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Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 I use the term “mechanisms” to denote a delimited class of events or interactions that alter the relations among historical actors in identical or closely similar ways across a variety of situations; think of them as the “verbs” that connect the subjects and predicates of historical processes. “Processes,” by extension, are clusters or concatenations of mechanisms that recurrently alter the relations of historical actors over longer periods of time and in a variety of situations with a limited range of variant outcomes.
- 2 Unless otherwise noted, what follows in this historical discussion derives from the research that I published in te Brake (2017).
- 3 For more background on the two principal examples—the Dutch Republic and Saxony—see Prak (2005) and Schunka (2006).
- 4 I should also note that the triumph of Reformed Protestantism in Dutch Republic banished Catholicism from public life and precipitated a significant Catholic emigration (Janssen 2014).
- 5 The “national” vignettes in this section are based on readily accessible online resources, bolstered by a series of broadly contextual reports on the contemporary patterns and politics of religious diversity from the Pew Research Center Project on Religion and Public Life; for access to the available publications, visit <https://www.pewresearch.org/> and <http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/>.
- 6 In what follows, I will use the terms I introduced earlier in Table 1.3 and Figure 1.2 to describe “national templates” or frameworks for the management of religious diversity, even though I introduced them, and generally use them, as descriptors of the relationships of specific communities of faith with their most proximate political authorities (local rulers). In this more general and comparative usage, the terms may be considered aspirational or prescriptive rather than reliable descriptors of “facts on the ground.”
- 7 The (Christian) *privilege* template of the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands, which also descends from an early modern regime of (Reformed) privilege in the Dutch Republic, appears to offer refugees similar and equally confounding incentives to “conversion” to Christianity.
- 8 I explore both the historical and the contemporary experience of religious “outsiders” more specifically in an illustrative survey of the religious landscape of the city of Mainz, Germany, in te Brake (forthcoming).

- 9 I should note that while the rise of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia appears to be a general phenomenon, it affects religious “newcomers” differently, depending on the template that shapes the management of religious diversity.
- 10 This may be especially challenging for religiously devout refugees who originated in situations where their religious identities were dominant or in the majority—that is, easily taken for granted.

Chapter 2

- 1 <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/kirche-und-asyl-wers-glaubt-1.4067808?reduced=true>

Chapter 4

- 1 Lavang is approximately 60 kilometers north of Hue (the former capital of Vietnam) in Central Vietnam.
- 2 This may be a surprise for many since not even the Vietnamese Catholic community in France has a national-level association. France plays an important and historic role within Vietnamese Catholicism and has a sizable Vietnamese Catholic population.
- 3 The federation’s website is: www.ldcg.de
- 4 Popularly and collectively known as “Các Thánh Tử Đạo Việt Nam” (Vietnamese Catholic martyrs)
- 5 The Center closed on January 20, 2007, due to financial restraints and the justification that Vietnamese Catholics around the world have successfully adapted into their host societies. Father Dinh Dao (the last director of the Coordinating Office of the Apostolate for the Vietnamese in the Diaspora), email correspondence, April 25 to May 29, 2012.
- 6 Monsignor Philippe Tran Van Hoai was the ideal candidate to direct the newly established organization. Since 1969, he had been studying and working in Rome. At the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, Monsignor Tran was appointed as the director of the Vietnamese Refugee Office of Caritas Italiana to rescue and resettle Vietnamese “boat people” who were fleeing from communism. In 1992, he founded the Movement of the Vietnamese Laity in Diaspora.
- 7 Although scholars such as Penny Edwards (2002) have written about the construction of national costumes within imperial and colonial projects, including those related to configuring nation and race, the meanings ao dai promoted by members in the diaspora have different meanings and need further exploration.

- 8 In January 2011, this original statue was replaced by a newer model sculpted by a local Vietnamese artist (Father Than 2009).
- 9 After the installment of the Vietnamese-looking Our Lady of Lavang statue in the shrine, the European statue of the Virgin Mary was relocated and placed behind a large tree about 500 meters from the shrine, its original location.
- 10 The office was under the directorship of Monsignor Philippe Tran Van Hoai and his assistant, Monsignor Dinh Duc Dao.

