigners.”

### ***Shifts in Immigration Politics: Promises and Problems***

Questions surface about human rights, about who is “desirable” for Canada, and more, about what it means to be “Canadian.” These questions are reflected in antidiscrimination policies put in place in the latter part of the twentieth century. Connected in part to Canada’s emerging role after World War II on the international scene as a broker for peace, policies established in the Canadian Human Rights Act (1977), the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), and the Employment Equity Act (1995) represent significant public policy shifts seeking more overtly to facilitate equity and social harmony—over against nativist protectionism—in the face of large demographic changes.

Such changes depended upon serious shifts in immigration policy. For example, while Canada had gradually eased immigration restrictions after World War II, in 1962 Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Ellen Fairclough implemented a bold immigration act that virtually removed racial discrimination, stating that any unsponsored immigrant that had required education skills or other qualities was able to enter Canada if suitable (having a job waiting or able to support themselves), irrespective of color, race, or national origin. There was favoritism toward Americans, who could sponsor more relatives than others. Nonetheless, this was a landmark case.



The introduction of the "point system" in 1967 further extended the changes initiated in 1962. Evaluating immigrants on qualifications such as language, education, and professional skill, this system sought to remove all racial discrimination and prejudice in immigration. Canada was the first country to implement a point system. Such changes were part of an effort to "clean up" Canada's image so it could grow into a greater role in diplomatic mediation and international peacekeeping. It was in this period that the pattern of migration swerved from Europeans to Asian groups, which corresponds with Canada's increased trade with Asian countries, for example, Japan became Canada's third largest source of trade after the United States and Britain.<sup>44</sup>

Major changes due to the opening up of Canada's immigration policy and introduction of the points system began to show during the 1970s. While the majority of Canada's immigrants in 1960 were of European origin, in 1970 only half were from Europe, with almost four times more Asians coming to Canada (including Chinese, Indian, Philippine) and many coming from other regions of the world, for example, the West Indies, Guyana, Haiti. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, newcomers more and more emigrated from places like Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, or Latin America. In 1980, people of Asian origin accounted for a full 50 percent of immigrants.<sup>45</sup> At even a casual glance, it is obvious that ethnic and racial minorities were becoming a significant part of Canada's social fabric.<sup>46</sup>

The cornerstone of immigration policy up to the present day was the Immigration Act of 1976. It broke new ground by highlighting principles of Canadian immigration policy and requiring the government to plan for the future. It also included a class for refugees designated separately from immigrants, and created Canada's first refugee determination system. When Canada signed the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol in 1969, the path opened for refugees outside Europe to gain admission to Canada. The 1977 Citizenship Act shifted the requirements for citizenship in a way that made it easier for all immigrants to be "naturalized" and thus be eligible for citizenship.<sup>47</sup> With these advances, the notion of it being a "privilege" to settle in and assimilate to a white-dominated Canada seemed inadequate. Canada began to see itself differently.

One of the principal indicators of such change is seen in the policies of multiculturalism that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s to be enshrined in 1988. Seeking to facilitate equality and harmony in the face of demographic changes, immigration issues are at the core of multiculturalism. In October 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced that his government would adopt a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. The announcement was readily welcomed. However, what Trudeau did not mention was that the policy initially was directed at persuading non-English and non-French Canadians to accept official bilingualism, the federal policy that had been instituted in 1969 with the passage of the Official Languages Act. The policy of bilingualism was a response to the turbulent nationalism that shook Quebec in the 1960s. However, official bilingualism stirred

up opposition across the country, especially for westerners of Ukrainian, German, or other non-English or non-French backgrounds, who asked why the government assigned less importance to their culture than to that of the smaller French-speaking communities.

Such opposition, initially by white European groups, opened up the canvas for other nonwhite and non-European groups to raise their voices. The Trudeau government responded to the increasing assertiveness of the so-called third force (non-French, non-English) in Canadian society by adopting recommendations that would safeguard the contributions of other “ethnic” groups—excluding Aboriginal peoples—to Canada’s cultural fabric. These recommendations called for a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. While multiculturalism itself was not new in Canadian history, it sought with a newly formed awareness of diversity in Canada to promote equality and respect among different ethnic or cultural groups. It was the first policy of its kind in the world.<sup>48</sup>

The radical element in this multiculturalist policy is that, while the “two founding nations” idea remains firm, it subtly overturned cultural or ethnic dominance of any group in Canada. Within an official bilingual framework, there was now affirmed a multiplicity of group identities, each of which is part of a shared and ongoing Canadian project that upholds diversity. Aboriginal identities were also affirmed as distinct cultural groups alongside of Anglo and Franco language identities. The aim was to facilitate the integration of and accommodation to immigrants and minorities. As it was presented, Canadians saw the policy of multiculturalism in contrast to the policies and practices of the United States, which were based in the “melting pot” notion of assimilation. The word “integration” was introduced by the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism in 1987 to drive home the point and encourage dynamic exchanges between different groups in the collective project of Canadian society.

Multiculturalism in Canada is rooted in the understanding that diversity is a positive resource that contributes creatively to the working of the country. The July 1988 Act states:

The government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. (Canadian Multiculturalism Act)

The government promised to assist “cultural groups” in developing and maintaining their identities and to facilitate ways such groups might surmount barriers to full participation in Canadian society. Carl S. James notes that the underlying assumption of the multiculturalism policy is that “by engaging in ‘creative encounters and interchanges,’ and having the freedom to express their own ethnic cultures, Canadians will develop respect for the cultures and cultural expressions of others.”<sup>49</sup> A key goal is thus to avoid

discriminatory attitudes and prejudices that contribute to social unrest. Reflecting the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the policy commits the government to ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity. Individual as well as group rights are held up as worth legal protection and government support.

Strategically, then, the aim of multiculturalism was to develop a means to respond to increases in immigration from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and other non-European and non-Christian countries by offering various accommodations.<sup>50</sup> And this seemed natural for Canada. For, as David Robertson Cameron suggests, the absence of a single national identity, one divided along ethnocultural lines, “equipped Canadians with the capacity to accommodate the multiculturalism that is the product of postwar immigration.”<sup>51</sup> The historic lack of national homogeneity opens up more readily to a patchwork quilt of immigrant cultures, making it easier for society to accept diversity and for immigrants to integrate.<sup>52</sup> Having to negotiate the division, ironic as it seems, between French, English, and Aboriginal turns out to be a mixed blessing that empowers adaptation to the cultural pluralism of recent years.

### ***The “Diversity Problem”: Ongoing Implications***

Such adaptation, however, is a difficult process that requires ongoing work. For despite its gains, multiculturalism is not without its problems, especially regarding touted aims to encourage integration by ethnic minority groups and summon the wider society to welcome and accommodate such groups. There is not space here for a detailed analysis, though a few points merit brief mentioning as they highlight ways Christian communities are called to respond.

First, while recent immigrants are better educated and higher skilled, they have lower incomes and report more difficulty integrating than previous generations. This is due to a range of factors including discrimination, devalued international credentials, cultural dislocation, and cuts to social assistance programs.<sup>53</sup> The experience of downward mobility in low-status, low-income jobs encourages many immigrants to live in ethnocultural enclaves separated from mainstream Canadian society, shaping feelings of disenfranchisement among second-generation children of immigrants.<sup>54</sup> Further, migrant women, especially women of color, tend to be disproportionately affected: for example, although they made up almost half of all university-educated immigrants from 2003 to 2008, such women comprised only a small fraction of migrants who had found or were looking for suitable work, and those immigrating from Asia and Africa had even more difficulty finding employment.<sup>55</sup> Pressures to conform to a white European norm of what it means to be “Canadian” also complicate the social and cultural integration of new immigrants.<sup>56</sup>

At the heart of all of these issues is the question of who sets the parameters of integration, and on what terms. While distinguishing itself from a

“melting pot” model of assimilation in that immigrants are encouraged to adopt Canadian values without discarding their cultural differences, multiculturalism stresses the need to “fit in” and conform to preexisting Canadian values rather than contribute to their ongoing formation as equal participants in society from the vantage point of cultural differences.<sup>57</sup> “Separatist” inclinations among migrants, who prefer to live in neighborhoods with others of similar ethnocultural or religious backgrounds, might be seen then as a way of maintaining attachment to their culture and/or religion, creating social networks that assist in negotiating a new environment, and resisting structural pressures to “integrate” into dominant norms. A hotly contested 2005 campaign to integrate sharia law into family law tribunals in Ontario is a case in point: the ensuing debate revealed hidden legal structures of Christian and Jewish privilege, as well as racist and anti-Islamic assumptions about the acceptable limits of immigrant influence on Canadian law and society.<sup>58</sup> Nourished by fears of undemocratic, patriarchal, and even violent forces being introduced into Canadian life, Muslim was assumed to mean “foreign” and thus in need of integration.

The limits of integration are closely tied to the concept of “reasonable accommodation,” which was originally developed in Canadian labor law for persons with disabilities, and has since become an important way to think about societal mechanisms and practices for adjusting to and welcoming the needs, interests, values, beliefs, and practices of immigrants and minorities.<sup>59</sup> This concept was a key feature of the 2008 Bouchard-Taylor Commission in Quebec, appointed in response to an official publication released by the town of Hérouxville that stated that newcomers—strongly implying Muslims—would be expected to shirk their foreign “lifestyles” and adapt to their new context. The commission emphasized Quebec’s pluralistic character, challenged the privileged position of Catholic traditions in the public sphere, and called for accommodation where appropriate, including certain public displays of religious and cultural values by civil servants.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly, the commission, which drew on a long and well-established tradition of secularism in Quebec, was controversial because it threatened to displace Catholic cultural inheritances with new and “foreign” public forms of organized religion, particularly Islam.<sup>61</sup> More recent debates about a proposed “Charter of Quebec Values” underscores the tensions, as the charter asks that identifying religious garments not be worn by public service employees.<sup>62</sup> The situation in Quebec resonates with struggles across Canada to accommodate a variety of religious and cultural values in a secular society, and demonstrates how Canadian cultural identities are often linked to discourses of migration.<sup>63</sup>

Both the sharia law debate and the Bouchard-Taylor Commission controversy are centered on a vision of Canadian secularism that is supposedly at odds with the religious values and practices of new immigrants. Decreasing trends in church attendance across Canada since the 1950s and the deliberate dissociation of church and state in Quebec during the “Quiet Revolution” of the 1960s and 1970s—where the provincial government rapidly took control of education and health services previously run by the

Catholic Church—indicate a less public role for the Church and contribute to an image of Canadian society as distinctively secular and pluralistic.<sup>64</sup> That religion has little public influence in Canada and seems not to factor in national or regional decision-making may reflect a growing lack of confidence in organized religion and a concomitant trend toward conceiving it in personal and private terms.<sup>65</sup> It makes sense, then, that religious pluralism is accepted so readily in Canada, and further, that religion takes a less zealous and more passive role in Canadian society.<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, it also makes sense that Canadians feel threatened by the high value Muslims place on the public practices and character of Islam as an “organized religion.” A poll conducted in 2009 by Maclean’s magazine revealed that 45 percent of Canadians believe mainstream Islam promotes violence. Media reports of cases of polygamy or “honor killings” only bring further suspicion upon Muslims as “foreign” and accordingly religiously extremist and dangerous, when in fact the clear majority of Muslims reject such practices.<sup>67</sup>

Despite problems, the Canadian approach to diversity on the whole has encouraged the evolution of a dynamic and variegated society that most Canadians cite with pride.<sup>68</sup> According to a 2010 survey, Canadians tend to believe, more than residents of other countries, that immigrants are integrating well into society, and the Trudeau Foundation reports that 75 percent of Canadians feel that immigration makes Canada a better place.<sup>69</sup> At the same time, public perceptions also create difficulties for new immigrants: for example, the Trudeau Foundation also reports that virtually all Canadians (97 percent) believe immigrants should adopt Canadian values of tolerance and gender equity, and most (89 percent) believe immigrants should accept the preeminence of Canadian law over any religious laws, while many also feel that newcomers should be fluent in either English or French (78 percent) and should develop relationships outside their ethnic communities (77 percent).<sup>70</sup>

The question of Canadian immigration practices is also complicated by the migratory struggles of refugees, temporary and nonstatus workers, and people with disabilities. Although protecting refugees is a long-standing value in Canadian immigration policy and Canada’s rate of refugee acceptance is generally higher than most other nations, recent acceptance rates (38 percent of applicants) have been the lowest in the nation’s history.<sup>71</sup> Applicants for refugee status face increasing restrictions—for example, they can no longer apply from their home countries or after arriving in Canada from a “safe third country”—and are offered minimal support and legal protection during the often drawn-out process.<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, underprivileged economic migrants, particularly those from the global South, must contend with a two-tiered immigration system that invites their labor through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program but offers them fewer rights than permanent status residents. Nonstatus workers—many of them refugees and asylum seekers or low-skill migrant workers ineligible for visas—fare even worse, falling outside of the welfare system altogether, fearing deportation and with no means to access the minimal rights and privileges accorded to

those with Temporary Worker visas.<sup>73</sup> Finally, as Roy Hanes notes, ableism continues to be a rampant problem in immigration legislation, with the regular denial of immigrants with disabilities or health problems on grounds of “medical inadmissibility” and the “excessive demand” that they are believed to place on the healthcare system.<sup>74</sup> As enshrined in the otherwise laudable Immigration Act of 1976 (Section 19a) and further maintained in the 2002 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, bodies that display impairment, disease, and “disordered health” are lumped together in economic terms as a burden.<sup>75</sup> My own experience of being targeted by Immigration Canada on the basis of my son’s autism, considered a mark of inadmissibility, has underscored for me the irony of a nation that legally condemns discrimination of its population on the basis of disability, and yet polices its borders and delineates its population through precisely such discriminatory practices.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, how Canadians think of themselves and their identity is outlined, at least in part, by who it is they differentiate themselves from and exclude at the borders.

Accordingly, as this section concludes, it is crucial to remember that Canada’s record regarding immigration has its blemishes. Discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, class, disability, health, and religion factors repeatedly in Canada’s history. While there have been drastic improvements, making Canada presently one of the most desirable places in the world for migrants to make their home, there are still many issues that must be negotiated and unjust practices that must be challenged. This is a clarion call for Christian churches to become engaged.

### **Conclusion: Migration and Christianity in Canada**

In the complex “intersection” of diverse histories and peoples that marks the matter of migration in Canada, there are changing realities that call for various responses from Christian communities, for example, on racism, on injustice for refugees and migrant workers, on interfaith cooperation with Muslim communities, on shifting attitudes and policies regarding disability, and so on. However, in the space remaining, I shall conclude by making some general comments that may inform and feed into these responses, leaving the details to others for context-specific interventions.

From the outset, it is crucial to point out that the intersections composing Canadian contexts foreground an ongoing tension in migrant experience: that is, between desires to find a home in Canadian society, on the one hand, and desires to sustain identity-defining attachments to cultural and religious inheritances and relationships rooted in places of origin, on the other. This creates a kind of liminal “between zone” that plays out locally in church communities. Indeed, pressures to integrate and needs for accommodation combine to create a complex matrix of negotiations for newcomers, the results of which are contributing to the reshaping of Christianity in Canada. One manifestation of this is the proliferation of migrant faith communities, such as the Toronto Chinese Logos Baptist Church that overflows

on Sunday mornings just down the street where I live, a community of and for immigrants with a thriving English ministry aimed at assisting its members integrate into Canadian society. In a conversation with me, one member aptly stated: "This church is helping me become Canadian and also helps me keep my culture and spiritual life."

Ethnocultural churches like this are emerging in urban centers across Canada at staggering rates, and with increasing diversity, many of them falling outside traditional denominational lines.<sup>77</sup> Because of language and cultural barriers, there is often a strong impulse for recent immigrants to seek out or create ethnic-specific churches, highlighting difficulties in the tension between integration and accommodation. In a recent study, migrant participants offered these reasons, among others, why they were drawn to such churches: ethnic churches are more accommodating and easy to bring together for assistance activities than established churches; they are more welcoming to immigrants than established churches; more immigrants are from Pentecostal backgrounds with a passion for evangelism; established churches do not recognize the gifts and talents of immigrant populations.<sup>78</sup> In other instances, tensions can rise in ethnic church communities themselves over demographic changes. An anecdotal example concerns an independent congregation in Vancouver composed primarily of immigrants from the Philippines. Some members wanted to become more open to welcoming diversity from the local community, which also had a large South Asian and Aboriginal population. There were difficult moments as many in the congregation viewed this church as their "home away from home" and were very resistant to becoming multicultural. The hesitancy in this predicament is understandable, given the vulnerable in-between spaces of migration. It is difficult to reconcile the tension between pressures to integrate into a host Canadian society that is diverse and at the same time find life-giving sustenance in cultural heritages that derive from another native land.

Such diasporic precariousness, however, can also spur imaginative possibilities for sharing space with immigrant populations in Canada's established church communities. Many denominations and church institutions now recognize the growing contributions of racial and ethnic minority groups in their fold.<sup>79</sup> An example occurred in 2006 at the thirty-ninth General Council of the United Church of Canada, where the church took a step beyond Euro-Canadian provincialism by acknowledging that being a church means being "intercultural."<sup>80</sup> Moving beyond multicultural rhetoric, which can lead to treating cultures as self-contained and separate icebergs and celebrating them in piecemeal fashion without attending to inequities in power and privilege, the United Church sought to affirm the diverse cultural character of the Canadian context as reflected in the composition of the church itself. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng notes that "intercultural" stresses intentional relationships of mutuality, justice, and equity among all ethnic groups, which involves sharing power in leadership.<sup>81</sup> As many scholars are saying, "intercultural" highlights the meeting spaces between and among cultures, sites of encounter in which centers and margins mix and become thrown open

to alternative possibilities.<sup>82</sup> The United Church of Canada, with some 54 self-identified minority congregations and many more congregations with multiple racial and ethnic members, is one example of an established church in Canada responding to demographic shifts and migrant realities.<sup>83</sup>

However, there remain difficulties with processes of integration and accommodation regarding immigrants within established churches. Wen-H-In Ng highlights how tensions between opposing values of community and individualism, hierarchy and egalitarianism, patriarchy and gender equality, including views on same-sex relations and interfaith collaboration, often comele in immigrant churches that partner with established churches. The Korean community in both the Presbyterian Church and United Church is one such example, where tensions exist not only between local ethnic congregations and the denomination, the latter representing more progressive Canadian values, but also between generations of Koreans in a single congregation, the second- and third-generation offspring of older immigrants tending toward perspectives indicative of greater acculturation.<sup>84</sup> Another example from the United Church underscores the challenges of accommodation in becoming intercultural. In November of 2009 a member of a partner church in Quebec sought to be ordained but was refused by the community. The person was a woman from the minority Armenian Evangelical church, a tradition with a strong sense of ethnic identity in part because of the living memory of the 1915 Armenian genocide. They denied candidacy to this woman because she was female. Yet in the United Church gender equity is a long-standing value of considerable importance. Which cultural tradition should be accommodated? Who here has the authority to ordain or to deny ordination? Like in matters of multiculturalism, questions arise over which values hold priority over others (group identity or universal rights) and who gets to determine them (the local body, or the governing body)? These instances are but particular episodes in the complex reality of negotiating migrant realities in Canadian churches.

Of course, there is also the matter of how local established churches are responding to and integrating immigrant populations, of how communities themselves are becoming intercultural and composed of diverse constituencies. In a recent article detailing a national survey canvassing how immigrants are being integrated into urban Christian churches, Rich Janzen, Mark D. Chapman, and James W. Watson suggest that "Christian churches appear no further ahead, and in fact may be lagging behind, when compared to other sectors of society" in promoting community vision, structures, and processes that facilitate immigrant integration.<sup>85</sup> Churches tend to stress welcoming but offer little follow up in changing structures and processes to accommodate and foster greater participation by immigrants. As one respondent put it: "Our practices have not yet caught up to our values."<sup>86</sup> Corroborating what has been discussed already in this chapter, the study found nonmainline churches scoring better than mainline (including Catholic) ones in creating spaces of interaction and providing language accommodation, having a higher percentage of immigrant attendees.<sup>87</sup> Tellingly, success stories occur



in those churches where interaction between people was cultivated via formal and informal activities that allowed friendships to emerge, which in turn built bridges of solidarity beyond the “us-them” binary. Respondents who shared positively about the impact of immigrant integration reported that their community was enlivened and enriched, exhibiting greater openness to diversity, an increased awareness of dominant cultural assumptions, and a stronger sense of justice.<sup>88</sup>

Fashioning church community spaces of mutuality and respect means shifting structures (of leadership, of resource use, of programs, etc.) and processes (of planning, of rituals, of meetings, of language use, etc.) to cultivate collaboration and participation by and for all, including immigrant populations. This entails hospitality and offering the gift of companionship, “breaking bread” together in various ways and making available sources of practical and spiritual support. However, this can only be a partial and incomplete achievement unless immigrants are fully recognized as contributors to the ongoing life of church communities, equal participants in God’s mission and the making of Canada. Perspectives shift when Canadian churches see themselves not primarily as communities aiding migrants but as communities of migrants, moving beyond an “us” helping “them” to an “us” composed also of migrant experiences. This means more than assimilative incorporation into normative white Euro-Canadian frames; it means wide access and fulsome accommodation by which listening space is pried open for the faith perspectives of migrants to find voice among majority Canadian perspectives. Genuinely Canadian Christianity (or better, Christianities) cannot emerge without responsiveness to the rich array of faith testimonies and theologies that stem from sensibilities formed in the crucible of migration.

From such responsiveness, Christian faith in Canada may learn to identify itself differently, both from its own complicity in hurtful histories of exclusion and discrimination, and more, from its own composition within what Peter Phan calls the “betwixt-and-between situation that is the hallmark of marginalization.”<sup>89</sup> Migrants live at the intersections, existing in-between cultural and/or religious horizons, those of Canada and those of their place of origin—a “both-and” yet “neither-nor” experience. In crossing borders, hyphenated sites of identity emerge, intermingled and multiplied in various tensions, mixings, and multiple forms of belonging. And such sites have much to teach churches about being Church. This is not simply because of globalizing trends in contemporary Canada, but also because covenant people have always been migrational. Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Rachel, and their descents, all wandered across lands. Later the Israelites left Egypt, where they were immigrants, journeyed into Canaan—violently displacing peoples in the process—and later migrated by coercion into exile in Babylon. More, seen theologically, the good news of the Gospel itself crossed boundaries and lived at the intersections, the divine life itself breathing across thresholds to become incarnate and speak in human form, and breathing further still at Pentecost to be spoken in and interpreted by many tongues along the way as the Church traversed globally. And the Spirit

still breathes among peoples in the “betwixt-and-between” places, with all the ambiguity this entails.

Furthermore, seeing from migrant perspectives makes clearer God’s mission as one that crosses boundaries and barriers that separate to draw together and reconcile in shaping a new people, a multiplied kinship in a new household (Eph. 2:19). This way of perceiving is central to the Gospel message of God’s option for the poor, of being a disciple of Christ “in but not of” the world, of the Church being a “pilgrim people” existing together not in power but weakness, not its own possession but displaced toward the future reign of God. In fact, “household” is not a geographical place, building, or cultural site, but rather character of the people themselves, a Church knit together in the grace of differences received as gifts. Strikingly, however, such a household only “takes place” on the move, by being dislocated as a “pilgrim people” (Heb. 13:14). The paradox here runs through biblical understandings of covenant and Church, which use metaphors of home/land and pilgrim/sojourning in creative tension. Coupled in counterpoint, the two metaphorical clusters make “resident aliens” of Christians. The people of God are a “promise land” household insofar as they are a multivoiced and dynamic belonging together, but precisely so only as always on the move, a solidarity rooted nowhere but in God’s boundary traversing grace. This is precisely why “household” imagery trades upon xenophilia or love of the stranger, the centerpiece of the biblical virtue of hospitality. Strangers become neighbors through relationships of solidarity founded in hospitality to the other.<sup>90</sup>

In the arc of such vision, relevant Christian practice in Canada sharpens in prophetic focus, that is, exposing, resisting, and transforming structural powers of exclusion, marginalization, discrimination, and other forms of dehumanization. There are promising signs this is already happening, as evidenced, for example, by Catholic leadership in Ontario defending the rights of migrant workers,<sup>91</sup> by the ecumenical Interchurch Immigrant Support Group, which works in the Durham region just east of Toronto to assist migrants,<sup>92</sup> and by Lutheran, Anglican, and United churches, among others, across the country who sponsor refugees or provide sanctuary for refugees whose claims are denied.<sup>93</sup> Such practices help demonstrate that migrants are not merely another “other,” one more marginalized group to be considered by society’s dominant folk as a “problem” to be rid of or fodder to “enrich” the social fabric. They are vulnerable “guests” that provide the keys to house of the “host” society, summoning Canada and Christian churches to live into their better nature and account for their own migrant ancestries.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, the moral measure of any social body is the way it treats the most vulnerable within it, in this case, those who are “outsiders within” and whose social standing is marginalized because of it.

In Canada, therefore, Christianity sounded in a key of migration should remain tuned to the issues and histories detailed throughout this chapter. In self-critical humility, it must acknowledge that Canada is (1) a country of immigrants that (2) displaced Indigenous dwellers and thus (3) is constituted

by three primary cultural heritages—Franco/Anglo/Aboriginal—and (4) increasingly by multiple cultural heritages from non-Western contexts. Churches must accordingly assist in dismantling the lingering vestiges of Christendom and Western hegemony, accountable to troubled histories and forging new relationships of solidarity among racialized, cultural, and religious differences. This requires listening to new voices from the marginal “in-between” spaces of society, and learning from them in a way that disrupts, challenges, and transforms the status quo. In the coming years, Christianity in Canada will thus necessarily morph into many new shapes. In part, this is because Canada is and has been a land of intersections. Now, however, as migration highlights new intersections of race, culture, class, religion, and so on, it will be the task of Christians in Canada—in all “our” differences—to foster new solidarities and heal broken histories, remembering Indigenous peoples upon whose land we now reside and who at first contact welcomed European migrants into the circle.

### Notes

1. Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-402-x/2011000/chap/imm/tbl/tbl0a-eng.htm>.
2. See, for example, Andrew F. Walls, “From Christendom to World Christianity: Missions and the Demographic Transformation of the Church,” *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 22, no. 2 (2001): 306–330.
3. See Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2003).
4. Mary Jo Leddy, “Forward,” in *Intersecting Voices: Critical Theologies in a Land of Diversity*, ed. Don Schweitzer and Derek Simon, 4–8 (Ottawa: Novalis, 2004), 7.
5. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision, <http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=1>. See also the online information provided by the IOM, International Organization for Migration: <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/lang/en>.
6. *World Migration Report 2010* (IOM, International Organization for Migration), 3, <http://www.publications.iom.int>.
7. *Ibid.*, 115–116. Fifty-seven percent of all migrants live in high-income countries—up from 43 percent in 1990. Migrants generally make up 10 percent of the population of high-income regions.
8. See “Statistics Canada.” This notwithstanding, when compared with other countries, the United States still has the largest foreign-born population in the world.
9. *World Migration Report 2010*, 115–116, 244–245. For example, 86.5 percent of the population in Qatar is foreign born.
10. *Ibid.*, 117. Mexico is second to Russia.
11. Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=01&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&Data=Count&SearchText=canada&SearchType=Begin&SearchPR=01&BI=All&Custom=&TABID=1> (accessed February 21, 2011).

12. *Census Snapshot—Immigration in Canada: A Portrait of the Foreign-Born Population, 2006 Census* (Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 11–008, April 22, 2008), 46.
13. *World Migration Report 2010*, 150–151. See also German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS), *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration, Key Findings 2010* (Washington, DC: GMFUS, 2010), 20. [http://trends.gmfus.org/immigration/doc/TTI2010\\_English\\_Key.pdf](http://trends.gmfus.org/immigration/doc/TTI2010_English_Key.pdf).
14. Statistics Canada, *Canada Year Book 2011*, September 30, 2011 (Catalogue no. 11–402-X); also found at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-402-x/2011000/chap/imm/imm-eng.htm>.
15. Ibid. The “Employment Equity Act” of Canada defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.” I will use the term “racial” and “ethnic” minority because the term “visible” presumes whiteness as racially normative (as if being white is not also visible) and the term “ethnic” includes more specific regional and cultural variables excluded by the term “visible.”
16. Ibid.
17. For details, see Statistics Canada, *Census Snapshot—Immigration in Canada: A Portrait of the Foreign-Born Population, 2006 Census*, 46.
18. Statistics Canada, *Canada Year Book 2011*, 180–181. See also *Citizenship and Immigration Canada*, “Annual Report to Parliament, 2011: Section II,” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/annual-report-2011/section2.asp>.
19. Ibid., 181. See also the Pew Research Center 2012 data on the religious affiliation of migrants, <http://features.pewforum.org/religious-migration/map.php#/Destination/Canada/>.
20. Warren Clark and Grant Schellenberg, “Who’s Religious?” *Canadian Social Trends*, Summer 2006 (Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11–008), 5–6, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2006001/9181-eng.htm>.
21. See *Faith on the Move: The Religious Affiliation of International Migrants*, from the Pew Research Center’s “Forum on Religion & Public Life” (Washington, DC: March 2012).
22. The Pew Research Center, <http://features.pewforum.org/religious-migration/map.php#/Destination/Canada/Christian>.
23. Michael Valpy and Joe Fiesen, “Canada Marching from Religion to Secularization,” *The Globe and Mail*, December 16, 2010, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/canada-marching-from-religion-to-secularization/article1320108/>.
24. Ibid.
25. For example, see the blog by a staff writer for the *Vancouver Sun*, August 5, 2012, <http://blogs.vancouversun.com/2012/08/05/asians-in-north-america-42-per-cent-christian-26-per-cent-no-religion/>.
26. For specific numbers, see Statistics Canada data from the 2001 Census, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=1&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=55824&PRID=0&PTYPE=55430,53293,55440,55496,71090&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2001&THEME=56&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=>.
27. On the data for these two paragraphs, see Statistics Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/rel/canada.cfm>.

28. Clark and Schellenberg, "Who's Religious?" 5–6.
29. See the Pew Research Center data, <http://features.pewforum.org/religious-migration/map.php#/Destination/Canada/Unaffiliated>. Also see Douglas Todd, "Immigrants Remaking Canada's Religious Face: Global Survey," *Vancouver Sun*, <http://blogs.vancouversun.com/2012/04/09/immigrants-remaking-canadas-religious-face/>.
30. Statistic Canada, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/rel/canada.cfm>.
31. See Douglas John Hall, *The Cross in Our Context* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2003), 47.
32. In Canada, three different categories under the term "Aboriginal" officially recognize groups of Indigenous persons: First Nations, Inuit, and Métis. First Nations refers to peoples who are neither Inuit nor Métis. Inuit designates those of common language who live in the Arctic region of Canada (and are sometimes referred to as "Eskimo" peoples). Métis are a people of mixed ancestry, primarily First Nation and French or Scottish, who came to recognize themselves as a distinct group in the twentieth century. For an excellent survey, see John L. Steckly and Bryan D. Cummins, *Full Circle: Canada's First Nations*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2008). On terminology, see also <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014642>.
33. John Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country: Telling Truths About Canada* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008).
34. Nuper Gogia and Bonnie Slade, *About Canada: Immigration* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2011), 15–16.
35. Richard J. F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 116–122.
36. See Steckly and Cummins, *Full Circle*, 122–129 and Chapter 19; J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); and John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).
37. James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates, or Coming Canadians* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 2009), 27–28.
38. Day, *Multiculturalism*, 127–134. See also John Porter's classic, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 65.
39. Gogia and Slade, *About Canada*, 19–22; and Carl E. James, *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Race, Ethnicity, and Culture*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishers, Inc., 2010), 175–176. See also B. S. Bolaria and P. Li, eds., *Racial Oppression in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press); and W. E. Kalback and W. W. McVey, *Demographic Bases of Canadian Society* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Co., 1971). The treatment of 22,000 Japanese Canadians in horrible internment camps during World War II is often overlooked, though the federal government apologized in 1988.
40. For an excellent history in brief, see <http://ccrweb.ca/en/hundred-years-immigration-canada-1900-1999>.
41. James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 177–178. James quotes the deputy minister of immigration in 1955: "It is from experience, generally speaking, that coloured people . . . are not a tangible asset . . . They do not assimilate readily and pretty

- much vegetate to a low standard of living...many cannot adapt themselves to our climatic conditions." Cited from A. Calliste, "Race, Gender and Canadian Immigration Policy: Backs from the Caribbean, 1900–1932," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 4 (1994): 131–147, esp. 136.
42. Prime Minister Mackenzie King, House of Commons, 1947. Cited in James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 176.
  43. See Peter S. Li, "Deconstructing Canada's Discourse of Immigrant Integration," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4, no. 3 (August 2003): 315–333.
  44. See "Forging Our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–1977, Chapter 6 Trail-Blazing Initiatives," last modified 2006, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/chap-6.asp> (accessed June 1, 2012).
  45. Table 13.2, Immigrants to Canada, by country of last permanent residence, 1959/1960–2009/2010, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-402-x/2011000/chap/imm/tbl/tbl02-eng.htm> (accessed June 1, 2012).
  46. "Forging Our Legacy"
  47. Ibid.
  48. Ibid.
  49. James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 137.
  50. Ibid., 138.
  51. David Robertson Cameron, "An Evolutionary Story," in *Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada*, ed. Janice Gross Stien et al. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 80.
  52. See John Ibbitson, "Let Sleeping Dogs Lie," in *Uneasy Partners*, ed. Janice Gross Stien et al., 55–58.
  53. See Jeffrey Reitz and Rupa Banerjee, "Racial Inequality, Social Cohesion and Policy Issues in Canada," in *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, ed. Keith Banting, Thomas J. Courchene, and F. Leslie Eidle, 505–519 (Montreal: Institute for Research in Public Policy, 2007); James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 108; Gogia and Slade, *About Canada*, 58–59, 75; Will Kymlicka, "Disentangling the Debate," in *Uneasy Partners*, ed. Janice Gross Stien et al., 148–149.
  54. Gogia and Slade, *About Canada*, 62–64. See also the report by Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Diversity Survey: Portrait of a Multicultural Society* (2003), July 12, 2012, <http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/bsolc/olc-cel/olc-cel?catno=89-593-X&lang=eng>; Boris Palameta, "Perspectives on Labour and Income: Economic Integration of Immigrants' Children," <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-001-x/2007110/article/10372-eng.htm>; and also Michael Velpy, "Seismic Tremors: Religion and the Law," in *Uneasy Partners*, ed. Janice Gross Stien et al., 122–123.
  55. *Toronto Star*, July 19, 2008, A19, as cited by James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 184.
  56. Grace Ji-Sun Kim, "What Forms Us: Multiculturalism, the Other and Theology," in *Feminist Theology with a Canadian Accent*, ed. Mary Ann Beavus, Elaine Guillemin, and Barbara Pell, 79–84 (Toronto: Novalis, 2008).
  57. See "Report of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, Canada," in *Multiculturalism: Building the Canadian Mosaic*, 47–48 (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1987).
  58. See James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 148–149; also Haroon Siddiqui, "Don't Blame Multiculturalism," in *Uneasy Partners*, ed. Janice Gross Stien et al., 23–47.

59. James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 141.
60. Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation* (Government of Quebec, 2008). See also the first report, setting out guidelines for the process, *Accommodation and Differences—Seeking Common Ground: Quebecers Speak Out* (Government of Quebec, 2007).
61. See James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 141–143.
62. See <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/charter-of-quebec-values-would-ban-religious-symbols-for-public-workers-1.1699315> (September 10, 2013).
63. For another example, in December 2011, Immigration Canada banned face-covered veils (niqab) in citizenship ceremonies. For full coverage, see “Canada Bans Veil at Citizenship Ceremonies,” *Aljazeera*, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/americas/2011/12/201112135531620401.html>. For details from other cases regarding accommodation, see James, *Seeing Ourselves*, 143–163.
64. Reginald W. Bibby, “Restless Gods and Restless Youth: An Update on the Religious Situation in Canada,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Sociological Association, Ottawa, 2009, [http://www.reginald-bibby.com/image/Revision\\_Bibby\\_CSA\\_Presentation,\\_Ottawa\\_May\\_09.pdf](http://www.reginald-bibby.com/image/Revision_Bibby_CSA_Presentation,_Ottawa_May_09.pdf) (accessed June 23, 2012).
65. Clark and Schellenberg, “Whose Religious?” 2–4.
66. See Reginald W. Bibby, *A New Day: The Resilience and Restructuring of Religion in Canada* (Lethbridge, AB: Project Canada Books, 2012); and Kim, “What Forms Us,” 88.
67. For example, see the Canadian Broadcasting Company’s report on a recent honor killing, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2012/01/30/shafia-trial-verdict-reaction.html>.
68. Citizenship and Immigration Canada, “Annual Report on the Operation of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* 2010–2011, Part One: Multiculturalism in Canada,” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/multi-report2011/part1.asp>.
69. GMFUS, *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration—Canada*, <http://trends.gmfus.org/archives/immigration-archive/immigration-2010/canada-2010-transatlantic-trends-immigration-country-specific-results>; The Trudeau Foundation, “The Making of Citizens: A National Survey of Canadians,” 2011, <http://www.trudeaufoundation.ca/resource/public/conferen/2011-the-making-of-citizens-beyond-the-canadian>; see also <http://www.trudeaufoundation.ca/resource/public/conferen/environics-trudeau-foundation-2011-conference-pres>.
70. The Trudeau Foundation, “The Making of Citizens: A National Survey of Canadians.”
71. Refugee Forum, “By the Numbers: Refugee Statistics,” University of Ottawa, <http://www.cdp-hrc.uottawa.ca/projects/refugee-forum/projects/Statistics.php>. For comparison globally, see the United Nations Refugee Agency, UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2010, 10th edition, Chapter 4, <http://www.unhcr.org/4ef9cc9c9.html>.
72. Gogia and Slade, *About Canada*, 50–52; Environics Institute, *Focus Canada 2011*, 25.
73. Gogia and Slade, *About Canada*, 88–102.

74. Roy Hanes, "None Is Still Too Many: An Historical Exploration of Canadian Immigration Legislation as it Pertains to People with Disabilities," January 2011, from the Council of Canadians with Disabilities website, <http://www.ccdonline.ca/en/socialpolicy/access-inclusion/none-still-too-many>.
75. Ibid.; and Rita Dhamoon, *Identity/Difference Politics: How Difference Is Produced, and Why It Matters* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009), 78–85.
76. For media report of my case, see <http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/article/1008827--family-ripped-a-part-immigration-says-son-with-aspergers-inadmissible>. For another, more recent example, see <http://ca.news.yahoo.com/blogs/dailybrew/american-uvic-prof-forced-leave-canada-immigration-rules-175808035.html>.
77. See the collaborative report by World Vision, the Tyndale Intercultural Ministries Centre, and the Centre for Community Based Research, *Beyond the Welcome: Churches Responding to the Immigrant Reality in Canada* (2011), 22–23, [http://www.ureachtoronto.com/sites/default/files/resources/BTW\\_Report\\_Long.pdf](http://www.ureachtoronto.com/sites/default/files/resources/BTW_Report_Long.pdf). For an example from the Vancouver context, see <http://blogs.vancouversun.com/2011/02/05/ethnic-churches-flourishing/>.
78. *Beyond the Welcome*, 15–18.
79. See, for example, the essays in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, ed. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
80. See the report from the Executive of the General Council, Permanent Committee Programs for Mission and Ministry, Ethnic Ministries Re-visioning Task Group, "A Transformative Vision," The United Church of Canada, 39th General Council 2006, August 13–19, 137–147. For a good analysis, see Hyuk Cho, "'We are Not Alone': Historical Journey of the United Church of Canada's Response to Become an Intercultural Church," *International Review of Mission* 100, no. 1 (April 2011): 48–61.
81. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "The United Church of Canada: A Church Fittingly National," in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, ed. Bramadat and Seljak, 218–219.
82. For example, Orlando O. Espin, *Grace and Humanness* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2007), 1–50; Walter J. Hollenweger, "Intercultural Theology," *Theology Today* 43 (April 1986): 28–35; Volker Küster, "The Project of an Intercultural Theology," *Swedish Missiological Themes* 93, no. 3 (2005): 417–432; Werner Ustorf, "The Cultural Origins of 'Intercultural Theology,'" *Mission Studies* 25 (2008): 229–251; and Frans Wijsen, "Intercultural Theology and the Mission of the Church," *Exchange* 30 (2001): 218–228.
83. For other examples, see the essays in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, ed. Bramadat and Seljak.
84. Greer Anne Wenh-In Ng, "The United Church of Canada," 222–228.
85. Rich Janzen, Mark D. Chapman, and James W. Watson, "Integrating Immigrants into the Life of Canadian Urban Christian Congregations: Findings from a National Survey," *Review of Religious Research* 55 (2012): 441–470, esp. 465.
86. Ibid., 455.
87. Ibid., 456–460.
88. Ibid., 461–462. See also World Vision, the Tyndale Intercultural Ministries Centre, and the Centre for Community Based Research, *Beyond the Welcome*, 20–29, which highlights similar findings.



89. Peter Phan, "The Experience of Migration in the United States as a Source of Intercultural Theology," in *Migration, Religious Experience, and Globalization* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2003), 149.
90. On this dynamic, see my "A Rooted Openness: Hospitality as Christian 'Conversion to the Other,'" *The Ecumenist* 46, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 13–16; and "Toward a Wider Hospitality: Rethinking Love of Neighbour in Religions of the Book," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2010): 548–564.
91. See Mark G. McGowen, "Roman Catholics (Anglophone and Allophone)," in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, ed. Bramadat and Seljak, 82–83.
92. See Durham Immigration Portal's website: <http://www.durhamimmigration.ca/creating%20community/localfaith/Pages/IISG.aspx>.
93. For example, see the National Post, <http://life.nationalpost.com/2012/09/30/refugee-claimants-still-hiding-out-in-churches-despite-lack-of-sanctuary-laws/>.
94. On this, see Mary Jo Leddy, *The Other Face of God: When the Stranger Calls Us Home* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011).

## Chapter 11

# Faces of Migration: US Christianity in the Twenty-First Century

*Susanna Snyder*

Immigration is woven into the DNA of the United States.<sup>1</sup> From the early movements of indigenous peoples across the Bering Strait into the Americas to the arrival of Spanish and English peoples on the continent from the fifteenth century, the fates of migrants and the land now known as the United States have been intertwined. Christianity played a role in many of these journeys. Stories of faithful Puritans fleeing persecution for a New World of religious freedom—famously, the Mayflower Pilgrims from Plymouth in 1620—are embedded in the national imagination, and churchgoers were among those complicit in the forcible uprooting of Africans to work on slave plantations in the colonies.<sup>2</sup> Today, the United States is the top migrant destination country in the world with 40 million foreign-born residents out of a population of 309 million.<sup>3</sup> The majority of both native-born people and immigrants are Christian. In this chapter, I explore contemporary intersections between migration, migrants, and church in the United States and employ the metaphors of faces and facing to do so.

Faces are inherently individual and shaped by community and history—or as David Ford puts it, a face is “exactly like no other, mark of individuality and uniqueness, constantly moving and changing . . . a one-off that constantly displays its origins, the very type of continuity with novelty.”<sup>4</sup> Migration and Christianity both involve real people with infinitely varied experiences that occur in particular times and places. Today, though, talk of immigration often objectifies newcomers as disembodied statistics or as an undifferentiated mass to be feared.<sup>5</sup> Who, I ask, are those migrating to the United States today? What stories do their faces tell and what “world of meaning”<sup>6</sup>—particularly religious meaning—do they reveal? The word “facing” indicates an encounter, a meeting between two different and often unknown entities that contains potential for misunderstanding and hostility, or friendship.<sup>7</sup> Facing, as Ford articulates, is both a routine and profound feature of human life: “We live before the faces of others . . . It is in such face to face meetings, deeply resistant to adequate description, that many of the most significant

things in our lives happen.”<sup>8</sup> The facing that takes place between migrants and members of receiving communities has been crucial to both migrants and the development of church life in the United States in the past 50 years. In this chapter, therefore, I also explore the ways in which faces in North America—and Christians in particular—have been responding to migration, and some of the ways in which being faced by migrants has been changing the Church. Throughout I wonder, quoting Ford again, “How can our habits of ‘facing’ and ‘being faced’ be shaped appropriately?”<sup>9</sup>

Words of caution are necessary at the outset. Multiple perspectives on migration and church in the United States exist: not only are there a range of migrations and various expressions of Christianity, but people also express divergent understandings of what it means to be American.<sup>10</sup> My experience as a white Anglican English immigrant to the United States—an insider and outsider to the nation and various churches I discuss simultaneously—has shaped what follows. In addition, the nature of the faces and the facings involved in migration are constantly in flux, and the breadth and depth of recent academic research on Christianity and migration cannot be explored here. What this chapter seeks to do is present an overview of key intersections between migration, migrants, and churches today.

