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Religion and Migration: Exploring the Religious Identities of Young Migrants in Ireland and Young People with Migration Background in Germany

A dissertation submitted by

Vladimir Kmec

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin
2015

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Summary

This dissertation explores the formation of religious identities of young Christian migrants in Ireland and young Muslim people with migration background in Germany. The objective of the dissertation is to investigate patterns of religious identity formation in relation to young people's migration experience and background which prompt and facilitate a change of religious identities. Accordingly, the research analyses factors that contribute to the formation of religious identities of migrants and people with migration background. Finally, the aim of the research is to understand what role religion plays and how it functions for these young people. To this purpose, the research focuses on a broader dimension of identity construction – not only how immigrant religious communities impact on young people's religious identities but how their identities are shaped within their everyday context. In other words, the work explores how young Christians and Muslims perceive, understand and express their religious identity in their everyday situations.

Methodology

The research is grounded in the interdisciplinary field of the sociology of religion and migration studies (sociology, anthropology, intercultural theology/ interreligious studies and peace studies). The dissertation explores the trajectories of the construction of religious identities across different immigrant religious groups and communities in Ireland and Germany. The Irish case study analyses first-generation temporary Christian immigrants who are affiliated with the German Lutheran church, the Slovak Catholic community and the Polish Catholic Chaplaincy in Dublin. The German case study focuses on young Muslims with migration background who attend the youth groups of the Sehitlik mosque community, the Muslim Youth in Germany and the Intercultural Centre for Education and Dialogue in Berlin. In addition, the research includes interviews with young people of Turkish background in Göttingen.

The fieldwork adopts a combined methodological approach with a multi-sited and multi-case ethnography. The ethnographic approach allows for a comprehensive and detailed insight into the processes of the religious identity formation of young migrants and people with migration background. The research is based on sixty-seven semi-structured and in-depth open-ended interviews with young people aged 18 to 38. Immigrant religious communities and congregations provide research settings and sites not only for the identification of potential interviewees but also for participant observations. In addition, for my research, I also use social networking sites, websites of the congregations, written documents, relevant statistical reports and legal documents. Secondary sources include academic literature for the theoretical framework and relevant media sources.

Results

The research identified a variety of religious identity formations, which I present in different categories. This categorisation is a helpful tool in identifying patterns of religious change among the young population with migration experience or background. Young people can sometimes fit into more than one category. The formation of the religious identities of these young people is an ongoing and lifelong process. In the Irish case, I identified three patterns of changes in religious identities: shifts a) from religiously inactive to religiously practising; b) from traditional to spiritual or moderate religiosity; and c) from onefold to multiple religiosity. Four patterns of religious identity formation were determined in the German case study: shifts a) from ethnicised/ or non-practising to de-

ethnicised religiosity and from traditional to spiritual; b) from conventional/ or non-practising to ethnicised religious identifications; c) from conventional to conservative religiosity; and d) from formal to active religiosity.

These varieties illustrate the heterogeneous nature of identity formations among immigrant populations. In other words, young migrants and people with migration background do not develop a homogeneous religious identity within their own group and community. Similarities across different cases, i.e. communities, strengthen this argument. As a result, the dissertation relativeises the popularly maintained view that immigrant religious communities act exclusively as agents of transnational attachments which build ethnic and religious enclaves and form an obstacle to the integration of immigrants.

The formation of religious identities is shaped and influenced by a combination of three interrelated factors: a) socialisation and social influences, b) the satisfaction of the belongingness needs, and c) the individual decisions. Migration experience and background act as carriers of these factors, facilitating their intensity and modes of combinations. Young migrants and people with migration background employ different ways of religious identification for different reasons, purposes and interests, and under different circumstances. The dissertation thus challenges studies which emphasise the sole role of socialisation processes in the formation of religious identity.

Finally, the results of this research demonstrate that young people's identification with religion is not a homogeneous process. Rather than complying homogeneously with religious traditions, young people in both cases renegotiate religious contents, i.e. values, norms, practices and ideas. For migrants and people with migration background, religion functions as a source of empowerment, mental support, practical assistance, community and social capital. They also resort to their religion in order to preserve and nourish their transnational attachments either to their countries of origin or to their ethnic particularities. Substantive roles of religion are equally noticeable in this research. Young people in both studies emphasise the importance of the religious meanings that they ascribe to their beliefs and practices. They are concerned about their relationship with God. They seek answers to their existential and theological questions. As result, the research affirms the importance of both functional and substantive roles of religion in immigrants' lives.

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Abbreviations

CEE	Central Eastern European (migrants/ countries)
DITIB	Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V.; Turkish: Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği [the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs]
EEA	the European Economic Area
EKD	Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland [Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Germany]
EP	the European Parliament
EU	the European Union
EU-10/12/15	The EU-10 are countries that accessed the European Union in 2004, namely Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. The term EU-12 has been used since 2007, when Bulgaria and Romania accessed the EU. The EU-15 stands for these EU member states: Austria, Belgium, Finland, Greece, Luxembourg, Denmark, Spain, Netherlands, Germany, France, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom.
EVSS	European Values Study survey
EYCE	Ecumenical Youth Council of Europe
FEMYSO	Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IZDB	Interkulturelles Zentrum für Dialog und Bildung [Inter-cultural Centre for Education and Dialogue]
MJD	Muslimische Jugend in Deutschland [Muslim Youth in Germany]
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPSN	Personal Public Service Numbers (issued in Ireland)
UN	the United Nations

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Introduction

Background

Migration has made a significant contribution to an unprecedented religious pluralism and diversity in nations throughout Europe. While it was once assumed that European societies were increasingly moving towards secularisation, immigration has played its part in slowing that trend. Especially young immigrants and young people with migration background have been instrumental in the growth of the significance of religion and religious practice in Europe, including in Ireland and Germany. Christian immigrant congregations in Ireland are overloaded with young people during Sunday Masses and services. In Germany, second- and third-generation young Muslims have become more aware of their religious identity. Religious voices of young immigrants and immigrant's children have become among the strongest in public spheres across Europe. Immigrants and their descendants have been conducive not only to the ascent of religion in Europe but also to the change of European religious landscape. Nevertheless, the religiously active immigrants of Europe are often depicted in stereotypical ways, by the media in their host countries and even in some academic literature. Immigrants' religious identities, and their respective communities to which they belong, are presented as homogeneous and ethnic, and assumed to be unchanging.

This study goes beyond the stereotypes, exploring the lived religious experience of young Christian migrants in the Republic of Ireland and young Muslim people with migration background in Germany. The dissertation assesses the significance of religion and religious experience in the lives of young people who are religiously active and/or affiliated with immigrant religious communities. It demonstrates that the experience of migration, both as a lived experience (in Ireland) and as an inherited background (in Germany), impacts on the formation of immigrants' religious identities. The impacts of immigration experience and background are not uniform; rather they are multi-faceted and complex, with people's identities changing in a variety of directions. Some young migrants and people with migration background are more traditional and conservative, while others are more moderate or open to people of other faiths. The direction of religious identity change influences young migrants' experiences of ecumenical and interreligious forms of intercultural interaction. Further, state policies and actions of religious communities in host countries play crucial roles in influencing the extent to which the religious identities of immigrants become open and inclusive, or closed and exclusive.

Research Questions

The religious life of immigrants has become a topic of growing interest for scholars of religion over the past decade. What the religious life of migrants looks like is a guiding question for scholars seeking to connect religion with migration. The central research question of this dissertation examines how young immigrants and young people with migration background construct their religious identities in a context of multifaceted societal changes. In particular, I analyse this question from three interlinked angles:

- The impact of immigration, both as a lived experience and as an inherited background, on religious identity:
  How do young people understand their migration status and/or migration background in relation to their religiosity?
- The impact of social, secular and global milieu on immigrants' religious identities:
  Under which circumstances can immigrants' religious identities change? What are the factors that contribute to this change? To what extent do young people with migration experience and background sustain their transnational attachments? Do migrants and people with migration background take similar or diverse paths of religious identity formation?
- The role of religion in immigrants' lives:
  How does religion function for young migrants and people with migration background? What meanings do these young people ascribe to their religious experiences? How does membership in their organisations affect the way they construct and craft their identity?

Subject: Young Migrants in Ireland and Young People with Migration Background in Germany

This dissertation focuses on religiously active young people and young adults who are migrants or people with migration background. Different classifications for identifying a young person are used in academic literature. Standard biological, psychological and sociological definitions refer to youth or adolescence as a period of life between childhood and adulthood (Hall 2012; Muuss 1965). Gisela Konopka identified people aged eighteen to twenty-four years as late adolescents while emphasising that age limits are set by cultural and societal contexts (Konopka 1973). Recent studies refer to late adolescence as emerging adulthood - the age of eighteen to twenty-five years (Arnett 2010). The age limit

used by society and researchers to consider someone as a young person has shifted as a consequence of changes in social and family patterns in recent years, however. As a result of the shift from an industrial to a post-industrial society, young people tend to prolong their education and adolescence up to a decade compared to previous generations. During this period, they may continue to be dependent on emotional and financial support of their parents (Davie 2000a, 63).

Many youth organisations in Europe consider higher age limits for the category of youth. For example, the Ecumenical Youth Council of Europe (EYCE) and the Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations (FEMYSO) make their membership available for young people aged eighteen to thirty-two. The extension of youth age is also characteristic for religious communities in which I carried out my research. The youth group *20's-Up* in the Lutheran congregation in Dublin was attended by young people aged twenty to late thirties. Young people in the Muslim communities in Berlin were aged sixteen to thirty-five. I thus refer to people in this dissertation as young people because the individuals in this research identify themselves as young people or young adults.

The research questions are assessed through an analysis of diverse cases at multiple levels. I compare religious experiences of young people who belong to distinct migrant, national, ethnic and religious groups and who live in two different societal contexts, i.e. Ireland and Germany. The Irish case study includes first-generation young Christian immigrants from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. In Germany, I look at second- and third-generation young Muslim people with Turkish and Arab migration background. Religious differences make this comparison especially attractive. The research focuses on religiously active young people who choose to participate in a religious community on a regular or semi-regular basis or who regard themselves as religious. For these reasons, I resort to particular immigrant religious communities, congregations and groups with which young people are affiliated. The Irish case study focuses on people who are affiliated with the Lutheran church in Dublin (with its German and English branches); the Slovak Catholic community; and the Polish Catholic Chaplaincy in Dublin. In Germany, I carried out interviews and observations in a youth group in the Sehitlik mosque, a local group of Muslim Youth in Germany (MJD) and youth activities in the Intercultural Centre for Education and Dialogue (IZBD) in Berlin. The research also includes interviews with young people of Turkish background in Göttingen. Most Muslims whom I interviewed during my fieldwork identified with the Sunni strand of Islam, while some stated their religion as Islam.

Although the research acknowledges young people's affiliation in immigrant religious communities, I do not study the communities and congregations as such. I concentrate on individuals who live in particular culturally, socially and politically dynamic urban settings. I am interested in their individual perspectives on their faith. I explore how these young people construct, maintain and renegotiate their religious identities while taking into account how they understand, practice and relate to religion. I pay attention to the ways in which immigrant experience and background inform these people's religious identity. The dissertation also recognises ethnic and national differences between the groups. While these cases differ in a number of variables, they share a common characteristic: they present young people who live in urban environments in societies which are often described as globalised, secular or post-secular.

According to Grace Davie, youth is a specific life period which is characterised by a questioning of moral codes, traditional values and authority, including religious ones. In Europe, many young people have lost direct contact with institutional religion. This development has been partially caused by changes in religious instruction which has shifted from providing information *in* to *about* religious beliefs. The role of education is significant for the evolution of one's religious life (Davie 2000a, 66-67, 82-97). Young people are characterised by generational differences which are also observable among immigrant populations. Second- and third-generation young people have different interests, opportunities and choices than their parents. This may lead to a greater adaptation in the host society or to the reinvention of religious identities (Davie 2000a, 181–182).

Reasons for Choosing the Topic

The research has a general scope while being thematically situated in the field of migration studies and the sociology of religion (sociology, anthropology, religious studies and peace studies), with particular case studies providing the source of primary data. The need for an interdisciplinary approach to migration has been highlighted by the contemporary nature of migration shaped by globalisation (Vargas-Silva 2012; Castles 2012, 20–22). The interdisciplinary nature of my research was also influenced by my educational background. Having studied theology, religious studies, peace and conflict studies, and public and international affairs, I naturally approached the subject from an interdisciplinary perspective. I situated my doctoral research in International Peace Studies, Intercultural Theology and Interreligious Studies at Trinity College Dublin. At the Georg-August University in Göttingen, I gained profound knowledge of anthropology and sociology of

migration while taking part in courses at the Faculty of Social Science, the Faculty of Theology and the Institute for Cultural Anthropology/ European Ethnography. At Humboldt University in Berlin, I was a quest researcher in Diversity and Social Conflict at the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences.

Given my own experience of living and studying in several foreign countries, I had personal reasons for researching the relationship between migration and religion. While meeting young people from various religious and cultural backgrounds, I have become curious about the importance of religion in the lives of young people. Attending immigrant communities provided me with several questions concerning the religious belief and practice of young immigrants. My work as a Lutheran minister, and my involvement in European and transnational religious youth movements inspired me to deepen my thinking about the ways in which young people practice their faith.[1] Through these activities, I noticed that young Christians and Muslims share similar concerns with regard to their religiosity, regardless of their country of origin and background. I became attentive to the identity formation of young people with migration experience and background. Cross-case and cross-religious comparative study seemed a natural method to pursue.

My decision for the selected case studies is driven by my personal experience of living and studying in both countries. The German Lutheran church and the Slovak Catholic community became my religious homes during my studies in Ireland. Within these congregations, I found not only religious support but also many new friends. Although my religious and ethnic background was different from that of young people with migration background in Berlin and Göttingen, I explored many common themes for discussions and friendships. While there are differences in religious participation between Germans and Eastern-Europeans, I wonder why these young people show eagerness in religion and in attending religious communities. The Polish churches and the Slovak church are crowded by young people. The Lutheran church attracts young German migrants. In contrast, I observed a different situation in New York, New Jersey and Toronto when I visited Slovak Lutheran and Catholic churches who still organise their services in their mother tongues.[2] I have become interested in what drives young Poles, Slovaks and Germans in Ireland and young Muslims with migration background to become religious.

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[1] I participated in and co-organised a number of activities of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) and the EYCE. I also took part in activities that EYCE organised jointly with the FEMYSO.

[2] These congregations were established at the beginning of the 20th century. The numbers of members have declined rapidly in recent decades - not because the next generation became less religious, but because they did not speak their ethnic language. They relocated to English-speaking congregations. Slovaks who arrived in the U.S. and Canada after the fall of communism were not attracted by their immigrant congregations which tend to use traditional liturgical forms and emphasise the nostalgic pre-89s past of their homeland. These aspects are less important to the post-89s generation (Kmec 2009; 2010).

Rationale for the Diverse Case Studies and Multi-sited Ethnographic Approach

For the collection and analysis of data, I decided to pursue a qualitative interpretive approach grounded in sociology and informed by anthropological sources. The research adopts a combination of diverse case studies and multi-sited ethnography, involving participant observations and interviews. Qualitative ethnographic research is perhaps the most adequate research methodology to study the formation of religious identities because it allows for an in-depth and information-rich description of one's religious identity. The selected case studies are defined by different types of migration. Young first-generation EU migrants in Ireland have experience with migration, which also differs from non-EU migration and is thus often classified as intra-EU mobility. In contrast, people with migration background are second- and third-generation who were either born in Germany or have lived here since their childhood. Their background is determined by the German statistical law, by themselves and through their descent, ethnic belonging, language, and cultural and religious traditions. For young people from CEE countries in Ireland, migration is mostly a temporary issue, whereas people of Turkish and Arab background in Germany are long term residents, most of whom have German citizenship.

Whether in Ireland or Germany, people in this study, are ascribed different categories by state authorities, businesses, the media and public discourses based on their social and occupational status, and religious and ethnic background. Eastern-European migrants in Ireland are labelled by the media as low-skilled migrant workers, while transnational companies may consider them as skilled labour. Although being German citizens, people with Turkish and Arab background in Germany are often not perceived as full citizens but in ethnic and religious terms, mostly as Muslims. Both migrants in Ireland and Muslims with migration background in Germany can face discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion despite the fact that they are characterised by different categories of migration. In this research, I move beyond the constructed categories of migration while referring to my respondents as young people. The dissertation presents their perceptions of their migration experience, i.e. how they relate to their migration status and/or background.

The differences between these two case studies also arise from different political, social and cultural characteristics of the two studied groups and their countries. People from the EU have migrated to Ireland mainly since the end of the 1990s, while the EU enlargement in 2004/7 prompted an unprecedented inflow of Eastern European migrants. Ireland has been seen as a traditional and Catholic country. Yet, the social, economic and political changes in the 1990s have enhanced the cultural heterogeneity of Ireland. People

of Turkish background in Germany represent an established group since the 1960s. Although Germany has been a secular country, religion has still had an influential role in German politics and public life. The dissertation understands both Ireland and Germany as places of social, cultural and religious changes. I look at young Christians and Muslims as those who live in these different societal contexts but who have similar questions with regard to their religious identity.

While it may seem unusual to compare such different immigration contexts and such very different types of migrants, this research generates absorbing insights gained through the contrasts of religious and migration background and of differences in state policies. The aim of the comparison of these different case studies is not only to observe sociological similarities and differences between the groups but also within particular groups. This comparison can provide a striking example for the study of the relationship between migration and religion. The different cases make the research more vibrant and particularly appealing, moving beyond the presentation of the data in ethnic and religious biases. They generate a more compelling argument that is theoretically justified and based on reliable empirical research. Stephen Castels argued that comparative studies can provide information on general trends and alternative approaches of experiences in different societies (Castles 2012, 22). In the case of Turkish Muslim immigrants, Sebnem Akçapar and Gökçe Yurdakul highlighted the need for "comparative research on the topic of political mobilization of immigrants, not only with "Muslims" but with other immigrant groups in order to be able to draw meaningful conclusions" (Akçapar and Yurdakul 2009, 142). While studying different immigration contexts and such different types of immigrants, this research can reveal how creative, dynamic and diverse religious agency and practice can be. Studying the formation of religious identities among young migrants of both Christian and Muslim origin is particularly crucial since this generation has begun to make demands in the public sphere.

The comparison of these two case studies is worthwhile in terms of policy and governance implications. Both countries have adopted similar, yet partially different strategies and policies to deal with immigration and with religious diversity and cultural pluralism. Germany's longer experience of immigration provides an especially compelling case for Irish policy makers to learn both positive and negative lessons, given the Irish state's relatively new experience of immigration. At the same time, German policy makers might also learn from seeing how and why Ireland as a small European state with a relatively recent history of immigration chooses immigration and integration policies that are either similar to or quite different from Germany's.

Moreover, the comparison of these case studies, i.e. Christian and Muslim examples, can provide a fruitful source for developing approaches to ecumenical, interreligious and intercultural dialogue. The data and findings from this comparison embody particular characteristics of the religious identities of Christian and Muslim immigrants who live in intercultural, ecumenical and interreligious contexts. Contextual, systematic and practical theology might use these data for developing new migrant-sensitive approaches to ecumenical and interreligious practices and systematic concepts.

Finally, my personal identity, nationality, gender and professional background certainly impacted on the nature of my fieldwork. My position in this research contained both insider and outsider roles, depending on circumstances and particular communities. As a religiously practising person who is also actively involved in ecumenical and inter-faith youth work, I was very sensible of religious experience of young people. Being religiously-sensitive and religiously-aware enabled me to easily approach young Christians and Muslims and to negotiate my access to the selected religious sites. At the same time, I was not a full member of the religious communities where I carried out my fieldwork, which ensured an unbiased relationship to the research sites. As a man, I was somehow hesitant to approach Muslim women for interviews at the beginning of my fieldwork. Nevertheless, my gender did not seem to be an issue when approaching young women for interviews since we had sufficient time to build rapport and trust before the actual interview. Religious communities provided comfortable spaces for informal conversations, thus aiding the development of trustful relationships. As a man, I was obviously not able to ask certain personal questions which would be gender-sensitive.

I viewed my previous work as a Lutheran minister as an advantageous aspect of my identity. It helped me to build rapport and develop trusting relationships with potential interviewees. Nevertheless, I assumed that my previous work as a Lutheran minister could be viewed with suspicion by some respondents, especially by Slovak and Polish Catholics in Dublin and by young Muslims in Germany. Through my previous work, I learned that some individuals who do not have direct experience with people of other religious backgrounds may be reluctant to engage with them, especially with religious leaders. My second interviewee in the Slovak Catholic community in Dublin told me after a number of initial informal meetings that she hesitated to be interviewed by me in the beginning. She revealed to me that she had asked her friend who recommended her to me whether it was "safe for her to talk to me about her religious and private life since I was a Lutheran minister." For these reasons, I avoided mentioning my previous professional background and focused on building trustful relationships. Once interviewees trusted me, they were

more able to understand my previous work as a Lutheran minister. In many cases, this even facilitated a greater degree of openness in conversations and interviews. If my background was known or if it was impossible to avoid mentioning it, I tried to explain it while emphasising my interest in other faiths and religions. In several cases, the interview evolved into an open conversation about our religious experiences or about religion in general after people realised that I worked as a pastor. Although one could assume a certain level of bias based on my identity and background, I paid close attention to the rigorousness and impartiality in the research. The methodology chapter explains the role of the author's identity in this research in more detail.

The Significance and Contribution of the Research

The research provides notable empirical and conceptual contributions to the scientific study of religion and migration by exploring a more innovative understanding of immigrants' religious identities. While academic research mainly focused on the social and cultural dynamics, religious practices and transnational ties of immigrant religious communities, the question of the formation of immigrants' religious identities has been underestimated in the academic literature. Research on migration and religion has also concentrated on particular ethnic and religious groups, communities and countries, primarily in the U.S. and Canada. This dissertation generates revealing and original research from a European context, based on authentic sources, while bridging disciplines, questioning and informing theory, using different methodological approaches and illuminating data.

Most importantly, the project makes an original and meaningful contribution to the emerging body of scholarly research on migration and religion by foregrounding the experience of young migrants and people with migration background. Immigrant religion in Ireland and Germany is considerably represented by young people and young adults. The majority of EU migrants in Ireland are young people who also form the largest part in their immigrant congregations. Young Muslims in Germany have become increasingly interested in Islam in recent years. The increasing involvement of young migrants and people with migration background in religion advocates the importance of studying the religious lives of young migrants. Research often neglected the fact that immigrant congregations are congregated by young people and young adults. Little has been known about the religious identity formation of young migrants and people with migration background, the religious participation of whom has magnified in recent years. Religious

experiences of young migrants, who form a remarkable share of Europe's immigrant population, are largely invisible to and ignored by the scholars of migration and religion. Understanding religious identities and religious experiences of young migrants and second-generation migrants is essential to the full comprehension of religious change in European societies.

The research also brings new insights into the theoretical and conceptual analysis of the relationship between migration and religion. By engaging with theoretical approaches to immigration and by analysing the transformations of religious identity brought about by immigration, the research contributes to a better understanding of intercultural interaction among immigrants and natives. The study emphasises the notion of religion as lived experience while acknowledging the perspectives of immigrants themselves. Moreover, the dissertation makes an original contribution in methodological and causative terms by applying existing cross-case ethnographic methodology. By studying diverse cases in a multi-sited approach, the dissertation brings an original comparison of case studies that have not been compared previously. The German-Irish comparison reveals a thought-provoking blend of similarities and differences. Both socio-cultural environments create challenges for the self-understanding of the respective immigrant groups. While classical qualitative studies have traditionally had a narrow focus on one particular group, this research attempts to study people with different cultural, ethnic and religious characteristics. I analyse and compare the religious experiences of young people of different faith, ethnicity and nationality in two different national contexts. The research thus offers a two-fold analysis of the impact of immigration experience on religious identity: on an individual level and on a broader level across two nations.

What is distinctive about this study is that it concentrates on young people who live in urban environments which are often described as globalised and secular, or even post-secular. It explores immigrants' own accounts and interpretations of their immigration experience and background on their religious identities in the context of global, secular and/or post-secular societal dynamics. Regardless of their origin and place of residence, whether they are first generation or second-generation migrants, young people share many commonalities. They like to listen to the same pop-music, wear similar popular clothes such as jeans, play similar sport games such as soccer, and drink similar drinks such as coke. The findings of this dissertation contribute to the growing scholarly interest on the religiosity of young immigrants and immigrants' children within the field of religion and immigration. Despite the focus on specific case studies, the research asks questions which have a universal and comprehensive importance: How is personal and collective religious

identity constructed in the context of multiple social and cultural influences? What role does religion play in creating, reinforcing or even transforming religious identity? How does religious affiliation change and adjust according to social, political and cultural circumstances?

The dissertation also contributes to a better understanding of religious change in the 21st century. "*Cuius regio, eius religio*" has defined the religious identity of many people in Europe for several centuries. The definition and processes behind religious identities are more complex today. Ecumenical and interreligious dialogue in the 21st century must take into account interpersonal and non-conventional forms of intercultural interaction as well as the role of laypeople. The research supports the idea that local religious communities and congregations should develop more participatory strategies and policies to promote grass-roots intercultural interaction. The work emphasises the importance of an urgent debate on migration and immigration policies. It highlights that religion should be taken seriously by policy makers at governmental and civil society levels when dealing with immigration issues. Through the examination of the situation in Ireland and Germany, the research provides findings and information relevant to Irish and German policy makers.

The Structure of the Dissertation

After this introduction, the first chapter locates the study in the context of globalisation and secularisation while highlighting the impact of these two phenomena on the formation of immigrants' religious identities. Building on theories of globalisation and secularisation, the chapter argues that Western societies have shifted from being secular to multiple forms of coexistence of the secular and the religious. Chapter two sets the theoretical framework for this research by exploring key terms and concepts from the theories of religion and identity and connecting these concepts to migration. The chapter explains the reasons why I have adopted a holistic and inclusive definition of immigrant religion, taking into account the relevance of both functional and substantive roles of religion in immigrants' lives. The third chapter explains the methods adopted in my research which is based on multi-sited ethnography and multi-case study approaches, involving mainly, but not exclusively, interviews and participant observations.

The fourth chapter offers an introduction to the case studies by providing an overview of the historical, demographic, social and legal developments related to immigration in Ireland and Germany. The chapter also provides information on practices and policies that churches and religious bodies in Ireland and Germany adopted to tackle

migration. Following this overview, chapter five addresses identity formation among young Christian immigrants affiliated with a German Lutheran congregation, a Slovak Catholic community and Polish Chaplaincy congregations in Dublin. It accentuates that identities of young immigrants do not develop in a uniform and homogeneous way. Instead, the identity formation of young immigrants takes on various trajectories, ranging from conservative to liberal, and often combining divergent aspects. Chapter six explores the dynamics in identity construction among young Muslim people with migration background in Berlin. It reveals the hybridisation of religious identities among young Muslims who seek to span their different identities into one or prefer to live with multiple identities. Chapter seven provides a summary of the dissertation and presents key findings and results while comparing the case studies, looking at their commonalities and differences and developing patterns of the links between immigration and religious identity. Taking into account similarities and contradictions, the chapter identifies factors that influence the formation of religious identities of young migrants and people with migration background. In addition, it analyses the main characteristics of immigrant religion.

Chapter 1: Immigration and Religion in the Context of the Current World

Introduction

This chapter examines the complexity of the religious situation in the contemporary world while exploring the role of religion in the lives of migrants in the light of globalisation and secularisation. The most emblematic characteristics of Ireland and Germany, in which this research is situated, are globalisation and the emergence of multiple forms of coexistence of the secular and the religious. While acknowledging that migrants have always taken their religious identities with them when travelling to and settling in new lands, this chapter argues that the present period has seen an intensification in the volume and speed of immigration. It thus becomes necessary to analyse theoretical approaches to the role of immigration in globalisation, in order to understand where religion fits in. Accordingly, the chapter argues that intensified globalisation has resulted in an unprecedented level of religious diversity in nations where there has been significant immigration. In Western nations, which are often on the receiving end of immigration, globalisation has been accompanied by secularisation. A variant of this theory predicted that religion would retreat from the public sphere. Contrary to this prediction, this chapter argues that secularisation has given way to "post-secular" public spheres in which the secular and the religious coexist and in which an increasing plurality of religious voices clamour for public attention. The voices of religious immigrants are foremost among these voices.

1.1 Migration and Religion in Social Sciences

Defining Immigration

Migration is a movement of people from one place to another, whereas international migration means a movement of people from one country to another. According to the United Nations (UN), migrants are persons who stay outside their regular country of residence for at least one year (United Nations 2011).[3] The most emblematic forms of migration are temporary migration, long-term residence status and permanent migration.[4]

[3] Migration comprises emigration and immigration, depending on whether we look at the origin or the target of migration (International Organisation for Migration and European Parliament 2008).

[4] Temporary migration is when people return to their country of citizenship after having lived as international migrants. Migrants with long-term resident status are those who live in a foreign country permanently and who are granted permission for this. Permanent migrants migrate from one country to another. Other forms of migration include voluntary migration, and forced migration, i.e. movements of refugees, internally and internationally displaced persons (Jackson and Passarelli 2008, 8; Held et al. 1999, 284). William McNeill distinguished between geographical and social forms of migration. Under the former, he differentiated between a movement to the centres of political power and economic activity and peripheral migration to the urban peripheries. Social forms of migration include elite migration (e.g. merchants and bureaucrats) and mass migration (e.g. nomads and labour) (McNeill 1978).

States use different bureaucratic and legal categorisations for different types of migrants. For these reasons, Carla de Tona and Elena Moreo argued that the term migrant has

> "very different legal, social, gendered and economic connotations which generate different layers of marginality, vulnerability and visibility amongst 'immigrants'. [...] immigration regimes, as well as media, political and everyday discourses, tend to construct some migrants as *more migrants* than other migrants (who may alternatively be called ex-pats, international professionals or not considered migrants at all) based on legal status, ethnicity, language, religion, occupational status and class" (Tona and Moreo 2012, 30).

The development of different legal and social categories of migrants has also been driven by push factors, i.e. reasons that motivate people to emigrate, and pull factors, i.e. reasons why people move to a particular country.[5] According to Bridget Anderson, the categories of citizens and non-citizens are defined through the distinction between good citizens and failed citizens. While failed citizens and non-citizens are strongly differentiated, judgements about who counts as skilled and as a good citizen also affect migrants (Anderson 2013).

According to the UN and the International Organisation for Migration, the estimated number of international migrants worldwide is 214 million (International Organisation for Migration 2010; United Nations 2010a). Despite the fact that migration is nowadays more widely distributed across countries and regions, the North American and EU countries are at the receiving end of international migrants. One third of international migrants live in the EU. Migration to Europe is mainly driven by economic and social pull factors.[6] Yet at the same time, the EU is an example of the restrictiveness of migration in the context of globalisation. European nationalist parties such as the French National Front, the UK's UKIP or the Austrian NVP, which have advocated for the end of legal migration and/or the departure of illegal immigrants, have experienced an increase of sympathisers, including in the recent elections for the EP. EU governments have responded to the

[5] People migrate for a variety of political, social, economic, personal and even environmental reasons. Work, studies, family reunification and better socio-economic conditions represent the most common purposes for migration. War, conflict, environmental changes, political and civil freedoms are other factors that trigger migration. Migration can also be generated by personal reasons such as adventure and curiosity. These factors have led to the development of different categories of migration such as political (refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons), economic (skilled, business, labour, seasonal and guest workers), and irregular, illegal or undocumented migrants. In some cases, some forms of migration can overlap with two or more categories. The major group of migrants are economic and labour migrants, followed by people who migrate for political reasons (Brown 2010; International Organisation for Migration 2010; Jackson and Passarelli 2008; UN High Commissioner for Refugees 2010).

[6] The EU regional dynamics differ from other regions, however, because of the EU common migratory space and the Schengen area. As far as particular countries are concerned, the USA hosted the largest number of immigrants (42.8%), followed by Russian Federation (12.3%), Germany (10.8%), Saudi Arabia (7.3%), Canada (7.2%) and France (6.7%). Nevertheless, Qatar has the highest share of migrants per population with 87% of the population being migrants, followed by the United Arab Emirates with 70%, Kuwait with 69% and Jordan with 46% (United Nations 2010a; 2010b; 2011).

continued increasing immigration with the tightening of immigration policies, making immigration from non-EU countries more restrictive. As a result, only "privileged" migrants are allowed to legally access the EU. Different categorisations of migrants such as irregular, illegal, smuggled and trafficked migrants only highlight how exclusive immigration policies are (Anderson 2013; Bonifazi et al. 2008; Faist and Ette 2007; Kivisto and Faist 2010; Lazaridis 2012; Stalker 2002). The forced deportation of thousands of Roma people from France in 2010 and recent negative attitudes against Eastern European migrants in Western EU countries have highlighted that the EU struggles with migration even within its common area (Johns 2014). The anti-immigration tendencies across Europe impact on migrants and people with migration background as well as on their possibilities of dialogue with host communities. Restrictive integration and citizenship policies have demonstrated to what extent EU countries are prepared to tolerate diversity and immigrant religious communities.

Beyond the Study of 'Old Migrants' and their Religion

Within the field of social sciences, migration became a topic of interest at the beginning of the 20th century, when sociologists such as Robert Park and Everett C. Hughes studied immigrants in industrialised Chicago.[7] This research focused on the economic, social and labour aspects of migration (Bonifacio and Angeles 2010a). After the 1970s, the discussion also embraced other issues, including marginalisation, citizenship and integration (Yurdakul and Bodemann 2010). Nevertheless, religion was a minor theme in social sciences until the 1990s (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009). Only a few works published before the 1990s touched upon the religious aspects of immigration. The work by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki published in 1918-20 illustrated the role of Polish Catholic congregations in preserving cultural traditions in an individualistic American society among pre-WWI Polish immigrants (Thomas and Znaniecki 1996). Oscar Handlin observed how religion became the predominant aspect in the lives of pre-WWI European migrants to the U.S. in their attempts to adjust to new conditions. Religious traditions that migrants brought with them provided a refuge from the distress of the immigration experience, and a sense of belonging. He noted that the more immigrants were separated from the various aspects of their old life, "the greater was the hold of the religion that alone survived the transfer" (Handlin 1971, 105). Will Herberg showed that Catholic, Protestant

[7] See for example, (Park 1922; Park 1928; Hughes and Hughes 1952). In Europe, the scholarly debate on migration started after WWII when countries such as Germany and the UK opened their borders for 'guest workers' and migrants from former colonies. Researchers dealt with what was assumed to be temporary migration (Castles and Kosack 1973).

and Jewish immigrants in mid-20th-century America used their religion to emphasise their distinct identity while causing a religious revival in a secular American society (Herberg 1983). Robert A. Orsi was among the first who focused exclusively on immigrants' religion (Orsi 2010). Jay P. Dolan emphasised the role of immigrants in establishing Catholicism as a distinctive religious tradition in the U.S. (Dolan 1987a; 1987b).

Since the 1990s, academic research on the relationship between migration and religion has gained increasing currency expanding into new areas. The changing nature of religious landscapes in many societies around the world, driven by migration, has encouraged new thinking among both scholars of religion and scholars of migration. The research centred on the role of immigrants' religions and religious institutions in the integration, acculturation and incorporation of immigrants in their host societies. While the research has continued to be conducted mainly in the U.S. and Canada, new ethnic and religious groups of immigrants have been included in its focus. Researchers in North America came to distinguish between 'old migrants' and 'new migrants' in this respect.

Old migrants who migrated from Europe to North America before the 1960s were assumed either to sustain their ethnic identities or to linearly assimilate within a 'melting pot' (Herberg 1983). They transplanted the way of religious life from their homelands to their new environments. In their new countries, they established their own religious congregations in order to preserve their ethnic and cultural identities. While these groups attempted to foster their ethnic and religious divisions, they gradually integrated into the mainstream society and changed their social patterns and hierarchical structures. U.S. American ideas penetrated the 'old views' that immigrants brought with them from their homelands. The religious experience of pre-WWI peasants and even pre-WWII lower- and middle- class European migrants to North America was determined by their social status. Religion was an important part of people's lives. It provided guidance, rules, principles and support in everyday settings.[8]

Unlike the previous waves of immigration, new immigrants who have migrated to North America since the 1960s/70s are more interested in preserving homeland identities as they adapt to the host culture. Recent immigration has fuelled the development of minority religious groups, thus diversifying and pluralising the religious landscapes of Western societies. Immigrants no longer come only from European Christian and Jewish

[8] In North America, the Catholic identity was sustained by Irish and Polish migrants. Lutheranism was maintained by the Germans, Scandinavians and groups from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. (Berger, Davie, and Fokas 2008, 21–31; Handlin 1971; Handlin 1941; Kmec 2014; Smith 1978; Stolarik 2012). Same applies to 'old migrants' in Ireland such as French Huguenots (Best 1997) and Moravian Brothers (The Moravian Church in the British Province 2010; Best 2000). These groups continuously assimilated into the mainstream society.

backgrounds but also from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Immigrants are creating their own religious communities within existing denominations or developing hybrid identities that combine strands of several faiths or traditions (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; 2002; Eck 2002; Leonard et al. 2005; Warner and Wittner 1998b). The post-1965 immigration to North America has played its role in debunking the secularisation paradigm with immigrants not only halting the decline of religious participation but also contributing to the religious revival in Western countries (Vasquez 2005). Most importantly, new migrants establish new forms of religious communities which are characterised more frequent and intensive transnational ties. This "new religious architecture" is enabled by the ease of communication and transportation which allow maintaining transnational ties (Levitt 2007a; 2007b).

There have been considerably fewer studies on the relationship between migration and religion in Europe. What is important is that the migrants studied in this research more closely resemble the new migrants. As such, answers and theoretical frameworks that were applied to the study of old migrants and their religiosity are no longer found to be relevant in the cases of new immigrants, either in the U.S. or Europe. New migrants are characterised by increased plurality and mixed identities, "either a hybrid combination of home and host country loyalties or flexible identities with different components that vary according to context" (Stepick 2005, 15). Immigrants can preserve their ethnic and religious identity while, at the same time, actively contributing to civic life and the larger society (Foley and Hoge 2007).

Moreover, the current reality of interactions between immigrants and natives is characterised by an increased intensity and flexibility, and a multiplied diversity. Richard Alba, Albert Raboteau and Josh DeWind pointed out that these interactions occur in contexts and patterns of socio-economic, cultural and political changes that are different from the previous times. It has become more difficult to describe particular groups and forms of migration. Before WWII, migrants were usually persons from labour and agrarian backgrounds. They migrated in groups while settling in peripheral areas. Today, migrants come from various social and economic backgrounds, and migrate to central parts of urban areas. The intensity and velocity of migration have also changed. In the past, individuals and groups who migrated to other countries established their own enclaves in cities or even their own towns. Nowadays, people from all around the world migrate to different countries, between regions and across continents while settling in both city centres and peripheries. The novelty in global migration is individual permanent migration, i.e. people who migrate from place to place and who are characterised by a high level of mobility,

individuality and independence. With the introduction of air travel and the advancement of other means of transport, the mobility of people has become easier than previously (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009).

It should be noted that the studies on the difference between old and new migrants neglect the fact that original churches in the U.S. and Canada were culturally similar to those in European societies from which old migrants came. Also, recent studies confirmed the gradual generational change of religious attitudes among recent migrant groups. Phillip Connor observed that immigrant religious participation decreases substantially compared to religious participation even among the same immigrants prior to their migration (Connor 2008; 2009).

Novelties in the Study on Migration and Religion

With the discussion on globalisation, the debate on transnationalism has intensified. Transnationalism studies focus on

> "how heightened social, economic and political interconnectedness across national borders and cultures enables individuals to sustain multiple identities and loyalties, create new cultural products using elements from a variety of settings, and exercise multiple political and civic memberships" (Levitt and Waters 2006a, 6).

Research on transnational migration explores how migrants live their lives across borders and the consequences of their activities for both sending and receiving country (Ong 1999). These connections across borders seem to override identities grounded in fixed and defined locations (Hannerz 1992). Scholars also explored the ways in which emerging transnational public spheres replace strictly bounded, geographically confined communities as sites where political claims are made (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Arjun Appadurai's notion of ethnoscapes, ideoscapes and mediascapes brings to light how social actors use resources and construct identities that transcend traditional political and social boundaries (Appadurai 1990). I will return to the analysis of transnational religion of immigrants in more detail later.

The discussion on religion and migration has also led to a revised notion of diaspora - a term often associated with migrants. Diaspora came to include migrants who live throughout the world but identify collectively with one another, their host societies and the lands from which they or their ancestors have come. In the case of migrants, the term diaspora is also used to describe a mode of cultural production, involving transnational social and cultural identities (Vertovec 1997). Immigrant religion is often studied from the perspective of congregational studies which focus on how congregations function to meet

immigrants' needs. On the other hand, the literature also explores the nature of meanings that immigrants ascribe to various religious experiences, beliefs and practices. A more profound account of these studies is provided in the second chapter.

Moreover, many studies on religion and migration which focus on the gender dimension have been published. To mention an example, Glenda Bonifacion and Vivienne Angeles provided a multidisciplinary collection on the intersection of gender and the religion of immigrants, migrant workers, youths, and students in host societies in Asia-Pacific, Europe, Latin America and North America. This work offers new insights on the differing ways in which male and female immigrants find meanings in religious beliefs and traditions so that they feel a sense of belonging in foreign lands. They highlight that, while religion provides mechanisms for negotiating immigrant life in the host countries, it also inhibits the integration of immigrants, especially in countries where the majority religion is different (Bonifacio and Angeles 2010b).

Since the 1990s, research on Islam in Europe has gained in importance. Researchers looked at the historical, social, legal and cultural dynamics of European Islam while discussing various themes from community life and religious institutions to headscarf and religious fundamentalism (Fournier and Yurdakul 2006; Hunter 2002; Korteweg and Yurdakul 2014; Nielsen 2004; Rath et al. 2001; Tibi 2000; 2002; Vertovec and Peach 1997). Other scholars observed identity formation in relation to various dynamics of the host societies as well as to secularisation and globalisation (Levey 2008; Modood 2008; Modood and Kastoryano 2007; Munoz 1998; Roy 2006; 2010; Tamimi and Esposito 2000). Controversies such as the publication of *The Satanic Verses* by Rushdie and the *affaire du foulard* highlighted that Islam entered the European public sphere. Most importantly, the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the attacks in London and Madrid by religious fundamentalists led to the securitisation of Islam (Cesari 2009; Croft 2012). Bassam Tibi' s introduction of the concept of Euro-Islam as an alternative to a Jihad-driven Islam was an important change in direction in studies on Muslim migrants in Europe (Tibi 2007; 2008; 2009). Recent research on Muslim communities in Europe emphasised the diversity and complexity of Muslim associations and organisations (Bendixsen 2013; Yurdakul 2009). Nonetheless, little research has been done on the diversity of religious expression, belief and practice within communities in comparison with other religious groups. The research on Islam in Europe has been country- and theme-specific, lacking comparison with non-Muslim cases (Akçapar and Yurdakul 2009).

Recent scholarship in migration studies recognised the need for new theoretical and methodological approaches in the study of migrants' religions and religious experiences. It

highlighted the need for studying migrants in their full social settings, i.e. multi-cultural and multi-ethnic environments (Amin 2002; Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2011; Vertovec 2010; Werbner 2008). Levitt and Jaworsky called for more inclusive and multi-sited approaches that would move beyond methodological nationalism and that would also include non-migrants as well as different sites and levels of transnational activity. They also emphasised the need to take into account the linkage between place and space (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). While building on previous research, the dissertation recognises the distinctive nature of religious identity formation among young migrants or people with migration background. Previous research has looked at different patterns of immigrants' religious life, transnational ties, and religious communities. Nonetheless, little has been done to explore how immigration experience and immigration background influence these patterns, and how immigrants themselves perceive these processes.

1.2. Migration and Globalisation

Moving Beyond Economic and Political Explanations of Globalisation

Migration is not a new phenomenon. People, ethnic groups and entire nations have migrated across and between regions for centuries.[9] Nonetheless, current migration has been characterised by an increase in volume, extent and intensity due to magnified global connectivity enabled by modern transportation and technological innovations (Held et al. 1999; Castles 2012). Globalisation creates conditions that allow the movement of people across regions (Barot 1993). Due to this globalisation, migration from remote areas has become easier than ever before. The current migration is also characterised by an increased diversity in culture, ethnicity and gender. Globalisation can be described as the deepening of worldwide interconnectedness and the process of creating networks of connections and interdependence between actors at multidimensional distances, mediated through the flow of people, information and ideas. Globalisation is about human relations and social activity, while also including the aspects of spirituality and religion.[10] Migration helps to fuel the

[9] For the history of migration, see for example (Emmer 1993; Held et al. 1999, 283–326; McNeill 1978).

[10] Held defined globalisation as "the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual" (Held et al. 1999, 2). Globalisation involves "diverse domains of activity and interaction, including economic, political, technological, military, legal, cultural and environmental" (Held 1998, 13). Held and McGrew defined globalisation as a "process which transforms the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, generating transcontinental or interregional networks of interaction" (Held and McGrew 2002, 1). Globalisation has intensified social interaction, i.e. "networks of connection" and "networks of interdependence" (Keohane and Nye 2000). Beyer described globalisation as a process of increasing worldwide density of social communication links that create regular and unavoidable contacts among people, societies and cultures (Beyer 1994a, 2). Appadurai defined globalisation as flows, i.e. scapes, while including migration under ethnoscapes (Appadurai 1990). Nonetheless, globalisation has mainly been associated with the economic and industrial development in the 20th century (Mittelman 1997, 2).

globalisation of religion and spirituality. It comprises not only a movement of people but also of cultures and religions since people move with their cultural and religious packages. Held et al. correctly claimed that migration is a movement of people who "do more than work" (Held et al. 1999, 325). José Casanova highlighted the termed 'de-territorialisation of religion' as an aspect of migration. While leaving their countries, migrants often transcend their attachments to ethnicity, nationality, culture and religion (Casanova 2001, 424). Religion is the most common social and cultural habit and practice that people bring with them when they migrate. Immigrants take with them their own religious and cultural packages, i.e. religious perceptions, behaviours and practices (Jenkins 2007; Levitt 2007b; Passarelli 2012, 143; Warner 1998; Ugba 2007). As such, globalisation has significant consequences for the social, cultural and religious landscape of receiving societies, including the traditional religions and churches. In the wake of globalisation, ancient religious traditions are being modified in order to accommodate current realities and challenges in various ways. Religions adopt or resist new forms, ideas, practices and institutional arrangements rendered by globalisation (Esposito, Fasching, and Lewis 2008).

On the one hand, globalisation causes cultural and religious diversity through the flows of immigrants. Immigration brings about religious pluralism by altering the religious landscape of the host society (Davie 1994, 24–27; Eck 2002). Immigrants bring with them their own religious and cultural traditions whilst also staying transnationally connected to their homelands through their religious communities. The question of religious pluralism has been especially important with regard to the Muslim population which is prompting Europeans to engage with Islam (Davie 2002, 13–14). In Western societies, intercultural encounters between immigrants and natives are becoming very common and relentless. The emergence of a culturally and religiously plural society has led to different reactions. While observing the increasing religious diversity in Western societies, Samuel Huntington claimed that the coexistence of different religious and cultural traditions in a society inevitably leads to the "clash of civilizations" (Huntington 1993; 2002). Other scholars suggested that peaceful religious pluralism is possible since reconciliation, peace and pursuit of common good are part of the agenda of all major religions (May 1998; McGraw and Formicola 2005). As Europeans are becoming aware of the presence of other faiths, the main task for host societies is to develop capacities to accommodate these differences and find acceptable solutions (Davie 2000a, 66).

On the other hand, some scholars argue that "globalisation is replacing cultural plurality and local diversity with a mass, homogenized world culture" (Croucher 2004, 24). Embracing new ideas and practices results in a global synergy of religious traditions thus

changing current social and political realities (Esposito, Fasching, and Lewis 2008). An evolving homogenised world lifestyle blurs the differences between cultural and religious groups. The homogenisation of cultures has often been described as Americanisation or Westernisation. Beyer described this homogenisation as "the creation of a new global culture with its attendant social structures, one which increasingly becomes the broader social context of all particular cultures in the world" (Beyer 1994a, 9). He claimed that this new global culture causes the relativisation of national and religious identities, and the marginalisation of religion as a mode of social communication. This homogeneous culture is especially characteristic of younger generations (Beyer 1994a). As Davie noted, these two different views are also apparent among secularisation theorists. According to advocates of secularisation, growing religious pluralism undermines the plausibility of religious belief. Religion becomes a question of options, choices and preferences, thus losing any relevance and reason. Rational choice theorists, however, claim that religious pluralism encourages religious vitality since it enables the religious needs to be more adequately met (Davie 2002, 14).

These contrasting views suggest what Appadurai correctly called "a tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization" (Appadurai 1990, 295). As a result, the attempt "to preserve, stabilize, and (re)create particular identities therefore constantly runs counter to this tendency of the global system to relativize them" (Beyer 1994a, 2). Globalisation causes both the plurality and homogeneity of cultural thoughts and behaviours. Due to the extensibility and intensity of globalisation, migrants often face an immediate, intense and rapid interaction with other, different beliefs and practices. Previously, one or more groups of immigrants from the same religious and ethnic background would have settled in a particular area. The demographic picture of immigrants is multifaceted in contemporary societies because migrants come from a variety of ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds.

Globalisation and Young Peoples' Identity

Literature on globalisation suggested that globalisation impacts on individuals and their everyday lives (Held and McGrew 2003; Ray 2007; Robertson 1992; Tomlinson 1999; Urry 2002). Researchers observed that globalisation affects young people and their identities especially. Young people experience globalisation on an everyday basis through employment patterns, friendships, the Internet, social networking sites, cultural influences and lifestyles (Miles 2004; Edwards and Usher 2008; Burbules and Torres 2000). The virtual interconnectedness is the most endemic element of the globalisation that affects

young people's everyday lives (Castells 2000). Because of the fast and intense socio-economic, technical and cultural transitions within globalisation, the religious identities of immigrants may undergo more rapid changes than at any other time. Exposure to such rapid changes may become an arduous hurdle for young people to handle. Globalisation has a two-fold impact on youth, which follows the distinction between cultural pluralisation and cultural homogenisation.

On the one hand, scholars observe that young people form new transnational identities. They are surrounded not only by their localities such as schools, community organisations and urban landscapes but also by the global and popular media, culture and music. Different symbolic meanings of the global consumer culture target young people's attention with messages concerning global social problems (Dolby and Rizvi 2007). While engaging with the wider world, young people make sense of their identity and belonging. They span global 'worlds' and local experiences (Bourn 2008). This often applies to immigrants' religions and faith-based communities which become "part of multilayered webs of connection where religious "goods" are produced and exchanged around the globe" (Levitt 2007b, 11).

On the other hand, young people can react to globalisation by reaffirming their particularistic identities, especially religious ones. Croucher argued that globalisation "revealed the multiplicity and complexity of different forms of belonging and identity" (Croucher 2004, 6). She claimed that the eruption of identity-based conflicts is a reaction to globalisation. According to her, one reason for this is that the emergence of a "global village" did not acknowledge the needs of individuals who are mobilised around their cultural recognition and particularity. While immigrants are expected, if not compelled, to occupy a shared social and cultural space, they might be afraid of adopting the traditions and customs of the host society (Croucher 2004). Both immigrants and natives can become concerned about the fate of their identity. They can view globalisation as an agent of homogenisation of cultures and thus a means of diminishing and consequently eradicating the particularity of their cultural and religious identity. Immigrants, both as individuals and as religious communities, attempt to protect their ethnic, cultural and religious traditions from what they regard as the negative aspects of globalisation. In this sense, Roy understood the revival of Islamic faith among young people as a result of the efforts of westernised Muslims to assert their identity in a non-Muslim context (Roy 2006).

Transnationalism and Immigrant Religion

Globalisation enables the creation and maintenance of transnational connections between immigrants and their countries of origin. When travelling to and settling in new lands, migrants create "new social relationships between home and emigrant community, home and host societies that previously did not exist" (Held et al. 1999, 285). Transnational practices, which include economic, political and socio-cultural activities, require regular long-term contact across borders for their success. Immigrant political and economic transnationalism has existed in the past. However, the current transnational activity across multiple national borders has been seen as a distinctive feature of contemporary migration (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999). The term 'transnationalism' was introduced in the early 1970s to describe the proliferation of non-state institutions and governance regimes acting across boundaries (Keohane and Nye 1973). Several years later, anthropologists used the term to describe

> "the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders" (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994).

Transnationalism is a distinctive feature of new immigrants. Transnational migration characterised by a movement back and forth and an increased ability of migrants to maintain professional, cultural and personal relations in two or more countries. Transnational ties enable migrants to live across national boundaries while bringing two or more societies into a single social field (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992a; 1992b). These migrants "take actions, make decisions, and develop identities embedded in networks of relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation states" (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002, 1). They are "polycentric migrants" who are multi-sited and organise their lives across national borders. They live in their host society while at the same time participating in the social, economic, political and cultural life of their homeland (Poething 2012). While travelling to or living in more countries, migrants create transnational ties which blur economic, social and cultural boundaries among states (Levitt and Nyberg-Sorenson 2004; Jackson and Passarelli 2008, 9).

Transnational connections enable migrants to keep cultural, political, economic and social ties with their home countries (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Blanc-Szanton, Basch, and Glick-Schiller 1995; Faist 2000). As such, transnational ties encourage and assist the preservation of immigrants' attachments to their ethnicity, nationality and religiosity (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Held et al.

1999; Casanova 2001). They support ethnic and national boundary-making processes within immigrant communities, the intensity of which may vary in different social and cultural fields (Brettell 2006; Castles and Miller 2003; Tastsoglou and Dobrowolsky 2006). Transnational exchange between immigrant communities and their homelands has intensified in recent years - due to globalisation and modernisation, in particular due to new communication and transport technologies. Immigrants can maintain transnational relations through more accessible means of communication such as the Internet and through means of transport that are more frequent, more affordable and faster (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Croucher 2004; Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1995; Glick-Schiller and Salazar 2013; Vertovec 2004).