Chapter 5

- 1 Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures 2010, *The Future of World Religions: Vietnam's Religious Demography*. Research report available online at http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/countries/vietnam#/?affiliations_religion_id=0&affiliations_year=2010®ion_name=All%20Countries&restrictions_year=2016 (accessed July 31, 2019).
- 2 The full name is Đại Đạo Tam Kỳ Phổ Độ, which I translate as “The Great Way of the Third Era of Redemption,” although many others prefer “the Third Era of Salvation.” I have developed this translation to highlight continuities with other “redemptive societies” in the Sino-Vietnamese tradition (see also Hoskins 2015: 33–4, 51–2, 63–4).
- 3 The New Testament is also interpreted by Caodaists as having prophesied the emergence of their own religion. They refer in particular to these verses from Mathew referring to the worship of a single eye: “The light of the body is the eye. If, therefore, thine eye be *single*, thy whole body shall be full of light” (Matthew 6:22). The appearance of the Jade Emperor after midnight on Christmas Eve 1925 is seen as corresponding to the verse in Revelation 16:15, which said, “the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night” (Thessalonians 5:2). See also Peter 3:10, and Revelation 22:7 (“Look, I am coming soon! Blessed is the one who keeps the words of the prophecy written”).
- 4 Ten short videos of Đạo Mẫu trance dancers (both male and female, young and old) can be found at the teaching website: <http://dornsife.usc.edu/transnational-religion>. Seven of the most popular spirits are profiled on that website (the national hero, the fifth mandarin in blue, the sixth lady in green, the golden prince, the third princess in white, the ninth princess in pink, and the impish youngest prince), with clips from ceremonies where they are incarnated by various mediums, in both California and Vietnam.
- 5 In 2016, the US Census Bureau estimated that the total population of Vietnamese Americans was 2,067,527 (92.9 percent reporting one race, 6.5 percent reporting two races, 0.5 percent reporting three races, and 0.1 percent reporting four or more

racess). California and Texas had the largest populations of Vietnamese Americans: 40 and 12 percent, respectively. About 41 percent of the Vietnamese immigrant population lives in five major metropolitan areas: in descending order, Los Angeles, San Jose, Houston, San Francisco, and Dallas-Fort Worth. There are Caodai temples in or adjacent to each of these metropolitan areas, and also others in New Orleans, Seattle, Wichita (Kansas), the suburbs of Washington, D.C., and Montreal, Canada (Hoskins 2015: xiv, 163).

- 6 More details are available in Broucek 2016.
- 7 Refugees and former workers came to the divided Germany at about the same time: 35,000 refugees arrived in West Germany starting in 1979, and about 70,000 contract workers began to arrive in East Germany in 1980. These two migration streams also correspond to regions of origin in Vietnam, with most refugees hailing from former South Vietnam and most contract workers from former North Vietnam. The most recent census figures I could find were from 2016, when an estimated 176,000 people of Vietnamese origin lived in Germany, and two-thirds were foreign-born migrants. A little less than half of them (85,000) still had a Vietnamese passport (Bosch and Su 2018: 15).
- 8 This refugee association, called *Danke Deutschland* (“Thank you Germany,” after a famous song) in German and Hội Tri ân Nước Đức (“German Gratitude Society”) or “Cảm ơn Nước Đức” in Vietnamese, sponsors cultural gatherings with food, dances, and entertainment in cities like Spandau (near Berlin). Here are some activities on their website: <http://www.nguoi viet.de/hoi-doan/Cong-dong-nguoi-Viet-tai-Brandenburg-noi-loi-CAM-ON-NUOC-DUC-37629.html>
- 9 It is an interesting question as to why West German refugees have expressed the “thank you for rescuing us” argument most strongly. Former refugees in France, while often proud of their associations with elite French schools and universities, almost all also profess to despise the oppressions of French colonialism. And for Vietnamese Americans, the United States is both the rescuer and the betrayer—betrayer because of the perception that the United States could have won a military victory, but chose not to, and rescuer because there was a willingness to receive refugees in the 1980s and former prisoners in Vietnamese reeducation camps and their families in the 1990s.