### **Migrants: Varied, Courageous, and Hyphenated Faces**

When most US native-born citizens think of an immigrant, the word that is likely to spring to mind is “illegal,” and the face they probably imagine is brown and Spanish-speaking. The phrase “illegal immigrant” is used pejoratively to refer to the approximately 11 million people living in the United States without official authorization, of whom an estimated 75 percent are Mexican and Central American.<sup>11</sup> Thousands of women, men, and children cross the two-thousand-mile-long Mexico-US border each year, facing treacherous conditions, to reach the “Promised Land” of the United States in order to find work and support their families.<sup>12</sup> While topography may draw our gaze toward the Mexican border, migrants to the United States actually vary greatly in terms of reasons for movement, country of origin, ethnicity, religion, and language. The wide range of migrant categories, including refugees, asylum seekers, H1B visa-holders, and international students, indicates this.<sup>13</sup>

In 2012, the United States accepted sixty-two thousand refugees and special immigrant visa holders for resettlement from over 80 countries as diverse as Bhutan, Kazakhstan, Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Pakistan, Iraq, and Cuba.<sup>14</sup> A refugee is someone forced to move because of “a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion,” and those arriving in the United States have usually been predetermined by the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) to qualify for this status.<sup>15</sup> On arrival, refugees are offered basic cash assistance support for eight months before being expected to be self-sufficient. An estimated

24,988 people were granted asylum in 2011—people who have applied to be recognized as refugees after arrival on US soil—including numerous survivors of human trafficking for labor or sex.<sup>16</sup>

Other reasons for migrating abound. About 1.8 million visas were granted to students in 2011—an increasing number from China—as well as many more to those who have been recruited as employees by businesses, the media, healthcare facilities, and other organizations. Many immigrants to the United States come for family reunion. Immigration is also not always a one-way, here-to-there completed process, but often transnational, multidimensional, and multidirectional: people, ideas, and money are moving backward and forward between nation-states. While some come to settle as permanent residents, others live in the United States on a temporary or seasonal basis.

All newcomers face challenges in adapting to US society, from making a home, finding work or schooling to the weather, re-creating identity and raising children in a context with different customs, laws, and often a new language. As Ting-Yin Lee puts it, immigration represents “a collection of many varied and interrelated life changes” that “cannot help but create enormous psycho-social-medical stress for the immigrant.”<sup>17</sup> The nonwhite majority experience racism, and for those without the required documentation, separation from family and the ever-present threat of being deported exacerbate this and edge migrants into the “shadows of society.”<sup>18</sup> For asylum seekers and survivors of trafficking, fighting complex legal cases for the right to remain—often for years with no certain outcome or inadequate legal advice—adds considerable anxiety and vulnerability. Many refugees experience illness and post-traumatic stress. Female migrants have a particularly difficult time, often finding it harder to gain legal entry to the United States and experiencing greater risks en route as well as poorly paid, exploitative roles after arrival, including domestic labor or sex work.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, however, migrants actively create economic, social, and relational opportunities for themselves, and many of their faces express joy, hope, courage, astuteness, creativity, and a sense of belonging. There are dimples from smiles as well as worry and grief lines, and it is important not to define migrants solely by their struggles: everyone is, as Kristin Heyer notes, three-dimensional.<sup>20</sup> Over 80 percent of immigrants continue to believe that there are more opportunities in the United States than back home.<sup>21</sup>

Churches are a key space in which many migrants exercise agency and foster a sense of community and hope before, during, and after their arrival. Some visit clergy and shrines for blessing and practical support before leaving and en route, and then seek out churches for support as they make a home in the United States.<sup>22</sup> Congregations can offer access into the new society through relationships that may point the way to jobs, community, material resources, and sociopolitical opportunities. They can also foster psychological and spiritual resilience. Through meeting established residents and engaging in activities and worship that shape opinions and provide space to develop political and community skills, Peggy Levitt has argued

that migrants receive “a crash course in civics.”<sup>23</sup> Where communities reflect aspects of migrants’ cultures in their worship or social life, church can also provide opportunities for reconnecting with the homeland. Familiar religious narratives, symbols, and rituals can offer a sacred framework that both comforts and energizes people as they navigate unknowns.<sup>24</sup> Charles Hirschman summarizes the importance of religion to migrants as “the search for refuge, respectability, and resources.”<sup>25</sup> Isabel, a Catholic Salvadoran interviewed by Cecilia Menjívar, put it this way: “[our] faith is very important because without it it’s very difficult to survive here . . . One finds many barriers in this country, enormous barriers . . . The language, customs, legal barriers. So our faith keeps us going. The church helps us get through all this.”<sup>26</sup>

The term “immigrant community” is one frequently voiced in the United States, and it signifies a broader set of faces than those depicted earlier. Often used interchangeably with “ethnic community,” it refers loosely both to new arrivals and to people born in the United States who share a non-US heritage. While experiences of first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants vary widely, some US citizens may still self-identify or be associated by others with migration. In the 2010 census, 52 million people—16.7 percent of the US population—were counted as Latino/a, more than twice the number in the 1990 census, and much of this growth has taken place through Latino/a births in the United States.<sup>27</sup> Yet, Latina/os—diverse in terms of national background, color, ethnicity, language, citizenship and immigration status, and length of residence—are often constructed as a monolithic “immigrant community.” This points to another distinctive feature of many immigrant faces in the United States—their expression of hyphenated, “both/beyond-here-and-there,” “neither-nor,” and “betwixt-and-between” identities.<sup>28</sup> People with migration in their own or recent family memory often deftly negotiate and inhabit an identity that simultaneously contains elements of the country of origin culture and aspects of US life: they see themselves as “Mexican American” or “Korean American” or “Nigerian American.”

### **Receiving Communities: Fearing and Removing Migrant Faces**

Whether a high school student, social worker, checkout assistant, banker, or minister, a US resident is likely to have seen migrant faces. There are “new faces in new places” everywhere.<sup>29</sup> Phoenix, Washington, Atlanta, and Dallas-Fort Worth have sprung up as immigrant gateways in the past 25 years, and even a small city like Raleigh-Cary, North Carolina, has seen population growth of 1046.4 percent from 8,323 foreign-born in 1980 to 95,415 in 2005.<sup>30</sup> Strangely, though, these faces sometimes remain peculiarly faceless in that they are not encountered one-on-one: they remain simply part of a statistic or a stereotype—a nondescript “other” that is fixated on as an object—mediated and distorted by caricatures or cartoons. Ford terms these kinds of encounter as “quasi-facing” and points out that “we are continually in the midst of projections of face to face relationships that invite our responses and identifications.”<sup>31</sup>

Native-born people react differently to faces they gaze on. At one end of the spectrum, they might offer welcome and see the benefits of immigration while at the other end, they might express fear and hostility. In a Transatlantic Trends Survey in 2011, 53 percent of respondents in the United States said that they saw immigration as more of a problem than an opportunity, and while 55 percent thought that immigration was positive for culture, the economy and burden on social services were significant worries.<sup>32</sup> American pride in the motto *e pluribus unum* (from many, one) conflicts with perceptions that immigrants undertook the 9/11 attacks and are therefore a national security threat, and with media-stoked fears that immigrants are more likely to be criminal. One middle-class woman in the Midwest stated during a focus group conversation: “you knew everybody, you knew all of the faces. And now, you don’t know all the faces and so, I think sometimes you feel a little isolated, or maybe vulnerable, just because you’re not familiar with that person’s background.”<sup>33</sup> Whether because of migrants’ different culture, dress, language, ethnicity, race, or religious practices, or the fact that they are regarded as socioeconomic competition or as criminals, native-born people can feel that their (often nostalgic) sense of home has been disrupted. As Leonie Sandercock points out, while strangers fascinate, they also threaten

to bring chaos into the social order, from the imagined community of the nation to that of the familiar neighborhood. Individual strangers are a discomforting presence. In numbers, they may come to be seen as a tide that will engulf us, provoking primitive fears of annihilation, of the dissolving of boundaries, the dissolution of identity.<sup>34</sup>

US immigration policy, embodying and contributing to this confusion, has swung between opening and shutting the gates.<sup>35</sup> In recent years, the trend in most Western nations has become increasingly restrictive leading Douglas Massey and Magaly Sánchez to suggest that there is currently a “war on immigrants.”<sup>36</sup> A plethora of state and federal legislation has sought to heighten border security, deport those residing in the United States without authorization, and deter potential future migrants. For example, the Secure Communities Program, initiated in 2008 and operating in over three thousand jurisdictions by 2013, requires police officers to send the fingerprints of any arrested person through a Department of Homeland Security database so that “criminal aliens” can be rapidly deported.<sup>37</sup> Deportation, according to Daniel Kanstroom, is now a “capricious tornado” rivaling entry as a norm in the immigration system.<sup>38</sup> In 2011, federal deportation authorities were detaining over twenty-nine thousand noncitizens on any one day and exercising responsibility for over 1.6 million people in removal proceedings.<sup>39</sup> In 2012, \$17.9 billion was spent on immigration enforcement.<sup>40</sup> The effects on migrants have been deleterious. Not only have these policies reinforced the connection between immigrants, criminality and terrorism, but conditions in detention facilities are often poor, mistakes have been multiple, and

people can be returned to countries where they do not speak the language, experience brutality in prison, isolation, hostility or gang violence, in addition to dealing with separation from their family still in the United States, income loss, and depression.<sup>41</sup> The effects on approximately 4.5 million US citizen children of undocumented migrants are particularly devastating.<sup>42</sup> Enforcement is erasing migrant faces, making many of them invisible and inaccessible to family, friends, and potential advocates.

These attitudes and policies are combining to create and sustain a pernicious ecology of fear surrounding immigration. As I have discussed elsewhere, by this I mean an environment characterized by mutually reinforcing and negative patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting on the part of receiving communities—a “vicious circle in which fears of the established population feed negative media discourse, public acts of hostility and restrictive policies and practices” and vice versa. This vicious circle, in turn, only exacerbates the fear and challenges that migrants are facing.<sup>43</sup>

### **Sacred Landscape**

In what ways, then, are these migrant faces and the personal, quasi, and political facings in which they are involved impacting Christianity in the United States? If you drive around a city such as Chicago or Los Angeles, it will not be long before you come across a mosque or gurdwara. The United States is now visibly a multifaith nation, and this is largely the result of immigration. Some 91 percent of migrants claim a religious affiliation.<sup>44</sup> According to the Pluralism Project based at Harvard University, there are approximately 1.3 million Hindus, 6 million Muslims, 6 million Jews, 250,000 Sikhs, 3–4 million Buddhists, and 20,000 Jains currently living in the United States, equating to approximately 6 percent or 17 million of the population practicing religious traditions other than Christianity.<sup>45</sup> Diana Eck has proclaimed the United States the world’s “most religiously diverse nation.”<sup>46</sup> Muslims outnumber both Episcopalians and members of the Presbyterian Church USA.<sup>47</sup> The sacred landscape has irrevocably changed as churches now share the public square with other religious communities, leading at times to interfaith tension and at others to interfaith conversation and collaboration. Following the shooting in August 2012 at a gurdwara in Oak Creek, Wisconsin—likely motivated by racial and religious hatred—Trinity Church in Boston hosted a service in which leaders of different religious communities led prayers and invited the multifaith assembly to participate in Sikh worship and wear head-scarves as a gesture of solidarity.

Despite these changes, migration is in fact bringing more Christian than other religious faces to the United States. According to a report by the Pew Forum, *Faith on the Move*, while 49 percent of global migrants are Christian (a high percentage given that only one in three people across the world are Christian), 74 percent of migrants to the United States are Christian compared with only 5 percent, 4 percent, and 3 percent who are Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu, respectively.<sup>48</sup> The United States is, in effect, being

re-Christianized by migration. Many immigrants are deeply religious and high levels of church attendance—including conversion and new religious fervor—are not uncommon.<sup>49</sup> Carolyn Chen presents dramatic statistics relating to Asian immigration: while Christians make up only 4.9 percent and 33 percent of the populations in Taiwan and Korea, respectively, about 25 percent of Taiwanese Americans and 71 percent of Korean Americans are Christian. She recognizes that churches are “one of the most prominent institutions in the ethnic community.”<sup>50</sup> Increasing numbers of Latino/as are converting from Catholicism to evangelicalism looking for direct, personal encounters with the divine.<sup>51</sup>

Migrant religiosity is having significant effects upon the identity, mission, and practice of Christianity in the United States. New congregations, church buildings, and denominations serving people of a particular ethnic or national background—so-called immigrant churches—are emerging in towns and cities across the United States. Some of these are affiliated with and based in historic Anglo churches, such as the First Haitian United Methodist Church of Boston or the Episcopal Boston Chinese Ministry, while others are novel. These range from the small storefront church started by an individual migrant to satellites planted by large church organizations such as Luz Del Mundo, founded in Mexico in the 1920s. By 2008, Luz Del Mundo had around sixty thousand members in the United States and congregations now meet in cities from Atlanta to Milwaukee.<sup>52</sup> The Redeemed Christian Church of God, a fast-growing Pentecostal church in Nigeria, currently has millions of members in over 160 countries.<sup>53</sup> In 2005, about 175 US parishes had an estimated membership of over ten thousand, and a large Redemption Camp (including a ten-thousand-seat sanctuary) planned to be built near Dallas made headline news.<sup>54</sup> Churches like these—those Peggy Levitt would describe as “transnational religious corporations”—now see the United States as a fertile mission ground.<sup>55</sup> The United States has become a nation that primarily receives rather than sends missionaries. Transnational migration is also fostering new forms of church organization and leadership, requiring novel communications and technology.<sup>56</sup> Levitt recounts the story of one congregation whose members’ to-and-fro, here-and-there lives led to the development of correspondingly cross-border church practices:

Every Sunday morning, groups of families in Governador Valadares gather in their living rooms to watch the Catholic Mass broadcast on their local television. But this Mass is not taking place in Valadares or any other Brazilian city. It is a recording of the Portuguese Mass held at Saint Joseph’s Church in Somerville, Massachusetts. People in Brazil watch, hoping to see their relatives... Worshipers in Valadares and Massachusetts use the same weekly prayer supplements.<sup>57</sup>

At a time when religious commitment in the United States is waning overall, then, plenty of newer congregations are thriving. What is more, as Jehu Hanciles points out, they often serve urban “constituencies (both



immigrant and native) long abandoned by more established and affluent American congregations.”<sup>58</sup> The Presbyterian Church USA had 430 Korean congregations in 2010, and was also in covenant relationship with the rapidly growing Korean Presbyterian Church in America.<sup>59</sup> In 2005, an article in the *Wall Street Journal* noted that while the Assemblies of God had closed around 40 majority-white congregations each year since 1993, they had opened “an annual average of 87 ethnic churches.”<sup>60</sup> One-third of Catholics in the United States were Latino by 2007, and most mainline denominations now have designated bodies for Latino/Hispanic ministries.<sup>61</sup>

Some native-born congregations are joining with immigrant congregations in efforts to form one intercultural congregation with shared, diverse leadership. For instance, the Anglo-Latino congregation of Iglesia San Pedro/St Peter’s Episcopal Church, Salem, Massachusetts, came into being in 2008, and is committed to “striv[ing] for genuine integration of people and cultures and languages” and seeks to avoid confusing “integration with assimilation (indoctrinating and weaving folks into the Anglo fabric).” Their objectives include increasing integrated bilingual Spanish-English worship and developing a shared leadership structure, communication materials, multicultural education, evangelization opportunities, inclusive social events and social justice ministries.<sup>62</sup> In 2012, a new bilingual priest-in-charge was appointed committed to collaborative, intercultural ministry. Another example is that of Christ Church/Iglesia San Juan, Hyde Park, Boston, where Latino and African congregations come together once a month for worship under the joint leadership of their Latina and Zambian priests and ethnically diverse lay leaders.<sup>63</sup> However, many immigrants affiliated with a mainstream denomination find that they have to operate separately under the umbrella of an Anglo church, worshipping at a different time and sometimes even in an alternative space such as the church hall. The 11 o’clock morning service on Sundays has always been the most segregated hour in US life, and contemporary migration is only splintering the established black-white divide further. Anglo congregations are often afraid and unprepared to negotiate space, language, culture, and power when they invite a new congregation to meet under their roof—sometimes as a Band-Aid to cover their own decline—and national and regional church bodies can be reluctant to commit human and financial resources.<sup>64</sup>

This points to the fact that this radically changing sacred landscape is bringing native-born white and African American Christians face-to-face with increasing intrareligious rather than simply interreligious pluralism—and historic, mainline congregations often encounter this as yet another threat to add to their fears surrounding church decline. While the flourishing of African American churches had already challenged the dominance of white, Anglo expressions of faith, migration in recent decades has ensured that US Christianity has become increasingly “de-Europeanized” and extraordinarily diverse in ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and theological make-up.<sup>65</sup> Effects can be seen in all areas of church life. In worship, Bibles are being read in languages other than English and new songs are being

voiced to new melodies. Fresh devotions, rituals, and daily practices are also appearing and flourishing. Catholic parishes increasingly celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe on December 12 and display images of her in the sanctuary, and churches all over the United States of various denominations are adopting the Las Posadas ritual in Advent. Reenacting Joseph's search for a room at the inn, Las Posadas involves people processing with images of Mary and Joseph and a doll of the baby Jesus through local streets. People stop at a home and ask for lodging, and following a traditional song, they are allowed inside for scripture, carols known as *villancicos*, and refreshments. The doll remains there overnight before being collected the following evening for another procession: this continues for eight nights until Christmas Eve. Latino devotions are often more visual and embodied and less church-bound than traditional Anglo ones.<sup>66</sup>

Theologically and socially, migrant beliefs and viewpoints can present a challenge to both liberal and conservative North American Christians. As Hanciles explains, most immigrants in the pews "are Bible believing, emphasize evangelism (or conversion through faith in Jesus Christ), uphold strict moral lifestyles, and affirm divine intervention in daily life." While dangerous to homogenize—there are many LGBTQI Christian immigrants, for instance—such views rarely sit easily with progressives. Conversely, for conservatives, fear of unknown or syncretist practices may be unsettling: while migrant "religious life reflects familiar attitudes on biblical authority and sexual morality, it also often incorporates indigenous traditions, a distinctive spirituality, and a much stronger communal (less individualistic) ethos."<sup>67</sup> Christianities exported through the colonial missionary enterprise are, in effect, now coming back to confront their former promoters. In addition, foreign and native-born scholars associated with particular migrant/ethnic groups are together transforming the academic study of theology and biblical texts in the United States. They are reimagining and rescripting God-talk—in print and classroom—from the perspective of their own hyphenated and polyphonic identities, and inviting North Americans to engage with Christianities beyond their own experience. Kwok Pui Lan, a first-generation immigrant from Hong Kong, calls people to confront the imperialism of white, Euro-American Christianity as well as the harm inflicted upon women through paternalistic and colonialist interpretations of the Bible.<sup>68</sup> Ada María Isasi-Díaz, arriving in the United States as a refugee from Cuba, was a pioneer of Latino/a and Mujerista theology who sought to speak directly out of Cuban American women's experience, defined primarily by *la lucha* or struggle.<sup>69</sup> Such theologians, though usually now located in the privileged "metropolitan study,"<sup>70</sup> have echoed the call of Latin American and African American liberation theologians to start doing theology from the perspective of the poor and oppressed.

Some are constructing theologies directly out of the challenges faced by current arriving immigrants. Jung Young Lee draws on his experience of being "in-between" and "in-both" as a Korean American to engage in autobiographical theology.<sup>71</sup> He writes of a hyphenated Jesus-Christ as divine,

marginalized immigrant and sees the resurrection as the transcendence of marginality through which Jesus comes to live “in-beyond by affirming both worlds.”<sup>72</sup> He advocates moving toward “the margin of marginality” exemplified in Jesus, which turns out to be the “creative core.”<sup>73</sup> Lee’s thinking is markedly migrant or, as Clive Pearson puts it, “out of place.”<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Jean-Pierre Ruiz has offered readings of various biblical stories from Abram and Sarai (Gen. 12) the parable of the day laborers (Matt. 20:1–16) from the perspective of people on the move today, and Peter Phan argues that migration demands a “multi-perspectival” and “inter-multi-cultural” theology.<sup>75</sup> The fact that the theme of the American Academy of Religion Conference in 2012 was “Migrants’ Religions under Imperial Duress” testifies to the increasing prominence of migration for religious scholars working in the United States.

Immigrants are thus having an extensive, deep, and sustained effect on the shape and contours of North American Christianity.<sup>76</sup> Some congregations and denominational structures are struggling to make space for faces that do not look, talk, or pray like them and to confront the reality that the future of the church will include immigrants—indeed, largely be comprised of recent immigrants and their descendants—or there may well not be a future at all. The church of 2040 will not have one ethnic majority, or as President Obama acknowledged in January 2013, migrants are “woven into the fabric of our lives.”<sup>77</sup> While often willing to engage with newcomers out of a desire to survive, there is frequently less enthusiasm to undertake the hard work of integrating, which may require established members of congregations to change. Churches can, in other words, be complicit in the ecology of fear. Some turn to the Bible to justify exclusionary attitudes, arguing that “we” should not help “illegals” because they have broken divinely sanctioned law or that we have a primary duty to national kin rather than to strangers.<sup>78</sup> Verses such as Romans 13: 1—“Let every person be subject to the governing authorities; for there is no authority except from God, and those authorities that exist have been instituted by God”—and passages in Ezra-Nehemiah narrating the expulsion of foreign women from the community of Israel are among the texts that can be used in this way.

Those of us who are struggling to make space need to ask ourselves: How might we engage with migrant faces to build and sustain an ecology of faith rather than an ecology of fear—a way of living and being among others rooted in trust, compassion and openness?<sup>79</sup> Such an ecology is found in many scriptural passages, from Ruth in the Hebrew Bible to the story of the Syro-Phoenician Woman in Mark 7:24–30. In these stories, the newcomer is shown to be a life-bringer and God-bearer who enriches the people of Israel and offers insight to Jesus: she is gift rather than threat and a person to whom we should offer respect and support, and be willing to take risks and change for.<sup>80</sup> How might we engage and build mutual relationships with emerging churches, even if there is not one on the doorstep? In what ways can we relinquish some power and financial resources to support congregations in our denomination that may be more economically and

sociopolitically vulnerable than we are? This needs to be done without seeing immigrants simply as potential bodies to fill the pews or evangelize, or from a paternalistic desire to help, but rather out of recognition, commitment to justice, and acknowledging opportunity for mutual enrichment. Crucially, there needs to be a reimagining of the terms “us” and “them.” “Us” still implies white Anglo (and sometimes African American), English-speaking Christians while “them” indicates people who speak, appear, or worship in ways that the dominant “we” define as “other.” The terms “immigrant congregations” and Latino or Asian “ministry” inherently suggest that Anglo-whiteness is still the “norm” and others constitute on-the-side mission. The “we” needs to comprise migrant and native-born Christians together and sustained efforts at achieving this “we” should reach into all aspects of congregational life, church structure, and seminary education. More resources need to be allocated for training congregations to form thriving, intercultural communities, instead of abruptly patching new congregations artificially onto existing Anglo ones—often resulting in shock and disappointment on both sides. Such efforts are likely to be both costly and life bringing for all involved.

Immigration is, in addition, a wake-up call to US Christians to see that their Christianity can no longer be understood or practiced in isolation. Euro-American Christianity is not only now in a minority across the globe, but the United States also contains within it a microcosm of global Christianity. As Jenkins puts it “The center of gravity in the Christian world has shifted inexorably southward, to Africa and Latin America . . . If we want to visualize a ‘typical’ contemporary Christian, we should think of a woman living in a village in Nigeria, or in a Brazilian favela . . . By 2050 only about one-fifth of the world’s three billion Christians will be non-Hispanic whites.”<sup>81</sup> Immigrants are the presenting face of global Christianity and nudge churches to engage with the world beyond US shores—and not just on their own terms, as Jenkins argues, be that co-opting them as conservative moral allies or as bringers of cultural diversity. It is all too easy to expect “Southern churches [and immigrants] to reproduce Western obsessions and approaches.”<sup>82</sup> Places and faces that have been kept at the margin for so long—theologically, liturgically, spiritually—are already becoming, and need to be affirmed as part of the center.

### **Ethical Responses: Seeing (More Clearly) Face-to-Face**

Transformations in the sacred landscape are not the only facings that have been taking place between migrants and churches in the United States. Many Christian faith-based organizations (FBOs) and churches—new immigrant, historic mainstream, African American, traditionally Anglo-now mixed alike—have been active in supporting some of the most marginalized immigrants to the United States sociopolitically and pastorally. The emerging Christian we (newcomers, more established immigrants, and native-born Christians together) are acting in solidarity with vulnerable migrants

against the fear, hostility, and policies detailed earlier. Jewish philosopher Emmanuel Lévinas talks of “the appeal in the face of the other” and argues that we are responsible to and for this face.<sup>83</sup> He understands the face primarily as pointing to the vulnerability and infinity of another human being: the face is exposed, “without defense . . . there is an essential poverty in the face” and also “cannot be comprehended, that is, encompassed.”<sup>84</sup> The face is that which beckons us to kill and yet, at the same time, forbids us to do so. As such, it carries an “infinite demand.”<sup>85</sup> Lévinas asserts that our identity stems from our response to those who are different from us, and thus the ways in which Christians treat “other” faces—including those of migrants—in their political, social, economic, and personal vulnerabilities reveal something of the being and soul of the Church. Ford puts it this way: “Each face is an interrupting summons to justice and peace.”<sup>86</sup>

Christian responses have involved both pastoral care and advocacy—or, as John Fife, longtime immigrant activist suggests, “accompanying” and “resisting”—and are rooted in theologies of welcoming the stranger, human dignity and human rights, and the common good.<sup>87</sup> Biblical passages such as Leviticus 19:33–34 stating “you shall love the alien as yourself, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt” and Hebrews 13: 2 suggesting “Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers, for by doing that some have entertained angels without knowing it” have been important, as has Matthew 25:35: “For I was a stranger and you welcomed me.” Daniel Groody suggests that what Christians are doing is taking crucified people down from the cross.<sup>88</sup> Numerous examples of action exist—not least the spiritual and practical support offered by immigrant-majority and other congregations explored earlier—and there is only space to highlight a few. Humane Borders and No More Deaths, established in 2000 and 2004 respectively, are based in Tucson, Arizona, and both seek to prevent migrant deaths in the desert by placing water on or near migrant trails. Humane Borders was founded by Robin Hoover, then pastor of First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Tucson, and in 2013, 1,500 volunteers and 100 affiliated organizations maintained 35 life-saving water stations.<sup>89</sup> No More Deaths, established by religious leaders and describing itself as faith-based—it is a ministry of the Unitarian Universalist Church of Tucson—seeks to provide medical aid and food as well as water to migrants walking through the desert. In addition to this humanitarian face-to-face work, they also monitor US immigration operations on the border, advocate for policy changes, and raise awareness. They have produced two reports detailing abuses and mistreatment by the Border Patrol, and in 2010, with Tierra Y Libertad Organization (“a barrio-based group on the Southside of Tucson that promotes community self-determination and works collectively for the respect of land, people, and culture”), they launched a We Reject Racism/Rechazamos El Racismo campaign to resist anti-immigrant state legislation and build a network of people committed to antiracism. In Mexico, they support local partners to address the needs of those who have just been deported in Nogales, Naco and Agua Prieta-Douglas. Through a collaborative project, “Dignity Bags,” bags made

by the Douglá Prieta Women's Sewing Cooperative in Agua Prieta, Sonora, are supplied free to the Missionary Sisters of the Eucharist to distribute to people they serve at the Kino Border Initiative in Nogales. People are also able to buy bags and the proceeds are put directly back into the cooperative, enabling the buying of industrial sewing machines through a micro-credit loan.<sup>90</sup> Fife, an active member of No More Deaths, speaks of the work as "civil initiative." A term coined by Jim Corbett during the 1980s Sanctuary Movement that sought to support refugees entering the United States from El Salvador and Guatemala, "civil initiative" signifies "the legal right and the moral responsibility of society to protect the victims of human rights violations when government is the violator."<sup>91</sup>

Organizations including the New Sanctuary Movement were formed to counter and contest the abuse and injustice immigrants often face. Founded in January 2007 at a meeting in Washington, DC, the New Sanctuary Movement now has branches in cities across the country from Los Angeles to Philadelphia. The sanctuary offered takes different forms in different contexts. Boston New Sanctuary Movement (BNSM), formed in 2008, has adopted the motto "called by our faiths to welcome the stranger" and names members from over 20 congregations, faith-based organizations, and community groups, who covenant to educate themselves and others about issues concerning immigrants—with a particular emphasis on learning from immigrants themselves. They also commit to "actively and publicly work for comprehensive immigration reform" and to "be a compassionate and persistent voice for justice for our immigrant brothers and sisters." Individuals and faith-based groups can become members by signing a pledge, and BNSM partners with a range of other local organizations from the Student Immigration Movement and Centro Presente (a Latino immigrant rights organization) to the Massachusetts Committee for Interfaith Worker Justice. BNSM is active in immigrant rights campaigning and in 2013, was working on encouraging faith community support of the TRUST Act, a bill that would limit Massachusetts's participation in the Secure Communities program. They have also held vigils three times a year outside Suffolk County Jail in conjunction with partner groups, during which the name of every individual who has died in detention has been read out. Seeking to stand in solidarity with those being detained, the vigils have aimed to let those incarcerated know that they have not been forgotten and to protest current policies. This action has sought, thus, both to offer face-to-face connection between those inside and those outside as well as to make visible again—in the public and political square—those whose faces have been hidden.<sup>92</sup> Sometimes, congregations offer physical sanctuary to individuals or families under threat of immediate deportation. Simi Valley United Church of Christ, California, offered Liliana sanctuary from 2007 to 2010 in order to enable her stay near her family, and in 2012, the Reformed Church of Highland Park, New Jersey, offered sanctuary to five Indonesian Christians facing deportation. Arthur Jemmy, scheduled to be deported, said, "When I got here, I felt safety"; and the Seth Kaper-Dale, copastor of the church,

explained why there were acting: “We have to stand with the oppressed even if the law of the land sometimes doesn’t exactly coincide with the teachings of peace and justice and love found in Scripture.”<sup>93</sup>

Christian FBOs and local congregations have been extensively involved in refugee resettlement. In 2010, 70 percent of US refugees were resettled by faith-based agencies, including Church World Service, Episcopal Migration Ministries, the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, and Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services.<sup>94</sup> Refugee and Immigration Ministry (RIM), an interfaith organization based in Boston, receives around 50 refugees per year through Episcopal Migration Ministries. They offer case support to these refugees, and also work with clusters of local Christian congregations and other faith communities to provide support as cosponsors. These faith groups come together to offer a welcoming face at the airport and ongoing friendship, find and furnish accommodation, and help with orientation to the area (from grocery shopping to medical services and social security cards). Case workers also help refugees to prepare for and find a job. RIM has run English-language classes as well as a certified nursing assistant training program. A store of donated household and toiletry items has supplemented refugees’ food stamps. They have also received funding from Episcopal Migration Ministries to establish a Holistic Healing Center to assist refugees in accessing resources and spaces that they would find helpful (in addition to regular medical care)—from acupuncture to drumming—as they work to settle in the United States and recover from trauma. Originally started as a detention center ministry in 1986, RIM has offered training for spiritual caregivers to visit those being held in the Suffolk County Jail. In 2013, six or seven visitors were meeting with detainees on a monthly basis. RIM’s tagline is “Building Community with Uprooted People to Serve the Common Good” indicating that community—face-to-face connecting and relationship—lies at the heart of all of their work. As the director Ruth Bersin puts it: “One of the most healing things is community.”<sup>95</sup> Jubilee Partners, based in Comer, Georgia, is an intentional community of Christians—comprised of about 25 adults and several children, about half resident whose year-round-home it is and half volunteers—that offers hospitality to refugees from countries across the globe. Their vision is rooted in the concept of a Jubilee Year marked by justice and mercy (Lev. 25). Since 1980, over 3,000 refugees from more than 30 different countries have spent around two months there, learning English intensively, taking classes on subjects from financial management and apartment living to cooking, and organizing social security cards and medical care. Resettlement agencies send refugees who they believe would benefit from this intensive time before being permanently resettled in Atlanta. The community states: “We welcome them to a peaceful place where they can recover from the stresses of war and refugee camps, make friends with North Americans, and feel hope for the human race again. We build strong bonds of love and understanding in both directions. It’s a good process, in which we help the ‘broken victims go free’ while they help us to ‘recover our sight.’”<sup>96</sup>

Church leaders have been at the forefront of various national campaigns surrounding immigration. Notable among these has been the campaign for the DREAM (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) Act. Campaigns led by young immigrants and supported by faith-based organizations—including the Interfaith Immigrant Coalition (IIC)—contributed to President Obama signing Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in June 2012. DACA offers those who have been brought to the country as minors and who met certain other requirements a reprieve from deportation. More broadly, churches have pushed for comprehensive immigration reform. Over 50 national FBOs, as well as hundreds of local groups and individuals, signed an Interfaith Statement in Support of Comprehensive Immigration Reform created in 2005 and updated in years following. Signatories included African American Ministers in Action of People for the American Way, an organization that has been active in encouraging black churches to support immigration reform.<sup>97</sup> Churches United to Save and Heal (CUSH) has also stood behind immigration reform.<sup>98</sup> The United States Catholic Conference of Bishops (USCCB) called for immigration reform in a pastoral letter issued jointly by Mexican and US bishops in 2003—*Strangers No Longer: Together on the Journey of Hope*—including “(1) policies to address the root causes of migration, which include war and global poverty, (2) reform of our immigration system, including an earned legalization program and a temporary worker program with appropriate worker protections, and (3) restoration of due process for immigrants.” The Justice for Immigrants Campaign was launched in 2005 to push these forward.<sup>99</sup> *Welcoming Christ in the Migrant*, produced in 2011, encourages conversion of the heart, expressions of solidarity, and forming a parish welcoming plan, and Archbishop José Gomez, chair of the USCCB Committee on Migration, stated: “We are called to open our hearts and provide hospitality to those in need, especially for migrants who find themselves far away from home and in vulnerable situations.”<sup>100</sup> The National Hispanic Christian Leadership Conference (NHCLC) of evangelical Latinos has spearheaded various campaigns and tried to galvanize local congregations to support comprehensive immigration reform, and in 2013, Samuel Rodriguez, head of NHCLC, cochaired a National Weekend of Prayer to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking that aimed “to mobilize prayer in America and to encourage awareness of the issue of human trafficking which is correctly called modern day slavery.”<sup>101</sup> While people in the pews do not necessarily adopt the views of their leaders, these faith-based voices have made a significant impact upon national discourse and debate.<sup>102</sup>

These responses, whether by local congregations or national faith-based coalitions, have created crucibles in which positive facings between migrants and members of receiving communities can take place. What Marquardt and colleagues say of congregations is equally true of the solidarity and resistance work described earlier: churches and FBOs “can serve as spaces of encounter where immigrants and native born meet each other face-to-face; learn about each other’s histories, cultures, needs, and aspirations; and move beyond stereotypes and prejudices” toward interdependence.<sup>103</sup> They are countering



the ecology of fear through inhabiting an alternative ecology of faith. Christians and church-based groups need to reflect continually upon their “habits of facing” to ensure that they are fostering life bringing encounters that are about the “we” together rather than maintaining a division between the “us” and “them.” Recognizing and supporting the agency and dignity of migrants requires an acting with and alongside, rather than acting for or to. Paternalism and a sense of do-gooding largesse can all too easily creep in, particularly among those of us who are Anglo. Fife narrates a compelling story of a meeting with a couple of migrants in the Sonoran desert as he was walking back to the No More Deaths camp one evening. He stopped and they shared some food, water, and conversation together. As he was leaving, they asked him what he was doing in the desert and he said something about being from the church in Tucson and that they were trying to help. Later, he realized what he wished he had said: “We’re out here looking for Jesus—and I think I just found him.”<sup>104</sup> Fife sees migrants as models of ethical praxis and suggests that the native born are called to stand in solidarity with these migrant resisters. Christian coresisters need to support rather than control, and recognize that they encounter the divine, and grow, learn, and become through those whom they seek to support.

Churches also need to balance a concern for responding to pressing presenting needs and problems—to real faces—with attention to deeper structural analysis and the tackling of root causes. While it is crucial to offer English-language classes, friendship, clothes, and advocate for humane comprehensive immigration reform, it is also important to take a step back and join up the dots between current immigration patterns, global economic structures, and military engagements. Significant differences in income between countries are likely to cause migration. While promising rising standards of living in Mexico, the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) established in 1994 has resulted in increasing poverty. Communal lands were privatized in Mexico, and as Mexican tariffs went down at the same time as US agricultural corn subsidies increased, Mexican farmers were unable to compete with US corn production and it effectively became cheaper to buy tortillas imported from the United States than for Mexicans to make the tortillas themselves. From 1999 to 2004, prices paid for corn fell by 50 percent while price of tortillas rose 380 percent. One-sixth of Mexican farmers have been expelled from their fields. What is more, jobs created in US-owned maquiladores (assembly plants) in the 1990s have now moved to China.<sup>105</sup> US Christians need to attend, as Heyer puts it, to “complex structures and ideologies that abet blindness and complicity, preventing justice for reluctant migrants.” This involves acknowledgment of US complicity in the causes of migration and a commitment to tackle these, even though this may disrupt our own prosperity and comfort.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, churches need to explore the connection between wars that are being fought by the West and the number of refugees and asylum seekers arriving from those regions.

Developing other sensitivities and skills is also important, from cross-cultural facility and interfaith awareness to understanding the ways in which

immigration intersects with broader webs of oppression. For example, how is immigration affecting First Peoples? Mike Wilson, a member of the Tohono O'odham Nation, whose lands are within the Sonoran Desert and whose ancestral land straddled the border, states that the tightening of the border has restricted movement of his people. Moreover, he claims that the Department of Homeland Security never consulted them and that the current situation has "pitted brown people against brown people." Tribal members feel "inundated" by migrants, as they are expected to contribute to law enforcement and medical services for immigrants.<sup>107</sup> Christians need to attend to all of the faces facing one another in the current immigration context, and each of these faces in all of their complexity. Churches and Christian FBOs are also recognizing the need to start thinking proactively and strategically about how they are going to engage the constantly shifting political context in the United States. In 2013, President Obama stressed the need to "stay focused on enforcement," while stating the importance of creating a path to citizenship "that includes passing a background check, paying taxes, paying a penalty, learning English, and then going to the back of the line, behind all the folks who are trying to come here legally."<sup>108</sup> By 2014, the mass detention of children and their mothers from Central America had become headline news and a pressing issue for faith-based advocates, and 2015 has seen a significant legal ruling calling for an end to this practice, and a reduction in the number of unaccompanied children crossing the border.<sup>109</sup> Questions for churches remain: How to continue advocating most effectively? How to reform and anticipate new consequences?

### Conclusion

Faces and facing lie at the heart of current debates and practices surrounding immigration. Migrant faces are varied and complex and receiving community faces, seeing migrants close-up and through a veil of media and political discourse, have responded at times with welcome and at others with fear and hostility. The sacred landscape has been transformed by the facings of immigrants, and native-born Christians are simultaneously struggling to deal with this reality and seeking to stand alongside some of the most vulnerable faces in US society through pastoral care and advocacy. Ford suggests that churches are called to become "communities of the face," by which he means gatherings of people who face each other and other "others" before the face of Christ. In such communities, faces cannot be objectified, hidden, or excluded and can only be encountered mutually: we face one another on equal terms in the presence of the divine. He is worth quoting at length:

Christianity is characterised by the simplicity and complexity of facing: being faced by God, embodied in the face of Christ; turning to face Jesus Christ in faith; being members of a community of the face; seeing the face of God reflected in creation and especially in each human face, with all the faces in

our heart related to the presence of the face of Christ; having an ethic of gentleness (*praütes*) towards each face; disclaiming any overview of others and being content with massive agnosticism about how God is dealing with them; and having a vision of transformation before the face of Christ “from glory to glory” that is cosmic in scope, with endless surprised for both Christians and others.<sup>110</sup>

Such facing is, for Ford, fulfilled in feasting and this is not about “the well-fed offering handouts and getting on with their private feasting: the vision is of everyone around the same table, face to face.”<sup>111</sup> Coming around the table together—particularly around the Eucharistic table—is perhaps where historic mainstream, traditionally Anglo, churches in the United States still have the longest road to travel. While assisting those who are in trouble as “them” can be costly, it is not as challenging as allowing “them” to transform “us” and for us to become together—recent and established immigrants, native-born blacks, whites, and browns—a new ecclesial “we.” Churches need to continue engaging sociopolitically with immigration issues, and they need to make connections between this work and their own internal make-up and commitments and seek to become less fearful of the new practices, traditions, and languages that immigrants may bring. The Church will only be the richer and more vibrant and just for these shoots of new life. As Ford puts it, the feast to which God invites all people is “generously inclusive beyond anyone’s wildest dreams” and “the responsibility to respond” is, in fact, “an invitation into joy.”<sup>112</sup>

### Notes

1. Thanks go to Joslyn Schaefer and Luis Rivera-Págan for comments during the course of writing.
2. Anthony Reddie, ed., *Black Theology, Slavery and Contemporary Christianity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).
3. This figure comes from the Census Bureau’s 2010 American Community Survey. See Jeanne Batalova and Alicia Lee, “US in Focus” (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2012), <http://www.migrationinformation.org/usfocus/display.cfm?ID=886> (accessed March 4, 2013).
4. David Ford, *Self and Salvation: Being Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 17.
5. Mary Friedmann Marquardt, Timothy Steigenga, Philip Williams, and Manuel Vásquez, *Living “Illegal”: The Human Face of Unauthorized Immigration* (New York and London: New Press, 2011), 9; Susanna Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
6. Ford, *Self*, 18.
7. Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking*, 35.
8. Ford, *Self*, 17–18.
9. Ford, *Self*, 23.
10. While “American” usually refers to residents of the United States, it is important to recognize that Central and South Americans, and Canadians, are also part of the Americas.