The introduction of the concept of transnationalism in migration studies provided a significant turn in the way scholars assessed immigrants and their identities, networks and communities. The transnationalism paradigm challenged the old concepts and theories of immigration. Early migration research predicted that immigrants would gradually lose their attachments to their home countries once they became more integrated into the receiving country. In contrast to these studies, recent scholarship acknowledged that immigration cannot be seen as a one-way process. Immigrants and immigrant communities have become transnationally linked. Glick-Schiller and Fouron contested a long-standing myth according to which migrants who emigrate to the U.S. sever old nationalistic ties and assimilate into the American mainstream society. Instead, migrants can develop 'long-distance nationalism'. According to the research, many migrants maintain these ties even if they become legal citizens of and integrated into their new society. Immigrants can create new identities in the diaspora and their host society while still keeping an eye to their homeland (Glick-Schiller and Fouron 2001).

Globalisation processes that link places and people in networks can be expected to render both loyalty to nation and identification with a territorially based state passé. Both globalisation and the revitalisation of identities linked to locality can go hand in hand. Immigrants and their children are often not only well incorporated into their new land but also long distance nationalists, committed to taking action on behalf of their home-lands. 'Long distance nationalism' is a sense of belonging that links together people living in various geographic locations and motivates or justifies their taking action in relationship to an ancestral territory and its government. Immigrants often see their countries of origin as what Brubaker calls, "external national homelands" (Brubaker 1996). In exchange, immigrants' homelands pursue "transborder nationalism" while seeing themselves as

promoters, monitors and protectors of the interests, needs and rights of "their ethnonational kin in other states" (Brubaker 1996, 5).

In the research on transnationalism, the role of social networks is seen as crucial for immigrants. Immigrants who "live within transnational social fields are exposed to a set of social expectations, cultural values, and patterns of human interaction that are shaped by more than one social, economic, and political system" (Levitt and Waters 2006a, 11). Immigrant religious congregations accommodate and foster the development of social networks among immigrants. Transnational religious communities lead to the creation of new religious architecture and to a new classification of religion. Levitt identified four forms of this new religious architecture: transactional religious corporations, national religious groups operating across borders, flexibly specialised religious networks and transnational supply chains (Levitt 2007b). The transnational ties of immigrant religious communities link relationships between individual, local and international religious interactions (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002). The role of religion in migration is paramount in the discourses on transactional migration. Scholars of transnationalism argue that it is mainly religion, religious affiliation and immigrant religious communities that nourish transnational ties. Transnational connections are often accommodated within religious communities, which serve as agents of connection to immigrants' homelands. Immigrant congregations and communities play a considerable role in the accommodation of immigrants' transnational ties. As agents of transnational connections to their homelands, congregations and communities can nourish immigrants' ethno-national belongings. Through the control of ethnic and national boundaries, they can become the means of protecting immigrants' sense of identity (Levitt 2001; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002; Levitt and Nyberg-Sorenson 2004).

Immigrants tend to establish their own religious communities rather than to join existing ones, even in cases when immigrants belong to already established religious groups in the host country (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009; Lopez 2009; Sagarena 2009). For example, Slovak and Polish Catholics did not join existing Catholic churches in Ireland but established their own congregations. Immigrant religious communities provide a space for the accommodation of cultural packages that immigrants take with them from their homelands (Beyer 1994b; Warner and Wittner 1998a; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; 2002; Woodhead, Kawanami, and Partridge 2009). These communities are often ethnically or nationally based. Within these communities, immigrants can nurture their faith, traditions, culture and language. Migrant-based religious communities play a vital role in shaping the religious identities of immigrants. Immigrants' religion is thus transnational as

it can span beliefs, practices and organisations across nations. Immigrants not only maintain strong regular ties to their homelands within their transnational religions; they also produce hybrid practices, ideas and institutions that can revise religious orthodoxy or affirm primordial identities (Poething 2012). Immigrant religious communities can easily transfer ethnic differences into social ones. This is the case in tensions between secular and religious forces in the practice of festive holidays that Avalos observed among Latino American Christians in the U.S. (Avalos 2004).

It is evident that similar processes of identification have developed in countries with very different institutions, laws and histories of immigration such as Ireland and Germany. In the German context, immigrant institutions and homeland networks are well established. Second- and third-generation people of Turkish and Arab background can find established religious institutions that foster transnational ties to the country of their ancestors. In the Irish case study, only German immigrants can build upon an established religious institution, i.e. the Lutheran church, which has provided for continuous transnational ties to Germany. In contrast, Polish and Slovak migrants in Ireland lack a long history of established structures that could accommodate immigrant incorporation and transnational ties. Nevertheless, they swiftly created religious and non-religious institutions that facilitate their transnational attachments to their homelands.

Scholarly literature on transnationalism has however tended to depict immigrant religious communities and immigrants in fused ethnic and religious terms. This literature often presented immigrants as members of homogeneous religious groups and enclaves, with unchanging identities, who concentrate on fostering their own religious and ethnic particularities, and who are poorly engaged with the wider society.[11] For instance, Yurdakul noted that earlier studies on Muslim migrants in Europe tended to present Muslims as a homogeneous religious group, while neglecting differences between theological schools, institutions and communities, as well as intra-group differences (Yurdakul 2009). Scholars in migration studies highlighted the need for new approaches to migration studies that go beyond the ethnic biases (Glick-Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011; Vertovec 2010). Cities and urban spaces rather than nation-states, ethnic groups or transnational communities came to be seen as the starting point for comparative analysis. Migrants are located in specific cities in which they constitute and contest the local, national and global (Keith 2005; Glick-Schiller and Caglar 2011; Oncu and Weyland 1997).

[11] An enclave is a group of people with shared cultural ideas which are negotiated among members to support the survival of their group. Enclave is defined through outside-inside relationships. Group boundary is more important than grip (Douglas 1978; Douglas 2002).

The literature on globalisation and transnationalism is important in highlighting the multifaceted characteristics of contemporary migration. It explains the nature of contemporary transnationally interconnected and religiously plural societies such as those in which I study the formation of young migrants' religious identities. As far as identity formation is concerned, the globalisation literature provides a two-fold explanation. One group of scholars claims that globalisation has led to the evolution of cultural homogeneity and shared culture and identity among young people. Other scholars argue that cultural homogenisation neglects the particularity of religious and cultural differences represented by respective religious identities of immigrants. Immigrants may attempt to preserve their religious identities while reacting to the forces of globalisation. Seeing immigration within the wider processes of globalisation and transnationalism advances our understanding of how changes in immigrants' religious identities can be seen in relationship to the changes of ethical and religious values in all spheres of society. Putting immigration in the context of interaction takes into account the extent to which immigration affects patterns of social and cultural change. This dissertation builds on these approaches while trying to explore how young people refer to globalisation processes and to their societal environments which are affected by globalisation. Although I do not ask young people directly about their relationship to globalisation, I observe how they relate their faith to various aspects of globalisation. In this sense, I explore to what extent young migrants and people with migration background maintain transnational attachments and how these attachments influence their religious identities.

1.3 Migration and Secularisation

Assessing the Term Secularisation

Secularisation has been seen by many scholars both as a cause and a consequence of globalisation.[12] Classical sociologists expected that secularisation would lead to a decline in religious participation. Emile Durkheim argued that religious institutions will lose their

[12] Sociologists of religion distinguish between secularisation, i.e. a process observed in a society, and secularism, i.e. an ideology. Different opinions prevail on when secularisation started. Steve Bruce argued that secularisation began with the Reformation in 1517 which encouraged the rise of individualism and rationality (1996). Graeme Smith believed that it started in the Victorian Enlightenment era based on the foundations of the Renaissance (2008). Davie noted that secularisation originated in the period of the European Enlightenment embedded in the French Revolution (2010). While understanding secularisation as a continuous process of permanent innovation of religious beliefs and practices, Harvey Cox claimed that humankind attempted to secularise religious behaviours since the dawn of civilization (1965). Karel Dobbelaere described two waves and forms of secularisation. The first form was *manifest* secularisation or *laicisation*, which occurred as a reaction to the clericalism and the strong role of the Church over particular spheres of the societal and individual life in countries such as France, Italy and Spain. The second form of secularisation was *latent* secularisation which took place in Protestant countries (2010).

central role with progressing industrialisation (Durkheim 2001). Max Weber predicted that a rational world view would undermine the plausibility of the faith in the supernatural (Weber 2006). From the 1950s onwards, the theory of secularisation became more important among sociologists of religion, anticipating the decline, privatisation and marginalisation of religion in its institutional or personal form. Some scholars framed secularisation as the disengagement of society from religion or de-sacralisation while others predicted a decay or withdrawal of religion from the public sphere.[13] Building on Weber's and Durkheim's arguments, Peter L. Berger understood secularisation as a process in which science, modernisation and industrialisation undermined the faith in the supernatural and institutionalised churches. He concluded that the pluralising forces of modernity would inevitably lead to the individualisation and privatisation of religion, and thus to secularisation (Berger 1990; Berger 1973). Bruce followed Berger while claiming that modernisation undermined the role of religion as an influential power in the society.[14] Individualism replaced the communal character of religious behaviour and rationality made the religious claims implausible, causing the fragmentation of the church into denominations which reflect the individualisation of religion (Bruce 1996). Religion has become an aspect of negotiation, opinion and preferences. Individualised beliefs have little impact on those who carry them – let alone on their societies (Bruce 2001, 100).[15]

Until recently, the inevitable triumph of secularisation had been assumed by many sociologists of religion. Today, there is a greater realisation that the societies of the West might better be understood as complexly secular-religious or post-secular. Some scholars even refer to the revival, return and re-emergence of religion that is often seen as a response to crises generated by secularisation and modernity. The universality of the

[13] This decay was expected as a result of an increasing industrialisation, urbanisation, modernisation and rationalisation. In different contexts, the secularisation theory has also been accompanied by other world-views such as Marxism, Freudianism and the liberalisation theory (Aldridge 2013; Beckford 2003, 35–43; Berger, Davie, and Fokas 2008, 2–10, 141–142).

[14] According to him, modernisation "encompasses the industrialization of work; the shift from villages to towns and cities; [...] the rise of individualism; the rise of egalitarianism; and the rationalization both of thought and of social organization" (Bruce 2002, 2). Bruce also claimed that the rise of cities brought about the end of traditional forms of family life represented in rural areas. The result of this fragmentation of social life has been the decline of the plausibility of a single and overarching moral/ religious system. Social fragmentation has undermined the importance of homogeneous religious identities (Bruce 2008, 16–31).

[15] Although strongly opposing the secularisation thesis, Charles Taylor and Casanova provided the most comprehensive definitions of secularisation. Taylor defined secularisation as "absence", "decline" and "empting of religion from autonomous social spheres" (Taylor 2007, 1–2). He mainly understood secularisation as the decline of the role of an organised religion, i.e. established churches, in the political and public life of Western societies. The decline of religious and ethical values is related to the decline of authoritative instructions and ceremonial rituals of traditional forms of Christianity (Taylor 2007). Casanova referred to "secularization as differentiation of the secular spheres from religious institutions and norms, [...] as decline of religious beliefs and practices, and [...] as marginalization of religion to a privatized sphere" (Casanova 1994, 211).

secularisation theory has also been proven to be incorrect insofar as other societies have shown different types of modernity. The assumption that European links between modernisation and secularisation were the model for the rest of world has been disproved, as many new emerging modern societies have not shown any significant decline of religion.

For these reasons, many sociologists of religion questioned the secularisation thesis. Also, some scholars who initially supported the secularisation thesis have revisited their stance. Berger revised his earlier stance as he observed how society allowed for the cohabitation of secularity and religiosity. He saw that most parts of the world have remained religious, including the U.S., which is a conventionally religious country despite industrialisation and rationalisation. Modernisation has even strengthened and reinforced religion. Taking into account these developments, he acknowledged that "a whole body of literature by historians and social scientists loosely labelled 'secularization theory' is essentially mistaken" (Berger 1999a, 2). He argued that "pluralism affects the *how* of religious belief, but not necessarily the *what*" (Berger 2001, 194). While the U.S., with a high religious participation, is as an exception, Berger acknowledged that the secularisation theory is still applicable to Europe (Berger 1992; Berger 1999a; Berger 2001).

Traditional secularisation theories are based on a constricted understanding of religion, in particular Christianity, as a system of creedal statements and institutions. As such, these theories neglect the role of belief and spirituality in the lives of individuals. In contrast to these theories, other scholars have emphasised that modernisation leads to the decline of institutional forms of religion only, not personal religiosity. Religion can lose its significance at the societal level but remains an important part of people's personal lives (Luckmann 1967). Beyer claimed that the secularised society leaves "the religious task of constructing and guaranteeing holistic meaning systems primarily with the individual and a multitude of voluntary organizations" (Beyer 1994b, 73). Traditional religious forms no longer shape identities and meanings for society as a whole. Instead, religion is privatised taking a myriad of pluralistic directions and having relevance in the lives of individuals.[16]

David Martin argued that secularisation creates conditions under which the power and influence of institutional churches and religious structures has declined. He claimed that religious belief is still vital, although religious institutions have been in the decline. There has not been any decrease in religious belief but a change in the way people perceive

[16] Beyer acknowledged that religion also continues to play an important role in the public sphere, however, in a different and two-fold way: in the form of an ecumenical cooperation that seeks to address global problems and as a particularistic religion that champions the cultural distinctiveness of one region and appropriation of traditional religious antagonistic categories (Beyer 1994b, 70, 93).

and relate to God. The religious and the secular are intertwined, each embodying a dialectic contradiction (David Martin 1978; 1969). The rapid spread of Evangelical Pentecostal movements, especially in Latin America, provided for a revision of his position on secularisation theories (David Martin 1990; 2005). In his revised version, Martin argued that secularisation should not be regarded as a unilateral process but in terms of successive Christianisations. He claimed that religious values remain relevant and influential despite the differentiation of society since religions and modernities can work together (David Martin 2005). Similarly, Greeley pointed out that secularisation does not necessarily mean the fate of religion since some forms of religiosity may persist and some countries may remain religious (Greeley 1973).

Building on Martin's work, Davie argued that it is institutional religion that is in a decline, but not religious belief. The decline in the participation in religious institutions and the decline in conventional religion does not necessarily mean the decline of religiousness. People can continue to believe and be interested in religion, but without belonging to institutional religions (Davie 1990; 1994)[17]. Drawing from the European Values Study surveys, Davie concluded that "belief not only persists, but becomes increasingly personal, detached and heterogeneous and particularly among young people" (Davie 2002, 8). At the same time, religious institutions, especially in Northern Europe, have transformed into vicarious forms of religion. Vicarious religion suggests that religious practice is conducted by an active minority on behalf of a larger number of nominal members who approve the conduct of the minority. Despite the fact that these people do not attend church, they still expect the churches to provide some services on their behalf when the need arises (Davie 2000a; 2001; 2007).

Davie outlined a comprehensive framework for understanding religious change based on three stages of societal development: a) pre-industrial and pre-urban society; b) modern society characterised by industrialisation, urbanisation and production; and c) post-modern society characterised by the development of information technology, de-urbanisation and consumerism. The era of modernism resulted in secularisation which concerned institutional churches. In contrast, post-modernism brought about a fragmentation of religious and secular narratives, the re-emergence of the sacred in various forms which are different from previous ones and the revival of spirituality with an emphasis on the Spirit, self-selection and self-fulfilment. Believing without belonging becomes a typical form of religiosity in post-modern society which is characterised by a lack of discipline in religious orientation. Hence, this way of believing enables a believer

[17] See also (Beckford 2003, 50–53).

to become open to the diverse of forms of the sacred. This new situation has critical consequences for contemporary religion in Europe. On the one hand, this situation provides for an open exchange of spiritual goods which will be beneficial to the European continent. On the other hand, this situation leads to the reassertion of local and national identity with an emphasis on security and rootedness and with an attempt to preserve one's own heritage and culture. This is where religious fundamentalism also comes as a reaction to the challenge of embracing the contemporary all-encompassing world view (Davie 1994, 191–202).

With the emergence of the debate on globalisation and secularisation, scholars have emphasised the shift from communal religion to individualised and private religion. They observed that the individualisation of religion resulted in believers interpreting and realising their own faith and morals on their own. Religious issues are not decided by churches, nor seen as a common shared value, but they have become a private matter that is "compartmentalised and confined to certain times and specific places" (Inglis 2000, 4). Davie drew similar conclusions from the results of the European Value System survey (EVSS) which measures five indicators of religious identity: denominational allegiance, church attendance, attitudes towards the church, indicators of religious belief, and subjective religious disposition. According to Davie, the results show that religious attendance has indeed declined in Protestant countries while belonging has remained almost unchanged. In contrast, Catholic dominated countries retain higher levels of church attendance and religious practice than Protestant countries. Although many Europeans ceased to belong to their religious institutions, they did not abandon their religious motivations. Accordingly, people in Europe remain religious but without belonging to a particular church (Davie 2000b). Similarly, Kinnaman observed that, while many young people drop out of the church, they are still reinvigorating their faith with new ideas and new energy (Kinnaman 2011). Davie's conclusions also suggest a change in the understanding of religious beliefs. Although different patterns and indicators of religious belief occur in different countries, there are considerable levels of belief in God, soul, and life after death in both Protestant and Catholic countries in Europe. What is in decline is the belief in the devil and sin (Davie 2000b, 20).

According to Davie, the lack of authority and capacity of historical churches to discipline the population is one of the reasons for the decline of institutional religion. The youth has especially contributed to the religious change in Europe. Young people resort to a wide range of new and innovative forms of belief that are channelled through migration (Davie 2002, 147–148). As a result, the emergence of "a genuine religious market"

encourages "a gradual shift from away from an understanding of religion as an obligation and towards an increasing emphasis on consumption" (Davie 2002, 148). People decide whether, when and for how long they attend churches. They are neither forced nor obliged to go to a church. In other words, religion is not seen as something inherited, but it "becomes instead a matter of personal choice" (Davie 2002, 148).

The continuing importance of belief has led some scholars to acknowledge that secularisation can take on various and multiple forms (Calhoun, Juergensmeyer, and VanAntwerpen 2011; Inglis 2000). In his initial work, Martin noted that secularisation can undergo different paths in different societies (David Martin 1978; 2005). Davie observed that religion has developed differently in different parts of the world, Europe, countries and even local constituencies (Davie 1994; 2000a; 2002). In this sense, Davie criticised Bruce's secularisation thesis as mainly limited to the Western, English-speaking and Protestant countries (Davie 2000b, 24–27). An abundance of other quantitative studies based on data from EVSS, the European Social Survey and the International Social Survey showed that the relationship between secularisation and religion in Europe is both complex and case-specific. Religion can have different impacts on moral attitudes in different parts of Europe. These studies demonstrate that secularisation takes on multiple forms while depending on particular social circumstances (Pickel and Müller 2009).[18] Similarly, Halik noted that high religious participation does not necessarily mean true religiosity. According to him, people in the Czech Republic, which is often described as the most atheist country in the world, are more religious than people in Poland and Slovakia with a relatively high church attendance (Halik 2007; 2009). Whilst many sociologists acknowledged the plurality of secularisation, the research centred mainly on Western and Christian milieu. Nonetheless, the questions of secularisation are also familiar to Muslim and other non-Christian societies (Asad 2003; Tamimi and Esposito 2000; Esposito and Burgat 2003).

From the Secular to the Post-Secular and the Complexly Secular-Religious

Many studies have emphasised the return and resurgence of religion and/or spirituality around the world. Casanova even predicted a political renaissance of religion while pointing out the Islamic revolution in Iran, the role of the Catholic church in Latin America and in Poland, and the re-emergence of Protestant fundamentalism in American politics. He used these cases to claim that religion has re-entered the public scene (Casanova 1994).

[18] For example, religion in Eastern Europe is often an important moral criterion in influencing family, marriage and sexuality issues, whereas it has insignificant influence on the moral behaviour in the public issues such as tax avoidance. In Western European countries, a reverse order may apply. Secularisation claims cannot thus be applied generally to all countries (Pickel and Müller 2009).

Scholars have observed that secularisation has triggered the defensive role of religion and led to the creation of new forms of religious practices and ideas. As highlighted by Davie, the re-emergence of religion and the sacred does not take on its previous institutional, conventional and patriarchal forms although these forms continue to be present in some societies (Davie 1994; 2000a; 2001). According to Woodhead, "people continue to be religious in most modern societies (with the possible exception of Europe), but are religious in new ways – even when the new ways present themselves as a return of old ways" (Woodhead 2001, 2). Although Woodhead shared Berger's opinion on the exception of Europe (Ibid.), she emphasised that it is the established religious forms and religious leadership that are being challenged by the changing nature of religion and by the rise of new forms of religiosity (Woodhead and Catto 2012).

According to Cox, secularisation is a return to what Christianity used to be - a spiritual movement without creeds. While he agreed with the theorists of secularisation that there is a decline in organised religion, he claimed that secularisation has evoked an increase in the need for spirituality and an emergence of non-conventional forms of religion (Cox 2009). He argued that modernisation, urbanisation and individualisation prevent religions from acting as powerful and theocratic players. Secularisation allows people to choose from among a wider range of world views (Cox 1965). He described the contemporary religious change as a shift from a formal, dogmatic and hierarchical religion to a religion of spirituality. As an "age of spirit" is replacing the age of formal and organised churches, barriers between religions are being broken down. People are open towards new forms and movements of spirituality. As a result, societies around the world are becoming religiously pluralistic. However, he acknowledged that this religious shift has also evoked defensive and fundamentalist reactions (Cox 2009, 1–20).

Spiritual revival has been noticed by scholars who emphasise that traditional forms of religion gave way to personal religious experience and practice (Heelas, Lash, and Morris 1996). The spiritual revival has been characterised by a proliferation of small religious groups (Wuthnow 1994). In the case of the U.S., Wuthnow distinguished between a spirituality of *dwelling*, which focused on houses of worship during the 1950s, and a spirituality of *seeking* from the 1960s, which went beyond established religious institutions. This spiritual revival included attempts to reassert spiritual discipline, encounters with the sacred (such as angels), and the focus on the "inner self" (Wuthnow 1998). The shift from an institutional form of religion to spirituality has been noted in other parts of the world (Heelas 2002; Heelas et al. 2005; Houtman and Aupers 2007). Tacey noted that young people especially are the ones who experience *spiritual longing* in a

secular society – in a search for meaning, spirituality and traditional needs of the spirit. However, these needs are not expressed in traditional ways but in ways that are newly explored and invented. This is a response to the sense of emptiness in a society filled with commercial and material goods that are not able to provide spiritual satisfaction. The reasons why young people become interested in spirituality are usually associated with their inward voices, calling and existential questions – dreams, fantasies, hopes and visions of a better life (Tacey 2010).

Nevertheless, other scholars noted that spiritual revival does not take place on a small-scale and individual level only. Spirituality is also present at the social level, inside and outside religious traditions, and in the secular world (King 2008). While embracing some aspects of modernisation - especially the media - religions can create new forms of social spiritual experience. As Knoblauch demonstrated, new interactive and digital technologies have transformed forms and structures of religious actions and rituals as well as religious communication into a new form of "popular religion". Mediatisation of religion intensifies social worlds while converting religious events not only into medialised events but also into mediatised ones, i.e. participatory religious actions with active participation of the audience (Knoblauch 2014). He understands popular religion not only as folk religion (which involves rituals to preserve traditional customs) and mass cultural religion (which is mainly produced by the mass media that transmit religious goods and create "electronic churches"). Popular religion also includes late-modern and post-modern religiosity, which takes place outside established religious institutions. This includes interactive social media that turn believers into communicators of their faith rather than passive receivers. Several cultural and popular culture events such as Halloween, music concerts, yoga classes and sport activities are forms of popular religion which syncretise religious meanings with other aspects of one's life. Popular religion adopts the forms, genres and formats of popular culture. It can be individual and collective (Knoblauch 2009; 2012; 2013). This type of religion is especially popular among young people (Collins-Mayo and Dandelion 2010; Knoblauch 2009).

Some scholars argued that secularism has not replaced religion in Europe, but has continued alongside the religious revival. Religion can even be an integral part of a modern secular lifestyle (Berger 1999b, 3; Davie 2010, 21; David Martin 2005, 78). Scholars acknowledged the regional diversity of modernising impulses as well as the modern reality of living with its multiple dimensions while moving beyond the division of the traditional and the modern, and the secular and the religious. The decline of religion in its institutional form, the resurgence of traditional religions, and the rise of new religious forms and

spirituality occur coincidently. Different variants of religiosity co-exist simultaneously: religious with secular, alternative with complementary, and peaceful with dangerous fundamentalist forms of religious interpretation (Woodhead, Heelas, and Davie 2002). Current society is neither secular nor religious, but a dialectic of these two features.

In this sense, Hofstee and Kooij claimed that "there is no religious decline, nor 'come back' of religion" (Hofstee and Kooij 2013b, 2). Religion shapes societies by influencing, motivating and accompanying individual and collective actions in contemporary modern societies. It has only altered its forms and contents (Hofstee and Kooij 2013a). In this sense, Hofstee and Kooij noted that religion is both public and private (Hofstee and Kooij 2013b, 5). Modood and Kastoryano highlighted that the historical legacies of particular religions continue to shape the political, social, cultural, and economic world-views and value systems in secular societies. The private sphere shapes the public spheres, since privately shared values and the sense of belonging found within communities form the society with its laws and principles. Public space is not religiously and culturally neutral (Modood and Kastoryano 2007).

In this public sphere, according to Habermas, secular citizens must learn to live in a post-secular society together with religious people, while religiously practising people have to learn to live in a post-Christian society with secular people. From this perspective, secularisation has given way to what Habermas frames as post-secular public spheres in which an increasing plurality of religious voices clamour for public attention (Habermas 2006). The voices of religious immigrants and immigrant children, especially young people, are foremost among these voices. Immigrants' religious beliefs and values influence various dynamics of social and public domains. Davie argued that those who decide to be religious in Europe will want their voices to be heard not only privately but also publicly. This applies especially to the most recent forms of religion, both Christian and non-Christian, which arrived in Europe (Davie 2002, 150). The quality and quantity of immigrants' participation in the public life depends, however, on a range of contextual factors, including the relative openness of the host society to religious pluralism (Modood and Kastoryano 2007; Sinha, Greenspan, and Handy 2011; Tona and Moreo 2012).

The studies that challenged the traditional secularisation theories highlighted the move beyond the institutional and conventional forms of religion. As already noted by Davie, this shift has generated a number of new concepts and understandings of religion such as privatised religion, invisible religion, common religion and popular religion – each with a different focus. She claimed that these concepts only partially explain the entire reality and can probably only reach "somewhere close to the truth" if considered together

(Davie 1994, 74). The same can be claimed with regard to immigrant religion which can be explained through these concepts only partially. While secularisation theories often refer to migrants, they fail to provide immigrants' own accounts of their experiences with the secular, the religious and/or the post-secular. Theories that seek to explain modernisation, urbanisation, industrialisation, and the rise of egalitarianism provide an insight into the construction and formation of a contemporary secular society, in which immigration is experienced as a global phenomenon. Nonetheless, these theories do not fully explain the dynamics of religious change among and by immigrants. While building on these theories, I move further to explore how religious young immigrants and people with migration background relate to their societies in which the secular and the religious coexist together.

Immigrants' Responses to Secularisation

The discussions on secularisation are important for understanding immigrants' religiosity because immigrants live in societies that are characterised by the process of secularisation. Industrialisation and urbanisation are important patterns to be considered. Today, over half of the world's population live in urban areas. Contemporary immigrants mainly settle in urban areas, which usually provide them with better economic and social opportunities. Unlike the old migrants, new migrants cluster in large cities where they are subject to anonymity, either individually or as groups (International Organisation for Migration 2010). As Cox observed, cities have developed into secular metropolitan centres characterised by anonymity and mobility (Cox 1965). According to Bauman, cities are "meeting places of strangers [... and] one cannot be sure what they will do, how they would respond to one's acts; one cannot tell whether they are friends or enemies" (Bauman 2000, 88). Living in anonymity can cause fears and anxieties that tend to focus on 'strangers'. Fears often result into negative stereotypes. Marty highlighted that immigrants and people with migration background who are religiously different can easily become religious strangers and menaces. These associations arise from unfamiliarity with and misperceptions of the respective cultures (Marty 2005, 1–35).

Critics of the secularisation theory have tried to refute this by pointing to the rising attendance in churches in migrant-based religious communities. Beckford, however, emphasised that, instead of looking at evidence about levels of participation, it is more important to consider whether religion and religious values have the capacity "to influence the conduct of individuals and the policies of the institutions and organisations that effectively control public life" (Beckford 2003, 59). In other words, it does not matter whether the number of migrant-based churches has been increasing, but rather what

impacts they have had on their local neighbourhoods, and on the society as a whole. Yet, immigrants' religions (most notably Islam), and new religious movements challenge the assumptions of secularity and rationality. These religious minorities may especially "disturb the European mind – whether this mind be secular, religious or sociological" (Davie 2002, 10).

In a host society that is strongly influenced by globalisation and secularisation, both immigrants and natives can become concerned about the fate of their identity. They can view secularisation and globalisation as agents of homogenisation of cultures, and thus means that eradicate their cultural and religious identities. Even if he portrayed secularisation as inevitable, Bruce acknowledged that modernity has enhanced the role of religion as a social mediator in situations of cultural defence and cultural transition at the same time. The role of religion in cultural defence has been highlighted in situations where two or more religious, national or ethnic communities are in a conflict, or where the religion of one group is dominated by external forces. Religion can become a powerful source of identity formation, pride and honour, and it can also be used for cultural defence in situations where identity (ethnic, linguistic or national) is threatened (Bruce 1996, 96–99; 2002, 31–36).

In the case of immigrants, religion can acquire the role of a defensive power to protect cultural, ethnic and national identities. Members of ethnic-based immigrant communities can use their religion to defend their identity when they feel marginalised or threatened by the dominant culture. Marginalisation of religion results in protectionist tendencies of religious groups who attempt to protect their identity against the negative influences of modernity (Almond, Appleby, and Sivan 2003, 30). Davie pointed out specific circumstances in immigrant religious communities in which religious participation is significantly high given the role of religion in the preservation of distinct immigrant identity and belonging (Davie 2002). While recognising that "the public sphere is not morally, culturally, religiously or ethnically neutral, we can understand why marginalised or immigrant groups may want that public order to recognise them" (Modood and Kastoryano 2007, 22). The religious identity of immigrants can be strengthened if their identity is confronted with a way of life that is contradictory to their identity. Zine observed how children of Muslim immigrants maintained "an openly Islamic lifestyle in schools in a quite secular society of Canadian Toronto, while being confronted by a secular lifestyle and social pressures that are contradictory to their faith" (Zine 2001, 401).

Natives can also use their religion to defend and to protect their identity when encountering immigrants, however. Storm observed that identifying with national religious

heritage has gained importance among natives in European countries as a reaction to increasing immigrant populations, despite a general decline in religious participation in Europe. According to her, Christianity has prevailed as cultural or ethnic Christianity, while being used by Europeans to identify with national traditions or ethnic heritage rather than faith. In her survey-based analysis, she even revealed that identifying with a Christian religion makes one more likely to think about immigrants as a threat to national identity (Storm 2011). Negative stereotyping, the fear of strangers, and ethnic and racist xenophobia against immigrants are results of the perceptions of a threat to natives' own identity and sense of security. 'Unfamiliar people' who enter this secure space are perceived by natives as 'dangerous elements'. Immigrants might then easily become victims of various forms of exclusion (Bauman 2000, 92).

The existence of a secular culture as an anti-religious development resulted in a natural conflict between those who want to preserve traditional world views and those who embrace secularisation (Kumar 2002). Religious fundamentalism has emerged as one of the most salient responses to secularisation. Religious fundamentalists are strong antagonists of secularisation, modernity and globalisation processes which brought about the fragmentation of traditional social institutions and values. They justify the use of violence in their faith against the negative influences of modernity by highlighting that offence is better than defence (Almond, Appleby, and Sivan 2003; Bruce 2008). Similarly Roy noted that secularisation has encouraged what he frames as "holy ignorance" - an anti-secularism which directly opposes the contemporary secular and "pagan" culture. These religious groups seek to "deculturate" their religion while reconnecting their adherents to what they see as pure religious practice and belief. Instead of a return to traditional religious practice, these groups are characterised by the individualisation of faith and the disassociation of faith from ethnic and national identities (Roy 2010). At the same time, sociologists and psychologists agree that religious fundamentalism emerges out of an identity crisis, often linked to social marginalisation (Almond, Appleby, and Sivan 2003; Herriot 2007). The recent engagement of young Muslim European men and women, both natives and people with migration background, in the activities of ISIS has further highlighted the issue of identity crisis and social problems among young Muslims.

Media, public and political debates on religious fundamentalism took on urgency in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the U.S., followed by the attacks in Europe. After these events, religious fundamentalism came to be most frequently associated with Islam, despite the fact that fundamentalism is also present among Christian and other religious traditions (Almond, Appleby, and Sivan 2003; Woodhead, Heelas, and Davie 2002). These

events changed the way host countries perceive Muslims. Negative attitudes and racist positions towards Muslims have increased across Europe.[19] In many countries these attitudes have been accompanied by a hardening of national security laws.[20] This new character of tensions among immigrants and natives has questioned previous criteria for belonging and identity. Croucher noted that "[f]ormal citizenship is not a sufficient criterion for belonging." Instead belonging is connected to "race and religion" (Croucher 2004, 6). Transnational terrorism, driven by Muslim religious fundamentalism, has prompted decision-makers to revise state approaches to religion and culture in foreign politics. Societies in the West pay closer attention to immigrant Muslim communities (Hill 2007). Nonetheless, Silvestri claimed that the securitisation of Islam started in the 1990s with the realisation of an increasing presence of Islam in Europe (Silvestri 2009). In the UK, the negative construction of "dangerous" and "suspect" Muslims in public discourses which associate Muslims with terrorism even resembles the similar construction of the Irish during the Troubles (Nickels et al. 2011).

Globalisation, modernity and secularisation allowed for the development of social spaces in which people can create and maintain multiple identities. As Marcus noted, modernity has caused individual and group identities to be produced simultaneously in different locations and sites of differing character (Marcus 1998, 62). From a modernist perspective, identity is dispersed "in many different places of differing character" and exists in more than one social context. According to him, "this multi-locale dispersed identity vision thus reconfigures and complexifies the spatial plane on which ethnography has conceptually operated" (Marcus 1998, 63). Some embrace modernity and secularism as forces of innovation, and are directly or indirectly open to the influences of modern society. For example, Surinamese Hindu migrants in the Netherlands developed "a distinctive religious culture capable of co-existing with a secular one" (van der Burg 1993, 152). Others resist these processes while rediscovering inherited religious identities, or constructing new religious enclaves. For these reasons, Modood claimed that we need a moderate, instead of a radical, secularism, which would include respect for religion. This respect goes above and beyond toleration, "based on a sense that religion is a good in itself,

[19] Antagonistic attitudes were present on both sides for centuries. On the one hand, the aversive relationship to Muslims in the West has been fuelled by narratives of the Siege of Vienna in the 17th century. The negative images and stereotypes of Ottoman Muslims were constructed by Jesuits in their attempts to defend Catholicism (Shore 2012). On the other hand, the religious narratives of Muslims have been shaped by the preserved cultural memory of Christian crusaders (Almond, Appleby, and Sivan 2003, 3).

[20] The Swiss national ban on the building of minarets, the attempt of the French government to prevent Muslim girls from wearing headscarves in schools; and the ban on wearing headscarves in schools in some German federal states are only a few striking examples of the policy developments related to Islam.

is a fundamental good and part of our humanity at a personal, social and civilisational level" (Modood 2008; 2010).

The above discussion implies that a complexly secular-religious society is characterised by three parallel phenomena: a) secularism, which strives for a strict separation of religion and the public sphere; b) anti-secularism, which strives to enhance the role of religion in the society; and c) forces that seek to bridge the secular with the religious. This three-fold situation makes it difficult to identify the environment in which the religious identities of immigrants are formed. On the one hand, the division between the private and the public (and between the secular and the religious) can put immigrants under pressure to live in two 'different worlds', i.e. a secular anonymous society and an ethno-religious community. Immigrants can attempt to strengthen their sense of their religious and ethnic identity. On the other hand, it could be assumed that secularisation creates favourable conditions for the adaptation of immigrants' religious and ethnic differences. The exposure to a secularised society could lead to the formation of a new religious identity that attempts to adjust to the society.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the processes of globalisation and secularisation, seeing them as contextual factors that influence immigrants' religious identities. These processes form an environment where intersections between religion and immigration and the interaction between natives and immigrants occur. The globalised and complexly secular-religious world impacts on human identities, so that they become fragmented and show a variety of images depending on the situation and circumstances. As a result, immigrants are confronted with a three-fold reality: a) a rapid pace of change offering a modification of identity; b) the exposure to religious and cultural diversity leading to the formation of a new identity; and c) the notion of loyalty to old traditions, moral values and ways of life pressing on people's consciences so that the sense of their current identity is further strengthened. Whilst globalisation and secularisation are now recognised as key factors influencing the lives of young people, little has been known about the perceptions of young migrants to their globalised and complexly secular-religious societies.

The scholars of globalisation and secularisation, both proponents and opponents, often refer to migrants in the support of their arguments. While building on these debates, I ask how religiously committed young migrants and people of migration background who are the subject of these discourses understand, refer and relate to globalisation and

secularisation. How do they perceive themselves in their globalised and complexly secular-religious societies? Do they understand themselves as secular or as religious? The analysis of the interlink between globalisation, secularisation and immigration helps to situate the process of the identity change of young people who are migrants and have migration backgrounds. The task of the empirical observations of this research will be to investigate to what extent secularisation and globalisation create conditions for the adaptation of immigrants' religious particularities. This chapter thus outlines the settings in which it is possible to explore and situate the definition of immigrant religion, which is the task of the next chapter. It helps us to understand how religion functions for migrants in post-secular societies.

Chapter 2: Understanding the Role of Immigrants' Religion in a Globalising, Post-Secular World

Introduction

This chapter analyses the role of religion in the everyday lives of young immigrants as they seek to find their place in societies which are often described as globalising, and secular, post-secular or complexly secular-religious. In these public spheres, religion plays a number of functional roles for migrants – such as serving as a source of social capital and helping them to establish networks in their host societies. Religion also provides resources for young migrants as they attempt to 'make sense' of their new experiences, supplying them with the tools to construct identities that help them to negotiate their new contexts. While the literature has tended to emphasise the importance of the functional roles of religion for migrants, this chapter argues that the substance of religious ideas, practices and rituals is equally important and deserves more scholarly attention. This chapter analyses theoretical approaches to religion and identity, with a view to understanding the role of immigrants' religion in the contemporary world. It argues that both the functional and substantive roles of religion must be taken into account. It is then possible to see how religious identity change occurs in a variety of directions, which challenges dominant narratives in the literature about how religion confines immigrants to traditional, or even fundamentalist, roles. To that end, the chapter outlines how both functional roles and substantive contents of religion are important in the lives of immigrants. The chapter also discusses theoretical approaches to identity. Constructivist approaches to identity are especially useful for understanding how immigrants can use resources from their religion and the world in which they live to give meaning to their religious identities, and to explain changes in their religious lives.

2.1 Theoretical Approaches to Immigrants' Religion

Functional and Substantive Definitions of Religion

The common interpretation and definition of religion within the field of social sciences and humanities is highly contested. Sociologists and anthropologists provide a myriad of definitions of religion such as "belief in the supranational", "a set of teachings and beliefs", "a series of rituals and ceremonies to express these beliefs", "a form of organization of worshippers and believers", and "a set of moral values which guide or influence the everyday behaviours of believers" (Browne 2011, 301). Generally, theories of religion are divided into functional and substantive theories. Functional definitions maintain that

religion has important social functions and roles for individuals and the society. Religion is "part of the culture or way of life of a society" (Browne 2011, 302), a "form of social construction" and a product of "human interaction" with religious beliefs, doctrines and communities generated in social processes (Northcott 1999, 193–225). As such, religion is "a source of social and moral order, binding the members of society to a common social project, a set of shared values and social goals" (Northcott 1999, 196). Functional definitions seek to understand what religion provides and implies. In contrast, substantive definitions identify religion in terms of what it is while being concerned with religious contents and meanings. They focus on religious beliefs and practices which relate to a supernatural and transcendental reality. These two groups of definitions lead to different theoretical questions, data sets, hypotheses and methodologies (Davie 2013, 19–20, 113).

Durkheim conceived religion as a social phenomenon the emergence of which was constituted by the need for emotional security attained through communal living. Durkheim's theory of religion implies social interaction. He understood social and communal functions as the crucial elements of a religion while arguing that "a religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things [...] which unite into one single moral community" (Durkheim 2001, 44). Berger referred to religion as an element of society which consists of institutions, roles and identities produced by human activity (Berger 1973, 16). According to him, religion is "the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established, [...which means] a quality of mysterious and awesome power, other than man and yet related to him" (Berger 1973, 34). As a social and cultural product, religion has a potential for change since culture is constantly reproduced. Religions depend upon the presence of social structures and communities which foster religious life and the socialisation of successive generations. Religious traditions "have strongly emphasised the necessity of the religious community - such as the Christian *koinonia*, the Muslim *umma*, the Buddhist *sangha*" (Berger 1973, 54–55).

For Berger and Luckmann, religion is a social construction which provides symbolic meanings to the institutionalised structures, giving them plausibility (1967). Later, Luckmann argued that religion is a stand-in category for meaning, morality, value and the subjective experience of transcendence. According to him, religion is

> "a universal aspect of the *conditio humana* [...and] remains a constitutive element of human life, bonding the individual human being, most particularly its experiences of transcendence, to a collective view of the good life" (Luckmann 2003, 276).

Luckmann shifts religion to a private sphere while emphasising its meanings for an individual. He defines religion as a comprehensive value system which, if it takes a form of an organised religion, monopolised by organisational systems such as churches. Nonetheless, societal differentiation leads to the individualisation of religions. This differentiation also causes the emergence of new religious movements without any organisational form - invisible religions (Luckmann 1967).

Among the writings of all the supporters of substantive definitions of religion, Max Weber's work stands out as the most influential one. He understood religion mainly as a response to the question of *theodicy* and the human need for salvation, although he also acknowledged that religious beliefs and practices shape social order and structures (Weber 1921; 2002; 2006). Edward B. Tylor provided an anthropological perspective on religion as a form of belief in the supernatural. This belief developed in an attempt to explain the questions of life and death (Tylor 2010). Rudolf Otto claimed that religion emerges from an autonomous and non-rational religious experience which relates to a transcendental entity. He defined this experience as *mysterium tremendum* and *mysterium fascinans* (Rudolf Otto 1921). Bruce defined religion as a set of beliefs, actions and institutions which assume the existence of entities with supernatural or impersonal power or processes possessed of moral purpose (Bruce 1996, 6–7; Bruce 2002, 2).

Clifford Geertz regarded religion as a cultural system of a society. In particular, he defined religion as

> "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz 1993, 90).

He claimed that religion is the embodiment of "the images and metaphors its adherents use to characterize reality" (Geertz 1968, 2). According to Clifford Geertz, culture can be understood as "the structures of meanings," through which individuals shape their experiences. A religious community can thus be interpreted as a web of symbols within which its members are entangled (Geertz, 1993). Religious faith serves both as a particularising force and as a generalising one. Although Geertz understood religion mainly as a set of images and metaphors, he also acknowledged the importance of religious institutions which produce religious images and metaphors (Geertz 1968, 3).

Some scholars attempted to combine substantive and functional definitions of religion. For instance, Griel and Bromley combined approaches by Luckmann, Durkheim and Weber while defining religion as a category of social interaction and subjective

experience, as well as discourse meanings, the understandings of which are constantly negotiated (Greil and Bromley 2003). Beckford's work is in this respect particularly illuminating. For him, the starting-point in the definition of religion should be to view it as a social phenomenon. He noted that "regardless of whether religious beliefs and experiences actually relate to supernatural, superempirical or noumental realities, religion is expressed by means of human ideas, symbols, feelings, practices and organisations" (Beckford 2003, 2). Instead of describing religion as a generic object, Beckford emphasised particular situations in which religious meanings are constructed and attributed in order to avoid the generalisations of religion. Unlike universal definitions, which can run a risk of banality in particular empirical cases, particularistic approaches to religion look at what religion means in terms of social interaction and at its significance in particular social settings (Beckford 2003, 16–20).

Beckford suggested focusing on religious meanings which are attributed to different situations, actions, feelings and ideas by individuals, groups or organisations. Tensions between individual and collective constructions of religious meanings may arise in cases when individual members of a religious organisation cannot comply with the organisation's codes of conduct or dogmas (Beckford 2003, 17). As a social category, religion is subject to constant negotiation. Its meaning and content must be understood within the context in which it is used. Religion is not a category of itself, rather, "it is an interpretative category that human beings apply to a wide variety of phenomena, most of which have to do with notions of ultimate meaning or value" (Beckford 2003, 4). Following on Beckford's account, sociological approaches to religion often distinguish between religion as an institution and religion as a system of meaning (Inglis 2000, 3–6).

From a sociological perspective, religion can also become a differentiating factor. Religion "divides groups with shared geographical, national, linguistic and ethnic origins, and sometimes unites groups with different origins of these other sorts" (Rex 1993, 17). This especially applies to situations when religion becomes intertwined with ethnicity and culture.[21] In some cases, ethnicity and religion can merge into one form of identity. For example, the Muslim identity and the Arab identity are often bound together into a broader

[21] Barot describes ethnicity as a "shared cultural heritage, common descent, interaction between groups and the construction of boundaries to sustain those identities which members of the groups know, understand and use in response to their own life and more particularly in response to non-belongers who are regarded as being 'different' and even inferior" (Barot 1993, 5). The core of ethnicity is the maintenance of a boundary which marks both belonging and non-belonging (Barth 1969, 14). Examples of coincided ethno-religious identity can be found in Israel and Palestine, Northern Ireland, Nepal and the countries of former Yugoslavia. Culture is a set of practices and values through which individuals share "multiple and overlapping socially based interpretations of behaviour in various settings". Culture is expressed through "common language, symbols, and other modes of communication" (LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 68).

notion of ethnicity, i.e. "umma - of being one transnational community" (Herbert 2004, 158). In such cases, religious belief can become "a basis for group formation and for the mobilisation of these groups for social and political conflict and co-operation" (Rex 1993, 18). Religion can act both "as a stabilizing and integrating force in society", and as "a source of social change and conflict, causing divisions and instability in society" (Browne 2011, 305). Ruane and Todd concluded that "many ethnic conflicts have had a strong religious dimension, and religion appears [...] as a powerful force for mobilization, solidarity and violence" (Ruane and Todd 2010, 1). Yet, as the previous chapter discussed, societal conditions and factors may be the actual drivers of religious tensions and conflicts, rather than the interrelation of ethnicity and religion. At the same time, the intensity of the manifestation of ethnic identity can depend on contextual factors. As Fredrick Barth and Andreas Wimmer noted, ethnicity matters in certain societies and contexts more than in others. While ethnicity is sometimes associated with inequality and exclusion, political and public debate in some contexts, it does not occur as a major issue of identity constructions in other contexts (Barth 1969). Wimmer argued that ethnic and racial differences matter in situations of institutional incentives, differences in power, and pre-existing social structures (Wimmer 2013).

Building on these various definitions of religion, an inclusive approach to religion, which combines both substantive and functional definitions, seems more plausible in this study. As theoreticians and empiricists suggest, religion provides people with both functional roles and substantive meanings. Given the multifaceted nature of people's religion, focusing on one definition or one aspect of religion only would lead to reductionist perspectives. Instead, looking at religion from both perspectives can provide meaningful conclusions.

The Definition of Religion from Immigrants' Perspective

Scholars studying migration and religion emphasise that immigrant religion differs from that of the native population. First, immigrant religion may be different from that of the native population due to doctrinal, theological and liturgical variances. Nonetheless, even if the religion of immigrants is the same as that of the native population, it may still carry different cultural, social, historical and political packages with it. Immigrants often establish new religious communities even when they belong to religions already present in their host societies (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009; Sagarena 2009; Lopez 2009). Second, this distinctiveness can be explained by the different existential experience of migrating and adapting to a new country which involves the burden of leaving the known

and encountering the unknown. The religion of immigrants then serves as a support mechanism (Rodriguez 2008; Groody and Campese 2008; Passarelli 2012). Third, migration and migration background often imply a minority status which can be defined by specific legal arrangements (e.g. the legal status of migrants, and the legal recognition of immigrants' religion) and access/ denial to public resources (e.g. funding and media coverage) and rights (e.g. the right to religious education in public schools). As Davie noted, minorities almost always behave differently from majorities when it comes to believing and belonging. The minority status can lead to pressure on an immigrant community to maintain its identity, tradition and the group as such. As a result, the religious practice of immigrants is then higher than that of a native population (Davie 1994, 111). Other scholars also observed that religion can become a source of identity formation in situations in which immigrants are exposed to stereotyping, discrimination and racism (Laurence and Vaïsse 2006; Roy 2006).

Some scholars have developed immigrant-specific approaches to religion. Levitt, who studied transnational aspects of immigrant congregations, claimed that religion provides migrants with "symbols, rituals, and narratives" to create alternative, transnational landscapes (Levitt 2006, 391). These landscapes assist in the adaptation processes in host countries, while, at the same time, they encourage the strengthening of homeland ties. Levitt emphasised that research on immigrant religion should investigate how migrants use their religion to integrate in their host society, how they maintain contacts with their homelands, or how they establish "new imagined geographies" that take over political boundaries (Levitt 2006, 391). While building on the distinction between functional (expansive) and substantive (restrictive) definitions of religion, she called for an inclusive approach to the study of the religion of immigrants (Levitt 2006, 392).

Alba and DeWind noted that scholars in migration studies mostly refer to two functional definitions of religion when researching immigrants religion. Some scholars understand religion as an institution, while others classify it as a system of meaning. These two approaches "strike as essential to any investigation of the ramification of religion for the incorporation of immigrants and subsequent generations" (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009, 3). Religion in institutional terms explores immigrant religious communities as agents of social capital addressing immigrants' concerns regarding their needs. As a system of meaning, "religion has furnished immigrant communities with symbolic interpretation of the experience of immigration, ritual reinforcement of identity, and the moral support of self-esteem" (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009, 4). Although

these two approaches are regarded as functional, the latter offers a space for the inclusion of substantive contents.

Nevertheless, some sociologists of religion highlighted the need to move beyond the definitions of religion centred on Western (European) and Christian concepts as well as religious institutions (Bender et al. 2012). Asad pointed out that religion emerged as a historical and socially constructed category of the West, in particular European modernity, and came to be applied universally. As such, this concept is hardly applicable to non-Christian religions (Asad 1993). I partially agree with Asad, acknowledging that Western definitions of religion may hardly be applicable to Muslim and other non-Christian communities. Nonetheless, substantive approaches to religion allow the inclusion of specific religious contents and meanings, thus moving beyond biased definitions produced by European and Christian understandings.

Functional Aspects of Immigrants' Religion: Immigrant Congregations

Immigrant religious congregations and communities can serve different functions and purposes. Becker (1999) presented four forms of church organisation which could be helpful in categorising immigrant communities: "house of worship", "family"-style, "community"-style and "civic leader" congregations. According to Becker, "house of worship" congregations focus on worship, education and ritual. "Family"-style congregations place an emphasis on developing and maintaining inter-personal relationships among members. "Community-style" congregations participate in social issues and activities of the community outside of their church. Lastly, "civic leader" congregations have strong mission agendas and are motivated to act politically and socially outside the church (Becker 1999). Although Becker's classification focuses on immigrant communities in the U.S., it is also applicable to immigrant communities in Europe because the nature and needs of immigrant communities in Europe are similar to those in North America. The congregations and communities that are the focus of this research would fit into the four different categories with some emphasising one aspect and others placing more importance on other aspects of community life.

In this research, immigrant communities are understood in a dialectical way - as religious institutions and as meaning-making places, as communities of belonging and as support structures, as ethno-cultural enclaves and as places that help immigrants' incorporation. Young migrants and people with migration background who are the focus of this research resort to their communities and congregations for various reasons. Some young people are full members of their communities, others generally identify with their

ethnic and cultural community, while some only attend youth-specific activities within their communities. Young people in the studied communities mostly live and express their faith through youth-specific activities, events and subgroups that are accommodated within their communities. When they refer to their community or congregation, they often mean specific youth group or activities attended primarily by young people. They thus create their own space with which they develop a special relationship.

Building social capital

The character and nature of immigrant religious communities are often defined through their ability to produce social capital. Putnam defines social capital as "connections among individuals [... -] social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000, 19). In the study of religion, social capital is often linked to religious institutions, as involvement in religious communities often generates social networks, norms and relationships (J. S. Coleman 1994; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993; Putnam 2000). Scholars of migration distinguish between bonding and bridging roles of social capital. Bonding social capital refers to intra-group solidarity, emotional support and empowerment. In contrast, bridging social capital focuses on building relationships that link different heterogeneous groups together (Wuthnow 2002).[22]

Immigrant religious communities create social networks that are "incubators" of social capital. These communities can simultaneously play bonding and bridging roles in the lives of immigrants, strengthening the ties within immigrant groups while also connecting immigrants to the wider society (Allen 2010; Hirschman 2004; Cadge and Ecklund 2006). The intensity of bonding and bridging social capital depends on a variety of factors. For instance, Ryan Allen observed that religious institutions affiliated with minority religions mainly play a bonding role for refugees, while religious institutions affiliated with a majority religious tradition can play both a bonding and a bridging role (Allen 2010).

The bonding social capital of immigrant communities includes mainly, but not exclusively, religious beliefs and practices, social services and ethnic solidarity. Religious communities can generate bonding social capital by reaffirming national or ethnic identities through the practice of familiar rituals (Levitt 2003; 2007b). Ethnic solidarity and social support might attract immigrants who engage in the religious community solely

[22] Wuthnow also distinguished between two forms of bridging social capital, i.e. identity-bridging and status-bridging. Identity-bridging social capital spans culturally defined differences such as "race, ethnicity, religious tradition, sexual preference and national origin." Status-bridging social capital classifies "networks that span vertical arrangements of power, influence, wealth, and prestige" while linking ordinary people and elites (Wuthnow 2002, 670).

because they find a home through a specific ethnic affiliation (Ley 2008). Similarly, Allen observed that immigrant communities often provide social and spiritual support, thus generating bonding social capital. At the same time, ethnic solidarity, especially the use of the native language and the practice of homeland rituals, can also strengthen a sense of belonging (Allen 2010).