Chapter 6

- 1 Hüwelmeier (2011) has done similar work on Pentecostal churches in mitigating the political tensions between these two Vietnamese opponents.
- 2 Duy Dinh, “The Rivival of Bolero in Vietnam,” *The Diplomat*, October 12, 2016. Available online: <https://thediplomat.com/2016/10/the-revival-of-bolero-in-vietnam/> (accessed March 16, 2020)

- 3 Ngô Đình Diệm was the first president of the South Vietnam serving from 1955 until he was ousted and killed in a 1963 military coup. Ngô Đình Diệm was born to a Catholic family. Buddhists, under his rule, criticized and protested against his discriminated religious policies which favored Catholic Churches and oppression of religious freedom. Protests and social unrests, many led by Buddhist practitioners and supporters, against his religious policy, played an important role in the downfall of Ngô Đình Diệm's regime.
- 4 The information on the trip of Venerable Thích Đức Thiện was covered on the Nguoiviet.de, available online: <http://nguoiviet.de/tam-linh/dai-le-phat-dan-va-du-an-xay-ngoi-chua-viet-tai-thu-do-berlin-duc-34883.html> (accessed March 16, 2020).
- 5 The term *Thượng Đế* in Vietnamese, or *Shangdi* in Chinese, refers to the highest figure who has founded the universe. The term is commonly known as the Heavenly Ruler or the Highest Deity to followers of folk religion. To lesser extent, through English-Vietnamese translation, *Thượng Đế* also means the God in Christianity, or Allah in Islam. However, *Thượng Đế* is an alien term to Buddhists. The arbitrary use between *Thượng Đế* and Buddha, sometimes both appear in the same sentences, has become one point of critique on Master Ruma's religious teaching.
- 6 Public Security online newspapers, the mouthpiece of the Public Security Departments in Vietnam, often reported on the practices of Light and Sound Meditation as well as the dissemination of this religious belief which are considered as criminal activities. Some examples of the media clippings: Public Security online newspaper of Dien Bien province <http://cand.com.vn/Xa-hoi/Ta-dao-Phap-mon-Dieu-am-xuat-hien-o-Dien-Bien-144214/>, Hoang Phap Pagoda's website <http://www.chuahoangphap.com.vn/tin-tuc/chi-tiet-su-tran-tam-co-phai-tu-si-dao-phat-2110/>.

Chapter 7

- 1 <http://data.unhcr.org/drc/country.php?id=229>. A population of around 850,000 Congolese currently lives abroad, the majority in other African countries. Uganda is by far the first country of refuge for people fleeing from the DRC, hosting almost 340,000 Congolese (data, June 2019: UNHCR, Operational Portal, Refugee situations, DRC situation, <http://data.unhcr.org/drc/regional.php>).
- 2 David Dodman, *Revealing the Hidden Refugees in African Cities*, <https://www.iied.org/revealing-hidden-refugees-african-cities>
- 3 Until 2009, their presence was regulated by the *Control of the Alien Refugee Act* (1964), which formally forced refugees to live in the camps.
- 4 *Églises de Réveil* (Awakening Churches) are Pentecostal-like churches, originated in Congo and in other French-speaking countries, both as independent churches and as part of larger evangelical denominations. The growth of the Charismatic renewal

in Congo DRC took place in the second half of the 1990s. Pentecostalism is today in a dominant position within the Congolese diasporic religious field (Garbin 2014). Some congregations originated in the DRC and opened branches in other countries following the paths of the Congolese diaspora, whereas others were created in diasporic contexts and sometimes established branches in the DRC.

- 5 With reference to lived religion, David Hall (1997), who first introduced this idea in the debate, aimed at shifting the focus of religious studies from institutional settings to religious practices as they are enacted in people's everyday lives.
- 6 See the reference to prayer in the next section.