11. Jeffrey Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "Unauthorized Immigrants: 11.1 Million in 2011," December 6, 2012, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/12/06/unauthorized-immigrants-11-1-million-in-2011> (accessed March 4, 2013).
12. See chapters 9 and 13 in this volume
13. US Department of Homeland Security, "2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics," Office of Immigration Statistics, September 2012, [http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2011/ois\\_yb\\_2011.pdf](http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2011/ois_yb_2011.pdf), 65, offers an overview of different categories of migrants (accessed March 4, 2013).
14. Office of Refugee Resettlement, "The Year in Review—2012" (Washington, DC: ORR, 2012), <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/resource/orr-year-in-review-2012> (accessed March 4, 2013).
15. UNHCR, *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2010), 14. For the story of one refugee, see Dave Eggers, *What Is the What: The Autobiography of Valentino Achak Deng—A Novel* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006).
16. US Department of Homeland Security, "2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics" (Washington, DC: DHS, 2012), 43, [http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2011/ois\\_yb\\_2011.pdf](http://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2011/ois_yb_2011.pdf) (accessed March 5, 2013).
17. Ting-Yin Lee, "The Loss and Grief in Immigration: Pastoral Care for Immigrants," *Pastoral Psychology* 59 (2010): 159–169, 160–162.
18. Marquardt et al., *Living "Illegal,"* 180.
19. Monica Boyd and Deanna Pikkov, "Finding a Place in Stratified Structures: Migrant Women in North America," in *New Perspectives on Gender and Migration: Livelihood, Rights and Entitlements*, ed. Nicola Piper, 19–58 (New York and London: Routledge, 2008).
20. Kristin Heyer, *Kinship across Borders: A Christian Ethic of Immigration* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 25, 157.
21. Douglas Massey and Magaly Sánchez R., *Brokered Boundaries: Creating Immigrant Identity in Anti-Immigrant Times* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010), 120.
22. Jacqueline Hagan, *Migration Miracle: Faith, Hope and Meaning on the Undocumented Journey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 57.
23. Peggy Levitt, "Religion as a Path to Civic Engagement," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 4 (2008): 766–791, 778.
24. Peggy Levitt, *God Needs No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing Religious Landscape* (New York: New Press, 2007), 12–13, 22.
25. Charles Hirschmann, "The Role of Religion in the Origins and Adaptation of Immigrant Groups in the United States," in *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*, ed. A. Portes and J. DeWind, 413 (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2007).
26. Cecilia Menjívar, "Religion and Immigration in Comparative Perspective: Catholic and Evangelical Salvadorans in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Phoenix," *Sociology of Religion* 64, no. 1 (2003): 21–45, esp. 28.
27. See "Hispanic American: Census Facts," <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/hhmcensus1.html> (accessed January 30, 2013).
28. Peter Phan, "The Experience of Migration in the US as a Source of Intercultural Theology," in *Migration, Religious Experience and Globalization*, ed.

- Gioachinno Campese and Pietro Ciallella, 150–151 (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2003).
29. Douglas Massey, ed., *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008).
  30. Audrey Singer, "Twenty-First-Century Gateways: An Introduction," in *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, ed. Audrey Singer, Susan Harwick, and Caroline Brettell, 26 (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2008).
  31. Ford, *Self*, 23, 18.
  32. "Key Findings: A Survey by the German Marshall Fund of the US, Bradley Foundation, Compagnia di San Paolo, Barrow Cadbury Trust and Fundación BBVA, 2011," Transatlantic Trends: Immigration, 5, 27, January 30, 2013, <http://trends.gmfus.org/immigration/about/>.
  33. Katherine Fennelly, "Prejudice toward Immigrants in the Midwest," in *New Faces*, ed. Massey, 162.
  34. Leonie Sandercock, *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century* (London and New York: Continuum, 2003), 111. For more on receiving population fear, see Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking*, Chapter 5; and Marquardt et al., *Living "Illegal"*, Chapter 3.
  35. For a history of US immigration policy, see Eytan Meyers, *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 27–62.
  36. Massey and Sánchez, *Brokered Boundaries*, 71.
  37. See US Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "Immigration Enforcement: Secure Communities," [http://www.ice.gov/secure\\_communities/](http://www.ice.gov/secure_communities/) (accessed January 28, 2013).
  38. Daniel Kanstroom, *Aftermath: Deportation Law and the New American Diaspora* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 7.
  39. *Ibid.*, 12.
  40. Doris Meissner, Donald Kerwin, Muzaffar Chishti, and Claire Bergeron, *Immigration Enforcement in the United States: The Rise of a Formidable Machinery* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2013), <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/enforcementpillars.pdf> (accessed February 27, 2013).
  41. *Ibid.*, 150.
  42. Luis Zayas and Mollie Bradlee, "Exiling children, creating orphans: when immigration policies hurt citizens," *Social Work* 59, no. 2 (2014): 167–175.
  43. Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking*, 118.
  44. Pew Forum, *Faith on the Move: The Religious Affiliation of International Migrants* (Washington, DC: Pew Forum, 2012), 12, <http://www.pewforum.org/faith-on-the-move.aspx> (accessed January 24, 2013).
  45. See "Statistics," The Pluralism Project at Harvard University, <http://pluralism.org/resources/statistics/index.php> (accessed March 5, 2013).
  46. Diana Eck, *A New Religious America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001).
  47. Jhru Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008), 270.
  48. Pew Forum, *Faith on the Move*, 11–12, 52.
  49. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 288.
  50. Carolyn Chen, "Accidental Pilgrims," Panel at American Academy of Religion, November 2012. See also Carolyn Chen, *Getting Saved in America*:

- Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).
51. Pew Hispanic Center and Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, *Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2007), 2, 42, <http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedfiles/Topics/Demographics/hispanics-religion-07-final-mar08.pdf> (accessed January 25, 2013).
  52. Marquardt et al., *Living "Illegal,"* 160–161; “The Light of the World,” Resurgence of the Church of Christ, <http://www.lldmusa.org/2012/english/> (accessed January 26, 2013).
  53. “The Redeemed Christian Church of North America, RCCG in the News,” <http://rccgna.org/In-The-News/articletype/articleview/articleid/380/worlds-largest-prayer-meeting> (accessed January 26, 2013).
  54. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 355–356.
  55. Levitt, *God Needs No Passport*, 118.
  56. *Ibid.*, 130.
  57. *Ibid.*, 117–118.
  58. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 298.
  59. See “Korean Emerging Ministries News,” Presbyterian Mission, <http://www.presbyterianmission.org/ministries/korean/> (accessed January 26, 2013).
  60. Edith Blumhofer, “The New Evangelicals,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 18, 2005, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB110869556337958665.html> (accessed January 26, 2013).
  61. Pew Forum, *Changing Faiths*, 1.
  62. Parish Strategic Plan, 2012. See also Daniel Vélez Rivera, “Transforming Lives, Transforming Communities: The Ministry of Presence,” *Anglican Theological Review* 93, no. 4 (2011): 645–652; and Susanna Snyder, “Moving the Anglican Communion: Ethics and Ecclesiology in an Age of Migration,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies*, ed. Mark D. Chapman, Sathianathan Clarke, and Martyn Percy, 559–576 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
  63. See “The Parish of Christ Church/Iglesia de San Juan,” <http://www.christchurchisj.com/> (accessed January 28, 2012).
  64. For examples, see Marquardt et al., *Living "Illegal,"* 185–186; and Karen Leonard, Alex Stepick, Manuel Vasquez, and Jennifer Holdaway, eds., *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005).
  65. R. Stephen Warner, *A Church of Our Own: Disestablishment and Diversity in American Religion* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 257–262.
  66. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 295.
  67. *Ibid.*, 296.
  68. Pui-Lan Kwok, *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology* (London: SCM Press, 2005).
  69. Ada María Isasi-Díaz, *En la Lucha: Elaborating a Mujerista Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004).
  70. R. S. Sugirtharajah, “Thinking about the Vernacular Hermeneutics Sitting in a Metropolitan Study,” in *Vernacular Hermeneutics*, ed. Sugirtharajah, 92–115 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

71. Jung Young Lee, *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1995).
72. *Ibid.*, 95.
73. *Ibid.*, 97.
74. Clive Pearson, "Out of Place with Jesus-Christ," in *Out of Place: Doing Theology on the Crosscultural Brink*, ed. Jione Hava and Clive Pearson, 65–81, 78 (London: Equinox, 2011).
75. Phan, "The Experience of Migration"; Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Readings from the Edges: The Bible and People on the Move* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011), 154.
76. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom*, 279, 296.
77. "President Obama Speaks on Comprehensive Immigration Reform," January 29, 2013, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2013/01/29/president-obama-speaks-comprehensive-immigration-reform?utm\\_source=feedburner&utm\\_medium=feed&utm\\_campaign=Feed+percent3A+whitehouse+percent2Fandroid\\_video+\(Android+Video\)#transcript](http://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2013/01/29/president-obama-speaks-comprehensive-immigration-reform?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed+percent3A+whitehouse+percent2Fandroid_video+(Android+Video)#transcript) (accessed January 30, 2013).
78. See, for example, Jonathan Edwards, "A Biblical Perspective on Immigration Policy," *Background: A Biblical Perspective on Immigration Policy* (Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies, September 2009).
79. Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking*, 163.
80. See *ibid.*, Chapter 8, for a fuller discussion of the ecology of faith and these biblical stories.
81. Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, rev. ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1–3.
82. *Ibid.*, 16. My addition.
83. Emmanuel Lévinas, *Ethics and Infinity. Conversations with Philippe Nemo*, trans. Richard A. Cohen (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1985), 99.
84. *Ibid.*, 86; Emmanuel Lévinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1969), 194.
85. Judith Butler, *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 38.
86. Ford, *Self*, 24.
87. John Fife, Presentation at Society of Christian Ethics, Chicago, January 2013. See Snyder, *Asylum-Seeking*, on different types of Christian engagement with immigrants; and Heyer, *Kinship*; Donald Kerwin and Jean Marie Gerschütz, eds., *And You Welcomed Me: Migration and Catholic Social Teaching* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009); and M. Daniel Carroll R., *Christians at the Border: Immigration, the Church, and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), for recent theological reflection.
88. Daniel Groody, "Jesus and the Undocumented Immigrant: A Spiritual Geography of a Crucified People," *Theological Studies* 70, no. 2 (2009): 298–319, esp. 312.
89. "Humane Borders: Fronteras Compasivas," <http://www.humaneborders.net/> (accessed January 29, 2013).
90. "No more Deaths: No Más Muertes," <http://www.nomoredeaths.org/> (accessed January 29, 2013). For more details, see Robin Hoover, "The Story of Humane Borders," in *A Promised Land, A Perilous Journey: Theological Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Daniel Groody and Gioachinno Campese,

- 160–173 (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008); Ananda Rose, *Showdown in the Sonoran Desert: Religion, Law, and the Immigration Controversy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Helene Slessarev-Jamir, *Prophetic Activism: Progressive Religious Justice Movements in Contemporary America* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).
91. See John Fife, “Civil Initiative,” in *Trails of Hope and Terror: Testimonies on Immigration*, ed. Miguel De La Torre, 170–175 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009), 172.
  92. “Boston New Sanctuary Movement,” <http://www.bostonnewsanctuary.org/> (accessed January 30, 2013).
  93. See Kirk Semple, “A Sanctuary Amid Fears of Persecution at Home,” *New York Times*, May 16, 2012, [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/17/nyregion/reformed-church-gives-sanctuary-to-indonesians-ordered-to-be-deported.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/17/nyregion/reformed-church-gives-sanctuary-to-indonesians-ordered-to-be-deported.html?_r=1) (accessed January 30, 2013). See also <http://keepfamilyestogether.org/>.
  94. Jennifer Eby, Erika Iverson, Jennifer Smyers, and Erol Kekic, “The Faith Community’s Role in Refugee Resettlement in the United States,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 586–605.
  95. Refugee Immigration Ministry, January 30, 2013, <http://www.r-i-m.net/>. Conversation with director and staff members at RIM office, Malden, MA, on January 28, 2013.
  96. See D. Mosley, *Faith beyond Borders: Doing Justice in a Dangerous World* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2010).
  97. “Interfaith Immigration,” <http://www.interfaithimmigration.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Interfaith-statement.pdf>. For more on Black Church involvement in immigration reform, see “Religion,” *Huffington Post*, January 30, 2013, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rev-romal-j-tune/does-the-black-church-sup\\_b\\_507589.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rev-romal-j-tune/does-the-black-church-sup_b_507589.html); and “African American Religious Affairs: A Ministry of Civic Engagement & Social Justice,” <http://www.pfaw.org/sites/default/files/Seven-Things-Comprehensive-Immigration-Reform.pdf>.
  98. “African American Clergy Leaders Support Immigration Reform Campaign, PR Newswire,” <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/african-american-clergy-leaders-support-immigration-reform-campaign-85408612.html> (accessed January 30, 2013).
  99. USCCB, *Welcoming Christ in the Migrant* (Washington, DC: USCCB, 2011), January 24, 2013, <http://www.usccb.org/about/migration-and-refugee-services/national-migration-week/upload/M-7-267-NMW-Brochure.pdf>, 8.
  100. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, “Welcoming Christ In The Migrant: National Migration Week 2012 to Be Celebrated January 8–14,” January 30, 2013, <http://www.usccb.org/news/2011/11-240.cfm>.
  101. Samuel Rodriguez, “A Global Evangelical Movement to End Human Trafficking,” in Patheos, January 30, 2013, <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/philosophicalfragments/2013/01/12/samuel-rodriguez-on-a-global-evangelical-movement-to-end-human-trafficking/>.
  102. For more on national church statements and views in the pews, see Marie Marquardt, Susanna Snyder, and Manuel Vásquez, “Challenging Laws: Faith-Based Engagement with Unauthorized Immigration,” in *Constructing Immigrant “Illegality”: Critiques, Experiences, and Responses*, ed.



- D. Kanstroom and C. Menjívar, 272–297 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
103. Marquardt et al., *Living "Illegal,"* 271, 202.
  104. Fife, Presentation.
  105. Heyer, *Kinship*, 103–105.
  106. Ibid., 54, 114–122. For more on root causes, see Andrés Solimano, *International Migration in the Age of Crisis and Globalization: Historical and Recent Experiences* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
  107. Mike Wilson, "Testimony from the Tohono O'odham Nation: Who Will Speak for the Dead?," in *Trails*, ed. De La Torre, 124–127, 125, 126. The USCCB has acknowledged the importance of paying attention to native peoples. See United States Catholic Bishops Conference, "Strangers No Longer Together On The Journey Of Hope," January 30, 2013, <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/immigration/strangers-no-longer-together-on-the-journey-of-hope.cfm>.
  108. "President Obama Speaks."
  109. Julia Preston, "Judge Orders Release of Immigrant Children Detained by U.S.," *New York Times*, July 25, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/26/us/detained-immigrant-children-judge-dolly-gee-ruling.html> (accessed August 26, 2015). The immigration context in the U.S. has shifted significantly since the time of writing in early 2013, not least as a result of debates concerning family detention and the positioning of candidates for Presidential elections in 2016.
  110. Ford, *Self*, 24–25.
  111. Ibid., 269.
  112. Ibid., 269, 272.

## Chapter 12

# Religion, Environmental Racism, and Migrations of Black Body and Soul

*James Samuel Logan*

*Together we may stand in the river, transformed and transforming, listening to its laughter and burning with its tears, recognizing in that ancient flow the indelible marks of human blood, yet grounded and buoyed by hope, courage, and unfathomable, amazing grace. Keeping the faith, creating new faith, we may enter the terrible and magnificent struggle for the re-creation of America.*

—Vincent Harding<sup>1</sup>

Between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries a history of intersectional migrations has characterized African American survival, justice seeking, and dignity-affirmation in what is now the United States of America. Representative of these intersectional migrations are the forced “migration” of Black bodies across the Atlantic Ocean during the Middle Passage, the inner migrations of Black holiness and rebellion in “partnership” with the forces of nature in the Antebellum South, and the “making a way out of no way” religious migrations of Black folk catching hell but still hoping-strong during and after post-Civil War Reconstruction. These three representative epochs and dimensions of Black migration history have given credence to the bone-deep truth that generations of Black bodies and souls found their worth and meaning with the aid of religious sensibilities in parallel relationship to the wider natural world. That religion has served a significant (even decisive) role at various stages of Black migration history is nothing new. What this chapter hopes to contribute to this agreement is a brief, jagged, and to-the-bone account of representative Black migratory events; an account that aids important considerations of the geophysical movements of Black bodies with some attention paid to the inner spiritual migrations of Black holiness, all in relationship to the wider nature-world that has accompanied Black migration history—for better and for worse.

### **The Virginia Colony: "New World" Migration and the Atlantic Ocean of Despair**

On August 20, 1619, a Dutch man of war arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, carrying a cargo of 20 Africans. No one knows for sure why this battle-ship anchored off Jamestown, but it is believed that the captain of the ship needed food and supplies, in exchange for which he offered his cargo of Africans. Although these were by no means the first Africans to arrive in North America, they were the first to arrive as settlers. These Africans were regarded as indentured servants rather than slaves, and 15 of the 20 were purchased to serve their "redemption time" working for the then governor of Virginia, George Yardley, who owned a thousand-acre plantation. Like thousands of White Europeans who were indentured servants in the colonies of the so-called New World, these Black Africans were to sell their labor for a certain number of years as payment for living in the colonies (some Europeans came to the colonies of their own free will, while others were brought involuntarily). For a while the lives of Black indentured servants were similar to that of White indentured servants: "They worked side by side as they planted, weeded, suckered, cut tobacco or cleared forests, and were allowed to cultivate small private gardens."<sup>2</sup> As noted by geographer Christian M. Christian, it is one of the unfortunate realities of history, that

Africans captured by other Africans and sold to white slave traders, who in turn sold them to the highest bidder in Virginia, became part of the social structure of the colony. For about forty years, at least some black settlers purchased and sold land, voted in elections, testified in court, and moved about without restrictions. In fact, some of the early black settlers who survived their indentured servitude purchased the services of other blacks, and some even purchased the services of white indentured servants. This social structure began to break down as more and more Africans entered the colonies and as slaving became profitable for both the slave trader and slave owner.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the status of Black Africans in the American colonies changed dramatically—for the worse. By the year 1661 the significance of 1619 came into clear focus when Virginia legalized the enslavement of Black Africans, "declaring that people of African descent would now be slaves for life."<sup>4</sup>

In 1663 Maryland would follow Virginia's lead and legalize the enslavement of Black bodies, primarily for economic profit but also for increased ease of White existence in a rugged "New World." Soon after Virginia and Maryland's lead, all other colonies would follow suit. Indeed, Black Africans, especially after 1660, enjoyed no government protection; nor could they appeal to the English monarch (George III), nor White public opinion in defense of their innate and divine status as free human beings. According to the theologian James Cone, "America became the land of the free for white people only, and for Blacks she became a land of bondage."<sup>5</sup>

The brutal migration of Black African bodies across the Atlantic Ocean during the frightful Middle Passage to the colonies of North America was, of course, a brutal migration experienced by slaves. The Middle Passage is the term used to describe the transatlantic slave voyages between Africa and the Americas: this was the longest part of the journey formerly made by African slave ships over a period of approximately 350 years, beginning in the sixteenth century (*ca.* 1518, 1519, 1520s) and ending in the nineteenth century (*ca.* 1867). Scholars estimate, usually conservatively, that 11 to 12 million African slaves, packed like animals aboard slave vessels, endured the unpronounceable, the unspeakable, physical, and psychological nightmare that was the Middle Passage. It has been estimated that millions of precious African lives were lost in the Middle Passage. The transatlantic slave trade produced what is often cited as the largest forced migration in human history. And, of course, to tell of this history today is to resurrect the buried story that Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved* renders *un*invisible with the haunting epitaph "Sixty Million and more."<sup>6</sup>

As has been true of any pariah people who have experienced migratory circumnavigation in global history, religion has played an extraordinary role in Black survival, justice seeking, and flourishing in what is now the United States. Accompanying powerful religious sensibilities in Black migration history were deeply unfortunate and strong forms of environmental racism as well. Indeed, God's natural physical creations were turned against the Black body and soul/spirit in the service of Black social and civil death, which maintained White European Supremacy throughout the Americas. The theologian M. Shawn Copeland once wrote provocatively and insightfully, quoting the Chickasaw writer Linda Hogan, that "what happens to people and what happens to land is the same thing."<sup>7</sup> Extending the metaphor beyond the relationship between land and people, it can be said that what happens to people and what happens to the whole of the natural world is the same thing. Indeed, the migrations of Black bodies and soul/spirits have been interlocked with human corruptions of nature, often justified in the name of Christianity. Remembering the Middle Passage, that is, the forced migrations of hundreds upon thousands of African bodies into bondage in the Americas, one must include mourning the Atlantic Ocean where the broken bodies of African multitudes were thrown into its waters. Indeed, as I have said elsewhere, "we have here evidence of a White supremacist misuse of a majestic creation of God, a sacrilege made all the more frightful because it was carried forward in the name of Christ."<sup>8</sup> The historian Vincent Harding has summarized well the blood-red ironies experienced by Africans who encountered the American Christ on their way to migratory bondage in the so-called New World. Harding writes,

We first met the American Christ on slave ships. We heard his name sung in hymns of praise while we died in our thousands, chained in stinking holds beneath the decks, locked in with terror and disease and sad memories of our families and homes. When we leaped from the decks to be seized by sharks we saw his name carved on the ship's solid sides. When our women were raped in the cabins they must have noticed the great and holy books on the shelves.

Our introduction to this Christ was not propitious. And the horrors continued on America's soil. So all through the nation's history many black people have rejected this Christ—indeed the miracle is that so many accepted him.<sup>9</sup>

I want to suggest that the migratory African bodies that leapt overboard during the Middle Passage, the ones who struggled to protect dark-skinned dignity from the social death of slavery, the Black bodies that endured the stings of Jim and Jane Crow law and custom, and the dark bodies that today wrestle with theologies of consumerism, mass incarceration, cultural hedonism, and the numerous intensified degradations of the Black female body both “domestically” and worldwide, are all participants in history's sacred environmentalist cause. From a Christian moral perspective, migrating and tortured human bodies—like the mountains and valleys, oceans and trees, fire and ice, sunshine and rain, the moonlit skies and stars, thunder and lightning, and every creature great and small—are sites of God's good creation. These are all holy sites of great beauty forged by the hand of divine love, participants in endless cycles of lament and celebration, death and renewal. So wherever there is a struggle for the dignity of the Black body and its holistic presence in opposition to multiple sites of White supremacy, therein Christians (the Body of Christ in history) witness an environmental cause.

The Black body as a site of environmental concern has always been intimately linked to the wider human corruption of nature in the “New World.” Not only has the Atlantic Ocean been employed as a site of Black bodily exploitation and death, so too were the trees of the “New World” turned against their God-given purpose to reproduce, sustain, and support life. This violation of both trees and the Black body could be seen vividly in the grotesque practice of American lynching. In 1929, Billie Holiday gave melancholy testimony to the witness of “Strange Fruit,” hanging primarily (but not exclusively) from the southern trees of the nation:

Southern trees bear a strange fruit  
 Blood on the leaves, blood at the root  
 black bodies swinging in the Southern breeze  
 Strange fruit swinging from poplar trees  
 Pastoral scene of the gallant South  
 The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth  
 Scent of magnolia sweet and fresh  
 Then the sudden smell of burning flesh  
 Here is a fruit for the crows to pluck  
 For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck  
 For the sun to rot, for the tree to drop  
 Here is a strange and bitter crop.<sup>10</sup>

Against such corruptions of the natural world (including the human body), African Americans in the Antebellum South sometimes sought out and experienced the signs and wonders of nature in the service of escaping the torments of enslavement and affirming their dignity as human beings.

As White Supremacists worked to employ the natural world against the Black body and soul, some Black Christians employed radical dimensions of holiness and rebellion. This aspect of Black Christian testimony was approved of by the forces of nature in the service of the divine liberation of those who were enslaved. Indeed, Black religion has often served as a spiritual catalyst providing divine inspiration for Black physical-spiritual survival, resistance to systemic injustice, and affirmation of social-political dignity.

### **An Inner and Supernatural Migration of Holiness and Rebellion in the Antebellum South: The Example of Nat Turner (1800–1831)**

Forced physical migration to a torturous “New World” of slavery was, often enough, confronted by an inner spiritual migration of provocative faith in union with the movements of the natural world, all feeding the quest for bodily and spiritual liberation. This reality could be seen in the now classic expression of *holiness and rebellion* as witnessed in Nat Turner’s “Confessions” under the thematic title “Religion and Slave Insurrection.”<sup>11</sup> Turner’s narrative of holiness and rebellion speaks to how the forces of inner faith and outer nature migrate (in this case supernaturally) toward the divine will of God in the service of human resistance to blood-soaked and death-dealing oppression. Indeed, in its particularity, Turner’s narrative may be viewed as a synecdochic representation of the plight of a Black blues people struggling against religious contradictions in the slave-holding South.

Turner’s singular-collective narrative of holiness and rebellion cannot be separated from the wider narrative histories of Black women, men, and children suffering the ravages of slavery. One sees, for example, in the following lyrics by the Last Poets the collective slave narrative (both endured and resisted) by countless Black folk who lived and died during the slave past:

#### TRUE BUES 1

True blues  
 ain’t no new news  
 ‘bout who’s been abused  
 for the blues is as old  
 as my stolen soul  
 I sang the blues when the missionaries came  
 passing out Bibles in Jesus’ name  
 I sang the blues in the hull of the ship  
 beneath the sting of the slavemaster’s whip  
 I sang the blues when the ship anchored  
       the ~~ack~~  
 my family being sold on a slave block  
 I sang the blues being torn from my first born  
 and hung my head and cried  
 when my wife took his life  
 and then committed suicide

I sang the blues on the slavemaster's  
 plantation  
 helping him build his free nation  
 I sang the blues in the cotton field  
 hustlin to make the daily yield  
 I sang the blues when he forced my woman  
 to ~~del~~

Lord knows how I wished he was dead  
 I sang the blues on the run  
 duckin' the dog and dodging the gun  
 I sang the blues hangin from the tree  
 in a desperate attempt to break free  
 I sang the blues from sunup to down  
 cursing the master when he wasn't around  
 I sang the blues in all his wars  
 dying for some unknown cause  
 I sang the blues in a high tone, low groan,  
 loud groans soft grunt hard funk  
 I sang the blues on land, sea and air  
 about who, when, why and where

I sang the blues in church on Sunday.  
 slavin' on Monday  
 misused on Tuesday  
 abused on Wednesday  
 accused on Thursday  
 fried alive on Friday  
 and died on Saturday  
 Sho'nuff singin' the blues.  
 I sang the blues in the summer, fall, winter  
 and spring.  
 I know sho'nuff the blues is my thing.  
 I sang the backwater blues.  
 Rhythm and blues.  
 Gospel blues.  
 St. Louis blues.  
 Crosstown blues.  
 Chicago blues.  
 Mississippi Goddam blues.  
 The Watts blues.  
 Harlem blues.  
 Hough blues.  
 Gutbucket blues.  
 Funky junkie blues.  
 I sang the up north cigarette cough blues.  
 The down south strung out the side of  
 my mouth blues.  
 I sang the blues black.  
 I sang the blues blacker.  
 I sang the blues blackest.  
 I sang about my sho'nuff blue blackness.<sup>12</sup>

Here the Last Poets give us an arresting picture of the collective Black social context of which Turner's particular narrative was a—past, present, and future—part. He too was a Middle Passage child living and resisting the social death under which slaves labored. Indeed, one of the functions of American slavery was to literally and figuratively murder Black humanity, to render Black slaves (and all of their future generations, for life) economically lucrative “trespassers on the human race.”

I would like to suggest that Turner's “confession” offers some rather profound and provocative questions about the legitimate forms that Christian holiness and rebellion may take for a people living behind a veil of social misery. Behind the veil they struggled for a migration of the soul/spirit in the name of their God and their humanity.

With Nat Turner we have recorded (in Southhampton County Virginia by a White court-appointed attorney named Thomas Gray) a description of a blood-red pursuit of holiness. Here we see an account of Christian holiness expressed in a slave insurrection, which is justified by the very blood of Jesus Christ, and empowered by the Holy Spirit through the waters of baptism. Here, from beneath the natural waters of baptism symbolizing a “liquid death,” “sinners” emerged into holiness. It is important to note that the earthly church, under the spell of White supremacy, did not baptize Turner and his followers; rather it is the same Spirit that baptized their Lord and Savior Jesus Christ that baptizes them. So the legitimacy of the blood-soaked actions they were to perpetuate against the slave-holding South was believed to be based upon a direct *word* from the almighty Christian God.

We learn from the text that Turner had been a precocious child. By the time he was a young adult he experienced inner visions of White and Black spirits engaged in battle, of thunder in the heavens, and blood-swollen streams. God gave him special knowledge of the elements, planets, tides, and changes of season. Indeed, numerous visions, revelations, signs, and wonders led Turner to a greater pursuit of true holiness in anticipation of his leading a great day of judgment against the institution of slavery.

This account tells us further that as Turner worked to redouble his efforts to attain true holiness after the year 1825, he experienced a series of extraordinary events: he began to see strange signs in the heavens and interpret them as miraculous depictions of Christ's outstretched hands on the cross. As a sure sign of the certainty, the righteousness, of his holy cause, Turner discovered blood drops on the corn in the fields, a sure sign that the blood of Christ had returned to earth again in the form of dew.

Signs like these provided a salient witness to Turner that the White slaveholder who was first in this world would soon become last in the kingdom of God. And the slaves, who had been made last in this earthly world, would—as Scripture clearly prophesied—become first. This change of status was inaugurated by the appearance of a sign in the sky, an eclipse of the sun, in February of 1831. Six months later, in August of 1831, under the signal of a bluish green sky, Turner and his followers proceeded to slay God's White enemies in the name of righteous vengeance.



I want to suggest that the textual account of Turner's actions may be viewed as a display of rebellion that can be understood as a form of holiness. In other words, *(sometimes) rebellion is the form that holiness takes*. The holy rebellion of Turner (like that of countless other slave men, women, and children in the Antebellum South) involved an active process of resisting the oppressive authority, control, and conventions of slavery. Rebellion need not always show itself in the form of bloody violence. Many slaves employed nonviolent rebellions in the forms of situational lying, stealing from master, codes of silence, concealed escapes, or simply living to see another day. By contrast, Turner's holy rebellion was a more unusual, dramatic, and revolutionary ethics of revolt.

One can see in Turner dimensions of holy rebellion that were apocalyptic and prophetic. In these respects, Turner's expression of holiness was a clear migration beyond the standard Christian holiness that is a dimension of human character (or virtue) concerned with the idea of separation from that which is common, ordinary, or evil. Standard Christian holiness (also referred to as "sanctification") is a way of living in the world characterized by a process toward purity, wholeness, and moral goodness. The Christian pursuit of holiness occurs in the context of faith in, and fidelity to, a God who is understood as perfectly holy. Such a God is not only perceived to be greater than all other gods and higher than creation, but this God is also morally pure and perfect, completely free from sin. God is righteous in conduct and steadfast in opposition to all the sin that occurs in history. When Christian holiness is attributed to human beings, it involves being called, elected, or justified by God for the special purpose of doing God's will. Holiness at the human level involves having a heart turned toward God, the result of which is a way of living that involves an active rejection of sin by way of acting in a good and right manner.

The pursuit of holiness is one way Black Christians have traditionally gone about seeking self, communal, societal, universal, and/or cosmic identity. As a means of identity formation, holiness offers a sense of protection, safety, and security in the midst of the anxieties, fears, and (sometimes brutal) contingencies of life. The quest for holiness assists the human desire for association, affiliation, or belonging *with* something that gives life ultimate meaning and purpose. It is the pursuit of holiness as a means of liberative identity formation that made audacious hope and rebellion possible for many slaves.

Turner (more provocatively than most) demonstrates a much more rebellious and radical witness to the dimensions of holiness in human history. In Turner we see an inner migration of radical Black holiness exemplified by his sense of special calling as he sets himself apart from the ordinary: he studiously avoids mixing in society, he wraps himself in mystery, he devotes his time to much fasting and prayer. All of this with the aid of a divine inspiration that would eventually embolden him to lead some 60–70 others on a nearly three-day bloody witness to holiness.

Turner's more provocative witness testifies to dimensions of holiness and rebellion that are of apocalyptic and prophetic proportions; his is an uncommon display of Black holiness in Christian history. Turner's witness of holiness as rebellion was, of course, provocative in its willingness to commit fantasti-

cal homicide in the name of the Lord. The principal apocalyptic dimension of Turner's rebellious holiness lies in its presumed dramatic and violent unveiling of God's decisive action in history, carried out by a holy prophet of the Lord. Turner's holy calling to apocalyptic action was characterized by his certainty that he was doing God's will. And from an apocalyptic point of view, God's will is always in violent mortal conflict with the enslaving powers of the earth and cosmos. The goal of the "apocalypse" is none other than the liberation and rectification of humanity and creation. With Turner's insurrection, earthly judgment is meted out on the faithless White slave holder in anticipation of his or her standing exposed in their wicked deeds before the "throne of God"—where they will be condemned. The apocalypse is always characterized by the migration from a sinful and unjust age (or world) to a transformative age to come.

Viewing himself as an instrument of God ushering in the apocalypse of Jesus Christ with the bloodstained sword of righteous vengeance, Turner (at least as depicted in the text by Thomas Gray) arguably represents the prototypical prophet. Turner's grammar is totalizing, decisive, and sure because, as a prophet, God has given him sharper eyes to see than others. God has empowered him to perceive the true nature of the evil all around him. What White people created in slavery and accepted as "doing what comes naturally," Turner saw in all its grotesque horror. Slavery was an abomination to the Lord, a horrific scandal. As a prophet of the apocalypse of Jesus Christ, Turner needed to be maladjusted to the evils of slavery. He needed to be "morally maladjusted" to society's "conventional lies." It can be said that Turner's witness of prophetic holiness required a kind of "divine madness." Richard Lischer, a professor of preaching at Duke University Divinity School, suggests that the root meaning of "to prophesy" may be "to slaver," to "drool," "to foam at the mouth."<sup>13</sup>

Turner's use of language in the recorded account, as was often the case with the prophets of the Bible, is haunting in its outspokenness and frankness. In this regard Turner's language conforms to the New Testament conception of *parresia* (or *parrhesia*). *Parresia* is the noun form of the Greek word used to signify a plainness of speech that conceals nothing and passes over nothing. *Parresia* denotes an open, free, bold, courageous, and fearless expression of one's self. Certainly we see this in the account of Turner's rebellion, and (for example) in the inflammatory and millennialist language of another notable Black abolitionist of the same period, David Walker.<sup>14</sup>

Turner's apocalyptic and prophetic rebellion, as a bloody witness to holiness, ended up going a long way in disproving the widespread nineteenth-century myth of the contented and slap-happy slave. Indeed, Turner's rebellion, which some scholars view as the First Civil War, proved that some African Americans would be more than willing to die to end slavery. And within the horror of the institution of slavery, they would also be willing to kill.

### **Reconstruction, Urban Migration, and Black Religion**

It was hoped that the historical magnitude of White supremacy would begin to wane and disappear after the Civil War and with the end of slavery. After

all Turner offered the slave-holding South a potent example of abolitionist sensibilities bent on freedom and human dignity. And he was not alone during the nineteenth century; there was Denmark Vessey in 1822 South Carolina, Margret Gardner in 1856 Ohio, and John Brown in 1859 Virginia, all of whom had, respectively, participated in planning revolt, righteous infanticide, and bloody rampage against the peculiar institution of human bondage.

The hope of the postbellum nation was expressed in the mighty historical effort of Reconstruction. Reconstruction in the period immediately following the Civil War sought to rebuild the South physically, politically, socially, and economically. Reconstruction (sometimes called “the Second American Revolution”) was a period of progressive politics toward that “more perfect union” envisioned in the US Constitution. Newly emancipated Black slaves, with the help of the federal government, and sympathetic White people in the South and North, would now work together to build a more democratic society, or such was the hope. Most historians, and scholars from other disciplines (including religion), consider Reconstruction to have encompassed the years between 1865 and 1877 (some date Reconstruction from 1863,<sup>15</sup> either with Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation on January 1 or with Lincoln’s introduction of his initial Reconstruction program, the “Ten Percent Plan,” in December of that year). It should be noted that the course Reconstruction would take and the questions associated with it were the subjects of national debate even before the Civil War and continued even after 1877.

During Reconstruction Black men (in particular) took advantage of their new right to vote, and in 1866 they voted almost unanimously for Republican candidates in congressional elections. Women were not permitted to vote, and thus the cause of women’s suffrage both before and during Reconstruction continued on. Mostly because of the large turnout of Black men, and because Congress banned many former Confederate (i.e., Southern White) leaders from politics, the Republican Party (the Party of Lincoln) won control of many Southern states. Of the 1,000 (or so) Republican delegates to constitutional conventions throughout the South, 265 were Black men. During Reconstruction participation in government among Black men was greatest at the state and local levels. At the national level, 16 Black men served in the US Congress during Reconstruction.

In general, Reconstruction saw the creation of biracial Republican coalitions that sought progressive changes, such as the creation of state-funded public schools, outlawing discrimination in public transportation, and ending the death penalty. Unfortunately, in the context of the promise of Reconstruction the majority of Southern Whites opposed to what they regarded as “Negro rule” sought to disenfranchise Black people in every conceivable way. White people who wanted to “redeem” the supremacy of the White race in the South justified their actions against Reconstruction by claiming that they were being subjected to incompetent “Negro rule.” As soon as Reconstruction was implemented, a mighty struggle began in the South to overturn the new, more democratically inspired, social order:

On the one side were the freed-people and their allies, who wanted to participate in a free society. On the other side were white elites and their followers, who wanted to restore the old order. Many white people—even those who did not own slaves before the Civil War—found imagining a society in which blacks had the same rights as they did difficult. Reconstruction inspired deep resentment among southern whites.<sup>16</sup>

The active resentment of White people in the South, combined with a turning away from the plight of Black people by Northern Whites, helped bring down Reconstruction. As the Black Christian public intellectual Cornel West has noted often in his lectures around the country: “the Union won the war, but the Confederates won the peace.” This reality represents one of the important historical factors that would lead to the mass migration of Black folk out of the South during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Northern Whites became focused, primarily, on solving a national economic depression, which began around 1873. The preamble of a historical moment called the “nadir” by Rayford Logan (the lowest period of collective Black life post-Civil War) emerged with what many scholars believe was the marker for the end of Reconstruction, namely, the “Compromise of 1877.”

In summary, the Compromise of 1877 was an agreement between Republicans and Democrats who had been locked in a very tight presidential election in 1876. The agreement allowed the Republican presidential candidate (Rutherford B. Hayes vying against Democrat Samuel J. Tilden) to keep the White House. This yielded a compromise, which allowed Southern Democrats to implement “Home Rule” in the Republican-controlled Southern states of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. The Compromise was a solution that paved the way for renewed White supremacist control of the South.

Though it would take until the 1890s to finish the job, White supremacists, after the 1877 Compromise, were well on their way to what they referred to as their “redemption.” In 1896 the US Supreme Court, in a landmark case known as *Plessy v. Ferguson*, declared that the Southern doctrine of “separate but equal” was constitutional as it related to the civil rights of Black people. The court declared that “if one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.” This Supreme Court decision allowed racism to be institutionalized, and marked the beginning of federal approval for Southern Jim Crow laws in the service of political, economic, and cultural White supremacy.<sup>17</sup>

It must be noted and understood that even before the demise of Reconstruction Black people were catching hell in the South. There was the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866<sup>18</sup>; and the systemic lynching and other molestations of Black people were already commonplace even during Reconstruction. Toni Morrison’s novel *Beloved* offers a bitter taste of the wanton violence faced by Black people even during Reconstruction, indeed a period characterized by Logan’s aforementioned grammar, the *Nadir* of Black life post-Civil War:

Eighteen seventy-four and whitefolks were still on the loose. Whole towns wiped clean of Negroes; eighty-seven lynchings in one year alone in Kentucky; four colored schools burned to the ground; grown men wiped like children; children wiped like adults; black women raped by the crew; property taken; necks broken. [Stamp Paid] smelled skin, skin and hot blood. The skin was one thing, but human blood cooked in a lynch fire was a whole other thing. The stench stank. Stank off the pages of the *North Star*, out of the mouths of witnesses, etched in crooked handwriting in letters delivered by hand. Detailed in documents and petitions full of *whereas* and presented to any legal body who'd read it, it stank.<sup>19</sup>

By the 1880s and 1890s growing Black disillusionment over their separate and inferior "Jim Crow" status, together with the violence and intimidation that solidified the "Negro's place" in the New South with no significant aid or protection from the federal government, indicated that a "Nadir" had indeed arrived. "Although chattel slavery had been illegal for three decades by the 1890s, many blacks felt that a new kind of *de facto* slavery had taken its place."<sup>20</sup> The routine lynchings, the Jim Crow laws, and the economic hardships made many Black people feel as if little had improved since emancipation.<sup>21</sup>

Beginning in the 1890s and lasting well into the 1970s, one of the largest mass movements in United States history took place as Southern Black people came North and West in search of jobs, greater racial toleration, and justice. In 1910, forty-five years after the Civil War, almost 90 percent of all Black people still lived in the South, 80 percent of these in rural areas. Between 1915 and 1929 up to some two million Black people came primarily North, but also West, in search of the "Promise Land." This period is often referred to as the "Great Migration" (and/or the "Second Emancipation"). Here we see another dimension of Black bodily migration in opposition to the brutal White democratic contradictions of a nation allegedly founded on the fertile ground of Christianity and freedom.

With the Great Migration we see once again the power and influence of the natural world as well as the impact of provocative (human) world events on the migration of Black bodies. Between 1915 and 1920 the initial large waves of Black people came to Northern cities not only because of the of Jim Crow laws that plunged many Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers into poverty and bankruptcy, but also because of a series of concomitant natural calamities, which devastated cotton production beginning in 1913: First, world cotton prices plummeted, then boll weevils infested huge areas [of Southern soil], and finally in 1915, severe floods inundated the Mississippi valley.<sup>22</sup> Nearly simultaneous to all this, World War I broke out. The war slowed international migrations to the Northern cities of the United States while also increasing demand for industrial labor. The result was a tremendous labor shortage in Northern and some Western cities, shortages that Black bodies would come North and West to fill.

Upon their arrival in the North, many Black people found better wages, the freedom to vote (if they happen to be men), less exposure to direct White

violence, and, on occasion, better schools for their children. But White supremacy and racism remained persistent. Discriminatory real estate and housing practices forced Black people, en masse, into poorly maintained and segregated housing. This contributed to the rise of urban "Black ghettos." Black men were routinely barred from labor unions, and many Black migrants were forced into exclusively menial jobs as maids, butlers, or waiters, or they served as "scabs" (unwelcomed replacement workers) during strikes by White unions.

The increased competition for jobs and housing among Black and White people sparked race riots in dozens of Northern cities. For example, there were major White-on-Black race riots in East St. Louis in 1917 and in Chicago in 1919. With these riots and other difficulties, Black people received an enduring reminder that White violence against them would not be contained to the Jim Crow South they left behind. With the racial tensions that accompanied Black migration the nation became more aware of what Black people had known for some time: the problem of race was a national, societal, problem, and not just a Southern phenomenon. Despite all the difficulties, Black migrants in the North continued to send for their Southern friends and relatives "with stories of better living conditions, better jobs, and more freedom."<sup>23</sup>

As difficult as living in the North would be for Black people in the twentieth century, many still regarded the South as the antechamber of hell. As Black people headed North and West out of the South, the violation of Black bodies and personhood could still be seen most vividly in rituals of Southern lynching.

A particularly bizarre and savage aspect of the Southern lynching years was manifested in what anthropologist called autocannibalism, where male victims were forced to eat their own sexual *members*. As the Harvard University sociologist Orlando Patterson has pointed out, "This was the case in one of the most [in]famous lynchings of all time, one that attracted the attention of the nation and the world even before it happened, since the [American Press] wire service broadcast the lynchers' intention while they were still holding the victim before sacrificing him."<sup>24</sup>

Patterson reports that a Black man named Claude Neal was sacrificed in Jackson County, Florida, on October 27, 1934, in what was called a "bachchanalian" ceremony. Over two thousand people showed up at this ceremony. According to Patterson this event appears to have been organized by a "largely middle-class group of politically connected Euro-Americans."<sup>25</sup> Patterson goes on to report how one of the sacrificers later described what happened to Claude Neal:

"After taking the nigger to the woods about four miles from Greenwood, they cut off his penis. He was made to eat it. Then they cut off his testicles and made him eat them and say he liked it" . . . "Then they sliced his sides and stomach with knives and every now and then somebody would cut off a finger or toe. Red hot irons were used on the nigger to burn him from top to bottom." From time to time during the torture a rope would be tied around Neal's neck

and he was pulled over a limb and held there until he almost choked to death when he would be let down and the torture began all over again.<sup>26</sup>

What is additionally striking and devastating about Neal's case, and countless others like it, is that in a "rational" nation that assumes that all may participate equally in its social, political, and economic life, in a nation where each individual life is regarded as sacred and deserving of dignity, a critical mass of even Christian protest did not swell up on Neal's behalf. Adding profoundly to the tragedy is the fact that critical-mass protest could not be counted on even after, as Patterson reports, "formal invitations had been issued for the sacrifice and announced in the local newspapers."<sup>27</sup> Indeed, far from any protest either before or after Neal's murder, White Americans gathered to see the ceremony, which Patterson argues is no exaggeration of the form of ritualized cannibalism that was common in America in the twentieth century:

Neal's skinned and mutilated body was photographed, and copies were sold briskly for fifty cents each. Body parts were also prized as mementos: "One store owner . . . recalled the pride with which a man came into his store that morning" and showed off one of Neal's fingers.<sup>28</sup>

According to both eyewitness and newspaper accounts of the lynching, there were 18 bullet holes in Neal's chest, head, and abdomen. Neal's body was finally tied to the rear of a car and dragged to the farm of a young White woman he had been falsely accused of murdering, where White women and children participated in the final acts of mutilating what remained of his tortured body.<sup>29</sup>

In the context of historical legacies like this, it has been an undisputable fact of life that Black people often needed to fight for that which is more basic than civil rights. Throughout the nation's history Black people have also engaged in a *human rights* struggle to simply live, to survive as a species of nature in the natural world. As crucial as securing civil rights was, Black folk wanted more than the right to vote, or the right to freely reside in any neighborhood within their means, or the right to drink from the same public water fountains as White folk, or to sit their Black asses on the same public toilets seats as White asses. Indeed the fight for civil rights against Jim Crow was an aspect of a more deeply profound Black desire: Black people wanted to be seen and treated as human beings, rather than as trespassers on the human race. Migrating through the Middle Passage, American slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction, to the present, Black folk have routinely conjured particular narratives of religious faith as the ultimate liberative resource and path toward freedom.