Religious institutions can also play bridging roles for new immigrants while building social networks beyond ethnic and religious communities (Warner 1997; Hirschman 2004; Stepick, Rey, and Mahler 2009). The formation of social networks beyond one's own enclave depends on the willingness and resources of individuals, the immigrant group and the host society. Bridging social capital is often achieved through interpersonal and group interaction, volunteering and civic participation (Allen 2010). Both forms of social capital are discussed in more detail in the following sections on transnationalism and adaptation.

Fostering transnational attachments

Immigrant congregations provide a space for the accommodation of cultural packages that immigrants take with them from their homelands (Warner and Wittner 1998a; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000). Religion supports the emergence of transnational ethnic and cultural ties, which represent bonding social capital. While establishing their own congregations, immigrants do not have to abandon ties to their home countries (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002; Hager and Ebough 2003; Hirschman 2004; Richman 2005). As agents of transnational connections to their homelands, immigrant religious communities can nourish and sustain immigrants' ethnic and national belongings (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Blanc-Szanton 1994; Biney 2011; Kim 2013; Min 2010; Smith 1978). In this sense, religion plays an important role in ethnic community building. Immigrants prefer to establish their own communities in which membership is based "on common ethnicity, language, and national origin instead of geographical proximity" (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009, 6). Religion connects immigrants to their ancestral plot through spiritual and moral ties to family and kin relationships. Through the control of ethnic and national boundaries, transnationally connected immigrant congregations become a means of protecting immigrants' sense of identity (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009). They can even transform ethnic and national boundaries into socio-cultural ones (Schiller et al. 1992; Menjívar 2000; Levitt 2001; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002; Levitt and Nyberg-Sorensen 2004).

Immigrant congregations use a multiplicity of methods and tools for maintaining homeland collective identities such as mother tongue, traditional food delicacies, ethnic

and national symbols, familiar hymns and ethnic markers of clothing styles. In addition, immigrant congregations refer to cultural values and beliefs inherent in their cultures (Olupona and Gemignani 2007). Distinctive cultural and ethnic-based worship practices help to foster a transnational immigrant community (Foley and Hoge 2007; Vasquez and Marquardt 2003). According to Tweed, the role of religious practice in a foreign country is to bring the homeland to the new land through transtemporal and translocative means (Tweed 2006). Immigrants' transnational religion becomes a movement which is not static or bound to one place, but which crosses national borders and time. Immigrant communities construct religious experience through "confluences" and "flows" (Warner 2000; Vasquez and Marquardt 2003).

Religion enables immigrants to prevent and resist the loss of one's own identity and meaning upon arrival in a host society. It offers them a sense of cooperative agency and prevents the individualistic fragmentation of everyday life (Ho 2008; Suh 2004). Religion, as practised within religious institutions, helps immigrants to preserve certain aspects of their culture such as the notion of and respect for family and community, and the music (Cheah 2008). Transnational ties also play an important role in the construction of religious identities among second- and third-generation migrants. The extent to which the children of immigrants will engage in transnational activity and the nature of their transnational practices may vary across groups and time periods, however (Levitt and Waters 2006b).

Moreover, religious affiliation with immigrant communities can allow immigrants and their children participation in social and political affairs of their homelands (Carnes and Yang 2004; Guest 2003; Menjívar 2003). While affiliating with their religious roots and their religious communities, immigrants can also transpose local conflicts and tensions from their homelands to host countries (Ganiel 2008, 10). Religious belonging does not link immigrants to their homelands only but also to transnational and global religious movements. Immigrants often understand themselves as part of a larger community of believers while establishing relationships between global movements and local experiences (Bowen 2004; Marquardt 2005; Roy 2006). Nevertheless, transnational ties can also function as bridging social capital when immigrant communities join global and transnational partnerships around major social issues such as education, health and employment (Levitt 2008). Researchers observed and noted that global migrant networks are maintained across social and geographical distances (Appadurai 1996; Hannerz 1992; Hagan and Ebaugh 2003; Urry 2002). In this sense, young migrants and people with migration background may identify with multiple locations and spaces across national borders. Their identities can be multiply located.

Helping with adaptation in the host society

Researchers have also paid attention to the phase when the intensity of transnational connections decreases as immigrants adapt to their host societies. Baia emphasised the impact of the multicultural character of host societies on the construction of immigrants' identities and on transnational ties (Baia 1999). Grasmuck and Kim highlighted that the ethnic and racial boundaries of immigrants may diminish with an increasing ethno-racial and socially heterogeneous mixing, for example in multi-ethnic environments (Grasmuck and Kim 2010). Levitt and Nyberg-Sorensen observed that even immigrants' transnational ties blur social and cultural boundaries among different cultural and ethnic groups when migrants engage with other people in culturally diverse environments (Levitt and Nyberg-Sorenson 2004). Immigrant religious institutions play an important role in representing immigrants' interests and articulating their relationship to the host society. Religion can facilitate immigrants' cultural and social adaptation in their host society (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009). While religion fosters transnational attachments, it can also allow for syncretic and hybrid forms of religious practices (Cheah 2008). Within their places of worship, immigrants can synchronise their previous religious identity with the mainstream culture of the host society, or change their religiosity (Avalos 2004; Ling 2008).

Practising religion within immigrants' places of worship can help immigrants in their adaptation and integration in their new society (Handlin 1971, 3; Nagel 2010; Pries and Sezgin 2010). Warner claimed that identity reconstruction in a new country is greatly influenced by new religious experiences. For Warner, assimilation for these immigrant groups is not linear. Religious institutions help reproduce culture, provide new social roles for migrants, and even enable personal religious transformation (Warner, 2000). Hirschman argued that religion provides stability for immigrants by aiding immigrants in their search for meaning in the diaspora. Religious beliefs, values and rituals help immigrants in their transition and adaptation process (Hirschman 2004). Immigrant religious communities often assist with the incorporation and adaptation of newcomers in the host society. This function of immigrant congregations depends on the right combination of religious tradition, organisational culture and the demographic characteristics of the immigrant group (Foley and Hoge 2007).

Civic participation of immigrants within their religious communities has been highlighted by many scholars as one of most explicit signs of immigrants' integration (Stepick, Rey, and Mahler 2009; Levitt 2008). Scholars also noted the role of immigrant religious communities in supporting the civic engagement of immigrants (Foley and Hoge 2007; Lentin and Moreo 2012; Sherrod 2006; Yurdakul 2009). Immigrant associations,

including religious communities, "mediate the boundaries between states and migrant groups, and because migrant groups are never homogeneous, they are often also the loci of intra-group negotiations and between migrants and their countries of origin and diaspora" (Tona and Moreo 2012, 21). Nonetheless, Korteweg and Yurdakul argued for moving beyond the debate on integration that is measured by civic participation. They claimed that host societies should not expect every immigrant to be active in his or her local neighbourhood community, as mainstream society does not expect such a behaviour from every native citizen (Korteweg 2014; Korteweg and Yurdakul 2014). The level of integration of immigrant religious communities also depends on the societal conditions of the host country (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009).

Establishing social networks of support

Immigrant religious congregations create platforms for the development of social networks that help immigrants during the migration and settlement experience. Leaving one's own country and encountering a new environment can be associated with an experience of crisis. According to Rodriguez, leaving one's own country, friends, family and the places of familiarity means the disintegration of one's emotional world, and weakening, if not the disappearance, of a support system (Rodriguez 2008). Building a new support system and relations in the host society requires a lot of courage, time and resources. These situations increase stress and anxiety (Passarelli 2012). Everyday interactions in a new environment of the host society "can be alienating experiences for many new migrants who find themselves in strange settings that require constant mental strain to navigate and to be understood" (Hirschman 2007, 395). Handlin noted that migration takes people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replants them into unfamiliar places. He described the experience of migrating as a crisis of "broken homes, interruptions of a familiar life, separation from known surroundings, the becoming a foreigner and ceasing to belong. These are the aspects of alienation" (Handlin 1971, 4).

Religion serves as a source of empowerment, practical support and spiritual relief from everyday problems. Religion can provide guidance, assistance and significance for migrants who face difficult times in their new society (Handlin 1941; 1971; Passarelli 2012). Immigrant organisations often arise from the desperation of migration experience (Griffiths 2005). In the case of the immigration-religion nexus, the description of institutional forms of religion deploys sociological categories that emphasise the social, economic and political roles and effects of immigrant communities. Such communities often provide social services, material support, emotional resources, economic mobility

and counselling support (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002; Hirschman 2007). Foley and Hoge noted that immigrant religious communities provide psychological and cultural "refuge" for immigrants through social networks and social capital (Foley and Hoge 2007). Migrant social networks include "ties of kinship, community, friends, strong and weak acquaintances that create migration streams and migration chains" (Loyal 2011, 30). Networks decrease risks and costs of moving while offering a support network where migrants can find needed information about types and availability of jobs, wages, conditions and accommodation in the receiving country (de Voe 2008; Loyal 2011, 30).

Immigrants use their religious associations to help them voice their needs and interests. As institutions designed to serve some of the most profound human needs, congregations help immigrants to deal with the challenges and anxieties of life in a new and foreign country. Communities provide social contacts, practical information, legal advice and assistance (Foley and Hoge 2007). Immigrant congregations are places of political agitation, civic activism and social gathering (Hirschman 2004; Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009). These networks can produce innovation and act as platforms for the exchange of information, knowledge and resources (de Voe 2008).

The academic literature provides a profound account of functional roles of religion for migrants. These roles are mainly linked to immigrant religious communities and congregations. As a result, this literature implies a definition of religion as an institution, an organisation and a community, thus resembling the general research on the functional definitions of religious communities and institutions. Nonetheless, this literature tends to focus on the functional roles of religion, leaving out the substantive roles of religion. This dissertation also takes into account the substantive definitions of religion because religious practices and beliefs provide migrants with substantive meanings and symbols.

Substantive Roles of Immigrants' Religion

In migration studies, substantive contents of religion mainly occur in the descriptions of religious meanings. As a system of meaning, religion has furnished immigrant communities with symbolic interpretations of experiences of immigration, ritual reinforcement of identity, and moral support for self-esteem. Scholars focus on beliefs, values, symbols, worship practices and piety (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009; Orsi 2010). Activities ranging from weekly worship and prayer services to special events such as weddings, initiation ceremonies and workshops or debates are not only used as services to the community but also as meaning-providing activities. Through these activities and symbols, the meanings of what belonging and believing are rediscovered and reinvented.

For immigrants, "religion has become a cultural scheme that they can use to interpret their experiences and guide their actions" (Alba, Raboteau, and DeWind 2009, 2).

The notions of "lived religion", "living religion", or "religion as lived experience" have highlighted the meaning-making role of religion. Rather than focusing on institutional and normative elements of religion, studies in lived religion pay more attention to believers' own experiences, understanding and perceptions (Orsi 2003, 172). Religion as a living experience is understood by migrants as a source of protection and spiritual support in their everyday struggles linked to the experience of migration. While facing the challenges of immigrating to a new society, faith becomes a vital part of people's lives (Sheringham 2013).

For ethnic minorities and migrants, "religious beliefs and customs are often a means for these groups to maintain their own cultural identity and tradition" (Browne 2011, 303). In the case of immigrants, religions "often play an important role in integrating such communities, acting as focal points of community life as well as religious life" (Browne 2011, 303). Nonetheless, belonging to a particular religious group does not necessitate a particular religious identity. People may belong to a religious group and have different opinions on part or all of the teachings and practices of that religious group. They can have different motivations for joining religious groups, while their identity has not been necessarily influenced by this religious group. As Gellner observed, "religion can equally be radically individualist and anti-social" (Gellner 2001, 14).

Tweed linked the definition of religion to migration while understanding it as "confluences of organic channels and cultural currents that conjoin to create institutional networks that, in turn, prescribe, transmit, and transform tropes, beliefs, values, emotions, artefacts and rituals" (Tweed 2006, 206). He highlighted that theories of religion were exclusive of the migration experience and that one theory cannot be applied to all religious groups (Tweed 2006, 206). Central to Tweed's theory of religion is the role of "homemaking". In his ethnography of Cubans in Miami, Tweed found that the exiled Catholics used religion to orient themselves in their new society. Religion provided a way to renegotiate their status in the diaspora and played an important role in the homemaking process (Tweed 2006).

Religious behaviour and practice

Religious behaviour and practices are usually associated with religious communities. The spiritual, worship, cultural and social experiences are often the core of the religious behaviour of immigrants. For instance, young people in Ireland attend religious services,

Masses, special celebrations, prayers and worship services in their communities. Young people also take part in Bible study session, lectures, discussions and workshops where they learn, discuss and update knowledge that forms the pillars of their belief, ethical issues and values. Religious practices organised within their community encourage and affirm their faith. The religious practice within religious communities is the focus of the literature on transnationalism. These studies explored and described various religious practices such as prayers and religious services (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002; Glick-Schiller and Fouron 2001; Levitt 2007b; Menjívar 2003; Warner and Wittner 1998a).

The characteristics of religious practice within immigrant communities correspond with the categorisation of religious practice presented by Becker. She distinguished between three forms of religious tradition and ritual: prayer, fellowship and spirituality. The prayer life of the congregation focuses on individuals and group needs. It is important for the spiritual but also psychological care of members. Fellowship time includes the worship service and the time spent together after the service. Spirituality stresses faith and relationships over specific church doctrine (Becker 1999). Nevertheless, religious practice is not limited to religious communities only. People can practise their religion in profane settings in public and privately (Knoblauch 2009; 2013). The religious practice of immigrants outside their communities is often demonstrated through their involvement in intercultural, interreligious and civic activities and events.

The literature on religious practices of immigrants provides an important insight into the life of immigrant congregations as well as immigrants' religious life. The religious practice within immigrant religious communities is an important factor of immigrants' religious identities. While the literature on migration provides a profound account of immigrants' religious practices and behaviours within their religious communities, it lacks perspectives on immigrants' private religious practice. This may be due to the difficult access to individual religious practices of immigrants.

Religious beliefs, values and norms

Religious values, norms and beliefs evolve from religious and cultural practices. Values can be described as expressions of a person's and group's sense of right and wrong, i.e. individual or group preferences with regards to appropriate courses of action, behaviour or outcomes. As such, they reflect what is expected, sought and desired. Values can provide a basis for attitudes, actions and behaviours. If agreed by a group of people, values can become sources of traditions, customs and norms. Religious values are often linked to cultural, social, moral and ethical values. Norms refer to conduct, acting and course of

behaviour and action while defining and standardising behaviours and actions. They serve as patterns, regulations, instructions, commands and standards of procedure, behaviour and thinking. In other words, norms represent beliefs about how people should behave in a given context, i.e. society, community or a group (Kettner 2004).

Values and norms are produced within traditions – packages guided by overtly or tacitly accepted rules that seek to infuse certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, thus implying continuity with the past (Hobsbawm 1992). In social sciences, tradition represents a symbolic reproduction of cultural, religious or ethnic contents, practices, norms, languages and institutions that are passed from generation to generation.[23] Religious traditions make a reference to the past and to authority. Religious communities and institutions play significant roles in the reconstruction of traditions (Schlehe and Sandkuhler 2014). Tradition stands in direct contrast to change which leads to an interruption of the continuity of tradition and even to the erosion of tradition as such. For these reasons, societies and various societal institutions such as religions, families and individuals attempt to preserve and sustain their traditions even in modern times. Tradition provides an individual with orientation and belonging (Auerochs 2004).

Orsi was among the first who focused on the meaning-making role of immigrants' religion. While observing religious life of an Italian religious community in Harlem, he showed the ways in which the community blurs the lines between religion and culture (Orsi 2010). Other studies focus on theological and anthropological aspects of faith and spirituality of religious minorities and diaspora (Bender et al. 2012; Hämmerli and Mayer 2014). Migration and religion has become a topic of contextual theology, especially among scholars who study the religious experiences of Latino immigrants in the U.S.. Groody and Campese in their edited book outlined a theology of migration while portraying the human face of immigrants as a face of Christ. The edited book looks at different theological dimensions of immigrants' perilous journey towards the "promised land" (Groody and Campese 2008). Smith introduced the term "theologizing experience" while emphasising that migration modifies the relationship of faith to ethnic identity in three ways. First, migration redefines boundaries of peoplehood and ethnicity in religious terms; second, migration produces an increased theological reflection and ethno-religious commitment due to resettlement; third, migration revitalises the goal to foster a common humanity (Smith 1978). Warner and Wittner (1998a) and Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) used Smith's thesis to argue that religion plays a meaning-making role for immigrant groups.

[23] Tradition involves strategies that seek to ensure the continuity and preservation of respective practices, including cultural and religious contents, transmitted through oral tradition, written traditions as well as observed customs and habits (Auerochs 2004).

Research on Islam and migrants looked at various substantive aspects and themes in Islam (Hunter 2002; Fournier and Yurdakul 2006; Nielsen 2004; Rath et al. 2001). The formation of transnational demonstrations of Islamic faith has been one of the central themes in studies on Islam (Gerlach 2006; Roy 2006; Tibi 2000; 2009). Some studies considered the role of authorities and religious leaders in immigrant communities as critical in affirming religious norms, values and beliefs (Bendixsen 2013; Roy 2006; Tweed 2006). An abundant body of literature focusing on religious fundamentalism discusses the nature, origin and effects of religious beliefs of fundamentalist religious movements. Nonetheless, when these studies refer to migrants, they limit their attention to Muslims only (Bruce 2008; Roy 2006; 2010).

Another group of studies observed religious beliefs, values and practices of immigrants in their new societies. Scholars observed that immigrants can adjust their religious practice and beliefs to the new host society in order to seek acceptance and recognition (Ling 2008; Ng 2008). For instance, Buddhist migrants in the U.S. syncretised their Buddhist beliefs with hierarchical religious paradigms such as the Judeo-Christian God, invoking ideas of Heaven, Hell, angels and demons (Ho 2008; de Voe 2008). Perreira and Ho showed that religious practices of Thai Buddhist women concentrate on more pragmatic moral actions as compared to traditional man-dominated religious practices in Buddhism (Perreira 2008; Ho 2008). Eck referred to the new interpretation of Buddhism as "a syncretic form of worship and spiritual belief that adapts to and incorporates aspects of various other religious spiritual paradigms" (Ho 2008, 185). Immigrants can even change their religiosity in their attempts to adjust to the mainstream dominant culture of the host society. For example, Hmong immigrants who practised Shamanism are massively converting to Christianity because being Christian is spiritually fulfilling and socially rewarding for them. Also, Hmong converts believe that people should practice religion in a way similar to other Americans. In other words, in order to be accepted as an American, one should become a Christian. In addition, their conversions are driven by negative stereotypes of viewing Shamanism as backward in the U.S., whereas Christianity is seen as acceptable and respectable. At the same time, those who seek to preserve their traditional faith, practice Shamanism in a hybridized and more secularized form (Ng 2008)

Although the contemporary sociological literature on migration is less concerned with substantive roles of immigrant religion, it is important to take into account the religious beliefs of young migrants and people with migration background. These beliefs can show what young people believe in and how they perceive their religious identity. The sets of beliefs and creeds do not have to be formulated in official doctrines. My research

thus pushes the field of the study of religion further by emphasising that what young people believe and how they understand God should be taken into account more seriously and systematically. These beliefs help young people give meaning to their religious identities, and to construct new religious identities in contexts of change. To understand this process, it is necessary to explore how religious identities are formed.

2.2 Religious Identity and Migration

Understanding Religious Identity

Identity is a complex and precarious term. It is perhaps one of the most widely and frequently used terms but is also one that is less clearly defined. The field of social sciences does not provide a straightforward definition either of identity or of religious identity. Instead, several theoretical approaches seek to explain the term from different perspectives. Zygmunt Bauman argued that the need for identity stems from the desire for security. Being a person without a name, location, ethnicity or citizenship means being nobody and nothing. Identity provides a person with a sense of security, acceptance and recognition. Identity also expresses "institutions such as Family, State, Church, which are - in Kantian perspective - the a priori of social life" (Bauman 2004, 23).

Identity is a feature of personal and societal life.[24] It can be understood as a form of identification, i.e. how individuals or groups are defined and characterised by other individuals, groups or themselves. Identity means to be a particular person, to be bound to and by particular social and cultural characteristics (White 2002). As Mansbach and Rafferty argued, identity is "a set of characteristics that individuals recognise as defining themselves and that, when shared, defines the group as a whole and its interests" (Mansbach and Tylor 2012, 689). This definition also implies that identities can be collective (group-based) and individual. Religious identities claim to be collectively-based, while being able at the same time to maintain and signal distance or exclusion from other groups, as well as individuality. Religious individuals affiliated with a religious congregation usually possess at the same time their individual religious identity and the identity of the congregation to which they belong.

People identify themselves, i.e. who they are, in relation to other people, i.e. who they are not. As Taylor noted, "[w]e define our identity always in dialogue with, sometimes in struggle against, the things our significant others want to see in us" (Taylor 1994, 33).

[24] According to most scholars, human identity consists of biologically, culturally and socially determined aspects. Under biologically determined aspects sex, skin colour, kinship and character could be classified. Culturally and socially determined aspects could include gender, nationality, religion, ethnicity, citizenship and social role (White 2002, 44).

Being a Christian means that one is not a Muslim. Religious identity can become an instrument of control of people, ideologies and actions, especially in the case of religious institutions. As such, religion can become an agent of the politics of inclusion and exclusion exemplified through the control of membership, i.e. the inclusion of insiders and the exclusion of outsiders. Difference and boundaries between different groups make one's identity visible and functional, and can become sources of conflicts and tensions. Nonetheless, Bauman argued that identity problems and conflicts arise not from the fact of being different, but from the fact of "being not different enough, mixing too easily into the crowd" (Bauman 2004, 58).

As previously discussed, different outcomes for the construction of immigrants' identity can be expected. On the one hand, immigrants can attempt to strengthen their religious identities in order to protect their distinctive religious and/or ethnic belonging. Immigrants often strengthen their religious identities in response to negative aspects of globalisation and secularisation influences, as was highlighted in the first chapter. Rex claimed that one result can be the attempt to produce "religious and ethnic traditionalists continually trying to purify their beliefs and practices to get them back to what was appropriate in the times and places of their origin" (Rex 1993, 19). Another outcome can be the development of changing immigrant ideas in relation to new contexts, which may result in the creation of new religious forms which seek to adapt to their new situation (Rex 1993, 19). In the case of immigrants, religion and identity

> "clearly interact and at times overlap with each other, [...and] both can be seen as key sites of ambiguity and creativity in many parts of the contemporary, globalizing world. Transnational processes have the capacity to redefine relevant *contexts* of self-identification for individuals and groups. If localities help to define identities, we should not be surprised if traditional identities are challenged in situations of relative deterritorialisation and consequent reconstruction of the meaning of neighbourhood, locale and so on" (S. Coleman and Collins 2004, 15).

Immigrants' identities are shaped by the policies and legal arrangements of their host societies. States create institutional, social, psychological and legal mechanisms that delimit immigrants' access to material resources and social status. Immigrants construct their identities based on how they perceive and respond to these social boundaries (Massey and Sánchez 2010; Anderson 2013). A study of Hindu immigrants in Britain showed that religious identity could be strengthened in response to the multicultural and nationalist politics of the UK as well as to the experience of being an ethnic minority (Raj 2000). Religion becomes a source of empowerment and support in identity formation not only for contemporary immigrants but also for immigrants' children. Studies suggested that

immigrant children are increasingly turning to "inherited religion" as a primary source of identity formation. They use the religion of their parents and grandparents to rediscover and re-negotiate their identities (Laurence and Vaïsse 2006; Roy 2006). New generations of people with migration background resort to their parents' religion while renegotiating and reshaping the religious content according to their contemporary needs and views.

Scholarly research has recognised that identity can no longer be defined in terms of stand-in categories without the possibility of change. Lentin suggested that "identity must be thought of as shifting, as a process of becoming rather than being, a discursive practice rather than a given, [...] a process never completed" (Lentin 2000, 8). Scholars highlighted that immigrants can maintain "multiple attachments and identities" and "multilayered social identities – where gender, class, religion, education and nationality matter simultaneously" (Tona and Moreo 2012, 31).

In order to understand the formation of religious identities among immigrants, it is useful to consider different theories that explain identity formation. Some scholars understand religious identity in essentialist terms. For others, religiosity is a result of socialisation influenced by factors such as tradition, culture, history, language, gender relations, ethnicity, and the political, social and economic situation in a country. Religion can also be a matter of personal and individual choice. This dissertation draws upon existing theories of identity formation.

Primordial Approaches to Identity

Essentialism, also known as primordialism, views identity as something fixed, natural, acquired and inherent (pre-given). In this understanding, identity is a natural attachment and bond to certain social institutions such as nation, state and ethnicity (Croucher 2004, 36). Croucher acknowledged that numerous religious groups in many world religions, including Judaism, Islam and Christianity postulate ancestral roots and inherited traditions as the most important criterion for religious membership (Croucher 2004, 57). From an essentialist point of view, religious identity is pre-given because people are believed to be born Christian, Jewish or Muslim. Mol, who distinguished between involuntarily held (primordial) identity and transient (socially constructed) identity, regarded religio-ethnic identity of immigrants as the former. In this sense, religious affiliation is largely involuntary; being born to a family which confess a particular religion and to become the member of that religion as a child is an involuntarily held form of identity (Mol 1978).

Huntington, in his *Clash of Civilizations* anticipated an essentialist understanding of religious identity. Huntington's diffusion of a particular religion within one civilisation

implies that immigrants would never be able to adjust to a new society since they possess inherent religious and cultural identities (Huntington 1993). According to the essentialist perspective, once a religious identity is established and developed, a person will seek to maintain his or her religious identity unchanged. Religious fundamentalism and sectarianism are often regarded as examples of essentialist perceptions of religion. In this sense, the essentialist theories on identity are "used to explain phenomena such as conflict, war, aggression, [and] passivity" (Croucher 2004, 36).

Nonetheless, the essentialist way of looking at problems such as religious fundamentalism is very simplistic. The weakness of the essentialist theory is that it does not consider societal influences on an individual's identity formation, nor people's individual agency. Also, essentialist theories do not explain positive and peaceful effects of interactions between people with different identities. Although immigrants' religious identities are often presented in the media in essentialist terms, they are influenced by various social, cultural, political and economic factors of their host society.

Functionalist Approaches to Identity: The Theory of Human Needs

According to the functionalist theory of human needs, the need for belonging can create a need for identity. The theory describes identity as one's belonging to a certain group defined by the combination of common belief, religion, traditions, ancestry and biological characteristics. On the one hand, the human need to belong, to have and build stable relationships with other people, and to be an important member of a group is an inherent desire. The theory with its emphasis on the sense of anthropological necessity describes religion as *a priory*, a basic need or impulse (Beckford 2003, 3). Religion is an essential binding stone of society that contributed to maintaining the social structure of a group (Gellner 2001, 18–19). This assumption, which led to the notion that the need for religion is universal is based on Luckmann's claim that religion is a "*conditio humana*" (Luckmann 2003, 276). Religion cannot be eradicated because it is a psychological and ontological phenomenon that is embodied as a psychologically and even biologically constant element in human minds. The functional need for religion is a pre-requisite for individuals to become human beings (Beckford 2003, 66–69).

On the other hand, the theory of human needs describes identity as a constructed belonging to a certain group. Linking the definition with the constructivist perspective, Croucher claimed that identities are "belonging formations" (Croucher 2004, 39). A person's identity is formed when he or she belongs to a group. Baumeister and Leary claimed that humans "are fundamentally and pervasively motivated by a need to belong,

that is, by a strong desire to form and maintain enduring interpersonal attachments" (Baumeister and Leary 1995, 497). Even if there are some people who prefer to live life in a reclusive and constricted way, the majority of people around the world are socially-oriented and do not want to spend days of their lives alone. People are social creatures and as such they sense the need to build social relationships with other people. Identity is an expression of the human need to belong, to be accepted and to be respected (M. Bernstein 2005, 59).

The importance of "belongingness needs" as one of the major human motivations in the life of individuals was highlighted by Maslow. He postulated the belongingness need as an element of his motivational hierarchy, along with psychological, safety, self-esteem and self-actualization needs. According to him, these needs have to be met in order to achieve personal well-being (Maslow 1999).[25] People seek frequent interactions within the context of "strong, stable interpersonal relationships [...based on] the need for frequent, non-aversive interactions within an ongoing relational bond" (Baumeister and Leary 1995, 497). Human beings have a desire to form and maintain lasting interpersonal relationships. This implies that individuals join groups with which they have certain commonalities (Fiske 2004, 501). People build their relationships with other people in order to interact and communicate. Relationships are places in which individuals can feel being loved and fully accepted. In this sense, Fromm explained the desire to build a relationship as the need for love and being loved by another person or group (Fromm 1956, 26). Belonging to a religious group or congregation might be explained as the satisfaction of a basic need for belonging.

However, belongingness often implies affiliation in a defined and bounded community with formal access. Membership can be voluntary and binding at the same time. Belonging means symbolic, subjective investing in the respective community. States and nations can encompass both the sense of belonging and formal membership through citizenship. Societies, collectives, and ethnic and religious groups and communities can be described through different codes of 'inside – outside', 'inclusive – exclusive'. The presence of this duality means that those who do not belong to one's group or community are different and strange. Identity is constructed on the premise of the distinction between "Us" and "Them". People "define who they are by specifying who they are not" (Croucher

[25] While constructing his theory of human needs, Maslow was influenced by Bronislaw Malinowski's functionalist theory of human needs. Malinowski argued that culture serves to meet the basic biological, psychological and social needs of individuals in a society. According to him, the function of religion, as a part of culture, is in providing psychological support. Although criticising Durkheim's emphasis on the social function of religion, Malinowski did not diminish the function of religion in binding a community together (Malinowski 1973).

2004, 40). Belonging to a certain group and having an identity "necessitates and implies boundaries. The boundaries may be social, cultural, political, or economic, and depending on the individual, the group, and the context" (Croucher 2004, 40).

While boundaries can be seen as a way of protecting one's own identity, at the same time, identity can be identified as a product of boundary-drawing. Thus, identity can be a source of division and separation (Bauman 2000, 151). In this sense, foreigners are presented as different from citizens. Commonalities and similarities with the foreigners are omitted while differences are highlighted. Membership and belonging become sources of tensions, especially in situations when societies, groups and communities grant certain rights and access only to members – exclusivity in the public space (Leggewie 2004). For religious identity, this would mean that belonging to a certain religious group implies boundaries and distinctiveness. A religious person is then different from a person who belongs to another religious group. Thus, the boundaries that religious belonging postulates may be source of a conflict, as it is believed that boundaries between different groups or individuals in a societal system implies tensions.

Identity is closely linked to recognition. This especially applies to marginalised groups. Marginalisation, which can take the form of social, political, economic, ethnic, or religious exclusion, can stimulate the need for one's identity recognition. In such cases, identity provides these groups with sources of empowerment and direction to defend their interests and rights (M. Bernstein 2005, 59). Studies on gang violence, for instance, drew similar conclusions emphasising that if a person feels alienated, misunderstood or neglected, he or she looks for alternative places of belonging (Burton 1997, 57). When immigrants feel marginalised or even excluded from societal life, their identity can become a powerful source for claiming recognition within the society they inhabit. As a result, "the agenda of identity politics seeks to overcome a perceived sense of exclusion and to secure legal redress for those who feel excluded" (Flanagan 2004, ix).

Due to their social and economic vulnerability, religious minorities, including immigrant religious communities, seek to find new ways of preserving their identity while asking themselves how far they should go in their adaptation to the mainstream culture. As self-supporting communities, religious minorities are characterised by higher rates of attendance and regularity in religious practice as compared to the majority. Adhering to their own religious and cultural traditions becomes a focal point in the community life of minorities. The problem arises only when a schism occurs between the interests and needs of the mainstream population and religious minorities (Davie 2000a, 154, 181).

The functionalist theory of human needs can be helpful in explaining immigrants' motivations to join and attend their religious communities and groups. It is important to examine to what extent the need for belonging plays its role in shaping immigrants' religious identities. Do young migrants and people with migration background join their religious communities and, subsequently become religious, because they search for interpersonal contacts and connections? Also, migration status and the opportunities for social inclusion in the host societies raise important questions of membership at the level of societal, national, ethnic belonging and religious belonging.

Constructivist Approaches to Identity

According to constructivists, "identity is invented, constructed, imagined and performed" (Croucher 2004, 39). In this sense, constructivism emphasises that religion itself is not a pre-given quality that can exist independently of human constructions. Instead, it is a constructed, *second-order* concept, i.e. an observer's construction based on the first-order beliefs, practices, and experiences of human actors (Beckford 2003, 21). Constructivism assumes the possibility of a change of identity. Bauman attempted to prove that "'belonging' and 'identity' are not cut in rock, that they are not secured by a lifelong guarantee, [but] that they are eminently negotiable and revocable" (Bauman 2004, 11). According to Bauman, the idea of identity "did not gestate and incubate in human experience 'naturally', did not emerge out of that experience as a self-evident 'fact of life'" (Bauman 2004, 20). Instead, "the idea of 'identity' was born out of the crisis of belonging and out of the effort it triggered to bridge the gap between the 'ought' and the 'is' and to lift reality to the standards set by the idea" (Bauman 2004, 20).

The theory of constructivism acknowledges that "individuals have any number of identities. Some of those identities intersect or collide with others, and all vary in salience across time and across contexts" (Croucher 2004, 38). The multiplicity of identities implies that the problem is not how to obtain an identity of choice, or how to have it recognised by others, but "which identity to choose and how to keep alert and vigilant so that another choice can be made in case the previously chosen identity is withdrawn from the market or stripped of its seductive powers" (Bauman 2000, 143–144). In a similar way, Erik Erikson spoke about an identity crisis, while arguing that this generation and especially young people are concerned with the decision what identity to choose (Erikson 1995, 17–19). Sociology offers different variants of the constructivist approaches to identity.

Identity as a product of socialisation

Social constructionist theory emphasises that identity is formed by political, social, economic and cultural choices. As a result, constructivism acknowledges that identities, individual or collective, can undergo changes. An individual's "identity can change, for example, when she or he moves, marries, or makes money" (Croucher 2004, 38). According to Bauman, identity can also be forcefully imposed on people without their consent in some cases when it becomes a source of stereotyping, humiliation, stigmatisation and dehumanisation. Homeless people, refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants or particular ethnic groups might be denied the right to assume the identity of their choice (Bauman 2004, 39).

It is an undisputed fact that immigrants, including second- and third-generation, are influenced by their families and communities. Although, in the case of immigrants, identity formation begins in the homeland, identity reconstruction in a new country is greatly influenced by new religious experiences. For Warner, assimilation for these immigrant groups is not linear, as religious institutions help reproduce culture, provide new social roles for migrants, and even enable personal religious transformation (Warner 2000). Moreover, societal conditions, and how the host countries perceive and receive immigrants, impact on the formation of immigrants' identities. Yurdakul highlighted that migration literature has chiefly concentrated on how the majority society perceives immigrants as a source of potential problems. Immigrants in Germany, for instance, are targeted as the cause of "social disintegration". As result, immigrants in Germany "share a common anti-immigrant experience, and this leads to politics resistance" (Yurdakul 2009, 14).

Most importantly, the socialisation theories emphasise that identity has a potential for change and variation as a result of and in relation to political, economic, and socio-cultural changes in a society (Croucher 2004). In seeking an explanation for religious conversion, understood as religious change and the change of religious identity, Berger turned to the socialisation approach. He argued that an individual who lives in a particular religious world, i.e. a religious congregation or community, exists at the same time in a particular social context. This social context influences conversion, i.e. change of religious identity (Berger 1973, 58–59). Through social and intercultural interaction, immigrants are able to adjust their original identities to new environments. They can reshape their identities or construct new ones through their new social attachments. This change might strengthen their sense of belonging and enhance their civic responsibility for issues that concern the life of their society (Appadurai 1990; Croucher 2004). The societal environment, identity change and intercultural interaction are elements that shape the

immigrants' integration processes. Religious congregations and religions do not necessarily have to be places where ethnic and national boundaries are maintained through transnational ties.

Identity as a product of the situations of change

The situationalist theory emphasises that identity is constructed in situations of change. Identity can be seen as a process, which takes place in a reality of diverse and changing social experiences. In this sense, Coleman and Collins argue that this process of identity creation occurs in "the dynamic formation of boundaries among social groups" (S. Coleman and Collins 2004, 4). A proponent of this theory, Frederik Barth claimed that identity can be identified and described in a process of change and transformation. Barth understands identity in relation to action and the creation of shifting networks of interpersonal relations (Barth 1969). Bauman suggested that identity is a form of an incomplete process of identification in which individuals and groups are constantly engaged. This process occurs in the realities of a globalising world (Bauman 2001).

The situationalist approach can be found in Julia Bernstein's study on Jewish Russian migrants to Germany and Israel, which demonstrated how religious identity can be redefined in the everyday lives of these migrants through changes in eating habits. Russian Jews became used to Russian and Ukrainian eating habits and started to eat pork and other non-kosher food, despite the fact their religion does not allow them to do so. After the fall of communism, many Jews migrated from the regions of the former Soviet Block to Israel and to Germany. In Israel, their "non-kosher" eating habits have been encountered by native Jews, who have viewed eating non-kosher food as a key anti-cultural and anti-religious symbol of the Jewish identity. Despite this encounter and even attempts to impose legal restrictions to ban the sale of non-kosher food in Israel, Russian Jews in Israel have maintained their non-kosher eating habits. They constructed a new religious justification according to which eating non-kosher food "does not contradict their Jewishness". They have even influenced the eating habits of other Jews. The consumption of non-kosher food, including pork, has risen dramatically (J. Bernstein 2011).

Bernstein argued that migrants do not transport their self-contained accomplished culture with them. Instead, their identity formation is characterised by a "fluid nature to cultural affiliations as they select and employ cultural elements that are integrated through involvement in spacial situations, states, or conditions of their existence" (J. Bernstein 2011, 16). According to her, identities, which she calls affiliations, can be constructed and modified "in particular situations in response to needs within specific situations" (J.

Bernstein 2011, 16). She claimed that culture, within which the identity of immigrants is formed, is "created through dynamic dialogues as well as permanent changes and modifications, rather than being limited to preserving of stable habits and practices" (J. Bernstein 2011, 16).

The situationalist approach might be helpful in explaining violence and religious fundamentalism. According to Bruce, "people's sense of identity depends on the circumstances in which they are asked to think about it and act on it" (Bruce 2008, 98). Bruce argued that ideological cohesion, which makes a collective religious identity vital and visible, is not solely a property of beliefs and religious traditions. Instead, religious identity as encompassed in ideological cohesion "emerges from the interaction of the belief system and the external environment" (Bruce 2008, 98). This can be observed in the conflict between India and Pakistan, where the issue of identity became important, with the creation of two separate states after independence from British colonial rule. According to Bruce, Hindu fundamentalism emerged as a reaction to a new situation in which Islam was perceived as a threat to Hindu identity (Bruce 2008).

Identity as a product of personal decision

Bauman argued that identity has to be "discovered; as a target of an effort, 'and objective'; as something one still needs to build from scratch or to choose from alternative offers" (Bauman 2004, 15). In his view, identity is formed within a community. In an individualised society, where community has collapsed, identity becomes a surrogate of community and the sense of identity becomes a shelter of security and confidence (Bauman 2000; 2004). Bauman insisted that individuals formulate their own identity themselves. While emphasising the idea of human self-construction and self-assertion, he argued that individuals have "the capacity to self-transformation" and that "humans are free to self-create" (Bauman 2000, 143–144). Identity "is not a private matter", however. It is still "socially produced". It is the process of individualisation, self-determination and self-identification though which an individual becomes autonomous. The nature of our sociality and society

> "depends in its turn on the way in which the task of 'individualization' is framed and responded to. What the idea of individualization carries is the emancipation of the individual from the ascribed, inherited and inborn determination of his or her social character. [...] To put it in a nutshell, 'individualization' consists in transforming human 'identity' from a 'given' into a 'task' - and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences [...] of their performance" (Bauman 2000, 143–144).

Identity - "who you are makes sense to you only once you believe that you can be someone other than you are; only if you have a choice; only if it depends on you what you choose" (Bauman 2004, 19). The opportunity to choose an identity is only possible in the modern world, where one is aware of different ways of life and identities.

The constructivists thus argue that religiosity and religious identity is possible without church affiliated religion, i.e. without belonging to a religious organisation. Beckford collected a number of expressions of religion which are not bounded to organised church and which reflect individual choice. These can include

> "implicit religion (Bailey 1997,1998), folk religion (Clarke 1982), common religion (Towler 1974) and invisible religion or the diffusion of sacred sites in late-modern societies expressed through consumer culture, popular culture and mass culture. In this sense, religious and sacred significance can be attributed to events such as music festival and pop-concert (Mellor and Shilling 1997), moments of collective solemnity such as the funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales (Walter 2001) and even the consumption of commodities" (Beckford 2003, 27).

In a similar way, Hammold wrote about an individual-expressive religious experience. In a secularised society, the religious identities of people may change independently of the dynamics of the institutional religion and churches. Involvement in religion is largely voluntary and independent of social ties, with a changeable and transient religious identity (Hammond 1988).

In this view, identity is thus more a category of contingency and possibility than the category of determination postulated by the proponents of primordialism. An individual can choose which identity or even which elements of a particular identity he or she will adopt to create his or her own identity. As explained in the first part of this chapter, the contingency and possibility of a particular shape and image of identity is caused by and dependent on the complexity of the contemporary dynamics in particular societies.

Identity as a combination of socialisation and individual agency

Some scholars emphasised the role of individual agency in the formation of individual and collective identities while, at the same time, acknowledging the impact of socialisation. Kondo introduced the term "crafting selves" to describe the role of individual or collective agency in one's identity construction in relation to his or her context. Crafting selves means "that human beings create, construct, work on, and enact their identities, sometimes creatively challenging the limits of the cultural constraint" (Kondo 1990, 48). She argued that people are not merely "bearer of social roles" within contexts but they are instead an effect of these contexts. As a result, the context and identity (personhood) are inextricable.

Nevertheless, the individual agency, construction and enactment constitute identity as a lifelong and ongoing process (Kondo 1990). Similarly Bendixsen observed that young Muslim women were active rather than passive actors while submitting to religiously defined norms and rules. While using Kondo's framework, she defined this identity formation as a "creative process by which people constantly craft, construct, and enact their Selves within a socio-historical space" (Bendixsen 2013, 154). As Bendixsen argued, the notion of crafting self acknowledges the creativity and continuity in the processes of one's identity formation without ignoring the social and contextual constraints (Bendixsen 2013).

Individual choice is another, but very important factor, in addition to social structures, in the formation of religious identities of Evangelical Christians in Northern Ireland observed by Mitchell and Ganiel. While the literature on religious identity formation tended to present religious identities as products of socialisation, Mitchell and Ganiel emphasised that the individual agency in the religious change of individuals should be considered equally (Mitchell and Ganiel 2011). These combined approaches acknowledge a broader spectrum of factors that influence one's identity formation, providing for a more comprehensive understanding of one's identity change.

Conclusion

In my research, I understand religion as a socially constructed reality. This approach leaves open the possibility of the supernatural or the social dynamics that affect human lives, as I do not intend to prove or disprove these assumptions. On the contrary, I use a more inclusive concept of religion while combining the above mentioned classical and contemporary definitions of religion as well as concepts focusing on migrant-specific religious experience. The research on migration and religion has tended to focus on immigrant congregations and communities primarily. While I acknowledge the importance of immigrant institutions in shaping immigrants' religious identities, I also look at other aspects, settings and sites of young people's religiosity. Religion and the religious experience of young people is also formed beyond their religious communities. Young people practise and live their religion and faith both individually and collectively in several settings. Knoblauch already highlighted that religion is not limited to religious institutions. In contrast, it is spread across all sections of the society (Knoblauch 2013). For this reason, he put preference on the term *visibility of religion*, thus contrasting Luckmann's *invisible religion* (Knoblauch 2013).

Both substantive and functional theories of religion are important for the understanding of immigrants' religious practices and beliefs, as well as the ways in which they relate to their communities and the wider society. This research thus takes into account religious institutions (congregations and communities), religious behaviour (practices and experiences), religious meanings (perceptions, motivations and beliefs) and religious environment (societal context and conditions). This comprehensive understanding of religion corresponds with the nature of this study, since the young people who are the object of the study understand religion in various ways. For these purposes, I do not see religion as a stand-in and static category. Instead, I am interested in how young people themselves perceive, understand and formulate religion. I understand religion as a process in which migrants participate - a process in motion that reflects the local situation of individuals, the nature of immigrant religious communities and the context of changing societal conditions. Ultimately, both the functional and substantive aspects of religion play important roles in shaping young people's identities. The substantive aspects of religion are especially important as young people formulate and change their religious identities.

Constructivist approaches to identity formation provide most useful explanations on how people use both the substantive and functional aspects of religion. They aid the understanding of meanings that people give to their religious identity, functions of religion for people, and change of religious identities drawing on a variety of factors. Constructivist approaches allow for a combination of various factors that can influence and facilitate one's identity formation and change. I conclude that the constructivist theories maintain the stronghold on the importance of social, contextual and situational influences, particularly with regard to social roles, but advocate this on the basis of creating a situation that enables the individual agency which plays an equal role in the formation of people's identities. This interrelationship is indicative of a continued and ongoing process of identity formation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological approaches adopted in this research and the reasons for choosing them. The research topic is studied from an interdisciplinary perspective, thematically situated in the field of migration studies and the sociology of religion. For the collection and analysis of data, I adopted qualitative interpretive approaches grounded in sociology and informed by some anthropological sources. In particular, I pursued a strategy of inquiry that combined multi-sited ethnography and diverse case studies methodology, involving participant observations and interviews. The research methods and theories deployed in this dissertation work together to address the research question and to draw valuable conclusions. The combination of particular methods helps to elucidate how immigration experience and background reshape the contours of immigrants' religious identity. The interdisciplinary and combined methodological character of this research influenced my sources, which were manifold. Primary sources are based on the fieldwork data and include participant observations and semi-structured as well as in-depth open-ended interviews. I also included social networking websites, websites of the congregations, written documents, the media and observations of political and public discussions. Data from relevant statistical reports and legal documents provided additional information. Secondary sources include academic literature for the theoretical framework and relevant media sources. The chapter starts with a description of and rationale for choosing my methodology and cases. The main part describes the different stages of field work and ethnographic tools that I used. The chapter then explains how the collected data were analysed with the use of an inductive coding approach.

3.1 Rationale for Approach: Qualitative Ethnographic Case Studies

The research adopts a combined approach to allow space for different methods and theories to complement each other. I refer to normative and epistemological theories from sociology, migration studies, religious studies and anthropology to formulate the conceptual and contextual framework. Although theory is not usually the starting point in ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 25), in this project, theoretical perspectives provide a better understanding of the interrelation between immigration and religious identity in its context. Recent studies acknowledged the need for situating the problems studied with the use of ethnography within their wider contexts (O'Reilly 2012, 159). In

fact, ethnography often challenges and revises frequently used theoretical categories and established concepts, thus illuminating theoretical frameworks (Becker and Eiesland 1997, 18). The involvement of relevant disciplines and the intersection of methodologies and theories can provide a more contextual and comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted relationship between migration and religion. While linking empirical explorations to theories, I did not seek to validate theories by methodologies. Instead, I adopted this nexus as mutually supplementary. Qualitative ethnographic methodology based on anthropological and sociological approaches was adopted for the collection and analysis of primary data. I adopted a mixed methodology combining diverse cases and multi-sited ethnography with insights from online network research and organisational ethnography. Castles argued that a combined methodological approach can provide a broader and more profound understanding of the topic and satisfy the practical needs of such fieldwork that requires flexibility and adaptability (Castles 2012, 15). The triangulation of methods suited the multi-case and multi-sited nature of the project and aided the exploration of the topic from a broader perspective.

The dissertation analyses the impact of migration experience and background on religious identities in diverse cases and in multiple settings. In particular, I look at two different social contexts, Ireland and Germany, in which I study young religiously active people who differ from each other based on their religious affiliation, ethnicity, nationality and migration status. Studying different, yet comparable cases helps to elucidate the degree to which patterns of behaviour exist between and across different cases, settings and contexts. By comparing diverse cases at different levels and with different variables, this research explores conjunctions of changes of religious identity among young people with migration experience and background. The experiences of one group of young people would not be sufficient to establish general patterns of experiences and characteristics across groups. As Ganiel argued, "the aim of a case study is not to make wide generalizations about social trends. Rather, it is through studying atypical cases that social scientists provide perspectives on how alternative, micro-level processes take place" (Ganiel 2008). In this sense, observing different and atypical cases provides me with the ability to reach a deeper perspective on the formation of identities among different groups of young people at the micro-level. Although multi-sited research avoids contextualisation and comparison of the local (Falzon 2009, 1), I refer to the studied contexts in terms of their multiple connections and relationships. I study the particular cases, settings and sites across their localities and spaces. Such a diverse case analysis can provide a more compelling argument, increase generalisation and eliminate sampling bias (Gerring 2007,

98; Birley and Moreland 1998, 36; LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 114; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 292–316). Although I study transnational and mobile individuals, I selected specific cases and settings as my case studies (Candea 2009; Cook, Laidlaw, and Mair 2009). The boundaries of the selected cases are demarcated by the criteria of age, country of residence, nationality, ethnicity, religious belonging and locality. In particular, the subjects of this research are young people who are characterised by their migration experience or background, religiosity, ethnicity, nationality and place of residence.

The object of the study in this research is truly mobile and multiply situated. My research thus takes the form of a multi-sited ethnography which involves "moving between field-sites, exploring boundaries and connections, and investigating multiple locations of the subject matter" (Neyland 2008, 15). The aim of multi-sited ethnography is to follow the trajectories of interconnections, relationships and juxtapositions of ideas and people across different spaces, sites and locations of a system (Marcus 1998; Hannerz 2003; Falzon 2009; O'Reilly 2012; Robben 2012). In using these methods, I do not claim that my multi-sited study is richer than single-sited research. I apply a multi-sited approach because migrants are mobile and multiply situated. My fieldwork was carried out in urban settings with a multitude of interlocking locations. Shifting between sites was necessary in order to capture the formation of multiple religious identities of immigrants across multiple sites of activity. Young people whom I studied lived their religious identity in more than one setting and social context. Although they were not ultimately in what Falzon frames as "a constant state of displacement" (2009, 5), they were in motion between and across different locations and settings.

Most importantly, young people who are the focus of this study maintain transnational attachments. As such, they are traversing two different societies, i.e. their country of origin and the country of origin of their parents and their host society. The transnational dimension was considered in this research from the respondents' perspective. I did not carry out fieldwork in immigrants' countries of origin or the ancestral country of people with migration background, however. Instead, I explored how their religiosity was formed in their present contexts. I researched how these young people narrated, understood and negotiated their migration experience and background in relation to their religiosity in the societies in which they live. Although the research was primarily conducted in immigrant communities, I also followed young people to other social settings. I observed their behaviour in intercultural, ecumenical or interreligious activities. I accompanied many participants to their homes, families, social and sport activities, and public events. I followed their interaction and thoughts on social media websites. Only one site – personal

prayers and private religious life – was often not available to me. Most sites I followed were inter-connected, while there also were sites that were disconnected and incoherent depending on the nature of an individual's relationships and categories of comparison.

Qualitative ethnography is the most adequate methodology for exploring the dynamics of the formation of immigrants' religious identities. Qualitative research interprets phenomena from the perspective of people - the motivations and meanings that people attribute to their behaviour and external world (Della Porta and Keating 2008, 26–28; Denzin and Lincoln 2011, 3). The exploratory and descriptive function of ethnography was highlighted by Geertz's concept of "thick description" which has become a guideline for the interpretation of cultural behaviour (Geertz 2000). In my research, I used ethnography to depict how young people understand and perceive their religious identity. Qualitative methods aided the exploration of hidden meanings and motivations behind young peoples' religious beliefs and behaviours. Studying and interpreting these meanings using combined ethnographic methods provided reasonable explanations of the patterns of changes in their religious identities.

The strength of ethnographic data is another reason for using ethnography. Ethnographic research produces a detailed and in-depth account of phenomena, groups or individuals in their everyday life and social settings (LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 12–14; Neyland 2008, 2; O'Reilly 2012, 20–21). The data gained through interviews and observations provided an authentic source of information for analysis and an in-depth picture of the patterns of young people's religious identities. Ethnography allowed exploration of the dynamics of identity formation and religious behaviour among young people in their natural settings and contexts (Bray 2008, 298; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 6). I do not understand migration and religion as autonomous systems isolated from other social phenomena. Instead, I explore the picture of young people who live in particular post-secular, post-modern and transnationally connected societies.

Moreover, ethnography has become popular among scholars of sociology of religion, especially those who research contemporary immigrant communities. Becker and Eisland claimed that ethnography, when applied to the study of religion, has the powerful ability to locate religious experience socially and in an interpretive framework, which aided the understanding of religious and social changes. According to them, ethnography

> "provides an excellent set of tools for developing more adequate narratives of religious change, a more nuanced understanding of the differences between individual belief and practice and organizational culture and process, and a map that refines our knowledge of religious cultural cleavages and religious experience" (Becker and Eiesland 1997).

Orsi also noted that ethnography is the most suitable method for studying immigrants' religious experiences because it provides in-depth insights into settings that are usually difficult to capture in words (Orsi 2010).