Chapter 8

- 1 This chapter has been supported by several institutions and funding agencies, notably through a scholarship from the German Historical Institute in Paris, which enabled me to conduct the necessary fieldwork. The completion of the final draft was made possible by the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin. I thank Birgit Meyer for her comments and Sally Sutton for her help during the preparation of the manuscript.
- 2 The 2014 national census reports that approximately 0.2 percent of the total population of Morocco were foreigners (86,206 persons), of whom 40 percent were European citizens (Bel-Air, 2016). Even if we add the 50,000 migrants who became residents during the migrant regularization operation (of which 80 percent were nationals from non-Arabic-speaking African countries) and the estimated 15,000 undocumented African migrants living in the country (Sidiguitiebe 2016), the number of foreign citizens in Morocco remains at under 1 percent of the total population.
- 3 The notion of house churches also refers to “evangelizing congregations self-consciously separated from mainline churches” (Coleman 2000: 19). In the Moroccan case, house churches are so-called because of the privacy of these religious places.
- 4 I participated in several religious gatherings and held regular discussions and informal interviews with congregants. I also conducted in-depth interviews in French with twenty-two congregants, seventeen of whom were church leaders, and five congregants who were particularly involved with their churches.
- 5 Examples are Takadoun, Hay Nahda, J5, J3, Youssoufia, Bouitat, and Sidi Moussa in the neighboring town of Salé.
- 6 The mobile features of migrant house churches and the churches' integration in transnational religious spaces have been analyzed in more detail in Berriane 2020.
- 7 I met only one female church leader in Ivory Coast and was told of a female Liberian prophet who runs a church in Rabat. The pastors' wives (primarily in

Ivorian churches, less so in Congolese churches) were often also involved in services and sometimes gave the sermon.

- 8 This term will be explained in more detail later.
- 9 Such as the private house churches where Moroccan Christians worship.
- 10 Interview with the director of Caritas Maroc in Rabat (25.10.16) and the pastor of the EEAM parish in Rabat (21.06.16).
- 11 A language spoken by Congolese.
- 12 The national and international media's broadcast Moroccan and Spanish border agents' violent repression of migrants in 2005 made the issue of migration in Morocco more visible, and several informal associations were founded by African migrants to highlight the plight of sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco and elsewhere.

Chapter 9

- 1 One needs only to mention the "Refugees are Welcome" campaign embraced by many civil society organizations and religious institutions across Germany.
- 2 In most evocations of these categories, my interlocutors hardly escape that of the bad refugee.
- 3 The OPlatz movement, as it is also referred to, was active from 2012 through 2014, helping asylum seekers, mostly from Africa, pressure German authorities to reexamine their applications, most of which were rejected. It started with camping at Oranienplatz, involved hunger strike, and even touring Germany to raise awareness about the conditions of refugees and migrants.
- 4 For example, posting halal certification and nonalcoholic restaurants are parts of the Islamic mark on the city.
- 5 A Sufi group that emerged in Ethiopia and blossomed in Lebanon. Officially, they are the "founders" of the Omar Mosque in Berlin.
- 6 Devotional prayers.
- 7 One of the most dynamic mosques in the Kreuzberg neighborhood in Berlin. The mosque is actually a complex that hosts a mosque, a restaurant, and a travel agency catering to Muslims of many nationalities.
- 8 In her ethnographic account of *The Religious Identity of Young Muslim Women in Berlin*, Bendixsen (2013, 2–3) notes that securitization and politicization are having a lasting effect of how Islam is institutionalized and practiced in Berlin. This is in line with some of the views my interlocutors have expressed about attending specific mosques. Officials at both Omar mosque and the First African Mosque have mentioned German security forces seeking their collaboration to prevent violence and terrorism. Apparently, some mosques in Berlin were already under