### **Black Religion**

As Black people, en mass, migrated out of the South during the twentieth century, they bought their largely rural religion with them to the Northern

“Promise Land.” The overwhelming numbers of Black migrants were Christians to be sure. The hope of reaching the “Promise Land,” or of finding a “New Jerusalem,” invoked the narrative of the ancient Israelites of the Old Testament whose migration to the land of Canaan (the land of milk and honey) was understood to have been willed and supervised by none other than God Almighty. But, as was admittedly true even in the antebellum period, much of the theological trajectory and practice of Black Christians post-Civil War did not include aggressively blood-soaked rebellion in the service of holiness.

After the Middle Passage, slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction, Southern Black religious expression would be transformed in the context of the distinctive difficulties faced in the industrialized urban North. Not only would Black faith be transformed by the persistence of White supremacy and by the challenges of the new economic and social order that emerged with the industrial revolution, Black people would now (more intensely than ever before) face off even against themselves for the heart and soul of Black religion in the context of alternate socioreligious spheres of educational, political, economic, and cultural community. Sociologically understood, these alternate religious communities have sometimes been referred to as “nations within a nation” or religious bodies with “the soul of a nation.” An example of such an alternative “nation” included the National Baptist Convention (NBC), founded in 1895, with its axillary Woman’s Convention founded in 1900. Indeed, the rise of the NBC (as well as other Baptist and other Black denominational “nations”) constituted Black “public spheres” against the many civil restrictions placed on Black citizens Post-Reconstruction and well into the twentieth century (of course, many may rightly wish to point out that the eighteenth and nineteenth century rise of Black Methodism also constituted the roots of church denominations with the a public soul of a nation). Summarizing the notion of Black churches as “public spheres” from around the turn of the twentieth century, Evelyn Higginbotham notes that,

by law, blacks were denied access to public space, such as parks, libraries, restaurants, meeting halls, and other public accommodations. In time, the black church—open to both secular and religious groups in the community—came to signify a public space. It housed a diversity of programs including schools, circulated libraries, concerts, restaurants, insurance companies, vocational training, athletic clubs—all catering to a population much broader than the membership of individual churches. The church served as meeting hall for virtually every large gathering. It held political rallies, clubwomen’s conferences, and school graduations. It was the one space truly accessible to the black community, and it was this characteristic that led W. E. B. Du Bois, long before E Franklin Frazier, to identify the black church as a multiple site—at once being a place of worship, theater, publishing house, school, and lodge.<sup>30</sup>

It is important to bring to the fore that the emergence of the National Baptists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have—as summarized by C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya in their seminal text *The Black*



*Church in the African American Experience*—an ancestry that “reaches back to the first known black churches in America, generally acknowledged to have been the African Baptist or ‘Bluestone’ Church on the William Byrd plantation near the Bluestone River in Mecklenburg, Virginia, in 1758, and the Silver Bluff Baptist Church, located on the South Carolina bank of the Savannah River not far from Augusta, Georgia.”<sup>31</sup>

Indeed, many Southern Black folk, coming into Northern engagement with various Black socioreligious “public spheres,” faced the displeasure of Northern Black faith perspectives that were more bourgeois in vision, with more “respectable” values and lifestyles. Many Northern Black Christians (AME, AME Zion, Baptists of various persuasions, Congregationalist, Presbyterians, Catholics, and others) would charge Southern Black people with setting back the progress of the race: Southern Black folk were allegedly “unrefined,” “unenlightened,” they lacked the spirit of protest, they dressed funny, had poor manners, many partied too much...indeed they were just too “damn country.”<sup>32</sup>

In the context of the many individual, communal, social, economic, cultural, and political pressures facing the millions of Black people who would leave the South over several decades, it comes as no surprise that the faces of Black religion in the North (and West) would diversify rapidly. All manner of Holiness, Pentecostal, sectarian, cultish, accommodationist, progressive, pacifist, nationalist, Neo-African, and “secular” humanist faiths emerged. The new expressions of Black faith that would emerge more freely in the nation were based in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, various West African and Caribbean religions, Eastern religions, and Western secular Humanisms<sup>33</sup>—or some synchronized combination of these as well as other faith-based sources.

Even with all of this diversity and complexity a common theme seems apparent: Black religious expression, which is routinely charged with assisting and continuing the long struggle to “make a way out of no way,” involves various complex dimensions of geophysical, natural, and religious migrations for the cause of Black survival, justice seeking, and flourishing.

## Notes

1. Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), xxix.
2. Charles M. Christian, *Black Saga: The African American Experience* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995), 6.
3. Ibid.
4. James H. Cone, *Risks of Faith: The Emergence of a Black Theology of Liberation 1968–1998* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 14.
5. Ibid.
6. Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), i.
7. Quoted in M. Shawn Copeland, “God among the Ruins: Companions and Co-Sufferer,” in *Violence, Transformation, and the Sacred: They Shall be Called the Children of God*, ed. Margaret R. Pfeil and Tobias Winright, 15

- (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011). See also Linda Hogan, *Dwellings: A Spiritual History of the Living World* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1995), 80.
8. James Logan, "A Response to M. Shawn Copeland and an Invitation to Dialogue," in *Violence, Transformation, and the Sacred: "They Shall Be called Children of God,"* *College Theology Society*, Annual Volume 57, ed. Margret R. Pfeil and Tobias L. Winright (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011), 31.
  9. Vincent Harding, "Black Power and the American Christ," in *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979*, ed. Gayraud S. Wilmore and James H. Cone, 36 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979).
  10. Billie Holiday, *Strange Fruit*, Commodore 526, 1939, vinyl recording. Reissued on *Strange Fruit*, Atlantic SD1614, 1972, compact disc.
  11. Milton C. Sernett, ed., *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 89–101. Primary source, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the late Insurrection in Southhampton, Va. as fully and voluntarily told to Thomas R. Gray* (Baltimore, MD: Thomas Gray, Lucas and Deaver, 1831), 1–21. Cf. also David F. Allmendinger, Jr., "The Construction of The Confessions of Nat Turner," in *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory*, ed. Kenneth S. Greenberg, 24–42 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
  12. The Last Poets, *Vibes from the Scribes: Selected Poems* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1992), 33–35.
  13. Richard Lischer, *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Word that Moved America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 177.
  14. See, for example, David Walker, "Our Wretchedness in Consequence of the Preachers of Religion," in *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, 2nd ed., ed. Milton C. Sernett, 193–201 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). Primary Source: *David Walker's Appeal, In Four Articles; Together With A Preamble, To the Coloured Citizens of the World, But in Particular, and Very Expressly, To Those of the United States of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965).
  15. See Eric Foner's seminal book, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002).
  16. Kwane Anthony Appiah, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, Volume 4* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 533.
  17. Jim Crow laws were named for an early-nineteenth-century (Antebellum) minstrel (mistral) show character. Minstrel shows were put on by white men in Black face who mocked and imitated "Negro" singing, dancing, and speech vernacular. One of the earliest and most successful individual performers was a white actor named Thomas Dartmouth Rice, also called "Daddy" Rice (1806–1860). Rice's performances of the character Jim Crow was inspired by an elderly Black man from Louisville Kentucky. Rice would croon and dance to a song that always ended with the same chorus: "Weel about and turn about and do jis so, Eb'ry time I weel about I jump Jim Crow."
  18. David Cunningham, *Klansville, U.S.A.: The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights Era Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17. Note: Many sources cite December 1865 as the founding year of the Ku Klux Klan.

19. Toni Morrison, *Beloved: A Novel* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 212. This is the only Knopf edition that I am aware of. If there is another one this would be the first edition—nothing on the text stating otherwise.
20. This fairly often cited quote apparently comes from a lecture given at the University of Wisconsin-Madison entitled, “The Great Migration: Blacks in White America.” It has been cited as “Lecture 09” but does not include the author’s name, course title, or date.
21. See and cf. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham’s outstanding summary of “The Black Church during the Nadir,” in Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women’s Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*, 4–7 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). See also Rayford W. Logan’s classic text concerning “the nadir of race relations in America,” *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1997), originally published in 1954 as *The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877–1901*.
22. Appiah and Gates, *Africana*, 50–51.
23. *Ibid.*, 5 1.
24. Orlando Patterson, *Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries* (Washington, DC: Civitas, 1998), 197.
25. *Ibid.*, 198.
26. Quoted in *ibid.*, 198. See also James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 22.
27. Patterson, *Rituals of Blood*, 198.
28. *Ibid.*; McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*, 85.
29. Public Broadcasting Station, *Freedom Never Dies*: “Legacy of Harry T. Moore: Florida Terror,” <http://www.pbs.org/harrymoore/terror/cneal.html> (accessed July 28, 2012).
30. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 7. See also Philip S. Foner, ed., *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks, 1890–1919* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 97; and E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 35–51.
31. C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in African American Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 23; cf. also pp. 23–46.
32. On this very sensitive matter, see and cf. Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 13–15.
33. See, for example, Arthur Huff Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); and Anthony B. Pinn, *Varieties of African American Religious Experience* (Minneapolis, MN: Beacon Press, 1998).

## Chapter 13

# Latino Migrations and the Transformation of Religion in the United States: Framing the Question

*Allan Figueroa Deck, SJ*

This chapter focuses on the rising Latino demographic in the United States and its impact on Christianity, particularly Catholicism. The Pew Research Center summarized its findings about Latinos and the transformation of American religion saying that “understanding religious faith among Latinos is essential to understanding the future of this population as well as the evolving nature of religion in the United States.”<sup>1</sup> This chapter seeks to provide an initial framework for the exploration of major Latino contributions to religion in the United States today. Students in the fields of religious and theological studies may find the profile helpful in the effort to better grasp the broader dimensions of this reality. These pages provide a necessary overview for a neuralgic topic as US society, religions, and religious movements experience Latinoization as a result of migration, relatively high Latino birthrates, and considerable exogamy.<sup>2</sup> The unprecedented participation of Latinos in the outcome of the 2012 presidential elections and the abundant commentary on its significance as a watershed moment suggest an analogy: what is happening in the political realignment of the nation echoes a change as well with regard to society and religion.<sup>3</sup>

The first of five sections in this chapter raises the question of method. It identifies two distinct approaches to the study of religion that need acknowledgment. The second section sketches centuries of Latino migrations, especially those of the past one hundred years. The third part profiles Latino religion from its remote origins keeping in mind the diverse elements of that rich religious heritage. A fourth section considers some of the ways that Latino religion contributes to the transformation of Christianity in the United States today. The fifth and concluding section merely highlights some of the major observations. In addition to the pioneering work of the Pew Hispanic Research Center already noted, these reflections owe much to the scholarship of Gastón Espinosa, Timothy Matovina, and Richard R.

Treviño whose works provide a resourceful entry into the complex world of US Latino religion today.<sup>4</sup>

### Negotiating an Appropriate Method

Gastón Espinosa raises crucial questions about method and notes the existence of a pan-Hispanic attitude, that is, a tendency to assume that it is acceptable to lump Latinos together, even though they often differ in terms of nationality, race, social class, assimilation levels, Spanish-/English-language proficiency, and generation. Consequently, Mexican American religion is subsumed under the larger category. Espinosa cautions against this because people of Mexican origin are *sui generis* and play a preponderant role in the discussion of Latino religion, first, in terms of their presence and numbers, and, second, because of history. For this reason these pages stress Mexican migrations and contributions without excluding altogether the larger Latino context.

Alex Saragoza adds another consideration that needs to be kept in mind, namely, that a great deal of Chicano Studies scholarship fails to acknowledge the diversity among Chicanos themselves, that is, people of Mexican origin in the United States, who can be viewed as migrants or as “having arrived.” Saragoza gives the example of failed attempts to rally Chicanos around certain political issues due to the failure to differentiate among them.<sup>5</sup> In this chapter the focus will be diachronic, on the cohorts of Mexican origin over centuries, but especially in the past one hundred years. A synchronic approach would require much more nuance as Saragoza and others have suggested.<sup>6</sup>

The past one hundred years of Mexican migration has been the longest and largest sustained migration of any people in US history, one that accounts for 65 percent of the United States’ fifty-two million Latinos.<sup>7</sup> The 65 percent of them who identify as Roman Catholic have transformed the Catholic Church from a primarily European-origin institution into a majority Latino one.<sup>8</sup> This is only the latest phase of the Latino presence, much of it originating in Mexico, which antecedes that of Anglo-America. The absence of geographical barriers between the two nations has been inviting people to move north and south across the international border for centuries.<sup>9</sup> In view of this profound human exchange Mexican American religion has a distinctive identity and trajectory.

Another methodological concern pertains to the differences between theological and religious studies, that is, to the difference between a method that assumes a given religious identity on the part of those making the inquiry versus one by researchers who may be indifferent or sympathetic but not religiously committed, one that can be called “phenomenological” and “secular.” Some scholarship in the field of Latino and Mexican American religion has been produced within the Catholic and Protestant theological academy; while some also takes place in the field of religious studies. In this connection Robert R. Treviño notes the relative paucity of serious studies of Latino religion in the social sciences and history. Nevertheless, he sees a change under way in this regard.<sup>10</sup> He gives the example of David Carrasco, who, under the

influence of the comparative religious studies approach of Mircea Eliade, has produced a vision of a “Brown Millennium” that points to the strengthening of Latino elements in the reality of religion in the United States in years to come. Espinosa articulates Carrasco’s insight into the nature of potential Latino contributions to US religion as “a new, dynamic, mestizo Latino aesthetic that will re-orientate and rejuvenate our understanding of how the current *cultural and religious change* will transform the *religious, economic, civic and social ordering* of our socially stratified societies.”<sup>11</sup>

Espinosa carefully outlines the paths pursued by phenomenological religious studies methodologies and contrasts them with the approaches taken by Catholic and Protestant writers who reflect pastoral perspectives in line with the institutional realities of their respective denominations. For example, many of the scholarly studies undertaken by these writers have been produced under the heading of “Hispanic ministry.” This reflects a practical theological perspective that seeks to ground practice on scholarly insights while also advancing the Christian mission as understood by one’s denomination.<sup>12</sup> It is important to acknowledge that both the secular, phenomenological approach and the religiously committed one of theology are valid and useful.<sup>13</sup> They enrich the ways in which Latino contributions to religion and society can be identified and assessed, that is, from diverse perspectives that have ramifications on society itself as well as on particular religions and faith traditions. This chapter will attempt to blend the two methodologies for the sake of gaining greater insight.

### **Latino Migration to the United States: The Oldest and the Newest**

Herbert Eugene Bolton, the father of borderlands history, reminded us more than a century ago that the movement of civilization, religion, commerce, and culture north from Mexico and the Caribbean is one of the greatest yet unacknowledged dynamics of US history. He reminded us that this northward movement was *prior to* the frontier movement of Anglo Americans and other European immigrants westward from the Atlantic seaboard. An adequate appreciation of the presence of Latino cultures and religion in the wake of this northward movement has been eclipsed by the Frontier Thesis, a narrative based upon a narrow historical interpretation of US history that ignores Latino contributions. Catholic Church histories as well have tended to reflect the same regrettable Anglo-American bias that makes little of the deep Latino roots of US Catholic Christianity.<sup>14</sup>

Compounding this blindness is a long-standing prejudice in the Western world against things Hispanic, which Philip Wayne Powell identified decades ago in *The Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*. This prejudice has tended to work against the acceptance of Latinos as a “successful” immigrant group, and this despite the fact that Latinos are actually the oldest group of migrants to have stepped foot on what is now US soil.<sup>15</sup> In the majority today’s Latinos

were actually born in the United States and are therefore not immigrants. Significant numbers of them, moreover, have experienced upward socioeconomic mobility. Even though there are many generations of Latinos whose presence goes back much farther than many European Americans, Latinos remain strangely alien. Over the past one hundred years the constant replenishment of Latinos by relatives coming from Mexico, together with the homeland's geographic proximity, has contributed to a unique situation in which Latinos continue to be judged by the general public more as foreigners than as Americans.<sup>16</sup>

Latino migrations in North America began early in the 1500s, one century before England's colonial explorations of the region. John Tutino demonstrates how the Latino presence has been a formative factor and how it certainly has continued as such throughout the origins, foundations, and ongoing trajectory of the nation—an immense movement of peoples, goods, ideas, religion, ways of life, and culture from Latin America. The Latino presence, which includes a strong religious identity, consequently, is a constitutive element in the very making of the nation.<sup>17</sup>

The geographic territory that eventually became the United States was more in the hands of Spain than of Great Britain. At least a third of the continental United States, moreover, was taken from Mexico in a war in 1848. This constituted one half of Mexico's national territory. In addition, the earliest settlement of non-native people in the United States is St. Augustine, Florida, followed by Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Spanish established military presidios, missions, and pueblos in Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and California. After indigenous peoples, the first settlers in all these regions were Latinos who from the beginning were made up of Spaniards and their children (*criollos*), mulattos, mestizos, native people, and enslaved or freed Africans. This extraordinary amalgamation of races and ethnicities, moreover, continues to be the pattern of Latino immigration five hundred years later.<sup>18</sup>

On the western and southern flanks of the United States Tutino notes the powerful influence of the "expansive ways of Spanish North America," which played an essential role in developing the economy of the West. The first wealth of this region was the result of mining, irrigated cultivation, and commercial grazing. These seminal economic activities originated in the central Mexican states of Querétaro and Zacatecas. The silver economy flourished for almost three centuries and was the principal source of funding for capitalist expansion throughout North America. The slave economy of the early United States was always second to the diversified economy of Mexico. Spanish North America became a zone of considerable commercial and capitalist expansion that unquestionably "helped shape the histories of both Mexico and the United States."<sup>19</sup>

Latino migration was relatively sparse in earlier centuries before the Mexican American War of 1846. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Latino presence in the United States was made up principally of Mexican citizens who found themselves suddenly in the United States as a result of the Treaty of

Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the war with Mexico. This was a time of considerable economic expansion for Mexico after having undergone 50 years of political instability in the first decades of independence from Spain. Emigration to the United States was minimal during this period, but the movement of laborers northward eventually spilled over into the United States.<sup>20</sup>

In the first decade of the twentieth-century conditions leading to emigration arose in Mexico as a result of sociopolitical conflicts. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 initiated an exodus of refugees and economic immigrants to the United States that has continued more or less unabated for one hundred years. It began with the arrival of Mexicans working on the railroads and mines. World War II, moreover, created new opportunities for Mexican labor as local manpower dropped on farms and factories due to military recruitment. The 1930s brought a hiatus in the form of abrupt and legally questionable deportations of Mexican nationals in the wake of the Great Depression. In 1942, however, the flow northward resumed as the first Bracero Agreement between the United States and Mexico was signed. The Bracero program lasted for more than 20 years and inaugurated a stream of legal and illegal migration that has continued to the present day despite sporadic efforts to arrest it.<sup>21</sup>

In the first decade of the twenty-first century Mexico experienced considerable economic improvement that certainly played a role in arresting the movement northward. This is part of a general economic advance made by Latin America, not just Mexico, which fared relatively well during the worldwide economic downturn after 2008. In 2012, for example, the Mexican government reported that the middle class had grown by 17 percent. Salaries rose and access to education improved. Mexican migration to the United States as reported by the Pew Research Center declined markedly after 2009. These developments suggest that something is indeed occurring in regard to the historic one-hundred-year movement of Latinos of Mexican origin northward.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the prospects of a more flexible immigration law, one that provides for guest workers and a process for gaining regularization for the 11 million undocumented of whom more than half are Mexicans, may mean an increase of movement of Mexicans northward, at least for family members seeking to be reunited.

Significant numbers of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Central and South Americans have swelled the ranks of US Latinos in the second half of the twentieth century particularly as a result of war and/or economic hardship in those nations. In the majority these immigrants identify as Roman Catholic, but there is significant movement to other faiths, not only to evangelicalism and Pentecostalism but also to Mormonism and the Jehovah Witnesses.<sup>23</sup> Surveys, however, range between 70 and 65 percent Roman Catholic among the immigrants of Mexican origin, and it declines to around 55 percent by the third generation. Interestingly enough, only 50 percent of Puerto Ricans identify as Roman Catholic. Puerto Ricans and Central Americans have moved in significant numbers toward evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity, somewhat in contrast to the Mexicans. Juan Francisco Martínez



notes that of all Latino cohorts, the Latinos of Mexican origin are the least likely to move on to faiths other than Roman Catholicism.<sup>24</sup>

### **The Latino Religious Legacy**

An understanding of the role religion plays in Latino cultures must begin with an appreciation of its rich and complex roots. Unfortunately, a balanced assessment of religion's reality and current role in the lives of today's US Latinos has been affected by biases in the academy itself. The influence of Enlightenment perspectives has resulted in a tendency to bracket matters of belief and religion from life and action. Today's privatism, the notion that religion is and should be a purely private matter, may have the effect of blinding researchers and writers from the fact that religion plays a central, public, and often constructive role in the lives of Latinos. Religion, moreover, is arguably a major force in the current participation of Latinos in US society and culture as well as in the US Catholic Church and other churches and religions with which Latinos identify.<sup>25</sup>

Another source of bias in the assessment of religion's role among Latinos is the fact that prevailing historical interpretations of Latin American history have favored the perspective of nineteenth-century liberals for whom religion and particularly the Catholic Church were more part of the problem than the resolution to the historic challenges faced by Latin America as it emerged from colonialism. There is truth to the perspective of the liberals, but there are also exaggerations and serious inaccuracies.<sup>26</sup> In identifying the Church and religion with the forces of reaction and conservatism, they have often been ignored or dismissed as irrelevant to the lives and struggles of the Latin American masses. Yet the dramatic period of sociopolitical struggle of the 1970s–1990s demonstrated the inadequacy of such a view. Religion has much to do with the motivation and persistence of people in their struggles. The huge number of Catholic lay persons martyred for the cause of social justice and the extraordinary leadership they manifested in Central America, Chile, Brazil, and several other places in the latter years of the twentieth century attest to the power of religion in forging constructive social change.<sup>27</sup> The distinctive and ongoing contribution of Latin American liberation theology to contemporary theological discourse and social justice struggles throughout the world belies the notion that Latino religion is a peripheral concern of little weight.<sup>28</sup>

Understanding the current appeal of religion to Latinos requires an appreciation of its roots. Three powerful religious currents converge in the origins of what was to become today's Latino Christianity: the pre-Columbian, the Spanish medieval and baroque, and the African. Two geographical areas stand out in particular as locations for the centuries-old process of religious gestation in the Americas—Meso-America and the Andean region. An Enlightenment mindset and the Black Legend about Spanish Catholic backwardness have tended to stress the negative, abusive, and even violent characteristics of the evangelization process undertaken

by missionaries under Spanish colonial rule. What stands out, however, is the remarkable way in which three religious currents mingled to produce one the largest cohorts of Christians in the world today. Latin American or Latino Catholicism accounts for approximately one-half of worldwide Catholicism, and Latinos are now a major presence within evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity.<sup>29</sup>

The words “syncretism” and “hybrid” capture the spirit of the missionary methods used in the world that the Spaniards brought to the Americas. Emerging from the *Reconquista*, eight centuries of intense cultural and religious encounters among Christians, Jews, and Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula brought to the Americas an analogical, Mediterranean imagination that allowed them to accommodate some of the features of the native peoples and African slaves they encountered in the Americas. Thus was forged a brilliant, distinctive popular religion, a basically orthodox Catholicism that stresses material signs that connect people with the transcendent: sacraments and symbols, devotions, local and home-based rituals, and imaginative narratives. This together with a Catholic emphasis on inclusivity implicit in the doctrine of catholicity, that is, the Church’s mandate to engage, relate to, and respect the universal Spirit of God in others, created at times an atmosphere that allowed the religious ways of the non-Catholic others to add their ways to the panoply of practices that flourished under the big tent of Roman Catholicism.

Medieval Spanish Catholicism was characterized by a high regard for local religion as it took root in remote villages and valleys of the rugged Iberian Peninsula. Despite engaging in sporadic wars to reclaim the land for Christians, this Catholicism often found ways for living together in peace with “others,” what in Spanish is called *convivencia*. The *Reconquista* was not only a time of war but also a time of rich intercultural and interreligious encounters among Christians, Muslims, and Jews that made Spain and Portugal unique among European peoples of the time.<sup>30</sup> The strong analogical imagination of the Catholic Mediterranean world allowed the Iberian colonizers of Latin America to integrate cultural and religious differences by means of the substitution of symbols. The gods of both the pre-Columbian and African peoples were demoted but found a place by analogy in the Catholic Communion of Saints. The powerful role of feminine deities among the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the Africans found resonance in the central role of the Virgin Mary in Spanish Catholicism. The affirmation of miracles, healing, and good and evil spirits (angels and demons) was common in medieval Spanish Catholicism as well as in the indigenous and African worlds. The ritual, liturgical practices of Catholicism provided a venue for the addition of indigenous and African practices, music, and dancing. Moreover, for centuries Spanish Catholicism found in the Americas a hothouse for exercising the baroque style in religious art, architecture, liturgy, and public *fiestas*.<sup>31</sup> Huge numbers of African slaves and the emerging mestizo and mulatto masses embraced Catholicism and found the drama, movement, color, and pageantry of the baroque style pioneered by the Jesuits particularly attractive. The baroque

style was deeply congenial and resonated well with the culture, religion, and ethos of the indigenous and African neophytes.

Popular Latino religion emphasizes affectivity and the embodiment of faith in performance. The community's beliefs assume *bodily* expression through ritual, gesture, and dance. Affectivity and performance remain influential factors in the acculturation of Latino popular religion in the new, dynamic circumstances of the postmodern world whether in Latin America or the United States. These two qualities serve popular religion very well in the sense that they offer something distinctive that contrasts with the relatively staid rationality and dogmatism of mainstream Catholicism and traditional religion in the middle-class European American world. Latino contributions to religion in the postmodern era appear to fill a deep void for vitality over against the Western world's tendency to view religion as propositional and focused on fidelity to stated beliefs. Latino Catholicism does not dismiss nor oppose doctrines and orthodoxy. It simply stresses something else: *religion as life* and all the ways that the world of the divinity and spirits can be engaged existentially in community.<sup>32</sup>

In connection with Latino religion's stress on affectivity, this is the place to mention the extraordinary role of Latinos in contemporary Christian renewalism in the form of Pentecostalism and its Catholic counterpart the Charismatic Renewal. Remarkably, the largest single group of Pentecostals and charismatics is found among peoples of Latin American origin. The Pentecostal movement is arguably the most meaningful development in worldwide Christianity of the past one hundred years. Along with evangelicism the renewalist movement has transformed modern Protestantism and made significant inroads in Catholicism.<sup>33</sup> The historic, mainline Protestant churches that stand apart from Pentecostalism, as has been widely noted, are in precipitous decline. In Catholicism, moreover, there is a growing recognition of the role of movements like the Charismatic Renewal and a corresponding openness to some of the elements of lay participation and leadership, music, affectivity and general vitality that the Renewal provides.<sup>34</sup>

The domestic, laity-oriented character of Latino popular Catholicism may also be relevant here. Having been nurtured for centuries at home by mothers and grandmothers, popular Catholicism is somewhat impervious or resistant to clericalism, the monopolization of leadership by the clergy. Once again, at the popular level it is not a question of the opposition of clergy to laity or a denial of the ordained clergy's unique role; rather, it is about placing the family and the broader community in a role of leadership that assures continuity in practices and values. This may involve benignly ignoring the clergy not opposing them. Writers like Orlando Espín have highlighted how popular Catholicism is a form of *resistance* to the impositions of the powers of church and/or state.<sup>35</sup> Granted that in the chaotic world of migrations and modernization, this historic role for local communities and households, especially for woman, has evolved but not disappeared.

The power of an idiosyncratic popular religious orientation of the masses in Latin America survives and reaches down through the ages. Certainly it

has evolved and declined in the context of urbanization and modernization. Originally rooted in the rural hinterlands, popular Catholicism today has experienced a decline in influence due to rising anonymity and autonomy in the patterns of life and work in urban, industrialized societies. Decades ago Segundo Galilea proposed the category "urban popular religion" for this mutation and studied it in his native Chile. Galilea noted the persistence of significant patterns of popular Catholic devotion in urban contexts, some of the same ones noted in parishes throughout the United States.<sup>36</sup> In urban centers, for example, parishes and clergy are more accessible than in rural areas. This means that popular religion encounters official religion with more regularity. As a result celebrations that were conducted at home are sometimes transferred to the parish and paraliturgical practices around death are now led not by mother, grandmother, or a lay prayer leader, but by the parish priest or the deacon.

Medieval Spanish Catholicism provided a framework for what has become a stunningly hybrid form of Catholicism in the Americas. Realistically, however, it has been observed that the *reverse* can and does occur, namely, Christian symbols are transformed by native, African, mestizo, and mulatto ones. Consequently, the word "interculturation" more adequately captures the mutuality of this encounter.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the process is ongoing, and today in the context of Latino migration one may speak of new encounters with the cultures of modernity and post modernity.

The encounter of Latino popular Catholicism with a standardized European American Catholicism continues in full force. The growing Latino presence in the US Catholic Church in virtually every corner of the nation has served to create alternative styles of prayer and community as well as distinctive devotions to the Virgin Mary and the saints, along with practices like processions and paraliturgical dance. The process of introducing and in some cases transferring Latino practices and spirituality, emphases on affectivity, spontaneity, and family orientation to the dominant European American context, has created a bifurcated church caught between diverging cultural and social class worlds. But it has also created a new style of being Catholic. US Catholicism is richer and more universal as a result of the Latino presence. It now shares in some of the same qualities found in developing nations globally, what missiologist Lamin Sanneh calls "frontier Catholicism."<sup>38</sup>

The influence, however, has not been in one direction only. Latino Christianity is being influenced by the European American drive for organization, standardization, professionalization, and coherence, tendencies more typical of the US Catholic Church than of the sister churches of Latin America. One may speak, therefore, of a new *mestizaje*, the encounter with Anglo-American contemporary culture and religiousness, a new chapter in the ongoing give and take among cultures that have engaged Latinos over centuries and explain their way of life and being in church and society.<sup>39</sup>

Expressions of Latino popular Catholicism have also affected Protestant, especially evangelical and Pentecostal congregations, in the form of practices around the celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe as well as other Latino Marian devotions. The *quinceañera*, the fifteenth birthday celebration for

girls, has become quite popular among some Latino Protestants. The widespread use of sharing popular hymns of a charismatic nature, moreover, can be detected in contemporary Catholic and Protestant worship in both Spanish and English.<sup>40</sup>

The process of interculturalization provides a context for appreciating the continuum of religious and spiritual practices characteristic of Latinos. These practices move from orthodox, standard Catholicism to various New Age and marginal practices like astrology and the horoscope. One of the qualities of Latino religion is its openness to religious expressions of all sorts, whatever their origin. For instance, the Spiritism of Alan Kardec continues to have some currency especially among some Caribbean Latinos. Spiritism dates back to nineteenth-century France. It offers adherents the prospect of communicating with the spirits of deceased loved ones. The world of the spirits was quite vivid among the pre-Columbian and African ancestors of today's Latinos, and it seems that there is still openness to this collective concern.

Spiritism has sometimes blended with *Santería*, an Afro-Cuban religion with a growing following among Caribbean Latinos in the United States.<sup>41</sup> With some variations in Brazil this lively religion of African origin goes by various names—*Condomblé*, *Shangó*, *Ubanda*, for example—and is practiced by millions of Brazilians who simultaneously profess the Catholic faith. Voodoo is the name given this fascinating hybrid religion in Haiti. Having been the religion of slaves, *Santería* in its various manifestations is adept at surviving underground, on the margins of society and of official religion.

One might speculate that in the milieu of today's postdenominationalism when growing numbers of Christians do not strongly identify with any denomination but move from one to another, there may be synergy derived from the Latino openness to religion in all its forms. The growth of Latino Catholic charismatics and Latino Protestant Pentecostals suggests that a new form of ecumenism may be in gestation, one in which the search for God and the transcendent, unity among believers, and engagement of cultures with matters of faith does not center so much on doctrine but rather on common values, beauty, life, and nonpropositional truths expressed in action.<sup>42</sup>

Another popular form of religion among Latinos that has gained attention in the social sciences is *curanderismo*. Since time immemorial in the Americas local religious/community leaders have exhibited special powers in the area of healing. This includes expertise in the area of herbal medicines and ritual practices associated with physical, psychological, and spiritual healing. These healers may be men or women. Often they are of the same social class and level of education as the rest of the community. They are usually but not always esteemed at faithful Catholics. The practice of *curanderos* dates back beyond the evangelization of the sixteenth century when it was an integral element of the native American religions. Curiously it has survived and even flourished in many parts of the United States wherever rural and urban working-class Latinos are found.<sup>43</sup>

The practice of faith healers like this is sustained and enhanced by *botánicas*, local religious goods stores, found in strip malls within or close to barrios

in almost every major city in the United States today. These *botánicas* provide the herbs recommended by the curanderos along with other religious objects such as images, holy water, prayer aids, and so forth. The inventory of such stores is a graphic example of the stunning hybridity of Latino religion today. Even a casual review of the objects found in *botánicas* shows that the religious orientation of Latinos is amazingly eclectic. It points to a persistent fascination with religion and even the occult, a supernaturalism and religious expressivity for which the initial Catholic evangelization continues to provide a workable framework. Yet today that fascination must engage an infinitely more complex pluralism than the one encountered centuries ago by the Spaniards. It must also continue to find its way in tension with official religion's discomfort with ambiguity and drive toward normativity.

### **Latino Religion and the Future of US Christianity**

The preceding lines provide only the beginnings of an adequate framework for discussing the impact of Latino religion on US Christianity. In the final section of this chapter four areas of church life that reveal the direction of the Latino contributions specifically to US Catholicism today can be singled out as particularly revelatory. They flow from the rich if limited portrayal of migrations and religious roots discussed earlier: (1) the liturgy, (2) spiritual renewal, (3) faith and justice, and (4) the revitalization of ecclesial life.<sup>44</sup>

#### ***Prayer and Worship***

Timothy Matovina contrasts the orientation of mainstream liturgical leaders in the United States as well as in the Vatican itself to what Latinos have actually accomplished in the more than 4,800 parishes throughout the country where liturgy is celebrated in Spanish or bilingually.<sup>45</sup> In a period when emphasis was put on "clarity of symbols" leading to a reduction of imagery and a limiting of rituals and signs, Latinos actually did the opposite. Wherever they are found, Latinos tend to provide *additional* creative, idiosyncratic approaches rooted in their popular Catholicism. These approaches involve imagery itself, whether of the saints, of Christian mysteries, of the passion of Christ, and of the Virgin Mary's life and apparitions. Emblematic of the Latino influence on US Catholicism is the fact that the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, which is not a holy day of obligation, has completely eclipsed the feast of the Immaculate Conception, which is a holy day of obligation when the faithful are obliged to attend Mass. The Guadalupe celebration attracts the largest number of faithful—and not just Latinos—to church of any Marian feast in the United States.<sup>46</sup> The faithful "vote with their feet," as it were. This exemplifies the power of the community's practices to produce unexpected results that go beyond the plans of official leadership.

In general, the Latino presence has provided for continuity between Catholic practices regarding the Virgin Mary from the period before the Second Vatican Council with what occurred in the council's aftermath.

Mainstream US Catholic devotion to the Virgin Mary suffered a sharp decline after Vatican II. Arguably one might make the point that Marian devotion would be notably diminished had not Latinos and other traditional Catholic immigrants revitalized it. This is not a peripheral concern for Catholics, moreover, since the figure of Mary is central to a Catholic understanding of Christ and the Church.

Along with the emphasis on Mary and the saints, the Latino presence has influenced prayer and worship in the form of spontaneity and affectivity in language, gesture, and ritual practices. Popular seasonal practices like the *posadas* that combine biblical narrative with music, drama, and celebration before Christmas or the *via crucis*, the way of the cross, during Holy Week add a powerful, performative dimension to the Church's official worship. The many faith expressions of Latino Catholicism have a much deeper significance. According to Matovina, they "mediate a communitarian understanding of the human person that shapes their lives, faith, and modes of participation in the eucharist." In the face of emphases on the autonomous individual in modern cultures, Matovina also notes "the tendency of Latino devotees to accentuate relationships like those between Jesus and Mary presents an alternative vision of what fundamentally constitutes our humanity."<sup>47</sup> The emphasis on relationships, human and divine, and a communally shared sacramental world that characterize the prayer and worship of Latinos constitute an alternative to the myth and image of the autonomous individual so influential in mainstream US culture.

### ***Spiritual Renewal***

Much of the discourse regarding spirituality reflects the classic expressions of it in Catholicism, traditions linked to the charisms of religious founders or reformers. In contrast, Latino spirituality rooted in popular culture and outside the purview of official interpreters has seldom been given a great deal of attention. Yet in the period after Vatican II Latinos have been the main source for what has arguably been the spiritual development that has most touched the lives and spiritualities of ordinary people, namely, hugely popular movements like the *Cursillo*, Marriage Encounter, base ecclesial communities, and the Charismatic Renewal. Some of these movements such as the *Cursillo* began in Spain but quickly flourished in Latin America and among US Latinos. Its methodology was enthusiastically adapted all over the globe: the *Cursillo's* emphasis on facilitating a personal encounter of the individual with Christ, its stress on shared affectivity and on creating a communal context for follow-up through small community faith-sharing dynamics. This methodology often dovetailed with the practices of the base ecclesial communities and with charismatic/Pentecostal renewalism, which has had a powerful, sustained impact on religion among Catholics and non-Catholics alike. The debt that this contemporary, religious and spiritual ferment owes to initiatives taken decades ago in Spain, Latin America and among US Latinos has seldom been acknowledged.<sup>48</sup>

### ***Faith and Justice***

In the churches and in society in general the presence of Latinos in the United States has had the effect of fostering a renewed awareness of poverty and injustice. In the case of the Catholic Church, for instance, the rise in socioeconomic status among Catholics after World War II made them more middle class and affluent than ever in their history. Just as that was occurring, however, the sustained movement of working-class Latinos guaranteed the Catholic Church would or could not forget its migrant, working-class roots. The growing reality of inequality, discrimination, and racism affecting Latinos and other immigrant Catholics led to plans and programs fostered by the US Catholic bishops, such as the Catholic Campaign for Human Development (CCHD). Since its founding in the 1970s the CCHD has been one of the principal supporters of faith-based community organizing in the tradition of Saul Alinsky.<sup>49</sup> Influential networks like the Pacific Institute for Community Organization (PICO) and the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) have formed leadership particularly in Latino urban centers that have gone on to tackle larger regional, state, and national issues such as access to education, better housing, medical care, and immigration reform.

The long-term effects of leadership formation on Latinos in the style of faith-based community organizing relate to its emphasis on active citizenship rather than ad hoc engagement in charitable activities. Community organization stresses the difference among charity, advocacy, and empowerment. While all three are important, the most critical and strategic response to social needs and injustice must address issues of structure, power, and participation.

The connection of US Latinos, moreover, with their relatives in Latin America has helped maintain a broader awareness in the United States regarding the struggles for human rights and dignity taking place in Latin America. This was certainly the case in the 1970s and 1980s in the context of civil wars in Central America. Today the Latino presence continues to invite the churches to focus their attention more broadly on the Americas. The Synod of the Americas produced a document signed by Pope John Paul II that proposed to the bishops of North and South America and the Caribbean that the future of Catholicism was wrapped up in the reality of interdependent relationships based on geography, history, economics, culture, and politics.<sup>50</sup> The Latino presence in the United States consequently is a powerful incentive for a growing international awareness and collaboration.

### ***Revitalization of the Church***

The Latino presence in the United States is the source of new life for churches in many respects. The churches become more youthful, for example, six out of every ten Catholics under the age of 35 are Latinos.<sup>51</sup> Some implications of this demographic sea change for Catholicism and other denominations have already been noted. Beyond that, however, one perceives a significant yet underreported Latino contribution to US Catholicism's *modus operandi*



in what is called the *encuentro* process. Beginning in the early 1970s the Catholic hierarchy hosted a series of events that convened Latino leaders for the purpose of reflecting on pastoral realities and proposing a richer, theologically grounded way forward in the area of Hispanic ministry. Three *encuentros* were held over a period of 16 years from 1971 to 1987. Few other ecclesial events in the United States have reflected the letter and spirit of the Second Vatican Council as well as the *encuentros*. They led to a series of directives from the Catholic bishops and marked a period of continuous growth in pastoral care and social concerns focused on Latinos in parishes, dioceses, and organizations throughout the country.<sup>52</sup> One would have to look hard, moreover, for a better conduit for the reception of Latin American contributions to the implementation of the second Vatican Council than the *encuentros*. This occurred in terms of small ecclesial communities, social justice awareness, the option for the poor, and heightened regard for popular religion in US Catholicism.

The *encuentros* represent a national process of pastoral visioning unprecedented in the history of US Catholicism from the point of view of their theological and methodological groundings. Inspired by the Second Vatican Council's emphasis on an inductive pastoral method, pastoral planning accordingly begins with lived experience. Serious pastoral planning for the entire church community not just Latinos was encouraged by this exemplary process. It was so successful that the US bishops decided to convene a national celebration of the New Millennium in Los Angeles in 2000. Tellingly, they asked the Latino Catholic leadership to host *Encuentro 2000*, a national gathering for all US Catholic leaders not just Latinos. The historic event attracted five thousand participants and highlighted the changing demographics, rising diversity, and prominence of Latinos as basic "signs of the times" for the Church of the Third Millennium.<sup>53</sup>

### Conclusion

Since time immemorial migrations have played a central role in the spread and transformation of religions. The ongoing movement of Latin Americans north into what is the United States today signals a sea change of mounting significance. Some of the consequences are quite visible, for example, the change in the spirit and tone of worship among many congregations, Catholic and Protestant; second, a newfound interest in the church or congregation as community in which human relationships and expressivity are central rather than organization and efficiency; and, third, a renewed social location for US religion and churches among the poor and working class. Latino Christianity, moreover, relates to the Christian message in terms of practices and experience in a performative manner, rather than in the intellectualizing, propositional way of Western culture. A distinctive orientation to God as mystery and beauty along with a fascination with the world of the spirits, miracles, and healing have been constants in the popular religion of the Latin American masses over the centuries.<sup>54</sup>

One may speculate that Latino religion's orientation toward lived experience may blend with what is perceived as a movement toward nondenominationalism among mainline Protestant churches, which involves a blurring of differences among the various churches. As noted earlier, Latino religion in Americas may also be part of a new stage in ecumenical and interreligious dialogue, one that moves away from basing the pursuit of Christian unity on clarity and agreement about doctrines to one based on the power of shared experiences and lives. Latinos have an abiding interest in religion in its many forms as attested to the successful outreach of Hindus, Muslims, and Buddhists to them.<sup>55</sup> Latinos tend not to draw sharp lines of denominational identity. There is more than a residue of generosity among Latinos in respecting religion in almost any form. The fact that a growing number of Latinos no longer identify with Catholicism, Pentecostalism, or evangelicalism as reported does not mean that now they are absorbed into religious secularism.<sup>56</sup> Historically, Latinos have always been negotiating their way through a variety of religious orientations and have often settled for an *additive* approach, that is, religious identity is not a zero sum game, but an exploration that develops as life goes on. Consequently, religion is bigger than any one tradition and culture because the mystery of God is precisely that, something that goes beyond the human desire to limit, categorize, contain, and control. The deeper current of Latino religion suggests that Latinos tend to be searching for any manifestations of that mystery from whatever quarter it may come. Churches and various religions need to consider the implications of this Latino orientation to religious openness rather than to modernity's doubt, lest they react to this openness with attempts to define and circumscribe it by means of an ineffective denominationalism or dogmatism.

Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy may find this Latino penchant for religious inclusivity troublesome and identify it with relativism and/or anti-intellectualism. For Catholic and Orthodox theology, on the one hand, the challenge will be how to affirm the bridge-building religious openness of Latinos with the requirements of fidelity to Christian identity as proposed by reason and official church teaching. For the academy, on the other hand, the rise of Latino religious presence means going beyond a persistent Enlightenment bias that brackets religion as a purely private affair thus separating belief from life and action. Latino religion and spiritualities deserve more thoughtful attention in all their varieties, as these pages have tried to suggest. They can only continue to play a major, transformative role in the life of US society, culture, and religions as Latinos become a third of all Americans by the mid-twenty-first century.<sup>57</sup>

### Notes

1. *Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2007), 5.
2. *2010 Census Briefs*, Hispanic Population: 2010 (Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce, 2011), 3. Regarding exogamy, see Henry G.

- González and John Rosales, eds., *Latinos and the Nation's Future* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2009), 62.
3. Sandra Lilley, "Record Latino Vote Key to Obama's Re-election," <http://nbclatino.com/2012/11/06> (accessed on December 12, 2012).
  4. Gastón Espinosa, "History and Theory in the Study of Mexican American Religions," in *Rethinking Latino/a Religion and Identity*, eds. Miguel A. de La Torre and Gastón Espinosa, 69–100 (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 2006); Timothy Matovina, *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Robert R. Treviño, *The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
  5. Alex M. Saragoza, "Recent Chicano Historiography: An Interpretive Essay," *Aztlán* 19 (Spring 1988–90): 37, 52.
  6. Laird W. Bergad and Herbert S. Klein, *Hispanics in the United States: A Demographic, Social, and Economic History, 1980–2005* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 408–411.
  7. *2010 Census Briefs*, 3.
  8. Robert D. Putnam and David E. Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and United Us* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), 308.
  9. Timothy Matovina and Gerald E. Poyo, eds., in *Presente: U.S. Latino Catholics from Colonial Times to the Present* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000).
  10. See *The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 3–7.
  11. Gastón Espinosa, "History and Theory in the Study of Mexican American Religions," in *Rethinking Latino(a) Religion and Identity*, 93. The emphasis is mine.
  12. Examples of a Hispanic ministry approach to Latino religion are found in Charles W. Dahm, *Parish Ministry in a Hispanic Community* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2004); and Allan Figueroa Deck, *The Second Wave: Hispanic Ministry and the Evangelization of Cultures* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989).
  13. Examples of a religious studies approach are Robert R. Treviño, *The Church in the Barrio*; and David A. Badillo, *Latinos and the Immigrant Church* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2006).
  14. See David J. Weber, "Turner, the Boltonians and the Borderlands," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (1986): 66–81. See also Allan Figueroa Deck, "Toward a New Narrative for the Latino Presence in U.S. Society and the Church," Annual Hispanic Ministry Lecture, Loyola Marymount University, October 4, 2012, in *Origins* 42, no. 29 (December 20, 2012): 457–464.
  15. Philip Wayne Powell, *The Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 39.
  16. Tomás R. Jiménez, *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigrants, and Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 31–65.
  17. John Tutino, *Mexico and the Mexicans in the Making of the United States* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 1–35.
  18. Moisés Sandoval, ed., *Fronteras: A History of the Latin American Church in the USA since 1513* (San Antonio: Mexican American Cultural Center, 1983).
  19. Tutino, *Mexico and the Mexicans*, 46–50.

20. Gilbert G. González, "Mexican Labor Migration, 1876–1924," in *Beyond la Frontera: The History of Mexico-U.S. Migration*, ed. Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, 28–50 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
21. Douglas S. Massey, "The Past and Future of Mexico—U.S. Migration," in *Beyond la Frontera*, ed. Overmyer-Velázquez, 251–265.
22. Bret Stephens, "Stephens: The Paradoxes of Felipe Calderón," *The Wall Street Journal*, September 28, 2012; and Nathan Vardi, "The Mexican Miracle," October 15, 2012, [www.forbes.com/sites/nathanvardi/2012/10/15/the-mex](http://www.forbes.com/sites/nathanvardi/2012/10/15/the-mex) (accessed December 14, 2012).
23. Espinosa, *Rethinking Latino(a) Religion and Identity*, 16–18.
24. Juan Francisco Martínez, Jr., *Los Protestantes: An Introduction to Latino Protestantism in the United States* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011), 10–13.
25. Treviño, *The Church in the Barrio*, 3–21.
26. Powell, *The Tree of Hate*; Alan Knight, "The Ideology of the Mexican Revolution," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 8, no. 1 (enero-junio, 1997): 5–12.
27. Allan Figueroa Deck and Christopher Tirres, "Latino Popular Religion and the Struggle for Justice," in *Religion, Race and Justice in a Changing America*, ed. Gary Orfield and Holly J. Lebowitz, 137–152 (New York: The Century Foundation Press, 1999).
28. Peter C. Phan, "Method in Liberation Theologies," *Theological Studies* 61 (2000): 40–63.
29. John L. Allen, Jr., *The Future Church* (New York: Doubleday, 2009), 17–18; on Pentecostalism in Latin America, see *ibid.*, 374–413.
30. J. Vicens Vives, *Historia social y económica de España y América* (Barcelona: Editorial Vicens-Vives, 1977), 324–336.
31. For medieval influences on Latino religion, see Luis Weckman, *La herencia medieval de México* (Mexico, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), 163–204; for the baroque influence, see Gloria K. Fiero, "The Catholic Reformation and the Baroque Style," in *The Humanistic Tradition*, Book 4: *Faith, Reason, and Power in the Early Modern World* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011), 505.
32. Roberto S. Goizueta, "Rediscovering Praxis: The Significance of U.S. Hispanic Experience for Theological Method," in *We Are A People! Initiatives in Hispanic American Theology*, ed. Roberto S. Goizueta, 51–78 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).
33. Allan Figueroa Deck, "Pentecostalism and Latino Catholic Identity," *Ecumenical Trends* 40, no. 5 (May 2011): 69–75.
34. Sean P. O'Malley, "A New Pentecost: Inviting All to Follow Jesus," *Origins* 41, no. 8 (June 30, 2011): 122–127.
35. Orlando O. Espín, *The Faith of the People: Theological Reflections on Popular Catholicism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997), 94–98.
36. Segundo Galilea, *Religiosidad Popular y Pastoral Hispano-Americana* (New York: Northeast Hispanic Pastoral Center, 1981), 17–23.
37. Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, *Directorio sobre la piedad popular y la liturgia* (Bogotá: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano, 2002), 95–97.
38. Lamin Sanneh, "Why Is Christianity, the Religion of the Colonizer, Growing so Fast in Africa?" The Santa Clara Lectures, Santa Clara University, May 11, 2005, 14–15.

39. Virgilio P. Elizondo, *The Future Is Mestizo* (Bloomington: Meyer-Stone Books, 1988). Allan Figueroa Deck, "The Challenge of Evangelical/Pentecostal Christianity to Hispanic Catholicism," in *Hispanic Catholic Culture in the United States*, ed. Jay P. Dolan and Allan Figueroa Deck, 409–439 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994). On both Santería and Spiritism, see Miguel A. De La Torre, *Santería: The Beliefs and Rituals of a Growing Religion in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004), 172–175.
40. Deck, "Pentecostalism and Latino Catholic Identity," 73.
41. De La Torre, *Santería*.
42. Gastón Espinosa and Mario T. García, eds., *Mexican American Religions: Spirituality, Activism and Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 385–386.
43. Robert T. Trotter II and Juan Antonio Chavira, *Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Healing* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1997), 25–40.
44. Timothy Matovina, "Latino Contributions to Vatican II Renewal," The Charles S. Casassa Lecture, Loyola Marymount University, November 15, 2012, published in *Origins* 42, no. 29 (December 20, 2012): 465–471.
45. "Hispanic/Latino Ministry in the United States: Media Kit," Secretariat of Cultural Diversity in the Church, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2012, accessed on December 20, 2012, [www.usccb.org/](http://www.usccb.org/).
46. Rocco Palmo blog, December 12, 2012, <http://whispersintheloggiablog-stop.com> (accessed December 18, 2012).
47. Matovina, "Latino Contributions to Vatican II Renewal," 467.
48. Deck, *The Second Wave*, 67–68; Matovina, "Latino Contributions to Vatican II Renewal," 468.
49. Matovina, *Latino Catholicism*, 190–218.
50. Pope John Paul II, *Ecclesia in America* (Washington, DC: USCCB Publications, 1999).
51. Robert D. Putnam and David E. Campbell, "The Changing Face of American Catholicism," a memorandum to the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Washington, DC, May 22, 2008.
52. *National Pastoral Plan for Hispanic Ministry* (Washington, DC: USCCB Publications, 1987), *Encuentro and Mission* (Washington, DC: USCCB Publications, 2002).
53. *Encuentro 2000; Many Faces in God's House* (Washington, DC: USCCB Publications, 2000).
54. Cecilia González-Andrieu, *Bridge to Wonder: Art as a Gospel of Beauty* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2012), 28–31.
55. Espinosa and García, *Mexican American Religions*, 33, 382.
56. "'Nones' on the Rise: One-in-Five Adults have No Religious Affiliation" (Washington, DC: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life), October 9, 2012, 21.
57. US Census Bureau, Census 2012 News, January 21, 2010.

## Chapter 14

# Transnational Religious Networks: From Africa to America and Back to Africa

*Moses O. Biney*

*A bird, by coming and going, weaves its nest.*

—Akan Proverb

“*Ame nit tendea, ame nit tendea* (He has done it for me; He has done it for me)! They sang this popular Swahili song with gusto accompanied by guitars, drums, and an organ. Several other songs followed in English and Swahili. Women, men, and children, dressed in East African outfits and American-style suits and dresses, shook their bodies rhythmically to the beat of drums and joyfully bellowed the words of the songs. The occasion was the dedication of a newly acquired church building in Plainfield, New Jersey, by the Somerset Christian Center (SMC). The church, which started in 2000 with a handful of Kenyan immigrants, has a membership of about 120 (in 2012).

Three singing groups, two of them composed mostly of youth between the ages of 18 and 35, were present. Together with the SMC’s own praise team, they provided a “praise and worship blast.” The dancing was electrifying and the singing inspiring. The pastor of the church, Rev. Dr. Joseph Nzeketha, had invited colleague pastors including me and churches from Delaware, North Carolina, New Jersey, and Virginia to this event. This was an important milestone in the life of the congregation. Most of these were pastors of African Immigrant congregations. Surprisingly, there was no female among the pastors present considering the fact that women outnumbered men in the sanctuary.<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Armstrong, guest preacher for the occasion, was introduced. There was great applause even before he had said anything. It was obvious that most of the Kenyan pastors gathered knew him. In his opening remarks, “Bishop” as many called him, thanked his “network of Christian brothers and sisters,” some of them members of SMC, who prayed for him and sent him monetary gifts after the death of his mother. These gifts assisted him greatly in his travel to Kenya to bury his mother the previous month. He

then gave a 30-minute homily on the need to maintain a sanctuary as a sacred place of worship. It was filled with images and illustrations from life in Kenya as well as the United States. The first part of the ceremony ended with a dedication of the building at 6 p.m., and was followed immediately by a dinner.

As we ate chapattis, *mokomo*, and other Kenyan dishes served at the dinner, I asked Bishop Armstrong, "Which church in Kentucky are you bishop of?" Pausing briefly to swallow a morsel of food in his mouth, he responded: "I don't serve as Bishop in Kentucky; I'm a bishop who lives in Kentucky." I did not quite understand his answer. Sensing my puzzlement, he explained that he was the presiding bishop and overseer for the Fountain of Life Ministries (hereafter FOLM), a fellowship of over one hundred churches in various cities and towns in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Burundi.<sup>2</sup> In Kentucky, where he earned a doctor of ministry (DMin) from Asbury Seminary and lives with his family, he works as a hospice chaplain and is a member of a local congregation.

As presiding Bishop of FOLM, he oversees all the projects and activities of the churches in the fellowship. Each year, he therefore makes a number of visits to various regions in East Africa, particularly Kenya, to assist member churches with their outreach and training programs and fundraisers.<sup>3</sup>

Bishop Armstrong's ministry, as indicated earlier, traverses many locations in different countries. He shuttles between Kentucky and Africa and crosses a number of national and "tribal" borders each year. The travels are always a combination of family- and church-related visits. Sometimes he brings some Americans—often sponsors—on these trips to witness and participate in some of the programs they sponsor. Also, in the United States, he maintains a network of pastor friends and church leaders, many of them his former students and fellow church workers in Kenya. These leaders often invite him to participate in their church and social programs. It is mostly among these Kenyan congregations and fellowships therefore that he is considered a bishop.

The description of the church celebration and the transnational life and work of Bishop Armstrong is mainly aimed at providing a window into the religious and transnational lives of many African immigrants in the United States. Since the 1970s persons from a number of African countries have migrated into cities and towns in the United States. Like other post-1965 immigrants in the United States, these African immigrants generally do not completely assimilate into American social-cultural and religious life. Many of them are simultaneously imbedded in both their home countries and the United States and therefore often maintain transnational lifestyles and networks. Religion plays a crucial role here. It facilitates their cross-border movements by providing the purposes, means, and resources for travel to and from their home countries and other places. It also provides needed resources for dealing with the inherent psychological and social challenges of migration and transnational life. In addition, religious practices and congregational formation among these immigrants show a hybridity reflective of their transnational connections.

This chapter attempts to answer the question, “What is the nature and role of transnational religious networks in the lives of post-1965 African immigrants in the United States?” Based on data collected through ethnographic research in the past decade among African Immigrant Churches in the New York metro area, the chapter describes and analyses the transnational religious lives of African immigrant Christians in the United States. It outlines the modes of transnational religious networks created and maintained by these mostly first-generation African immigrants and examines some of the social, psychological, and religious benefits they derive from the networks. Transnational religious networks, the chapter argues, provide African immigrants in the United States extra support systems needed to counter marginalization and the psychological effects of downward social mobility they often suffer, and also help them to reinvigorate religious (in this case Christian) belief and practice.

### **Transnationalism in America**

The first use of the term “transnational” is credited to Randolph Bourne, an American essayist and intellectual whose writings immensely influenced “leftist” ideology and thinking in America in the twentieth century. In his article “Trans-National America,” published in the *Atlantic Monthly* on July of 1916, Bourne writes, “America is coming to be, not a nationality but a transnationality, a weaving back and forth, with the other lands, of many threads of all sizes and colors.”<sup>4</sup> Bourne argued strongly against the concept of the “melting pot,” which maintained that persons from different cultural backgrounds in the United States would assimilate over time into the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. Immigrants, Bourne believed, would always remain culturally connected with their homes of origin however long they lived in the United States.

Since Bourne’s coinage of the term, scholars have variously used it in reference to the growing interconnectivity between peoples from different parts of the universe and border crossings of persons, goods, and services. Steven Vertovec, for instance, in his book *Transnationalism*, defines “transnationalism” as “sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning nation states”<sup>5</sup> Transnationalism is not a new phenomenon nor is it peculiar to the United States.<sup>6</sup> Humans have migrated from their “home” nations, that is, their geographical places of origin to new ones, and have tried to live in both “worlds” for years. What is new is the intensity and ease with which people move, conduct business, and engage in relationships across borders. As Vertovec rightly points out, globalization, improved transportation, technology, and telecommunication have helped accelerate the rate and process of transnationalism all over the world. In the past 50 years, globalization has led to the heavy traffic of transnational and transcultural relations between individuals, groups, and institutions beyond state boundaries. Literature on globalization often point to the



ever-increasing transitional flows of persons, goods, information, services, and other resources across national borders.<sup>7</sup>

What is often missing from the scholarship on globalization and transnationalism is the recognition and discussion of the vital role religion plays in the two processes.<sup>8</sup> I seek to point out in this chapter that religion through its institutions, practitioners, and practices assists in forging and maintaining transnational and transcultural relationships. Religious networks often connect persons in different countries and facilitate travel across borders.

In the United States, Bourne's prediction still holds true. Almost a century after his publication, America remains a nation of many cultures and religions, far more religiously and culturally diversified than Bourne could have anticipated. Much of this diversity is attributable to the migration of people from different parts of the world to the United States since 1965.<sup>9</sup> America's foreign-born population has seen an astronomical growth in the past 50 years and continues to do so especially in states like California, New York, New Jersey, and Florida.<sup>10</sup> In 2000, for instance, more than one-third of New York population was foreign-born, as stated by *The Newest New Yorkers*, a publication by the New York City Planning Department.

Unlike immigrants from the previous generations who were mostly Anglo-Saxon, Protestants, Jews, and Catholics, these post-1965 immigrants are very diverse with respect to their countries of origin and religious affiliations. A large percentage is from Latin America, particularly Mexico. However, a sizeable number also come from countries in Asia and Africa. These have all come with their cultural and religious beliefs and practices. The cultures and religious practices of these foreign-born and their descendants have not morphed into the mythical "melting pot" and show no sign of doing so anytime soon. This is evident in several cities and towns across the United States. A key reason why this is the case is the increasing transnational nature of immigrants in the United States. Most of these immigrants should perhaps appropriately be called "transnationals" since they very much remain connected to their countries of origin and constantly shuttle between those countries and the United States.<sup>11</sup>

Many American cities serve as hubs where much of the transnational flows and exchanges take place. In the words of Lewis Mumford, the city serves as a "geographic plexus," that is, a place where complex network of structures exist. In New York, for example, one hears languages such as Spanish, Chinese, French, Korean, Ibo, Akan, and others spoken alongside English in many communities. Aside from language, several shops owned by immigrants from Korea, China, the Caribbean, India, Mexico, and other countries are a common sight in the city. These shops often sell food items, clothing, music and movies, and all kinds of goods imported from the immigrants' countries of origin. Also present in many localities are several cultural associations and religious congregations through which these new populations organize, maintain, and reproduce religious and cultural practices from their homelands.

Despite the presence of diverse cultural and religious groups, America remains a racialized country.<sup>12</sup> Though often not acknowledged, race

continues to be an important determinant in income distribution, housing, health care, and so on. In addition to race, social identification in the United States is also largely based on ethnicity and religious affiliation. Reception by Americans, particularly the majority white population, to different ethnicities and religions vary considerably. Depending on the familiarity or perceived strangeness of a culture or religion, persons from the particular culture and/or religion may be received with open arms or repulsed in the neighborhoods where they live. This is evidenced by, for instance, the general embrace of Jews and skepticism toward Muslims in America. The main point I seek to make here is that, there is not a level playing field: all cultures and religious groups are not equally received into American social and religious life. African immigrants, particularly those from the sub-Saharan region, are always socially lumped together with all other dark-skinned people into the category "black," and treated with all the indignities associated with "blackness" in America. In order to survive, many of these immigrants rely on the support systems provided by their cultural and faith communities both here in the United States and in their nations of origin.

### **African Transnational Religious Networks**

As a subject of inquiry, transnational religious networks within the new African Diasporas have only recently gained the attention of a number of scholars. Publications such as Paul Stoller's *Money Has No Smell* (2002), Rogaia Abusharaf's *Wanderings, Sudanese Migrants and Exiles in North America* (2002), Jacob Olupona's and Regina Gemingnani's *Africa Immigrant Religions in America* (2007), Jehu J. Hanciles's *Beyond Christendom, Globalization, African Migration and the Transformation of the West* (2008), Moses O. Biney's *From Africa to America* (2011), and Mark R. Gornik's *Word Made Global* (2011) discuss various aspects of the transnational lives of African immigrants particularly in North America and religion's role in their premigration, their actual physical movement across borders, and their settlement and adjustments to life in the United States. These publications however do not focus primarily on transnational networks.

Two recent publications that specifically deal with the subject are: *Religion Crossing Boundaries* (2010), edited by Afe Adogame and James V. Spickard; and *African Christian Presence in the West* (2011), edited by Frieder Ludwig and J. Asamoah-Gyadu. Several chapters in these two books provide good examples and analyses of the processes by which transnational religious networks and activities are initiated by Africans or institutions in America, Europe, and sub-Saharan Africa. Most of these publications, however, examine the networks only at the institutional or congregational level. Also for some reason, most of the discussions on African religious transnationalism, as reflected in these chapters, are disproportionately focused on Pentecostal congregations and Pentecostalism. An example of this tendency is the seven out of the twelve chapters in *Religion Crossing Boundaries*. Obviously, the stories and activities of other actors both at the individual and institutional

levels need to be highlighted. Also, less attention is paid to the “costs” of transnationalism to individuals and institutions embedded in two or multiple places at the same in the discourse on African religious transnationalism. The tensions between marginality and liminality, which is often typical for many in the African Diaspora, for instance, will need to be addressed more by scholars.

A helpful method for analyzing transnational religious networks among immigrants is the use of “network analysis.” Central to this kind of analysis is the examination of points or units called *nodes* and *ties*, which are the relationships that exist between these units. Religious institutions and practitioners, in this case, serve as *nodes*, between which *ties*, or relationships, exist or are created.<sup>13</sup> Though critiqued, and rightfully so, for its inability to capture how networks interact in particular places,<sup>14</sup> network analysis is still effective in analyzing cross-border crossings and the dynamics of religious networks.

Helen R. Ebaugh and Janet S. Chafetz in their *Religion across Borders*, which examines personal and organized transnational networks between immigrants in the United States and their host countries, indicate that actors involved in transnational religious networks can be analyzed at three different levels: (a) the micro level, which involves individual and persons or couples directly involved in relevant religious networks; (b) the meso level: local-level religious organizations such as churches, temples, seminaries that engage in transnational networks as corporate entities rather than as collections of individuals; (c) the macro level: includes international religious bodies that provide ecclesiastical and sometimes legal control and integration for local congregations and also provide them with needed directions and advice. All three levels are taken into account in the description and analysis of the modes of religious networking among the African immigrants. While the micro-level analysis is important for us to understand the human element involved in the issue of religious transnationalism, the meso and macro levels, provides a broader context within which we can examine institutional networks as well as the interaction between individuals and institutions.

### **Modes of Networking**

Large numbers of African Christians have in the past four decades migrated into several European countries, Canada, and the United States of America. In many cities and towns they are establishing new congregations and ministries and reviving old ones. The presence of these churches cannot be missed in a number of cities in the United States. Some estimates indicate that there may be about 150 or more of such congregations in New York City alone.<sup>15</sup>

Their nature, modus operandi, mission, and significance still remain less researched and little understood. For some Americans, the main purpose for which these congregations are formed and exist is the preservation of their members’ ethnicity and cultural practices. Elsewhere, I’ve argued that this claim is wrong.<sup>16</sup> These new African Diaspora congregations serve as communities of faith within which their members not only enhance their

spirituality, but also gain the material resources and support needed to adjust to life in their host countries.<sup>17</sup>

African Immigrant Christians in the United States are very diverse in terms of denominational affiliation and theological orientation. Common to all, however, is the maintenance of different kinds of relationships with religious practitioners and institutions in their countries of origin. These relationships and connections are created and maintained in a number of ways: with pastoral counseling and prayers, church literature and other religious resources, affiliations, church governance and partnerships, cultural associations and events, mission and social development, and with health and death matters.

### ***Pastoral Counseling and Prayers***

At the micro level, individuals for diverse reasons maintain ties with other individuals, groups, and institutions. Some, for instance, continue to maintain relationships with pastors and spiritual leaders for spiritual support and counseling. Take, for instance, the case of Mensa (not his real name), a Ghanaian immigrant. A couple months before I interviewed him, he had received a message from a pastor in Ghana, through his sister. The pastor had, according to Mensa's sister, received a "revelation" from God that one of Mensa's children was in danger from a "spiritual attack on her health." Mensa immediately called the pastor who suggested that he fast and pray for seven days. Mensa's children are all doing well, but he is in constant touch with this pastor, relying on him for spiritual guidance and support.

Mensa also keeps a list of Psalms including 16, 20, 34, 54, and 61 given to him by another pastor while leaving Ghana, five years prior to our meeting. He reads each of them every day and from time to time makes phone calls to the pastor requesting prayers and advice. Others not only maintain relationships with the spiritual leaders but also with prayer groups and congregations. I have met a number of first-generation African immigrants who pay monthly "tithes" and make other financial contributions to congregations and other religious groups in their home countries regularly.

For some, their ties with pastors and congregations go beyond the need for prayers to include the care of their families left back in their home countries. I recall the story of one of my interviewees. He had lived in the United States for ten years without his wife and children. Due to the long process of attaining permanent residency, he had not been able to bring them over from his country of origin. He always sent money and other provisions through the pastor of the church his wife and children attend. "That pastor and his wife are the only persons I can trust to take care of my family," he once told me.

The increase in the availability of telephone and Internet facilities in many African countries since the 1990s makes communication between individuals or groups in the United States and their compatriots elsewhere easy. Prayer and counseling requests and answers to these requests are sent through instant messaging, texting, tweets, Facebook, and Skype. Travel

also plays an important role here. Church leaders, ritual specialists, musicians, and other functionaries from home countries are invited for visits and also to officiate at functions organized by these congregations. The resident pastor and one other leader of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in New York (PCGNY), for instance, travel to Ghana each year to attend the annual General Assembly meeting of Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG), its parent denomination. Delegates from the church groups such as Church Choir, Singing Band, and the Young People's Guild, also annually or biennially, as the case may be, attend conferences in Ghana. During such meetings and conferences they discuss pertinent issues with other representatives and get to know of new developments in the national church, learn new songs, and so on. Officials of the PCG head office also visit the PCGNY from time to time for different reasons. Aside from PCG officials, many pastors of the PCG visiting or passing through New York come to the church. It is customary during such visits for church members to give gifts to the pastors, especially when their departure for Ghana is imminent. Groups in the church also sometimes invite preachers and deliverance specialists, that is, persons believed to possess special abilities for healing and exorcism, from Ghana during their anniversaries.

### ***Church Literature and Other Religious Resources***

In terms of theology, ecclesiology, polity, and general ethos many immigrant congregations borrow heavily from their parent or affiliated denominations in Africa. They use hymnals, almanacs, Bible study guides, liturgy books, and other resources from their home countries for worship and church governance. Majority of Ghanaian Presbyterian congregations in the United States, for instance, use the "Ghana Presbyterian Hymn Book" for worship. Some denominational events celebrated by PCG congregations in Ghana are also celebrated, sometimes on the same day by members of PCGNY. Recorded CDs and DVDs of songs, sermons, and other church events are often circulated among and between congregations here in the United States and home countries.

The flow of spiritual and material resources also sometimes originates from immigrant pastors and church members to people in various parts of Africa and elsewhere. A case in point is that of Bishop Armstrong I described earlier in this chapter. Though physically resident in Kentucky, he provides spiritual and administrative oversight for the hundred and more pastors and other church workers who are part of the Fountain of Life Ministries. Through his fund-raising efforts he collects and sends money to support projects such as Bible translation, building of schools, provision of clean water, and scholarships to students. A posting on his website for instance reads: "By the grace of God we have been able to pay over half of the funds required for the land in Nairobi (Kenya). We still have a balance of \$30,000." Visitors to the site are asked to donate financially (using Pay Pal) to support this and other projects listed.

### ***Affiliations, Church Governance, and Partnerships***

A congregation's organizational structure, particularly its mode of affiliation, often contributes to, or is reflective of, its transnational nature. Thus at the *macro* level, it is important that we examine broadly the relationships and networks that exist between African Immigrants Churches and denominations both in the United States and in Africa. African congregations can be classified into two broad categories: the *affiliated* and *nonaffiliated*.

The affiliated congregations are those that have an administrative or other structural relationship with American denominations. Under this category, we have the *fully affiliated* and *semi-affiliated*. The *fully affiliated* are congregations that are directly under the administrative and ecclesiastical control of American denominations. Examples of these include the Bethel Reformed Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, New York, which is a union church affiliated to both the Presbyterian Church, USA, and the Reformed Church of America, and the Ghana United Methodist Church in the Bronx, New York, which operates as a congregation of the United Methodist Church. Though administratively and polity wise these congregations operate under the direction of their respective American denominations, they are unashamedly syncretic in the liturgical and theological practices, blending aspects of Calvinism, Monroviaian pietism, and African Christian beliefs and practices. Bethel Presbyterian Reformed, for instance, sings hymns both in English (from the Pilgrim Hymnal) and Twi, a Ghanaian language. Their website describes their church roots and culture this way:

Bethel Presbyterian Reformed Church draws its foundations from what started in 1991 as the Ghanaian Presbyterian Reformed Church by people who desired to worship in America with full Ghanaian cultural expression. It did not matter if in Ghana they were Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists or Presbyterians. In America, they wanted to worship the Lord in their own cultural identity... Our ancestral DNA includes elements of European Calvinism which came to the Gold Coast in the 19th Century through the Basel Mission (from Switzerland and South Western Germany). It also includes elements of Caribbean—Moravian spirituality that also came to the Gold Coast at the request of the Basel Mission when the Mission invited five couples and five single men from Jamaica and Antigua to help them evangelize our people.<sup>18</sup>

Congregations that are *semi-affiliated*, such as the Pan-African Church of God in Christ, have various kinds of loose affiliations with denominations in the United States. The Pan-African Church of God in Christ, for instance, though affiliated with the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) denomination with headquarters in Tennessee, hardly follows the polity and liturgical practices of that denomination.

*Nonaffiliated* congregations have no affiliation with any denominations in the United States. These are of two kinds: the *semi-autonomous* and the *autonomous*. The *semi-autonomous* congregations are generally branches of denominations in different African countries and are governed fully or in

part from there. The Redeemed Christian Church of God and the Celestial Church of God, both with their headquarters in Nigeria, and the Church of Pentecost from Ghana are good examples. The autonomous category is made up of churches that were founded and led by individuals or a group of persons who believe they were called by God to start ministries and congregations. Such churches thrive on the charisma and vision of their founders. Examples of such congregations are Somerset Miracle Center located in Plainfield, New Jersey, and Day Spring Church in Roosevelt Island, New York.

Whether a congregation is *affiliated* or *nonaffiliated* defines the nature of its transnational networks. *Nonaffiliated* congregations mainly define themselves in relation to their parent congregations in their home countries. Often members of such congregation are automatically also members of their home denominations. PCG in New York is a good example. Members receive cards upon joining the church. This is a little square book of about ten pages embossed with the logo of the PCG, the parent denomination. This is the same as that used by all PCG congregations to record attendance at monthly communion services and payment of tithes. The card testifies to a person's participation in the church and is also a link between individual members of PCGNY and the home church. Having the card can make a difference in the reception a person receives from the home church when he or she is in Ghana. For instance, the family of a deceased member whose body is sent to Ghana for burial has to show the deceased's membership card (in addition to a letter from the pastor) if the home church is to participate fully in his or her funeral.

Such congregations often operate as "franchises" of the home denomination. They depend on their denominations for resources such as clergy, hymnals, prayer books, and so on. On the other hand, they often send remittances and funds for mission and special projects to the parent denominations. These are generally less so among the nonaffiliated congregations.

### ***Cultural Associations and Events***

Collaborative relationships often exist between African immigrant congregations and other cultural and social groups organized around the needs of specific cultural areas or institutions in Africa. Members of these "home improvement associations" meet at least once a month for fellowship, discuss issues, mostly challenges facing either the members in the United States or communities in their home countries. They also raise funds for development projects in these communities. In different ways, African Immigrant Churches collaborate with these associations. Some allow these groups the use of their church buildings for meetings and assist sometimes in their fund-raising efforts. Additionally, some members and sometimes clergy of these churches play important roles in these associations. The Okuapemman Association of USA and Canada (OKUSACA), for instance, have chaplains who provide spiritual guidance and pastoral care for their members.

### ***Mission and Social Development***

A number of churches founded by recent African immigrants in the United States consider their mission as a global one. They do not only seek to plant churches here in the United States, but also in other countries, especially their countries of origin. The Pan-African Church of God in Christ, located in the Bronx, for instance, has established a branch in Kumasi, the second largest city in Ghana. In an interview with Reverend Kuffour, head pastor of the congregation, he indicated that his church sends used clothing and food items gathered through members and other sponsors to the church in Ghana to be given to the needy. They also send money as scholarships for children whose parents cannot pay for their school tuition. Sometimes they also provide money to pay for medical care. Other churches engage in larger social programs that address the needs of whole communities. Christian Falge, for instance, describes many Nuer Christian Churches located in the Midwest and their involvement in developmental projects in the home country.<sup>19</sup>

### ***Health and Death Matters***

Health and death concerns are factors that create situations for transnational connections between immigrant Christians in the United States and home. Churches assist in facilitating the visit of member's family who are in need of health care in the United States. In a number of these cases, the church provides affidavits of support to help the persons concerned obtain travel visas to the United States. In some cases they provide some financial support. For many of the African immigrants in the United States their transnational lives physically terminate in death. Their migration comes full circle when their bodies are transported back to the countries of origin. Most first-generation African immigrants prefer to be buried in their home countries rather than in the United States. Often churches assist in transporting dead members to their home countries and arranging for their burial and funeral.

\* \* \*

To sum up this section, let me reiterate the fact that African Immigrant Congregations, which are the new faces of African Christianity in the United States and the Western world in general, are highly transnational in terms of structure, culture, and mission. They engage in mission and ministry in the United States, their nations of origin, and sometimes in other countries in Europe.<sup>20</sup> Also, through several transnational networks they provide links and serve as bridges between Western and non-Western Christianity.<sup>21</sup> These post-1965 African immigrants both as individuals and as groups maintain connections with persons, networks, and organizations in both the United States and in their respective home countries. The religious communities they build often derive aspects of the structure and culture from both the home country and host country. But they also reveal tensions between the



immigrants' attempts at adapting to their new country on one hand, and maintaining structures and identity from the home country on the other.

### **Women and Transnational Religious Networks**

Women play a critical role in the building of transnational religious networks though this has not often been given the deserved attention. US census figures indicate a continuous increase of female migrants since the 1990s. According to these figures females outnumber males among immigrants from many African countries. In 2008, for instance, more than 50 percent out of the 8,195 Ghanaians awarded permanent visas were female.

Also through activities such as trading, sending of remittances, participation in cultural associations and religious congregations that engage in community building projects, women contribute immensely in the building of cultural, economic, political, and religious networks between "host" and "home" countries. In her study of African immigrant women in the Greater Boston area and Philadelphia, for instance, Mary Johnson Osirim argues that African women are transnationals.<sup>22</sup> Among other things, they support their families back in their home countries and also forge good relations with African American women in the United States. The third point, very pertinent to the subject matter of this chapter, is that women play prominent roles in the founding, funding, and organization of African Immigrant Congregations in the United States. Take, for instance, the story of Marie Cooper, affectionately called Mother Cooper, founder and leader of the Church of the Lord (Aladura). She migrated to the United States from Liberia in 1984. In addition to essential personal items, she also brought with her religious paraphernalia—her Bible, white cloth garments, and a small wooden cross—and of course, her Christian beliefs. When she first arrived, she worshipped with an African American church, but soon became disenchanted with its worship style. She then began prayer meetings at her apartment. After a decade, this prayer group grew in size to become the official branch of the Church of the Lord (Aladura).<sup>23</sup> She frequently sends remittances, food, and clothing to support the mission of the church back home and also to family and friends.

The history of Bethel Presbyterian Reformed Church located in Brooklyn also indicates that the inception of the church in 1991 was through the vision and efforts of three women, Elizabeth Andoh, Grace Ocansey, and Adelaide Agyemang. These women, then members of the PCGNY, felt the need to have another branch of the PCG in Brooklyn closer to their homes in Brooklyn so they don't have to commute to Manhattan every week for worship. All three women happened to be members of the Akyem Abuakwa Association, a Ghanaian ethnic association. At their meetings, they got others interested in the idea of starting a congregation. On August 4, 1991, these women and others began meeting in the home of Nana Yaw Boakye, then first secretary at the Ghana embassy and his wife Bernice Boakye. The group eventually became the nucleus of Ghana Presbyterian Reformed Church.

### Mission and Theology

Contrary to the popular perception in America that congregations formed by immigrants, particularly those from non-Western cultures, are nothing more than “exotic sects” and at best “ethnic” congregations, these new African churches are dynamic and highly proliferating congregations with a strong sense of mission; a mission to proclaim the Christian Gospel to the ends of the world. They also seek to reinvigorate Christian belief and practice in the United States, and unashamedly do so through their exuberant worship styles, strong belief in, and often strict interpretation of the Bible, focus on fasting, prayer, and personal righteousness and other such spiritual disciplines.<sup>24</sup> In my conversations with leaders of some of these congregations, they articulated a mission that is directed toward rejuvenating American Christianity. Many saw American mainline Christianity as one that has lost its luster and edge. They pointed at the continuous loss of membership to the American mainline protestant denominations over the past half a century as a clear example. “American Christianity is ‘decaffeinated,’ we African Christians come to re-caffeinate it,” one of my interviewees, a pastor of an African immigrant congregation, told me. The view conveyed in this remark is shared by a number of African Christians in the United States who see the United States as a “mission field.” A pastor from a predominantly Ghanaian congregation in Brooklyn, New York, for instance, says:

I do consider the US as a mission field—that I must explain. Though there are many churches and religious organizations in the US, Christianity in America especially viewed from the Presbyterian Church of USA which is my denomination has two features. On one level members are too intellectual to be practical. And on the other, those at the base who are not very theologically intellectual are very zealous in social activities. Spirituality is often not very central to church life.

Rev. Dr. Nimi Wariboko (then pastor of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Christ the International Chapel) also suggests that:

If one considers the general and dominant culture in American and many European states now, it is clear that many have moved away from the Judeo-Christian religion. The formation of African churches here in the US is a stepping stone to evangelization of the American people. Even at this point some of the African churches are attracting non-Africans... I find the coming of Africans as an advantage to ministry. Though we mostly come for economic reasons, we also come to do the work of evangelism—may be that is what God has even ordained for us to do here. Normally when Africans come and start churches they attract people who are familiar with their type of worship or are from their own countries. This is not surprising since many other institutions have worked in a similar way. If you read the history of American banks when they went out to other countries they first attracted their nationals in those countries and then later other people.

It may seem that the mission of the African Immigrant Congregations is a return to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century missionary practices by different actors—in this case African immigrants—or what is generally referred to as reverse mission. This is not the case. There are important differences between the two. One such difference is the “bottom up” approaches to mission used by these African churches compared to the “top down” ones many Western missions used in Africa and Asia. These African congregations are in many cases formed by individuals who migrated to the United States for their own personal reasons, often to seek better economic opportunities. They are often not professional missionaries and therefore receive no directives or financial support from “home churches” or “mission boards” as was the case of many Western missionaries to Africa. These “economic migrants” start congregations principally because they bring with them their Christian beliefs and practices and seek to worship together as communities of faith.

Again, unlike the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century missionaries these African Christians do not have the protection and support of any imperial political power. Rather, many live and operate on the margins of American social, economic, and religious life largely due to their race and immigration statuses. Like other immigrants such as the Koreans these African immigrants often live in liminality.<sup>25</sup> They are between and betwixt African and American sociocultural and religious lives. In such in-betweenness, they seek and create communities of faith that will help them connect with both “home” and “host” countries. Prominent within these communities of faith is the strong belief in supernatural agency.

### Conclusion

For many African immigrants, the United States is a “bitter sweet place”; “a place of many conflicting powers,” as one of my interviewees described it. It is a place (country) with many opportunities for higher education, entrepreneurship, Christian mission, and many more. Yet it is also a place where they are discriminated against because of their race and statuses as immigrants. They often feel marginalized—even those naturalized as citizens. It is a place where religious fervor particularly among Christians thrives alongside atheism; where charity, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of religion exists alongside racism and a high rate of incarceration of its minority population, particularly blacks. It is the place where great education and good job opportunities compete with drugs, gang membership, violence, and moral laxity for the hearts of all. Within this context, post 1965 African immigrants like the proverbial bird (in the adage quoted earlier) have learned to “go and come” in order to “build their nest.” The image of a bird traversing the skies and picking leaves and twigs from trees and the shrubs in order to accomplish a worthwhile enterprise such as building its nest (a shelter for its babies and herself) is reflective of the lives of many African immigrants in the United States who toil to make a better living for themselves and their families. Many of these immigrants through religious networks

cross borders separating their “home” and “host” countries. The nature, purposes, and benefits of these networks in the lives of African immigrants is what this chapter has tried to demonstrate.

Religious networks operate on different levels: at the individual and family level (micro level), through local religious organizations such as churches, temples, seminaries that engage in transnational networks as corporate entities rather than as collections of individuals (the meso level), and at another level (the macro level), international religious bodies provide ecclesiastical and sometimes legal control and integration for local congregations and also provide them with needed directions and advice. At all these levels, some forms of religiously relevant relationships (ties) are established and often maintained between individuals or entities. These relationships serve as conduits through which remittances and other mutual benefits flow between transnational members. We have indicated in this chapter that spiritual guidance and pastoral care are given and received by persons here in the United States as well as in immigrants’ home countries. Similarly, remittances and other financial donations, travel opportunities, particularly invitations to the United States, hymnal, liturgy books, Bible study materials, recorded CDs and DVDs of songs, sermons, and events flow between persons and institutions in the United States on one hand and other *actors* in other countries. Besides these, less tangible but important things such as new theological perspectives and approaches to worship, knowledge, and so on are exchanged. As we conclude, a couple of key points need to be emphasized.

First, transnational religious networks provide African immigrants in the United States an extra support system needed to deal with marginalization. African immigrants are part of the minority population in the United States. Like all minorities, they are constantly pushed to the margins of society. Additionally, they are easy targets of racists and America’s racialized social system. In order to survive, and even more so to thrive in the United States, these immigrants constantly need and look for spiritual and psychological support from outside the American system.

The second point, which is a corollary to the first, is that these religious networks help African immigrants counter the psychological effects of downward social mobility. Many Africans who migrate to the United States often lose their premigration economic and social statuses. This loss is often due to the unavailability of the same or similar job opportunities as they had in their home countries, and their immigration statuses or sheer racism. During my research, for instance, I spoke to Ojo, who had been an attorney for many years back in Nigeria but now works as a supervisor with a building construction firm. Another had worked as academic dean of a college in Ghana, but was at the time we met a home health aide. For Bishop Armstrong, the change in his social status as a prominent church leader in Africa to a student and then a hospice chaplain in America had the potential of adversely affecting his identity and self-confidence. However, his ability to stay in touch and also serve as bishop and preside over several African religious leaders from his base in Kentucky helps him deal with his loss of social status in America.

The third point to note is that through these transnational networks, African immigrants are creatively reviving Christianity in America and the West in general. American Christianity, particularly mainline protestant Christianity, is on the decline in membership.<sup>26</sup> Through new forms of partnerships and ecumenical relationships, revitalization of dying congregations and starting of new ones, African immigrants are reinvigorating and transforming Christianity in the United States and other countries. Also through religious networks, they bring needed financial and other resources to their home countries to support Christian mission and community development.