3.2 Research Settings and Cases

The central question is assessed through an analysis of diverse cases at multiple levels with particular immigrant religious communities and congregations taken as research settings and sites. The reasons for choosing to study two different types of migrants distinguished by religious, ethnic, national and contextual differences are explained in the introduction. The selection of immigrant communities was guided by a combination of careful considerations, pragmatic reasons and natural intuition. I took into account the criteria of accessibility, permissibility, convenience, logistics, location and familiarity (Brewer 2000, 80; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 37–60; LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 154–156; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 284). As I was interested in young people with migration experience and background, I looked for immigrant communities that organise regular youth activities or are predominately attended by young people. I also applied the criteria of ethnic, national and denominational belonging in order to select a number of diverse cases. This selection was then complemented by considering practicalities such as how familiar I was with the context and the communities, how accessible the communities were and how far they were from my place of residence.

Immigrant Congregations in Ireland

The selection of the three ethnically and denominationally different groups in Ireland aimed at presenting a diverse picture of EU migration to Ireland. Most parishioners attending the three churches are temporary and young migrants. The German Lutheran church provides space for young people who organise themselves in a group called 20's-Up. Polish and Slovak communities are predominantly, if not entirely, attended by young migrants. Some young people from all the three communities know each other through the attendance of Taizé services, ecumenical services and leisure activities. An informal initiative named 'Church Hopping' was organised young people from migrant-based congregations, including the three mentioned, during the Lent and Advent periods. Young people attended various local Irish churches and congregations in order to explore their religious traditions.

All the three communities in Dublin maintain close relationships to their mother-structures in their homelands which provide with moral, ideological and financial support as well as religious leaders, albeit under different arrangements. The Polish Chaplaincy is legally and ideologically connected to the Catholic Church in Poland. The Slovak community is neither a chaplaincy nor an independent parish, but a group of people administered by a Slovak priest under the roof of the Irish Catholic Church with no official connection to the Slovak Catholic Church. German Lutherans are organised and recognised as an independent Irish Church with contract-based connection to the Lutheran Church in Germany.

The communities are places of religious life, cultural events and social interaction. They also serve as platforms of social networking where young people can find useful information such as about new job opportunities and housing. Lutheran services are very conventional with traditional liturgy and organ music. In contrast, singing and liturgy in Polish and Slovak Masses are accompanied by a choir and a modern music band. Modern and contemporary Christian songs are mainly in the repertoire. In various ecumenical activities organised on a national or Dublin-based level, the Lutheran church would be more visible than the Polish chaplaincy and the Slovak congregation. The Lutheran church would be represented by one of its ministers or members, whereas Polish and Slovak Catholic ministers would be missing given the fact that Catholics are already represented by members of the Irish Catholic church.

Given my background, studying Slovak and Polish Catholics appeared to be a very natural option. Being a Lutheran, and a Lutheran pastor, gave me a reason for including the Lutheran congregation in my case studies too. I was familiar with the three communities. The Lutheran congregation in Dublin became my religious home. I attended the congregation even before I started my doctoral studies. Time to time, I also attended the Slovak Catholic community where I developed good friendships with some Slovaks. I also developed contacts with young Polish Catholics through various ecumenical activities and events. The fact that all three communities are based in Dublin also played a role in my decision.[26]

[26] Due to the lack of familiarity and time, I did not include other EU immigrant congregations in Dublin such as the French Catholic, Polish Lutheran, Latvian Lutheran, Greek Orthodox and Rumanian Orthodox communities. Nonetheless, I attended a number of activities in other migrant-based religious congregations, which supported the main cases and further strengthened my argument.

The German Lutheran church

The German Lutheran St Finian's congregation in Dublin is the only parish of the Lutheran Church in Ireland which has been registered as a non-profit association (Charity) at the Office of the Revenue Commissioners since 1961. The Lutheran Church was founded by German immigrants in 1689. Despite its old tradition, almost all current members of the congregation in Dublin are contemporary immigrants who predominantly come from Germany (Lutheran Church in Ireland 2011). The church parish consists of two separate linguistic branches: a German branch for German and German-speaking people and an English branch which organised services in English. The two branches share the premises of the St Finian's Church with the Latvian congregation and the Polish community, which are chaplaincies of their homeland Lutheran churches in Latvia and Poland. The German congregation has around 450 registered members (Lutheran Church in Ireland 2013). Since many members are temporary migrants, the membership numbers vary each year (Lutheran Church in Ireland 2009).

The German congregation maintains a special relationship to the Lutheran Church in Germany which provides its Ireland-based church with financial support and German-speaking ministers. Since the Lutheran faith is not seen as part of the Protestant tradition of Ireland but as a tradition of the German reformation, the church is regarded neutrally in the Irish religious context (Interview 1). Religious services and activities are mostly conducted in German. Church services are followed by a gathering in the parish centre with coffee and tea. While the mother parish is in Dublin, regular services in German also take place in other Irish and Northern Irish cities, including in Belfast. The average attendance at the Sunday services is approximately fifty people. Family services and services during religious festivals are attended by around a hundred people. The English services, which are held once a month, are attended by a considerably smaller number of Germans. According to pastors, one of the main reasons why only a few German members attend English services is the fact that many German members wish to have services in German and to socialise with Germans. Also, many parents prefer to bring their children to German services as this provides their children with an opportunity to practice their mother tongue. Apart from the Sunday services, the congregation organises several activities for children, adolescents, young people, adults and women. Young people are organised in a young group called 20's-Up which meets every Sunday in the afternoon. There is a multilingual Taizé worship operating weekly (Interview 1).

The Slovak Catholic congregation

The Slovak Catholic congregation is not really an independent congregation but a community which started as an initiative of young Slovak Catholics in 2005. These, around thirty, young people were initially attending gospel Masses in the St Francis' Xavier Catholic Church at Gardiner Street in Dublin. After Masses, they engaged in conversations, exchanged information and continuously developed friendships. They also organised casual leisure activities. The group connected with some Slovaks who were attending Polish Masses and another group of Slovaks who were organising soccer matches at Fairview Park. They started to think about their own religious meetings. One of the facilitators described the beginnings of the group in this way:

> "One wing [in the St Francis' Xavier church] was Slovak, and we began to meet, but we did not even have a priest or someone who would band Slovaks together. There was also no site or anything where we could meet. There was no website. The only thing that existed was www.irsko.exil.sk - so there was no way for Slovaks to somehow group themselves. We started to meet at the Gospel Holy Mass. Then we came to Taizé once [St. Saviour's Dominicans Taizé in St. Catherine's chapel in Dorset Street]. We met there Dominican brothers who asked us why we do not start our own meetings. So we did. They had Taizé on Wednesdays. So we organised our meetings on Thursdays. In the autumn 2005, we began with the first meeting – this is the way how Slovaks started with lessons *Lectio Divina*. And the lessons have continued until now" (Interview 2).

Two brothers from the St. Saviour's Dominicans in St. Catherine's Chapel provided theological guidance at the lessons. After a year, they left. However, the community voluntarily continued in organising meetings in the chapel:

> "We did not want that it disappears. We founded the group voluntarily. We continued with meetings. However, it is different when one has a leadership of theologian or a priest; this is something else when he [priest] can be a guide. Dominicans housed us so that we could be there; they gave us the space, but the Lord took care of us. [...] He always sent us some spiritual leader [clergy] who somehow led us and started to push us. Regular Sunday Masses were launched. As a result, the Slovak community began to live.[[...] the Holy Mass is for us the heart-meeting where we are meet together on Sundays and have tea afterwards. I think that what is the most important is a Shepherd" (Interview 2).

Theologians and priest who came to Dublin to study English in the summer months were assisting with Masses. Then, a priest from Slovakia came to study in Ireland and to work in an Irish parish. He was replaced by a new priest who serves the community alongside his official work in an Irish Catholic church. Sunday Masses take place in the St Saviour's Church and are attended by approximately a hundred young people. In addition to Sunday Masses in the evenings and the Thursday's Bible lessons, the community also organises meetings for families with children and mothers, soccer matches and many other

activities. After-Mass chats with coffee and tea were established to foster relationships among the members of the community. Volunteering and the engagement of lay people are important elements of the community (Interview 3). The communitarian way of life is best expressed on their website: "We are a group of Slovaks who went to Ireland. We work, live and meet with friends, visit each other, and especially help each other as much as we can. We are not any elite, just a simple and happy folks in Dublin" (Krestania).

The Polish Chaplaincy

Polish Catholics in Dublin organise themselves as part of the Polish Chaplaincy in Ireland which operates across Ireland with several chaplaincies and Polish Masses served in around 100 towns and villages. In Dublin, the Polish Chaplaincy can be found in three churches in the city centre with Polish Masses and activities also held in several suburban areas of Dublin. While the Polish Chaplaincy is directly linked to its structure in Poland, it also works together with the Irish Episcopal Council for Immigrants which provides a platform for the cooperation between the Irish Catholic Church and immigrant congregations and chaplaincies.

The Saint Audoen's Church and parish in High Street in Dublin 8 has become an autonomous home of Polish Catholics in Dublin. As noted by Strieff, once a "dying church", the church has become a living religious community (Strieff 2008). With the increasing number of Polish people arriving in Ireland, the church was handed over by Archbishop Diarmuid Martin to the Polish Community in Dublin through the Polish Cardinal Józef Glemp in 2006. The parish organises Masses every evening during the week and five Masses on Sundays (Polish Chaplaincy). Altogether, the Sunday Masses are attended by up to 5,000 Poles most of whom are young people. In addition to Sunday Masses, the church organises various activities and provides religious and non-religious services, including Saturday education for children.

The Dominican Polish Chaplaincy is the second place where Polish Catholics meet for religious activities. Masses are held in the Saint Saviours Church in Dominick Street twice on Sundays and once on Fridays. The Chaplaincy offers other activities such as confessions, meetings with young people, before-marriage courses and lessons called *the school of faith* where different topics from the life of faith are discussed. Masses and confessions are also offered by Polish Jesuits in Saint Francis Xavier Church in Gardiner Street in Dublin 1 on Tuesdays and Sundays since July 2007 (Interview 4).

Muslim Communities in Germany

In the German case, the idea of carrying out interviews with young people of Turkish background in Göttingen evolved during my visiting studies in Göttingen, where I befriended students with Turkish background. While most interviews were carried out in Dublin and Berlin – in capital cities and with people who are affiliated with particular religious communities, Göttingen is a small city and the students are often not affiliated with particular religious groups. Nonetheless, the Göttingen case demonstrates particularly important patterns in social and religious dynamics in Germany, namely that people of Turkish background who consider themselves secular are usually seen as religious, i.e. Muslim, by their German social environment. In order to fully understand the dynamics of identity formation among young Muslims, I found it important to talk with people of migration background who are perceived to be religious but are not necessarily so.

While exploring the opportunities for fieldwork in Berlin, I conducted a preliminary recherché on many Muslim communities in Berlin with the focus on those communities which organise youth activities. After visiting a number of Muslim communities, including non-Turkish communities, I excluded some settings that appeared to be inaccessible.[27] I decided to focus on the youth group associated with the Sehitlik mosque at Columbiadamm in Berlin which belongs to the DITIB - the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (*Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V.*, türk.: *Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği*). This community accommodates one of the largest groups of Muslim young people in Berlin who meet regularly, mainly for lessons in Islamic themes on Wednesday, within the premises of a purpose-built mosque and an established Muslim-Turkish religious organisation. The facilitators of the Wednesday lessons allowed me to carry out my research in their community. Although the youth group in the Sehitlik mosque was my main setting and source of data, I also conducted a few interviews in the Interkulturelles Zentrum für Dialog und Bildung (IZDB) [Intercultural Centre for Dialogue and Education]. In addition, I carried out observations in the local boys' group of the association Muslimische Jugend in Deutschland e.V. (MJD) [Muslim Youth in Germany]. These two associations are not typical mosques. While the IZDB is organised as a community centre focusing on youth work, the local group of the MJD is an independent group of young people with regular weekly meetings.

[27] I excluded communities and centres that did not respond to my requests. Some communities were impossible to be reached at their postal addresses. In few cases, the leaders were too suspicious about my research. After providing additional information, I never received any clear response, which I interpreted to mean that they were hesitant to allow me to carry out research in their community.

I also attended other mosques that organised youth activities and lessons in German, which provided further insights into the religious practice of young Muslims in Berlin. Many mosques provide weekly and weekend schools for children, teenagers and young people. They offer courses in classical, modern and *Qu'ranic* Arabic. The Wednesday Islamic lessons in the Sehitlik mosque and the lessons in the IZDB are a combination of talks in Hadith, Koran and contemporary Islamic themes. Importantly, young people who attend the Islamic and Koran lessons in the Sehitlik mosque, the IZDB and the MJD still attend prayers in other mosques.

According to Spielhaus, there are seventy-six mosques, four Islamic prayer rooms and two mosque associations without premises. Ninety per cent of the associations and mosques belong to Sunni Islam. Divisions and rivalries between mosques and associations are a continuous problem (Spielhaus 2006, 13). The German-speaking Muslim community in Berlin provides similar information: seventy-seven mosques and Islamic places of worship in Berlin. The majority of them are located in Kreuzberg, Neukölln and Wedding. Fifty-two of them are using Turkish language as a majority language while being associated with the Turkish population (Deutschsprachiger Muslimkreis 2011). About seven Muslim religious organisations in Berlin use German as the main language of instruction in order to attract younger generations of Muslims who do not speak or do not speak properly Arabic or Turkish (Özyürek 2007). For example, the German-speaking Muslim Community, the IZDB and the Tariq Burhaniya mosque use German. Other mosques such as the Sehitlik mosque use German alongside Arabic or Turkish.

Some mosques and places of worship in Berlin started to deliberately pay attention to young people. They usually appeal to younger generations through specially designed youth activities or through their convenient location. The Koran and Islam lessons remain the focus of the youth work, while new forms of presentation and communication are used. Lessons in Islamic themes dedicated to young people are organised by younger imams, facilitators of youth work or referents who speak German. These referents often went through a similar experience of living in a specific district, coping with discrimination, searching for faith and religion. Many mosques see an increasing need to offer new youth-specific activities, including spare time activities inside and outside the mosque such as computer courses, sport activities, painting, drama groups and discussion groups. The need to develop youth work has been driven mainly by social factors such as the fight against drug and alcohol consumption, unemployment and the loss of prospects for future – themes by which young Muslims in Berlin have been strongly affected. Youth activities serve as a prevention of these negative aspects. Sport activities such as soccer are often an effective

tool that provides an alternative to drugs and life without any perspective. Coaching and after-school lessons are often part of youth work (Sezgin 2011).

The youth group in the Sehitlik mosque

The Sehitlik mosque is the oldest mosque in Berlin based on the border between Nueköln and Kreuzberg - suburb areas with a predominance of foreign population, including Turkish population, living in this district (Dancygier 2010 232; Helicke 2002, 182). I visited the Sehitlik mosque as part of a guided tour organised for students from the Evangelical-Lutheran University Chaplaincy in September 2011. The guide of the mosque, Abbas, is also one of the facilitators of the themes in Islamic themes. He encouraged us to take part in the evening prayer which followed after the tour. I attended the mosque again during the 'Hand in Hand Against Violence' week - an initiative organised by Muslim communities in Berlin together with the police and educational institutions in order to discuss domestic violence, youth criminality, youth gangs and other forms of violence that occur among young Muslim people.

The mosque is a multifunctional place for community life, encompassing a main praying hall (the mosque), an additional hall for community activities, an office, a shop, a cafeteria and rooms for the ritual washing. A cemetery for Muslims is also situated on the site of the mosque. The Sehitlik community organises lessons on Islamic themes in German every Wednesday. This initiative started some four years ago in order to provide further information about Islam for visitors and those who are not Muslims. Nevertheless, the lessons attracted many young Muslim women and men who were interested in Islam and who do not speak Turkish properly. The fact that the lessons are in German is crucially important because the lessons seek to approach young people from the second or third generation of Muslims who usually do not speak Turkish or Arabic. The lessons are attended by around sixty to eighty young Muslims.

Prayer is an important part of the lessons. It also is a way how young people can be included into community. Prayers before and after the Wednesday lessons are attended by younger rather than older men, whereas prayers during week days are attended mainly by older men. Women pray on the balcony or in the lower ground floor room. During the lessons, women and men sit separately on the carpet. They can see each other, i.e. they are not separated by a curtain or they are not in two separate rooms. A few women do not wear any headscarf. Although the majority of young women and men are from Turkish-German background, there are significant numbers of young Muslims from Arab countries and a few German non-Muslims and converts. The lessons and other youth activities are

organised by lay facilitators, two women and three men. The facilitators prepare their lectures while using different available literature, contemporary interpretation methods and modern presentation tools which reflect the everyday life of young people.

The Intercultural Centre for Dialogue and Education

The IZDB is a member of IBMUS - Initiative Berliner Muslime - which is an association of mosques of different ethnic and national backgrounds (Spielhaus and Färber 2006, 7). The IZDB is located in Wedding, a district populated mainly by people with migration background. It was established in May 2005. The founding members got to know each other during their studies and realised that there was a lack of dialogue between Germans and migrants, and between Muslim believers and others. The centre seeks to build a basis for dialogue through the education of Muslims. Young people are especially the focus of the work of the Centre. Many activities include Koran and language courses, advanced training and continuing education courses. Also drug, alcohol, violence and conflict resolution are on the agenda of the centre. Youth-related actual topics such as veiling, street violence, criminality and forced marriages are also given the floor. The centre offers a range of religious, cultural, social and sport activities while emphasising multi-cultural character. The centre organises lesson in Islamic themes which are led by an imam who was educated at the Azhar University in Egypt (Kamp 2006, 41).

Muslim Youth in Germany

The MJD is a member of the FEMYSO, a European umbrella organisation of Muslim youth, and thus stands beyond the scope of typical local youth groups organised within particular mosques.[28] The MJD in Berlin has had many locations. During my fieldwork, the MJD has been using the premises of the Bilal Mosque which also houses the German-speaking Deutsche Muslim Community and the premises of the IZBD in Wedding. Before 2010, they were using the premises of the bookshop Green Palace situated in Kreuzberg. The MJD in Berlin has already been an object of research by Bendixsen (2013) and Gerlach (2006) who focused exclusively on the group identity formation and the religious practice of the group. The association seeks provide a space for young Muslim people to practice Islam and to deepen their knowledge in Islamic faith. The educational activities are accompanied by leisure time activities and strong community building. The aim of the MJG is to reflect the every-day life of young Muslims in connection to basic principles of

[28] FEMYSO has a similar structure to other religious youth associations such as the Ecumenical Youth Council of Europe or the World Christian Student Federation.

Muslim faith. Gerlach framed the MJG communities as representatives of pop-Islam (Gerlach 2006).

In addition to general sessions for both girls and boys, the MJD runs separate sessions for boys and girls. I attended a boys' session. The main lessons were structured with introduction, main presentation, followed by questions and answers session. The reading of Koran, first in Arabic, then with translation into German, followed by commentaries is the central part of the meeting. If someone new is present, boys introduce themselves by their names, age and their origin. The meeting continues with presentation on certain aspects of faith and religious practice. The MJD also runs girls groups that follow a similar structure. For the obvious reasons of gender-sensitivity, I did not attend the girls' meetings. The MJD emphasises the multi-cultural character of the composition of members. It promotes Islamic practice among youth as particularly relevant in light of the many temptations which younger people are facing such as sex, alcohol, fashion, music and religiously inactive friends. Leisure interests such as dating, sex before marriage, alcohol, drugs, attending clubs and parties are emphasised as forbidden in Islam. These negative influences of the secular society are addressed by emphasising religious ideals and religiously defined ethos during the weekly meetings.

3.3 Field Work Procedure

The procedure of my fieldwork fits into a classical ethnographic framework, which includes negotiating access, establishing relationships, withdrawing from relationships and following up (Buchanan, Boddy, and McCalman 1988, 53; Geertz 1977, 6). The fieldwork took an exploratory inductive form with an open-ended stance (Bray 2008, 299), while addressing the questions of how immigration experience and background impact on religious identities. Essential ethnographic methods, namely participant observations and interviews were the main methodological tools. I also gathered preliminary observations and informal interviews prior to the start of my fieldwork. Written documents, social media networks and online websites provided additional sources of information. The first part of the fieldwork research took place in Ireland from December 2010 to March 2011, followed by six months of research in Germany. After returning to Ireland, I continued with the fieldwork in Dublin, while undertaking a few short visits to Berlin for the purpose of establishing contacts with local mosques. From September 2013 until April 2014, I carried out interviews and observations in Berlin.

Gaining Access

Gaining access to the studied communities was the first step in my fieldwork, which helped me to build a trusting environment and collect meaningful data. Previous research highlighted that getting access to research settings and sites is the most essential and difficult task in ethnography (Brewer 2000, 82; Bryman 1988; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 54–67; Neyland 2008; O'Reilly 2012, 86–91). Some scholars suggested that access to a setting can be negotiated through previously established 'sponsors', mobilised through informal contacts, social networks, acquaintanceships or friendships. Such sponsorship can ensure not only an easy access to settings but also a better quality of content (Buchanan, Boddy, and McCalman 1988; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 61–63). In the Irish case, points of contact were developed before I started the fieldwork. Through my familiarity with and intensive contacts to the congregations, I tried to profoundly empathise with my potential participants and build a trusting environment. The access to the Lutheran congregation was unproblematic as I had attended the congregation since I moved to Ireland and had thus established profound contacts. Being Lutheran and a former Lutheran pastor was ultimately an added value in gaining both access and trust to the congregation. As a Slovak, I had a straightforward access to the Slovak community where I attended several religious events and established a few friendships prior to my research. Through ecumenical activities, I developed contacts with young Polish Catholics who introduced me to their congregations. In Göttingen, I befriended some German students of Turkish background who introduced me to other young Turkish-German people. In the case of Muslim communities in Berlin, I mainly resorted to gatekeepers, i.e. lay youth leaders, who granted the official permission to access their communities.

In addition to informal 'sponsors', gatekeepers play an important role as they monitor, guard and grant the official permission for the access to the group (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 63–74; O'Reilly 2012, 91). As members of the group, gatekeepers can provide access and introduce the researcher to the group (Geertz 2000). I sought official permission to carry out my research from leaders of the respective religious organisations and communities. In the Irish case, the permission was straightforward and granted verbally in informal settings, as ordained and lay leaders of the congregations and the intra-community youth groups knew me personally. Both clergy and lay leaders also encouraged their parishioners for interviews and assisted with finding respondents. In Berlin, the access to the communities was negotiated through the leaders of the communities, since informal sponsorship was absent in the beginning. An official request

was made to the DITIB branch office in Berlin.[29] Nonetheless, the chosen gatekeepers were not the imam or the officer but lay youth leaders and other young people who lead the Koran lessons and youth activities in the Sehitlik mosque. They granted the permission to access the community and helped to locate potential respondents.

Establishing and Maintaining Rapport

Establishing and maintaining effective relationships with people is "important for gaining in-depth, up-close views on what it is like to be a member of a particular group" (Neyland 2008, 15). Preserving this rapport increases the credibility and acceptance of the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 80–83). Mutual trust makes it easier to access the site and produce rich data. The process of relating to people in the setting generally moves from establishing initial contacts with key informants to building friendships with others (Buchanan, Boddy, and McCalman 1988, 61; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 9–13). Establishing rapport with key informants and gatekeepers is often crucial for approaching other respondents (Whyte 1993). In the case of Germans and Slovaks in Dublin, the role of gatekeepers in maintaining rapport was not as necessary as in other groups because my involvement in these congregations allowed me to gain sufficient trust. I attended their activities and developed close friendships with members long before I started my fieldwork. I was naturally accepted by clergy, youth leaders and regular members of these congregations. In the Polish community in Dublin and in the Muslim communities in Germany, gatekeepers played a crucial role in maintaining rapport. Additional points of contact who helped me to maintain relationship to the community developed in the course of the fieldwork. For example, I developed a friendship with a member of the Sehitlik community through my affiliation with the Humboldt University. Developing deeper friendships with my Turkish-German respondents and showing awareness of Turkish culture in Germany was also advantageous in building trust.

In order to ensure sustainability of relationships and thus of the flow of the data, I tried to maintain rapport with gatekeepers, 'sponsors' and respondents for the entire period of the research. I actively participated in formal activities in their communities and accompanied some to public events outside their communities. I met them in informal settings and engaged in informal conversations. We went for coffee, lunch or a walk. I was invited to their homes, movie evenings and birthday celebrations. In some cases, we became very close friends. Undoubtedly, such close relationships allowed me to gain thoughtful information which would have not been available to me in another way. In

[29] For details, see Appendix 1.

addition, the Internet, and especially social networking websites, allowed for a smoother access to and continued contact with my interviewees. Facebook made it possible to exchange information and arrange dates for interviews in a more frequent way. At the same time, I was aware of potential dangers a too close relationship to my interviewees. I thus tried to balance and constantly shift between my roles as a friend and as a researcher.

At the outset of the fieldwork in both case studies, gender differences appeared to be an issue which required a case-specific approach. For example, a respondent from the Slovak community asked her friend, who proposed her to me as a potential interviewee, whether she could talk to me about her private religious life given the fact that I was a strange man. After my friend explained to her that I was a priest (although the understanding of a Catholic priest is different from that of a Protestant pastor), she felt comfortable. I also had difficulties in approaching female respondents in Berlin from the beginning. Despite having experience of interaction with Muslim women, I was somehow hesitant to approach veiled women in the mosques. Once my gatekeepers introduced me to other women in the community, I came to realise that my hesitation was based on my own prejudice. By the end of the process I had interviewed more women than men.

The Selection, Profile and Sampling of Participants

The multi-case nature of the project required me to adopt a combined approach of criterion-based, member-identified, observer-identified, and reputational/ snowball sampling (For details, see Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 154–172; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 280–318; Patton 2001). The mixed sampling, which is common in multi-sited and multi-case studies (Patton 2001, 117), aimed at ensuring adequate representation of the focus group. The research focused on young people with migration experience and migration background aged 18 to 38. Due to the reasons outlined in the introduction – the prolongation of adolescence and demographic changes in Europe - I decided to go beyond the classical age categories in identifying my sample. Instead of applying fixed age limits, I applied member-identified categories by young people in the studied communities who interpret the classification of young age differently than classical definitions. My interviewees understand themselves as young people. They are single or married young adults who do not conform with social categories that were characteristic for previous generations. Even married young people, including those with children, engage in the same social and religious activities as those who are single. The migration status of the young people interviewed was another criterion in selecting participants. Here considerable differences occur between the focus group in Germany, i.e.

second- and third-generation young people of migration background, and the group in Ireland, i.e. first-generation young migrants. The selected participants are also characterised through different modes of ethnic, national and religious belonging.

The actual sampling of respondents for interviews followed combined targeted (criterion-based) and random sampling. The targeted sampling method aimed at selecting people with as many patterns of religious identities as possible, both different and similar. I looked for both typical and unusual cases of religious behaviour. Under unusual cases, I interviewed people who were either extremely religious or non-religious but still attending religious activities and who considered themselves believers. Typical cases involved average members of the communities. Targeted sampling was based on prior knowledge, observations and informal discussions, which were beneficial in identifying the range of characteristics and components of the studied groups. Social status and educational level corresponded with available statistical data. The research targets a broad constructed sample of young, lower to middle class people. More than half of respondents have or were in the process of gaining third-level education. I included both employed and unemployed people. Some respondents were fully independent, while a few were economically supported by their families. I kept in mind to make a balanced gender selection.

Based on initial observations, I approached my potential respondents. Some people approached me on their own after I introduced my work in their community. In a few cases, I used a snowballing or reputational method by resorting to my 'sponsors' or gatekeepers who identified individuals for interviews. This approach was used mainly in the Polish community and during the fieldwork in Germany. Within and between communities, I looked for variations while seeking to capture common patterns that were similar to and could be compared with other cases. Although this research does not speak for all young first-, second- and third-generation migrants in Ireland and in Germany, initial observations were useful in determining a sample size large enough to represent the diversity of the focus group.

Interviews

I carried out 67 interviews with young people aged 18 to 38.[30] Specifically, in the Irish case study, I interviewed nine young people from the Lutheran church, fifteen from the Slovak community and ten from the Polish community. For the German case study, I interviewed sixteen young people in Göttingen, and seventeen young people in Berlin. I also carried out experts' interviews with gatekeepers, i.e. religious leaders and lay leaders, in the studied

[30] For information on participants and the schedule of interviews, see Appendix 2.

religious communities. In addition, in the Lutheran congregation in Dublin, I interviewed six people who were older than 36. Interviews took different forms, depending on the circumstances, and included informal, in-depth open-ended and semi-structured interviews (for the definitions of different types of interviews, see Brewer 2000, 63-69; Schensul and LeCompte 2013). This combined approach in interviewing was influenced by various dynamics of the sites and people being interviewed. Rather than deciding on a specific interview form, I opted to adapt to specific circumstances and respondents' needs. The interviews present respondents' perceptions and understandings while showing how interviewees make sense of religious beliefs, behaviours, norms and practices.

Perhaps half of the interviews were semi-structured, with an in-depth dimension that looked for common patterns and variables across and within the cases. The questions were predetermined and structured around the central research theme. Interviews followed a context-appropriate topic guide focusing on faith and religious experience; attachments to ethnicity, nationality and homeland; and experience with ecumenical or interreligious interaction. I sometimes included questions regarding their experience with discrimination, racism and established churches. Respondents were given the opportunity to answer the questions in a flexible open-ended way. Semi-structured interviews were mainly carried out with young people.[31]

In contrast, in-depth open-ended interviews aimed at exploring new information and building mutual understanding. The interviews started with an open, general question concerning religious identity, followed by additional exploratory questions. While the interviews were open-ended, I tried to keep track of ideas and points. I used this form of interview mainly with gatekeepers to explore the main characteristics of religious behaviour in the studied groups. I also carried out open-ended interviews with a few, usually more mature respondents. These interviews strengthened my analysis by providing valuable insights and clarifying my questions. In some cases, especially when interviewing people I knew well, semi-structured interviews naturally evolved into open-ended and narrative interviews. These narratives described the individual trajectories of religious change from the perspective of interviewees while illustrating how respondents' religious identities moved from one point to another.

Before undertaking my research, I considered the research ethics implications of my fieldwork and acquired the necessary approvals. The key ethical concerns related to the informed consent of interviewees, my approach to the interviews, the protection of the identity of interviewees, and the use and storage of data. The interviews began by introducing

[31] See Appendix 3 for the detailed outline of interview questions.

respondents to my project and practicalities, including the assurance of confidentiality. At the start of my research, I attempted to use written informed consent.[32] However, this did not work since my first interviewees hesitated to sign any form. After the consultation with my supervisor, I decided to use verbal consent. Written signed form consent is usually not required for example in the case of illiterate people or in sensitive cases where there is an atmosphere of fear of the misuse of the data. Nevertheless, verbal consent has also become a very common practice in ethnographic research in migration studies, as migrants and people who face marginalisation often distrust signed forms (Bendixsen 2013). The aim of informed consent is to inform the interviewees about the research and about the confidentiality of their responses and identity and to ask for their permission to interview them.[33] These objectives can also be ensured and achieved without a written signed consent form.

Following these procedures, I asked my respondents for their approval to record the interview, and to use the content of the interview for citation and analysis in my dissertation and academic publications. I highlighted that their views will be respected, their identity will not be revealed, and their names will be changed. I also emphasised that their views were important for the better understanding of the religious identities, practices and beliefs of young people with migration experience and background. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. In a few cases, I returned the transcripts to respondents for clarification if I was not sure whether I correctly understood the meaning. Minor "sanitization" of transcripts that did not corrupt the data was needed to make responses presentable in English. It was not always possible to record the interview using technological devices – specifically when respondents refused to be recorded due to a lack of trust or the fear of misuse of recorded material. This was the case with respondents in Göttingen, two respondents in Berlin and two in Ireland. In these cases, I recorded responses by taking notes. Several informal interviews and conversations with respondents, other members and non-members who attended the communities complemented the formal interviews.

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[32] See Appendix 4.

[33] According to the American Anthropological Association, informed consent should involve these three aspects: communication of information, comprehension of information and voluntary participation. With the use of informed consent, a researcher should inform "potential participants of the purposes and procedures of the research, the risks and benefits associated with the study, and how the data provided by the participant will be protected and stored. The ethnographer bears the responsibility of ensuring that the participants are fully informed of the intent of the ethnographic research, how the participants' information contributes to the research, and the anticipated risks and benefits the participants may expect to occur as a result of their agreement to participate in the research" (American Anthropological Association 2004). See also LeCompte (1999, 123-124).

I tried to keep interviews in a non-formal conversational form. The interviews with German, Slovak and some Polish participants were conducted in their native languages. In the case of Polish respondents, we sometimes switched to English as my Polish was not strong enough. The interviews with two non-German members of the Lutheran church were in English. The interviews in Germany were conducted in German. The interviews were carried out at various locations such as churches and mosques, work places, university classrooms and cafés. The length and the content of interviews varied, depending on the situation and the individuals' openness to being interviewed. Interviews lasted approximately one hour with a few interviews even taking up to four hours. In most cases, informal conversation preceded the interview. Sometimes, the interview was interrupted and continued later or another day. Although it was unproblematic to arrange dates, meeting scheduled appointments was often a concern. In such cases, I sometimes highlighted the importance of my academic research or just asked my gatekeepers for help. At the same time, I sympathised with respondents' time constraints. I adjusted to their availability and time, and respectively considered the length, date and location of interviews. As many participants worked or attended college during the week, most interviews were conducted in the evening hours or during weekends after church services.

Participant Observations

Participant observations formed an important part of my research.[34] As it was impossible to observe every situation, observations focused on activities and behaviours that showed patterns relevant to understanding the impact of immigration on religious identities of young people. In the Irish cases, I observed regular community activities such as Sunday and weekly Masses and services, regular mid-week gatherings, youth activities, weekly Bible lessons and Taizé services. I also paid attention to non-regular activities (sport and social activities), ecumenical services, discussions and meetings that took place within and outside the immigrants' congregations. In the German case, I regularly attended weekly lessons on Islamic themes, Friday services, youth activities and interreligious events that were in German. I randomly observed a few evening prayers and activities that were in Turkish and Arabic.

I sought to understand why young people are attracted to these activities, how they behave, and whether they participate actively or passively. I observed their interactions with other members of the congregation and their involvement in activities. I did not limit

[34] Participant observations help to trace patterns of behaviour, relating, boundaries, organisation, and hierarchies of informants in their natural settings (Brewer 2000, 59; Lichterman 2002; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 47–63; 83–111).

my observations to religious community events, but I also included routine situations. I attended birthday parties, family celebrations and other social events that showed how these young people relate to their friends and family. Observations sometimes took into account unusual situations. For example, I attended two lawsuits when two of my respondents dealt with discrimination at their workplace. Observations involved note-taking, deciding on what is important to the people who were observed and describing the observed reality. Observations helped to clarify interviewees' responses. In Muslim communities in Germany, I was not able to participate in all activities due to my language or gender barriers. Some activities were for women only and some in Turkish only.

Participant observing often includes an effective membership in the group by actively participating in activities and social interaction, which provides insights into what membership confers (Neyland 2008, 15; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 83–111). I was fully integrated and even actively took part in life of the Lutheran church and Slovak congregation. While attending the communities in Berlin, I followed the Koran lessons. I was shifting between my active and passive roles. This hybrid participant observation allowed me to go behind the curtain and understand the young peoples' behaviours.

Written Accounts, Online Sources and Social Media

In addition to essential ethnographic tools, I used relevant written and online documents produced by the communities for supporting information. These documents included song books, flyers, regular newsletters and other records produced and used by congregations. While most of these documents are for practical usage, they often depict the ideological image of the congregations. The availability of such documents varied from case to case. While the Polish and Slovak communities did not have many written documents, the German congregation was rich in such written accounts since it has had a significantly longer historical record than the Polish and Slovak communities. The documents I had available from the communities in Germany were mainly flyers and invitation posters. I also referred to immigrant-led newspapers and magazines produced by respective immigrant groups. The official websites of the studied communities provided additional sources of information about the communities and intra-community groups, with much smoother access. I also resorted to other websites used by immigrant congregations and intra-community groups as sources of ideological support. For example, young charismatically engaged Slovak Catholics followed a website containing information relevant to their religious life. I was also added to the communities' mailing lists.

The Facebook profiles of the groups and members of the studied communities provided further information on behaviours and beliefs of young people.[35] Facebook was especially helpful in providing a better understanding of individual and interpersonal behaviours, since young people used this virtual network as a platform for presenting their ideas and positions. Information posted by respondents was often useful in clarifying their formal responses and observed behaviour. I also followed the Facebook profiles of the communities and respective youth groups, which are used to communicate activities, post invitations and spread information. Young people also used Facebook as a platform for expressing their political positions and theological principles, raising awareness, calling for activism and individual actions, posting invitations and tackling internal problems. I treated the Facebook profiles of the respective communities as official and publicly available sources of information. In the case of individuals, I did not use or cite any information posted on their Facebook profiles. I only used relevant information to clarify my observations and interviewees' responses. In addition, social media helped to save time in communication and the gathering of data.

3.4 The Analysis of the Data

The analysis was a systematic cognitive process that started with careful reading of the data and deciding on which data were important for this research. The data were analysed with the use of an inductive (open) coding approach. I followed a coding scheme of different items sorted into units and patterns of religious behaviour, which provided a basis for the development of categories (Brewer 2000, 106–117; Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 2001; LeCompte 2012). I first looked for codes, i.e. items, that occurred often and that were influential or rare. The items included particular activities, events, practices, behaviours, beliefs, interactions, statements and actions. Then, I compared and contrasted items in a cross-text comparison. I sorted the items into patterns, with established linkages across different cases, so that they fitted together and expressed particular themes. As different themes and patterns emerged and repeated across the data, I sorted them into larger conceptual units derived from the initial theoretical framework. These units included

[35] Ethnographers highlighted that social media websites provide a useful source of data since they serve as settings for the behaviours and actions of studied groups and individuals (Hine 2000; Hine 2005; Kozinets 2010; D. Miller 2011). They allow people to present their identities, create communication networks, and socialise within small and close networks (Trotter II, Schensul, and Weeks 2012, 242). Social media can often contain additional and more profound information than information gained through interviews as many people find it easier to communicate through the computer (O'Reilly 2012, 173–175). Social networking websites came to serve as platforms for expressing people's religious behaviour and identity (Campbell 2012). Also, migrants and immigrant communities use social networking websites for fostering transnational ties and relationships, and for exchanging information (Crush et al. 2012a).

patterns according to the behaviours of actors, types of activities, beliefs articulated and interactions. The analysis resulted in the development of a system of categorisation that recorded patterns of change, alternation and shifts of religious identities.

Although the final analysis took place once all the data were collected, I went over the data throughout the course of the research. While analysing interviews and observations, I tried to keep in mind the importance of narratives and individual stories. Individual narratives as presented by respondents provide the most valuable accounts of young immigrants' perceptions. The validation of data included respondent validation and comparison of the accounts of different participants. In addition, I presented preliminary findings of my research in the Lutheran congregation in formal settings at one of their regular events and in the Slovak community in informal settings. I was also invited to present my findings in the Sehitlik mosque, which did not happen due to my medical intermission. Nonetheless, I plan to visit the mosque and present my final outcomes at a later stage.

Based on explanations for different types of ethnographic presentation (Bray 2008, 313; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 249; Neyland 2008, 12), I presented the findings in the form of thick narratives while changing the details and combining data from different respondents. The constructed portraits presented original stories, including excerpts from interviews and notes. This 'middle-range' methodology allows for the presentation of individual stories while considering their multiple versions and interpretations. The details may differ, but the themes of longing for home, of identity construction and of identity challenge are repeated. The names of respondents were changed and replaced by pseudonyms in order to ensure confidentiality. The pseudonyms were chosen on a non-alliterative basis but so that they match to respective groups' names. In the case of Turkish names, I used a baby name website and friends' recommendations.

I take into account the fact that the religious activity and behaviour of the studied individuals may last for only a certain period. Studying life pathways of identity formation and religious activity is beyond the scope of this research. During my four years of research, I interviewed people who, by its end, stopped attending their religious communities. Due to time concerns and the scope of this dissertation, I did not carry out additional interviews with them, even if it would be interesting to investigate the reasons why they become religiously inactive.

3.5 Reflections on Researcher's Identities and Competencies

The level of credibility in the project depends on the ability of the researcher to balance his or her own outsider versus insider perspectives - between subjectivity and objectivity (Roper and Shapira 2000; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 104–105; Bray 2008; Neyland 2008, 16).[36] My position in this project contained both insider and outsider characteristics while constantly shifting between the roles and identities. In the course of the research, I came to realise that my insider and outsider identities were not fixed but contextual. Entering different sites with multiple and negotiable identities allowed me to maintain a rapport. I became what Marcus called "a circumstantial activist" while embedding myself into different sites and assuming cross-cutting personal commitments (Marcus 1998, 98). Possessing multiple identities allowed me to be more flexible and mobile in the sites and settings. My identities and personal characteristics such as nationality, student-status, social background, education and gender were reinforcing my insider-outsider perspective, aiding a balanced and impartial approach to the research sites and respondents. My different identities and personal characteristics were apprehended and received differently in respective sites. Most importantly, my academic duties and my focused approach to my research ensured an unbiased engagement in my research sites and with my interviewees. A balanced and unbiased approach was also ensured through the fact that I was not bound to the sites through formal membership. I left the sites as well as the two studied countries after the completion of my fieldwork and research.

In most cases, I presented myself as a religious person while alternating the details depending on the context. By showing a high level of religious sensitivity and awareness, I was able to reach and to be accepted by religiously active young people. I was a complete religious participant in the Lutheran church and in the Slovak community. In the Lutheran church, I also preached and helped with religious services a few times. At the same time, I was not a full member of the church and attended it for a specific period only. I was rather a passive participant in the Polish congregation and in the Muslim communities. Given my nationality, I was an insider in the Slovak community, whereas I was an outsider as a non-Catholic. I was an outsider among Turks, Poles and Germans in terms of nationality. My identification with Eastern Europeans made me a partial insider in the Polish community. I

[36] Being a friend can produce a better quality of data than those obtained as a stranger. At the same time, getting involved too much in relationships may affect the objectivity of the research (S. M. Miller 2001; Everhart 2001). Previous research highlighted that personal characteristics and identities influence the degree to which a researcher can be accepted in a setting (Buchanan, Boddy, and McCalman 1988, 59; LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 46–53; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 85). Although the researcher can decide either for passive or active participation, shifting between different identities and switching the modes of inside-outside roles can be more efficient (Poloma 2003; Ganiel and Mitchell 2006; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 109).

was an insider in the Lutheran church as a Lutheran believer and as a former Lutheran minister despite the fact that I am not German. In Germany, I was an outsider not only in terms of nationality but also in religious terms. As a man, I found it especially difficult to interview Muslim women. At the same time, being religious, young and migrant allowed me to come closer to young Muslim respondents with migration background.

My professional and educational background was perceived in different ways by different individuals. In most cases in Ireland, being perceived as a former minister enabled me to build confidence faster than I expected. During the fieldwork in Germany, I avoided mentioning my previous work. Instead, I referred to my student status and my immigration experience. As a researcher, I was perceived without any suspicion among Poles, Slovaks and Germans due to my cultural, ethnic or religious belonging. My presence as a researcher in Berlin was very apparent, especially after I was officially introduced in the communities. Referring to my institutional affiliations was accepted affirmatively by most respondents in both countries.

Previous research highlighted the importance of personal and communication skills in carrying out ethnographic research (Buchanan, Boddy, and McCalman 1988, 60; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, 135; LeCompte and Schensul 2010, 46–53; Schensul and LeCompte 2013, 13–15). Through my previous studies and work experience, I developed sound communication skills and a high level of interpersonal and intercultural competency. Having worked as a youth minister and facilitator of youth groups in culturally diverse settings and with youth at national and international levels, I did not experience any major difficulties in approaching my respondents. Knowledge of religious norms, beliefs and practices in Catholicism and in Islam gained through my studies in theology enabled me to better negotiate my involvement. I tried to be an active listener and observer by assessing how the content of interviews and observations relates to the research. There were a few situations when interviews and conversations almost shifted to counselling. In some cases, we concluded the interview with a prayer. Often, respondents asked me about my faith and my experience living abroad as a migrant, which stimulated further conversation.

The multiple sites and considerable distances to them required additional efforts in organising logistics and time. I mostly used my bike and sometimes public transport while commuting to and between different sites. During my fieldwork in Dublin, Sundays were the busiest days of the week when I often attended three services: the Sunday service in the Lutheran church in the morning, the Slovak Mass at 5pm, followed by the Polish Mass. During the week, I attended other regular and occasional activities. My schedule in Berlin was less intensive with only three to four regular events per week. I would also like to add

a special note on the challenge of using four different languages in this research, which required a high degree of flexibility and endurance. I sometimes carried out observations in two or three congregations within the same day and had to quickly switch from one language to another. When attending Sunday's religious services in Dublin, I often spoke in four languages: German, Slovak, Polish and English. Consequently, I had to interpret and translate most passages from the transcripts of the interviews cited in the dissertation into English. The work also involved the cultural translation of idioms and languages as respondents were from diverse ethnic, cultural and religious groups. This research was thus not only multi-case and multi-sited but also multi-lingual.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methods used in the dissertation. I used an interdisciplinary approach, grounded in ethnographic and qualitative sociological methods and informed by insights from anthropology. A combined methodological approach, including diverse case studies and multi-sited ethnography, was adopted for the collection, analysis and presentation of the primary data. While interviews and observations were the main methodological tools, I also resorted to other sources. The interviews presented a focused, not a representative sample, and the number of them is still limited as compared to real numbers of immigrants in both countries. This dissertation does not seek to speak for all young people with immigration experience and background; rather it gives deeper insights into the complex individual religious experiences of young migrants, as they are situated in new religious communities and differing host societies. The different pieces of the jigsaw puzzle created an overall picture of different patterns of religious identity reshaping among young people living as migrants and people with migration background in Ireland and in Germany.

Chapter 4: Understanding the Irish and German Contexts

Introduction

This chapter explores the Irish and German contexts, providing a picture of the key characteristics and policy contexts of these two societies. In particular, the chapter provides an overview of the demographic data, legal status and social characteristics with regard to immigration in both countries. I also investigate public perceptions towards newcomers and citizens with migration background, and immigration policies, including approaches to diversity. These policies and perceptions reflect the legal environment and societal conditions that form spaces in which immigration is perceived and managed. They can have a remarkable impact on the formation of immigrants' religious identities and on the accommodation of religious particularities of immigrant groups. While immigrants in Ireland are religiously and ethnically diverse, this diversity is still relative as the vast majority of migrants come from EU countries, hence from a Christian cultural background. The increasing presence of Eastern-Europeans, especially Polish migrants, has evoked new anti-immigrant sentiments, however. The foreign population in Germany is indeed diverse, but one ethnic and religious group is significantly larger than other migrant groups. Germany houses one of the largest Muslim populations in Europe, coming to a great extent from Turkey. There are significant differences and similarities between Ireland and Germany with regard to the legal status of, public opinion towards and societal environment of immigrants. This chapter observes that EU migrants in Ireland enjoy a more favourable environment, due to their legal status and due to the fact that most Europeans share a common Christian heritage with the Irish majority. State policies and the media discourses in Germany are not as sympathetic to people with migration background. In addition, the stereotypes of Islam and the Muslim population affect the relationships between natives and people with migration background.

4.1 Ireland and Immigrants from Central and Eastern European Countries

From a Country of Émigrés to a Country of Immigration

Ireland has undergone a dramatic path from a poor country of emigration, through intensive immigration during the "Celtic Tiger" period to decreasing immigration levels in the economic recession. Ireland was historically a country of emigration with a relatively religiously and culturally homogeneous population. Emigration from Ireland exceeded the natural increase in the Irish population for centuries. Between 1841 and 1961, the population drastically declined from 8.2 million to only 2.8 million (Ruhs and Quinn 2009;

Bronwen Walter et al. 2002, 1; Central Statistics Office 1963). Only in the 1970s, Ireland had a net inward migration higher than net emigration for the first time. This quickly reverted to net outward migration again after this period (Central Statistics Office 2011a, 10–13). The Irish migrated mainly to the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, but also to Australia and New Zealand (Walker 2007; Bielenberg 2000; Coogan 2002; Rex 1998). The emigration has created an immense Irish diaspora with some 80 million people around the world claiming Irish ancestry (Lentin and McVeigh 2006, 36; Loyal 2007, 30). An estimated 3 million Irish citizens live abroad (Paddy O'Hanlon 2002, 6). Irish emigration has become a quintessential characteristic of the country's social and cultural landscape (Loyal 2007, 30). Major immigration to Ireland did not appear before the 1990s.[37] From the mid-1990s onwards, Ireland experienced a major economic and social transformation, prompted mainly by EU funds, the opening of the economy to foreign investments and the reduction of corporation tax. The time of the "Celtic Tiger" generated rapid economic growth, modernisation and new job opportunities, creating an unprecedented demand for workers. As result, the booming economy stimulated a remarkable immigration influx (Central Statistics Office 2011a; Kirby and Carmody 2009; Krings, Bobek, et al. 2013; Loyal 2007; Ruhs 2005).

Since 1991, the share of foreign-born persons living in Ireland rose from six per cent to over twenty per cent in 2008.[38] The most remarkable increase came after the 2004 EU enlargement. Ireland together with the UK and Sweden were the only EU states which opened their labour markets to citizens of the new EU states following their accession (Krings, Bobek, et al. 2013). Since that time, EU nationals have not only dominated migratory inflows, but also pushed immigration rates to new heights. The share of EU immigrants increased from 3.5 per cent in 2002 to 6.6 per cent in 2006. This growth was mainly caused by the immigration of Eastern Europeans. Between 2005 and 2008, forty-four per cent of all immigrants and fifty-four per cent of the non-Irish immigrants were from the EU12 (Ruhs and Quinn 2009; Central Statistics Office 2011a).

[37] Despite being coined as a country of emigration, the British, French Huguenots, Germans, Italians, Jews and Chinese also settled in Ireland before the 1970s (Lentin 2012; Lentin and McVeigh 2006, 36). Some immigrant groups continuously assimilated into the Irish culture such as the French Huguenots (Best 1997), whereas other groups such as Lithuanian Jews have maintained their distinct religious and ethnic identity (Lentin 2012, 2–4; O'Toole 2009, viii).

[38] This number includes Irish citizens born abroad. Returning Irish migrants were at the forefront of the immigration to Ireland until the late 1990s, followed by migrants from the UK. As inward migration of other nationals continued, the share of returning Irish returnees fell from about 65 per cent in the late 1980s to only 18 per cent in 2008. As the share of returning Irish migrants was falling, non-EU migrants came to dominate the flows between 2001 and 2004, making more than half of all non-Irish immigrants. Since 1991, each intercensal period has shown net inward migration. In 2002, 5.8 per cent of the total population in Ireland were non-Irish citizens, increasing to 10.1 per cent in 2006. At the same time, the percentage of Irish nationals fell down from 92.9 per cent in 2002 to 88.8 per cent in 2006 (Central Statistics Office 2011a; Ruhs and Quinn 2009).

Nonetheless, the financial and economic crisis of 2008, the apogee of which was the cancellation of many job opportunities mainly in the construction, banking and services sectors, resulted in a drop of immigration. The net inward migration switched to net outward emigration once again in the middle of 2008, when there were almost 8 thousand more of those who emigrated than those who immigrated (Central Statistics Office 2011a, 12). In 2009, the immigration rate declined by forty-two per cent (Vargas-Silva 2011, 3). The emigration rates have increased significantly since 2008. Irish nationals have been the largest group of emigrants, counting for more than fifty per cent of all people who left the country, followed by the EU12 nationals (Central Statistics Office 2011b, 1). Emigration reached its highest peak by almost seventeen per cent between April 2010 and April 2011. This emigration was accompanied by a decrease of the allocation of Personal Public Service Numbers (PPSN) and an increase in unemployment (Central Statistics Office 2013; Department of Social and Family Affairs 2010).

Even if immigration rates have been decreasing, the net inward migration has remained positive (Central Statistics Office 2011b, 1). While many immigrants returned to their homelands due to the loss of their jobs, some found new opportunities in other sectors (Krings 2010; Krings, Bobek, et al. 2013; Mühlau 2012). Also, new immigrants arrived to work in the communication and IT sectors which have been left untouched by the crisis (Krings 2010). When taking into account the constantly changing immigration and emigration rates of migrants from the EU12, the decrease in PPSN signals that Eastern European migrants tend to stay in Ireland temporarily. Figures taken from the last nation-wide census in 2011 indicate that the foreign population constitutes almost seventeen per cent of the total population, whereas over seventy-two per cent of all immigrants are from the EU countries. The UK citizens are the largest migrant group followed by Polish, Lithuanian, Latvia, Romanian, German, French and Slovak migrants.[39]

The Socio-Economic Profile of the EU Immigrants

EU immigrants are economic migrants since they migrate to Ireland for the purposes of working or studying. Their immigration has often been driven by a desire to explore new

[39] The exact numbers from the 2011 census are as follows: 766,770 migrants and foreign-born people; the EU countries: 555,594 people. 212,286 migrants were born in England and Wales, while more than 17 thousand people resident in Ireland were born in Scotland. Polish migrants with 115,193 people are the only nationality, apart from the UK, which is present in every city and town in Ireland. 34,847 people resident in Ireland were born in Lithuania, followed by 19,989 Latvians, 17,995 Romanians, 13,000 Germans, 10,000 French, 10,695 Slovaks and 7,003 Spanish. In addition, there are immigrants from other countries. The real numbers can be higher than the official figures since a portion of migrants is unknown to the authorities due to the absence of records on the entry or departure of EU migrants (Central Statistics Office 2012b; Central Statistics Office 2008, 28).

opportunities, to travel, or to live in a different country. After economic reasons, social networks played a crucial role in the motivation and facilitation of EU migrants' move to Ireland. Many newly arrived immigrants would be unlikely to be alone in Ireland (Young Christian Workers Movement 2008, 31). As the data on the allocation of PPSN demonstrated, migration is for Eastern European migrants mainly temporary (Krings, Moriarty, et al. 2013; Krings, Bobek, et al. 2013).