- surveillance as German authorities feared they would promote radicalization and jihadism in a post-9/11 context.
- 9 According to one of my interlocutors, the mosque has developed a refugee initiative, though with limited reach compared to that of Omar mosque.
 - 10 Again, it is important to note the popularity of slogans such as “Refugees are Welcome” and “*Kein Mensch ist illegal*” (no person is illegal), which have become, in 2015 and 2016 in particular, the rallying claims of both refugees and migrants themselves, but most importantly of their supporters.
 - 11 The Izala network in Europe hosts regularly leaders of its movement from West Africa. Abubakar Giro and Kabiru Gombe, the two most popular of the movements, toured Europe in 2017 and 2018, leading preaching in Hamburg, for example.
 - 12 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hsx99UuU1uI>
 - 13 Eid refers to the two main Muslim festivals, the first celebrating the end of a month of fasting (Ramadan) and the second one the end of the Hajj pilgrimage.
 - 14 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=21Mz96-INEQ>
 - 15 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hsx99UuU1uI>
 - 16 A Jihadi Islamic organization also referred to as the Islamic State (IS) and which has been fighting the secular state in many parts of the world. It acquired influence in Libya and West Africa after the collapse of the Libyan state. Some of my interlocutors feared that they would be perceived as adherents of this organization, and sent on a mission in Europe.
 - 17 This is in reference to several attacks in France for which ISIS claimed responsibility. Some of them involved young French men of African descent.
 - 18 One of the most popular Sufi communities in West Africa.
 - 19 In the sense of finding a place and making room for a specific practice.
 - 20 Place here refers first to a physical space—a mosque, for example. Space refers primarily to how they make room for themselves in the society, whether through a mosque community or through a civil society organization.
 - 21 To succeed or achieve a goal and become established, well to do. Let’s note that this idea is particularly prevalent among my interlocutors regardless of their social, intellectual, economic, and political background.
 - 22 In particular the Lampedusa Berlin group: <https://www.facebook.com/LampedusaBerlin/>.

Chapter 10

- 1 Most of this earlier work is comprised in Murre-van den Berg 2015a, where also extensive references to earlier research can be found. To support my argument in the following sections, I will mostly refer to this work, adding further references when crucial for the history of research or for the current argument.

- 2 Note that several publications are accompanied by audio files (cassettes, CDs, online), reflecting the limited literacy among the lay in both the classical and the modern languages, but also the ongoing importance of auditory traditions, from liturgical music to folk narratives.
- 3 AP 14: Qasha Shmuel Dawid, *Zmaryate d-`edta men leshana `attiqa pushqa b-leshana hadta* (Church Hymns from the Old Language Translated into the New), (Chicago 1930s).
- 4 The percentages (here and in the following paragraphs) for the first two collections are based on the published manuscript catalogues, and for the two electronic collections it is based on a survey of the websites of November 2017 (available with the author).
- 5 Another reason for the relative decline is the fact that in the catalogues multiple manuscript copies of the same text are counted individually, whereas in the electronic bookshops every item is counted only once, despite the fact that, of course, multiple copies are produced and distributed.
- 6 Stichting Wereldtaal Houten 1993; The MEB version was published in Istanbul, probably in the early 2000s.
- 7 AP reprinted one the most important of these early Catholic catechisms, the Syriac translation of Robert Bellarmine's *Doctrinae Christianae*, first published in Rome in 1841.
- 8 This is different in the East Syriac realm, where a distinct form of modern Aramaic was standardized in the nineteenth century, and which therefore is well represented in the AP collection.
- 9 This dictionary by a Chaldean scholar and cleric (in a reprint of 1985, including its preface in the modern literary language of Urmia) one would have expected in the AP collection rather than in MEB; it thus points to the ongoing exchanges between the two literary traditions.
- 10 A German edition, published by Harrasowitz under the title *Geschichte der syrischen Wissenschaften und Literatur* (Leipzig, 2012), is also available via the MEB.
- 11 Sebastian P. Brock, David G. K. Taylor; with documentary produced by Giacomo Pezzali (Trans World Film 2001), available in German, English, and Dutch.
- 12 AP 58; *Tash`ita d-Atur*; it was written in the 1930s and survived in a manuscript copy of 1,290 pages. At the time, only a small part of it was published in a volume *Kursiya d-saliq w-psiqate `al tash`ita d-Atur* (*Throne of Seleucia and notes on the History of Atur*) (AP 58; Chicago, 1931).

Chapter 11

- 1 The NRC is a list maintained by the Indian government with the names and other relevant information of all Indian citizens in India, beginning with those in Assam. It was implemented to help identify illegal migrants.