### Notes

1. The senior pastor of SMC later explained that one female pastor was invited but could not attend. To be fair, most African Immigrant Congregations in the United States are headed by male pastors, evangelists, prophets, and so on. Their wives and other female leaders assist these pastors as ministers, prophetesses, matriarchs, and so on.
2. His website, [www.amstrongchiggeh.org](http://www.amstrongchiggeh.org), states that the fellowship has over 150 churches in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Burundi. As presiding bishop and general overseer, Bishop Armstrong has over 140 ministers serving with him in these three countries. He also assists two other fellowships of churches in Malawi and Democratic Republic of Congo.
3. See [www.amstrongchiggeh.org](http://www.amstrongchiggeh.org).
4. Randolph Bourne, "Trans-National America," *Atlantic Monthly* 118 (July 1916): 86–97.
5. Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2009), 2.
6. See Robert Wuthnow and Stephen Offutt, "Transnational Religious Connections," *Sociology of Religion* 69, no. 2 (2008): 209–232.
7. For further insights regarding the nature of transnationalism, its relationship with diaporas, and its role in politics and business, see: Thomas Faist, "Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners?" in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, ed. Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, 9–34 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2010); Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, Alejandro Portes, and William Haller, "Assimilation and Transnationalism: Determinants of Transnational Political Action among Contemporary Migrants," *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 6 (May 2003): 1211–1248.
8. Some helpful publications on religion and transnationalism include: Peggy Levitt, *God Has No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing American Religious Landscape* (New York: The New Press, 2007); Helen Rose Ebaugh and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, eds., *Religion across Borders: Transnational Immigrant Networks* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2000); Afe Adogame and James V. Spickard, eds., *Religion Crossing Boundaries: Transnational Religious and Social Dynamics and the New African Diaspora* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).
9. Diana Eck, *A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation* (New York: Harper San Francisco, 2001).

10. The 2010 US Census indicates that 40 million foreign-born lived in the United States in 2010.
11. Some countries such as Ghana allow for dual citizenship. Nationals of such countries enjoy the rights of citizenship in their countries of birth even when they have naturalized as American citizens.
12. Michael Emerson and Christian Smith, *Divided by Faith: Evangelical Religion and the Problem of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7.
13. Stephen D. Berkowitz, *An Introduction to Structural Analysis: A Network Approach to Social Research* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1982); Ronald Burt, "Models of Network Structure," *Annual Review of Sociology* 6 (1980): 79–141; Jonathan Turner, *The Structure of Sociological Theory* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 2002).
14. Ruben Gielis, "Borders Make the Difference: Migrant Transnationalism as a Border Experience," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 100, no. 5 (December 2009): 598–609. Article first published online: November 20, 2009.
15. Mark Gornik, *Word Made Global: Stories of African Christianity in New York* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2011)
16. Moses O Biney, "Singing the Lord's Song in a Foreign Land: Spirituality, Community and Identity in a Ghanaian Immigrant Church," in *African Immigrant Religions in America*, ed. Jacob K. Olupona and Regina Gemignani, 259–278 (New York: New York University Press, 2007).
17. Moses O. Biney, *From Africa to America: Religion and Adaptation among Ghanaian Immigrants in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Olupona and Gemignani, *African Immigrant Religions in America*.
18. See Bethel Presbyterian Reformed Church, <http://bethelpresbyreformed.org/>.
19. Christian Falge, "Transnational Nuer Churches: Bringing Development to the Homeland and Morals to the US," in *African Christian Presence in the West: New Immigrant Congregations and Transnational Networks in North America and Europe*, ed. Freider Ludwig and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 381–405 (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011).
20. For further reading on the activities of African Immigrant Churches in Europe, see: Gerrie Ter Haar, *Halfway to Paradise: African Christians in Europe* (Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998); Afe Adogame, "Who Do They Think They Are? Mental Images and the Unfolding of an African Diaspora in Germany," in *Christianity in Africa and the Diaspora: The Appropriation of a Scattered Heritage*, ed. Afe Adogame et al., 248–264 (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2008); Adogame and Spickard, *Religion Crossing Boundaries*. Hermione Harris, *Yoruba in Diaspora: An African Church in London* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
21. Wisdom Tettey, "Transnationalism and Religion," in *African Immigrant Religions in America*, ed. Olupona and Gemignani, 229–258; Ludwig and Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Christian Presence in the West*, 1–27.
22. Mary Johnson Osirim, "Transnational Migration and Transformation among African Women in the United States: Change-Agents Locally and Globally," in *Analyzing Gender, Intersectionality, and Multiple Inequalities: Global,*

- Transnational and Local Contexts (Advances in Gender Research, Volume 15)*, ed. Esther Ngan-Ling Chow, Marcia Texler Segal, and Lin Tan, 185–210 (Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2011).
23. Gornik, *Word Made Global*, 210–213.
  24. Biney, *From Africa to America*; Gornik, *World Made Global*.
  25. Sang Hyun Lee, *From a Liminal Place: An Asian American Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010).
  26. The 2011 yearbook of American and Canadian Churches published by the National Council of Churches, for instance, records a decline of membership for the following mainline Churches: United Church of Christ, 2.83 percent; Presbyterian Church of USA, 2.61 percent; Episcopal Church, 2.48 percent; Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1.96 percent; the American Baptist Churches, 1.55 percent; Lutheran Church Missouri, 1.08 percent; and United Methodist, 1.01 percent.

## Chapter 15

### The End of Christianity

*Elaine Padilla*

1,950 mile-long open wound  
dividing a *pueblo*, a culture,  
running down the length of my body,  
staking fence rods in my flesh  
splits me      splits me  
          *me raja*      *me raja*  
This is my home  
this thin edge of  
barbwire.

Gloria Anzaldúa, “El Otro Mexico”<sup>1</sup>

Space *spaces* itself. It reshapes itself geometrically by continuously recreating itself. *Spacing is the temporal dynamism that indwells place.* Events, rhetorics, symbols, family ties, memories, and the like can encrust themselves in particular spaces. Holding things together and restricting itself geometrically, space takes on peculiar forms as places. Meanings and value systems linked to places can in turn comfortably settle in the human imagination, giving rise to mutilating and dissecting behavioral patterns that animate the life that defines spatial boundaries.

Gloria Anzaldúa in her poem “El Otro Mexico” through her spatial and body metaphors draws attention to the bodily and cultural manifestations of such spatial-behavioral correspondences. Making a comparison between her body—highlighting her sexual anatomy as a woman—and the Mexico-US border, Anzaldúa likens the “1,950 mile-long” boundary line to a *raja* or an “open wound.” Her flesh staked with “fence rods” is *being* repeatedly split, a continuous wounding process violating her people, their culture, their rights. That wound that *la raja* symbolizes spatially becomes “home” at the very edge, the very limit, “thin,” fragile, way of existence, *being* delimited by “barbwire.”

This notion of fence rods repeatedly splitting the flesh of a people serves to illustrate that space is an organic geography that incarnates itself according to the wounded bodies that inhabit these territories, for bodies give



presence to the wounding characteristics of places split by borders. Yet space also spaces itself by having an organic quality of expansion and breath. It moves, and in doing so it embraces multiple locations and ethnicities. In being continuous, unbounded, or unlimited space can host innumerable particularities as it stretches in all directions.<sup>2</sup> This latter form of *spacing*, when intersecting multidimensionally with time in ways conducive for planetary abundance, as when events liberate places once associated with devastation and violence, can incarnate border existence according to the pain as well as hopes of migrant flesh.

The split bodies of migrants remind us of the wounded state of planetary dwellings. World climate changes, lack of resources, starvation and disease, combined with nationalisms, tribalisms, and the ideological expressions of religion that give rise to violent regimes and prolonged wars, have engendered an atmosphere of fear and loss, dehumanization, and annihilation that ultimately dislocate in particular populations that are already vulnerable.<sup>3</sup> Their faces, which expose the limits of territories and their histories, are rapidly quickening the felt need to create the optimum conditions, not only for human survival, but also a form of planetary well-being. As a theological response to the contemporary phenomenon of mass migrations, this chapter not only locates itself at the boundary lines between nations, but also speaks of a spatial body-politics near the limits of this present age. The end of our epoch, though often depicted as abysmal—cataclysmic, armageddonic, mechanical, childless, and engineered—and culminating in a type of *outerworldly* utopia, for Christianity, would mean creating space for nations, multiple ethnicities, and cultures to come into contact and heal.

With the aid of the gospel message of the *eschaton*, this chapter seeks to redefine territories whose meanings are being continuously disrupted by today's global migrations. Actual borders can become softer—elastic and malleable—when populated with multiple bodies. Even as territories can be categorized and regulated by laws, because of the relational life that constitutes them, animates them, and grows from them, their borders can be redefined spaciouly, as an organic geography that heals by means of cross-border coalitions. Enlivening multiple actors can nurture life processes that, while repelling and discomfoting, can also lead to renewing forms of settlement. Such an eschatological view that draws together varied living entities with the potential to contribute to the life support of borders can jointly aid in remolding territorial limits. Some authors like Derek Gregory suggest that it might still be possible to turn the tidal wave of the cataclysmic since all geographical space is social and thus participates in a “politics of spatiality” that is capable of being constructed anew.<sup>4</sup>

In this concluding chapter, at the end of three volumes that are culminating with global perspectives of migration and theology delineated according to territories, I am pulled again to the bodies at the borders,<sup>5</sup> territories of flesh wounded by the limiting practices that tear them apart, as the poem of Anzaldúa cited earlier illustrates. It is these embodied borders and wounded territories that can give life to the kind of eschatological space that stretches

backward and forward, northward and southward, creating the effect of *spacing*. It is spacing that draws upon Gospel principles such as those signified in the tree of life with the intention of allowing eschatological visions to erupt from within past and present boundaries. I believe this is the goal of Christianity, the fulfillment of its existence here on the bounded earth: to be a borderland in time and space for the sake of planetary well-being.

### Commodifying Geography

For he had to be there—in this place where it was given him to stay, like an assigned residence, in order for the other to be over there, immobile, immovable, yet always hard to recognize, as if the right to identity had been refused him at the same time it was granted to him.<sup>6</sup>

Space limits itself in organically becoming place by taking on the contours of the bodies that inhabit it: their behaviors, relationships, exchanges, feelings, thoughts, traits, and mannerisms. That is, space becomes homely, in its varied positive and negative organic contours. Yet paradoxically space also organically disrupts place as the wounded bodies of migrants cross or stand at its limits, its blood-letting barbed wire, with the potential for pluralizing definitions of place and reconstituting it anew. Space actualizes itself into home-like fashion but in malleable ways since place belongs to a shifting continuum in which all living things construct their dwellings. Because to dwell means to be “in-the-world” and to be in the world “with-others,” human and nonhuman, then place can *space* itself, broaden its limits, for healing life across borders.<sup>7</sup>

### Wounding Space

*Spacing* can be wounded by the self-perpetuating systems that organize the world. This occurs particularly when this ordering results in spoiling and fragmenting space by means of violent take-overs and dehumanization, and by depleting resources and decimating life. Then space becomes almost uninhabitable, drained of the optimum conditions conducive for its thriving. In such cases the vulnerable in populations are likely to suffer the most from the natural and social effects. These continuously face the threat of extinction. Singlehandedly, the rise in temperatures of 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit (2 degrees Celsius) is triggering irreversible mutations in the landscapes, decimating species, and forcing millions to become ecological refugees.<sup>8</sup> The increase in numbers of vulnerable people groups desperately escaping violence further tarnishes an already bleak picture of migratory geography.<sup>9</sup>

Stories of those who are forced to flee from their home-places can attest to how migrations do not arise in a vacuum. Bodies moving en masse come from an inhabited and organic space with its multiple social behaviors, interactions, and conditions. Pierre Bourdieu calls these behaviors, interactions,

and conditions *habitus* or *law in site*.<sup>10</sup> This refers to a *habitus* in which symbolically maiming law persists, or in which spatial splitting is practiced, and vulnerable populations become encroached upon and are displaced, forced to migrate.

In order for splitting practices to appear as natural behavior and as self-evidently fulfilling, space has to lose its organic quality. Geographies need to surface as abstract, well-ordered, objective representations of space, with immovable and affixed geometric lines and dots, as if separate from what it structures and the power relations that give rise to them. For the impoverishment of the planet in terms of depletion of resources and dehumanization of relationships to go unquestioned, geographical limits must become devoid of their actual inhabitants in the world-imaginary. By means of this act of *logoization* (disembodying place),<sup>11</sup> borders have fallen prey to narratives that dictate a fate distant from those who endure them. These “situated knowledges”<sup>12</sup> of borders with no suffering flesh<sup>13</sup> optimize grids of power that keep in place uneven social developments that for many migrants have directly and indirectly caused their exploitation.

Ever since early modernity, and as a result of stripping space from its organic meaning, borders have been losing the fight against the virulent onslaught of shrinking space at the hands of commodification. Upon the advent of Western colonialism in the fifteenth century, the planet with its interregional relations has come under a system of competition that has resulted in diverse ecocides and multiple genocides, which in turn have led to migration. The global capitalist economy today is indebted to the enslaved labor and genius of the indigenous and African peoples from generations past, and to the multiple ethnicities among the European, especially their impoverished migrants, some fleeing violence, during the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, while everyday space, according to Henri Lefebvre, has been colonized by the economy and the state,<sup>15</sup> it has also become equally and inexcusably depleted by those who, while critical of Western capitalism, vie for similar forms of power. In other words, both impulses, some forms of capitalism and anticapitalism embedded in the global as well as the everyday, reify “the dialectic of domination,” as Catherine Keller critically reflects.<sup>16</sup> Space itself has become a “luxury commodity,” due to the deterritorialization of Americanized consumer culture and the destructive modes of resistance “operating out of their own deformed messianism of reterritorialization.”<sup>17</sup> No area in life is left free of commodification.<sup>18</sup>

Admittedly not everything about the configuration of modern geographies has been negative. Early modernity aimed at abandoning medieval political and economic structures that kept intact social strata and the flow of populations. John Peacock aptly points out how the medieval system was based on unchanging and recurrent patterns and did not allow for mobility, social development, or redemptive teleology.<sup>19</sup> Able to claim a solitary autonomy from this rigid system, the early modern individual in the West felt free from previous bonds of economy and polity. Nonetheless, in an absolute unfettered and voracious economic system, with less strong ties to

communities, freedom and autonomy could readily lead to exploitation and alienation. The individual would become both actor and marginal spectator.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, in our present time borders delimiting nation-states are not simple representations of a blind individualism devoid of commitments toward a global kinship, indifferent to the pleas of wounded migrants, nor the ailments that produce their deplorable conditions that force their mobility. Geographical behaviors are far more complex and entangled. For instance, in Europe and the United States, there is evidence of what Tracey Skillington deems a “fortress mentality” harnessing social power and operating in continuous tension with structurally transforming “tolerance, openness, and cosmopolitan belongingness.”<sup>21</sup> These territories continue to produce a rhetoric of domination that disregards the long-term well-being of earthly resources, and that employs traditional principles of sovereignty, encloses its communities, and keeps people within its borders under siege.<sup>22</sup> Conversely at the same time Europe and the United States have undertaken projects that negotiate democracies, borders, cosmopolitanisms, inclusions, interculturalisms, global peace and justice, sustainable ecologies, universal ethics, and human and nonhuman rights. In the latter is evidence of resistance toward genocides (including the nonhuman), totalitarianism, extreme forms of nationalism, xenophobias, racisms, and exclusions.

So while bolstering the impetus toward sustainable and peaceful dispositions, what needs to be transgressed is the *habitus* that eradicates the organic elements of geographies whose significant outcome has been the violent crossings and *hyper*strengthening of borders. Every law invariably sets up limits that result in separation, pace Maurice Blanchot.<sup>23</sup> It is maiming laws (religious and political) in particular, however, that in the end sacralize space that when overstepped shrinks possibilities for livelihood, and falls within categories of (im)morality.<sup>24</sup> In their devouring advance, scarcity and terror inexorably push populations beyond their home-borders, and despite this horror, and everyone’s implication in the disastrous consequences that ensue in mass displacements of populations, guilty verdicts are mostly adjudicated to the vulnerable who have no other choice but to overstep those limits.

Once borders become sacralized and the act of “overstepping” acquires a character of (im)morality, bodies inhabiting them lose life-value and borders their organic worth. In the case of many present-day migrations, the most vulnerable labeled “illegal aliens” and even “bogus asylum-seekers,” in holding no government protection, having no legal standing, and in being dependent on the goodwill of others to grant them rights, can potentially become modern-day slaves, meaning, politically *nothing*.<sup>25</sup> Stringent policies of removal and return of inhabitants can also indiscriminately target those escaping persecution, famine, and death.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, even the bodies of the *de jure* stateless can be rejected by the host society and become an “orphaned population” at whim depending on external circumstances.<sup>27</sup> Hence those *sans papiers* alongside naturalized citizens, and their citizen-children, can easily become stateless symbolically, be viewed and treated as a

threat, and serve as scapegoats if circumstances beyond the borders, such as armed conflict, fuel antagonistic sentiments toward the ethnic group that is already somewhat under suspicion.

According to Homi K. Bhabha, in the act of putting difference or otherness “in place,” bodies become visible and knowable as “a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin.”<sup>28</sup> Placing otherness forms the basis for a narcissistic imaginary and egotistical fantasies that result in numerous discriminations and the continuous reification of racial and cultural forms of hierarchization. As if space could be born from nothing, in the sense of *creatio ex nihilo*, previous histories are narcissistically called into presence by dominant agents, even though the ancestral bodies themselves of these dominant agents had violently crossed these same boundaries in search of new space. Among them, especially the settlers of the early modern period, established systems of colonization that impoverished indigenous populations and depleted their resources, and that still today, continue to produce economic and social inequalities that further hurdle the possibilities for the fruitful mobility of marginalized populations.<sup>29</sup> In the narrative of the imagined community that the nation often becomes, and as a result of its amnesia, the bodies of the most vulnerable can readily get displaced.

Indifference toward the organic quality of space, in this case, the flesh of the borders, can cause space to be split in multiple ways to the point of shrinkage or desolation. When borders unquestionably surrender to such illusory imaginings of indifference, territories and those who inhabit them can then fail to express the humanitarian impetus that can further contribute to the health of the planet. On the other hand, when they are seen as being formed organically out of flesh, they can acquire an elasticity that makes room for narratives that disrupt such geographical deadness. When territories and their inhabitants seek the possibility of dwelling more sustainably and peacefully and of healing the wounded within and beyond the confines of their geometrical lines, new possibilities for life arise.

### ***A Solution to Erasing Borders?***

If geographies by being delimited, some by wounding barbed wire, can hold in place symbolic powers that mobilize laws that maim and cause desolation and terror that in turn spurn movements en masse, why not erase all territorial borders? It appears to be a noble gesture, though one that for Blanchot is merely an “[a]ttempt to delimit a certain territory again with the absence of any limit.”<sup>30</sup> Like a fantasy that simply shrouds an ugly reality in its attempt to establish a “lack of cultural differentiation,” these efforts in deleting difference have resulted in much confusion, as René Girard keenly points out.<sup>31</sup> Painting a world without borders only apparently equalizes space, or seemingly erases all difference, and can possibly lead to further depletion of resources and widespread terror.

By way of illustration on the former, Cathal McCall reflects upon the internal relations produced by the unification of Europe. The European Union,

he argues, has produced a “detritorialization effect” of certain types of identity, which, though it makes traveling seem easier and without so much interruption, actually results in a state of rebordering rather than borderlessness. While the potential for interstate cooperation, cross-border interaction, and minority rights protection that could benefit marginalized groups is embedded in European integration, border markers of separation continue to be imagined. The European nations continue to be divided and characterized by “partitioned identities.”<sup>32</sup> And while evidently border changes are ameliorating conflict, he insists that the potential for conflict remains as long as “the pursuit of national territorial autonomy” continues.<sup>33</sup>

Would the idea of cosmopolitanism with its already implied transgressive spatiality perhaps offer an organic viewpoint with which to envision ways for healing geographies? Cosmopolitanism appears to uplift territories, raise them high above strict demarcations. In conferring an air of cosmic transcendence to space, it can ostensibly abandon the constricting definitions of its place, particularly those that are identity based. The *kosmopolites* (the cosmopolitan person) can potentially rid herself of her cultural baggage and replace it with multicultural tastes, manners, and values. Hence she could feel at home everywhere. But who is this *kosmopolites* who travels with so much ease? Wouldn't this be an already unburdened individual? Might this be one whose body is not bleeding as a result of the wounding barbed wire? Or could it be a cosmopolitan whose chameleon flesh in fact conceals the festering wounds bent on plotting the demise of entire populations, ethnicities, and religious others, bent on destructively manifesting the seemingly far removed destiny of desolation and terror within territorial boundaries? Wouldn't it be true of those who are either least in search of or hoping to build a home-like *place*?

A cosmopolitanism of geographical totality cannot be the answer. Limiting cosmopolitanism to a transcendence of home-space in the cultural sense can add to spatial confusion, resulting in a sense of dislocation that can ensue in the split mirror version of the modern autonomous conqueror-alienated individual. If depriving cosmopolitanism of its quality of wounded flesh, and if depicting it as atemporal, cosmopolitanism can give the appearance of absence of a normative center that invisibly reproduces itself, something that Namsoon Kang has noted.<sup>34</sup> Any of its seeming pluriform manifestations, by culturally colonizing the mind, can become simply another version of totalitarianism that secretly seeks to create a uniformity of being human that in the end maims bodies.

In order that the greatest potential to sustainably and peacefully transgress geographies is unleashed, it is best to adopt a cosmopolitan view of open space for *caring touch* across boundary lines. Bodies that come into peaceful contact with others are more likely to awaken to the planetary plea for equitable forms of living, a “globalized justice,” as Kang advocates.<sup>35</sup> To dwell spaciouly within the community of human beings entails a social responsibility to the polis that extends far and wide, and that includes the possibility for well-being of the living others beyond the strata of the human race and boundary lines of

kinship. By dwelling organically in coexistence with others (including strangers from afar) one can responsibly participate in the commonwealth that is both internal and external to familial and territorial borders.

Such a goal and sense of healing touch across borders is already infusing various sectors around the globe with processes that are contributing to planetary wholeness. Economically, initiatives that promote fair trade are sharing space in the market. Technologies that aim at benefitting populations in dry and remote locations have succeeded in creating drinking water systems from indigenous stock. In education, privately funded online learning programs are reaching children in war-stricken zones. Hence because of some free movement across borders, people even from places far apart have been making a difference by caringly being in touch with one another. Gregory calls this border-dynamic the “precarious ‘grain structure’ of the world.” This structure is one of multiple and overlapping networks that go beyond the usual entrenched webs of power.<sup>36</sup>

We could find, moreover, a way forward by understanding the *spacing* of place more organically, according to how it can be teeming with subversive potentiality for abundance of life, rather than in the abstract as borderless, virginal, or void space (which can again produce a sense of conquering or alienation). Zbigniew Bialas, for instance, underscores how space continuously discloses itself as other from within its frame and enclosure.<sup>37</sup> Areas considered superfluous, blank spots, irrelevant, or divergent spaces, and even those considered to have no meaning, as in being *nothing*, can fruitfully give rise to newness. This disclosure denotes spaces gaping and stretching as bodies intermingle, particularly when making room for healing human interactions inclusive of those deemed nothing in society like the people who are *sans papiers* and stateless. Rather than ignoring or rejecting their wounded flesh, by seeing differently, by perceiving afresh the bodies of these least valued in society, we can address the root issues presently vitalizing the barb wires, and fruitfully expand currently stale limits within and beyond nation-states.

### The Limit: Final Call and Aim?

A celebrated sage of the first century, Raban Gamaliel, taught his students that in the world to come, “trees will give fruit every day.” The Babylonian Talmud relates that one of Gamaliel’s students scoffed at him, saying, “But it is written, ‘There is nothing new under the sun.’” The rabbi did not throw the arrogant student out. Instead he replied, “Come, and I will show you an example in this world.” He went outside with the students, and showed them a caper bush. Indeed, during its lengthy flowering season between April and October, the caper produces new flowers every day. Here was something on earth which anticipated the dimension of eternity.<sup>38</sup>

The planet earth is wounded due to the effects of space-splitting practices that in fragmenting territories force millions to migrate. Existing conditions are bound to worsen with extreme levels of poverty confronting the rapid depletion of natural resources necessary for the survival of communities,

and the inbred violence that further chokes its chances. Since the potential for well-being among the most vulnerable and those most affected by the escalation of these destructive forms of globalization is only decreasing, perhaps the time has come for other responses. Might now be the opportune moment for the end of Christianity? For it to activate the advent of healing the nations (Matt. 13:33)? How might the limit of space and time gesture toward another genesis, the imaginable dawn of a flourishing space in which to place ourselves organically?<sup>39</sup>

### ***Visions of the End***

The wounded bodies of countless refugees plead the planet for what Barbara Rossing calls an “urgent wake up call” to break habitual patterns of destruction.<sup>40</sup> Migration becomes a matter of becoming capable of responding to the displaced rushing into borders by addressing “our unsustainable way of life and endangering carbon-consuming system.”<sup>41</sup> And since with much ease tribal ideologies are advancing their cause of annihilation of “enemies” yet neighboring others, this trumpet call for an organic subsistence is all the more urgent. Is space shrinkage signaling the limits of an era—our *eschaton*?

If we imagine for a moment being unconstrained by border walls, then the threat of extinction of this wounded planet confronts all nations. Scarcity of resources and the shedding of blood exemplify the interrelatedness of cataclysmic events that for Keller implies “the conceptual link between [the] sociological and [the] ecological.” Such a link locates human social relations within a “complex of multilayered inorganic and organic relations.”<sup>42</sup> For her this means that “[n]o human dwelling ‘in the earth,’ however urban, can with any honesty abstract itself from the skins and fluids and vapors of the earth-body of which it is a part.”

In seeking to imagine a future place in which to dwell sustainably and in peace, along with Rossing, one might urgently inquire of a gospel with which to gain “guidance for addressing our new situation of living at the *end*.”<sup>43</sup> What visions of sustainable and peaceful dwellings can be gained from the “good news” so that the limits of our space can begin to be fruitfully redrawn in our time or epoch? Perhaps countervisions of the apocalypse can pose wider spatiotemporal horizons with which to midwife the dawn of a new age.

Amid his own context of turmoil and destruction, John of Patmos maps a potential for an organic renewal. His longing for rebuilding positions itself in the shape of a tree of life planted at the center of crumbling structures, healing space at the boundary line of time, and of nations and their various communities (Rev. 22:1–3). Potentially symbolizing a reviving source of deadening social interactions between nations, the tree roots itself “on each side” of the “Water-of-Life River” that is crystal bright, that flows from the throne of God and of the lamb, and runs “right down the middle of the street.” John of Patmos, who was “deeply alienated by the City of his time,”



offers a bird's eye view of an apocalypse of countless habitats being resurrected into flourishing urban landscapes.<sup>44</sup>

Such luscious abundance, on the one hand, can paradoxically kindle passions that only want all the more to delimit territories. In Christianity, this eschatological image of the tree of life has yielded narratives that narrowly restrict healing to a few, in spite of its implied universal appeal, especially when correlated with Proverbs 3:18. For Oecumenius, access to it is granted only to "the nations who had held in esteem and had accomplished deeds worthy of life," meaning, only to the saints whose names are written in the book of life.<sup>45</sup> From Second Temple Judaism, Christianity might have inherited a view that compares the tree of wisdom in Proverbs to pursuing the good path, which Christian fathers like Isidore of Pelusium translated into baptism, in Syriac literature, the Eucharist,<sup>46</sup> and then into narrower and narrower views that located the tree within the soul, with a final destination being the celestial paradise.<sup>47</sup> Since early modern times, the tree of life has become representative of an allegory of human striving for and attaining perfection that has sadly morphed into colonialisms that spread through seemingly benign networks that however continue to destroy habitats.<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand, the veiled symbols, images, and codes of Revelation offer an alternate reality that still today poses a "social and moral critique and judgment" to the status quo, as Helen Rhee aptly notes.<sup>49</sup> The aristocratic and plutocratic landowners that created urban development at the expense of the impoverished masses would face destruction and divine judgment, while the meek and poor inherit the earth (Matt. 5:3–7; Jer. 23:13–15). And even as Christianity later sought to soften its harshness by transforming this stern warning into a call for charity and alms giving (flattening the distinction between the wealthy and poor), since many among the upper classes had converted, love of money and social injustice continued to factor significantly in eschatological judgment. Hence in spite of the chaotic depictions of the end times that fascinate many readers, the countervisions of Revelation might instead lure us to *spaciousness*, to a goal of an organically renewed wholeness (Chapters 21–22) that for Rossing responds to the metaphor of Chapter 12 of countless victims of oppression, human and nonhuman.<sup>50</sup>

Like Alessandro Scafì's epigraph earlier, one can see in the imagery of the tree an anticipation of the not-yet present.<sup>51</sup> So as an indictment of any exclusivist and neocolonial collective character it has accumulated, the tree of life can represent the human condition of an unidentified longing for flourishing dwellings.<sup>52</sup> The tree, that produces twelve kinds of fruit, one type of fruit ripening each month, and leaves that are for the healing of the nations, can present us with a paradigm whose goal is an all-pervasive well-being. The tree that heals nations, by positioning itself in the middle and on both sides of boundary lines, its deep and long roots fanning out to the lands from which the countless bodies of vulnerable migrants at the borders come, offers a countervision to the present territorial fragmentation, a vision in which, from this point forward, there will be no scarcity or terror. As Chantal Thompson envisions based on the African myth of the baobab tree,

under its shade “are no beggars” as those produced by migration resulting from neocolonialism.<sup>53</sup>

The bodies of the most vulnerable of present-day migrants longing for flourishing forms of dwelling can remind us to activate such a hope-filled vision of an organic place of rest and security, a prosperous and auspicious end. Such migrants’ visions of ample, fertile horizons can be a major source of inspiration for us, inspiring us even to do something to alleviate the peril of their journeys and their detentions at the borders.<sup>54</sup> Thinking differently about crossing or transgressing borders might, as Blanchot describes, motivate us to accomplish “what is *impossible*.”<sup>55</sup> In the act of crossing the uncrossable might lie the potential for eschatological ends to be set within the limits of territories and for widening the law so as to enact justice.<sup>56</sup> This would be to build spacious dwellings according to “the city that is to come” (Heb. 13:14). Dreams of worlds where there can be freedom in religious belief and observance, peaceful living, abundance of resources, the prospect of women equality, competitive education for children, good health care, safe opportunities for leisure and celebration, resemble the malleable blueprints sketched, for example, in Jeremiah 29:5–7. With their longings for such cocreativity, biblical hopes for planting, marrying, and having children can again become a planetary possibility.<sup>57</sup>

### ***Mapping Advent***

How can the Gospel aid in bringing about another era of trees of life planted amid boundary lines? The substance of such an eschatological Gospel imaginary arises from the wounded bodies and fragmented territories themselves. By activating imaginative processes that respond to the pleas of such wounded bodies, by creating something like an organic reality within these borders, the future of territories can become, as Bhabha describes, “an open question,” the possible of new world (b)orders.<sup>58</sup> Might awakening to the impossible help interrogate the present so as to birth new epochs?

Opening the question of the future of territorial dimensions in a sense softens borders, a term used by McCall and appropriated from Julie Mostov,<sup>59</sup> and that, to me, denotes limits becoming ecosystematically binding, capable of harboring multiple *ethnos* and living things, or being multilocal for the purposes of healing touch. Intertwining borders can reflect what Keller calls the advent of a Christianity under “the banner of coalitions of diversity.”<sup>60</sup> For instance, parishes or churches and Christian organizations can collaborate in border efforts that make use of *grassroots*, democratic practices that involve individuals of varied and overlapping ethnicities and cultural backgrounds and that can result in wide scale approaches to halt mass migrations and in cocreating long-lasting ecosystems of care.

The focus is on negotiating cultural differences rather than eroding them. Such negotiation involves “cross-border contact, communication and cooperation across political and societal spheres of influence which take into account of common interests and concerns,” such as the products of

globalization and of our deleterious attitudes and practices that negatively impact the borders.<sup>61</sup> Crossroads or boundary limits, where two or more social spaces coexist, harbor the potential for what Bourdieu suggests is a *paradoxical prevision* to bring about what it utters, by making the pre-dicted “conceivable and above all credible and thus creating the collective representation and will which contribute to its production.”<sup>62</sup> Bhabha describes it as a disruption in the repetition of national narratives that are the life support for the fragmented topographies. The prophetic component of the Gospel shows what can happen when minority discourses such as those of the migrants rather than becoming a supplement for the master-discourse instead antagonize its “implicit power . . . to produce . . . sociological solidity.”<sup>63</sup>

In terms of webs of power that tend to go unquestioned, juxtaposing different cultures and their embodied heterogeneity in the same organic space can prophetically confront and expose that which is arbitrary in everyday experience. What appears to be the norm can become a matter of utmost concern. Through juxtapositions, that which is assumed to be a fixed component can come under scrutiny. In being inhabited by actual bodies with their histories, borders can expose the “moreness” of the why borders open or close and the structures that force people to cross borders. A springboard for the eschaton can be composed of bodies coming in contact with one another to dissolve “arrogance, aggression, conquest,” and to pay “scrupulous attention to the junctures and fissures between many different histories,” as Gregory argues.<sup>64</sup>

Granting a binding elasticity to borders and a tree of life quality to human longings at the borders so as to build cross-border coalitions and participate in *grassroots* processes can help expose one’s story to the world as possible victimizer, and heal the wounds of the victim. According to Michele Saracino, taking on a humble and vulnerable stance can result in surrendering the idealized self that is verbalized through rhetoric such as that of “being chosen” and having exclusive rights to a land, rhetoric that simply veils the human greed that negatively impacts territories.<sup>65</sup> In the face of uncertainty and discomfort created at the borders, we might give up some notions of self, story, and place for the sake of those at the mutilating borders, the barbed wire staking the land and slashing flesh such as that of Anzaldúa. For the victimized, it can lead to mourning in the sense of relinquishing pain (claims to victimhood).<sup>66</sup> The journey undertaken intertwines stories, memories, and feelings that subvert either/or categories of victimizer/victim, and can help recognize that any oppression is oppression against humanity, and that any destruction, including of the habitats of the nonhuman, can potentially obliterate the whole, yet most importantly, that anyone can become an actor of transformation.

The alternative—building rigid walls and increasing border patrol and criminalization of those at the borders—fails to address negative emotions and increases anxiety. Emotions evoked by efforts that seek to dissolve the “I-neighbor-enemy” rigid boundary are often intimately tied to territories, borders, and symbols that ideologues and media entrepreneurs, among others,

can easily hijack.<sup>67</sup> Anxiety can breed what for Girard are “collective resonances of persecution,” that though legal in form are often stimulated by “extremes of public opinion,” and that in the end mask the refusal to accept responsibility for the eclipse of culture.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, any segment vying for absolute domination can place blame on those others who, while small in number and relatively weak, “seem particularly harmful for easily identifiable reasons.”<sup>69</sup>

Ultimately, ignoring emotions and anxiety can pull fruitful collaboration away from addressing the root issues leading to scarcity, and can adversely increase the chances for violent conflict, thus thwarting efforts in “sustainable peaceful conflict transformation.”<sup>70</sup> For Keller, an apocalyptic unconscious in which subliminal spaces where unacceptable shadows languish can be awakened in an instant and turned into tools for violence, cruelty, and terror against the so-called barbarians and infidels.<sup>71</sup> Negative emotions, McCall argues, “lie at the motivational heart of what it takes for an otherwise well-adjusted person to kill another person.”<sup>72</sup>

Conversely and positively, proximity to that which is different from the self, even if it results in an unwanted intensity due to the awakening of ancestral sentiments and memories,<sup>73</sup> can create the opportunities to tend to festering wounds. In enhancing the innate capacity to listen to the stories and hear the pleas of vulnerable populations, proximity can help sensitize and awaken the inner being to a list of dehumanizing conditions: intensive human-labor, low wages, violation of human rights, physical injuries with no health insurance, daily exposure to toxic pesticides, and molestation and rape of women.<sup>74</sup> Likewise, the wounded can welcome the healing hand and become a conduit of wellness for pluriform manifestations of scarcity and terror.

Critical to geography, therefore, is an eschatological imaginary that recognizes the oozing components of the strange or unfamiliar corporeality born at the wounded borders. The strangeness of the ones arriving from beyond the border—with their faces, body shapes, mannerisms, accents, and even stereotypes—can haunt notions of “being at home” or “the familiar” of the polis that breeds too much comfort. Parent analogies, like motherland, fatherland, or homeland commonly attributed to a place of birth, demonstrate how “identity and shared memories” can become positively disrupted.<sup>75</sup> Exposing the self to otherness—what Michael Nausner calls *presencing*<sup>76</sup>—opens up space for eschatological countervisions with which to overturn laws and economic engines that produce unfair trade and imbalanced distribution of goods, and that rehearse ancient and contemporary narratives in such a way as to continuously displacing and distancing diverse people.

By us coming face-to-face with the vulnerable, territories can become more than property, more than a mere surface to be occupied. They can become instead organic space. The unfamiliar amid the familiar can create the healing space for recreating planetary habitats anew. Even when we do not arrive at the same conclusions, heterogeneity coming in contact can stimulate world imaginaries of prolific coexistence. Developmental alternatives that are sustainable and beneficial for vulnerable populations (including

endangered species), and that meet the demands for ethical ways of dwelling with a planetary mindset, can surface when coming face-to-face with the increase in scarcity and violence around the globe.

### ***Constructing Flourishing Dwellings***

A way for the Gospel to become vivifying flesh would be for borders to become a *type* of spacious organic dwelling that facilitates the healing of nations. Like trees planted amid borders, both set in between limits and binding limits by interposing an eschatological reality, the Gospel can aid in conceptualizing and incarnating the impossible. In order for this purpose to be fulfilled, the Gospel would need to embody in a transformative manner its boundary line existence, the migrant bodily processes that occur *at* the borders.<sup>77</sup> In particular, as argued earlier in line with Bourdieu, embodying the uncomfortable zones of crises that borders create can lead both to subverting present deleterious practices and also to announcing other possible world orders.<sup>78</sup> Eschatologically speaking, the future history of place can subversively become embodied by the wounded flesh of migrants in healing ways, a form of *creatio continua* or place spacing itself.<sup>79</sup>

The potential of bodies at the borders midwifing the flourishing of planetary well-being lists this: even as boundary lines give rise to and ground ways of dwelling, the multiple bodies at and crossing the borders can continuously recreate those ways and multiply them. While the possibility for mislabeling the strangeness of the incoming dweller remains, “being at home” can acquire organic meanings beyond ancestry and the rhetoric of origins. A grander geographical view, one in which “physical space, delineated by rivers and field boundaries” are perceived according to multiple “communal ties” and commitments, can extend far beyond the constricting frames of any map.<sup>80</sup> For Saracino, in “being-with” others, personal boundaries and ancestral links overlap. Our stories thus become enmeshed with each other’s, resulting in “many-storied selves.”<sup>81</sup>

Like trees that grow across boundaries, carrying in one’s bloodline more than one story overturns the “we-in-sameness” that locates the self on only one side of the boundary limit. Enrooting oneself deep in intertwining territories instills in the self its sense of *dwelling* according to multiple attachments, what Kang describes as a primordial “being-with” or “being-together” in solidarity with the many. Such being, such dwelling can halt processes that authenticate the “we,” and that create an enemy, any enemy.<sup>82</sup> Hence holding multiple locationalities in the world makes it possible to dissolve the “I-neighbor-enemy” and *victimizer/victimized rigid boundaries*, as argued earlier,<sup>83</sup> and to subvert the “we-sameness” or “we-they” binarism that is indifferent to the many others who are being oppressed and excluded from significant sources of solidarity or liberation, including the nonhuman.<sup>84</sup> Intertwining boundaries can turn hatred toward a presumed enemy into neighborly love. This Gospel-like aim can help us to dwell peacefully multilocally across the globe, to forgo the temptation to injure or murder, or

even to conquer or occupy the space of any other, and instead to reach out for the purposes of healing the other.

An eschatological longing for the advent of nonsingularizing and non-totalizing orders that the Gospel kindles can be the power behind borders becoming what for Fernando Segovia are diaspora sites of resistance, suitable for heterogeneous or nonuniversalizing global forms of multiple belonging. If forms of we-ness become positional rather than essential, for him this positionality or posture then can carry the potential for opposing “any attempt, implicit or explicit, to overwhelm or override the other, to impose a definition upon it, to turn the other into an ‘other.’”<sup>85</sup> The Gospel incarnated according to such ecosystemic spaciousness can help nations and segments of populations take a nonmessianic stance that avoids romanticism and reifications of yet another imperialism. Segovia puts it well: an eschatological being at the borders would require setting aside “utopian or messianic interpretations of otherness, whereby such otherness becomes idealized or exclusionist.”<sup>86</sup>

Such deep longings will cast out our ways of planetary dwelling spaciously into the outermost zones of seeming *nothingness*, where the effects of scarcity of resources and violence can be the most evident, at the border-space where according to Étienne Balibar limits become “an extraordinary viscous spacio-temporal zone, almost a home—a home in which to live a life which is waiting-to-live, a non-life.”<sup>87</sup> By fluidly spacing itself, by addressing human responsibility, and by announcing flourishing ways of dwelling instead of death-dealing ones like detention centers, the Gospel will fashion itself according to the indictment and annunciation of migrant flesh.

In the end, the potential that is dormant in *nothingness* can arise and incarnate the advent component akin to the Gospel-like tree of life, as Ted Grimsrud argues, among that which has been divided, dissected, broken, corrupted, and destroyed, in order to cocreate sustainable “communities of peace,”<sup>88</sup> ecosystems of care. Embodying this eschatological sign of ecosystemic spaciousness can dethrone a rhetoric of destruction and terror that obscures the good news at the borders, can turn hatred into loving care, and can help create “communities of people who will know God’s transforming love and by their testimony to that love transform the world.”<sup>89</sup> The new world (b)orders that Christianity announces can help resurrect the organic quality of space, reshape the geometric contours of territories, and infuse health to the wounded bodies of migrants. By means of what Kang describes as *planetary love* or mind-changing love, place can *space* itself, purposely become luscious even for the most vulnerable, that is, extend long-lasting well-being far and wide beyond the clan system—and create true *planetary conviviality*.<sup>90</sup>

\* \* \*

In summary, currently much spacing surfaces as an inorganic world, sliced and dissected, miniaturized and shrunk. In that they symbolize powers or

centers of dominance that are likewise assigned to people groups, limits have come to represent the places and strata to which each belongs. Nations and segments of populations vying for domination can create conditions of scarcity that result in mass displacements of the most vulnerable without admitting responsibility since many of these practices become normalized. For instance, aggravating the zones of armed conflict and factors of climate change forces populations to seek for spaces of refuge and provisions of basic and life-sustaining resources. Ironically, the root causes of mass movements of some ethnic groups in being misrecognized can spur a reaction of control of borders that seeks to prevent an inundation of their flows.

Nonetheless, the unfamiliar remaining at the borders results in borders being geographical sites of multiple forms of dwelling and passages that do not easily surrender to a single storyline or dominant view. Boundaries, while they demarcate enclosures, can also serve to highlight points of touch, connecting lines and dots, and some liberative routes that lend themselves to relationships among people and communities. Rather than the pursuit of sameness via the elimination of borders, being fully aware of them can instead result in challenging forms of community that tolerate unevenness in our world.<sup>91</sup> And while familial ties can reproduce negative meanings and enclose communities, these too can acquire a quality of elasticity. In allowing the uncanny or strangeness to disrupt the unquestioned, in opening the question of the future, in developing communal ties that infiltrate the familial bonds and circles, and in stretching its limits across borders, we might be able to cultivate a planetary sense of belonging and justice.

What aids in this organic process is a Gospel-like tree of life that incarnates the wounds and courageous hopes of migrant flesh that Anzaldúa's poem decries and yet implicitly announces. Migrants' longings resemble counterworld imageries of the Gospel. Such paradigms of abundant and peaceful dwellings can challenge space-splitting practices of world domination, oppression, injustice, violence, and exploitation. With symbolisms of sustainable and peaceful habitats,<sup>92</sup> one might come to affirm the goodness of the earth amid zones of *nothingness* as ways to quicken the human potential for overcoming scarcity and terror, for loving the neighbor-enemy far and near. While the Gospel does not make any exclusive claims in terms of faith traditions, in *spaciously* becoming organic like a tree planted amid broken and dissected societies, the Gospel can vivify dormant possibilities for *life-together*. Incarnating the Gospel according to migrant flesh can recast narratives of the healing of the nations in ways that softens borders, meaning in ways that address inequality and announce the possibility of the impossibility of *there being no one* who hungers nor thirsts—no strife.