The temporary nature of immigration also appertains to the age of EU migrants who are the youngest population group in Ireland. Based on the data from 2008, around seventy per cent of Poles were aged twenty to thirty-four, while over sixty-two per cent were single. Sixty-two per cent of Slovaks were young people in their twenties and seventy-seven per cent of them were single. Many married migrants from the EU12 moved to Ireland while having left their spouses and families in their homelands. In particular, fifty-nine per cent of married male Poles and eighteen per cent of married female Poles were not living with their spouse while in Ireland. Although there were fewer young Germans than young Eastern Europeans, (around forty per cent of Germans aged twenty to thirty-four), young adults represented the strongest demographic group among Germans. Fifty-nine per cent of Germans were single and only thirty-one per cent married. However, only nine per cent of Germans who were married were not living with their spouse (Central Statistics Office 2008).

While immigrants' socio-economic profile is significantly different from that of the Irish and British population (and from migrants from other English-speaking countries), there are noteworthy differences among EU immigrants. These differences imply different life opportunities, privileges and status. Migrants from Western Europe such as Germany preponderantly work as highly skilled professionals in managerial, technical and non-manual positions. Nearly seventy-five per cent of them are employed in the business, banking and manufacturing sectors. In contrast, immigrants from the EU12 are behind Western European migrants in terms of occupation, education and housing conditions. Seventy-five per cent of Eastern Europeans are employed in skilled manual, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, concentrated in manufacturing, constructions, wholesale, retail trade and services (Central Statistics Office 2008). Temporary low-wage employment, even with poor working conditions, is still attractive to many migrants who prefer temporary jobs because they intend to stay in Ireland for a short period (Wickham et al. 2009).

More men than women migrants from the EU12 live in Ireland, which corresponds with male-dominated types of work. The gender composition of people from Western Europe and non-EU developed countries is relatively equal. Nearly three quarters of

migrants from EU15 (excluding Ireland and the UK) have a third level qualification, whereas the portion of third-level graduates is significantly lower among EU12 (Central Statistics Office 2008). Yet, many Eastern European immigrants are not employed to the level of their educational qualifications (Barrett and Bergin 2007).

As far as religious affiliation is concerned, religious affiliation among Polish and Slovak migrants is tremendously high. Ninety-three per cent of Polish migrants in Ireland and seventy-one per cent of Slovaks are Roman Catholic. Around fifteen per cent of Slovaks belong to Protestant and Orthodox churches. Germans were the only group apart from the Chinese for whom the absolute majority (37%) indicated no religion, while the remaining population, but still a majority if taken together, are Catholics and Lutherans with equal share (Central Statistics Office 2008). These data on religious affiliation resemble the figures on religious belonging in the countries from which migrants come. They also demonstrate that while institutional religious affiliation still matters to Poles and Slovaks, it does so less in the case of Germans.

Perceptions and Views on Immigrants

Researchers have observed that the attitudes of the Irish towards immigrants are relatively favourable when compared to other European countries. Irish people might be more sensitive towards immigrants due to the Irish experience of emigration (Rex 1998; Hughes et al. 2007; Krings 2010). Even migrants themselves regard Irish people as being very friendly towards migrants (Young Christian Workers Movement 2008, 6). Nonetheless, Rex argued that rhetorically affirmative attitudes may be just a cover for negative attitudes (Rex 1998, 7). Public attitudes towards migrants seem to have soured due to the economic crisis, whereas public opinion had been relatively affirmative before 2008 (Koehler, Laczko, and Schad 2010, 6). Nonetheless, as Fanning highlighted, Ireland has never been immune from racist ideologies and practices (Fanning 2002). Lentin claimed that racism was common against ethnic minorities such as the Traveller, Jewish and Black-Irish communities long before the first asylum seekers arrived in the 1990s (Lentin 2000, 8).

Certain migrant groups experience discrimination and racism on a higher scale than others. The English, the Welsh, the Scottish and the Western Europeans are not targets of negative attitudes and public discourses. In contrast, Eastern European migrants have faced negative attitudes and discrimination (Brejwo 2012; McDonald 2008). Bosnians, Romanians and Africans have been viewed negatively by many Irish people due to their skin colour (Curry 2000). Also, forced migrants, asylum seekers and Africans are exposed to discrimination to a greater extent than migrants from Europe and North America

(Horgan 2000, 62). Casey and O'Connell note that, due to their distinctiveness, immigrants are vulnerable to prejudice and racism. Discrimination takes places in individual as well as institutional settings (Casey and O'Connell 2000).

Studies conducted among Irish children demonstrated that anti-immigrant attitudes start in childhood. Devine and Kelly revealed that Irish children regarded Irish as white, English-speaking and Catholic. Irish children considered British and American children as similar to them, whereas African, Muslim or Eastern Europeans as different and problematic (Devine and Kelly 2006). Curry et al. observed that Irish children develop classical stereotypes, including assumptions that immigrants are dangerous and involved in criminality and that migrant beggars fraudulently seek charity (Curry et al. 2011). Such stereotypes can distort relationships before they even begin. Scholars noted that racism in Ireland does not originate from extreme right groups but from "ordinary journalists, politicians, and writers" (Lenţin 2002, 2; Lentin and McVeigh 2006, 2–4). Since the 1990s when asylum seekers started arriving in Ireland in significant numbers, the Irish state viewed them as a problem, using terms such as 'floods of refugees' (Lentin 2012, 5).

Immigration and Citizenship Policies in Ireland

Immigration policies are important factors to be considered because they affect not only the status and opportunities of immigrants but also their everyday lives. Irish immigration policies have been considered among the best practices and the most favourable policies in comparison to other European states by the Migration Integration Policy Index (Niessen 2007). Despite being praised as an intercultural country, Ireland has not been very distinct from other EU states in terms of immigration policies. Researchers claimed that the inward migration since the mid-1990s has caused 'racial state thinking' in Ireland, generating various euphemisms such as 'skilled migrants', 'non-nationals' and 'Irish born children' (Lentin and McVeigh 2006, 10). These euphemisms became used as bureaucratic categories which create social labels (Tona and Moreo 2012, 30). Migrants in Ireland are sub-categorised as EU citizens, work permit holders, visa holders, business permit holders, asylum seekers and refugees (Hughes et al. 2007, 220). Similarly as other nation-states, Ireland discriminates between citizens and non-citizens, while excluding some immigrants from political, economic and social rights and welfare. Anti-discrimination laws co-exist with discrimination and undermining of certain rights (Fanning 2007a; 2007b). This categorisation implies that some types of migrants, i.e. EU migrants in particular, are more privileged than others, i.e. non-EU migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

Irish state policies reflect the tendencies of EU immigration policies that attempt to decrease the levels of non-EU in-migration (Kuhling and Keohane 2007, 52). Since the economic boom, the Irish government has sought to regulate in-migration, based on selective targeting of particular types of immigrants (Hayward and Howard 2007, 58).[40] The policy of short term contracts with limited rights for non-EU migrants demonstrates that migrants are viewed by the Irish state merely as "factors of production". This does not make Ireland very different from post-war Germany (Kuhling and Keohane 2007, 55). The economic crisis generated a sense of caution with regard to immigration. The government toughened visa requirements for entry, and introduced restrictions on family-related flows and access to the labour market (Krings 2010). The consequence of these restrictive policies is evident in the dramatic decrease of work permits issued for non-EU citizens (Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation, Ireland). Although the government has sought to restrict immigration for lower-paid positions, there is still a continuous commitment to attract higher-skilled migrants (Krings 2010, 108–109).

The attitudes of the Irish state to immigration are best demonstrated by the changing of the citizenship law. Prior to 2004, Irish policy on citizenship was relatively lenient, based on the principle of *jus soli*.[41] The citizenship law changed after a referendum in 2004 and a subsequent constitutional amendment so that children born in Ireland after January 2005 to non-Irish parents are not automatically granted Irish citizenship (The House of Oireachtas 2004a).[42] In the run up to the referendum, citizenship issues were framed in the Irish media as a threat and risk to Irish nationality. The news coverage associated the relaxed citizenship policy overwhelmingly with negative connotations, while using terms such as 'abuse of our citizenship laws', 'abuse of Irish citizenship', and 'abuse of our law' (Breen, Haynes, and Devereux 2006). The 2004 citizenship law has been criticised by many researchers as being discriminatory and racist because it denies children born in Ireland their right to belong to the Irish state (Breen, Haynes, and

[40] The control of the immigration of non-EU migrants was facilitated through the introduction of the Working Visa/ Work Authorisation (WV/WA) Programme and the Work Permits Scheme. While the WV/WA programme targets skilled workers for IT, medical and construction sector, the work permits scheme is oriented towards lower-skilled workers to work in services, industry, nursing and home help spheres. Through the WV/WA programme, workers can apply directly for authorisation through the Irish embassies. In contrast, it is not possible to apply for work permits directly. Instead, prospective employer must apply, which possesses a high risk for exploitation (Kuhling and Keohane 2007, 55).

[41] The non-Irish parents of Irish-born children were able to apply for residency in Ireland based on the Irish citizenship of their child. This led to concerns that non-Irish nationals, particularly asylum applicants, travelled to Ireland and had children in order to gain that status. About 11,000 families with Irish-born children lawfully applied for residency before January 2003 (Handoll 2010; Ruhs and Quinn 2009).

[42] The new citizenship law provided that any person born in Ireland is entitled to Irish citizenship only if at least one of the parents is an Irish citizen, a British citizen, a resident of the island of Ireland entitled to reside in either the Republic or in Northern Ireland without any time limit on that residence; or is lawfully resident in Ireland for at least three out of the four years preceding the child's birth. Periods spent in Ireland as an asylum applicant or as a student are not considered (The House of Oireachtas 2004b).

Devereux 2006; Lentin and McVeigh 2006; Mullally 2007). In contrast, Honohan claimed that this law is less racist than nationalist as "it affects all 'non-nationals' (the term applied to non-citizens), without constituting a systematic and enduring exclusion on racial lines" (Honohan 2010, 824).

A different situation applies to EU citizens for whom the issue of citizenship is not as important as it is to non-EU migrants. The 1993 Treaty of Maastricht which was amended together with the Treaty of Rome in the 2009 Lisbon Treaty considers nationals of EU states as EU citizens. EU citizenship comprises certain legal rights, including the right to move to and reside freely in any EU state, which can be exercised vis-à-vis other member states (European Commission 1992, 8; 2010). Based on this EU law, the nationals of the EEA have a right of a habitual residence in the Republic of Ireland (Department of Social Protection 2011). They do not need work permits as they are granted full access to the Irish labour market and entitled to the same economic and social rights as the native population (Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation 2012). As a result, immigrants from EU countries enjoy better legal status, social conditions and economic opportunities than non-EU immigrants (Hughes et al. 2007, 220). Nonetheless, Ireland and the UK do not fully participate in the Schengen Agreement.[43] Instead, the UK and Ireland have shared a Common Travel Area (CTA) since 1923. In addition, Ireland tends to synchronise its immigration policies with those of the UK. For example, the *British Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962* was followed by the *Irish Aliens (Amendment) Order, 1962.* When, in 1999 the UK requested an opt-in for the policing and judicial cooperation aspects of the Schengen law, Ireland made a corresponding request in 2000 (Maguire and Titley 2009, 2).

Despite the criticism of the citizenship policies in Ireland, Ireland undertook many positive steps with regard to migration. Under the *Irish Born Child 2005 Scheme*, the non-Irish parents of Irish-born children can be granted permission to remain in the country for two years after which they can apply for a renewal. The vast majority of applications for a renewal were successful (Ruhs and Quinn 2009). Since 2011, formal citizenship ceremonies were introduced for people granted Irish citizenship and the requirement to take citizenship tests was abandoned (J. Smyth 2011). Krings emphasised that Ireland has a relatively robust legislation and policies to tackle xenophobia, racism and discrimination, although acknowledging that such provisions do not guarantee the absence of discrimination. Xenophobic and racist incidents have even declined (Krings 2010, 117).

[43] The 1985 Schengen Agreement as incorporated later in the 1997 *Treaty of Amsterdam* the Schengen Area by eliminating internal border controls.

Irish intercultural integration strategy has been considered relatively successful. This strategy was inspired by the Canadian model of multiculturalism rather than what were considered the failed integration politics of French assimilation (Lentin and McVeigh 2006, 10; Watt 2006; Lentin 2010). Irish integration policy was formulated first in the interdepartmental report *Integration: a Two Way Process* (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 2005a). The report described integration as "a two way process which places certain duties and obligations on refugees and on the host society" (O'Neill 2000, 9). Refugees are required to adapt to the lifestyle of Irish society without abandoning or being expected to abandon their own cultural identity. Irish society is required to accept refugees on the basis of equality and allow them access to services, resources and decision-making processes (O'Neill 2000, 42). Although the report aimed at refugees and did not mention immigrants, it provided a basis for development of the official strategy.

The interculturalism strategy was outlined in the Government's *National Action Plan against Racism: Planning for Diversity*. The main aim of this action plan is to provide strategic direction to combat racism and to develop a more inclusive and intercultural society in Ireland (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 2005b). The integration strategy was institutionalised by the creation of the Office of the Minister for Integration (the current Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration) which is responsible for "the promotion of the integration of legal immigrants into Irish society" (Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration). The government also launched the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism to combat racism and to promote intercultural approaches to integration. Nonetheless, the initiative was suspended as a result of governmental budget cuts due to the economic crisis.

Nonetheless, Lentin highlighted that interculturalism was only rhetorically verbalised while the Irish economic boom continued. With the outbreak of the crisis, the political and public discourse switched from interculturalism to negative and racist attitudes towards immigrants (Lentin 2012, 1–20). Multiculturalism and interculturalism became cover terms for assimilation politics (Lentin and McVeigh 2006, 165–166). According to Énrí, the problem is of a more structural character. She claimed that Ireland has lacked a coherent "ideology, policy, legislation, services, support structures and existing migrant and ethnic communities comparable to those [...] in core European receiving societies" (Énrí 2007, 214).

Changing Religious and Cultural Landscape of Ireland

Alongside social and economic transformation, Ireland also has experienced profound religious and cultural changes. Religion has played a momentous role in shaping Irish identity for centuries (Davie 2000, 22; Inglis 2000a). By dominating the spheres of morality, politics, education, health and social welfare, the Catholic Church controlled the state and civil society (Inglis 1998). In recent years, however, the Catholic Church has lost its symbolic domination and influence. Ireland became more secular and liberal (Inglis 1998; 2000a; 2000b; White 2002). As Kuhling and Keohane claimed "emigration was reversed, which facilitated a 'new multiculturalism'; divorce and homosexuality were legalised; the shift from rural to urban patterns of living accelerated" (Kuhling and Keohane 2007). According to Inglis, the media contributed significantly to the decline of the influence of the church while presenting a more consumerist- and materialist-oriented image of society (Inglis 2000b). Undoubtedly, the abuse scandals in the Catholic Church have impacted on this decline (Jordan-Bychkov and Jordan 2002, 105; Dillon 1996).

The crisis of institutional religion resulted in a massive decline in churchgoing (Ganiel 2009). Ireland's Catholics used to have one of the highest rates of weekly Mass attendance in the world. Weekly Mass attendance in the Catholic Church has rapidly dropped from around eighty percent in 1980 to about thirty percent in 2012. The decline of Sunday Mass attendance has been most dramatic in Dublin to below 20 percent, while the presence of young people has been minimal – only three percent (Diarmuid Martin 2011; 2013). The number of atheists has increased by 320 per cent, agnostics by 132 per cent and those with no religion by 45 per cent between 2006 and 2011, constituting together more than six per cent of the population (Central Statistics Office 2012a). According to *The Global Index of Religion and Atheism*, the Irish are losing their faith fastest among western nations. Despite a remarkably high church membership, only forty-seven percent Irish perceive themselves religious. Forty-four percent said they are not religious and ten percent said they are convinced atheists, thus putting Ireland among the top ten nations with the largest number of convinced atheists (WIN-Gallup International 2012).

Research has highlighted that immigration was an important factor which contributed to the changing religious and cultural image of Ireland. Once a bastion of Catholicism with a culturally and religiously homogeneous population, Ireland has become a culturally and religiously diverse and, in many ways, secular society (Cosgrove, Cox, and Cuhling 2011; Skuce 2006). Immigration has had a considerable impact on traditional Irish communities and religious practice (Macourt 2008; Maher 2009; Ugba 2007a; 2007b). Immigrants mostly settle in urban areas, which are undoubtedly connected to employment

opportunities. The Polish are for instance present in every city and town in the Republic of Ireland (Central Statistics Office 2008, 11). Cities, especially Dublin, have experienced booming multicultural diversity which has resulted in new cultural and social behaviours (Corcoran 2006). Immigrants also settled in rural Ireland, their presence marked by restaurants or migrant-based shops (Sparks 2006). In the streets, shops, cafés, restaurants and work places, Irish people have been confronted with immigrants whose faith, culture, accent and language are unlike theirs (Kallen 2010). Nonetheless, Fahey reminded us that, although the ethnically more diverse composition of inward migration has indeed brought a new degree of multiculturalism, "the cultural diversity of migrant flows into Ireland is still limited." The vast majority of immigrants are from the European Union and thus "white and from countries with Christian cultural background" (Fahey 2007, 28).

Despite the decreasing religious participation and increasing preponderance of atheists among the native population, religious affiliation has increased. Catholicism has remained the main dominant religion in Ireland. Eighty-four per cent of the population are Catholic, with that number increasing by almost five per cent since 2006 (Central Statistics Office 2012a). Using the 2002 census data, Ugba claimed that the Catholic Church was the only major religion that did not benefit from the increased presence of immigrants (Ugba 2007b). However, it is evident that immigrants of Catholic faith are the reason for the increase in the latest two censuses. The Church of Ireland has been the second largest religious group with an increase in more than six per cent, also mainly due to immigration. Apart from atheists, the Lapsed Roman Catholics have had the largest increase among 'religious groups', i.e. almost 137 per cent. Immigration has also brought new religious groups in the Irish religious landscape. Islam has become the third largest religion in Ireland having more than 49 thousand believers. Orthodox Churches have counted an increase of 117 per cent, the third highest increase among all religious groups. Hinduism and Buddhism have also become more significant in Ireland's religious landscape (Central Statistics Office 2012a). Methodists, Evangelicals and Brethren were the only religious groups whose numbers declined, despite the fact that these increased in the previous two censuses (Central Statistics Office 2012a). Ugba highlighted that the main reasons for the membership decline in those churches might be the relocation of immigrants into migrant-led churches, especially Pentecostal ones (Ugba 2007b).

The interrelation between the decline of Irish majority population churches and the increasing numbers of believers due to immigration is striking. Despite continuing secularisation, the increasing adherents of atheism and the moral crisis of institutional religion, religious participation and affiliation has remained impressively high. Immigrants

have played a pivotal role in halting the decline of religion, both as an institution and as beliefs. The changing religious, ideological and cultural landscape of Ireland, as well as the presence of immigrants, has critical implications for traditional Irish-majority churches and religious institutions. "Post-secular" is a more suitable designation rather than secular or Catholic for the contemporary religious and cultural landscape of Ireland.

Churches and Immigration

Ireland's traditional churches acknowledged the presence of immigrants at their services and thus the need to approach immigrants. Many churches developed strategies and policies that guide their practices in their work with migrants. Roddy et al. grouped Irish churches' responses to immigration into four categories: organisational, those based on ecumenical cooperation, those focused on education and formation in values, and advocacy and public policy critiques (Roddy, Connolly, and Leen 2003). At the ecumenical level, the Irish Council of Churches and the Irish Inter-church Meeting[44] have been at the forefront of discussions on migration and integration. Both organisations have emphasised not only the need to recognise and appreciate cultural and ethnic diversity but also to implement this recognition in the life of churches (The Irish Inter-Church Committee 2010). The Council and the Irish Inter-church Meeting produced several guidelines and reports on welcoming migrants and promoting integration. Booklets such as *Inter-Cultural Insights – Christian Reflection on Racism, Hospitality and Identity* (2008) and *Unity in Diversity in Our Churches* (Cristea et al. 2008) provide practical resources, tools and guidelines to assist congregations with the integration of migrants. The *Research Project into Aspects of the Religious Life of Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in the Republic of Ireland* has outlined elements of integration 'strategies' for churches in Ireland (Irish Council of Churches 2003).

Based on their strategies and policies, Irish churches have been regarded as welcoming towards immigrants (Hughes et al. 2007; Passarelli 2012). Since the Catholic Church is organised in an international structure, it allows for smoother exchange of priests and less problematic sharing of common places of worship. The Catholic Church established a Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People to organise pastoral care for "people on the move" - all types of migrants and people involved in any human mobility (Vatican). Roddy et al. view the current immigration as an

[44] The Irish Council of Churches is an ecumenical organisation consisting of fourteen member churches except the Roman Catholic Church. The Irish Inter-church Meeting is a forum for ecumenical debate and action by churches in Ireland comprising the Roman Catholic Church and the member churches of the Irish Council of Churches (Irish Council of Churches).

opportunity for the Catholic Church "to rediscover itself as a part of a universal community of believers and of human beings" (Roddy, Connolly, and Leen 2003, 198). The Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference launched its official strategy through the Refugee and Migrant Project which is an outreach project of the Council for Justice and Peace. The Project provides resources to the Bishops' Conference and to individual bishops on asylum, refugee and related issues; promotes awareness, information and education within the Church and the community at large with regard to asylum, the needs of asylum seekers and refugees; contributes to the pastoral care of refugees and asylum seekers; and engages in public policy debate on asylum, refugee and related issues. The Project initiated and facilitates the Churches' Asylum Network which brings together members of Christian Churches and communities that work with and on behalf of refugees and asylum seekers. It publishes a bi-monthly newsletter *Sanctuary* as well as a reader-friendly guide *Who's Who?,* which provide information on different types of migrants in Ireland (Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference b).

A number of chaplaincies are officially under the umbrella of the Council, including Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Romanian, Italian, French, African, Philipinos and Brasilia chaplaincies (Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference a). Many of these chaplaincies are of a transnational nature in their structure and organisation, being guided and managed from the church in their homelands and the church in Ireland. Some other Catholic migrant-based congregations such as the Slovak Catholic church operate through their own churches in their homelands or within respective Irish parishes which provide Masses in their languages. The Irish Episcopal Council for Immigrants represents a platform for cooperation and collaboration between the Irish Catholic Church and migrant-based congregations and chaplaincies. The Council serves as the centre of a network of diocesan and parish personnel who minister to various migrant groups. It empowers communities with resources, awareness programmes, and material and counselling support (Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference c). It is less clear whether the Council's strategy supports the assimilation of chaplaincies into the Irish Catholic Church or whether it supports a mutual co-existence and co-operation.

The Church of Ireland's policy towards diversity and migrants was best articulated in the book *Embracing Difference – The Church of Ireland in a Plural Society.* The book presents theological perspectives on welcoming strangers, outlines new directions for the Church in working with migrants, and provides tools for practical liturgical use in work with migrants (Comerford 2008). The report *Welcoming Angels* (2005) makes a number of recommendations to parishes such as celebrating diversity by incorporating elements from

the countries represented in the congregation into worship and ensuring that lay roles in the worship reflect the diversity of the congregation. Other churches did not launch nation-wide projects or strategies. Instead, congregations have developed their own activities for migrants. For instance, the Dublin Central Mission at the Methodist Church with its *Welcoming the Strangers* project is oriented towards migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers (Tracy 2000; Cristea et al. 2008).

Despite the presence of these strategies and resources, real integration of immigrants in majority population churches in Ireland has only rarely occurred. Researchers highlighted that Irish majority population churches have used ineffective strategies and policies. Migrants tend to establish or join their own religious congregations instead of joining majority population churches. Ugba demonstrated that many Africans who come to Ireland and who were previously members of the "established churches" are attracted to Pentecostal churches (Ugba 2009). In fact, Pentecostal churches have experienced an increase by 157.5 per cent in 2006 and by 73 per cent in 2011 (Central Statistics Office 2012a). According to Ugba, African immigrants tend to relocate to other communities because of the cold reception, racially based atmosphere, dissatisfaction with social solidarity, lack of opportunities for migrants' involvement and the exclusion of migrants from decision-making (Ugba 2007b). For example, some immigrants who joined the Redeemed Christian Church of God, an African-majority Pentecostal church, were initially members of the majority population churches such as the Catholic Church or the Church of Ireland. Ganiel observed that immigrants do not join Irish-majority churches because these churches are strongly traditional in their practice, institutional in their organisation, and dominated by Irish members. Unlike these churches, their immigrant church is an international and community- rather than institution-oriented church. The clerical sexual abuse scandals and the influence of secularisation on Irish-majority churches have also affected their preference for their immigrant church over the Irish-majority churches (Ganiel forthcoming in 2016). Responses from my interviewees suggest similar patterns among Catholic Slovak and Polish migrant congregations despite the fact that Polish and Catholic migrants found an Irish Catholic church.

The lack of inclusive practices and approaches to immigrants also applies to Irish minority churches. Passarelli demonstrated that minority status does not necessarily mean being more welcoming and sympathetic to migrants. For example, the presence of migrants in a congregation of the Church of Ireland can cause among its Irish members "the fear of having their identity threatened by the strangers who decide to remain in Ireland and in their churches" (Passarelli 2012, 145). Passareli pointed out that being welcoming towards

migrants is not enough – a real integration of migrants into the life of the congregation by incorporating them as active members in congregations is crucial (Passarelli 2012). According to her, although welcoming is an important factor, it does not lead to integration directly, or to migrants being able to assume leadership roles in churches. The lack of enthusiasm in the Church of Ireland in relation to building an integrated church results in many migrants opting for warmer and safer migrant-led churches (Passarelli 2012, 156).

According to the study by Young Christian Workers Movement, churches in Ireland did not "seem to provide any social or emotional support to migrant workers, and did little in the way of encouraging integration between Irish people and any of the migrant worker groups" (Young Christian Workers Movement 2008, 7). In contrast, mosques and some Methodist and Pentecostal churches have been far more advanced in providing support as well as encouraging interculturalism, including practical ways of getting Irish and foreign nationals to engage together. In some cases, Catholic migrants started to attend Protestant churches because they found there better social support. The Polish Catholic Church in Dublin was one of the exceptions among Catholic churches, offering a variety of networking and social opportunities after Mass. As worshippers here were mainly Polish, opportunities for improving intercultural relations between Polish migrants and Irish people was minimal (Young Christian Workers Movement 2008, 7). The report highlighted that the Catholic Church in Ireland has missed its opportunity to engage with migrants on social issues (Young Christian Workers Movement 2008, 18).

The overall intention of churches in Ireland to address immigration and diversity is commendable. The strategies emphasise the need for welcoming, recognition and implementation of diversity. Some strategies are intercultural in their nature while highlighting the need to incorporate religious and cultural practices of migrants (Church of Ireland). Others support the existence of ethnic congregations and chaplaincies by recognising the need for difference and going thus in line with the ideology of multiculturalism (Catholic Church). Nonetheless, they often stay at the policy and theoretical level. What is needed is the implementation of strategies and policies on the grass-roots level within parishes and congregations. Priests and ministers should be more aware of and promote intercultural awareness. One of the reports of the Irish School of Ecumenics' *Visioning 21st Century Ecumenism* project outlines that only fifty-four per cent of clergy and faith leaders on the island of Ireland "have preached or taught on immigration, diversity, or 'welcoming strangers'" (Ganiel 2009, 23). At the same time, only about fifteen per cent have used immigrants or ethnic minorities' native languages in religious services (Ganiel 2009, 23). The report concluded that "people of different ethnic

groups enjoy better relationships within congregations when the leaders of the congregation preach and teach on ethnic/racial harmony as an expression of godliness, when minorities share leadership positions with majority ethnic groups, and when a variety of languages are used in worship services." (Ganiel 2009, 23). These data show that clergy, pastors, ministers and faith leaders in churches in Ireland have to respond more adequately to immigrants. The existing strategies and policies need their implementation on the grass-roots level in order to be regarded as successful.

The presented data provide an image of the context in which migrants nourish, form and transform their religious identities. Ireland is no longer a religiously and culturally homogeneous country. The country, especially urban areas, has been influenced by globalisation and secularisation. As a result, migrants in Dublin live in a culturally plural society driven by the forces of a global market economy, and secular lifestyles. At the same time, migrants have contributed to a cultural and religious revival. Thus, Ireland could perhaps be best described as a hybrid society with the nexus of secular and religious influences. Irish churches realised this religious and cultural change, including the presence of immigrants. They responded affirmatively to immigration while developing meaningful and plausible strategies. Nonetheless, immigrants prefer to establish their own immigrant congregations rather than to join Irish-majority churches. Researchers who studied these trends explained the preference of immigrants for their own churches through the lack of capability and the will of Irish churches to be fully inclusive when it comes to immigrants.

4.2 Young Muslims with Migration Background in Germany

From Guest Workers to German Citizens 'with Migration Background'

Before the 1950s, Germany was largely ethnically homogeneous with around one percent of foreigners (Beck-Gernsheim 2006; 2009). Germany's migration history is eminently organised, beginning in 1955 with the immigration of 'guest workers'. The second migration flow is dated to post-1989 when people of German background migrated to Germany from the countries of the collapsed Soviet Block. In the 1990s, a new wave of migrants from South-Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia migrated to Germany. Finally, with the EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007, migrants from the EU10/12 supplemented previous migration waves (Haug 2013).

Nonetheless, migrants and ethnic groups were present on the territory that is now Germany before World War II. Even Muslim and Turkish migrants are not a new

phenomenon in Germany. Apart from Muslim traders in the Middle Ages, the first presence of Muslims can be traced back to 17th century Prussia. Most of these Muslims came to Prussia from the Ottoman Empire as prisoners of war or as guards serving in the royal court. In 1731/2, King Friedrich Wilhelm I established a prayer hall for his approximately twenty Muslim guards in Potsdam. The first mosque in Germany was built in Schwetzingen between 1780 and 1785. In 1914, a second mosque was built for Muslim prisoners of World War I in a prisoner-of-war camp near Berlin. In 1922, Muslims from forty-one nations formed the first Muslim parish[45] in Berlin and, subsequently in 1924-1928, built a mosque – the *Wilmersdorfer Ahmadiyya-Moschee,* which is the oldest mosque in Germany (Ceylan 2006, 123; Eslam 2006; Thielmann 2008, 1–2).

Despite the early presence of Muslims in Prussia, the significant influx of Muslims into Germany only occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, when West Germany opened its borders to 'guest workers'. The booming economy and the shortage of labour, especially after the Berlin Wall cut off the steady flow of Eastern Germans, urged West Germans to look for skilled workers outside of their country (Dancygier 2010, 224). Hundreds of thousands of migrant workers moved to West Germany as part of formal guest worker programmes negotiated through agreements with Italy in 1955, Spain and Greece in 1960 and Turkey in 1961. Agreements were also signed with Morocco in 1963, Portugal in 1964, Tunisia in 1965 and the former Yugoslavia in 1968 since additional workers were needed. Within a few years, Turks became the largest group of guest workers in West Germany (Akbulut 2003; Gokturk, Gramling, and Kaes 2007; Mayer 2002; Dancygier 2010, 225).

Turkish guest workers were usually young men from rural areas with no previous experience of living in a city, and thus modest expectations of housing conditions. They came to Germany for work in order to earn money to foster their families which stayed in Turkey. They were employed as unskilled labour or in the lower service sector. They had a temporary guest worker status and were thus expected to return home after the termination of their contracts. Their living and housing conditions were appalling. They lived in factory dormitories and barracks that were in desolate conditions and that were disconnected from elementary facilities and the social life of the city. They were deprived of family life, as their wives and families were not permitted to migrate with them, and marriages with native German women were not allowed (Akbulut 2003; Helicke 2002; Mayer 2002; Syed 2005, 276). Akbulut argued that the ghettoisation and isolation of Turkish guest workers was the result of the attitudes and practices of the host society. From the beginning,

[45] In an English context, the word 'parish' is usually used to define a Christian congregation. In Germany, the word 'parish' [Gemeinde] is also used to define Muslim religious communities.

Turkish guest workers were pushed to live in segregated and ghetto-like areas provided by their employers. Germans tried to avoid the presence of Turks in their neighbourhoods and were reluctant to sublet their houses or apartments to Turks. Also, many Turks moved to Turkish-only areas in order to escape marginalisation and stereotypical attacks portraying Turks as third-class people (Akbulut 2003).

Turkish men often established places of worship where they were able to practise basic religious activities such as daily prayers. The establishment of the first Muslim religious communities and the beginning of community life occurred in connection with the immigration of wives and children of Turkish men who already lived in Germany. With the immigration of women and children, especially after 1973, mosques expanded their activities into new forms such as women's meetings, religious education, Koran lessons, weddings and other family-related events (Ceylan 2006; Helicke 2002).

The guest workers agreements ended in 1973 as a consequence of an economic crisis that was caused by an oil embargo and rising unemployment rates. While the majority of guest workers from Italy, Spain, Greece and Yugoslavia returned to their homelands after the termination of the agreements, the number of Turkish immigrants remained unchanged. The immigration of Turkish people continued but mainly through family reunions and/or transnational marriages. Turkish families usually settled in suburban areas of metropolitan cities in West Germany, which often resulted in the formation of ethnic enclaves (Helicke 2002, 180; Mayer 2002, 72–73; Völker 1976). Permanent residency and the adoption of German citizenship were not considered in the 1961 agreement. The implicit understanding was that Turks would ultimately return to their homeland after their temporary residence in Germany. Nonetheless, Turks stayed, becoming the largest ethnic minority (Helicke 2002, 179).

Despite the termination of the guest worker agreements, immigration has continuously increased since 1973, with a minor reversion in 2004 only. In 1974, more than four million foreigners lived in Germany accounting for approximately seven per cent of the population (Akbulut 2003; Statistisches Bundesamt 2014). Out of these, around 910 thousand were Turkish citizens. In 1999, 2.1 million Turkish immigrants, 719 thousand people from the former Yugoslavia, 600 thousand from Italy, 363 thousand from Greece and 280 thousand from Poland lived in Germany (Initiative Tageszeitung; Mayer 2002, 69). According to the German statistical office, 6.75 million non-German citizens lived in Germany as of 2013 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014).

Almost every fifth person living in Germany has foreign origin, i.e. over sixteen million people which makes 19.6 per cent of the total population. Out of these, around

three million are people with Turkish background who count for 3.7 per cent of the total population in a broader sense, thus representing the largest group of people with migration background, followed by Polish migrants. In a narrow sense, the population with Turkish migration background represents 2.5 million people, making 3.1 per cent of the population. The population with Turkish background in a broader sense also includes German citizens who themselves or whose ancestors had lived in Turkey and had a Turkish citizenship regardless of their ethnic origin.[46] Many Turkish citizens with a residency status in Germany or persons born in Germany to Turkish parents do not hold German citizenship. However, the number of Turkish foreigners decreased in the last ten years from 2.1 million to 1.6 million due to higher numbers of naturalisations, deaths of the first population of Turkish immigrants who did not have German citizenship and emigration of Turkish citizens (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010c, 9). The statistical system does not distinguish between German Turks and other original minority groups such as ethnic Kurds or Syriacs originating from the territory of Turkey.[47]

In recent years, many educated young second- and third-generation Turks born in Germany migrated to Turkey. The reasons for this were not only educational and economic, i.e. better job opportunities in the flourishing Turkish economy, but also the fact that they do not have to be confronted with discrimination and identity crisis in Turkey. At the same, many of those who migrate to Turkey often return to Germany after some years due to established relations and families in Germany (Griese and Sievers 2010). Existing between two countries is a sign of a transformation from an immigration status to a transnational one.

Social, Religious and Generational Dynamics

As far as the federal states are considered, the majority of Turkish Germans live in North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria. With regard to cities, Berlin has the highest number of Turkish Germans. Almost 170 thousand people with Turkish background live in Berlin - mainly in three particular districts, namely Wedding, Neukölln and Kreuzberg. The high concentration of people with Turkish background in these areas is noticeable through numerous Turkish shops, restaurants, bistros and cafeterias. As a consequence, these areas have been assigned nicknames such as "Anatolian villages"

[46] Germans who possess a foreign citizenship do not count as foreigners.

[47] Persons with Turkish background are people with German or Turkish citizenship who live in Germany, but who themselves or whose ancestors had lived in Turkey and had a Turkish citizenship regardless of their ethnic origin. This means that not only ethnic Turks but also ethnic Kurds, Christian-Orthodox Syriacs and Greeks as well as other ethnic minority groups in Turkey are considered together under the population of Turkish background (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010a, 60-61).

(Hardinghaus 2011). Not surprisingly, the high density of people from Muslim countries living in these districts correlates with the majority of mosques and Islamic prayer rooms being concentrated in these three districts. Within these districts, the mosques are usually located in neighbourhoods with high ethnic and national homogeneity (Kapphan 2006, 20).

The number of Christians and Jews in Germany can be traced through the central taxation system. Muslims are, however, not included into this taxation system and their communities do not have a central umbrella organisation or a system of registration. For these reasons, there are no accurate numbers on Muslims living in Germany. In addition, the question of religious affiliation is optional in micro census and national census. According to Haug, there are from 3.8 to 4.3 million Muslims living in Germany, whereas the majority comes from Turkey (Haug 2013; Haug, Müssig, and Stichs 2009). Other sources estimate a number of Muslims - between four to four and half million (REMID 2012). Due to this prevalence of Muslims of Turkish background, Islam in Germany is coined as Turkish(-Ottoman) Islam rather than Arabic Islam (Troll 2003, 7). Also other sources estimate the number of Muslims in Germany at around four million, which counts for almost five per cent of the German population. Sunni Muslims with almost three million represent the largest group, followed by Alevi (Kurdisch Turks), Iranian and Turkish Shiites, Ahmadiyya (Muslims from Pakistan) Sufi Muslims, and Ismail Muslims.

Nonetheless, less than twenty per cent of all Muslims are registered members of Muslim religious associations (Haug, Müssig, and Stichs 2009). This small number emphasises that not all Muslims, especially not all people with migration background, are religiously affiliated and active. The percentage of practising Muslims who regularly attend mosques is also very low as compared to the total number of Muslims (Klausen 2006, 179-182). At the same time, the official religious affiliation does not diminish their identification with Islam. Instead, many Muslims perceive themselves and are perceived by others as Muslims, even if they do not belong to any particular Muslim organisation or community. Importantly, the regular attendance in mosques, concerning both weekly and Friday prayers, has grown in recent years, and more people of Muslim background have come to regard themselves as religious (Haug, Müssig, and Stichs 2009; Troll 2003).

Academic discourses on Muslim people with migration background in Germany have highlighted intergenerational differences. The second- and third-generation behaves differently as compared to the first-generation with regard to their country of origin. The first-generation has lived and worked in Germany with prospects of returning to Turkey at some point. The attachments to the country of origin among the second- and third-generation are weakening. They orient their lives towards the country in which they live. In

Germany, they have their family and social structures which their ancestors who migrated to Germany in the 60s and 70s did not have. The second- and third-generations are regarded as people with migration background. Although the term migration background was introduced as a replacement for terms such as migrant, guest worker and foreigner, it continues to be associated with negative connotations of immigration. It is associated with integration-, language- and education-deficits and criminality. Most importantly, the term is racialised while being linked to people of dark colour and of Muslim background (Foroutan 2013). I will discuss the effects of this term and its practice further.

Nauck highlighted the intergenerational change in terms of language competencies, education and marriages among people with migration background in Germany. While Turkish children and young adults predominantly communicate with their parents in the language of origin, they prefer to speak in German with their siblings. At work and at school, the use of the German language has become inevitable for Turks with already more than eighty per cent of young adults and more than ninety-five per cent of children communicating in German. Differences in acquired educational level between generations suggest a high level of acculturation of the second-generation immigrants (Nauck 2007). Nauck also observed changes in Turkish migrant families in social structure between generations. The second-generation identify with mainstream German society more than their parents (Nauck 1994). A few years later, Nauck even observed an increasing preponderance of inter-ethnic marriages between Turks and Germans, the willingness of Turks to accept bi-national marriages and declining birth rates. Yet, he commented that an increase of German-Turkish marriages does not necessarily have to be an indication of assimilation between the Turkish minority and the German population majority. This may be caused by the naturalisations of foreigners in Germany which resulted in national and ethnic affiliations falling apart (Nauck 2007).

Some scholars claimed that, although the second-generation experienced different forms of social integration in the German society, the third-generation experienced a majority society that does not offer many chances for social integration. An increasing number of the third-generation tends to re-orient themselves towards the "roots" of their cultural packages that the first generation brought with them from Turkey (Bahr et al. 2003). The way second- and third-generation people with Turkish migration background relate to their state and social environment is hugely influenced by the degree of official acceptance of their distinct identities. Their legal status and recognition play a crucial role in influencing the formation of their identities.

Legal Status: Migrants or Citizens?

The question of citizenship plays a key role in the recognition and legal status of the Turkish population in Germany. The legal practice of granting citizenship before 2000 was that individuals acquired German citizenship by naturalisation. As a result, many Turks born in Germany do not have German citizenship, if their parents or they themselves have not acquired it, but are Turkish citizens (Horrocks and Kolinsky 1996, xi). According to a new citizenship law from January 2000, children born in Germany to non-German citizens after January 2000 automatically receive German citizenship, if at least one parent has lawfully had "habitual residence in the country for eight years and a permanent right of residence" (Bundesministerium der Justiz 1913/2010, § 4 (3), 1 and 2). Nonetheless, for statistical purposes, all persons who qualify as the first to third generation of migrants, born before or after 2000, are considered as people with migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010a, 5-6).

The term 'people with migration background' has been used to identify immigrants and their descendants for statistical purposes (Griese and Sievers 2010, 28). According to the German statistical office, "the migratory status of a person is determined here from his or her personal characteristics based on immigration, naturalization and citizenship, as well as from the corresponding features of his or her parents" (Statistisches Bundesamt). This means that not only migrants of the first-generation are included into the category of population with migration background but also their offspring born in Germany. According to German law, the population with migration background includes a) all persons who migrated to the present territory of the Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, including guest workers; b) all foreigners born in Germany (the second and third generation); c) all born in Germany with at least one parent who as a foreigner had moved to Germany; d) all naturalized immigrant foreigners; and e) all born in Germany with a parent who is a foreigner born in Germany. The German statistical system also distinguishes between population with a migration background in a narrow sense, i.e. persons with German citizenship, namely "immigrants and foreigners born in Germany and native-born Germans who live with at least one parent in the same household who immigrated to Germany or those [parents] who were born as foreigners in Germany", and population with a migration background in a broader sense, which includes all persons with migration background (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010a, 6; 2010b).

In other words, German children born to naturalised persons, i.e. foreign-born persons who have legally become German citizens, also belong to the group of people with migration background, even if only one parent has a migration background. This definition

encompasses the relatives from the first- to third-generation of migrants. According to the statistical office, the reasons for including children of whom grandparents were born abroad is that "the representatives of the 3rd generation children currently and mostly still are so young that they live with their parents in the same household, from which the data on the immigration background of grandparents is determined" (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010a, 5-6). The influence of people who were not born in Germany on their descendants is an issue of concern to German authorities. The authorities fear that the parents or grandparents with migration status might have an impact on their children's identity.

This bureaucratic category has been converted into a social label, prompting negative stereotypes, stigmatisation and marginalisation. In the media and public discourses, this label has been associated mainly with people of Turkish or Arab background. For statistical purposes, children and grandchildren of Turkish people are included into the category of persons with migration background, even if they were born in Germany. The second- and third-generation of Turks born in Germany are thus legally labelled with migration despite no experience with migration. Even the new citizenship law of 2000 has not been able to eliminate the negative consequences of labelling people with migration background. Yurdakul and Bodemann highlighted that, "although this is a revolutionary change in German citizenship law, it will take a long time for the effects of this law on the immigrant society to be felt" (Yurdakul and Bodemann 2006). Due to the bureaucratic classification, second- and third-generation German citizens of Turkish background face discrimination and are often not given equal opportunities in education, income, wealth and jobs. Although Turks in Germany already exist as an ethnic minority, the society has been very slowly moving from seeing them as guest workers to seeing them as an ethnic group or as Germans. Because being labelled as people with migration background, they are not considered as proper citizens (Fournier and Yurdakul 2006). The categorisation of people with migration background has created new boundaries and criteria for belonging to the state and German society.

State Policies and Perceptions towards Muslims with Migration Background

Scholars have extensively discussed the positive and negative sides of German integration policies, especially in relation to Muslims. The German approach to immigration was first characterised by not acting, as labour migrants of the 1950s and 1960s were considered guest workers and expected to return to their home countries. When Turkish and Muslim migrants stayed, the public, the media and the state institutions started to focus on migrants and their social and cultural adaptation. Germany often portrayed itself as a country of

multiculturalism. However, the German integration strategy has been highly assimilationist (Beck-Gernsheim 2009; Joppke 2009; Joppke and Morawska 2003; Sackmann 2004; Soysal 1994). The German assimilationist intentions became evident when German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared that "multiculturalism failed, utterly failed." She demanded that Turkish Muslim immigrants and people with migration background learn German and become incorporated into mainstream German society (Schrader 2010).

Based on works of Casari and Leveau, Göle distinguished three stages of the immigration of Muslims. These stages mark the evolution of public discourses and respective state policies. The first stage involves a solitary male temporary guest-worker. The second stage is characterised by an image of second-generation youth who have no intention to return to their country of origin, yet who have not yet acquired the social credentials for integration. The Arab-boy is perceived as a potential trouble-maker, a deviant, with problems of education and employment. The third stage is characterised by the introduction of the category of religion. This stage is illustrated by the veiled Muslim girl. Islam becomes an important factor in the formation of identity (Göle 2014).

Muslims, particularly of Turkish origin, are concentrated on the peripheries of large urban and industrial areas. The highest concentration of Turks can be found in those areas of Berlin that are run-down and where Germans would not like to live such as Kreuzberg. When Turks settled in, Kreuzberg was considered one of the most run-down and economically depressed areas of Berlin. Munich, Frankfurt, Cologne, Duisburg, Hamburg, Aachen, and Mannheim are other cities with a considerable Turkish population. In this sense, Muslim religious communities are often referred to by the public and media as ethnic and religious enclaves (Syed 2005). Some scholars claimed that migrants themselves create mechanisms of exclusion through the construction of collective identities based on national, religious, ideological, cultural and family identifications. These mechanisms of identification can be used as instruments in the construction of the "other" and in racist discrimination (Bahr et al. 2003).

However, Yurdakul highlighted that Turkish associations do not foster ethnic enclaves as forms of isolation, but as forms of integration. In her book, she explores "how immigrants create their own strategies of integration by political participation and negotiate their social rights and obligations with the German state" (Yurdakul 2009, 1). The social environment and conditions of German society are the factors that hamper the social and cultural inclusion of immigrants and people with migration background (Fournier and Yurdakul 2006, 174). These young people are the subject of discrimination on the grounds of their cultural or religious background. Discrimination and racism in their various forms

and at different societal levels lead to alienation among second- and third-generation people of Turkish and Muslim background because of their Muslim identification (Foroutan 2013; Vertovec and Rogers 1998). These various forms of discrimination can often result in voluntary (inside) and forced (outside) identifications with the religion, ethnicity and nationality of the first-generation (Zerpa and Drossou 2010).

The lack of willingness of people with Turkish background to integrate is often highlighted as a major obstacle in statistical and survey-based studies (Woellert et al. 2009). The image of those who are "unwilling to integrate" is driven by media reports on topics such as honour killings, forced marriages, violence of adolescents, compulsory wearing of the headscarf and Islamic fundamentalism. These reports generate a negative image of "the people with Turkish background" that sets firmly in the minds of the majority society (Canan 2012). As Spielhaus pointed out, it is not migration status as such that is viewed with reservations and suspicions by the native population but often the religious background. Muslims are framed as migrants despite the fact that not all Muslims are migrants. At the same time, the term migrant came to be associated with Muslim despite the fact that not even the majority of migrants in Germany adhere to Islam. In the media discourses, the two terms Muslim and migrant are framed together and almost inseparable (Spielhaus 2011).

It was not the immigration of Turks to Germany but the re-emergence of Muslim identities among second- and third-generation people with Turkish and Arab background which has given rise to the debate about Islam in Germany, and elsewhere in Europe. Discussions on the headscarf, honour-killing, building of mosques in public spaces, German Salafis, international terrorism, and German men and women leaving to fight for ISIS – this random selection of themes from German newspapers signals a straightforward message: Islam has become a part of German society. Concerns about the building of mosques and minarets, and about the headscarf have been typical among the wider public, but with added intensity after 9/11. Nonetheless, Syed claimed that anti-Islamism cannot be excused by 9/11. Anti-Islamic attitudes, accidents and crimes were present in Germany long before 9/11 (Syed 2005, 330-331). Although migrants and people with migration background belong and contribute to German society, they are still not considered fully as part of this society, even if they are German citizens (Foroutan 2011).

Public discourses on Muslim immigrant integration in Europe are increasingly framed around the presumed incompatibility of Islam and Western values. As Korteweg and Yurdakul noted, such a framing by the media constructs boundaries between immigrants and the majority society. These debates reinforce existing boundaries, and a

strong sense of us versus them - between immigrants from Muslim and/or Turkish backgrounds and the majority population (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2009; 2013).

The headscarf has been another subject of mediatisation, public discussions and even legal actions while being increasingly perceived as a contentious symbol in German society. The veil has become not only a subject of public discourse but also a subject of state-based unveiling policies for public school teachers and civil servants in some federal states. The supporters of these policies have viewed the veil as a tool for gender segregation and women oppression, a 'danger' to religious neutrality in public schools, and as a marker of cultural dissociation. Opponents of the unveiling policies described the measures as a tool of alienation and discrimination of the right to freedom of religion. The debate on veiling was brought to public attention through the case of Fereshta Ludin who was denied a job as a teacher in Baden-Württemberg on the grounds of her refusal to remove her headscarf in the classroom. The Federal Constitutional Court later decided in her favour, overruling the verdict of the Federal Administrative Court. This verdict can also be seen as an attempt to dispel public fears and prejudices surrounding the veil by rejecting the idea that the headscarf is a sign of the oppression of women in Islam (Joppke 2009).

However, the Federal Constitutional Court indicated that it would be within the rights of individual states to adopt legal provisions facilitating a ban. Based on the legislation from 2004 in Baden-Württemberg, it is prohibited for teachers to express political, religious and ideological beliefs through clothing. The legislation makes an exception for the manifestation of Christian and western cultural and educational values (Syed 2005, 320-324). The legislation regarding the wearing of the headscarf varies from state to state. In Berlin, a general ban to all public servants of all religious backgrounds applies, including the prohibition of crucifixes and yarmulkes (Klausen 2006, 223). These cases show that German state views the headscarf as "threatening, unfamiliar, and dangerous" (Fournier and Yurdakul 2006, 173). Women who wear the headscarf in Germany are often referred to as those who refuse to integrate. By wearing the headscarf, many Muslim women face discrimination. From the perspective of national policies and debates, the headscarf has become a symbol of exclusion and a symbol showing who belongs to the nation (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2014).

Akbulut claimed that, in contrast to their parents, the second- and third-generation are in contact with the German population. They are competent in German and familiar with German secular culture. They have the opportunities to learn more about Christianity and thus to get rid of prejudices and fears. Even if they regularly attend mosques, they do not have any difficulties in socialising with their German friends. As far as they are

familiarised with a tolerant form of Islam, on the basis of which they form their identities, their association with Islam can work in favour of their integration. The danger exists when these young people experience an identity crisis which is often associated with social and economic marginalisation. In such cases, mosques seek to prepare these young people for a life in a secular and pluralistic society. Young people are warned of risks and dangers that they can encounter in the society, such as alcoholism, drugs and sexism. On the contrary, the failed integration of the first-generation Turks was mainly caused by the lack of personal contacts with German fellow citizens. This isolation and ghettoisation was a result of language difficulties, housing situation and partially the poor willingness of the German population to make contacts with Turks (Akbulut 2003).

People of Turkish and Arab migration background are often stereotyped as members of one homogeneous group despite the fact that they come from different cultural, socio-political and language contexts. Turks are perceived as Muslims first of all, which is accompanied by stereotypes such as the weak position of women, gender imbalances, lack of education. Districts such as Kreuzberg and Neukölln that are mainly inhabited by people of Turkish and Arab background are labelled in the everyday discourses as Turkish districts. However, racist hierarchies exist within respective ethnic and national groups. For example, the Turkish distance themselves from Kurds and Arabs, highlighting that their social and cultural behaviour is better than that of Kurds and Arabs (Bahr et al. 2003). Responding to Sarrazin, Sezgin noted that the media discourses use only two categories of distinction, namely German and Muslim. They thus neglect those who do not fit into these categories, e.g. such as non-Muslim migrants, or Muslims with German citizenship (Sezgin 2011).

Malik suggested to refer to second- and third-generation Muslims in Europe as Muslims in religious terms. This classification would acknowledge many manifestations of Islam since formative Islamic ideals are subject to constant renegotiation, reformulation and reinterpretation as they adapt to various social conditions and changing norms. Islam enables Muslims to interpret and thus to ascribe meanings to complex life worlds. Muslims in Europe are often organised along ethnic lines. Islam practised by migrants in Europe is different to that practised by their ancestors in their homelands. New societal situations and circumstances led to the emergence of new Islamic discourses. In this process, they construct new social identities and new forms of religious self-organisation. They voice their concerns and ideas publicly. Malik observed that identity formation among Muslim people, especially second- and third-generation, is characterised by integrationism,

isolationism and escapism. Although Muslim young people attempt to integrate to their society, they face social, economic and cultural isolation (Malik 2004).

Young people can take different paths in re-constructing their identities in their efforts to soften, moderate or react to discrimination. Uslucan suggested four different forms of identity re-construction among people with Turkish background as reactions to discrimination. First, people with migration background can strengthen their social identity or positive aspects of their own identity. Second, they can change their identity by leaving their own group and joining another group in order to increase their social status. Third, they can cognitively change their identity by looking for positive comparison. Finally, people of Turkish background identify themselves in relation or distance to other groups that have lower positions of comparison in order to repair their damaged identity (Uslucan 2013). Nevertheless, Syed argued that ghettoisation has continued and affected even young generations. Many Muslims born and raised in Germany show higher school drop-outs and lower educational levels than other groups. (Syed 2005, 280–282). While the first-generation of Turks nourished its isolation, the younger generation is divided. There are both those who socialise with Germans and those who continue to live in their enclaves (Syed 2005, 281-282). The Muslim elite has also been evolving with most being not second or third generation migrants, but people who migrated to Europe as students or young professionals. This "new line" of Muslims distinguishes themselves from the "new generation" of people with Muslim background (Klausen 2006, 27).