- 2 The first protest began in Assam and India's entire northeast on the very day the CAA was passed. The Assamese caste groups and tribal communities oppose this act because it provides citizenship status to Hindu migrants from Bangladesh. On the other hand, the protests in other parts of the country were largely against the exclusion of Muslims and the NRC's nationwide implementation.
- 3 Migrants to Assam from what is now Bangladesh have also included Hindus. However, there is considerable uncertainty over the identity of migrants. Many came during the colonial period and many more arrived between Indian independence and March 24, 1971, which was just before Bangladesh declared its independence and is now the citizenship cut-off date for people who live in Assam. Certain Assamese political organizations allege that a large number of Bengali Muslims came to India after 1971 and are thus illegal. If that is so, they may be refugees as well as migrants. However, these categories are partly distinctive and partly overlapping in this context.
- 4 The last instance was in 2014.
- 5 I have been visiting various Muslim settlements and camps in Assam for past three years as part of my research on violence and the citizenship crisis there.
- 6 Mbembe's view on sovereignty and violence is significant here for its distance from the dominant understanding of sovereignty located within the boundaries of the nation-state or within institutions empowered by the state.
- 7 The Koch Rajbongshis, a scheduled tribe in India, mostly live in Assam.
- 8 There were violent incidents in Western Assam in 2012 and 2014.
- 9 D voters are a class of disenfranchised people in Assam. Their citizenship is suspect because of an alleged lack of proper credentials. A few have already been sent to detention centers. Their stories are now part of the public discussion because of investigative reports by journalists and activists after the passage of the NRC and the CAA.
- 10 By "camp-like space" I mean the isolated places where Muslims are forced to live, exposed to greater vulnerability.
- 11 Asjiran Nercha, thirty-one, interviewed in Khagrabari on May 24, 2016.
- 12 Naseema Khatun, fifty-seven, interviewed in Khagrabari on May 27, 2016.
- 13 Abdul Razzaq, thirty-three, interviewed in Guwahati on December 27, 2017.
- 14 Ahmed, thirty-four, interviewed in Guwahati on December 29, 2017.
- 15 Amina Khatun, thirty-four, interviewed in Khagrabari on May 24, 2016.
- 16 Kamarunissa, twenty-eight, interviewed in Khagrabari on May 25, 2016.

Chapter 12

- 1 The project was conducted together with Veronika Rückamp and with support by Thorsten Wettich and Mehmet Kalender. In the course of this project, we

performed twenty-seven semi-structured interviews with members of the administrative, social work, and security staff of accommodation centers as well as with representatives of neighboring religious communities. The sample includes five state reception centers (*Landesaufnahmestellen*), four emergency shelters (*Notunterkünfte*), and three municipal reception centers. Particular emphasis was put on the so-called Border Transit Camp in Friedland (a small municipality, 14 kilometers from Göttingen), which is the oldest state reception center in Lower Saxony with a remarkable religious geography and an ambitious museum attached to it.

- 2 <https://www.museum-friedland.de/de/about-us/mission-statement/>.
- 3 In organizational terms, the museum is an administration unit of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the state of Lower Saxony and formally directed by a ministerial representative (a former Theologian) in collaboration with an external exhibition agency ("*Die Exponauten*") and an academic advisory board. The museum is supposed to be only the first step of an ambitious plan, that is, to create a think tank and documentary center to address a wide range of issues connected to migration.
- 4 As historical studies show, the creation of the memorial site was complicated and not without frictions: the first initiative was taken by the German chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who sought for a memorial in order to document his efforts for the German war prisoners in the 1950s and assembled an advisory board including various associations of expellees, the Red Cross and representatives of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Church. Originally, it was intended to erect a monumental statue of Jesus Christ, which should be visible across the border unto the Soviet-occupied zone. However, the idea was rejected, because it was regarded to be "too much Catholic." After the project had been pending for some years, it was finally taken over by the Association of Expellees, who raised more than half a million DM in donations and decided on the design of the memorial ((Schwelling 2008: 196–200).
- 5 https://www.lab.niedersachsen.de/standorte/standort_braunschweig/ausstellung-auf-der-flucht-162782.html.
- 6 <https://www.notaufnahmelager-berlin.de/de/>.
- 7 Our interviews with the spokespersons of both Turkish and Arabic mosques in Göttingen revealed that both were prepared to welcome refugees and also provided some support, but at the same time were concerned about the impact of the newcomers on the public image of established Muslim immigrants. Some of the (Arabic) communities considered themselves responsible for the moral education of refugees, that is, to acquaint them with the German way of life.
- 8 <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/fluechtlingsheim-in-suhl-streit-zwischen-fluechtlingen-ueber-koran-eskaliert/12211756.html>.