## Notes

1. Gloria Anzaldúa, "El Otro Mexico," in *Borderlands: La Frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999), 24–25. The view in this chapter is also partly inspired by the title and the unforgettable contents I encountered during

my early college years in the book by Eduardo Galeano, *The Open Veins of Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1997). Through this chapter I also seek to pay tribute to the late Otto Maduro, my Drew professor in a course on Pierre Bourdieu and Religion, a course that serendipitously the late Ada María Isasi-Díaz also sometimes attended and where she voiced her strong opinions. I also want to thank Dale T. Irvin for his feedback on an earlier version of this chapter. A statement he made is worth quoting: “It might seem to be a truism, but the point needs to be noted: a theology of migration, whatever else it might be said to be, is a theology about movement across borders, from place to place, through time and through space.”

2. See *The Compact Edition of the Oxford Dictionary: Complete Text Reproduced Micrographically* (Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1971), s.v. “space” (II: 2936–2937).
3. I am aware that there are multiple modes of entry and border experiences, and so not all migrations take on radical forms of vulnerability and displacement. For instance, as Jorge Duany points out, border crossings can offer “transient and bidirectional flow” more so than “an irrevocable and unilateral displacement” in particular for Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Dominicans, and Jamaicans. See Jorge Duany, *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 212. Certainly there are also highly skilled and educated migrants who thrive on settling across their home borders (see, e.g., Warren C. Sanderson, Wolfgang Lutz, and Sergei Scherbov, eds., *The End of World Population Growth in the 21st Century: New Challenges for Human Capital Formation and Sustainable Development* [New York: Routledge, 2013]; Corrado Di Maria and Emiliya A. Lazarova, “Migration, Human Capital Formation, and Growth: An Empirical Investigation,” *World Development* 40, no. 5 [May 2012]: 938–955). Yet for the sake of narrowing the scope of this chapter, the focus will be on the most vulnerable of migrant populations, those some have called irregular migrants or the undocumented. See Amal Datta, *Human Migration: A Social Phenomenon* (New Delhi: Naurang Rai of Mittal Publications, 2003), 19–21.
4. Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1994), xi.
5. Properties of *spacing* were also discussed in the chapters I included in the two previous volumes. Contemporary issues of borders dwelled in the cavernous spaciousness that disrupted hegemonic narratives of territories. And in the one on Abrahamic theologies, spacing was symbolized in the migratory journeys of planetary love (akin to the mystics in medieval Spain) that accompany feelings and can result in constructing ecosystems of care. See “Expanding Space: A Possibility of a Cavernous Mode of Dwelling,” in *Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology*, ed. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan, 53–72 (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013); “Signs of Wonder: Journeying Plurally into the Divine Disclosure,” in *Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions*, ed. Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan, 209–238 (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014).
6. Maurice Blanchot, *The Step Not Beyond*, trans. and intro. Lycette Nelson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 9.
7. I continue to redefine the concept of *dwelling* introduced by Martin Heidegger in his work on *Being and Time* (New York: HarperSan Francisco,



1962), esp. 225–350. In turning away from particular aspects that devalue the everyday, “the-they,” and life or natality, I am also embracing concepts in Latina theology and feminism that identify the liberative aspects of the everyday, and that emphasize mutually beneficial forms of relationship, and favor life over a rhetoric of death commonly employed in definitions of the end to refer to humanity’s impulse for loving care.

8. About 25 million migrants have sought refuge or are considered ecological refugees. See Tracey Skillington, “The Borders of Contemporary Europe: Territory, Justice, and Rights,” in *Europe after Derrida*, ed. Agnes CZajka and Bora Isyar (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 102; E. J. Moore and J. W. Smith, “Climate Change and Migration from Oceania: Implications for Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America,” *Population and Environment* 17, no. 2 (November 1995); Patricia Cochran et al., *Indigenous Peoples, Lands, and Resources*, in NASA, Report, <http://nca2014.globalchange.gov/report/sectors/indigenous-peoples> (accessed March 2015); Green Facts: Facts on Health and the Environment, <http://www.greenfacts.org/en/arctic-climate-change/> (accessed October 2014); Julian Borger, “Darfur Conflict Heralds Era of Wars Triggered by Climate Change, UN Report Warns,” June 2019, <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2007/jun/23/sudan.climatechange> (accessed October 2014); also Michael Shank and Emily Wirzba, “How Climate Change Sparked the Crisis in Syria,” *US News & World Report* (September 2013), <http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/09/13/syrias-crisis-was-sparked-by-global-warming-and-drought> (accessed October 2014); E. Chivian and A. Bernstein, eds., *Sustaining Life: How Human Health depends on Biodiversity*, Center for Health and the Global Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); also visit The Center for Biological Diversity’s webpage, [http://www.biologicaldiversity.org/programs/biodiversity/elements\\_of\\_biodiversity/extinction\\_crisis/](http://www.biologicaldiversity.org/programs/biodiversity/elements_of_biodiversity/extinction_crisis/).
9. See the following articles in the *New York Times*: Fares Akram and Isabel Kershner, “Fleeing Gaza, Only to Face Treachery and Disaster at Sea,” September 20, 2014, A4 and A11; Jim Yardley, “Shipwreck Was Simple Murder, Migrants Recall,” October 21, 2014, A1 and A6; Angelina Jolie, “A New Level of Refugee Suffering,” January 28, 2015, A23. During warmer weather, there is an increase in the number of attempts of overcrowded ships and accidents caused by capsizing in the Mediterranean waters.
10. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72, 79, and 164.
11. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, 190; see also Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Routledge, 1990).
12. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, 88.
13. See Nancy Elizabeth Bedford, “Between Babylon and Anathoth: Toward a Theology of Hope in Migration,” in *Compassionate Eschatology: The Future as Friend*, ed. Ted Grimsrud and Michael Hardin, 42–55 (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2011).
14. Catherine Keller, *Apocalypse Now and Then* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 162–163.
15. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991), 235; see the discussion of this thought in Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, 372.

16. Catherine Keller, *God and Power: Counter-Apocalyptic Journeys* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 43–44; as exemplified in the across-border proliferation of goods such as Disney and Coca-Cola, and the acts of terror surging in the Middle Eastern and Arab nations.
17. Keller, *Apocalypse*, 153.
18. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, 399.
19. John Peacock, “Covenant, Body Politic, and the Great Migration,” in *The Covenant Connection: From Federal Theology to National Federalism*, ed. Daniel J. Elazar and John Kincaid (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), 203.
20. *Ibid.*, 202.
21. Skillington, “The Borders of Contemporary Europe,” 95.
22. *Ibid.*, 95–96; see the European Commission 2010; and Text of the Berlin Declaration 2007; I have expanded her conclusions to include the territories of the United States.
23. Blanchot, *The Step Not Beyond*, 44.
24. *Ibid.*, 27.
25. Raymond Duvall et al. “Borders, Power, and Resistance: Bounding and Challenging Europe,” in *Europe and Its Boundaries: Words and Worlds Within and Beyond*, ed. Andrew Davidson and Himadeep Muppidi, 228 and 230 (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2009); see also the response resulting in the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime force of December 23, 2003, and December 28, 2004, to combat crimes such as trafficking of humans, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/treaties/CTOC/> (accessed October 2014).
26. Skillington, “The Borders of Contemporary Europe,” 103.
27. Duvall et al., “Borders, Power, and Resistance,” 226–227.
28. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 70.
29. Keller, *Apocalypse*, 140.
30. Blanchot, *The Step Not Beyond*, 102.
31. René Girard, *The Scapegoat*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1986), 13.
32. Cathal McCall, *The European Union and Peacebuilding: The Cross-Border Dimension* (New York: Palgrave/McMillan, 2014), 35–36.
33. *Ibid.*, 16.
34. Namsoon Kang, *Cosmopolitan Theology: Reconstituting Planetary Hospitality, Neighbor-Love, and Solidarity in an Uneven World* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2013), 6.
35. *Ibid.*, 27.
36. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, 117.
37. Zbigniew Bialas, “Ambition and Distortion: An Ontological Dimension in Colonial Cartography,” in *Borderlands: Negotiating Boundaries in Post-colonial Writing*, ed. Monika Reif-Hülser, 27 (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1999).
38. Alessandro Scafi, “Epilogue: A Heaven on Earth,” in *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views*, ed. Markus Bockmuehl and Guy S. Stroumsa, 210 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
39. Keller, *Apocalypse*, 166.
40. Barbara R. Rossing, “Hastening the Day When the Earth Will Burn? Global Warming, Revelation, 2 Peter 3,” in *Compassionate Eschatology*, ed. Grimsrud and Hardin, 99–100.

41. Rossing, "Hastening the Day?," 97.
42. Keller, *Apocalypse*, 175.
43. Rossing, "Hastening the Day?," 86; emphasis in the original.
44. Keller, *Apocalypse*, 1 51.
45. Oecumenicus, *Commentary on The Apocalypse* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 194–195.
46. Menahem Kister, "The Tree of Life and the Turning Sword: Jewish Biblical Interpretation, Symbols, and Theological Patterns and their Christian Counterparts," in *Paradise in Antiquity*, ed. Bockmuehl and Stroumsa, 138–155.
47. Scafi, "Epilogue: A Heaven on Earth," 212.
48. Keller, *Apocalypse*, 161 and 166.
49. Helen Rhee, "Wealth, Poverty, and Eschatology," in *Reading Patristic Texts on Social Ethics: Issues and Challenges for Twenty-First Century Christian Social Thought*, ed. Johan Leemans et al., 66 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011).
50. Barbara R. Rossing, "Prophecy, End-Times, and American Apocalypse: Reclaiming Hope for Our World," in *Compassionate Eschatology*, ed. Grimsrud and Hardin, 263.
51. Scafi, "Epilogue: A Heaven on Earth," 220.
52. Galit Hasan-Rokem, "Erotic Garden: A Rabbinic Nostalgia for Paradise," in *Paradise in Antiquity*, ed. Bockmuehl and Stroumsa, 156–165; see also Paul Tillich, "Mind and Migration," *Social Research* 4, no. 1 (January 1937): 295.
53. Chantal P. Thompson, "The Myth of the Garden of Eden and the Symbolism of the Baobab Tree in West African Literature," in *Francophone Post-Colonial Cultures*, ed. Kamal Salhi, 90–101 (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003).
54. Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Imagination & Feminist Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 100–124.
55. Blanchot, *The Step Not Beyond*, 1 07.
56. *Ibid.*, 106–107.
57. See Bedford, "From Babylon and Anatoth?," 48.
58. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2 19.
59. McCall, *The European Union and Peacebuilding*, 47; see also Julie Mostov, *Soft Borders: Rethinking Sovereignty and Democracy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
60. Keller, *Apocalypse*, 168.
61. McCall, *The European Union and Peacebuilding*, 47.
62. Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 128.
63. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 152 and 155.
64. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, 416.
65. Michele Saracino, *Being about Borders: A Christian Anthropology of Difference* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2011), 110.
66. *Ibid.*, 37, 108–109.
67. *Ibid.*, 124, and 3–4; Kang, *Cosmopolitan Theology*, 106.
68. Girard, *The Scapegoat*, 1 2.
69. *Ibid.*, 1 4.
70. McCall, *The European Union and Peacebuilding*, 47.

71. Keller, *God and Power*, 32.
72. McCall, *The European Union and Peacebuilding*, 25–26.
73. Saracino, *Being about Borders*, 3.
74. Bedford, “Between Babylon and Anathoth,” 53.
75. Skillington, “The Borders of Contemporary Europe,” 97; see also Chaim Gans, “Historical Rights: The Evaluation of Nationalist Claims to Sovereignty,” *Political Theory* 29, no. 1 (February 2001): 58–79.
76. In the use of this term *presencing*, Michael Nausner is drawing from Bhabha on the border’s state of emergency; see Michael Nausner’s essay, “Homeland as Borderland: Territories of Christian Subjectivity,” in *Postcolonial Theologies: Divinity and Empire*, ed. Catherine Keller et al., 118–133 (St. Louis, KY: Chalice Press, 2004), 119.
77. See *ibid.*, 126; also Kathryn Tanner, *Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997), 115.
78. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 128–129.
79. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 235.
80. See Eion O’Mahony, “Migration and Community Building,” in *Parishes in Transition*, ed. Eugene Duffy, 71 (Dublin: Columba Press, 2011).
81. Saracino, *Being about Borders*, 17.
82. Kang, *Cosmopolitan Theology*, 35, and 135–136, 139–143.
83. *Ibid.*, 15.
84. *Ibid.*, 84.
85. Fernando Segovia, “Toward a Hermeneutics of the Diaspora: A Hermeneutics of Otherness and Engagement,” in *Reading from this Place: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation the United States*, ed. Fernando Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert, 57–74, esp. 67 (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1995).
86. *Ibid.*, 61.
87. Étienne Balibar, *Politics and the Other Scene* (London: Verso, 2002) 33, quoted in Duvall et al., “Borders, Power, and Resistance,” 234. See the mapping of these camps in Europe: <http://www.migreurop.org/rubrique266.html>; any search on the web can demonstrate that there are similar mappings of the United States and Canada.
88. Ted Grimsrud, “Biblical Apocalyptic: What Is Being Revealed?” in *Compassionate Eschatology*, ed. Grimsrud and Hardin, 3–27, esp. 19 and 22.
89. *Ibid.*, 19.
90. *Ibid.*, 15–17; see also Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1999), 383.
91. Kang, *Cosmopolitan Theology*, 178.
92. Rossing, “Hastening the Day?,” 88.

## Bibliography

- Adler, Leonore Loeb, and Uwe P. Giellen, eds. *Migration: Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003.
- Adogame, Afe, and James Spickard V., eds. *Religion Crossing Boundaries: Transnational Religious and Social Dynamics and the New African Diaspora*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Ages, Arnold. *The Diaspora Dimension*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973.
- Alberdi, Juan Bautista. *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización de la política de la República Argentina*. Valparaíso: El Mercurio, 1852 [2012].
- Allen, John L. Jr. *The Future Church*. New York: Doubleday, 2009.
- Allmendinger, Jr., David F. "The Construction of the Confessions of Nat Turner." In *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory*, edited by Kenneth S. Greenberg, 24–42. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Angold, Michael, ed. *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands: La Frontera*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, vol. 4. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Ayandele, E. A. *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism, 1836–1917*. New York: Routledge, 1970.
- Baggio, Fabio, CS, and Agnes M. Brazal. *Faith on the Move: Toward a Theology of Migration in Asia*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008.
- Baggio, Fabio, CS, and Maurizio Pettena, CS, eds. *Caring for Migrants: A Collection of Church Documents on the Pastoral Care of Migrants*. Strathfield: St. Paul's Publications, 2009.
- Bales, Kevin. *Ending Slavery: How We Free Today's Slaves*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007.
- Balibar, Étienne. *Politics and the Other Scene*. London: Verso, 2002.
- Ballescas, Maria Rosario Piquero. *Filipino Entertainers in Japan: An Introduction*. Quezon City: The Foundation for Nationalist Studies Inc., 1993.
- Banting, Keith, Thomas J. Courchene, and F. Leslie Eidle, eds. *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*. Montreal: Institute for Research in Public Policy, 2007.
- Becker, Adam H., and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds. *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2007.

- Beozzo, Oscar. "As Igrejas e A migração." In *Imigrações e História da Igreja no Brasil*, edited by Dreher Martin, 9–64. Aparecida, Brasil: CEHILA/Ed Santuario, 1993.
- Bergad, Laird W., and Herbert S. Klein. *Hispanics in the United States: A Demographic, Social, and Economic History, 1980–2005*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Berkowitz, S. D. *An Introduction to Structural Analysis: The Network Approach to Social Research*. Toronto: Butterworths, 1982.
- Bernardi, Savino. *The Pastoral Care of Seafarers*, Exodus Series 8. Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center, 2005.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Bialas, Zbigniew. "Ambition and Distortion: An Ontological Dimension in Colonial Cartography." In *Borderlands: Negotiating Boundaries in Post-colonial Writing*, edited by Monika Reif-Hülser, 17–28. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1999.
- Bibby, Reginald. *Restless Churches: How Canada's Churches can Contribute to the Emerging Religious Renaissance*. Kelowna, BC: Wood Lake Books, 2004.
- Biney, Moses O. *From Africa to America: Religion and Adaptation among African Immigrants in the United States*. New York: NYU Press, 2011.
- . "Singing the Lord's Song in the Strange Land: Spirituality, Communitarity and Identity in a Ghanaian Immigrant Congregation." In *African Immigrant Religions in America*, edited by Jacob K. Olupona and Regina Gemignani, 259–278. New York: New York University Press, 2007.
- Blanchot, Maurice. *The Step Not Beyond*. Trans. and intro. Lycette Nelson. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- Bloemraad, Irene. *Understanding "Canadian Exceptionalism" in Immigration and Pluralism Policy*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2012. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/CanadianExceptionalism.pdf>.
- Bockmuehl, Markus, and Guy S. Stroumsa, eds. *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Bolaria, B. S., and P. Li, eds. *Racial Oppression in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Bouchard, Gérard, and Charles Taylor. *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*. Government of Quebec, 2008.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.
- . *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Bramadat, Paul, and David Seljak, eds. *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Bravo, R. Sierra. *Doctrina social y economica de los padres de la Iglesia*. Madrid: COMPI, 1976.
- Brazal, Agnes M. "Interculturality in the Migration Context: Missiological Reflections vis-à-vis P. Bourdieu." In *Utopia hat einen Ort: Beiträge für eine interkulturelle*, edited by Elisabeth Steffens and Annette Meuthrath, 125–134. London: Frankfurt am Main, 2006.
- Brettell, Caroline B., and James F. Hollifield, eds. *Migration Theory: Thinking across Disciplines*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Brock, S. P. "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties." In *Religion and National Identity*, edited by Stuart Mews, 1–19. Oxford: Blackwell, 1982.

- Brown, Peter. *The Rise of Western Christendom*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.
- Bugusz, Barbara, et al., eds. *Irregular Migration and Human Rights: Theoretical, European and International Perspectives*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004.
- Bundy, David. "Early Asian and East African Christianities." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Constantine to c. 600*, edited by Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris, 118–148. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Burdick, John. *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Burns, Thomas S. *A History of the Ostrogoths*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.
- Butler, Judith. *Parting Ways: Jewishness and the Critique of Zion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Calvelo, Laura. *Viejos y nuevos asuntos en las estimaciones de la migración internacional en América Latina y el Caribe*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial CEPAL, 2011.
- Campese, Gioacchino, and Pietro Ciallella, eds. *Migration, Religious Experience and Globalization*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2003.
- Canales, Alejandro. "Panorama actual de la migración internacional en América Latina." In *Revista Latinoamericana de Población* 3, nos. 4–5 (2009): 65–91.
- Carens, Joseph H. *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Carroll R., M. Daniel. *Christians at the Border: Immigration, the Church, and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008.
- Castles, Stephen, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, eds. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. New York: The Guilford Press, 2014.
- The Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan: Year Book 2010*. Tokyo: The Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan, 2009.
- Chadwick, Henry. *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- . *The Early Church*. London: Penguin Books, 1967.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Chanda, Nayan. *Bound Together: How Traders, Preachers, Adventurers, and Warriors Shaped Globalization*. Kindle ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Chandran, Russell, ed. *The Cross and the Tanoa: Gospel and Culture in the Pacific*. Suva: SPATS, 1988.
- Charbonnier, Jean-Pierre. *Christians in China: A.D. 600 to 2000*. San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2007.
- Charlesworth, M. P. *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, 2nd rev. ed. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1970.
- Chen, Carolyn. *Getting Saved in America: Taiwanese Immigration and Religious Experience*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Chesnut, R. Andrew. *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997.
- Christian, Charles M. *Black Saga: The African American Experience*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). *Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview Permanent and Temporary Residents*. Ottawa: CIC, 2011.
- Clark, Warren, and Grant Schellenberg. "Who's Religious?" *Canadian Social Trends*. Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 11–008, Summer 2006, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2006001/9181-eng.htm>.

- Clarke, Sathiananthan. *Dalits and Christianity: Subaltern Religion and Liberation Theology in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Clyne, Michael, and Jupp James, eds. *Multiculturalism and Integration: A Harmonious Relationship*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2011.
- Cohen, Robin, ed. *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Collier, Paul. *Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Cone, James H. *Risks of Faith: The Emergence of a Black Theology of Liberation 1968–1998*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.
- Connor, Phillip, and Catherine Tucker. “Religion and Migration around the Globe: Introducing the Global Religion and Migration Database.” *International Migration Review* 4, no. 45 (2011): 985–1000.
- Countryman, L. William. *The Rich Christian in the Church of the Early Empire: Contradictions and Accommodations*. Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1980.
- Cunningham, David. *Klansville, U.S.A.: The Rise and Fall of the Civil Rights Era Ku Klux Klan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Dahm, Charles W. *Parish Ministry in a Hispanic Community*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2004.
- Datta, Amal. *Human Migration: A Social Phenomenon*. New Delhi: Naurang Rai of Mittal Publications, 2003.
- Daugherty, Dyron B. *The Changing World of Christianity: The Global History of a Borderless Religion*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010.
- Davies, Noel, and Martin Conway. *World Christianity in the 20th Century*. London: SCM Press, 2008.
- Day, Richard J. F. *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- de Guzman, Emmanuel. “Mapping the Church on the Move.” In *Exodus Series 12: A Resource Guide for the Migrant Ministry*. Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center, 2010.
- De La Torre, Miguel A. *Santería: The Beliefs and Rituals of a Growing Religion in America*. Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004.
- . *Trails of Hope and Terror: Testimonies on Immigration*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2009.
- Deck, Allan Figueroa. “The Challenge of Evangelical/Pentecostal Christianity to Hispanic Catholicism.” In *Hispanic Catholic Culture in the United States*, edited by Jay P. Dolan and Allan Figueroa Deck, 409–439. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994.
- . *The Second Wave: Hispanic Ministry and the Evangelization of Cultures*. Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1989.
- Deck, Allan Figueroa, and Christopher Tirres. “Latino Popular Religion and the Struggle for Justice.” In *Religion, Race and Justice in a Changing America*, edited by Gary Orfield and Holly J. Lebowitz, 137–152. New York: The Century Foundation Press, 1999.
- Dehn, Ulrich. “Migration im Kontext: Motivgeschichtliche und diasporaltheoretische Perspektiven.” *Interkulturelle Theologie* 37, nos. 2–3 (2011): 146–156.
- Di Maria, Corrado, and Emiliya A. Lazarova. “Migration, Human Capital Formation, and Growth: An Empirical Investigation.” *World Development* 40, no. 5 (May 2012): 938–955).



- Diamond, Jared. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: Norton, 1999.
- Dollen, Charles J., James K. McGowan, and James J. Megivern, eds. *The Catholic Tradition: Social Thought*, vol. 1. Wilmington, NC: McGrath Publishing Co., 1979.
- Douglas Massey, ed. *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008.
- Douglass, Mike, and Glenda S. Roberts, eds. *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Duany, Jorge. *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Duvall, Raymond, et al. "Borders, Power, and Resistance: Bounding and Challenging Europe." In *Europe and Its Boundaries: Words and Worlds Within and Beyond*, edited by Andrew Davidson and Himadeep Muppidi, 225–232. Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2009.
- Ebach, Jürgen. "'Wir sind ein Volk.' Die Erzählung vom 'Turmbau zu Babel': Eine biblische Geschichte in aktuellem Kontext." In *Weltdorf Babel: Globalisierung als theologische Herausforderung*, edited by Giancarlo Collet, 20–43. Münster: LIT, 2001.
- Ebaugh, Helen Rose, and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, eds. *Religion across Borders: Transnational Immigrant Networks*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2002.
- Eby, Jennifer, Erika Iverson, Jenifer Smyers, and Erol Kekic. "The Faith Community's Role in Refugee Resettlement in the United States." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 586–605.
- Eck, Diana. *A New Religious America*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001.
- . *A New Religious America: How a "Christian Country" Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2002.
- Efi, Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi. "Whispers and Vanities in Samoan Indigenous Religious Culture." Paper presented at the Parliament of the World's Religions, Melbourne, December 3, 2009, accessed July 21, 2011, <http://www.parliamentofreligions.org/news/index.php/tag/academic-papers/>.
- Eggers, Dave. *What Is the What: The Autobiography of Valentino Achak Deng—A Novel*. New York: Vintage Books, 2006.
- Elliott, John Hall. *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2005.
- Emmer, P. C. *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1986.
- Engel, Frank. *Australian Churches in Conflict and Unity 1788–1926*. Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1984.
- Ernst, Manfred, ed. *Globalization and the Re-shaping of Christianity in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: The Pacific Theological College, 2006.
- . *Winds of Change: Rapidly Growing Religious Groups in the Pacific Islands*. Suva: Pacific Conference of Churches, 1994.
- Espín, Orlando O. *The Faith of the People: Theological Reflections on Popular Catholicism*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997.
- Espinosa, Gastón. "History and Theory in the Study of Mexican American Religions." In *Rethinking Latino/a Religion and Identity*, edited by Miguel A. De La Torre and Gastón Espinosa, 17–56. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2006.

- Espinosa, Gastón, and Mario T. García, eds. *Mexican American Religions: Spirituality, Activism and Culture*, 385–386. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Evers, Georg. *The Churches in Asia*. Delhi: ISPCK, 2005.
- Faist, Thomas, Margit Fauser, and Eveline Reisenauer. *Transnational Migration*. Malden, MA: Polity, 2013.
- Falge, Christiane. “Transnational Nuer Churches: Bringing Development to the Homeland and Morals to the US.” In *African Christian Presence in the West: New Immigrant Congregations and Transnational Networks in North America and Europe*, edited by Freider Ludwig and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 381–405. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011.
- Farhadian, Charles, ed. *Introducing World Christianity*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Farrell, Patrick. *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History 1788–1967*. Sydney: Nelson, 1968.
- Faulkner, Arthur, George Papadopoulos, and Des Storer. *A Review of the Australian Council of Churches’ Work Concerning Migration and Ethnic Affairs*. Sydney: A.C.C., 1979.
- Ferguson, E. *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987 [2003].
- Ferris, Elizabeth G. *Beyond Borders: Refugees, Migrants and Human Rights in the Post–Cold War Era*. Geneva: WCC Publications, 1993.
- Fiero, Gloria K., ed. “The Catholic Reformation and the Baroque Style.” In *The Humanistic Tradition*, 505–526. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011.
- Fletcher, Richard. *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity*. New York: Holt and Co., 1998.
- Foley, Michael W., and Dean R. Hoge. *Religion and the New Immigrants: How Faith Communities Form Our Newest Citizens*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002.
- Foner, Philip S., ed. *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks, 1890–1919*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970.
- Ford, David. *Self and Salvation: Being Transformed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Forman, Charles W. “Finding Our Own Voice: The Reinterpreting of Christianity by Oceanian Theologians.” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 29, no. 3 (2005): 115–122.
- . *The Island Churches of the South Pacific: Emergence in the Twentieth Century*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1982.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. *The Negro Church in America*. New York: Schocken Books, 1974.
- Frend, W. H. C. *The Rise of Christianity*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.
- Friedrichsen, George W. S. *The Gothic Version of the Epistles: A Study of Its Style and Textual History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Gans, Chaim. “Historical Rights: The Evaluation of Nationalist Claims to Sovereignty.” *Political Theory* 29, no. 1 (February 2001): 58–79.
- Garrett, John. *Footsteps in the Sea: Christianity in Oceania to World War II*. Geneva and Suva: WCC and Institute of Pacific Studies, 1992.

- . *To Live among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania*. Geneva and Suva: WCC and Institute of Pacific Studies, 1982.
- . *Where Nets Were Cast: Christianity in Oceania Since World War II*. Geneva and Suva: WCC and Institute of Pacific Studies, 1997.
- Gatrell, Peter. *The Making of The Modern Refugee*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Gebauer, Paul. "Christ at the African Crossroad." In *In All of the Cameroons*, edited by M. L. Leuschner, 100–108. Cleveland, OH: Roger Williams Press, 1949.
- Gibbon, Edward. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Kindle ed. Boston, MA: Mobile Reference, 2009.
- Girard, René. *The Scapegoat*. Trans. Yvonne Freccero. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Goffart, Walter A. *Barbarians and Romans. A.D. 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Gogia, Nuper, and Bonnie Slade. *About Canada: Immigration*. Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood, 2011.
- Goizueta, Roberto S. "Rediscovering Praxis: The Significance of U.S. Hispanic Experience for Theological Method." In *We Are a People! Initiatives in Hispanic American Theology*, edited by Roberto S. Goizueta, 51–78. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992.
- Goldin, Ian, Geoffrey Cameron, and Meera Balarajan. *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future*. Kindle ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- González, Gilbert G. "Mexican Labor Migration, 1876–1924." In *Beyond la Frontera: The History of Mexico-U.S. Migration*, edited by Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, 28–50. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- González, Justo L. *Faith & Wealth: A History of Early Christian Ideas on the Origin, Significance, and Use of Money*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990.
- Gornik, Mark R. *Word Made Global: Stories of African Christianity in New York City*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011.
- Graburn, Nelson H. H., John Ertl, and R. Kenji Tierney, eds. *Multiculturalism in the New Japan: Crossing the Boundaries Within*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008.
- Gravelle, Kim. *Fiji's Times: A History of Fiji*. Suva: The Fiji Times Ltd., 1992.
- Gregory, Derek. *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994.
- Griffith, Sidney H. *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Grimsrud, Ted, and Michael Hardin, eds. *Compassionate Eschatology: The Future as Friend*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011.
- Groody, Daniel G. "Fruit of the Vine and Work of Human Hands: Imagination and the Eucharist." In *A Promised Land, a Perilous Journey: Theological Perspectives on Migration*, edited by Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese, 299–315. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008.
- . "Jesus and the Undocumented Immigrant: A Spiritual Geography of a Crucified People." *Theological Studies* 70, no. 2 (2009): 298–319.
- Gruen, Erich S. *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Gutiérrez, David G., and Pierette Hondagnew-Sotelo, eds. *Nation and Migration: Past and Future*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

- Hagan, Jacqueline Maria. *Migration Miracle: Faith, Hope, and Meaning on the Undocumented Journey*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Halapua, Winston. *Living on the Fringe: Melanesians of Fiji*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 2001.
- Hally, Cyril. *Migrants and the Australian Church*. Richmond, Vic.: Clearing House on Migration Issues, 1980.
- Hanciles, Jehu J. *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migrations, and the Transformation of the West*. New York: Orbis Books, 2008.
- Handman, Courtney. "Mediating Denominational Disputes: Land Claims and the Sound of Christian Critique in the Waria Valley, Papua New Guinea." In *Christian Politics in Oceania*, edited by Matt Tomlinson and Debra McDougall, 22–48. New York: Berghahn, 2013.
- Haraway, Donna. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Hastings, Adriaan. *The Church in Africa: 1450–1950*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Havea, Jione. "Cons of Contextuality... Kontextuality." In *Contextual Theology for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Stephen Bevans and Katalina Tahaafé-Williams, 38–52. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011.
- . "Diaspora Contexted: Talanoa, Reading, and Theologizing, as Migrants." *Black Theology* 11, no. 2 (2013): 185–200.
- . "Digging behind Songlines: Tonga's Prayer, Australia's Fair, David's House." In *Public Theology and the Challenge of Feminism*, edited by Anita Monro and Stephen Burns, 105–116. London: Routledge, 2015.
- . "From Reconciliation to Adoption: A Talanoa from Oceania." In *Mission as Ministry of Reconciliation*, edited by Robert Schreiter and Knud Jørgensen, 294–300. Oxford: Regnum, 105–116.
- . "Kautaha in Island Hermeneutics, Governance and Leadership." *The Pacific Journal of Theology* Ser II No. 47 (2012): 3–13.
- . "The Politics of Climate Change, a Talanoa from Oceania." *International Journal of Public Theology* 4 (2010): 345–355.
- , ed. *Talanoa Ripples: Across Borders, Cultures, Disciplines...* Auckland: Masilamea Press and Massey University, 2010.
- . "Who Is Strange(r)? A Pacific Native Muses over Mission." *JTCA: The Journal of Theologies and Cultures in Asia* 7 & 8 (2008): 121–137.
- Havea, Jione, and Clive Pearson, eds. *Out of Place: Doing Theology on the Crosscultural Brink*. London: Equinox, 2011.
- Havea, Jione, et al. *South Pacific Theology: Papers from the Consultation on Pacific Theology, Papua New Guinea, 1986*. Oxford: Regnum, 1987.
- Held, David. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Hengel, Martin. *Property and Riches in the Early Church*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1974.
- Henkel, Reinhard. "Migration nach Deutschland und Globalisierung aus der Sicht der Religionsgeographie—Fallbeispiel Mannheim/Heidelberg." *Interkulturelle Theologie* 37, nos. 2–3 (2011): 173–184.
- Heyer, Kristin. *Kinship across Borders: A Christian Ethic of Immigration*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012.
- Hillgarth, Jocelyn N., ed. *Christianity and Paganism: The Conversion of Western Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

- Hogan, Linda. *Dwellings: A Spiritual History of the Living World*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1995.
- Huff Fauset, Arthur. *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Irvin, Dale T., and Scott Sunquist. *History of the World Christian Movement: Vol. 1: Earliest Christianity to 1453*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001.
- . *History of the World Christian Movement, Vol. 2: Modern Christianity from 1454–1800*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2012.
- Isasi-Díaz, Ada María. *En la Lucha: Elaborating a Mujerista Theology*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004.
- Jackson, Darrell, and Alessia Passarelli. *Mapping Migration: Mapping Churches Responses, Europe Study*. Geneva: Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe—World Council of Churches, 2008.
- Jacobsen, Douglas. *The World's Christians: Who They Are, Where They Are, and How They Got There*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.
- James, Carl E. *Seeing Ourselves: Exploring Race, Ethnicity, and Culture*, 4th ed. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishers, Inc., 2010.
- Jedin, Hubert, and John Dolan, eds. *History of the Church*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1965–1981.
- Jeffers, James S. *The Graeco-Roman World of the New Testament Era: Exploring the Background of Early Christianity*. Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999.
- Jenkins, Philip. *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia—And How It Died*, 1st ed. New York: HarperOne, 2008.
- . *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007 [2011].
- Jiménez, Tomás R. *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigrants, and Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Johnson, Lydia, and Joan H. Filimoni-Tofaeono, eds. *Weavings: Women Doing Theology in Oceania*. Suva: Weavers, SPATS, 2003.
- Johnson, Todd M., Kenneth R. Ross, and Sandra S. K. Lee. *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910–2010*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.
- Johnstone, Patrick. *The Future of the Global Church: History, Trends and Possibilities*. Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press Books, 2011.
- Jupp, James. *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration*. Cambridge University Press, c2007.
- Kajita, Takamichi, Kiyoto Tanno, and Naoto Higuchi. *Kao no Mienai Teijuka: Nikkei Braziljin to Kokka, Shijo, Imin Network*. Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, 2005.
- Kang, Namsoon. *Cosmopolitan Theology: Reconstituting Planetary Hospitality, Neighbor-Love, and Solidarity in an Uneven World*. St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2013.
- Kanstroom, Daniel. *Aftermath: Deportation Law and the New American Diaspora*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Kanstroom, Daniel, and Cecilia Menjivar, eds. *Constructing Immigrant "Illegality."* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Kasperek, Bernd, and Sabine Hess, eds. *Grenzregime: Diskurse, Praktiken, Institutionen in Europa*. Berlin/Hamburg: Assoziation A, 2010.
- Kasuya, Maria Carmelita. "Interview Record 4: Filipino Catholic Communities in Japan." *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 26 (2008): 153–175.

- Keller, Catherine. *Apocalypse Now and Then*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005.
- . *God and Power: Counter-Apocalyptic Journeys*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005.
- Kempadoo, Kamala, and Jo Doezema, eds. *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Kerwin, Donal, and Jill Marie Gerschütz, eds. *And You Welcomed Me: Migration and Catholic Social Teaching*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009.
- Kim, Grace Ji-Sun. "What Forms Us: Multiculturalism, the Other and Theology." In *Feminist Theology with a Canadian Accent*, edited by Mary Ann Beavus, Elaine Guillemin, and Barabara Pell, 78–99. Toronto: Novalis, 2008.
- Kim, Sebastian, and Kirsteen Kim. *Christianity as a World Religion*. London: Bloomsbury, 2008.
- Kim, Uriah Y. "Where Is the Home for the Man of Luz?" *Interpretation* 65 (2001): 250–262.
- Kim, Youna. *Transnational Migration, Media and Identity of Asian Women: Diasporic Daughters*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Kinshichi, Norio. *Burajirushi: História do Brasil*. Tokyo: Toyo Shoten, 2009.
- Kirch, Patrick Vinton. *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Koenig, John. *New Testament Hospitality: Partnership with Strangers as Promise and Mission*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.
- Kribill, James R. "DIDA Harrist Hymnody (1913–1900)." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 20, no. 2 (1900): 118–152.
- Kwast, Lloyd E. *The Discipling of West Cameroon: A Study of Baptist Growth*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971.
- Kwok, Pui Lan. *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*. London: SCM Press, 2005.
- Lamis, Liza B. *Raising Women's Voices: Resisting Abuse towards Healing and Wholeness*. Quezon City: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 2006.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of Christianity*. New York: Harper, 1953.
- . *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 volumes. New York: Harper, 1937–1945.
- Leddy, Mary Jo. "Forward." In *Intersecting Voices: Critical Theologies in a Land of Diversity*, edited by Don Schweitzer and Derek Simon, 4–8. Ottawa: Novalis, 2004.
- Lee, Ting-Yin. "The Loss and Grief in Immigration: Pastoral Care for Immigrants." *Pastoral Psychology* 59 (2010): 159–169.
- Lefbvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991.
- LeMay, Alec. "Teaching the Second Generation: Understanding Multicultural Dialogue through the Eyes of the Japanese-Filipino Family." *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 26 (2008): 75–95.
- Leonard, Karen, Alex Stepick, Manuel Vásquez, and Jennifer Holdaway, eds. *Immigrant Faiths: Transforming Religious Life in America*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005.
- Lesser, Jeffrey, ed. *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003.

- "Letter to Diognetus." In *Early Christian Writings: The Apostolic Fathers*. New York: Penguin Books, 1987.
- Lévinas Emmanuel. *Ethics and Infinity: Conversations with Philippe Nemo*. Trans. Richard Cohen. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1985.
- . *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*. Trans. Alphonso Lingis. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1969.
- Levitt, Peggy. *God Needs No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing Religious Landscape*. New York: New Press, 2007.
- . "Religion as a Path to Civic Engagement." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 4 (2008): 766–791.
- Lewins, Frank W. *The Myth of the Universal Church*. Canberra: ANU Press, 1978.
- Li, Peter S. "Deconstructing Canada's Discourse of Immigrant Integration." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 4, no. 3 (08/2003): 315–333.
- Lieu, Judith. "Self-Definition vis-à-vis the Jewish Matrix." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Origins to Constantine*, edited by Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young, 214–229. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Lincoln, C. Eric, and Lawrence H. Mamiya. *The Black Church in African American Experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990.
- Linger, Daniel. *No One Home: Brazilian Selves Remade in Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Lischer, Richard. *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Word That Moved America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Lozada Jr., Francisco. "Journey and the Fourth Gospel: A Latino/a Exploration." *Interpretation* 65 (2011): 264–275.
- Ludwig, Freider, and J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, eds. *African Christian Presence in the West: New Immigrant Congregations and Transnational Networks in North America and Europe*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011.
- Manoa, Pio. "Redeeming Hinderland." *Pacific Journal of Theology* 43 (2010): 65–86.
- Margolis, Maxine L. *Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Marquardt, Marie F., Timothy Steigenga, Philip Williams, and Manuel Vásquez. *Living "Illegal": The Human Face of Unauthorized Immigration*. New York and London: New Press, 2011.
- Martínez, Jorge, and Daniela Vono. "Geografía migratoria intrarregional de América Latina y el Caribe al comienzo del siglo XXI." *Revista Geografía del Norte Grande* 34 (2005): 39–52.
- Martínez, Juan Francisco Jr. *Los Protestantes: An Introduction to Latino Protestantism in the United States*. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2011.
- Massey, Douglas, and Magaly Sánchez R. *Brokered Boundaries: Creating Immigrant Identity in Anti-immigrant Times*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010.
- Matovina, Timothy. *Latino Catholicism: Transformation in America's Largest Church*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Matovina, Timothy, and Gerald E. Poyo, eds. *Presente: U.S. Latino Catholics from Colonial Times to the Present*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000.
- Mayeur, Jean-Marie, et al. *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*. Paris: Desclée, 1995.
- McCall, Cathal. *The European Union and Peacebuilding: The Cross-Border Dimension*. New York: Palgrave/McMillan, 2014.

- McGovern, James R. *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.
- McKenzie, Peter. *Hail Orisha! A Phenomenology of a West African Religion in the Mid-nineteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publisher, 1997.
- McKittrick, Meredith. *To Dwell Secure: Generation, Christianity, and Colonialism in Ovamboland*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002.
- Mechem, Frank. *The Church and Migrants 1946–1987*. Haberfield: St Joan of Arc Press, 1991.
- Meissner, Doris, Donald Kerwin, Muzaffar Chishti, and Claire Bergeron. *Immigration Enforcement in the United States: The Rise of a Formidable Machinery*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2013.
- Melton, J. Gordon, and Martin Baumann, eds. *Religions of the World: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia of Beliefs and Practices*, 2nd ed. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010.
- Menjívar, Cecilia. “Religion and Immigration in Comparative Perspective: Catholic and Evangelical Salvadorans in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Phoenix.” *Sociology of Religion* 64, no. 1 (2003): 21–45.
- Meyers, Eytan. *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Miki, Hizuru. “Kinnen ni okeru Gaikokuseki Jyumin to sono Shukyo.” *Shukyo Jiho* 114 (2012): 1–16.
- Miki, Hizuru, and Yoshihide Sakurai, eds. *Nihon ni Ikiru Imin tachi no Shukyo Seikatsu: Nyukamah no Motarasu Shukyo Tagenka*. Kyoto: Minerva Shobo, 2012.
- Miller, J. R. *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Milloy, John S. *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.
- Moala, Kalafi. *In Search of the Friendly Islands*. Auckland: Pacific Media Centre, Auckland University of Technology; and Honolulu: Pasifika Foundation Press, 2009.
- Moffett, Samuel Hugh. *A History of Christianity in Asia: Volume I: Beginnings to 1500*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998.
- . *A History of Christianity in Asia: Beginnings to 1500*, 2nd rev. ed. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998.
- Moltmann, Jürgen. *Das Kommen Gottes: Christliche Eschatologie*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995.
- Moore, E. J., and J. W. Smith. “Climate Change and Migration from Oceania: Implications for Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America.” *Population and Environment* 17, no. 2 (November 1995): 105–122.
- Morrison, Toni. *Beloved: A Novel*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.
- Mosley, Don. *Faith beyond Borders: Doing Justice in a Dangerous World*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2010.
- Mostov, Julie. *Soft Borders: Rethinking Sovereignty and Democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- Mullin, Redmond. *The Wealth of Christians*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984.
- Murphy, Brian. *The Other Australia: Experiences of Migration*. Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Nausner, Michael. “Homeland as Borderland: Territories of Christian Subjectivity.” In *Postcolonial Theologies: Divinity and Empire*, edited by Catherine Keller, Michael Nausner, and Mayra Rivera, 118–132. St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2004.