Scholars agree that new ways of identity construction can be observed among second- and third-generation Muslim people of migration background. Turkish young people of migration background "negotiate their social localization not in Turkey or elsewhere, but in Germany. Their participation and/or obligation is not towards rights and duties in their country of origin, but towards those of the host country" (Beck-Gernsheim 2009, xiv–xv). Beck-Gernsheim emphasised that "integration can only succeed if the dominant society does not insist on its understanding of integration as the only true concept; rather it must accept the perspective of its migrants" (Beck-Gernsheim 2009, xv).

Nonetheless, anti-Muslim sentiment is on the rise in Germany. Since 9/11, Muslims have been described as anti-democratic, fanatical and intolerant. People with Muslim background have fewer chances in economic, labour and educational spheres. Importantly, the way Muslim population with migration background is perceived by German society relates to the status of Islam as a religion. Recently, Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West, an anti-Islam political organisation, organised weekly demonstrations, calling for more restrictive immigration rules, particularly for Muslims.

The Legal Status of Islam

The lack of the recognition of Muslim people with migration background as full citizens is related to the lack of recognition of their religion. Islam in Germany is not recognised in the same legal way as Christianity and Judaism. Muslims in Germany are organised in registered associations (*eingetragener Verein, e.V.*) or foundations (*Stiftung*). In contrast, the two majority population Christian churches in Germany and the Jewish community are granted the status of publicly recognised corporations under the public law (*Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts*) giving them more rights than religious associations and foundations. The two main Christian churches, i.e. Catholic Church and Lutheran Church (including united churches – Lutheran and Reformed churches) are granted a number of privileges such as tax advantages, the right for their own religious education, the right to run their own religious schools and the right for state funding for charity activities. These churches also enjoy a high degree of cultural recognition (Thielmann 2008, 3–4). According to Helicke, these privileges make those two churches "officially sanctioned religions" (Helicke 2002, 182). This special legal status of the Lutheran, Catholic and Jewish faith within the German legal system is ambiguous given the fact that Germany does not have state churches and emphasises the freedom and equality of all religions.

Muslim religious communities do not have the legal status of religious communities, but a status of associations, which can be any type of social, political or cultural group of people following similar interests. As a result, Muslim communities are legally disadvantaged compared to the two Christian churches and the Jewish community. They have to fund their activities from the contributions of their own members or from other donations. They cannot run their own religious schools or seek Islamic religious education in public schools. The interpretation of this status is that Islam is not publicly and legally recognised as a religion. Despite the absence of legal recognition, some federal states of Germany such as Berlin and North Westphalia have allowed Islamic religious education at primary, secondary and high schools. However, only certain Muslim associations have been granted this privilege. Since 2011, it is possible to study Islamic theology at universities in Osnabrück/Münster, Frankfurt/Gießen, Nürnberg-Erlangen and Tübingen (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung 2012; Stosch 2010).

The main problem of the legal recognition of Islam has been the division between existing associations which represent different streams and forms of Islam. While Muslim associations seek to represent the Muslim minority in Germany and defend its rights against the majority population, the relations between particular associations are marked by controversies (Şen and Sauer 2006, 115:8). The internal divisions among Turkish and other

religious associations, alongside the negative public and media debate on the legalization of Islam in Germany "have undermined any project of institutionalization from above" (Casanova 2006, 75). For many years, various Muslim organisations in Germany have sought a legal, societal, political and cultural recognition within the country's commonly established platforms. The Islamic conference has been one of the most eminent umbrella organisations. Nonetheless, not all Muslim associations are represented in this conference. Other umbrella organisations are the Central Council of Muslims in Germany [*der Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*] and the Islam-council in Germany [*der Islamrat in Deutschland*], while the former has apparently been dominated by Mili Gorus.

A central umbrella organisation for Muslims has been viewed by German authorities as crucially needed for legal recognition of Islam in Germany. Gökçe Yurdakul and Ahmet Yükleyen acknowledged that no Islamic umbrella organisation has been granted the status of a corporation of public law [*Körperschaftsstatus*], and thus is not able to institutionalise Islam legitimately in Germany "due to the different approaches Islamic organisations take to integration." Nonetheless, they also claimed that it is not necessary and even not helpful to seek a unification of all Muslim associations, because they represent the diversity and variety of Islam itself. Thus, all these associations "are de facto representatives of Muslim immigrants" (Yurdakul and Yükleyen 2011, 81).

A number of attempts by Islamic groups to obtain legal status have until now been rejected "on the ground that insufficient guarantees of their duration and stability were provided" (Fournier and Yurdakul 2006, 171). Rohe argued that the recognition of Muslim religious institutions as public law corporations would lead to equalisation with the traditional churches, which might be considered by some as unacceptable. Such a constitutional status would lead to entitlements such as the right to levy taxes from members of the community (Rohe 2005). The unwillingness of the German authorities to grant legal status to the Islamic community is based on the impression that Islam is not "in accordance with the German understanding of what religion is about" (Jonker 2000, 314, cited in Fournier and Yurdakul 2006, 171). Germany's struggle with the legal recognition of Islam has substantially hardened the integration of Muslims (Yurdakul and Yükleyen 2011, Syed 2005).

Muslim Associations in Germany

Muslim associations in Germany are not only religious associations, but also fulfil a variety of political, cultural, social and associative functions. The political functions, which often aim at the promotion of tight relations with the sending country and consequently

political parties or even the government in the home land, have been put aside in recent years. Instead, the role of integration has been put on the political agenda of associations. In general, the associations provide a place for practising religious activities such as worship, meditations, Koran lessons and religious education, but also counselling and pastoral care. The communities play an important role in the accommodation of family events such as weddings and circumcision. Pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina are often sheltered under the roof of communities. Communities are centres of social and cultural life, while organising sport, educational, training and cultural activities for their members. In addition, the associations seek to help their members with their everyday problems by providing social services, legal advice and consulting (Şen and Sauer 2006, 115:8).

Turkish Muslims have organised themselves in different associations.[48] The oldest and the most representative Muslim-Turkish association is the DITIB - the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs. The DITIB is "a nationalist religious oriented association" that "is mainly supported by the Turkish state" (Yurdakul 2009, 2). The DITIB is directly governed by the Turkey-based Presidency of Religious Affairs that is DIYANET - the highest Islamic religious authority in the country and directly linked to the Office of the Prime Minister. The DITIB is recognized and supported by the Turkish state as the main representative religious association for Turks in Germany. The DITIB organises more than 800 mosques and places of worship in Germany. The association was founded in reaction to a growing number of radically- and fundamentalist-oriented communities and associations in Germany. The true transnational character of this association is visible through the fact that DIYANET organises the delegation and funding of imams from Turkey to Germany who rotate in four year cycles (Şen and Sauer 2006, 115:8–9). Whereas some, and mainly members of the DITIB communities, can view this link to the Turkish state as an affirmative tie to the traditions, language and culture of the country of their origins, others can view it as a policy which undermines the authority of the German state. At the same time, partial recognition of the association as the main religious representative body of Turkish Muslims by the German state demonstrates an affirmative tendency towards the future integration of the association into the religious system. Nonetheless, according to Yurdakul and Yükleyen, the main characteristic of this association is that it "promotes Islam in private life as a source of individual piety and loyalty to the Turkish state" (Yurdakul and Yükleyen 2009, 217). The DITIB is not a member of either umbrella organisations since, given its size and importance, it

[48] In Germany, these organisation are often called roof associations (consisting of several local associations and parishes) in order to distinguish them from umbrella organisations (comprising roof associations).

understands itself as the legitimate stakeholder and a representative body of Muslims in Germany. The DITIB thus competes against other umbrella organisations (Şen and Sauer 2006, 12; Leggewie 2007).

The second largest religious association is the Islamische Gemeinschaft Millî Görüş, which was originally directly connected to the radical Islamic Party of Necmetin Erbakan in Turkey. Some researchers have pointed out that the association has continued to have close links with the radical Islamic Party in Turkey and that it has thus promoted Islamic radicalism (Thielmann 2008, 3). According to Yurdakul and Yükleyen, while Millî Görüş originally supported political and fundamentalist shaped Islam in Turkey, it seeks now to gain public recognition of Islam in Germany by promoting the provision of religious and social services. Nonetheless, the image and the methods applied by the association in addressing public and religious issues have a very radical and fundamentalist tone. For these reasons, Millî Görüş is considered as antidemocratic by German authorities and as "a threat to German democracy" by the *Budensverfassungsschutz Amt* (German Intelligence Agency) as well as "a threat" to Turkish society. Today, the association has 514 mosques in Europe, the majority of which are in Germany (Yurdakul and Yükleyen 2009). Şen and Sauer noted that, while organising gatherings for girls and boys separately during weekends and holidays, the association emphasises the role of Islam as an "identity-finder-factor (Şen and Sauer 2006, 9-10).

From this short comparison, a distinction between the two associations is evident. Yurdakul and Yükleyen claimed that this distinction between the two largest Turkish Islamic organisations has become apparent in the aftermath of September 11 and consequently has led to a dichotomous categorisation between them as "good" or "bad". They demonstrated that the both organisations have ambivalent approaches to Muslim incorporation in Europe (Yurdakul and Yükleyen 2009, 217-231). Both associations provide religious and social services for their members, while organising women's and youth groups, Koran reading classes, funerals, and so on. They have tried to attract younger generations, but the majority of their members remain first-generation migrants. Most activities are organised in Turkish with an emphasis on Turkish national identity and unity. These policies seem to be less attractive to younger generations who are concerned with contemporary issues in Germany. Yurdakul and Yükleyen observed that the DITIB, which promotes moderate and ethnic-based Islam, is a better alternative for the second generation of Turks in Germany than Millî Görüş, which promotes radical and political Islam (Yurdakul and Yükleyen 2009, 218-220).

There are several other Turkish religious associations. The Association of Islamic Cultural Centres (VIKZ) focuses on the work with young Muslim people. *Islamische Gemeinschaft Jama`at un-Nur e.V.* has, among others, sought to reconcile Islam with modern technologies. Other associations include the Federation of Turkish-Democratic Idealist Associations e.V. (*Avruka Demokratik Ülkücü Türk Dernekleri Federasyonu ADÜTDF*), Turkish-Islamic Union in Europe (*Avrupa Türk Islam Birliği ATIB*), and the Association of Aleviti communities e.V. (*Avrupa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu AABF*). There are numerous independent associations that represent different Muslim groups based on ethnic origin or religious stream (Şen and Sauer 2006, 115:10–12).

Islam in Germany is decentralised and non-hierarchical similarly as in other countries. Modood and Kastoryano claimed that the decentralised and non-hierarchical nature of Islam in Britain "should be taken into account in the political and structural accommodation" (Modood and Kastoryano 2007, 25). Creating structures similar to Christian ones would mean for Islam communities in Europe to evolve into European Islam, i.e. French, German, British Islam, etc., without influence from outside, especially from the politics of countries of origin. This means that "Islam would be assimilated on an equal footing to all representative religious institutions" (Modood and Kastoryano 2007, 25). Modood and Kastoryano discussed a number of legal and policy measures that are necessary to accommodate Muslims as citizens in European countries. These measures would include anti-discrimination measures in areas such as employment, political representation in public life, and the inclusion of Muslim history as European history. They considered also "the inclusion of Islam as an organised religion and of Muslim identity as a public identity as necessary conditions for the integration of Muslims" (Modood and Kastoryano 2007, 29). Importantly, the full inclusion of Islam is not inconsistent with the practice of secularism in Europe (Modood 2008; Modood and Kastoryano 2007).

The German Traditional Churches and Muslim Migrants

Christian churches in Germany do not have as inclusive approach to Muslims as the churches in Ireland towards Christian immigrants. This is understandable given that Islam is a religion distinct from Christianity. The relationship between Muslim associations and Christian churches in Germany is instead characterised through theological, cultural and political forms of interreligious dialogue. The ecumenical work focuses on the cooperation between the two major churches and on provision of support to immigrant Christian communities and congregations. The contact with Muslim communities is organised individually by the churches. The German-dominated and organised *Ständige Konferenz*

von Juden, Christen und Muslime in Europa offers a platform for dialogue between Jews, Christians and Muslims on theological and religious issues. It has mainly been a place of academic discussions and exchange between scholars in humanities and social sciences. Interreligious dialogue and activities have become very common at the level of local religious communities (Lemmen 2005).

At the institutional level, the German Catholic Church engaged in various theological discussions, interreligious dialogue and discussions on social and political cooperation. For instance, the publication *Christen und Muslime in Deutschland* (2003) by the German Bishops Conference discussed theological similarities and differences between Muslims and Christians. It also touched upon issues such as Islamic religious education, Muslim children in Catholic schools and counselling in health care institutions. *Integration fördern - Zusammenleben gestalten: Wort der deutschen Bischöfe zur Integration von Migranten* provides a contribution of the German Catholic Church to the integration debate (Sekretariat der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz 2004). The Bishops Conference also published practical guidelines for common prayers in interreligious meetings of Jewish, Christian and Muslim believers. This document explains the theological contents of praying in the three respective religions, the theological basis for common praying and different forms of common prayers (Sekretariat der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz 2008).

The Lutheran Church in Germany (EKD) has also been active in interreligious dialogue with Muslim associations. At the federation level, the EKD launched a number of activities, including political support and cooperation in the debate about the recognition of Islam in Germany, the fight against Islamophobia and discrimination, and many other political and social themes. Out of its publications, *Zusammenleben mit Muslimen in Deutschland. Gestaltung der christlichen Begegnung mit Muslimen* provides the most comprehensive overview of the aspects of "living together" as Muslims and Christians in Germany (2000). The EKD published practical guidelines on interreligious cooperation, joint activities and common religious life such as prayers, religious services, counselling and weddings. The EKD also made appeals to the Muslim communities to raise awareness of the discrimination and prosecution of Christians in many Muslim majority countries. At the level of regional and local churches, Lutheran churches have actively participated in interreligious and intercultural activities.[49]

Despite this intensive interreligious engagement, some scholars criticised the attitudes and positions of the majority churches to Islamic communities. Rosemarie

[49] For the full list of publications and activities by the EKD with relation to Islam and Muslim communities in Germany, see http://www.ekd.de/international/islam/dokumente/handreichungen.html.

Sackmann argued that, when looking at recent publications by the Lutheran Church of Germany in dealing with the place of Islam in Germany, she found strong traces of othering, demarcation and repulsion. The EKD sees its own position as deeply connected to the German constitutional democracy. It demands from Muslims either assimilation or deference to the societal and legal status quo with fewer rights for Islamic organisations than for Christian ones. Importantly, she noted that these attitudes have not always been there. The EKD changed its attitudes towards Muslims in Germany as result of a change in the understanding of the concept of secularization and the conceptualization of the relationship between church and state. The EKD came to view the secular and the religious as two conciliatory aspects of a life in a society (Sackmann 2014).

This criticism is mainly based on the understanding that German-Turkish encounters only partially overlap with Christian-Islamic encounters. In this sense, Pankoke called for creating a public space within civil society where cultural and intercultural activities could contribute to mutual understanding. Interreligious and intercultural discourses should move from dogmatic platforms to non-formal ones. One has to be aware that cultural identification with one's own situation can become symbolic power through which identity, solidarity and activity can be fostered or hindered (Pankoke 2005). According to Foroutan, Germany should become a more inclusive society while acknowledging that German can also mean Turkish and Muslim. She suggested that a collective European identity as an all-encompassing project could perhaps provide a solution for the inclusion of Muslims and other groups in Europe (Foroutan 2012).

Conclusion

This chapter presented a historical overview, legal conditions, state policies to immigration and demographic data of two different societal, cultural and political contexts, with a focus on two different types of immigrant population. Ireland and Germany went through vibrant periods of social and cultural changes in which immigration played a considerable role. Immigrants and people with migration background represent a considerable proportion of the population of both countries - seventeen per cent in Ireland and twenty per cent in Germany. EU citizens are the dominant migrant group in Ireland with Polish migrants taking the lead, whereas people with Turkish background represent the largest migrant group in Germany. While Irish scholars acknowledge the contribution of immigrants to the social and cultural change of Irish society, the German scholarly literature does not pay much attention to such a contribution of the Turks to German society.

Although many second- and third-generation Turks are German citizens, they continue to be labelled as people with migration background. However, they do not maintain as strong bonds and ties to Turkey as their parents or grandparents used to do. EU migrants in Ireland are citizens of their respective EU nations from which they come and to which they plan to return. Importantly, the immigration experience of first-generation temporary EU migrants in Ireland is different from the experience of people with "migration background" of the second- and third-generation in Germany. Although being different types of migrants and population, Turks in Germany and EU migrants in Ireland share similar social characteristics, especially when it comes to living, educational and urban factors. Immigrants from Eastern Europe and Muslim people with migration background have also similar experiences with racism and anti-immigrant attitudes, although in different forms and intensity. The experience with racism and stigmatisation among Muslims is often linked to their distinctive religious background. In contrast, religious affiliation does not play any role in negative attitudes towards Eastern Europeans in Ireland. Instead, they face discrimination on the grounds of social and ethnic dynamics.

Most EU migrants in Ireland come from countries of Christian religious and cultural background which is relatively analogous to that of Ireland. As a result, immigrant congregations and communities in Ireland do not have to struggle with official recognition as compared to Muslim associations in Germany. Majority population churches in Ireland have been proactive in organising support and assistance to immigrants and raising awareness of immigration issues. Irish-majority churches, especially the Catholic Church, shelter many immigrant congregations, communities and chaplaincies. In contrast, Islam in Germany does not have a very long and established history. Islam in Germany is not viewed as German Islam but as a strange and foreign religion in a country which has been associated with the Lutheran Reformation and Catholic faith. Muslims in Germany had to organise themselves independently without any major assistance of the majority population churches. The relationship between Muslim associations and majority Christian churches has focused on interreligious dialogue and intercultural interaction.

The discussions and data presented in this chapter aid the understanding of the societal contexts, in which religious identities of young migrants and people of migration background are shaped. Ireland and Germany represent different contextual environments in which religious institutions, practice, behaviours, values and beliefs are rediscovered, renegotiated and invented. This overview provides a foundation for the empirical analysis of the data collected through interviews and observations from the field study.

Chapter 5: Religious Identities of Young Christian Immigrants in Dublin

Introduction

This chapter shows how young people who are affiliated with the German Lutheran church, the Slovak Catholic community and Polish Catholic congregations in Dublin perceive their religious identity in the context of their immigration experience. As immigrants attend their religious congregations and as they interact with the host society in multiple ways, they experience personal religious change. The chapter asks to what extent and how the religious identity of these young people has changed since they migrated to Ireland. The immigration experience is understood here as a process of migrating into a new society that encompasses a number of inter-related aspects. The interviews revealed that young immigrants carry with them their cultural and religious packages on the one hand. On the other hand, they acquire new social capital in their host society which affects their choices and perspectives. In interaction with Irish society, these backgrounds and social capital can modify, alternate and influence each other. These dynamics shape young people's religious identity in the context of the socio-cultural milieu in which they live.

The analysis does not assume the formation of a homogeneous identity but a multifaceted process. The migration experience of young migrants impacts on their religious identity in different ways, generating varieties of religious identities. This religious change is understood not as a religious conversion where a person becomes a follower of an alternative religion. Instead, this study refers to religious change as to a change of religious views, practices and behaviours within people's own religious tradition. Although young people's personal situations and stories are original, common patterns and themes can be traced throughout the interviews. The research revealed different trajectories of change in young immigrants' religious identities which I cluster in three groups. Some young people move from religiously inactive to religiously practising upon their arrival. A shift from traditional to spiritual or moderate forms of religiosity is also noticeable. Finally, the fieldwork identified a shift from a single religious belonging and practice to a multiple religious practice and belonging. Identifying these varieties of directions challenges the literature on religion, migration and identity which has assumed unchanging and homogeneous trajectories in identity formation.

These categories are not definitive and explicit. They are in the processes of evolving, shaping and, using Bendixsen's words, "crafting Self" (Bendixsen 2013). Also, young people can sometimes fit into more than one category: a person can become deeply spiritual and liberal at the same time. Some young people were religiously active before

moving to Ireland, while others did not practise their faith at all. In Ireland, they became religiously active, joined their immigrant congregations and discovered spirituality as a new element of their faith. Many migrants experienced a religious revival. Others strengthened their religious identity in an attempt to sustain their religiousness in the secular environment, whereas some became liberal as a consequence of being exposed to that environment. Many young people discovered new religious practices and forms.

The findings demonstrate that a myriad of interconnected factors rather than one straightforward element can influence the identity formation of an individual. In various combinations and with different intensity, the religious identities of these people are formed as a result of socialisation processes, situational changes, a desire to satisfy certain human needs, and individual decisions. Young people in Ireland connect these factors to their migration experience; migration carries and accommodates religious identity change while creating conditions for the different combinations of the above mentioned factors. Young migrants in Ireland refer to their migration as the factor which influenced their religious identities - encouraged their socialisation, need for belonging and individualisation. The chapter demonstrates that migration experience is situated in a specific societal context which plays an essential role while allowing the intersection of these factors. Since Ireland is a predominantly Christian country, EU migrants are not concerned about the recognition of their religious identity. Although Irish society does not necessarily promote all-encompassing and meaningful social and cultural inclusion, the relatively favourable social and legal environment for young EU migrants in Ireland and the temporary nature of their migration mitigate the essentialisation of religious identities.

Moreover, the formation of the religious identities of these individuals occurs at the intersection of functional and substantive roles of religion with some aspects being more apparent than other. On the one hand, religion functions for migrants as support structures, as social networks and capital, and as a familiar place which accommodates their transnational ties and their adaptation. On the other hand, they search for deeper symbolic and spiritual meanings in their religious beliefs and practices. Although the paths of these identity shifts were in different directions, the stories of these young people share a common aspect: their immigration experience reshaped their religious identity.[50] Thus, this fieldwork validates the argument that both functional and substantive approaches are indispensable to immigrants' religion and religious identity.

[50] I acknowledge that immigration experience can also impact on other social and cultural identities, including gender and generational patterns. This research focuses on religious identity, however.

5.1 From Religiously Inactive to Religiously Practising

This part of the chapter presents stories of individuals from the German, Slovak and Polish communities who became religiously active upon their arrival in Ireland, although not religiously active in their homelands. They were officially members of their churches. They nevertheless did not practise their religion at all or did not attend their churches regularly. Some only attended religious services during religious festivals such as Christmas or Easter, and took part in basic religious ceremonies and rites such as first communion or confirmation. Some did not believe in God, while others said that they believed in God but did not take their faith seriously. They viewed their membership in their church as a formality, or as a part of their culture and folklore. Religion was, for them, a matter of cultural belonging or an official membership in a church. They viewed religion as something old-fashioned and outdated. Previous research underlined that religious participation of immigrants increases upon their arrival in a new society (Levitt 2006). Nevertheless, other researchers observed that immigrants' religious participation decreases substantially as compared to religious participation among the same immigrants prior to their migration (Connor, 2008, 2009).

The formation of religious identities in the cases presented in this section occurs at the crossroads of socialisation, satisfaction of certain needs, situations of change and individual decision. Their religious experience is influenced by social encounters, existential situations of crisis, the need to belong and personal decision to believe. Again, this intersection demonstrates the multifaceted nature of one's identity formation. Religion serves different functions such as to build social capital and relationships or to deal with everyday problems. In their search for religion, these individuals look for mental support and social structures, and for ways of preserving their ethnic identities and sustaining their transnational attachments. Religion also provides these young people with meanings as they try to make sense of their lives and explore deeper spiritual experience. Believing has helped them realise their dissatisfaction with materialism and individualism.

Religious change occurs in different formations that I grouped into three different categories. In the first case, individuals become religiously practising and believing. Personal religious practices such as prayers and Bible reading become crucial components of their religious life. These young people attend religious activities regularly; however, they prefer to be passive members of their communities, although willing to assist with practicalities. No particular preference for conservative or liberal views has been noticed among these people. The second group of people understand their religious faith as an empowerment for their everyday life but not as the most important element. They connect

the participation in religious activities with an opportunity for socialisation with people from their home country and for the purpose of fostering transnational ties and preserving their ethnic identities. They have a rather balanced and moderate stance to moral values. The third category includes individuals who were born-again. Their 'Damascus Road' experience stimulates their individual spirituality and religious participation. Community becomes a cardinal shelter which protects their faith from negative influences of the secular society, and a resource of their religious life. These people are actively engaged in the organisation of activities. They often develop exclusive attitudes and are suspicious towards other religious and Christian groups and "secular" people. They are strict in certain domains of moral life while more liberal in others. A high degree of individualisation of both belief and religious practice is what people in all the three categories have in common. At the same time, spirituality is not pushed to the private sphere only. These young people attend religious activities regularly and express their faith in communal religious practices as well as in the public.

Searching for Faith in a Situation of Personal Crisis

Upon their arrival in Ireland, some young people started to attend religious services, despite the fact that they were not religiously active in their homelands. They became religiously active and even believers. In an attempt to understand what prompted these young people to join their congregations and to become religiously active, I discovered a number of reasons and motivations. These reasons were of personal, psychological, social and socio-economic character, representing various circumstances that accompany these people's immigration experience. The experience of migrating to and living in a new country was one of the reasons why these young people found their way to religion. These immigrants had left behind familiar and known structures and support systems. In Ireland, they encountered an unknown environment; they felt disintegrated. As many scholars noted, leaving one's own country is often connected to mourning, sadness and disintegration of one's emotional world (Rodriguez 2008) and alienating experiences (Hirschman 2007). Rodriguez argued that "leaving friends and family is among the most painful moments in the life of the migrant. It means the disintegration of their emotional world, as well as weakening, if not the disappearance, of a support system" (Rodriguez 2008, xii). Building a new support system and new relations in the host society upon arrival requires a lot of courage, time and resources (Passarelli 2012).

For some Slovak and Polish migrants in Ireland, leaving their country of origin was not necessarily connected to sadness. Upon their arrival in Ireland, many Slovaks and

Poles found their friends and relatives who helped them with practicalities. Their friends and relatives provided social and emotional support. Respondents from the German community usually lacked such support structures and contacts upon their arrival. They found themselves in situations where they had to actively look for and develop new contacts. Nonetheless, even the presence of support structures such as friendships or family may not be sufficient for overcoming the feelings of crises, pressure and distress connected to the migration experience. As Rodriguez noted, migrants have to adjust to a new language, to the use of a different public transport system, or new legal procedures. These situations increase stress and anxiety (Rodriguez 2008). Young immigrants in Ireland whom I interviewed experienced such challenging situations associated with the change of social and cultural environment. Adjusting to this new situation creates a significant mental burden. In the cases where personal crises are the main reason that stimulated immigrants' decision to join their own congregations, a deeper search for faith is evident. Such personal crises are related to family issues, partnership and friendship relationships, or socio-economic problems. Young immigrants who experienced a loss of a family member, a break-up of a relationship or a loss of a job found themselves in a deep personal crisis. This crisis stimulated their desires for something deeper which could provide them with a sense of life. They connected to their immigrant religious congregations and became religiously active. Their personal crisis brought them to religion.

While such personal crises can affect one's religious activity and faith regardless of one's immigration experience, in this research, migrants perceived their crises as connected to their migration experience. They reflected upon the questions of whether this would have happened to them if they had not moved to Ireland. In their attempts to understand their crises, they made a link to their migration experience and to the fact that they moved to Ireland. Such crises are perceived differently in a situation abroad as compared to a situation in their homeland. People may find support from their family members, friends and colleagues in the environments of familiarity in their home countries. In contrast, they do not have such structures of support and familiarity abroad. As a result, they have to deal on their own with the situation of their personal crisis. For example, when Miriam speaks about crisis, she means in particular the crisis in the sense of the break-up of her relationship, which she connects to a loss and to feelings of loneliness. She connects her personal crises to her search for religion.

> "Then when my long-term relationship with my Irish friend came to an end, I found myself alone here in Ireland, although having completed vocational training, but everything in front of me. Also, it was the loss of the social circles of family and friends. Then, one has to basically start from the beginning, while my German

> friends whom I learned to know in my first job have been married with their partners, have formed families and have different lives. This for sure is a considerable part of it. Also mental crisis in the sense of depression that is connected to the social contexts and the losses when there were times when it was just hard" (Miriam).

Connecting to an immigrant religious congregation assists immigrants such as Miriam in finding a way out from their loneliness and sadness. In their congregations, they can find new support structures - in terms of both social and mental support. On the one hand, young migrants can develop new friendships and relations with people who understand their language and their culture. The congregation offers them an opportunity to meet people who went through a similar process of crisis and can offer helpful advice or a solution. On the other hand, migrants do not necessarily have to look for new friendships. They can find mental and counselling support through prayers, hymns, sermons and biblical readings as well as personal conversations with clergy and other members. Religious services and activities may offer them an opportunity for personal reflection and contemplation. In either cases, the congregation becomes a place where individuals can feel being loved – substitutes for their homes and family. It provides a space where people's need for belongingness is satisfied through the development of new relationships and friendships. This confirms the arguments by scholars who emphasised the role of the human needs in the formation of one's identity (Chapter 2).

In the cases of personal crises, inclination to religion is not a straightforward process. Young immigrants often described their search for the sense of their life and for faith as an ongoing process. For example, Jana who found her way to the church through her personal crisis describes her religious identity in this way:

> "I would say that my faith is tentative. It is a search for what is important to me now. It is about what fits to my life, and what fits more or less. This is probably an ongoing process which is possibly life-long. For me it is not so that I would say: I decided for this and that is going to be true forever. [...] for me, it is a search for what sustains me – what has brought me in this direction, even through times of crisis, through losses and crises that has brought me to this search" (Jana).

Jana became a religiously practising person while searching for deeper meanings in her faith. She regularly attends Sunday services and occasionally other religious events. That said, she is not keen to engage actively in the preparation of religious activities in her congregation. She seeks to remain a more passive receiver of the religious life of her congregation.

One's migration experience can lead to situations of personal crisis which stimulate desire to develop new personal contacts. For immigrants, joining their own immigrant

congregation assists them with finding new contacts and friendships. While developing new relations is their reason for joining their congregations, regular attendance of religious services encourages their search for deeper religious meanings. This means that functional roles of religion can be replaced by substantive roles.

Practising Moderate Faith

Functional theories of religion highlight that attending immigrant congregations is, for many immigrants, about connecting to home and a place of familiarity. In their congregations, immigrants can practise their mother tongue. They can preserve their own religious and cultural traditions, and meet with people from their country of origin. Previous research, mainly conducted in North America, highlighted that immigrant congregations provide a space for the accommodation of cultural packages that immigrants take with them from their homelands (Warner and Wittner 1998; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000). While establishing their own congregations, immigrants do not have to abandon the ties to their home countries (Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002). As agents of transnational connections to their homelands, immigrant congregations can nourish and sustain immigrants' religious belongings in ethno-national settings.

In contrast to the North American situation, EU immigrants in Ireland are more flexible. They can visit their countries of origin on a more frequent basis due to affordable travel opportunities. The need to maintain transnational ties might not necessarily be the main reason for joining their immigrant congregations. Nonetheless, even here, the need to meet with people from their homeland and to speak in their mother tongue is a strong motivation. Immigrants may join their immigrant congregations simply because it is more convenient than joining Irish-based congregations. The later would require investing more time and resources into finding an appropriate congregation and into establishing new contacts. Their immigrant congregations are places of worship and community that is familiar to them. They do not need to adjust to new circumstances, norms and forms of behaviour. They know the patterns of behaviour and what is expected from them; e.g. the liturgy and customs.

In this category, the respondents did not practise Christianity back in their homelands. When joining their immigrant congregations (in order to search for support structures or for ethno-national attachments), they became practising Christians with moderate religious views. Susanne's religious participation was almost at the level of zero prior to her migration to Ireland.

> "I am Lutheran. I was baptised and received my confirmation. However, my background was not religious at all. I never went to church as my parents did not go. I only was in church when I had my confirmation. My religious participation was limited to religious education in my school. This was it" (Susanne).

Upon her arrival in Dublin, she heard about the German church in Dublin from her German friends. She was not very keen to go there as she did not practise religion. Nonetheless, one of her German friends convinced her to go to church with her.

> "It was a small community, in my view, which brought me a dilemma. I did not want to find myself committed to attend church regularly every Sunday. However, I went to church again and again. Nevertheless, I am not a typical regular churchgoer" (Susanne).

Susanne's case represents a category of immigrants who find it useful to attend an immigrant congregation while keeping a balanced approach to religion. The main reason she attends the Lutheran church is because of the German language and culture. By attending her immigrant congregation, she wants to connect to people who speak her native tongue and who share the culture of her homeland: "I wanted to have a real contact to Germans and to good German – it is a real need" (Susanne). The Lutheran congregation that she attends is, for her, first of all a community where she can nourish her attachments to her culture, language and homeland. Despite attending the church mainly for cultural and language reasons, Susanne acknowledged that her relation to religion and to faith has changed. She does not emphasise dogmatic principles and ethical rules. However, she finds it empowering to listen to sermons that provide new insights and perspectives to her everyday life. Religion provides her with symbolic meanings and answers to existential questions. This means that religion plays both functional and meaning-making roles in her life. Similar stories can be found among Polish and Slovak immigrants who joined their congregations in order to sustain their language and ethno-national attachments while also becoming interested in the meanings of their religious practices and belief.

This category also represents people who simply attend and join their immigrant congregations with the aim of preserving and nourishing their transnational attachments to their country and culture. Their congregations provide them with a place where they can sustain their attachments to their culture through social activities, conversations with people from their country of origin and the exchange of information. This often includes families with children who would not usually go to church, but attend their immigrant congregations in order to keep their children connected to their cultural roots. In such instances, religion becomes a mode for the satisfaction of social and cultural needs. While they acknowledged that their religious identity often does not change internally, their

religious participation allows them to come closer to religion. Their attitudes to religion and faith become more affirmative.

Some immigrants do not speak English fluently. As they live and work in an environment where they mostly speak in their mother tongue and as they plan to return to their home countries, they may not be motivated to interact with the native population. Attending their congregations is sometimes straightforward. Poor English skills prevent these people from engaging in further intercultural ecumenical activities. For example, during intercultural activities organised by the four branches of the Lutheran church, it was difficult to talk to most members of the Latvian congregation as they have limited English skills. While they were motivated to help with the preparation of events, they were less engaged in discussions with members of other branches.

Immigrant congregations play a considerable role in the accommodation of immigrants' needs and interests. They function in many ways by offering immigrants social, economic, counselling and psychological support. Many of my interviewees were provided with help in their congregations while looking for new job opportunities or accommodation. Immigrant congregations serve as places for the exchange of information. Immigrants can also get counselling support if they experience personal problems and difficulties. Congregations or various interests-groups within the congregations organise various sport and social activities which foster interpersonal relations among members of the congregation. Here, the social networks play an important role in spreading information, the exchange of information and fostering interpersonal communication. Such individuals may maintain lax attitudes towards religion and faith while regularly attending immigrant congregations in order to sustain and nourish their cultural, ethnic and linguistic needs. As a result, functional roles of religion play a dominant role in this category, with respondents using their religion and religious structures for various functions. Nonetheless, the functional role can also be transformed into a meaning-making one when people who initially join their congregation for a certain functional purpose start appreciate the meanings of their faith and religious practice.

Being Born-Again

A few Slovak and Polish young people experienced an act of conversion, also known as being born-again, after they migrated to Ireland. The experience of being-born again is a typical characteristic for Evangelical and Pentecostal Christianity, and rarely found among other Christian groups. As Mitchell and Ganiel noted, conversion "involves a deeply personal, religious dimension where individuals describe emotional and sometimes

supernatural experiences that mark a religious turning point" (Mitchell and Ganiel 2011, 54). While in the case of Evangelicals conversion is generally seen as a specific moment in a person's life, Mitchell and Ganiel noted that it often starts in early childhood and is influenced by its social environment. In other cases, people can become born-again as adults while having some "religious reference points" in their childhood. In conversion, the process of socialisation and/or resocialisation plays an important role (Mitchell and Ganiel 2011). According to Catholic teaching, conversion is understood as an act of transformation accomplished by God's grace during baptism. The Catholic explanation of being born-again is different from the Evangelical meaning (Brom 2004). Nonetheless, the experience of being born-again is not strange to some practising Catholics. Such practice and evolving theology has been especially present within the Catholic Charismatic Renewal and other Catholic charismatic movements.

Similarly, as in the previous categories, these young people rarely attended church services prior to their conversion: "Back home, it was that I had to go to the church. I did not even know that I was experiencing a Mass" (Silvia). Many young people from Central Eastern European countries who moved to Ireland would officially consider themselves as Christians even if they are not religiously practising. Upon their arrival in Ireland, they were not urged to go to the church since they were lacking social and family pressure which they faced in their homelands. These people did not experience their conversion within their immigrant church, but within other Catholic charismatic communities that they started to attend in Dublin or, in one case, on their own while connecting later to a charismatic community. Thus, the process of socialisation, i.e. the influence of friends and the social environment, also plays an important role here. The former applies to Petra who became born-again within Catholic Charismatic services that she attended spontaneously. Petra's knowledge of Christianity and religion was very weak, even if she was formally a Christian. She attended a church back home only irregularly, once or twice a year, and viewed religion as a very complex topic difficult to understand. During her time in Ireland, she did not attend any church for more than two years prior to her conversion. One day, she attended a Mass in a charismatic style with modern music in a Catholic church in Dublin.

> "I did not know the church and I did not know people there. [...] When I was listening to songs and to God's word, I just burst into tears. I realised that my life was a big disaster. I lived without God so many years. I did not understand him. And then, suddenly, I realised that I need him and that only he can help me. He saved me – in that very moment" (Petra).

After conversion, some people started to attend charismatic Catholic communities in Dublin where they met other Slovak Catholics. Subsequently, a small group of committed

charismatic Slovak Catholics evolved. They connected to the Slovak community in Dublin as they felt a strong need to belong to their ethnic community. They organised regular meetings to pray, to read the Bible and interpret various "prophetic" messages which they found on the Internet. They believe that these messages are directly from God. They launched their own website with direct translations of these messages. One person's pathway to the Slovak community was through another girl from the community whom she got to know during a pilgrimage to Medjugorie where she went some months after her conversion.

A different pathway can be observed in Silvia's case. She became born-again without being connected to any church and without knowing about any charismatic group. Personal conversion happened to her in a spontaneous act, a 'Damascus Road' experience.

> "I was sitting in front of the computer at home, looking into the space in that box. And suddenly, I had a feeling, not anxiety, but it was - I even do not know how to explain it - it was so sudden. I suddenly felt a huge sorrow – a feeling of being very sorry. It was coming from the heart. And then, it was also such outbursts - my tears flowed. I suddenly knew that I have to find Jesus. In that moment, I knew that I do not want anything else and that I will do nothing else. I will find that Jesus and I will do everything for this. And the love that came - if Jesus came to me in that time, I would love so much that I would eat him. This was a feeling of great love. It is a love that you will not get from a normal person. I have never experienced anything like that in my life I experienced that time" (Silvia).

Silvia and also some other people who became born-again Christians within a Catholic Charismatic community were not keen to join their immigrant congregation. They were convinced that the congregation would even hamper their faith and spirituality. But, while they were attending Charismatic services organised by a Catholic Charismatic congregation, they felt that they were missing something that only a Slovak Catholic congregation can offer them. After developing friendships and contacts to people in the Slovak congregation, they decided to join it.

> "The first thing was that I knew that I will not find friends here. However, Magda started to pull me. Magda dragged me and dragged. She was inviting me to their events: we have such a meeting here and this and that... You feel that this is a place where God wants you to have. However, I did not think about whether it is the right or not. I did not go there for myself. I did not look for it. This is not the kind of life that was previously. You are changing. You will change, because you are there not because of the people. You go there because of Jesus. Jesus is the only one. On the ground and everything around is fleeting" (Silvia).

For people such as Silvia, joining their own congregation becomes an important part of what they see as their mission. They feel obliged to spread God's word and try to convince more people in the community about the Charismatic way of religious practice. They are

convinced that not all people in the community are saved when they are not born-again. They feel the obligation to witness to them about the Gospel. Within the Slovak Catholic community, they are accepted and can thus practise their spirituality. Not all agree with their Charismatic religious behaviour. Nonetheless, they do not exclude them from the community.

In both cases, the conversion did not happen in a vacuum. Personal circumstances associated with their immigration experience urged these young people to search for religion. Prior to their conversions, all of them were unemployed and in financial problems. It was the time when the Irish economy started to shrink. They lost their jobs, which resulted in other problems. They experienced loneliness and friendlessness as their social contacts that they used to have interrupted. They were desperately looking for new contacts. Most importantly, they were looking for a new sense of life – a sense that would give them motivation, hope and prospects for a better future. The economic crisis became their personal crisis as they realised that wealth and material possession are not everything. They felt that something deeper was missing in their lives. These young people understand these crises as life changes and opportunities to find faith.

> "Did I not come to Ireland, did I not lose my job, I would never come to the church. I would not find Jesus. I had to go down to my knees to find Him" (Petra).

As a result, the formation of this religious identity is a result of socialisation, a process driven by human desires and a personal decision.

These "newborn" Catholics are distinct from traditional charismatic Pentecostal or Evangelical Christians. These young people are religiously strict in certain domains of one's personal and spiritual life, while being liberal in others. For example, they would strictly obey the Ten Commandments, including abstaining from sex before marriage. At the same time, they would be tolerant towards smoking, alcohol drinking, listening to pop-music and attending discos. They prefer to wear popular clothes. They do not see any contradiction in merging their spiritual life and their modern lifestyle so far as it complies with basic biblical principles. While traditional forms of charismatic movements tend to be puritan in terms of ethical and moral issues, these young people decided to choose a moderate version of charismatic Catholic spirituality.

While this moderate charismatic Christianity may be viewed by some as atypical, the secular-charismatic combination is a result of different socio-cultural influences people are exposed to. As Ugba observed among Pentecostal churches, even if religious identity is seen in essentialist terms by members of religious groups, other identifications also influence their religious behaviour and their everyday conduct (Ugba 2007, 181). A similar

fusion of the secular and charismatic patterns can be observed among evangelicals Mitchell and Ganiel 2011). Even if young Catholic people practise their faith in a charismatic way, they practise it within the premises of Catholicism and secular Irish society. They are thus influenced by their identifications with their Catholic congregations, their friends, and their families that are not charismatic. Most importantly, they practise their charismatic Catholicism without the strong leadership of a person who would provide strict guidelines and rules for their religious behaviours and practices. As they remain part of their religious congregations, they are influenced by their priests who, as guarantors of Catholic faith, assure theological clarity and faithfulness.

For these people, attending religious services and activities organised by their religious congregation is a vital part of their spiritual life.

> "It helps me a lot if I go to the church. Certainly! You search for it. You want to be with God. Many people would say that – I do not take drugs, so I do not know. I have never taken drugs! However, I know that feeling when I smoke a cigarette - when you ignite or when you take a drug, you feel well. When I smoke, that feels so good. At least, this applies to me. I do not know how other people. For me it feels so good" (Petra).

All who fall within this category claimed that spirituality and/or God are the main reasons why they attend their immigrant congregations. Yet, community and the sense of community seem to play an important role in their motivations to attend.

> "Community? - some are very spiritually mature, some are backward, I would say. As I just said, everyone paints or makes his or her own image of the Christ. [...] In this community, you will not find much living faith there. However, Jesus wants it - he wants a living faith. So, I think that living faith is hard to be found there. I think so. [...] Yes, there are some spiritually advanced people who go to all sorts of different missions and places of pilgrimage. I do not say. Those are filled with the Holy Spirit. They just somehow survive the faith and live that faith. Most are not like this ... But there are some, thanks to Jesus, because it is His will" (Silvia).

While they find many members of the congregation not religiously mature, they are still tolerant towards them. In fact they hope that even those not religiously mature will become true believers.

5.2 From Traditional to Spiritual or Moderate Religiousness

Many young people who attend their immigrant congregations would consider themselves back in their homelands as religious traditionalist, formalist and conservative. When they compare their previous religious participation with their current religious engagement in Ireland, they see a significant difference. Back home, their level of commitment to their

faith varied from being occasionally involved in religious activities to being overly involved in their churches. As regular churchgoers, some noted that they were actively involved in certain religious tasks such as assisting with Sunday readings or with organisational tasks. Some identified themselves as passive receivers of services and rites provided by their parishes only. In both cases, their religious participation was mainly driven by social and family pressure. In other words, they attended Sunday services because they had to and because their parents urged them to attend the Mass or service. It was part of their regular social and cultural custom.

Two different directions can be traced in the religious change of such people. The first group of people became spiritually oriented persons, exploring new spiritual perspectives on and dimensions of religion and faith. They experienced an enhancement of individual religious practices such as personal prayers and meditations as well as a magnification of religious participation. These findings correspond with previous research carried out in Europe and in North America on the shift from religious traditionalism to spirituality and spiritual longing, which is discussed in the first chapter (Cox 2009; Davie 1994; Heelas 2002; Heelas et al. 2005; Wuthnow 1994). The findings especially fit Davie's concept of believing without belonging (1994). The second category becomes religiously moderate, tolerant towards other religious and ethical views, and open to new religious practices and views, while maintaining an attachment to their own tradition. As already discussed in the first chapter, scholars of religion noticed such mixed forms of religious belief where religious and secular, traditional and modern can coexist (Berger 1999b; Davie 2007; 2010; David Martin 2005). In this study, different reasons explain young people's religious change. These people sought to explore the meaning of their faith and life while looking for more freedom and flexibility with regard to their own spirituality and religious practice. This pattern of religious behaviour is congruous with the substantive theories of religion. Socialisation factors also played an indispensable role in their identity formation since they had more opportunities and choices for various forms of religious engagement, and IT connectivity (information regarding different religious forms and practices). Living in the cosmopolitan, secular and urban environment of Dublin also influenced their religious behaviour and thinking.

Exploring Spirituality

While some people who were traditionalist and formalist did not experience any significant change in terms of religious conversion, they realised that their attitudes towards religion have changed since they moved to Ireland. Their change can be described as a shift from

religion towards spirituality. Back in their homelands, their faith involved practising religious traditions, rites and customs. In Ireland, they discovered a new element of faith, i.e. spirituality – or as they describe it: "something deeper", "more spiritual", "connected to God". In many cases, spirituality becomes an important part of their religious lives while they continue to practise their religious traditions as they used in their homelands. This change has been characterised by an addition or enhancement of individual religious practices such as personal prayers and meditations. Some of these young people started in Ireland with praying on their own and individually outside of religious services for the first time. As in the previous group of categories, these young people moved from traditionalist to more individualised forms of religiosity and spirituality which trace characteristics observed by other research in non-migrant contexts (Heelas 2002; Heelas et al. 2005; Wuthnow 1994; 1998). Nevertheless, this individualised spirituality is not pushed to the private sphere only. Individual religion pervades the communal religious practice. These findings are compatible with Knoblauch's notion of popular religion according to which the orientation towards spirituality evolved into a popular trend, which is increasingly practised in communal forms (Knoblauch 2009; 2012; 2013).

Most importantly, they experienced more freedom and flexibility in making decisions with regard to their spirituality and religious practice. In Ireland, they are not under social and family pressure. It is up to them whether, where and when they attend a religious service. They have the right to choose and decide on their ways of religious participation. Their faith and religious matters have become more dependent on their own decisions. Thus, their religious identity shifted from the traditionalist one where they perceived their religious practice as part of certain cultural customs and norms to one where they can personally decide on forms of practice. It is a shift from a religiosity characterised by obligation, communitarianism and rigidity to one characterised by flexibility, individualism and a consumption-oriented approach.

> "Back in Slovakia, [...] every young person was forced to go to church by their parents. Here, it is rather perceived as that you are dependent on yourself, and if you want to, you go to church, but if you do not want to, you do not go. It is up to your own decision. You are not under the microscope of your family - that means that there is none who can control you. [...] It is up to you whether you want it or not. This is a milestone - a realisation that basically whether you want or not, you need it. Because there is something you do not know to identify - the belief that one believes in something – it is impossible to identify because it is faith and faith cannot be identified. So it is definitely a milestone – the awareness of the need of the practice in some way, to go there [to the church] for some ideas and thoughts that may help you in some situations in your life. This was a fundamental change for me" (Tibor).

Some perceive this shift towards a flexible approach to religiosity within the broader context of opportunities and IT connectivity in cosmopolitan Dublin. They do not have to attend one particular church only. They can easily find information regarding various religious groups and services in the town.

> "The news-feed channels are important. Whether you choose one or another. What I prefer, it is relative for me due to the fact that I am at the Mass to get the information. If I do not attend any Mass, which does not often happen, I carefully look for the information on the Internet. Again, there are not so many activities" (Tibor).

Back home, they would not have many or any opportunities to choose between various congregations and services offered in different languages. Dublin's religious landscape offers a wide range of opportunities for religious participation.

Most importantly, migrating to Ireland provided these young people with outstanding opportunities for exploring the deeper aspects of their faith. Even if they were religious in their homelands, they discovered new aspects of their religiosity upon their arrival in Ireland. The experience of leaving their homeland with the places of familiarity and of encountering the unknown and different environment of the host society prompted them to think deeper about their faith from a personal point of view. For example, Elena's immigration experience brought her to situations of loneliness where she explored a deeper sense of her faith.

> "Spiritual life in a foreign country is different. If one does not move in with his or her own family or friends, then he or she does not experience the situation of being among strangers. My situation is that, most of time, I am with people who are from this country, but I am a stranger to them. This country is foreign to me. This feeling and status of a foreigner positions me into another level in the spiritual sense. Here, one can meet elemental loneliness. I experienced such loneliness in my life many times, but in different situations. It was not any dangerous experience to me. However, this loneliness (in a foreign country) has a different flavour. [...] If I stand at the shores of the sea and I look at myself, I ask myself where I am going to sail. In fact, I stand at the shore alone and see the far-reaching sea, I only perceive the greatness of that situation – the large amount of people who live in that city – one does not meet familiar people, only strangers. It is huge sea of strange people. While one stands and looks at this, one asks why he is here and who is the one who created all this. These are questions of an existential character. It is a different view of God in that sense that you also see another way of life, other human beings and another country. You realise that all this offers you a different angle of view on the Creator, because he also created all this what you did not know until now as you did not have the opportunity to discover all this" (Elena).

Migrating to and living in Ireland provided her with an opportunity to experience her spirituality in deeper, authentic dimensions. Through the situations of loneliness, she has been forced to ask herself existential questions. She has spent a lot of time exploring the

sense of her life. Her traditional religious identity shifted thus to one that is characterised by deep spiritual and cognitive reflections.

> "If one stops here for a moment, he or she will not escape the questions of existential character. One has the opportunity to survive both the fear of the existential loneliness and the magnitude of the discovery that the One in whom I trust and believe is more than I imagined. [...] I think that it was this different dimension that Ireland added to my spiritual life. Ireland brought me another flurry of spirituality. Even the discovery of their [Irish] traditional religiosity, history, culture and their Catholicism, as I am Catholic - how Catholicism was developing or falling down in the history, flourishing or stagnating - all this has enriched and taught me a lot" (Elena).

Religious community may play a crucial role in supporting these young people's search for deeper and living faith. For these reasons, they join and associate with their immigrant congregations, which they see as places where they can nourish and practise their faith. As in previous cases, some such as Tibor and Magda do not particularly look for community, however. Instead, they attend their congregations because they can practise there their religion in their own language and listen to preaching by a priest who experienced a similar situation.

> "What pulls me more is the opportunity to go there for the Mass, as it is in Slovak language. Many times, I go to the Irish church – where the service is in English, but still it is not my language, even if one understands it. However, if you hear the Word and sermon from a person who has personally experienced the situation similar to mine – there is difference as it is based on the philosophy and mentality from which you are coming. This explanation, or the interpretation of the Word, is presented in the context and is linear with those thought processes that you remember from your country of origin, where you lived and experienced it. Thus, he knows about how things are, as he experienced what you experienced when you were a child or when you were younger. I would say that this would probably rather attracted me. The community itself - it's fine, it's good to talk, but this is a priority for me" (Tomas).

While Irish priests may have all the appropriate skills in approaching young people, the added value of clergy with an immigration background is that he or she may understand immigrants' situation. Clergy who come from countries from which immigrants come went through a similar experience of leaving the familiar and encountering the unknown. Their migration background may allow them to understand immigrants' needs and interests as well as cultural norms better than local clergy.

Shifts in religious identity from regular churchgoers to committed and practising believers were perhaps the most frequent categories among young immigrants in the German, Slovak and Polish congregations. The religious change in these cases is caused by various aspects of immigration experience and varies from case to case. These aspects

concur with the socialisation and functionalist factors in identity formation. People become more religious as they experience elemental loneliness, and as they realise their independence and freedom from being urged to practise religion according to family and social standards. They appreciate the variety of religious opportunities the religious landscape of their host society offers them. They attend and join their religious congregations out of a need to deepen their faith and spirituality and/or to connect to a community of believers, which should help them to sustain and nourish their faith. They take on a role of those who, in Kinnaman's words, "facilitate a deeper, more authentic vision of the Christian faith in our pluralistic, sophisticated culture" (Kinnaman 2007, 17).

Tolerating Difference and Diversity

Living in a secular and cosmopolitan society can have significant impacts on a young person's religious identity. Those who were used to living according to traditional pathways and formal rites of their churches can embrace new forms of religious practice. According to Davie, in secular societies, beliefs are not any more maintained in forms of "historic formalities of the Christian tradition. They become increasingly detached, individualized and heterogeneous" (Davie 2007, 94). 'Believing without belonging' becomes an important element of young people's religious identity. According to Davie, "the competition between a variety of creeds, both secular and religious, gives way to a pervasive self-questioning on each side of the classic divide" (Davie 2007, 95). In other words, "no longer it is assumed that a secular discourse will gradually overcome a recognizable and unified religious alternative. Instead both secular and religious thinking will evolve as multiple groups of people look for new ways forward, and new creeds (both secular and religious) to live by in the early years of the twenty-first century" (Davie 2007, 95). Davie places this religious-secular dialectic in a more general societal context.