- 9 https://www.opendoors.de/sites/default/files/2016_10_Lack_of_protection_for_religious_minorities_E4_2017_04.pdf.
- 10 This stance was widespread among social workers and administrators, whereas security personnel were more inclined to address group-related conflicts.

Chapter 13

- 1 To preserve anonymity, I have changed Abdul's name and other details, including dates. While I prefer not to name his country of origin, suffice it to say that asylum cases based on conversion among people from his country are rare.
- 2 His integration into the church community resembles the Muslim Syrian refugees in Lebanese evangelical churches described by Kraft (2017). While some convert, many attend the churches not only for the material support but also for the sake of community and holistic care provided.
- 3 Abdul's church does not encourage proselytizing. In Abdul's case, the issue is irrelevant, as evidence strongly suggests that merely practicing Christianity would put him at risk in his country.
- 4 With humanitarian protection, a travel document is much more expensive and, crucially, it is not recognized in many countries, including in the EU. Further, he would have needed to somehow renew his passport from his country of origin.
- 5 For Campbell (2017: 76), the spatial layout of these tribunals "reinforces the procedural rules defining who has the right to speak, the forms of speech recognized by the court, and the power of the IJ."
- 6 He also found the FTT IJ's final point, about not changing church when he moved house, "hard to follow."
- 7 *SA (Iran), R (on the application of) v SSHD* [2012] EWHC 2575 (Admin) [24].
- 8 For example, *MB (Iran) v SSHD* [2017] AA/00132/2016.
- 9 For example, *Naser v SSHD* [2017] PA/02202/2016. Some IJs also argue that the outward signs of conversion—even if not genuine—would be enough to endanger the applicant in their country of origin. However, this issue is particularly relevant to Iranian cases, and it was not raised in Abdul's case.
- 10 *Behzad Alami v SSHD* [2018] PA/13581/2016 [23].
- 11 *Ali Reza Rezayee v SSHD* [2017] PA/02782/2016 [7].
- 12 *TF and MA (Iran) v SSHD* [2018] CSHI 58.
- 13 The ruling also establishes that churchgoers other than ministers can provide expert evidence, which has been picked up in subsequent UT decisions, for example, *SP (Iran) v SSHD* [2019] PA/10885/2018 and *SA (Iran) v SSHD* [2019] PA/05745/2018.
- 14 *TF and MA (Iran) v SSHD* [2018] CSHI 58 [43].