- . “Kulturelle Grenzerfahrung und die methodistische Konnexio.” In *Kirchliches Leben in methodistischer Tradition: Perspektiven aus drei Kontinenten*, edited by Michael Nausner, 275–295. Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2010.
- Neusner, Jacob. *Judaism and Christianity in the Age of Constantine*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- O’Mahony, Eion. “Migration and Community Building.” In *Parishes in Transition*, edited by Eugene Duffy, 65–75. Dublin: Columba Press, 2011.
- Obolensky, Dimitri. *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.
- Oecumenicus. *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006.
- Oishi, Nana. *Women in Motion: Globalization, State Policies, and Labor Migration in Asia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Olupona, Jacob K., and Regina Gemignani, eds. *African Immigrant Religions in America*. New York: NYU Press, 2007.
- Padilla, Elaine. “Expanding Space: A Possibility of a Cavernous Mode of Dwelling.” In *Contemporary Issues of Migration and Theology*, edited by Elaine Padilla and Peter C. Phan, 53–72. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- . “Signs of Wonder: Journeying Plurally into the Divine Disclosure.” In *Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions*, 209–238. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Padilla, Elaine, and Peter C. Phan, eds. *Theology of Migration in the Abrahamic Religions*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Parkes, James. *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study of the Origins of Antisemitism*. New York: Athenaeum, 1974.
- Patterson, Orlando. *Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries*. Washington, DC: Civitas, 1998.
- Paunga, Mikaele. “The Clash of Cultures. French, English, Catholic and Oceanic Cultures Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.” In *Catholic Beginnings in Oceania: Marist Missionary Perspectives*, edited by Alois Greiler, 157–182. Hindmarsh: ATF, 2009.
- Peacock, John. “Covenant, Body Politic, and the Great Migration.” In *The Covenant Connection: From Federal Theology to National Federalism*, edited by Daniel J. Elazar and John Kincaid, 201–221. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2000.
- Pew Research Center. *Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2007.
- Pfeil, Margaret R., and Tobias Winright, eds. *Violence, Transformation, and the Sacred: They Shall be Called the Children of God*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011.
- Phan, Peter C. “The Experience of Migration in the United States as a Source of Intercultural Theology.” In *Migration, Religious Experience, and Globalization*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2003.
- . *In Our Tongues: Perspectives from Asia on Mission and Inculturation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003.
- . “Migration in the Patristic Era: History and Theology.” In *A Promised Land, a Perilous Journey: Theological Perspectives on Migration*, edited by Daniel G. Groody and Gioacchino Campese, 35–61. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2008.
- . *Social Thought: Message of the Fathers of the Church*. Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1984.

- Pinn, Anthony B. *Varieties of African American Religious Experience*. Minneapolis, MN: Beacon Press, 1998.
- Piper, Nicola, ed. *New Perspectives on Gender and Migration: Livelihood, Rights and Entitlements*. New York and London: Routledge, 2008.
- Pittarello, Adrian. *Soup without Salt: The Australian Catholic Church and the Italian Migrant*. Sydney: Centre for Migration Studies, c1980.
- Pomeranz, Kenneth, and Steven Topik. *The World That Trade Created: Culture, Society and the World, 1400 to the Present*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1999.
- Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People. *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi: The Love of Christ towards Migrants*. Vatican City, 2004.
- Portes Alejandro, and Josh DeWind, eds. *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2007.
- Powell, Philip Wayne. *The Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World*, 2nd ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- Prasad, Rajendra. *Tears in Paradise: A Personal and Historical Journey, 1879–2004*. Auckland: Glade, 2004.
- Price, Charles. "Australian Immigration: 1947–73." *International Migration Review* 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1975): 304–318.
- . "Refugees and Mass Migration: Australia." *International Migration Review* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 81–86.
- Pries, Lutger. *Internationale Migration*, 3rd ed. Bielefeld: transcript, 2010.
- Pui-lan, Kwok. *Postcolonial Imagination & Feminist Theology*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005.
- Putnam, Robert D., and David E. Campbell. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and United Us*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010.
- Rajak, Tessa. *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Ramsay, William M. *St. Paul: The Traveler and Roman Citizen*. Edited by Ramsay William. Rev. and updated ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2001.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter. *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. New York: HarperOne, 2008.
- . *A Theology for the Social Gospel*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1917.
- Reddie, Anthony, ed. *Black Theology, Slavery and Contemporary Christianity*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- . *Is God Colour-Blind? Insights from Black Theology for Christian Ministry*. London: SPCK, 2009.
- Reis, Raul. "Media and Religion in Brazil: The Rise of TV Record and UCKG and Their Attempts at Globalization." *Brazilian Journalism Research* 2, no. 2 (2006): 167–182.
- Research and Legislative Reference Bureau. *The Problem of the Immigrant Policy and the Foreign Workers Policy in a Depopulation Society*. Tokyo: National Diet Library, 2008.
- Reynolds, Thomas E. "Beyond Secularism? Rethinking the 'Secular' in a Religious Plural Context." *Toronto Journal of Theology* 25, no. 2 (2009): 239–256.
- . "A Rooted Openness: Hospitality as Christian 'Conversion to the Other.'" *The Ecumenist* 46, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 13–16.
- Rhee, Helen. "Wealth, Poverty, and Eschatology." In *Reading Patristic Texts on Social Ethics: Issues and Challenges for Twenty-First Century Christian Social*

- Thought*, edited by Joahn Leemans et al., 64–84. Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011.
- Richardson, C., ed. *Early Christian Fathers*. New York: Macmillan, 1970.
- Richardson, Peter, ed. *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity 2: Separation and Polemic*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1986.
- Rieske, Uwe, ed. *Migration und Konfession: Konfessionelle Identitäten in der Flüchtlingsbewegung nach 1945*. Güttersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2010.
- Robert, Dana L. *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Robertson, Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994.
- Rose, Ananda. *Showdown in the Sonoran Desert: Religion, Law, and the Immigration Controversy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Roth, Joshua Hotaka. *Brokered Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Migrants in Japan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.
- Ruiz, Jean-Pierre. *Readings from the Edges: The Bible and People on the Move*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011.
- Salopek, Paul. “Fuera del Edén.” *National Geographic* 33, no. 6 (December 2013): 38–49.
- Sandercock, Leonie. *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century*. London and New York: Continuum, 2003.
- Sanders, Albert James. *A Protestant View of the Iglesia ni Cristo*. Quezon City: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, 1964.
- Sanderson, Warren C., Wolfgang Lutz, and Sergei Scherbov, eds. *The End of World Population Growth in the 21st Century: New Challenges for Human Capital Formation and Sustainable Development*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Sandoval, Moisés, ed. *Fronteras: A History of the Latin American Church in the USA since 1513*. San Antonio, TX: Mexican American Cultural Center, 1983.
- Sanneh, Lamin. *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel beyond the West*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2003.
- Saracino, Michele. *Being about Borders: A Christian Anthropology of Difference*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011.
- Satake, Masaaki, and Mary Angeline Da-anoy. *Filipin-Nihon Kokusai Kekkō: Ijyu to Tabunka Kyosei*. Tokyo: Mekong Publishing, 2006.
- Saul, John Ralston. *A Fair Country: Telling Truths about Canada*. Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008.
- Schrenberg, H. *Die christliche Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1–11Jh)*. Frankfurt and Berne: Lang, 1982.
- Schürer, Emil. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC–AD 135)*. Translated by A. Burkill, revised and edited by Geza Vermes and Fergus Miller. Edinburgh: Clark, 1973–1987.
- Scott, Charles Archibald Anderson. *Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths, Together with an Account of the Gothic Churches and their Decline*. Cambridge, UK: Macmillan and Bowes, 1885.
- Segovia, Fernando. “Toward a Hermeneutics of the Diaspora: A Hermeneutics of Otherness and Engagement.” In *Reading from this Place: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation the United States*, edited by Fernando Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert, 57–74. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1995.
- Segundo, Juan Luis. *Acción pastoral latinoamericana: sus motivos ocultos*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Búsqueda, 1972.

- Sernett, Milton C., ed. *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*, 2nd ed. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Shanks, Heshel, ed. *Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism: A Parallel History of Their Origins and Early Development*. Washington, DC: Biblical Archeological Society, 1992.
- Shoji, Rafael. "Religiões entre Brasileiros no Japão: Conversão ao Pentecostalismo e Redefinição Étnica." *REVER: Revista de Estudos da Religião* (2008): 46–85.
- Singer, Audrey, Susan W. Hardwick, and Caroline B. Brettell, eds. *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2008.
- Skillington, Tracey. "The Borders of Contemporary Europe: Territory, Justice, and Rights." In *Europe after Derrida*, edited by Agnes CZajka and Bora Isyar, 95–107. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014.
- Slessarev-Jamir, Helene. *Prophetic Activism: Progressive Religious Justice Movements in Contemporary America*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.
- Smith, Michael Peter, and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, eds. *Transnationalism from Below*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction, 1998.
- Smith, Timothy L. "Religion and Ethnicity in America." *The American Historical Review* 5, no. 83 (1978): 1155–1185.
- Snyder, Susanna. *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- Solimano, Andrés. *International Migration in the Age of Crisis and Globalization: Historical and Recent Experiences*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- . *Other Asias*. Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell, 2008.
- Stark, Rodney. *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries*. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997.
- Stearns, Peter N. *Globalization in World History*. Kindle ed. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Steckly, John L., and Bryan D. Cummins. *Full Circle: Canada's First Nations*, 2nd ed. Toronto: Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2008.
- Steger, Manfred B. *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*. Kindle ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Steigenga, Timothy, and Edward Cleary, eds. *Conversion of a Continent: Contemporary Religious Change in Latin America*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007.
- Stein, Janice Gross, et al., eds. *Uneasy Partners: Multiculturalism and Rights in Canada*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007.
- Stern, Menahem. "The Jewish Diaspora." In *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, edited by Shemuel Safrai and Menahem Stern, 117–183. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974–1976.
- Stoll, David. *Is Latin America Turning Protestant? The Politics of Evangelical Growth*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Sugirtharajah, R. S., ed. *Vernacular Hermeneutics*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Sundkler, Bength. "African Church History in a New Key." In *Religion, Development and African Identity*, edited by Kirsten Holst-Peterson, 73–83. Upsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1987.

- Tani, Daiji. *Ijusha to Tomo ni Ikiru Kyookai*. Tokyo: Joshi Pauro Kai, 2008.
- Tanner, Kathryn. *Theories of Culture: A New Agenda for Theology*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997.
- Terada, Takefumi. "Iglesia Ni Cristo: A Case Study of New Religious Movement in the Philippines." *The Southeast Asian Studies* 19, no. 4 (1982): 426–441.
- Thompson, Chantal P. "The Myth of the Garden of Eden and the Symbolism of the Baobab Tree in West African Literature." In *Francophone Post-Colonial Cultures*, edited by Kamal Salhi, 90–101. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003.
- Thompson, E. A. *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.
- . *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1966.
- Tillich, Paul. "Mind and Migration." *Social Research* 4, no. 1 (January 1937): 295–305.
- Transit Migration Forschungsgruppe, ed. *Turbulente Ränder: Neue Perspektiven auf Migration an den Grenzen Europas*. Bielefeld: transcript, 2007.
- Treviño, Robert R. *The Church in the Barrio: Mexican American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Trompf, Garry R., ed. *The Gospel Is Not Western: Black Theologies from the Southwest Pacific*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1987.
- Trotter, Robert T. II, and Juan Antonio Chavira. *Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Healing*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1997.
- Trudeau Foundation. "The Making of Citizens: A National Survey of Canadians," 2011, <http://www.trudeaufoundation.ca/resource/public/conferen/2011-the-making-of-citizens-beyond-the-canadian>.
- Tsuda, Takeyuki, ed. *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- . *Strangers in the Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Turner, George. *Die Heimat nehmen wir mit: Ein Beitrag zur Auswanderung Salzburger Protestanten im Jahr 1732, ihrer Ansiedlung in Ostpreußen und der Vertreibung 1944/45*. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008.
- Tutino, John. *Mexico and the Mexicans in the Making of the United States*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012.
- Tweed, Thomas A. *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*. Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- The UNHCR: The UN Refugee Agency. "Refugee Figures," accessed on December 2014, <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c1d.html>.
- United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs. "World Migration in Figures: A Joint Contribution by UN-DESA and the OECD to the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development," October 3–4, 2013, accessed on December 2014, <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf>.
- Varela, María do Mar Castro. *Unzeitgemäße Utopien: Migrantinnen zwischen Selbsterfindung und Gelehrter Hoffnung*. Bielefeld: transcript, 2007.
- Vélez Rivera, Daniel. "Transforming Lives, Transforming Communities: The Ministry of Presence." *Anglican Theological Review* 93, no. 4 (2011): 645–652.
- Volf, Miroslav. *Exclusion & Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996.
- Walker, Sheila S. *The Religious Revolution in the Ivory Coast: The Prophet Harris and the Harrist Church*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

- Walls, Andrew F. "Mission and Migration: The Diaspora Factor in Christian History." *Journal of African Christian Thought* 2, no. 5 (2002): 3–11.
- Warner, R. Stephen. *A Church of Our Own: Disestablishment and Diversity in American Religion*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005.
- Weckman, Luis. *La herencia medieval de México*. Mexico, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994.
- Westhelle, Vitor. *After Heresy: Colonial Practices and Post-Colonial Theologies*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books 2010.
- Wilken, Robert L. *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in Late Fourth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Williams, A. Lukyn. *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-eye View of Christian Apologiae Until the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935.
- Wilmore, Gayraud S., and James H. Cone, eds. *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979.
- Wood, A. Harold. *Overseas Missions of the Australian Methodist Church. Volume I: Tonga and Samoa*. Melbourne: Aldersgate, 1975.
- World Migration Report 2010* (IOM, International Organization for Migration). <http://www.publications.iom.int>.
- World Vision, the Tyndale Intercultural Ministries Centre, and the Centre for Community Based Research. *Beyond the Welcome: Churches Responding to the Immigrant Reality in Canada*, 2011.
- Wuthnow, Robert, and Stephen Offutt. "Transnational Religious Connections." *Sociology of Religion* 69, no. 2 (2008): 209–232.
- Yamada, Masanobu. "Anju no Chi toshite no Purotesutanto Kyokai: Mie-ken Beteru Fukuin Kyokai no Jirei." *Americasu Sekai ni okeru Ido to Grobarizasyon*. Tenri City: Tenri University, 2008.
- . "Brajiru ni okeru Purotesutanto Kyokai no Shakaiteki Ninchi." *Ibero Amerika Kenkyu* 26, no. 2 (2004): 63–78.
- . "Brajiru ni okeru Seimeishugiteki Kyusaikan: Nikkei Shinshukyo to Pentekostarizumu." *Shukyo to Shakai* 9 (2002): 74–90.
- . *Dekasegi no Syukyo Katsudo to Shakaika*. Handout of the oral presentation at 67th convention of Japan Religious Society (2008b): 1–8.
- Young Lee, Jung. *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology*. Minneapolis, MA: Augsburg Fortress, 1995.

## Contributors

**Akintunde E. Akinade** is professor of Theology at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He is the editor of *A New Day: Essays in World Christianity in Honor of Lamin Sanneh* and *Fractured Spectrum: Perspectives on Christian-Muslim Encounters in Nigeria*. He is the author of *Christian Responses to Islam in Nigeria: A Contextual Study of Ambivalent Encounters*. Within the AAR, he serves on the International Connections Committee.

**Ana María Bidegain** is professor of Latin American Religions at Florida International University. Bidegain's main research themes revolve around religion, society, and politics in Latin American history, and the religious experience of Latin American and Caribbean migrants, on which she has published extensively. She has edited and published several books, including: *Participación y protagonismo de las mujeres en la historia del Catolicismo Latinoamericano* (2009) and *Globalización y Diversidad Religiosa en Colombia* (2005). Bidegain has edited two books on Colombian migration processes: *Presencia Colombiana en Estados Unidos: Caracterización de la población inmigrante* (2009) and *Recopilación y análisis de la literatura existente sobre la emigración colombiana hacia Europa y América Latina* (2010). She has published several articles on the migrations and religious diversity and religious reconfiguration of Latin Americans.

**Gabriel Bidegain Greising** is a demographer and sociologist, and currently a researcher with the Group of Research of Intervention in Population and Development in Haiti. Also, as a former ambassador of Uruguay (designated by Jose PEPE Mujica) and former staff member of the United Nations, he has cultivated much knowledge on the subject matter of migration. Bidegain Greising is the author of several publications in the fields of demography and development, including: *La mortalidad infantil en Honduras: perspectivas y políticas* (1990), *Colombianos en Venezuela: mito y realidad* (1989), and *Las migraciones laborales Colombo-Venezolanas* (1987).

**Moses O. Biney** is assistant professor of Religion and Society and Research Director for the Center for the Study and Practice of Urban Religion (CSPUR) at New York Theological Seminary. Biney is a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary, where he earned both the ThM and the PhD. In

addition, he holds an MPhil from the University of Ghana. His research and teaching interests include religion, migration, and transnationalism; religion and culture; Africa and the African diasporan studies; Christian social ethics; and congregational studies. He is the author of *From Africa to America: Religion and Adaptation among Ghanaian Immigrants in New York* (New York University Press, 2011).

**Elias K. Bongmba** is the Harry and Hazel Chair in Christian Theology and professor of Religious Studies at Rice University. His books include *African Witchcraft and Otherness*, *The Dialectics of Transformation in Africa*, and *Facing a Pandemic: The African Church and the Crisis of AIDS*. He is the president of the African Association for the Study of Religion.

**Agnes M. Brazal** is director of Office for Research and Publications and Graduate Program coordinator at the St. Vincent School of Theology-Adamson University. Brazal is a past president of the DaKaTeo (Catholic Theological Society of the Philippines) and one of the first coordinators of the Ecclesia of Women in Asia. She has coedited the anthologies *Faith on the Move* (2008) and *Body and Sexuality* (2007), which is a finalist at the 2007 National Book Awards. She is also the 2003 winner of the MWI (Institute of Missiology, Missio, Aachen) international academic essay contest for Contextual Theology and Philosophy on the theme "Religious Identity and Migration."

**Allan Figueroa Deck** is Distinguished Scholar of Pastoral Theology and Latino Studies at Loyola Marymount University, where he occupied the Casassa Chair of Catholic Social Values from 2012 to 2015. He is the author or editor of seven books and more than fifty scholarly and popular articles and chapters in books. He served as cofounder and first president of the Academy of Catholic Hispanic Theologians of the United States (ACHTUS). In 2008 he served a first executive director of the Secretariat of Cultural Diversity in the Church of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops

**Emmanuel S. de Guzman** is director of the Institute for Religious Education at the Adamson University and a professor at the St. Vincent School of Theology-Adamson University. His publications on migration include "Mapping the Church on the Move" (2010) and "The Laity in the Ministry to the Migrants" (2005) in the *Exodus Series*.

**Jehu J. Hanciles** is the D. W. Ruth Brooks Associate Professor of World Christianity at the Candler School of Theology, Emory University. His most recent book, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration and the Transformation of the West* (2008), explores the critical role of human migration in the processes of globalization and religious expansion. His current research aims to survey the history of global Christian expansion through the lens of migration. A Sierra Leonean by birth, he has lived and worked in Sierra Leone, Scotland, Zimbabwe, and the United States.



**Jione Havea** is a Methodist pastor from Tonga and a senior lecturer in Biblical Studies and HDR advisor at United Theological College within the School of Theology, Charles Sturt University, and researcher at the Public and Contextual Theology Centre (CSU). Havea has published widely in biblical and cultural studies, and recently coedited *Out of Place: Doing Theology in Crosscultural Brinks* (2011), *Indigenous Australia and the Unfinished Business of Theology* (2014), *Colonial Contexts and Postcolonial Theologies* (2014), and *Bible, Borders, Belonging(s): Engaging readings from Oceania* (2014).

**Kanan Kitani** is assistant professor at Doshisha University School of Theology and Graduate School of Theology. Kitani earned her doctorate at Doshisha University, where she studied the relation between freedom of speech and religious censorship. Her areas of research and interest are in theology and culture, ecumenism, global migration, and Christianity in Asia. Kitani has been an active member of the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA), the World Council of Churches (WCC), and the Congress of Asian Theologians (CATS).

**James Samuel Logan** was born in Harlem and raised in the South Bronx. He is associate professor of Religion, and associate professor and director of African and African American Studies at Earlham College. Logan is the author of *Good Punishment?: Christian Moral Practice and U.S. Imprisonment*. He is coeditor (with Marcia Riggs) of *Ethics That Matters: African, Caribbean, and African American Sources*. Logan is currently at work on a manuscript under the working title, *The Limits of Perfection: Race, Nonviolence and Anabaptist Peace Church Assimilation into the American Social Order*.

**Patricia Madigan**, OP, is the executive director of the Dominican Centre for Interfaith, Ministry, Education and Research ([www.cimer.org.au](http://www.cimer.org.au)). She lectures regularly in Australian universities and has worked on research projects for organizations such as the Australian Human Rights Commission and the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference. Publications include *Women and Fundamentalism in Islam and Catholicism* (2011) and *Iraqi Women of Three Generations* (2013). Between 2004 and 2012 she was an Australian delegate at five intergovernmental conferences of the Asia-Pacific Regional Dialogue on Interfaith Cooperation for Peace and Harmony. Currently she serves on the leadership team of her congregation, the Dominican Sisters of Eastern Australia and the Solomon Islands.

**Michael Nausner** is professor of Systematic Theology at Reutlingen School of Theology, Germany. His areas of research include doctrine, ethics, and intercultural and postcolonial theology. He has published various articles, and among his edited work are the books *Postcolonial Theologies: Divinity and Empire*, and *Kirchliches Leben in methodistischer Tradition: Perspektiven aus drei Kontinenten*. He is a member of the American Academy of Religion (AAR), the European Society for Intercultural Theology and Interreligious

Studies (ESITIS), the Oxford Institute of Methodist Theological Studies, and Interkonfessioneller Theologischer Arbeitskreis (ITA).

**Elaine Padilla** is Assistant Professor of Constructive Theology at New York Theological Seminary. Her theological analysis constructively interweaves current philosophical discourse with Christianity, Latin American and Latino/a religious thought, mysticism, ecology, and gender. She is the author of *Divine Enjoyment: A Theology of Passion and Exuberance* published by Fordham University Press, and of various journal articles and chapters in edited books.

**Peter C. Phan** is the inaugural holder of the Ignacio Ellacuria Chair of Catholic Social Thought at Georgetown University. He has authored a dozen books, edited some 20 books, and over 300 essays on various aspects of Christian theology and missiology. Among his books are: *Christianity with an Asian Face*; *In Our Own Tongues*; and *Being Religious Interreligiously*. He recently edited *Christianities in Asia and The Cambridge Companion to the Trinity*.

**Thomas E. Reynolds** is associate professor of Theology in Emmanuel College of Victoria University in the University of Toronto. Reynolds's teaching and research address a range of topics related to constructive theology, intercultural and interfaith engagements, contextual theologies, and globalization. He is currently working on a monograph entitled *Remembering Ourselves Differently: Theology in a Pluralist and Global Era*, which explores the way memory, tradition, and the witness of faith are transformed in pluralistic and globalizing contexts. Other published books include *Vulnerable Communion: A Theology of Disability and Hospitality and the Broken Whole: Philosophical Steps Toward a Theology of Global Solidarity*.

**Susanna Snyder** is assistant director in Catherine of Siena Virtual College, and tutor in theology in the University of Roehampton. She is also an associate member of the Faculty of Theology and Religion at the University of Oxford. She was formerly an assistant professor at the University of Texas at Austin and Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She holds an MA from the University of Cambridge, a BA from the Queen's Foundation, Birmingham, and a PhD from the University of Birmingham. Her research focuses on forced migration and religion and faith-based organizations, and she works at the intersection of social sciences and theological ethics to explore these and other pressing social, economic, and political issues. She has written numerous chapters and peer-reviewed articles, and her book, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church*, was published by Ashgate in 2012. Dr. Snyder is a founding coeditor of the Palgrave Religion and Global Migrations book series, and has cochaired the Religion and Migration Group at the American Academy of Religion from 2012 to 2015.

# Index

- aboriginal, 118, 124, 201, 205–6, 210, 214, 215n15, 216n32
- Acts of Thomas, 16
- Adversus Judaeos*, 30
- Africa, 1–2, 5, 11–12, 15, 17–18, 20, 22, 34, 50, 55–6, 60, 62–3, 67, 157, 193, 200, 204, 206, 231, 247, 282, 284–5, 288–90, 294–5, 297–8
- African Americans, 228–9, 231, 235, 245, 248, 253, 260, 292
- African Churches, 66–7, 293–4
- Africans, 7, 55–6, 61, 63, 68, 173, 175, 187, 221, 246–7, 266, 269, 285, 293, 295, 302
- analogical imagination, 269
- ancestors, 2, 5, 12, 40, 43, 57, 67, 113–16, 118–19, 121–2, 124–5, 129–30, 153, 185, 272
- arrival, 15, 49, 64, 73, 89, 104, 114, 116, 121–6, 129–30, 135, 142, 146, 175–6, 188–9, 221–3, 256, 267
- Asia, 1, 5, 11, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 38, 40, 47, 49–50, 67, 71–3, 75–7, 79, 84, 92, 103, 105, 128, 135, 139, 179, 193, 196, 199, 204, 206, 284, 294
- Asia Minor, 14–15, 27, 43
- assimilation, 81, 137–41, 143, 145–7, 200–2, 205, 207, 228, 264
- asylum seeker, 142, 145–6, 148, 208, 222–3, 236, 303
- Augustine, 15, 29, 266
- Australia, 3, 5–6, 11, 19, 118, 120, 122, 124, 127, 135–49, 200
- autocannibalism, 257
- Bethel Presbyterian Reformed Church, 289, 292
- black legend, 268
- body-politics, 300
- Boston New Sanctuary Movement, 233
- Bouchard-Taylor Commission, 207
- Canada, 1, 3, 6, 12, 19, 186, 193–214, 286, 290
- citizenship and immigration, 203–4
- Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988), 203, 205
- captives, 42, 44–5, 47
- care, 27–30, 74, 76, 78, 145, 147–8, 175–7, 180–1, 188, 232, 237, 276, 287, 290, 295, 313, 315n5, 316n7
- Caribbean, 173–80, 182–4, 187, 189, 193, 202, 204, 206, 260, 265, 272, 275, 284, 289
- Catholic bishops, 138–9, 141, 143, 146, 183, 234, 275–6
- Catholic Church in Australia, 6, 145–7
- Catholicism, 91, 101, 175, 227, 263, 268–77
- Centro Presente, 233
- chaplaincy, 78, 85, 136, 138–9, 141, 290
- Chinese Immigration Act, 202
- Civil War, 245, 253–6, 258–9
- climate change, 2, 7, 120–1, 125, 300, 314
- comprehensive immigration reform, 182, 184, 233, 235–6
- Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM), 6, 180–1, 183–5
- Constantinople I (synod), 9
- convivencia*, 269

- cross-cultural, 24, 37–8, 43, 49, 148  
 culture, 2, 11, 20, 24, 43, 72–3, 80–3,  
     85–9, 99, 104, 116–18, 125,  
     156–62, 164, 189, 194–5, 311  
   Africa, 59, 63–4  
   Asia, 73, 76–9, 84–5  
   Australia, 138–40, 143–8  
   Canada, 196, 198, 200, 205–7, 210,  
     214  
   Europe, 156–60  
   indigenous, 135  
   Island, 123–5, 128–9  
   Japan, 89, 97  
   Latin America, 174, 178–9, 181–3,  
     185–6  
   Latino (US), 265–6, 268, 270–2,  
     274–7  
   United States, 224–5, 228, 283–5,  
     289, 302  
*Cursillo*, 274  
 Cyprian, 15, 29
- decolonization, 21  
 Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals  
   (DACA), 235  
 Department of Homeland Security,  
   225, 237  
 departure, 14, 63, 114–15, 117–18,  
   126–7, 141, 160–1, 176, 288  
 deportation, 19, 66, 208, 225, 233,  
   235, 267  
 destination, 2–4, 10, 14–16, 20–1, 71,  
   92, 108n8, 118–19, 182, 196, 221,  
   308  
 diaspora, 2–3, 28, 30, 79, 92, 101, 107,  
   195, 285–6, 313  
   African, 67–8, 285–6  
   Jewish, 13–14, 30, 41, 43  
   Orthodox, 14, 18–19  
   Pacific, 116–17  
 dislocation, 39–40, 42, 55, 79, 145,  
   206, 305
- ecclesiology, 9–10, 22, 91, 175, 288  
 ecology of faith, 230, 236  
 ecology of fear, 226, 230, 236  
 Epiphanius of Salamis, 9  
 Episcopal Migration Ministries, 234  
 eschatology/eschatological, 6, 10,  
   22–3, 25, 27, 29, 31, 64, 153–5,  
   160, 160–7, 170n69, 300–1,  
   308–9, 311–13  
 Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 55  
 Eucharist, 16, 73, 106, 163–4, 238,  
   274, 308  
 Europe, 1, 6, 11–12, 18–21, 44, 48,  
   50, 67, 71, 105, 140, 153–61, 163,  
   165–7, 176, 182, 193, 199, 285,  
   291, 303–5  
 evangelist, 14, 48, 56–62, 64–5, 68  
 exile, 14, 40–2, 46–7, 79, 127, 195, 212  
 existence, 1, 10, 27, 37–8, 41–2, 47–9,  
   81, 135–6, 246, 264, 299–301,  
   312  
 expansion, 10, 20–1, 38, 45, 55–6, 61,  
   101–3  
   of Christianity, 18, 31, 37, 39–41,  
     43, 47–50, 55  
 exploitation, 2, 4, 22, 75–6, 185, 248,  
   302–3, 314  
 Ezra-Nehemiah, 124, 230
- faith, 1, 3, 5, 9–10, 15, 25, 28, 30–1,  
   35, 37–50, 55, 63, 68, 73–4, 79,  
   80, 84, 90, 96, 101, 104–5, 107,  
   126, 128, 146–7, 154, 159–61,  
   194–5, 197–200, 209, 212, 224,  
   228–37, 245, 249, 252, 258–60,  
   263, 265, 270, 272–5, 285–6, 294  
 familial ties, 314  
 fear, 46, 121, 129, 154–5, 159, 186–8,  
   222, 225–6, 228–30, 232, 236–7,  
   252–3, 300  
 foreigners, 15, 23–4, 26–7, 39–44, 72,  
   89–90, 96, 158, 162, 183, 202–3,  
   266  
 Fountain of Life Ministries, 282, 288  
 FRONTEX, 156
- Germanic tribes, 16–17, 30, 44  
 Germany, 3, 12, 16, 20–1, 153–5,  
   157–60, 165–6, 167n2, 169n35,  
   199, 203, 289  
 Ghanaians, 292  
 gifting, 122  
 global migration, 10, 32n5, 74, 106,  
   154, 300  
 globalization, 2, 4, 37–9, 50, 72, 92,  
   108n8, 143, 157–8, 162, 182, 185,  
   193, 195, 283–5, 307, 310

- globalized faith, 5, 37–9, 42  
 Great Migration, 256  
 Gregory of Nyssa, 29
- Harrist Church, 62, 66  
 health care, 194, 209, 223, 234, 275, 285, 291, 309  
 Hindus, 72, 226, 277  
 holiness, 9, 22, 25, 82, 245, 249, 251–3, 259–60  
 home, 2–3, 20, 22, 26, 40, 42, 46, 56, 58–60, 62, 76, 79, 83, 91, 100, 104–7, 115, 118, 121, 123, 125–7, 129, 158, 160–1, 166–7, 178, 193, 200–1, 205, 208–10, 213, 223, 225, 229, 234–5, 247, 269–71, 282–3, 287–8, 290–2, 294–6, 299, 301, 303, 305, 311–13  
 homeland, 3, 24, 42, 79–9, 101, 186–7, 224, 266, 284, 311  
 homelessness, 2, 25, 40, 166–7  
 hope, 3–4, 7, 25, 79, 86, 136, 140, 143, 154, 165–7, 183, 186, 223, 234–5, 245, 252, 254, 259, 309, 314  
 hospitality, 5, 27–31, 83, 128, 148, 164, 183, 185, 196, 212–13, 232, 234–5  
 hostility, 30, 40, 143, 221, 225–6, 232, 237  
 humane borders, 232  
 humanitarian, 92, 94, 144, 146, 182, 188, 232, 304
- immigration, 12, 21–2, 75, 89, 93, 135–47, 154, 156, 158–9, 174–8, 180–4, 187, 194, 196–204, 206, 208–9, 221, 223–7, 231–8, 266–7, 275, 294–5  
 Immigration Act of 1976, 204, 209  
 Immigration Control Law, 89, 93  
 immigration enforcement, 181, 225–6, 237, 332  
 income, 31, 66, 103, 106, 186, 196, 206, 226, 236, 285  
 inculturation, 24, 183, 194  
 Indian Act of 1876, 201  
 indigenization, 31, 60, 66, 68  
 influx, 22, 92–3, 97, 139, 180
- integration, 31, 73–4, 100, 137, 140–2, 144–8, 205–7, 210–12, 228, 286, 295, 305  
 interculturality, 71, 80–3  
 interculturalization, 271–2  
 international migration, 12, 20, 31, 158, 178, 180, 182, 186, 256  
 Italian problem, 141
- Jenkins, Philip, 67, 105, 231  
 Jews, 13–14, 21, 23–6, 30, 161, 203, 226, 269, 284–5  
 John Chrysostom, 29  
 justice, 25, 142–5, 148, 163, 165, 184, 188, 210, 212, 228, 231–6, 245, 247, 256, 260, 268, 273, 275–6, 303, 305, 309, 314  
 Justin of Syria, 14–15, 30
- Kenya, 281–2, 288  
 Ku Klux Klan, 255
- labor, 4, 6, 12, 21, 31, 71, 75–6, 92–4, 107, 136–7, 143, 158, 163, 174, 185, 207–8, 223, 246, 256–7, 267, 302, 311  
 Labor government, 137, 142  
 Las Posadas, 229  
 Last Poets, 249, 251  
 Latin America, 1, 6, 20, 50, 67, 105, 173, 176–81, 183, 187, 189, 193, 204, 231, 266–71, 274–5. *See also* South America  
 Letter of Diognetus, 23, 25, 161–2, 166  
 life, 2–3, 10–11, 18, 23–5, 39–40, 45–6, 60, 64, 79, 82, 84, 89–91, 97, 102, 112, 117, 125, 136, 138, 140–1, 146–7, 156–60, 183, 186–7, 198, 205, 207, 210, 212, 220–4, 228–31, 236, 238, 246, 248–9, 251–2, 255, 258, 266, 268, 270–3, 275, 277, 285, 287, 293–4, 299–304, 306–10, 313–14  
 Lischer, Richard, 331  
 local, 21, 28–9, 39, 49, 56, 59–60, 62–5, 75, 77–8, 81–3, 85, 91, 96–7, 99–100, 117, 120–4, 129–30, 143, 147–9, 158, 175–7, 181, 195–6, 210–11, 227, 229, 232–5, 254, 258, 267, 269–70, 272, 282, 286, 295

- love, 7, 9, 23, 25–7, 29, 46, 64–6,  
82–3, 145, 186, 190, 213, 220,  
232, 234, 248, 308, 312–13
- Luz Del Mundo, 227
- medieval, 44, 268–9, 271, 302
- Melito of Sardis, 30
- merchants, 11, 14–16, 42, 48–9, 74
- methods, 67, 179, 269
- Middle Passage, 245, 247–8, 251,  
258–9
- migration, 1–7, 10–26, 30–1, 37, 45–6,  
300–3, 207, 309
- Africa, 12, 55–6, 60, 62, 68, 282,  
284, 291
- ancient routes of, 3, 11–17, 30, 44–5
- Asia, 5, 71–7, 84–5
- Australia, 5, 137–9, 141–8
- Black (US), 245–9, 251–3, 255–7,  
259–60
- Canada, 6, 193–6, 200–2, 204, 207,  
209–10, 212–14
- causes of, 4, 11–13, 19–20
- Christian response to, 6–7, 10, 23,  
40, 42, 50
- Europe, 6, 12, 46, 153–67
- forced, 6, 12, 19, 245–9
- forms of, 12
- and globalization, 4, 108n8, 158
- Japan, 89, 91–2, 94, 100, 105–7
- Jews, 13, 23, 40
- Latin America, 6, 173–5, 177–89
- Latino (US), 263–7, 270–1, 273, 276
- Oceania, 5, 113, 115–19, 121,  
124–7, 129
- theology of, 3–4, 7, 25, 31
- types of, 4
- United States, 6, 221–2, 224, 226–8,  
230, 234–6
- mission, 4–6, 13–14, 16, 20, 28, 30,  
43, 48–9, 56–8, 60–1, 63, 66,  
99–100, 113, 115, 117, 124–8,  
130, 147, 167, 180, 193, 212–13,  
227, 231, 265, 286–7, 289–94,  
296
- Missionaries of St. Charles, 175
- missionary, 5, 16, 20, 28, 39–43, 45–6,  
48–50, 56–7, 59–61, 63, 67–8, 73,  
100, 116, 123, 126, 128–9, 175,  
177, 187, 199, 229, 233, 269, 294
- Morrison, Toni, 247, 255
- mujerista*, 229
- multiculturalism, 137, 142–5, 147, 187,  
189, 200, 203–7, 211
- multilingual community, 162–3
- Muslims, 56, 72, 158–9, 197, 207–8,  
226, 269, 277, 285
- NAFTA, 187, 236
- National Hispanic Christian Leadership  
Conference, 235
- National Migrants Sunday, 74
- nationalism, 129, 177, 204, 303
- nationality, 22, 43, 97, 104, 201–2,  
222, 264, 283
- natives, 113, 116, 121–2, 124–7, 130,  
155
- navigation, 113, 118, 125
- Nazi regime, 21, 203
- networks, 6–7, 38, 41–3, 96, 103,  
106, 140, 145, 183, 207, 275,  
281–6, 289–92, 294–6, 306,  
308
- Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, 9
- No More Deaths, 232–3, 236
- nodes, 115, 286
- Oceania, 1, 5, 11, 113–17, 119–30
- oppression, 13, 158, 164, 237, 249,  
308, 310, 314
- organic, 7, 299–305, 307, 309–14
- Orthodox Christianity, 18–19, 21, 269,  
277
- padroado real/patronado real* (royal  
patronage), 20
- paganism, 130
- partnership, 82–3, 85, 128, 201, 245
- pastoral action, 6, 173, 178–9, 187
- pastoral challenges, 177, 182, 189
- pastoral counseling, 287
- Patterson, Orlando, 257–8
- peaceful, 234, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311,  
314
- Pentecostal, 5, 67, 90–1, 99–100,  
102–3, 105, 162, 210, 227, 260,  
267, 269–71, 274, 285
- Pentecostalism, 49, 103, 267, 270, 277,  
285
- Pew Research Center, 198, 263, 267

- place, 27, 30, 37, 71, 73, 80, 114–15, 121–5, 147–8, 162, 178, 195–6, 200, 213, 230, 259, 282, 294, 299, 301–2, 304–7, 309–13
- place of origin, 4, 212
- point system, 204
- Pope Francis, 187–8, 191n25
- postcolonial, 65, 155, 168, 171, 241, 317, 319, 323
- Presbyterian Church USA, 226, 228, 293, 298
- prevention of exploitation, 4
- race, 6, 26, 44, 72, 107, 194–5, 201–3, 205, 209, 214, 215n15, 222, 225, 254–5, 257–8, 260, 262n21, 264, 284–5, 294
- reasonable accommodation, 207
- rebellion, 245, 249, 251–3, 259
- reciprocity, 130
- reconstruction, 137, 245, 253–5, 258–9
- Redeemed Christian Church of God, 227, 290, 293
- Redeemed Church of God (RCCG), 68
- refuge, 2, 27, 46, 188, 224, 314
- refugee, 12, 40, 46, 72, 78, 137–9, 142–4, 146–8, 153, 204, 208–9, 222, 229, 234
- religion, 1, 3, 5–6, 9–10, 37, 39–41, 47, 59, 65–6, 72, 79, 89–90, 101, 103, 105, 107, 107n3, 112, 125–6, 130, 135, 141, 144, 148, 153, 176, 185, 195, 197, 199–200, 205, 207–9, 214, 222, 224, 230, 245, 247, 249, 253–4, 258–60, 263–6, 268–74, 276–7, 282, 284–6, 293–4, 300, 314n1
- remittances, 31, 93, 186, 290, 292, 295
- right to worship, 72
- Russian Orthodox Church, 19–20
- Ruth, 161, 164
- sacred landscape, 226, 228, 231, 237
- salary, 94
- Salzburgers, 153
- Scramble for Africa, 20
- Secure Communities Program, 225, 233
- settler, 12, 155, 193, 196, 200
- Sikhs, 226
- slavery, 12, 21, 45, 93, 163, 174–5, 185, 202, 235, 248–9, 251–3, 256, 258–9
- slaves, 2, 6, 11–12, 14, 21, 44, 74, 80, 246–7, 251–2, 254–5, 269, 272, 303
- soil, 223, 248, 256, 265
- Songline, 124
- South America, 12, 18–20, 173–5, 178, 275. *See also* Latin America
- space, 1, 4, 7, 68, 71, 81, 83, 106, 108n3, 118, 137, 155, 161, 166–7, 196, 210, 212, 223, 228, 230, 259, 299–307, 310–14, 314n1
- spiritism, 272
- storefront, 227
- sustainable, 303, 307, 311, 313–14
- table fellowship, 28, 73, 162–4, 166
- Tacitus, 16
- talanoa*, 113–15, 125, 127
- Tertullian, 15, 28–9
- theology, 1, 3–4, 6–7, 9, 18–19, 24–5, 58, 68, 100, 102, 124, 129–34, 145, 147, 154–5, 160, 162, 164–5, 175, 179, 189, 191n25, 194, 198, 229–30, 265, 268, 277, 288, 298, 300, 314n1, 316n7
- of migration, 1, 3, 24–5, 145, 154–5, 162, 164, 314n1
- Thomas the Apostle, 14, 16
- ties, 42, 92, 96, 101–2, 107, 176, 286–7, 295, 299, 302, 312, 314
- time, 4, 7, 35, 37–8, 98, 118, 166, 189, 193–5, 200, 228, 234, 267, 269, 276, 300–1, 307, 314n1
- Tohono O’odham Nation, 237
- trafficking, 7, 13, 96, 185, 188, 223, 235, 243
- transcultural, 24, 283–4
- transnational, 3, 6–7, 11, 42–3, 92, 101, 106, 148, 158, 193, 223, 227, 281–6, 289–92
- transnationalism, 6, 283–6
- tree of life, 301, 307–8, 310, 313–14
- Trinity, 82–3, 101, 226
- undocumented, 3, 12, 22, 181, 188, 226, 267, 315n3

- United States, 1, 3, 6, 12, 19, 21–2,  
61–2, 92–3, 105, 157, 163, 173,  
176–8, 180, 182–4, 186–8,  
193–4, 199–200, 202, 204–5,  
214n8, 221–31, 233–7, 238n10,  
245, 247, 255–6, 263–7, 270–3,  
275–6, 282–96, 296n1, 303
- United States Catholic Conference of  
Bishops (USCCB), 235, 244n107
- utopia, 153, 165–7, 300
- vahanoa*, 118–21, 127, 129
- violence, 2, 7, 25, 72, 156, 162, 185,  
188, 191n31, 208, 226, 252,  
255–7, 294, 300–2, 307, 311–14
- visa, 94, 109n21, 222
- vulnerable, 182, 185, 210, 213, 225,  
231, 235, 237, 300–4, 307–11,  
313–14, 315n3
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, 12
- war, 2, 7, 11–13, 19–22, 38, 44, 58,  
63, 93, 102, 127, 136–7, 139–40,  
143, 148, 153–4, 158, 167n2,  
169n35, 177–8, 195, 201,  
203, 216, 225, 234–5, 245–6,  
253–6, 258–9, 266–7, 269, 275,  
306
- well-being, 68, 80–1, 184, 300–1, 303,  
305, 307, 312–13
- women, 2, 13, 25, 39, 42, 45, 63–4,  
72, 76, 80, 91, 93–6, 99, 101,  
104–5, 107, 108n8, 109n21, 122,  
129, 147–8, 180, 182, 185, 187,  
197, 206, 222, 229–30, 233, 247,  
249, 252, 254, 256, 258, 272, 281,  
292, 309, 311
- worship, 13, 16, 23, 62, 72–3, 77–9,  
83–4, 90–1, 96–9, 103, 105–6,  
109n27, 127–8, 160, 193, 223–4,  
226, 228, 231, 259, 272–4, 276,  
281–2, 288–9, 292–5