For young people from Poland and Slovakia, meeting with the secular Irish society and the city culture itself was ultimately a new experience. Almost all my respondents come from small towns, rural areas and monolithic cultural environments. Despite the fact that Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Bratislava and Kosice are also emerging metropolises, Polish and Slovak respondents did not have much experience of living in urban and cosmopolitan environments in their home countries. While some studied in large university cities in their home countries, they were often dependent on support from their parents. For many, Dublin was the first experience of living independently in a larger city. These people had to mentally adjust to a lifestyle in a large city – a situation which was strange to them when they lived in their homelands.

Life in a large city is characterised by anonymity and independence (Cox 1965). Many Poles and Slovaks noted that their lives in Dublin have become more anonymous and independent. In Dublin, they are not under the social pressure and control of their families and peers. They can enjoy more social and mental freedom while deciding on where, when and with whom they socialise. Choices, opportunities and freedoms that they have in Ireland would be limited in their places of origin. Even if they live with people from their country of origin, they noted that they could still enjoy a more significant degree of freedom than in their homelands. They view these aspects of city life as affirmative and advantageous.

> "I discovered the life of large city – which was never familiar to me. It has its magic – to experience the other country. The fact that it is a cosmopolitan city, it is still interesting for me" (Eva).

In contrast, experiencing a large city was nothing new for many Germans. Germany has a number of cosmopolitan metropolises than are larger in terms of population and size than Dublin. Most interviewees from the German congregation lived in large cities. Even those who lived in smaller towns often commuted to larger cities for studies or work. Yet, German respondents also noted the different nature of cosmopolitanism in Dublin. German metropolises would be dominated by people of certain ethnic and national backgrounds such as Turkish or Asian minorities. In contrast, Dublin's multicultural landscape is more diverse in terms of ethnic, national and racial background of immigrants.

Respondents from the three different communities seek to combine their religiousness with the secularity of their everyday life in multiple and different ways. After years of living in and engaging with the secular Irish society, some became very open towards homosexuality, while they continue to be very strict about abortion rights. Some women and men came to practise their religion in a very charismatic way and placed emphasis on traditional Christian values, while at the same time being very liberal in premarital sex. Prescribed and for centuries accepted norms do not apply to their ways of life. Most importantly, from immigrants' perspective, their 'new religious attitudes' have been shaped by their immigration experience. The influence of a life in a cosmopolitan city of Dublin allows for tolerant attitudes towards diversity. Young migrants have a strong desire to belong to a community. Nonetheless, individuality and anonymity are also of great value to them.

As young immigrants encountered different cultures and religions in Ireland, including the Irish culture and religious traditions, they became more tolerant. A few

studies have highlighted the impact of immigration on the increase of intercultural awareness and learning among immigrants. Kennedy observed that the experience of

> "living abroad may also expose migrants to new interpersonal social relationships that become formative influences on which they depend. These experiences may also fuel a kind of personal transformation which involves a greater openness to the cultural 'other'(s) and a move towards cosmopolitanism" (Kennedy 2010, 466).

A similar pattern can be observed in this study. Here, this shift has also been characteristic for those who used to be very conservative and rigid in their religious views. Eva was a typical churchgoer in her homeland before she moved to Ireland. She did not have many opportunities to meet people of other religious backgrounds and faiths, both Christian and non-Christian. While she did not have adverse attitudes towards people of other religious traditions, she was convinced that her way of practising the faith was superior to others. In Ireland, her attitudes towards other Christian groups changed:

> "I feel that I extend my heart while looking at the sea of people, solitude and the sea of everything what I experience - I feel that I have a bigger heart and I can accept more, understand and tolerate, perhaps even more love the others thus" (Eva).

The change of place prompted her to change her attitudes to become more tolerant. As she met new people with different attitudes, beliefs and practices, she learned to accept and live with otherness and difference.

Moreover, she acknowledged that tolerance is not a straightforward result of experiencing difference. It is up to a person to learn to be tolerant, i.e. to deal with otherness. She also believes that living in any foreign country would change her attitudes towards otherness and difference:

> "Through my immigration experience in Ireland, I certainly learned to be more tolerant. I think that moving to and living in any foreign country would provide me with this. Because it is that you come to another country and culture and find the variety of otherness; it is up to you how you deal with this. If one is not somehow rigid, it has to give the way to some things, accept and thus tolerate. And it may be another country - sometimes it is within your own country - another city and it's different. Once other people come into your life - this teaches you to be tolerant. However, it does not need to be so - it depends on the attitude of a person. I would not link this to Ireland - I think this is about difference" (Ewa).

Similarly, Lenka has expanded her horizons while becoming more culturally and ethically tolerant. As she develops friendships with people of different cultural and religious backgrounds and with distinct moral views, she changes her attitudes towards otherness and difference:

> "I am glad to have the opportunity to meet and get to know people of other faiths, other countries, different colour, and different mindsets. Maybe if I was in

> Slovakia, I would never encounter and experience all this. As a Catholic believer back there, I only have one particular horizon. However, as I am here in Ireland, I have a wider horizon. For example, I have a friend who is gay and, back in Slovakia, I do not know how I would accept this – I would probably stare at him judgementally. But it is just so different here, and he is a very good person" (Lenka).

Lenka has been very active in attending various ecumenical and intercultural activities such as Taizé prayers in Dublin. While taking part in those activities, she met people of various religious and cultural backgrounds. Although she had previous experience of living abroad and of meeting people of other cultures within Catholic religious activities, her Irish experience has expanded her intercultural, ecumenical and even inter-faith horizons. She developed new friendships with people who are Protestant, Orthodox, and Muslim; people who are straight and gay; people from Africa, Asia and Europe. Back home, her experience with diversity was limited. For example, she did not have any contact with Protestants and Muslims, of whom she had stereotypical images.

Nonetheless, an important observation in these cases is that most young immigrants interact mainly with other immigrants. Their contacts and friendships with Irish are very limited. On the one hand, this related to the fact that immigrants tend to be sympathetic to each other because they share the same experiences of being foreigners despite their ethnic, national, language and social differences. As immigrants, they understand each other's interests and needs. On the other hand, the interviews revealed that young immigrants from Germany, Poland and Slovakia had difficulties in developing friendships with Irish people, especially with people from local Irish churches. Similarly, as noted in Chapter four, these young people found Irish churches welcoming but not inclusive enough. Some had very negative and disappointing experiences with Irish churches. Their intercultural religious interaction has thus been constrained to interaction with non-Irish people from other immigrant congregations.

Moreover, while people such as Eva and Lenka are very tolerant towards other people's religious and moral values and traditions, they still remain very conscious about the influence of some negative aspects of secular life in Irish society. They had difficulties in specifying the negative influences of a secular or secularist society. They did not mention ethical and moral issues to be aspects of secular lifestyle. Instead, they mostly referred to religious passivity, atheism, agnosticism and materialism, which lead to a life without God. They use their immigrant congregations as places of protection where they can hide from the negative influences of secularism. They view these negative aspects of secularism as a threat to their faith. They are convinced that practising their faith within

their own congregations, where their faith is practised in their language and in a familiar milieu provides them with security for the sustainability of their faith. As this case shows, while Ireland could be regarded as a very late and fast secularising society moving to a post-secular society, some immigrants perceive it still as very secular.

Migrating to and living in a foreign country can prompt young people to be tolerant towards diversity. As Eva's and Lenka's cases show, two important aspects of one's immigration experience influence the shift towards an immigrant's more tolerant attitudes. First, regular contacts with people of different religious and cultural backgrounds open a way for breaking down stereotypes and misperceptions. Through these interactions, their intercultural, ecumenical and interreligious awareness increases. Second, the willingness of one to accept the difference is also important. Young people have to come to realise the importance of tolerance on their own. While some such as Eva and Lenka realised that there is no problem in tolerating diversity and otherness, others are less prompted to such a tolerance.

5.3 From Single to Multiple Religious Practice and Belonging

Migrating to a new country may also lead to a conversion to a new religious tradition or to a situation when a person maintains his or her own tradition while also becoming a member of another congregation. This research does not focus on those who converted to another faith or joined a religious congregation distinct from the one they used to belong to in their home country. Nonetheless, many young people extend their religious practice into new religious and spiritual forms and understandings. This group of religious patterns includes an enhanced degree of individual spirituality such as personal prayers and meditations. Others went even further in their religious exploration and became actively engaged in intercultural and ecumenical activities, some of which are of civic character. I also met people a few people who regularly attend Irish-based religious congregations and who even became members of these religious congregations while maintaining their membership in their immigrant congregation. In both categories, people were religiously active in their homeland – some traditional, while other moderate. Their identity was considerably influenced by their social and family environment. Some had profound while others had limited experience with cultural and religious diversity. Upon their arrival, they learned other religious practices.

Socialisation and personal choice theories apply in this case. Participants who attend ecumenical and intercultural activities have had previous experience with

ecumenism and civic-related activities in their homelands. These people maintain transnational attachments. Yet, these ties become indifferent for them while abroad. They also possess sufficient language capabilities to be able to engage with the English-speaking population. In most cases, interviewees had previous experience of living in other countries, or of interacting with people of other religious and cultural backgrounds. Again, these changes and shifts demonstrate a two-fold role of religion in the lives of these young people. On the one hand, young people pertain to their religion in functional terms while seeing it as a resource for new experiences, new contacts and cultural adaptation in their host society. On the other hand, young people explore new religious practices and forms which provide them with profound religious meanings and spiritual contents.

Encountering New Religious Practices

Some young immigrants moved beyond traditional and conventional forms of religious practice upon their arrival in Dublin. In Ireland, they explored new forms of religious practices that are characterised by an increased degree of spirituality and individuality such as personal prayers, prayers in groups, meditations and/or sharing religious experience with their community. The above mentioned categories focused on these new forms of religious practice. In addition to these forms, young immigrants have also encountered intercultural and ecumenical activities usually organised without the involvement of clergy. In the case of ecumenical activities, I looked at activities attended by members of the Lutheran congregation, and the Polish and Slovak Catholic congregations. These activities are of a non-conventional and non-hierarchical character. In addition, I also looked at services and activities organised in English such as the English services of the Lutheran church that have been attended by some young Germans.

The ecumenical intercultural activities have provided new opportunities for interactions that influence immigrants' attachments to their ethnicity and nationality. These activities are organised in English or in the different languages of participants. They include church services, Taizé services, Bible studies, and prayers during special weeks such as Lent and Advent. The activities have often highlighted different societal issues that are of civic and public concern through participatory methods such as workshops and campaigns to raise the concerns in regard to public cuts in the national budget and services, or to raise awareness of ecological issues. These activities are ecumenical as they involve participants from various Christian backgrounds. They are also intercultural as participants who take part in these activities are immigrants from different countries.

Some members of the Catholic Polish and Slovak congregations and of the Lutheran church parish attend ecumenical and intercultural activities organised within the premises of their churches or activities organised by other religious communities. Many young people are interested in attending services in English or various intercultural ecumenical activities that bring together people of different nationalities while also remaining active in their faith. For example, Lenka enjoys attending Taizé and other ecumenical activities while maintaining regular contact to her congregation:

> "The fact that I have here the Slovak community where we have a Slovak Catholic priest [...] - there is my place of faith. Thus, I go to the Mass among Slovaks on Sundays. Yet, I am also very happy that I have the opportunity to go to Taizé and meet there people of various backgrounds. Often, I do not know whether they are Catholics or Protestants [...] I am just happy that I can go there and sing songs in different languages" (Lenka).

People attending such services also need traditional forms of religious practices:

> "And yet sometimes, I miss there [in Taizé] a sermon or a talk that is spoken with biblical or Christian background in worship - which does not exist in Taizé naturally" (Tobias).

It should be noted that many people do not attend these activities at all. Some attend them while omitting the main Sunday services organised by their congregations:

> "Taizé is for me already a replacement to a church service. Now, I do not have to necessarily go to the church again on Sunday. I usually go to an Anglican church [on Sundays], but I see Taizé as a real service too. This means that I have two services a week where I go" (Tobias).

Young immigrants' engagement in these activities reveals certain characteristics of their identity shifts. Non-conventional and uncomplicated forms of these religious services such as Taizé prayers are usually the main reasons that attract young people. Services that are simple and easy to follow are more convenient and understandable to them rather than complicated conventional religious practices. In Taizé services, the emphasis is placed on spirituality and feelings rather than on dogmatic elements. Tobias expressed it in this way:

> "Taizé has always been something very special to me. It is actually my preferred favourite form of prayer service - simply because it is very simple, easy and silent" (Tobias).

Taizé prayers serve young immigrants as a place of silence and contemplation:

> "When I am in Taizé, I can easily switch to my experiences, to remind myself what I have experienced and done during the day. I can relax when peace is there, when people sing, when it is quiet. My heart feels to be so close to God. It is a feeling of relaxation and refreshment" (Jens).

Young immigrants who attend these activities move from practising traditional forms of religiosity to ones that are non-conventional. Their religious identities become characterised by spiritual and contemplative experiences of faith. These young people do not look for hierarchical, patriarchal and institutional religion. Instead, they look for a community – a group of people who come together to share their gifts and values. Using Higgins words, immigrants are interested in ethical guidelines and spirituality rather than in doctrines and dogmas (Higgins 2013). Marti and Ganiel observed similar tendencies among adherents of the Emerging Church Movement which strives for spiritual vitality and the transformation of hierarchical religious institutions (Marti and Ganiel 2014).

Participating in such activities increases immigrants' sense of intercultural and ecumenical awareness and sensibility since they learn about other cultures and faiths. They thus become more tolerant towards diversity and difference as they break down their stereotypes and misperceptions as already stated by Lenka in the previous category. Moreover, the convenient and simple character of these activities allows young people to get involved in their organisation: "It can be prepared itself - by anyone" (Tobias). The role of laypeople in the preparation and delivery of such services is an important reason for young people to attend these services. Taizé prayers or services during Lent and Advent are usually organised by laypeople. Laypeople often lead the service, read the texts and lead the singing of hymns. Through involvement in the preparation and organisation of services, they can feel a greater responsibility for their community.

The involvement in ecumenical and intercultural activities brings new dimensions to immigrants' religious behaviour, namely active participation. The ecumenical and intercultural activities that take place within the premises of the three respective congregations are often organised by laypeople without the involvement of clergy, which highlights a high level of immigrants' religious participation. A great deal of these activities are designed, organised and run by young immigrants. Many young immigrants find new roles in religious rites while organising these events. While back home in their traditional churches, they often were passive receivers of religious services. Through these activities, they become leaders and implementers of the religious life of their congregations. Through active participation in the organisation of and in assisting with activities, they can make their own significant contributions and shape religious activities according to their ideas and views. Religious activities thus become non-formal platforms of mutual exchange, cooperation, encouragement, support and sharing.

These examples of identity change demonstrate a shift from understanding religion and religious practice in traditionalist and institutional terms to an understanding of

religion as a personal choice and preference. In this case, one's openness to new religious ideas, beliefs and practices is characterised by an eminent degree of hybridisation and syncretisation of religious traditions. As discussed in the first chapter, living in a globalised, post-secular and culturally diverse social environment also aids this process. Thus, identity formation in the case of these people bears signs of both socialisation processes and personal choice.

Nevertheless, the observations revealed significant differences in terms of denominational and national belonging of participants who engage in ecumenical and English-based activities and those who do not. In particular, significantly more members of the Lutheran church congregation engage in ecumenical intercultural and civic-related activities than members of Polish and Slovak Catholic congregations. At the same time, Polish and Catholic congregations have considerably more members than the Lutheran congregation. It could be argued that a culture of passivity has been characteristic for Catholicism as some researchers claimed. For instance, in Ireland, where, unlike Protestants, Catholics have not been encouraged to get involved in participatory church-related activities (Inglis 1998). Nonetheless, the participants from the Lutheran church are mainly members of the German or English branch. In contrast, members of the Latvian and Polish branches of the Lutheran church remain very passive in their engagement in such activities as well as in services organised in English.[51] This means that one's religious background does not necessarily influence one's religious behaviour, i.e. participation.

These differences in participation do not arise from different religious backgrounds, neither from different ethno-national characteristics, but rather from social factors. The disinterest of people who do not attend these activities does not mean the lack of their religious participation. On the contrary, members of the Polish Catholic and the Slovak Catholic congregations (as well as of the Latvian and Polish Lutheran congregations) are actively involved in activities organised in their congregations in their native language. Many young immigrants from these countries do not intend to stay in the country for a long period. As a result, they continue to orient their engagement towards the activities that promote their language, their traditions and transnational ties with their homelands. The intention to stay in Ireland temporarily prompts them to engage more with their own religious congregations rather than with the native ones.

Furthermore, civic participation is closely linked to immigrants' personal interest in the civic and political issues of the host society. Participants who attend civic-related

[51] The lack of English skills and the culture of passivity characteristic for post-communist countries could be reasons for this passivity. However, further research would be needed to explore this passive behaviour of Eastern Europeans.

activities have been highly concerned with the economic and political situation of Ireland because they intend to stay in the country for longer or permanently. Their children attend Irish schools, and their jobs depend on the economic situation of the country. They read Irish newspapers, watch Irish news and discuss the politics and economy of the country with their Irish colleagues. They often took part in civic activities in their homelands. The same applies to ecumenical activities. Many people are simply not interested in attending such activities as their religious needs are sufficiently satisfied in their own congregations.

Moreover, linguistic capabilities might play a considerable role in affecting the participation of young immigrants in ecumenical intercultural activities. Participants who engage in ecumenical and English-based religious activities are mostly persons with a high command of English. The linguistic capabilities mitigate the fear of engaging with natives and people of other national backgrounds. These capabilities encourage their involvement in intercultural activities and their integration. Linguistic barriers might make them feel 'smaller' in comparison to native or other groups and to those who can interact in an English-speaking environment. This can create an inferiority complex. Consequently, the lack of linguistic capabilities makes the interaction and the engagement of these people in intercultural activities very challenging. They thus continue to engage with their own immigrant congregation.

Finally, it is important to highlight that the legal conditions and societal perceptions in Ireland create an environment for societal cohesion. Ethnic and national boundaries of immigrants from CEE countries are reduced under such conditions. In the case of immigrants from CEE counties in Ireland, the societal and legal conditions have enabled them to establish a moderate relationship between the attachments to their own ethno-national identity and the attachments to the host society. They have consequently enabled moderate integration and provided a space where immigrants are encouraged to interact with natives and other people within their congregations. These people do not abandon their ethnic and national boundaries. Nonetheless, their boundaries are less visible as they feel no cause for this in a country which does not restrict their rights and privileges.

Connecting to Local Churches

In my research, I also approached a few people who regularly attend Irish-based religious congregations and who even became members of these religious congregations while maintaining their membership in their immigrant congregation. While these young people show high levels of social and cultural integration into Irish society, their pathways to Irish congregations were also influenced by personal decision and practical reasons. These

include people from the German Lutheran parish and from Slovak and Polish Catholic churches. First, in contrast to other young people, these respondents found Irish churches to be very welcoming and inclusive. They have had a very affirmative experience with congregations they have attended. Second, they have also been keen to interact with Irish people, while maintaining a balanced contact to their immigrant congregations.

Tobias would fit into this category. Upon his arrival, Tobias planned to go to the German congregation. However, he first attended an Irish-based congregation where he became a member. He not only experienced a welcoming hospitality of the local Irish-based congregation but also an active invitation to become involved in the activities of the parish. The Irish-based congregation was the first religious congregation that he attended in Ireland. He feels that this church has become his religious and spiritual home. A number of reasons explain his smooth integration into this congregation – reasons that were not traced in other respondents' stories. He already had established a point of contact in the congregation - a life-long friend whom he has known since his childhood and from his congregation in his homeland. This friend and his family decided to join this Irish-based congregation despite the fact that they are from Germany. In terms of theology and liturgy, this congregation corresponds more with their religious beliefs and practices rather than the Lutheran congregation, as, back in their homeland, they attended a Free Protestant church. As Tobias was staying at their house for a while when he moved to Ireland, they took him to the congregation on Sundays. Tobias felt very welcomed in the congregation. The members invited him to take part in the Bible study and other activities. He gradually became involved in the organisation of the activities and found more friends among local members of the congregation. The local congregation that Tobias attends suits his spiritual interests and needs. It is a vibrant congregation with many young people and young families attending religious services. Compared to traditional Lutheran liturgy-oriented services where classical songs are sung accompanied by organ music, the hymns in this congregation are modern and accompanied by a music band. The atmosphere and youngish flair are among the reasons why Tobias decided to stay in this congregation. There was also a practical aspect – the congregation is near where he lives.

Tobias also knew about the German congregation to which he connected only six months later. According to him, the main reason for connecting to the German church was the need to reconnect with his native language and culture, despite the fact that there were Germans in the Irish congregation he attends. While being spiritually satisfied in the Irish congregation, he still felt the need for re-connecting to his German congregation to meet with people from his home country and to speak his mother tongue. The German church is

thus for him a place where he can preserve his ethno-national cultural package. Interestingly, he had the opportunity to speak in German and meet people from his home country in the Irish-based congregation. This means that there was a deeper reason for joining the German church. A deeper discussion during the interview with him revealed that it was also about familiarity of the religious environment. Even if he does not prefer the traditional Lutheran liturgy and the older composition of people at Sunday services, he feels strongly about his Lutheran faith. He wants to keep practising his Lutheran faith alongside his new religious practice in his new Irish Protestant church. He prefers the sermon in the Lutheran church more than the one in the Irish-based congregation. While he favours more the atmosphere and hymns in the Irish congregation, he misses the Lutheran analytical style of sermons. He wishes that he could merge his two congregations into one. As this is not possible, he decided to be a member of both congregations. He has maintained a double membership. He expressed that both the Irish-based church and the German church are his spiritual homes, while there are different reasons and motivations for attending these congregations. Similar examples can be found among Slovak and Polish Catholics.

In addition, some people attend Irish services mainly due to distance reasons – when they live in suburban areas and find it difficult as well as tiring to commute to their immigrant congregations which are located in the city centre. Some also find it important to attend Irish services because of children – they think that it is good for children, if they attend a service in English. Despite attending Irish churches, they still feel a need to be in touch with their immigrant congregation. The main reasons for sustaining attachments to their immigrant congregations are the need to practice their spirituality in their native language, and to keep their children updated in their native language. For instance, a young Slovak family maintains close ties to the Slovak Catholic community while at the same time attending Masses in a local Irish Catholic church in their district. They started to attend the local Irish church once their children were born. They found the local Irish congregation very welcoming. Yet, the Slovak community gives them what they cannot find in the Irish church. It is still important to them that their children also attend Slovak Masses. This helps them to sustain attachments to the Slovak culture. They thus attend both congregations.

> "Even now we go there and we feel that we are part of the church, but from time to time, it is also good to go to the Slovak Mass. From time to time - once a month or once every two months - it is good to go to the Slovak church, to confess, because after a certain time, I feel that what the Irish church offers me, is not what I really need. I need more. These two readings, I need to experience again the moment of

> the songs, the songs that I know. That is why sometimes I turn Lumen (a Slovak Catholic radio), what people are laughing at me, but I just need this due to my mental health, or because I just need it from time to time. But seriously, we have come very well with the Irish church. We feel very good there, and it also is OK for kids. Their Mass is short, concise, although sometimes there are not two readings on Sunday but only one reading. However, those songs are what I'm missing, because, as I said, it is good sometimes when we attend the Slovak Holy Mass" (Maria).

Maria acknowledged that it is not only about physical distance but also about the welcoming atmosphere of the Irish church. As she and her family have attended the congregation for a few years, they became familiar with hymns, liturgy and people. The familiarity with the context and system of the congregation makes it easier for them to feel at home in the Irish church too.

> "I do not know, [where I feel at home] - there and there too. I am such a person that when I get there to the Irish church, I already know the songs that are sung out there and that everyone can sing along in English - these songs are so good. It's different, but, I still like it. [...] - I do not think that I would make a distinction according to where I feel more at home. It is hard to say. Of course, Christmas - we'll try it anyway, because it's *Triduum*, so we try to go to an Irish Mass and to a Slovak Mass. Or during Easter - I know that I incredibly like procession on Holy Saturday in the Irish church. But if I had to go for a Mass on a Good Friday, I would prefer to go to a Slovak church. I certainly would not say that I feel more at home there. Because when we talk about the identity, and really, I'm a Slovak, and now I realised that indeed the church [the Slovak one] is something that I need time to time. Thus, I really seek for it. This is true. The Slovak community, the church - this is actually something here, so I feel, that I need from time to time" (Maria).

As these cases show, immigrants may give preference to an unfamiliar place of worship over their immigrant congregation which guarantees familiarity. This may depend on a number of factors. As in Tobias's case, the level of familiarity and previous knowledge of the congregation may be factors. If immigrants already know people from that congregation, they may feel less discouraged to participate in the congregation's activities. Also, the congregation itself may attract immigrants by the way in which it presents and organises its religious and spiritual life. As Tobias's and Maria's cases show, practical reasons such as close vicinity to their residential places may also be factors. Other factors such as a continually welcoming and inclusive atmosphere are also crucial in sustaining immigrants' attachments and memberships to local congregations.

Conclusion

This chapter attempts to understand the formation of religious identities of young immigrants who are affiliated with three immigrant congregations in Dublin. The research

analyses experiences and perceptions of individuals while also looking at important social dynamics of congregational life. I do not claim that the processes of the formation of identities are representative of young immigrants' religious experiences. Instead, I identify a variety of patterns which may provide general insights into the ways in which young migrants experience changes in their religious identities. The findings demonstrate that a myriad of interconnected factors rather than one straightforward element can influence the identity formation of an individual. The way young immigrants perceive their religious identity in the context of their immigration experience varies from case to case, depending on various factors. One's religious identity can be influenced by a combination of factors such as family background, religious practice in homeland, religious congregations in Ireland or 'Damascus Road' experiences. The chapter discussed three major aspects of these young people's immigration experience, namely the impact of socialisation processes, certain human needs and personal decisions. In the case of immigrants, these factors become interlinked within their immigration experience. Young immigrants refer to their religious change through the lenses of their immigration experience, which involves moving to a strange environment, exploring their own cultural packages, encountering a new social and cultural environment and struggling with adaptation. Different factors and aspects of the immigration experience influenced the identity shifts among these young people.

As far as socialisation processes are concerned, the social environment of their host and sending society plays a key role in influencing their identities. EU immigrants in Ireland come from countries characterised by Christian, secular and often post-communist legacies. In Ireland, they live in a globalising society characterised by the coexistence of the secular and the religious, albeit some migrants regard the urban area of Dublin as highly secular. Immigrant congregations play a crucial role in developing and fostering the sense of home and belonging. Congregations become familiar environments in which social networks, social and religious activities as well as religious contents provide material, spiritual and mental support, guidance and encouragement to young people. Although the studied communities operate within their denominational and ethnic boundaries, young people in the three communities have many similarities in the way they perceive and practice their religion. Most importantly, the congregations create platforms for non-hierarchical and non-conventional intercultural and ecumenical interaction. In this sense, religion and religious congregations play an important functional role.

Search for home, transnational connections, a sense of belonging, and solutions to existential and personal crises were some functionalist and psychological factors that

encouraged young people's desire for religiosity and spirituality. Although these factors are less present among the discovered patterns of identity change, it is important to acknowledge their contribution to the identity formation. These factors often, but not exclusively, correspond with substantive roles of religion. Indeed, when experiencing crises or looking for a sense of belonging, young people came to explore spirituality, deeper religious meanings, symbolic expressions and profound religious contents of their faith. Importantly, religion and religious change is a matter of personal choice. Young people tend to decide what they want to believe in, which religious contents and forms they want to adopt, and how they want to practice their faith. Personal choices play an important role especially in situations when individuals decide to explore new religious practices and or to join another religious community.

As a result of the various dynamics of immigration experience, different trajectories of religious change occurred. I clustered these trajectories of change in three groups. Some young people become more religious and religiously active upon their arrival. The second group involves people who became more spiritual and conservative, or moderate and liberal in their religious practice and views. Finally, the research observed a shift from single-folded religious belonging and practice to multiple religious practice and belonging. While this categorisation may remain open to further interpretation, it is striking that all the respondents are young people and immigrants. The trajectories of identity formation are not static. Instead, they move in different directions and are formed in different combinations, which I frame as horizontal and vertical. While some factors such as socialisation may be more influential, others such as personal choice occur marginally. Horizontally, religious identity can be a result of socialisation, but it can be transformed into a need and even become a matter of personal choice. Search for religion can also start with a need and be then later transformed into an element of socialisation such as in Susanne's case. Vertically, people may resort to religion for functional purposes while at the same time exploring deeper and symbolic meanings of their faith, as it was Jana's case. These findings are in strong contrast to some scholarly research, mainly in the literature on transnational migration, which presented immigrant groups in homogenised and unchanging pictures. In contrast, this chapter demonstrates that people from one ethnic and religious group, and even community, can have different identities; being differently religious when it comes to their practice, behaviours, beliefs, norms and values.

Chapter 6: Religious Identities of Young Muslims with Migration Background in Germany

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a perspective on the formation of religious identities among young Muslims with migration background in Berlin and Göttingen. The chapter enquires into the reasons why these young people are interested in religion and how their religiosity has changed. As in the Irish case, a myriad of reasons why young Muslims become religiously practising can be determined. The aim of the chapter is neither to identify all of them nor to provide qualitative accounts of them. Instead, I seek to grasp young people's paths to faith from different perspectives of their migration background. I present these trajectories as categories of identity formation. Some young people seek a de-ethnicisation and de-culturalisation of their religion, while others connect their religiosity to their cultural and ethnic background. Some young Muslims become more conservative while others more liberal in their religious and ethical views. Other young people who identified with Islam only formally became actively religious.

Taking into account the challenges of the context (such as social and bureaucratic labelling) and social environment (such as family, school, peer, the media discourses) in which young Muslims in Germany live, the socialisation factors become strongly apparent in the formation of young Muslims' religious identities. Nevertheless, these factors nurture the need for belonging and recognition at both individual and societal level. Last but not least, it is young people themselves who take an active part in the formation and "crafting" of their identities. Religion is for them something which "cannot be forced" but can be explored, freely decided and lived by individuals themselves. These three factors are encompassed in young people's different understandings of their migration background. In contrast to the Irish case, the migration background of young people interviewed in Germany does not involve a direct experience with migration.[52] Most interviewees were German citizens and born in Germany. Some were born in the country of origin of their parents while having lived in Germany since their childhood. Young Muslims in Germany are also framed as people with migration background, the term used to identify those who are not considered to be fully part of the German identity, despite the fact that they are German citizens.

Migration background involves the social and bureaucratic label of 'people with migration background' on the one hand, the cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic particularities that they inherited through their families on the other hand. While exploring,

[52] I take into account that many young people of Turkish and Arab background have experience of living or studying abroad. Looking at this issue would be beyond the scope of this research, however.

negotiating, challenging or confronting the constructed narratives of their background, these young people discover their religion. They understand their background as an enrichment of their identity and of the society in which they live. They seek to overlap their contemporary lifestyle with their Muslim religiosity similar to their Turkish identity with their German identity. This becomes evident through their participation in their religious communities. While many Muslim communities organised themselves on the basis of ethnic belonging and a dogmatic stream, young Muslims are creating new spaces with loose ethnic boundaries. Muslim identity then often takes priority over or even replaces their ethnic and national identifications. Other young people tend to maintain multiple or hybrid identities.

The fieldwork also validates the importance of both functional and substantive approaches to immigrants' religion. Young people explore "deeper and far-reaching" meanings which renegotiate the traditional notions of religious norms, values, rituals and practices. Young Muslims emphasise personal commitment and conviction in their religiosity. They refer to faith, spirituality and piousness when they talk about their religiosity. This religiosity is primarily about their relationship to God. Religion also serves many functional roles while providing space for mental support, social capital and the cultivation of ethnic and cultural traditions.

6.1 From Inherited to De-Ethnicised Modes of Religious Identification

Migration background is often understood by young people in this study as a combination of cultural and ethnic practices, traditions and customs inherited within their families. Although these practices may be connected to religion, some young Muslims view them purely as part of the ethnic and cultural tradition. Young people would not exclude these practices from their personal and family life. Nevertheless, some young Muslims tend to distinguish between their migration background (which they understand as a cultural package) and their religiosity or even distance themselves from their background. The formation of religious identities in these cases is driven by individual decisions rather than socialisation processes. Nevertheless, socialisation is partially considered as these individual decisions take place on the premises of critical social changes. As far as the role of religion in the lives of individuals is concerned, substantive roles of religion take precedence over functional roles.

Distinguishing between Culture and Religiosity

Young people in this category cherish and value their migration background which they understand as a cultural background. Nevertheless, many respondents made a distinction between their migration background and their religiosity. They stressed that their background does not have any influence on their religious identity; on the way they believe in and adhere to God. They emphasised that they are religious regardless of their migration background.

> "I connect culture with tradition. For example, I associate weddings or hen parties with culture. However, this has actually nothing to do with religion. I think so. Wedding maybe yes, if one wants to marry another person. Nevertheless, hen parties and celebrations – this has not much to do with religion. [...] I view tradition as a separate issue, since tradition mostly stands for something different" (Ecem).

Their religiosity does not depend on their parents' background:

> "I do not know how it were if my parents were born in Germany or were Germans. [...] I believe that, even if they were Germans, I would search for religion and find it hopefully" (Ecem).

Respondents such as Ecem noted that their parents did not practise Islam or practised it only rarely and formally. Thus, these individuals were not supported by their families to engage with religion. For example, Yasemin noted that religion was not important to her parents:

> "They never forced us to go to Koran lessons. I decided [to attend Koran lessons] on my own. I was always fascinated by religion. After the Koran classes I lost the contact to the mosque as my parents and friends did not go there. But, a few years ago, I heard about Islam lessons in German, and I decided to go there. It was, for me, as a reinvention of my faith. However, my parents are not against this. They neither encourage me in this" (Yasemin).

These young people tend to emphasise a significant difference between their parents' formal belonging to Islam and the "living faith" that they practise.

Nonetheless, some respondents were also raised in religiously practising Muslim families. Their grandparents were often the main connecting point to religion. For example, Hatice noted that religion played an important role in her childhood. She explained that her family environment was crucial in fostering religious practice since religious places, i.e. mosques, were scarce:

> "Especially my grandmother played an important role in my religious upbringing. She put a great value on religion. She prayed and fasted a lot. While observing her religious practices, I learned to pray and fast too" (Hatice).

Religious practices were nourished through constant contact with other family members and relatives with whom she observed religious and cultural events. This case exemplifies

how participation in religious activities as a family and as an entire group can create a sense of belonging that is mutually fostered, supportive and controlling. This is an example of bonding social capital, discussed in the cases of Christian communities (Allen 2010; Ley 2008; Wuthnow 2002), which can foster both religious and ethnic togetherness. However, Hatice, similar to Ecem and Yasemin, distinguishes between traditional practice connected to her background and her faith:

> "I do not understand my religion as duties and obligations merely. Yes, I try to do all my duties. But, Islam is not about duties merely. It is something deeper and far-reaching. One can only practice Islam with his or her own heart and conviction. Faith cannot be forced. It is about freedom – freedom to pray, to believe and to think about God. I can practise my faith everywhere, regardless of whether I am in Germany or in Turkey. I live here, and I practise my faith here, of course. No matter where I am, I have my faith always with me in my heart. As a Muslim, I do not even need a mosque for this. I can come into contact with God and be grateful to him everywhere" (Hatice).

Her account also signals that she sees a difference between the traditional way of religious practice carried out in her family and her own religious behaviour. She understands her family's religious practice in terms of duties and obligations mainly. In contrast, she describes her religiosity as her own decision. Her description corresponds with the understanding of religion as a living experience and spirituality.

The above cases suggest a shift in religious identity both in the course of young peoples' lives and in a generational comparison. This development highlights the changing nature of the understanding of religion among young Muslims. While, traditionally, faith and religious practices were transferred from generation to generation, these young people make religion and faith a matter of their personal decision. It is they who decide to become religious, i.e. Muslims, and not their parents or grandparents. This means that young people can continue to cherish their migration background, including their cultural and ethnic heritage. They even acknowledge that their family and relatives played an important role in their religious development. They are thankful to their parents and grandparents for teaching them about their religious background. Nonetheless, they emphasise that their faith, i.e. the decision to believe and to practise Islam, the matter of their own decision. They do not see their migration background as having had a direct impact on their decision to believe, although acknowledging the role of their background on their religious upbringing in their childhood. This development suggests an emancipating religious tendency in the sense that religion is understood not in terms of kinship and family ties but in terms of an individual decision. In other words, young Muslims do not identify

themselves as Muslim due to their Turkish or Arab background, but because they themselves decided to be religious.

The shift from ethnicised religious identification to a religious one among second- and third-generation Muslims has been observed by other researchers. According to these scholars, the new generations undergo a process of de-culturalisation of religion while rejecting the link between religion and culture. The new generation born in Germany have a different religious orientation and understanding from their parents. They seek to discover and restore true Islam by going back to theological sources such as the Koran, Hadith and Sunna. They search for an Islam beyond a particular national or ethnic religious tradition and community while emphasising the value of the wider religious community, *umma*, instead of connecting to a particular ethnic community. They search for a de-ethnicised and de-culturalised Islam while considering it theologically correct and religiously more proximate than traditional and cultural Islam of the first-generation migrants (Amir-Moazami 2007; Bendixsen 2013; Jacobsen 2011; Roy 2006; Roy 2010; Thielmann 2008). These results also correspond with the sociological theories which emphasise the role of one's individual decision and agency in the formation of religious identity (See Chapter 2).

In addition, these findings are supported by research that highlighted generational differences in ethnic and religious orientation. Researchers noted a significant decline in the use of the ethnic language, practices and traditions among second-generation migrants in the U.S. and Europe. This decline is mirrored with socialisation such as increased orientation towards and the use of the language, identity and citizenship of the host society, and civic and political engagement (Heath 2014; Nauck 2007). This shift marks a generational change in the question of the understanding of religious practice and faith. Young Muslims consider the religious practices of their parents to be culturally-contaminated, impure and traditional. In contrast, young Muslims emphasise that they perform pure and true Islam detached from ethnic, national and cultural traditions. Importantly, people such as Hatice contrast the content of their religious practices with those of their parents and grandparents despite the fact that they portray a very religious life of their grandmothers. In fact, they do not judge the faith of their family members. Instead, they criticise the very strong link to cultural and ethnic meanings and contents of religion in their lives. These young people emphasise that the content of this religious practice and identity is different from that of their parents. They place more importance on individual religious experience and spirituality rather than on religion understood in terms of kinship and family networks. Although family and community events are still seen as

important components of religious practice, personal relationship with God is the most crucial element of their religious identity. Participation in religious festivals, family gatherings or obligations itself is not satisfactory to constitute true faith. A personal religious conviction and experience are needed. Personal prayers and reading of Koran are key elements that form young people's faith. This change reflects a move from the understanding of religion in its functional roles to one that considers its substantive contents.

Distancing Oneself from Migration Background

The question of ethnicity was received by some young people with confusion. Especially young women often responded by questioning the term "ethnicity" and asking what the difference between ethnicity and citizenship or nationality is. Some did not see this question as appropriate one. For example, Pelin did not understand why I asked about her ethnicity:

> "What is the difference there between nationality and ethnicity? What I understand under ethnicity? I would say that there is no difference. I am German! Full stop!" (Pelin).

The women are disconcerted about being labelled with negative images of Muslim women. The gender differences in this question are connected to the experience of being exposed to negative stereotypes about Muslim women. This especially applies to those women who veil. Distancing from the label 'migration background' does not mean opposition to their Turkish or Arab background. Instead, young people distance themselves from being labelled as people with 'migration background'. This tendency is closely connected with the experience of being exposed to negative stereotypes that are ascribed to people with migration background:

> "I am not a migrant, and I do not understand why I should be labelled as a person with migration background. [...] I am a German *Muslima*" (Arzum).

Pelin also wished to be perceived by others on the basis of her human qualities rather than the markers of ethnic and national identification:

> "I wish that, when people encounter me, that they abandon those prejudices or those expectations which they have. I wish that they come and say: I do not know this person. I have never met her. I do not have to stamp [stereotype] her but I can make a picture of her first.. I can understand her only once I know her. If I did not know someone, I cannot make a picture of that person. I wish that people encounter me and say: Pelin – she indeed does not have a German name, she does not also look like a typical German. Nevertheless, she is a human being. I wish to encounter her, to find out more about her. I want to also learn about her religion. I would like to understand her, without prejudices. [...] I wish that people were more

> enlightened, including about the identity of Muslims. For example, the negative stereotypes are always coined to positive images [of a Muslim], I realise it often. This makes me mad and sad, that one always shows those negative aspects only. I would like if one said that Islam is a religion of peace – the term Islam originates from *salam*, which means peace and devotion. And that one does not only say: oh look there, one of the jihadists, he killed himself there, and he blew up and detonated himself. Of course, this is also the case. But, there are more other aspects. I wish that one is multi-faceted in this" (Pelin).

These young women understand their migration background as exclusively linked to first-generation migrants. Their migration background does not define their identity. They are German citizens. Their identity is thus expressed through their identification with the German state. They are also Muslim and thus German Muslims, or Muslims from Germany. They do not live in Turkey or elsewhere, but in Germany. Germany is their home and the field of their social, economic, cultural and political interaction.

Nonetheless, they are often not perceived as such by their schoolmates, friends, the media and society. Most importantly, they have negative experiences with being identified with their background and their religiosity. For example, Arzum noted that:

> "People straightforwardly assume that I am an uneducated and poor woman, if I veil. When they realise that I study, they often ask: why do you then wear the headscarf since you are so intelligent" (Arzum).

The perception of Turkish migrants in Germany has shifted from guest worker through Turks and immigrants to Muslims. The term Muslims has come to be associated with negative connotations. This has mainly been influenced by the media discourses (Schiffer 2005), German political discourses and politics (Spielhaus 2006), and global events (Allievi 2006). These discourses have been accompanied by discriminatory policies that further stigmatised Muslims, especially women. These policies included a citizenship examination introduced in Baden-Wuttenberg. It focused on questions such as: "Do you think women should obey her husband?" and "What do you think about the fact that parents forcibly marry their children?". Baden-Wuttenberg also introduced the law banning headscarves for teachers based on the Constitution, emphasising Germany's Christian tradition. The German curricula and text books in schools, and the media foster negative images of the Muslim population while emphasising their otherness. This negative stereotyping centred mainly on the issue of headscarves (Bendixsen 2013, 115–117).

The exposure to negative perceptions and stereotypes makes these young women distance themselves from their background. They complement their identification with Germany, as a country where they live and belong to, with their Muslim identity. They are proud to be German Muslims, or Muslims from Germany. These responses suggest a

demand for the full inclusion of Islam in Germany. Young people wish to be considered as German Muslims, as Muslims who were born and are part of the German society and culture and not as Muslims who are connected to countries of their parents and grandparents.

As a result, these young women do not understand why their migration background should be important for their religiosity. When I asked Arzum whether her migration background has an impact on her religiosity, she responded:

> "No. Absolutely not. I believe that if one takes into account religion, according to my understanding of Islam - I mean what God wants - I personally think that nationality is a good thing. It is a nation-love - in the sense that we love and meet each other. It does not mean that we segregate and distance ourselves from each other. [...] all the people come from the same. We have the same roots. It does not matter whether [we come] from Africa or America, or wherever. This does not matter. I am a person against nationality" (Arzum).

These young women have never even been interested in exploring their roots and background. For example, Pelin's parents moved to Germany more than twenty years ago.

> "I did not concern myself with my background. I was born and grew up here. I think I absorbed a lot from the culture here, but also from the culture of my parents. I think this is the point where a conflict emerges, because it is impossible to reconcile the two cultures. Sometimes, one culture is in some points against the other culture. I think that this often leads to conflicts. I absorbed some aspects from both cultures. Some would say that I should keep that side, while others would say that I should keep the other side. But, I want to keep something from both sides, this is the challenge" (Pelin).

Young women such as Pelin and Arzum claim that there are differences, even a conflict, between the two cultures. As an illustration Pelin points to the issue of marriage: "If you love someone [from another ethnic background], one side would say: marry him, whereas the other side would say: do not marry him" (Pelin). Marriage and other cultural practices are seen by these young people as not relevant for their religious practice and faith.

These young women cherish certain ethno-cultural traditions but distanced themselves strongly from other practices that they would view as oppressive and discriminating. In particular, they referred to arranged marriage and honour killing as practices that are often perceived by the German society as being part of Islam. The presentation of these practices in the German media was framed in ethnicised and racial terms. Rather than looking into particular cases and into the perspectives of women of the same migration background, the media presented honour killing as a practice characteristic for all the Muslim communities (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2009; Korteweg and Yurdakul

2013). These young women strongly distanced themselves from such practices. For example, Pelin expressed it in this way:

> "I have very adverse attitudes towards culture. It is maybe exaggerated but I think that culture can destroy a lot. I believe that there is a significant distinction between religion and culture. [...] one cannot generalise the differences by referring to religion if it actually is culture. Since culture has been responsible for so much evil – have only a look at the Arabic culture – then I think that I do not like culture. For example, forced marriages and the oppression of women – these are all the cultural aspects. This has nothing to do with religion, nothing with Islam. In contrast, Islam is against such things. This means Islam and culture are two things that do not suit together. (Not in all areas, of course.) This is why I do not like culture" (Pelin).

By distancing themselves from "migration background", these young people seek to avoid being associated with cultural practices which are presented by the media in stereotypical ways. They do not want to be perceived as those who are forced to arranged marriages or being victims of honour killing. While strongly distancing themselves from arranged marriage and honour killings, young women emphasised that there is no room in Islam for such practices. Their religion does not promote neither encourage such practices. They understand these practices as part of a cultural tradition to which they do not adhere. These young women wish to be accepted as Muslim believers who belong to German society. By distancing themselves from their migration background or making a distinction between their background and their religiosity, they seek to highlight that Islam is also part of German identity. They are German and Muslim at the same time.

Discovering Faith

The process of de-ethnicisation of Islam is accompanied by the process of individualisation and personalisation of Islam. Young people seek a personal relationship in their religion. They prefer to use terms like faith, believing, pious and spiritual experience as opposed to words such as religion or religious tradition. Instead of emphasising traditions, obligations, duties and formal practices, they place value on personal relationship with God, piousness and individual religious practice. They seek to explore "true faith" and "relationship with Allah". In these processes of exploration of their faith, they discover new religious questions, ideas and practices. Religious experience is expressed by these young people mainly in terms of a relationship with God. Being in constant relationship with God helps young people to understand and translate life experiences as living religious experiences. In other words, young people ascribe religious meanings to different life situations that they encounter. They imagine and formulate their relationship with God as a very close

friendship. For them, God is not an instance that is far way. They understand God as a real being who shapes and is present in their lives:

> "I imagine it somewhat as if I had a friend, a beloved, with whom I would communicate everything. It is as when people have a friend. They would call him/her, for example, when they have an exam and say: oh, I hope I will pass the exam. Also, they would also tell their partner when something hurt them or what made them unhappy. I would just tell him everything. I would try to communicate with him everything. And I see it then. One wishes something exceptional and one gets it then. Well, I realised that nothing is a coincidence but I always get answers. For example, when I have a need to speak to someone and to be heard, he sends then someone – a person. This actually shocks me every day. Everything suits together perfectly, as I see it exactly and it also happens. Well, it is if there were small miracles" (Ecem).

Ecem highlighted how important it is to her to be in relationship with God. She explains how she views God as a friend, as someone who is very close to her, like her best friend. Even her best friend is not maybe so close as God to her.

Damla has a similar approach to her religious experience. She claims that, although she follows all the important duties in Islam, the dialogue with God is the most important element of her faith:

> "I think that I am very religiously practising. I pray five times a day and I fast when it is required to fast. I also go to the mosque or these Islamic circles approximately three times a week. Most importantly, I am in a constant dialogue with God, Allah, and this is what I name as practising" (Damla).

The personalised and individualised approach to religious experience provides young people with full-encompassing support to their everyday life situations. These young people understand religion as a faith – as something personal and not as something family-, kinship- or tradition-driven. As Ecem described it:

> "Islam is for me a religion, an orientation. Well, it is a perception how one can simply make his or her life easier – in the sense of guidelines for life – to become acquainted with oneself and with everything generally – the entire world" (Ecem).

Importantly, the individualisation of one's religious experience is characterised by their desire for faith. Young people place emphasis on their own decision and their own approach to faith. Young people understand their faith and religion as their own decision. For example, Mohamed noted that: "My faith is my own conviction and belief. It is all what I have in my life." Young people are interested in different religious streams:

> "My parents are religious, but they did not lead me to religion. When I was sixteen or so, I decided that I did not want to have anything common with religion. Later, I started to show interest in religion. I was dealing with Christianity, Judaism and Islam, and with religion in general at the same time. My intention was not to become a Muslima from the beginning. I was a human; I did not want to be as

> others. Only because my parents were religious, it does not mean that I have to be religious too now. At some point, I went then my own path" (Talya).

The emphasis on their own decisions also implies the presence of agency in young people's religious practice and behaviour. Praying and reading the Koran are seen as the most important practices which, according to young people, foster and nourish their relationship with Allah. Religious practices such as praying and relationship with God are seen as inter-connected. For instance, Damla identified the two most important elements of her religious practice. The first is "to be in dialogue with God – to talk to him constantly, to be thankful to him, but also to constantly make demands and wishes. Second: praying, while it should be understood as to be thankful. In sum, to give grace and to talk to him" (Damla). Personal prayers especially illuminate the personal relationship with God:

> "Praying – it helps me a lot. I always feel stronger when I pray. In my prayers, I mostly pray for myself, my parents and my friends" (Pelin).

> "I find the prayer the most important one. I can lean back and focus on God. For me, it is a form of meditation. Many think that praying five times a day is challenging. Many think that it is a burden. However, for me, it is a form of relax" (Talya).

Religious practice is of central importance to many young people. Young Muslims pay attention to the content and intensity of their religious practice. Some young people are more rigorous and organised in their religious practice, whereas others are more flexible and willing to make compromises.

The shift to personalised and individualised religious experience is accompanied by the emergence of new meanings for old religious practices and beliefs. Young people continue to practise religious traditions, rituals and beliefs that are characteristic of their Muslim faith. Nonetheless, they ascribe new symbolic and religious meanings to these practices. For example, Ela does not understand religious behaviours such as abstaining from pork and alcohol as obligations. Rather than accepting these practices and dogmas straightforwardly as obligations, she was keen to explore her own position. She wanted to know what these practices mean to her personally and why it is important for her to follow them. She noted:

> "I fast and pray. I try to be religious, to practise Islam, even if I do not go to mosque every day. I abstain from eating pork and from drinking alcohol. You may say: of course, you are a Muslim. Nevertheless, I do not eat pork and do not drink alcohol because it is forbidden for Muslims. I do it because it helps me in my faith. I also decided to abstain from alcohol since I know that alcohol can have destructive consequences. I know what I say. I experienced it in my family – my father was a heavy drinker. This is why, I believe, God wants us to abstain from alcohol" (Ela).

Similarly, Mohamed described his understanding of a religious practice:

> "Fasting is not about proving something to God. Instead, it is about proving to myself and to newly experience my faith. That makes me feel good."

Religious behaviours and practices are ascribed new meanings and understandings that reflect young people's everyday life, challenges and experiences. Old traditions and beliefs become individualised. Young people continue to practise well-established religious rituals and follow fundamental beliefs while ascribing them new meanings with individualised aspects. They seek to understand the meanings of these practices for their personal everyday lives. Their religious practice shifts from formal religious behaviour to a personal and individualised level. Young Muslims seek to re-define old dogmas and beliefs while finding contemporary explanations of them. These attempts lead to the discovery of new meanings and explanations.

These examples indicate a shift from formal and conventional understandings of religiosity to personalised and individualised ones. Young Muslims understand religion as a faith – as something personal and individual rather than as a religion connected to family, kinship or tradition. They describe their faith in terms of orientation, support, empowerment, relationship and dialogue with God. They discover and invent new religious and symbolic meanings to old religious practices and beliefs. These meanings are of existential and situational character while reflecting their everyday situations and life experiences.

6.2 From Traditional to Ethnicised Modes of Religious Identification

While some respondents tend to distance themselves from cultural aspects of their migration background, others re-discovered their background through religious practice or through identification with Islam in ethnicised modes. Multiple and hybrid forms of ethno-religious identification can also be traced. Young Muslims in Germany use different ways of presenting who they are such as "Germans of Turkish background", "German-Turkish", "born in the Middle East", Germans with Turkish parents, or coming from a specific city in Germany. The double identification is often regarded in the academic literature as an identity crisis, an internal conflict between 'Turkishness' and German identity. The identity crisis is perceived as a result of social exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination (Nohl 2002, 8; Bade 2011). Nonetheless, my interviewees did not refer to the question of belonging as an identity crisis. Instead of using negative connotations, they approach this

issue with affirmative terms such as "enrichment", "multiple identities", and "empowerment". Their identity is shaped both by their cultural and ethnic heritage on the one hand, and their identification with Germany on the other.

The construction of a double identity is in fact the creation of a new identity which involves two different cultures (Helicke 2002, 175; Badawia 2002). Foroutan framed the multiple identifications of young Muslim people with migration background as 'hybrid identities'. Hybrid identities emerge in situations where differences of cultural narratives of the self are transferred in the form of negotiation processes in novel partial identities without overcoming the original conflict completely. The conflict means that people who are labelled as Muslims through their own or external markings are not recognised as self-evident part of Germany. This conflict is often accompanied by discrimination and racism. The German meta-narrative leaves no room for the simultaneity of German-being and Muslim-being (Foroutan 2013). These young people perceive that what is framed as an 'identity crisis' is not caused by them but by various factors of the social environment in which they live. These findings signal a shift from ethnicised and ethno-cultural modes of self-presentation to social and socio-cultural ones.

Young people who identify with ethnicised Islam used to practise their religion in traditional ways or were not religiously active. The change of their religious behaviour is profoundly influenced by the social and cultural environment in which they grew up and live, as well as by particular situations of change. For these people, religion is mainly a function of their lives while helping them to re-discover their background, to nourish their attachments and to form their identity. As a functional mode, religion becomes intertwined with ethnic background or completely replaces ethnicity.