Mobilizing Theory

- 1 Building on a conference hosted at the Max Planck Institute Göttingen, which was directed by Peter van der Veer, the volume by Horstmann and Jung, which focuses mainly on people from Asia, shares common ground with ours.
- 2 The claim that many of the presumed refugees are “mere” economic migrants betrays a wish to release the moral burden that comes with the failure to treat them well; instead, their arrival is seen as caused by human trafficking, which is criminalized rather than valued as border crossing help for people in need (Berg 2019).
- 3 <http://www.unitedagainstracism.org/campaigns/refugee-campaign/working-with-the-list-of-deaths/>
- 4 And so, as she puts it poignantly: “*The point is to take note of the effects of the claim to crisis, to be attentive to the effects of our very accession of that judgment. Crisis engenders certain forms of critique which politicize interest groups. This is a politics of crisis*” (2014: 12, italics in original).
- 5 The trope of the pandemic and the call for (racial) hygiene measures was present in nativist politics of closure throughout the twentieth century. The current “Corona crisis” brings this back to mind. Also, in far-right circles, strangers tend to be seen as harbingers of pandemics that have to be kept out to protect the body of the nation. At the same time, such circles downplay the threat of the literal virus and attribute the measures to control it, lockdowns and other strategies, to the striving of global elites to destroy homogenous nations in favor of cosmopolitanism.
- 6 Still, it is important to note that there are differences in the degrees to which states claim power and are prepared to limit the judiciary and the expression of critique and differences in how they treat refugees (as a comparison of, for example, Hungary and Poland with a country like Germany shows). For this reason, I think it is problematic to apply Giorgio Agamben’s idea that the “state of exception” becomes normalized as a form of governance in all sorts of crises—be it related to refugees or the corona pandemic. Agamben’s recent online intervention, in which he criticizes state measures to hamper the corona pandemic through the lens of this idea (<https://www.journal-psychoanalysis.eu/coronavirus-and-philosophers/>), reveals the shortcomings of such an undifferentiated attitude toward the modern state, as many critics have argued.
- 7 The point then is to study “the ways in which the state relates to ‘religion,’ in the sense of establishing a place for it in society by taking into account the role played by various social agents (including ‘religious’ ones) in the processes of shaping such relations” (Giumbelli 2013: 96).
- 8 Even on the Christian spectrum, churches frequented by people from Africa, Asia, or South America are still called migrant churches; the use of this term indicates

- that they are still seen as foreign and marginal to what is taken as mainstream European Christianity (see Frederiks 2019).
- 9 The research program “Religious Matters in an Entangled World,” which I chair at Utrecht University, focuses on matters of conflict and concern arising around material religious forms, such as buildings, objects, images, and food in plural societies (with particular emphasis on the Netherlands and Ghana): www.religiousmatters.nl.
 - 10 For example, Jojada Verrips (2020) on recent references, smeared on containers in public space in Berlin, to “gypsies” and “Arabs” as “shit.” This shows the resilience of long-standing patterns grounded in biblical tropes of “shit gods” that keep on being evoked to generate a sense of Others as abject.
 - 11 Developed mainly by theologians, this volume offers very good analyses of theological issues arising from the refugee question, especially in Germany. Schmiedel, in particular, offers a compelling and insightful analysis of the political theology of PEGIDA, for whom Christianity is key to the identity of Europe. Rather than accepting the characterization of PEGIDA as “unchristian,” he offers a thorough analysis of the “theological tropes for the demarcation of the ‘people’” (2018: 212) and its claim that Christianity is under threat in its discourse. For Schmiedel, this is the condition for being able to speak back. Even though as a scholar I do not engage in such speaking back, I appreciate his effort and think that a lot can be learned from his theological analysis.
 - 12 Susanne Stadlbauer and Annelise Reid both enriched the workshop on which this volume is based with their papers on suspicions raised about Muslims converting to Christianity. While Stadlbauer explored converts’ negotiations of a new, modern sense of the self, Reid argued that conversion should be situated in a relational process of the “making of belief” that includes converts, proselytizing Churches, agencies testing the authenticity of asylum applications, and courts.
 - 13 More generally on migrants, much work has been done on theologies of mobility in the context of migration (see Hüwelmeier and Krause 2010), especially on Pentecostalism as a religion that travels well, also due to the “portability” of the Holy Spirit (Csordas 2009; see also Hüwelmeier 2010 on Vietnamese Pentecostals), and with regard to indigenous spirits and their capacity to mediate between homelands and host countries (Lambek 2010). Of course, traditions like Candomblé, Winti, and Santería also contain vernacular theologies around the capacity of spirits to evoke long-dead ancestors and mediate the memory of enslavement across the transatlantic world (see Balkenhol, Blanes, and Sarro 2020).
 - 14 The film *Les sauteurs – Those who jump* (dir. Abou Bakar Sidibé, Moritz Siebert, Estphan Wagner, 2016) documents the attempts of young Africans stranded in Morocco to jump across the fence to Melilla: <http://www.zalab.org/en/projects/les-sauteurs-those-who-jump/>