Re-Discovering Migration Background

In contrast to previous cases, religious practice can lead to the re-discovery or renewed appreciation of ethnic and cultural background, yet with different contents and a different degree of appreciation. The renewed appreciation of ethnic and cultural background is presented best through Can's story. Can was not religiously active until age 24, although he considered himself as Muslim. His parents' and family's religious life was "very vague and shallow" (Can). While engaging with his German peers, he came to be resistant to the way of life, customs and traditions, he knew from his family environment. He wanted to be more German and less Turkish. When he was older, he decided to live on his own. He even had a German girlfriend. When they broke up, he found himself lonely, since they had common friends. He started to think about his background, not only in terms of his

ethnicity but also of his religious background. He attended prayers and sermons in different mosques in Berlin. Although he understands Turkish, he found it deterring to be in mosques mostly with older men whose life experiences were completely different from his. He heard about lessons organised for young people in the Sehitlik mosque. Attending the lessons helped him to discover, recover and explore his ethnic, cultural and religious background.

> "I found it important to learn about Islam in the contemporary language and the way I understand it. The lesson in the mosque helped me to appreciate my own background. I came to understand which difficulties my parents and grandparents had to go through while migrating and settling in Germany. I started to see it from a different angle. I started to respect them and their experiences."

This example shows how religious practice can lead to an affirmative appreciation of ethnic and cultural background despite the fact that the person had sought to distance himself from such background. Religious traditions, practices and stories can play an important role in the re-discovery of cultural and ethnic background, although in such a way which does not seek to create exclusive and enclave-like identity. Through the participation in their immigrant communities, these young people can develop transnational attachments involving ethnic, cultural and political practices. Nevertheless, their relationship to the country of origin of their parents and grandparents is not of a "classical" transnational nature. Most of the activities that foster their transnational attachments take place in Germany. As Can's story demonstrates, young people of Turkish background are interested in the political, social and cultural situation of the homeland of Turkey from the perspective of German citizens. While they take part in practices that are linked to the Turkish culture, they fill these practices with new contents reflecting their contemporary experiences.

From this perspective, they believe that their religion and their "migration background" are interconnected. Some of them grew up in religiously practising families in which they learnt how to pray, fast and read the Koran. They grew up with the understanding that they have family ties in Turkey. They went to the mosque frequently and took part in religious festivals and celebrations. For illustration, Emir's response to the question of whether his migration background has an impact on his religious identity was very affirmative:

> "Of course, I mean it was definitely like that in my case. This was part of my own identity-exploration. My parents are not religious, not at all. Neither are they nationalist-oriented. They are very modern. Nonetheless, in my identity-search, I had the need to get to know my own roots, my identity. This identity was for me Turkish and Islamic, because I am Turkish, perhaps. It [the Turkish identity] is

> perhaps not so apparent and self-evident in the Islamic [identity]. Yet, the Turkishness is still very, very important to me. [...] In my case, my background is inter-connected with religiosity, yes" (Emir).

As already explained above, these young people understand their Muslim identity as part of their life in Germany. They believe that they can absorb both identities - their Turkish and their German identity - at the same time:

> "One can have multiple identities. It is very strange that it is sometimes expected that we should perceive us as German Muslims only. Nevertheless, we are also Turkish by large part, even if we are socialised in Germany. This is something we cannot abolish, or we cannot bow down somehow. It also is enrichment, a variety, if one says: I am German with Turkish roots, for example, or that I am a German Muslim with Turkish background. Finally, from a religious perspective, I understand that one's own origin is correspondingly important, if one takes into account the issue of mother tongue. It is an enrichment if one can posses two languages, while the mother tongue is as...if you inherited something" (Emir).

These young women and men see a value in learning the language of their parents. They are interested in reading old Turkish literature. They are convinced that they should become familiar with their Turkish background if they also learn about their German history and culture. In their schools in Germany, they learned about German philosophers, writers, culture and music. Nonetheless, they did not have opportunities to explore their Turkish cultural and ethnic background. They feel that they were deprived of this part of their two-fold identity. Religious communities provide a platform where young Muslims can find out and explore their cultural and ethnic background. Religious communities such as the Sehitlik mosque offer Turkish language courses, and courses on the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire. Islam lessons on Wednesday also include lectures on these themes. The facilitators sometimes touch upon these themes in other Islam-related lectures while using examples from the history and culture of Turkey or other Arab countries. Learning about the cultural and ethnic traditions as well as history of their ancestors helps these people to nourish their attachments to their ethnic and cultural background.

Transnational attitudes can also be found among those who were not raised in religiously practising families. They usually found their way to religion while searching for ancestral and cultural roots. They are convinced that strengthening transnational attachments to Turkey would ensure the continuation of religious practice in Germany. Even if they do not visit their country of origin, they are strongly interested in the country's political and socio-economic developments. Migration background is linked to religiosity and perceived as one of its important aspects. Others interestingly maintain strong transnational ties, but not to the country of origin. In these cases, ties are formed to the

culture and ethnicity of the minority group in the host society they belong to. From a political point view, the country of origin – as a political entity – does not play any role to them. Nonetheless, they are interested in cultural packages first-generation migrants brought with them to Germany. They are even aware of the fact that these practices might be different from the cultural and religious practices in contemporary sending countries, since these practices have been a subject of re-negotiation and change in Germany. Some of these young people maintain a distinction between culture and religion, while others see them as two interrelated issues.

Identifying with Islam in Ethnic Terms

The question of origins and of ethnic and national belonging is for the interviewed young people significantly connected to the question of religious identity. Modood and Kastoryano highlighted that "Islam has become a core element for minority community construction and a source of mobilisation" (Modood and Kastoryano 2007, 24). If state policies and public discourses do not allow young people of migration background to clearly state their identity, religion can become an important means for framing their identity that would encompass both German cultural lifestyle and the cultural patterns of their background. This corresponds with what Ruthven called the secondary meaning of Muslim: "A Muslim is one born to a Muslim father who takes on his or her parent's confessional identity without necessarily subscribing to the beliefs and practices of the faith". In this sense, "[t]he label 'Muslim' indicates their ethnicity and group allegiance, but not necessarily their religious beliefs" (Ruthven 1997).

Many of the respondents in this category do not perceive themselves as religiously practising:

> "Of course, I am Muslim. However, this does not mean that I have to wear a scarf or go to mosque. I do not have to do this in order to be Muslim. I am Muslim because I was born to my Muslim parents."

Identifying with Islam in ethno-cultural terms also occurs in cases when individuals seek to avoid identification with atheism:

> "I am Muslim, but not religious. I am a normal person. I like to go out with friends, dance and drink" (Elif).
> "I cannot state that I am atheist, even if I am. It is the same as my German friends would say that Christian tradition does not belong to them" (Aygul).

The category of being Muslim is not positioned as opposed to being atheist, but more in response to the dominant and exclusive German, and Christian, culture (Helicke 2002, 183). The need to negotiate with external (social pressure) and internal (family pressure)

leads to the formation of an identity that distinguishes itself from other identities (Modood and Kastoryano 2007).

Even if some respondents claimed that they are persons with no religious conviction, albeit still Muslim, the interviews with them revealed that they are concerned about certain religious issues. In the case of Zemra, for example, negative stereotyping from the environment of her primary school prompted her to think about her Muslim identity. Zemra was constantly asked by her school-mates whether she, as a Turkish Muslim, is allowed to eat pork, go to a pub and drink alcohol. All these questions prompted her to think about her Muslim identity, even if she does not practise religion. She thinks that circumcision might be a good practice for her children, while claiming that "it is a sign of belonging to our community, even if health safety would be the main reason for me to do this. I think that many surgeons and physicians recommend it for health benefits" (Zemra). In another case, Ela who does not practise religion started to think about Islam since she has had a German boyfriend. At the moment, she does not see any conflict in being Muslim and having a German boyfriend. The problem might occur when they get married and have children. She is asking herself already in which tradition she will raise her children. She opposes circumcision. She thinks that this practice is very cruel and does not necessarily build on religious grounds. Nonetheless, the question of religious education for her children is more important to her. She sees a significant discrepancy between Christian and Muslim traditions. Her boyfriend does not attend Christian church services.

Religion becomes an important means for the formation of an identity that would overlap and encompass the German societal lifestyle and the ethno-cultural patterns of Turkishness. This can be explained through the fact that formal membership in a religious community is not a requirement in order to be Muslim (Sen 2008, 35). Secularism does not contradict the need for identification with Islam. Identification with Islam in secular ways helps young Turks to negotiate and reconcile their Turkish identity and their German identity (Pedziwiatr 2010). As Meer claimed, Muslim identity becomes a sociological category that offers opportunities for self-definition in formal and non-formal settings. It can negotiate the identification with Islam, while taking into account multiple (overlapping or synthesised) and subjective elements (Meer 2010). These findings correspond with Bassam Tibi's idea of a European Islam. He argues that Islam lived in Arab countries is different from Islam experienced by the second generation of Muslims in European countries (Tibi 2009). In this sense, Sen demonstrated that many young Turks in Germany have liberal attitudes towards religious practice (2008, 42).

The emergence of new identities is also characteristic for religiously traditionalist and conservative young Muslims. Young Muslims distinguish between their parents' Islam, which they see as traditional, and the pure or de-culturalized Islam which focuses on worldwide religious community – the *umma* (Bendixsen 2013; Roy 2006; Roy 2010; Van der Veer 2002; Gerlach 2006). They feel uncomfortable within the ethnic and national religious structures of their parents as observed by Gerlach. Her research demonstrated that new religious identities can take on various forms which she framed as 'pop-Islam', in which a traditional Islamic faith is reconciled with a modern society, while being interlinked with 'Islamic orthodoxy' (Gerlach 2006). This corresponds with Meer's observation of the emergence of new ethnicities that are individualistic, choice-based and 'consumed' in an interaction of the local and global (Meer 2010).

6.3 From Disinterest to Conservative Faith

Although young people emphasise a changed character of their religiosity, some continue to understand their religious identity in conformist and conservative modes. They strictly observe rules, duties and other religious rituals. Their religious values and beliefs are conservative. Nevertheless, they feel empowered since such religious behaviour provides them with meaning. Others attempt to preserve and protect their faith in their social environment which they perceive as highly secular, thus dangerous for their faith. They mostly use their communities as places where their faith can be strengthened and revitalised. Thus, both functional and substantive roles can be traced in the identity formation of these young people.

Developing Conformist Religious Behaviour

Youth leaders who work with young people in the communities observe the tendency for many young people to become more conservative rather than liberal. For instance, Ender Cetin, the chairman of the Sehitlik mosque and youth facilitator, noted that:

> "We see that young people do not have the tendency to think in a liberal way. In fact, young people tend to be very conservative. We realised that young people appreciate more the method if they are told in the mosque that only this is good and the rest is wrong – no question. The rest is false and there is only one truth. We do not say that only one is true, but that this is true and that is true too, whereas you have the opportunity to choose in that Islamic framework according to your opinion or judgement. This is for many young people very difficult, because they do not want to think deeply. This is the reason for why many young people feel frightened by this our way of thinking" (Interview 6).

Young people may sometimes feel more comfortable with conformist and structured explanations for their faith. Freedom and an abundance of opportunities may cause uncertainty and insecurity. This also applies to religious practice when young people place great value on the performance of religious rituals and duties. For example, Leyla expressed her religious identity in this way:

> "I wear a headscarf. I follow religious prescriptions of Islam. I pray five times a day. I try at least. Sometimes, I cannot do it, for example at the university. Then, I have to pray afterwards at home. I fast during Ramadan" (Leyla).

Although these people seek to observe religious duties and practices according to what is understood as *halal* and appropriate, they are also flexible about this. For example, if they cannot pray regularly five times a day during the exact praying times or if they cannot read the Koran as they intended, they find new strategies:

> "I decided to read at least one page from Koran every week. Of course, it does not work always. However, I try to find time to read. I took a course in Arabic and in Koran reading. It was an intensive course and I did read Koran every day. It is very different here. The everyday life does not allow it. One is too busy, even if I think one could find time for one or two hours a week to read Koran" (Pelin).

> "I would like to pray five times a day. However, the opportunity is not given to me always. This is why I often shift the prayers to the evening after I get home" (Talya).

Veiling in Islam is often regarded as the most obvious and important symbol of women's religiosity. The question of veiling was raised during interviews with both women and men. The decision to veil is not simple and straightforward for Muslim women. Such a change requires extraordinary courage and bravery. Some were struggling with this act of change. They had thoughts about what other people think about them, but also how they themselves will react and accept their change. Young women feel encouraged once they find a profound explanation that reflects their faith. The realisation that veiling is about an inner change of values, views and behaviours and that it is a religious act provides courage and strength to the decision to veil. These young women do not understand the decision to veil purely as a change of a fashion outfit, but as a change of inner perspectives, views and behaviours.

Sena thinks that those women who wear headscarves are not more religious or more pious than those who do not veil. According to her, if one wears a headscarf because she thinks that it is a formal obligation, but engages in other immoral or irreligious activities, her veiling cannot be considered as religious. Sena noted that many women understand veiling as a formal obligation, but forget about its deeper and far-reaching sense.

> "Wearing a headscarf, while speaking badly about neighbours at the same time, is a double moral standard. Many Muslim women do not really understand the real value of wearing a headscarf. One has to do it with heart. As believers, we have to first redeem our hearts from bad things and to do good deeds" (Sena).

Again, a shift from ethnicised modes of religious identification to individualised religious ones can be observed. Among religiously active women, the veil is not seen as part of a particular ethnic or cultural tradition. Instead, they understand veiling as a manifestation of their faith and as a symbol of belonging to Islam, which demonstrates their commitment to their faith. As Arzu explained it:

> "I had to fight with the question of wearing a headscarf in the beginning. However, I decided to do it. This is a part of me. My headscarf depicts my faith, who I am. When I decided to veil, I had to completely change my outfit. It was a significant change in my life. But, it is more about the change of my personal views and behaviour rather than about the change of my garment" (Arzu).

Researchers observed that young women feel the need to participate in a religious community due to a context in which Islam is stigmatised. They feel that they must justify or legitimate their religious behaviour in the context of being a minority. Symbols attached to their Muslim identity such as veil strengthen their faith because they are seen as acts of strong faith in a secular society (Bendixsen 2013; Korteweg and Yurdakul 2014).

As Sena noted, many Muslim girls and women understand veiling as a fashion style rather than as a religious act. Sena introduced me to other women who would fall in this category. When I asked them about their veiling, they simply responded that they wear a headscarf because they are Muslim and because Muslim women veil. Although such attitudes may be understood as very shallow, these young women do not have any need for far-reaching and profound meanings and explanations. Further discussions with some girls suggested that they live and socialise with other Muslim women most of the time. Since they are not urged to struggle with the question of veiling, they do not have to justify their veiling in the public, before non-Muslims.

Protecting Faith in a Secular Society

Many young people from the Berlin mosque noted that they have difficulties and even feel marginalised as Muslims or religious people in secular environments such as in public schools and public spaces. For example, Ecem noted "it is somehow difficult, for example in the class, when the teacher expects from one what one does not represent and does not want" (Ecem). Many young Muslims feel marginalised in their religious practice in their workplaces and schools. This applies especially to the possibility to follow their religious

practices and duties. They wish that they had the opportunity to pray regularly and during praying times. Most do not view this disadvantage as a form of discrimination but as a wish. Those who feel slightly discriminated in this aspect, they also understand that they cannot simply be privileged in their school and working environments. They are aware of the fact that the change of these practices requires a change of structures:

> "This [restrictions] applies to fasting too. It is not always possible for me. For example, previously, my teacher in the school did not allow me to do fasting as she claimed that it is not good for my health. Partially, she is right. It is a very controversial topic. However, there are many things that are unhealthy. I thus used a bottle which was not clear, but empty inside. This looked like if I was drinking. I think one cannot forbid someone something. One does not say to other people simply: stop smoking, or stop chewing chewing-gums which are also dangerous as they contain Aspartame. [...] I did not find it fair" (Pelin).

These young people perceive their religiosity and faith in contrast to the secular life style to which they are exposed in their society. They feel marginalised and discriminated against based on their religious faith. Some young people tend to generalise their experience with marginalisation while blaming the entire German society and the state. Other young people who feel marginalised do not refer to German society in general but to the secular environment of the society. This position is influenced by the fact that they understand themselves as Germans and thus they understand that not all Germans are against Islam. In contrast to the former group, these young people have profound positive experiences with non-Muslims in their schools, friendships and interreligious activities. Some even acknowledged that they realised similarities between Christians and Muslims. For example, Bartu had a friend who was a practising Christian in his class and he felt that both of them are a minority in their class since other students were not religious. These findings suggest that positive experiences with people of different backgrounds and empathy with other groups can lead to differentiated attitudes to one's understanding of their own experiences with marginalisation. They come to understand that their marginalisation is not about "Them" and "Us". These understandings help young people to overcome their own boundary-making processes and to feel part of society.

The attempts to protect Muslim faith in a secular society are not only individually oriented, but are often transferred to other people who identify with Islam. Religiously practising young Muslims are aware of the fact that many other young people identify as Muslims based on their ethnic, national or family belonging purely although they do not live according to "God's words". For example, Ecem claimed that:

> "There are many Muslims who are not religiously practising or those – I do not want to judge whether it is correct or false – who live their religion differently as

> actually intended. These are especially Muslims who do not practise religion exactly according to guidelines and principles. I wish that they come here and re-discover it [religion] and that they are also truly religiously aware, and that they do not come here because of their parents or other formal reasons. [I wish that they are] religious not because of the tradition but that they are religious because they truly are religious" (Ecem).

People such as Ecem seek to distance themselves from those who understand their religiosity in terms of traditions solely and who do not practise the religion according to what they consider as true Islam. These expressions of religious identities emphasise both the functional and substantive roles of religion. On the one hand, religion functions as a "protector" in a secular environment. On the other hand, they seek for deeper meanings for their religious practices such as veiling.

6.4 From Formal Religiosity to Active Religious Participation

Young Muslims are also interested in acquiring profound knowledge about their faith and in joining religious communities where they become active members. This group resembles the three previous categories in many ways, with an exception of individuals who prefer individual religious practice and those who formally identify with Islam. For many others, active engagement and interest in gaining knowledge is an important part of their religious experience. Another exception is engagement in intercultural and interreligious activities, which is characteristic for a few individuals, similarly as it is the case of Christian migrants in Ireland. Building on the above patterns, identity formation in these cases is explained through socialisation processes, satisfaction in the need to belong and individual choices. The religion of these young people is presented in functional roles serving as a source of knowledge, empowerment and social capital.

Getting Empowered in and through Islam

Young Muslims in Berlin and in Göttingen grasp their faith as a source of empowerment. They feel proud to be Muslim. This makes them feel empowered to present a better image of Islam in their society. They want to improve the damaged image of their religion through their firm and receptive identification with Islam. These intentions are demonstrated best through informal conversations with young people. After one of the lessons in the Sehitlik mosque, I stayed to chat with Bartu on religious rights in Germany. He asked me how the situation is in the UK and in Ireland:

> "It is very different here in Berlin. Yes, there are many Muslims and other people, but you somehow do not see them in the *Mitte*. They live in their own districts.

> They are not visible to the mainstream population. This is why Islam is still not accepted in Germany" (Bartu).

He claims that the invisibility of Muslims in the public space makes Islam less acceptable for the majority population as well as by the state because people simply do not have a direct experience with Muslims. He highlighted that German Muslims have to show their presence more in the public and in positive images. They should not hide or be afraid to show their faith. They should talk to other people about their faith and religious practice. He hopes that the situation will change soon and that Islam will be accepted as a German religion, a religion which belongs to Germany and is not regarded as a religion of migrants.

After the chat with Bartu, I went to the bus stop and met Arzum who was sitting on the bench and reading a book. I approached her and asked her what she was reading. She showed me the book. It was the novel *Josephine*. She continued talking about her passion for novels and romance books. Her favourite book is *Pope Joan*, a novel about a female pope who searched for her way in a men-dominated society. She explains that she sometimes feels as she was in her role.

> "I could empathise with her when she was beaten by her father and had to fight to get accepted in the school. I think that it is often similar with us Muslim women. We have to fight for our role in the society" (Arzum).

Arzum understands her struggle to be accepted as a Muslim woman in a two-fold way. On the one hand, she points to German society which does not fully accept her as a Muslim woman. She talks about her experiences of feeling uncomfortable when wearing headscarf in the public when people look at her with suspicion. She contradicts the general stereotypes about Muslim women being uneducated. "Many people would assume that I am uneducated because I wear a headscarf and because I am Muslim." In fact, she is highly educated and intelligent. Through her studies, she also wants to demonstrate that Muslim women can achieve excellent results. On the other hand, she also wishes to gain a better position for women within Islamic religious communities. She is very emancipated and is convinced that the role of women in her religion should change. She even thinks that the time will come when the role of women in Islam will change, similarly as it happened in Christianity. She wants to be a religious leader. She can imagine that, one day, she would teach and lead the Islamic lesson.

These two examples demonstrate that faith can be used by young people as a source of empowerment in attaining their role both in the society they live in and within their religious communities. Young Muslims directly challenge the stigmatisation and stereotyping of Islam while using positive images and examples of Muslim religiosity.

Through their participation in religious communities, they feel empowered in presenting themselves as proud Muslims. They thus re-negotiate the old religious meanings and create new contents of religious beliefs and practices.

Moreover, young Muslims want to understand what their religion is about, while exploring both historical perspectives and religious themes of contemporary significance. They want to know what effects Islam has for their everyday lives while searching for clarity about Islam. They resort to different sources of information, including the Internet and written accounts in books. Mosque and Muslim youth groups are often good places to find information about Islam. In her engagement with Islam, Pelin found the Sehitlik mosque to be the best place which suits her ideas and thoughts. In addition, friendships and the community of sisters and brothers are other reasons that motivate young people to attend and join youth-specific activities in mosques:

> "My ideas were conformist – it was my own approach to Islam. I went there because I tried to find a parish[53] which exactly represents my ideas about Islam. I found it in Wednesday lessons. The lessons are in many respects positively religious, ethical and multi-faceted – everything possible. I learned to know Abbas [one of the facilitators] personally. I did not know that he is Muslim. Then, he was talking about himself and about the lessons in the Sehitlik mosque. I liked it because, that time, I was in the phase when I was looking for mosques and parishes in Berlin. When I went to the Sehitlik mosque more times, I saw that it was exactly the place I was looking for" (Pelin).

The Koran lessons and lessons on Islamic themes in German are for young people the most convenient form of gaining information and knowledge about Islam in a discursive and discussion-driven way.

Some respondents also learned about Islam from literature and Internet sources. Sena noted that she first started with reading the Koran on her own. She found it very difficult as she did not understand many issues. She then resorted to the Internet and found some websites with information on Islam. She did not find the Internet sources very helpful. In fact, she got even more confused: "I would not recommend it. Because one will not be wise very quickly there" (Sena). She only gained profound knowledge when she started to attend the Koran lessons in the Sehitlik mosque. For some young Muslims, searching for information about Islam is a real adventure and exploration. They go not only through Islamic sources, but also include Christianity and Judaism in order to broaden their views. According to Bendixsen, young Muslims acquire religious knowledge in order to liberate themselves from the stigma that is attached to their ethnic background (Bendixsen

[53] When referring to Muslim communities, respondents used the term "Gemeinde", meaning a church parish, which is generally used for Christian religious congregations. In Germany, the term Gemeinde is widely used by booth Muslims and non-Muslims to describe Muslim communities. The adoption of this terminology signals a notable degree of the adaptation of Muslim communities in German society.

2013, 155). Bendixsen claimed that de-ethnication is in part caused by migration background. Socio-cultural changes such as access to higher education can increase the generation gap and thus contribute to the deconstruction of the authority of the older generation and the individualisation of religion (Bendixsen 2013, 156). People I interviewed feel strongly about their intention to change their social status, demonstrating the influence of socialisation processes.

Becoming a Member in a Religious Community

Religious community becomes a central point of religious practice for young people. It is not only mosque itself and formal gatherings for prayers to which young people relate. Many are not even official members of the mosques. They are attached to youth communities or groups of young people which are organised as sub-groups within the mosques and which often developed around Koran lessons and lessons in Islamic themes for young people. This distancing is mainly due to the language and generational differences. Young people attend youth-specific activities that are mainly carried out in German, whereas the main activities of the mosques are attended by older generations and are in Arabic and Turkish. They also see differences between the practice of the older generations and their own religious practice. Youth-specific activities touch upon themes that reflect and are relevant to young people's lives. My respondents claimed that sermons and lectures by imams who come from abroad focus on the experiences of first-generation immigrants. Even if young people attend official prayers and services, including the Friday service, they feel more comfortable and at home in youth-specific activities organised in the language which they understand best. In this sense, Bendixsen highlighted that young Muslims born in Germany have either called for the modification in the established mosques or established their own religious inter-ethnic and multicultural spaces. In these spaces, ethnic and national backgrounds are put aside (Bendixsen 2013, 97–98).

Young people often visit more than one mosque and/or Muslim centre. Some visited different religious communities recommended by friends before they became regulars in one particular mosque. Sometimes, they continue visiting other mosques irregularly. They do not feel the need to be attached to one particular branch of Islam, or to one particular community. In Berlin, they have a myriad of opportunities, i.e. mosques that they can attend. Nevertheless, the places which organise activities in German and for young people are limited. For example, only up to ten mosques and centres out of around eighty in Berlin provide youth-specific activities in German. Young people seek to explore and use different religious opportunities and sources. This finding corresponds with

previous research which emphasised that religion becomes a matter of individual choice and preference.

Religious spaces play a central role in the formation of the religious identities of young Muslim people. Their religious identities and faith are affected and influenced by the degree of their involvement in the community:

> "My religious identity plays a very important role in my life. I am often sad that I do not always have the opportunity to attend the lessons on Wednesdays, because I have a lot to do in my school. [...] Instead, I am using the guiding tours in the mosque as an opportunity to be in the mosque. Then, I can be – I would say – at home, because the mosque is for me a place where I feel good, at home" (Dija).

Young people change the meanings of mosques. They understand mosques not only as places for the performance of prayers and religious practices but also as places of social gatherings. Some come here once a week for the lesson on Islamic themes, while others attend the mosque for other activities, religious practices and prayers too. In the Sehitlik mosque, religious and social activities, including lessons on Islamic themes, take place in the lower common room of the mosque. Young people understand this space both as a community room and as a religious place. Nonetheless, their attendance in Islam lessons and other social activities shifted their understanding of this place to a place of social gathering and interaction. The social function of the premises of the IZDB is even more evident. The premises of the IZDB are more of a community centre rather than a mosque. Young people who attend social and religious activities organised by this community refer to this place as a community centre. They come here not only for educational and religious activities. They use the premises of this centre for sport and social activities too.

There were several reasons for choosing one particular mosque, ranging from emotional reasons, the degree of personal contacts, to physical proximity. Ethnic composition and character of the mosques is another factor that attracts young people. This applies to the Sehitlik mosque where some young people decided to come because it is specifically a Turkish-based mosque. Connecting to the same ethnic and cultural group is still important to some people. Young Muslims prefer to attend religious activities that are organised in German. Second- and third-generation young people sometimes speak German more fluently than the language of their parents. The role of youth facilitators is another crucial factor in attracting young people by using youth-specific and youth-friendly approaches. These approaches usually stand in contrast to the methods uses by imams who are sent from abroad who do not often understand the life of young people in Germany. One of the facilitators noted:

> "The interest is huge, but many young people have a distance to imam, because he is older and, sometimes also, lingually not so close to youth. It is thus important for us that young people and young adults engage in the work here, and that one has a direct contact to youth."

He explains that Turkish imams use frontal and formal teaching methods in religious education, whereas young people and children in Germany are used to informal methods such as learning in workshops and small groups. These methods are appreciated not only by young people and children but also by adults.

Community work with young people within mosques is seen as a form of prevention. For Ender, for example, the biggest success in the work of the community "is make effort in prevention – this means in de-radicalisation. There are many opportunities in Berlin where youth can approach a radicalised way of thinking, stream [of Islam], although it does not have necessarily to be violent, but only slightly anti-democratic." He understands that this has to do with an affirmative relation to the state and nationality: "As Muslims, we should be committed to the state [...]. We have the responsibility towards the state as Muslims, albeit not in the sense that we should aim at changing the system." Ender observed that young people who have been attending the lessons for a while and who came here from other mosques changed their perspectives and attitudes. They became more democratic and liberal (Interview 6).

The sense of community becomes a new important element of young Muslim people's religious identity. Faith practised within their communities is thus characterised not only through their relationship to God but also through their relationships with other members, friendships and networks. The religious community provides a sense of belonging. Young people view their communities and groups as important sources of their religious practice and faith. The communities provide them with sources of empowerment, support, knowledge and information. Attending and being part of a religious community helps people to form and nourish their relationship to Islam. For example Talya described it in this way:

> "I think the community, the parish, is very important for me, in all cases, because .. one can pray together. The prayer performed together is nicer as if one prayed alone, because the community make us all stronger. This means that community provides a psychological support and help. If one has a problem, the community is there ready to offer a help, and every problem will be heard. One does not have any constrains to say something and to express own problems" (Talya).

Belonging becomes important especially to people who were not encouraged to participate in religion in their families. Religion played an important role in Acar's search for identity. Acar, as a young teenager, used to hang out in the streets of Wedding, a district

of Berlin mainly populated by migrants and people with migration background. He used to hang out with other friends around the place which is close to the Bilal mosque and IZDB. As he was observing many young people going there, he became very curious. One day, he decided to enter the place. The place did not seem to him as a mosque. An older man in the shop which sells halal products invited him to a lesson which is for boys in German. He took this invitation and attended the lesson the next week. He came a few more times and, later, he became a regular attendee. He found the lessons interesting and life-enriching.

While attending activities in mosques, young people develop friendships and relationships with other Muslims and even non-Muslims. For example, relationships with other people are important to Ecem:

> "well, I always learn many new things here and there are many sisters and brothers in faith with whom I am also befriended and new ones whom I can get to know. In addition, many non-Muslims come here to whom I can talk. This is also very interesting. Yes, I have many friends here" (Ecem).

These relationships and interaction go beyond the religious communities. Young people meet also with their friends from the community in other social and cultural settings. They go together to the cinema, for shopping, to parties and to other events. Friendships can thus develop further beyond the settings of the religious community. The role of community in the formation of religious identities of young Muslims points to functional aspects of religion. Young people approach their communities for various reasons that are of social and functional (human needs) character. Muslim communities in Berlin, and thus religion, often function as alternatives to gang violence and street criminality for young people. Recognition also arises as an important aspect in influencing Muslim young people's desire to belong to a religious group. While exploring the causes of gang violence, Burton argued that the need for membership is driven by "the need for recognition as an individual" (Burton 1997, 10). Young Muslim people seek to be respected and accepted. They also struggle for achievements; they could feel useless if a society does not see them as successful and valuable. Affiliation with Islam becomes an important source of empowerment, recognition and belongingness.

Practising Faith Actively

Active engagement in religious communities and religious activism are important ways of demonstrating one's own passion for and commitment to faith and religion. Young Muslims use their religious communities or other platforms to make their contribution to the spread of religious values, ideas and practices. Young people usually organise their

religious and social life within their mosques and communities on their own. Facilitators of youth groups and youth activities such as Koran lessons and lessons on Islamic themes are not imams sent from abroad but usually young leaders or young imams who grew up and have lived in Germany. Youth facilitators from the studied communities who voluntarily engage in the organisation of youth-specific activities have been active since their teenage years. They explain their active engagement through their socialisation in and attachment to the community. As one youth leader points out:

> "I do it voluntarily because I am socialised here in the mosque. I grew up here. Also later, I rediscovered the mosque as a young man. I saw my own attachment to this place. I wanted to be here in and for this mosque."

The organisers seek to understand what the needs and interests of young people are. They try to arrange activities according to these needs. For example, they provide language, music, and rhetoric courses. One of the facilitators of the youth group in a mosque noted:

> "There was a conflict whether the mosque should have a billiard table or not; or whether a mosque should have a dart. Parents are against, whereas young people are in favour. I wish, for the future, that we have a youth-specific room for spare time activities and a library for reading. [I wish] that young people had the opportunities to read both Turkish and German books, and at the same an opportunity to play a billiard, to drink a tea, to play a Playstation or to watch the TV. Why should we not offer this in our mosque?"

However, not only youth facilitators are active. For example, Talya became very active in the Sehitlik mosque while helping with guided tours and lectures about Islam for visitors, mainly non-Muslims. She explains her activism as a self-learning process through which she could improve her ways of reacting to non-Muslims with regards to Islam-related themes. She also views her task as an opportunity to spread a positive image of her religion and faith, while thus breaking down prejudices and stereotypes.

> "I received a lot. I feel the need to give back something too. I know that there are many prejudices – I grew up with prejudices claiming that Islam is that and that. Before, I went to a position of a defender. But now, I want to enlighten, and to show other people that it is different. I understand that many people have prejudices. However, I find it pleasant when I can make my own contribution to... when even only one or two people [visitors] who go out of the mosque do not have any prejudices with which they came in" (Yalya).

Moreover, young Muslims also engage in intercultural and interreligious interaction. Interpersonal encounters and interactions in everyday situations have an impact on young Muslims' religious identities. Many young Muslim women and men engage in conversations with people of other religious backgrounds or non-religious people in their

everyday settings. For example, Pelin illustrates her experience with interreligious encounter at her college.

> "Many school-mates have not met any Muslims or Muslimas in their lives. We have often discussions, for example about the evolution theory. They think that, as a Muslima, I do not believe in the evolution theory. Then, I tried to explain to them that it is not true. Why should I not believe in the evolution theory as a Muslima? Islam does not have any explanation for this. This does not mean that we cannot believe in the evolution theory, or that we have to believe in it. It is a question that I leave open; a question that does not harm my relationship to God nor it has any advantages for me" (Pelin).

Also Ecem who is active in official and organised interreligious activities engages in interpersonal interreligious dialogue in her everyday settings:

> "Also there where I live – in our apartment building. We live on the fourth floor and a Jewish family lives below us. Also Christians live in our apartment building. In our *Kiez*, [city neighbourhood], it is like that that there are different religions. Thus, we live together and talk to each other sometimes" (Ecem).

Interreligious and civic-related activities provide another opportunity for young people to engage in intercultural and interreligious interaction. Young people in Berlin mostly attended intercultural and interreligious activities when these were organised within or in collaboration with their communities. These activities included joint Koran-Bible lessons, workshops on religious and non-religious issues, aid and help-related activities in the neighbourhood, or cultural activities. One of the regular activities where young people from the Sehitlik mosque take part is the joint service with a neighbouring Christian community on the day of Saint Nicolas. Young people from the Sehitlik mosque helped here with the distribution of presents for older people from an old people's home. Bartu many times wonders why not so many young people from the Christian community attend such events. In fact, Muslims sometimes form the majority in interreligious events taking place in Berlin. "Sometimes, we are more Muslims than Christians in the church" (Bartu).

Young Muslims from the Sehitlik mosque also engage in an interreligious group called Meeting Point Religion and Society at the Tempelhofer Feld. It is local group involving Christian, Muslim and Jewish communities in the neighbourhood of Neukölln in Berlin. Ecem participates and is engaged in a project called *JUGA Jung Glaubig und Aktiv*, [Jung, Believing and Active], which brings together young Jews, Christians, Baha'i and Muslims. It is an initiative run by young people and for young people that seeks to emphasise the value of peaceful living together and respectful interaction in society. They organise joint workshops, seminars, campaigns, protests and spare time activities.

The active engagement of young people from the Sehitlik community in the Salaam-Schalom project is the most striking example of intercultural and interreligious civic-related activity. The project is a Jewish-Muslim initiative against No-Go-Areas for Jews in Neukölln in Berlin. The project involves short statements by young Jews who highlighted why they like to live in Neukölln, and how they wish that Jews and Muslim live peacefully together. The project initiated and developed into other ideas. Jewish and Muslim young people want to produce a handbook for new migrants in Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and to make billboards about intercultural and interreligious awareness in Neukölln.

This one project already initiated another activity; a public protest entitled 'We are not enemies! Stop the Flashmob!'. Again, young Muslims and Jews of migration background organised a human chain at one of the busier public places of Berlin in Neukölln to express disagreement with anti-Semitic slogans that occurred during the *Free the Gaza* protests in Berlin. Importantly, the Muslim community took also part in these protests. With this joint activity, young Muslims from the Sehitlik mosque sought to support the Jewish community, although they may not agree with the politics of Israel. Jointly, these young people expressed that there is no place for hatred in their society.

Some young people engaged in intercultural and interreligious activities not only through their Muslim communities but also individually. For example, Pelin found out about some activities organised by the local churches. She attended them and even took an active role despite the fact that her mosque community was not officially part of this activity. Pelin participates in an intercultural and interreligious activity called "Better Together" which brings together young Muslims, Jews and Christians. She often goes to churches and synagogues. She has friends who are Christians, Jews and atheists. She is interested in the religious life and practices of other religious groups.

> "I find it very important. People meet and try to understand each other. Everyone tries to explain his or her own point of view. Sometimes one does not understand why other people do it in that way. If one gets explanation for this, one can feel uplifted. To give understanding – now I know why the person does this or that. This also automatically brings mutual acceptance, because one accepts the other as a human. To apprehend that one also has a religious identity. One has to accept it because the person, as a whole, is multi-faceted" (Pelin).

The activities organised within the mosque community often involve interreligious aspects. For example, guided tours in the Sehitlik mosque provide another interreligious and intercultural opportunity. The community council realised that young people have an extraordinary potential here as they are motivated to speak about their faith and religion,

and actively engage in an activity that is religiously-oriented. As Ender noted, "these young people are interreligiously and interculturally oriented" (Interview 6). They are keen and interested in taking part in interreligious and intercultural activities. Religious festivals are also opportunities for interreligious dialogue and discussion on their status in Germany. Although the celebration of *Eid al-Fitr*, which marks the end of the holy month of Ramadan, is traditionally a family and community religious event, it also represents an opportunity for Muslims to discuss the issues pertinent to them in contemporary Germany.

While previous research on migration and religion emphasised that immigrant religious communities focus on the cultivation of transnational ties, this research observed a different scenario. In my fieldwork, I traced how young Muslim people take part in intercultural and interreligious activities, including those that address various political, social and economic issues of civic character. Despite their migration background, young people of migration background engage in civic-related activities within or outside their religious communities. These engagements and initiatives thus contradict the secularisation theory which predicted that religion would retreat from the public sphere. In fact, these cases demonstrate that secularisation has given the way to "post secular" public spheres in which young Muslims raise their religious voices.

Conclusion

This chapter presented how young Muslim people in Berlin and Göttingen perceive and understand their religious identity in relation to their migration background and their context. The formation of their identities appears as a process of negotiation between social influences, functionalist factors and their individual choices. The process of negotiation between young peoples' migration background and their identification with Germany shapes their religiosity. Family, religious communities and other social influences also play an important role. The sense of belonging and recognition is perhaps stronger in this case as compared to the Irish case study. Nevertheless, individual agency in the construction of Muslim identities is an equally important factor. Young Muslims make their own personal decisions with regard to their religion and faith. These three factors are anchored in young people's understandings of their migration background. As a factor in influencing one's religious identity, migration background is seen differently by selected respondents. Under migration background, many interviewees understand their cultural, ethnic, religious and linguistic particularities that they inherited through their families. For some people, migration background is interlinked with different degrees of transnational attachments

either to the country of origin of their ancestors, to a cross-national shared identity or to an imagined narrative of cultural and religious heritage. They are also framed as people with migration background, the term used to identify those who are not considered to be fully part of the German identity, despite the fact that they are German citizens. The media stereotyping has intensified this division between those who belong and those who do not belong to German society.

The process of negotiation between these factors does not lead to the formation of a homogeneous group identity. Instead, various patterns of identity formation can be identified across the interviews. Young people sometimes fit into more than one pattern and category. The chapter highlights that individuals should not be ascribed particularistic identities based on their affiliation with a particular ethnic or religious group. There are differences in religious identities not only among Muslim communities but also within communities. Some people move from ethnicised and cultural modes of religious identification to purely religious ones. Others shift from traditional religiosity to pious and spiritual ones. They think more about their religion and faith. While some young people use their religion to connect to the cultural and ethnic heritage of their ancestors, others exclusively perceive themselves as part of the larger Muslim community, *umma*. Some people who were not interested in religion became more traditionalist and conservative. Moving from formal religiosity to active religious participation is another important pattern of religious change that was identified.

The variety of religious identities highlights both functional and substantive roles of religion in young people's lives. Religion becomes personal and individualised with the emphasis on piousness and spirituality. Religion is about connection to God. Religious rituals, prayers and community help to nourish this relationship. At the same time, religious communities act as providers of services and support structures. Participating in religious activities provides Muslim youth with an opportunity to build a sense of belonging. Religious practice has an effect on their values and social behaviour. Moreover, the practice of many young people reveals multi-sited religious belonging. Young Muslims in Germany practise their religion at more than one place. Various trajectories of changes in religious identities suggest an increasing diversity, or even polarisation, within and across ethno-religious minorities. Muslim immigrant communities are not static and fixed enclaves. Instead, they engage in a constant process of development where the individual and group identities of their members are a subject of negotiation.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: Religion and Migration

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation has been to explore how young temporary migrants in Ireland and young people of migration background in Germany construct their religious identities. While acknowledging that immigrant religion in Ireland and Germany is considerably represented by young people, this dissertation investigated how immigrant religion is produced, shaped and lived. In other words, I attempted to understand how individuals experience their religion as immigrants and as people with migration background in dynamic relationships with the religious, social and political contexts in which they are situated. I analysed how these young people understand, perceive, present and practise their religion, including their faith and belief. I enquired into the causes of these changes while considering the factors of socialisation, the need for belongingness and individual decisions. I was interested in whether their attachment to their own ethno-cultural background or the influence of the society makes these young people become more or less religious. This research reveals that it is a combination of these factors.

The dissertation highlighted the relevance of migration experience and background in influencing the religious identities of young people. The central question was assessed through an analysis of diverse cases at multiple levels. First, two different migrant groups were analysed: first-generation young temporary EU immigrants in Ireland, and second- and third-generation young people with Turkish and Arab migration background in Germany. Second, the two studies were religiously distinct. Young migrants of Christian (Lutheran and Catholic) background were studied in the Irish case study. Young people of Muslim religious background were the focus of the German case study. Third, I resorted to particular immigrant religious communities and groups with which young people are affiliated. The aim of this multi-level and multi-case study was to move beyond ethnically biased conclusions which would portray the ethnic and religious groups in particularistic ways. Such a multi-case approach does not subvert the importance of particular ethnic and religious characteristics of immigrant groups. It presents similarities in identity formations across different cases. The cross-case comparison allows for the formulation of meaningful conclusions, enhancing the plausibility of research findings.

This concluding chapter summarises the main findings of my research, while deducing the implications of these findings for the discussed theories and policies as well as further academic research. This chapter starts with a presentation of the varieties of religious identities explored in this research while summarising the implications of these

varieties for the functional and substantive theories of religion. In particular, I describe the formation of religious identities through an outline of the changes of religious practices, beliefs, norms, values, communities, transnational attachments and ecumenical/ interreligious engagement. The chapter moves on to summarise the factors that influence identity change, followed by a discussion of approaches to secularisation and immigrant religion. Based on my findings, I outline some considerations for policy-makers and future research themes.

7.1 Varieties of Religious Identity Formation

The research discovered many differences in the ways in which young people relate to their religion, faith and belief. In particular, I identified a variety of religious identity formations which I presented in different categories. I did not attempt to construct fixed sociological categories of religious identities. Instead, my categorisation serves as a helpful tool in identifying the patterns of religious change among young people with migration experience and/or background. These categories illustrate possible and available trajectories of identity reshaping. They are neither definitive nor explicit. Young people can sometimes fit into more than one category. Although I studied individuals at particular periods in their lives, I acknowledge that the formation of their identities is an ongoing process - constantly evolving, shaping, shifting. To describe this process, I used the concept of "crafting self" introduced by Kondo (1990).

These categories are neither mutually exclusive nor contextually distinct but rather overlapping. First, these varieties illustrate that heterogeneous identity formations can take place within the same religious community. Young people in Ireland and Germany do not believe and practise religion in a homogeneous way. Stereotypes about particular religious groups and communities cannot be regarded as valid. In other words, a single religious community can accommodate people with charismatic, traditionalist, conventional, moderate and even secular religious views. This heterogeneity does not, however, diminish the sense of a collective identity. In fact, collective identities and individual identities influence each other through multiple ways of interaction. Internal differences demonstrate the internal flexibility and fluidity of religion.

Second, similarities in religious change across different religious groups substantiate the parallels between the studied groups in the two social contexts. The research determined similar patterns of religious behaviour across the studied communities and between the two case studies despite their political, religious and cultural differences.

Young people in the studied cases experience similar challenges when it comes to their identity constructions. In both countries, young people are shifting from traditional, conventional, passive, obligation-based, cultural and ethnicised modes of religiousness to ones that are characterised by an increased degree of individualism, personal choice, consumerism, flexibility, activism and spirituality. The interest in moderate and secular as well as conservative and ethnicised religiousness is equally observable among both young migrants in Ireland and young Muslims in Germany. This observation also applies to the respective communities: both moderate religiousness and conservative views can be found within a single religious community. Nevertheless, the impact of the social conditions and the marginalised status of Islam in Germany on the identities of Muslim people does not find any reference in the Irish case study.

Third, overlapping patterns can also be traced at the individual level. A charismatic Catholic person can have both conventional and moderate views at the same time. A religiously active Muslim can be strictly traditional when it comes to clothing but moderate when it comes to the role of women in the religious community. As a result, the boundaries between different categories become loose: it is difficult to define a pure traditionalist or a pure modernist. Stereotypes such as Catholics are traditional, Lutherans moderate and Muslims conservative are not valid here. Different modes of religious behaviour, norms and values overlap. Terms such as multiple or hybrid religious identities become more relevant in the description and determination of the religiosity of young migrants and people with migration background.

In the Irish case, I present the patterns of religious change in three groups: a) from religiously inactive to religiously practising; b) from traditional to spiritual or moderate religiosity; c) from single to multiple religiosity. The categories of religious identity formation of Muslim people are divided into four groups: a) from ethnicised/ or non-practising to de-ethnicised religiosity and from traditional to spiritual; b) from conventional/ or non-practising to ethnicised religious identifications; c) from conventional to conservative views; d) from formal to active religiosity. Although the categories in both case studies are framed differently, they overlap substantially. While presenting these categories in different modes, I attempted to demonstrate the full spectrum of identity formations and to remain true to the empirical data in each case. These categories of change shift in different directions: some people become conservative, others more liberal; some people prefer conventional religiosity, while others emphasise spirituality and faith. They aid our understanding of the changes of young people's religious behaviour, practice, beliefs and norms. They also indicate the changes with regard to their ethnicity and

transnational attachments. Finally, these identities demonstrate how young people change their attitudes towards cultural and religious diversity.

The Changes of the Functions and Contents of Religious Practices

The most noticeable pattern observed across all groups in the two countries was that many young people strengthened their faith and became believers and religiously practising after a period of religious inactivity. Others emphasised a shift from traditional and conformist ways of religiousness to a more spiritual and lived religious experience. They sometimes contrasted their current faith and religious practice to that of their parents. Many migrants to Ireland in this study became religiously practising upon their arrival in their new country with some being more moderate and others more charismatic. Respondents in Ireland contrasted their faith not only to that of their parents but also to that of people in their homelands and of the native population which they regarded as formal and conventional. They emphasised that their current religiosity differs from their previous religious practice in their homelands where they were conventionally religious.

This change corresponds with the German case where many young Muslims became religious despite the fact that their religious practice was not encouraged by their families. They learned religious practices gradually as they were learning more about Islam. A shift from ethnicised and traditional modes of religious identification to de-ethnicised and religiously profound is noticeable. Some people distinguish between culture and religion, and between tradition and faith. They do not understand their religion merely as duties and obligations. They look for deeper and far-reaching contents of religious rituals, practices and beliefs. They stress the importance of meanings and personal commitment over formality and conventionality. In both cases, religious identity becomes more individualised, autonomous and self-crafting rather than determined by certain inherited traditions.

While in the Irish case study, distancing oneself from one's own culture and ethnicity is not detectable, it is highly apparent among people of Turkish and Arab background. This difference arises from different contextual and social circumstances. Nevertheless, both cases show comparable shifts from traditional, formal and conventional modes of identification to religiously profound and spiritual ones. This move towards spirituality, piousness and deeper meanings of faith evinces an individualisation of religiosity. Praying, meditating, reading religious texts and fasting are the most important religious practices. Importantly, spirituality and piousness do not indicate individualised religious practice. Spirituality and pious religious behaviour become embedded in

traditional religious practices such as Sunday services and Taizé services in Christian communities, and *salat* (ritual prayer) and *sawm* (fasting) in Muslim communities.

Some young people in Ireland are strict about regular church attendance on Sundays, understanding it as a religious duty and obligation. Others pay attention to the inner meaning of religious services and rituals rather than formality. For example, some young Catholic women do not find it important to use the rosary, but they concentrate on the content of their prayers. Some religious services during the week become a substitute for young people's Sunday service or Mass. Differences are also observable in the German case study. Some Muslims attempt to pray five times a day at exactly dedicated times, although they are not always able to fulfil this duty due to their work, school or other daily obligations. Young people are rather flexible and moderate about the practice of prayers, however. They often convey their prayers at the end of the day. Personal prayer and unity with God during the day are more important to them than the ability to pray at exactly dedicated times. They stress that rituals and practices only make sense when people perform them with a personal commitment. For example, the practice of washing before prayers has its value only if one really reflects on one's daily behaviour and thoughts.

Fasting is associated not only with abstaining from food but also with focusing on spirituality and one's relationship with God. In addition to Catholics and Muslims, some Lutherans also explored fasting as a new religious activity in their lives. Young people often highlighted that their parents used to observe fasting for the sole purpose of their tradition. In contrast to their parents, they emphasise the spiritual aspect of fasting which they mainly associate with deep contemplation about God and religious issues. For instance, young Muslims tend to spend more time reading the Koran and praying during the time of fasting. Fasting also offers them an opportunity to come together with other brothers and sisters, and share experiences. Young Christians in Ireland use fasting as a time for reflections on their lives and their relationship to God.

The Changing Functional and Substantive Roles of Belief

In terms of belief, religion becomes very personal and individualised – whether in Ireland or Germany, young migrants and people with migration background view God in personalised and individualised terms. For them, God is a close friend who is always there when they need help and who listens to their needs and problems. They are less concerned with the doctrinal aspects of belief. Instead, they emphasise their personal relationship to God. Their faith is not pushed to religious places of worship only. They can turn to God at any time and in any place. Moreover, they ascribe new meanings and contents to existing

religious beliefs and practices. For instance, they seek personalised explanations for religious duties and norms such as abstaining from alcohol (in the case of Muslims) or meat on Fridays (in the case of Catholics). They are not satisfied with given explanations – they create new meanings based on their own experiences and needs. The belief of these people is characterised by different modes: the deepening of faith in conservative direction, the steady maintenance of faith, and the moderation of faith, which correlate with the shifts in religious practice discussed in the previous section.

The research shows a significant alternation in the use of religious language. These young people do not use a traditional theological and dogmatic language. When talking about their faith and religion, young Christian migrants in Dublin do not use only terms such as Holy Trinity or justification but also well-established terms such as Eucharist, mercy, grace, blessing or good deeds. Similarly, young Muslims do not use terms such as *zakat, sadagah, haram, hajj* and sometimes even *umma* when talking about their faith, despite the fact that these theological terms were often used in lectures in their communities. Instead, young people in both cases tend to use unconventional and simple words such as community (for Eucharist and *umma*), failure and treason (when talking about sin/ *haram*), opportunity and goodness (when talking about God's grace). When referring to good deeds/ *zakat*, they talk about helping their friends, family or society in general. The exception is the use of traditional religious greetings, which continue to persist, albeit often with cultural and social meanings. Polish and Slovak Christians often used the greeting "Pochváleny buď Ježiš Kristus!", meaning "Praised be Jesus Christ!", while some Lutherans used "Peace [be] with you!" when meeting their sisters and brothers in faith. Muslims used "Salam Aleikum", meaning "Peace [be] upon you!" or "Selam", meaning "Hi" when meeting other Muslims. By using simple and common words when referring to religious themes, young people transmit contextual meanings that reflect their multiple experiences. For instance, sin is not associated merely with the violation of prescribed commandments, rules or duties. Instead, sin can include situations when people hate, condemn, think poorly of or are rude to another person. Some young people refer to a sin as to a situation when someone does not care about justice, poverty or ecology. These various meanings reflect young people's everyday experiences.

The Change of Values and Norms

The change of positions towards ethical issues differs among the respondents. Many young people in Ireland have become more liberal and moderate when it comes to lifestyles, clothing and premarital sex, whereas they were more conservative before they moved to

Ireland. They are also tolerant towards otherness and appreciate diversity. For example, many young committed Christians changed their attitudes towards LGBT people. Also, young Muslim women are tolerant to otherness despite the fact that they wear a scarf and would consider themselves as religiously conservative. They tolerate other people, including Muslim, Christian and non-religious people who live "liberal" lives. They often socialise with and maintain close friendships to atheist. They wish to have a society that accepts diversity. They often explain their moderate attitudes towards diversity and otherness through their own experience with exclusion.

On the other hand, some individuals – often those who used to be non-religious – have become more strict about their positions to moral and ethical behaviour of others. For example, some Christian young people in Ireland attend their religious congregations in an attempt to protect and preserve their faith from negative impacts of secularisation and globalisation. Many young people are conservative and strict as far as their ethical values and standards are concerned, while grounding their justifications on Christian religious explanations. For instance, some women accept traditional social gender roles such as that women should stay at home and take care of children because it is God's will. Many young people supported and joined pro-life campaigns and movements. Similar tendencies can be observed among Muslim women and men in Germany who seek to protect their faith from secular influences. Many Muslim women comply with traditional rules of gender separation not only during religious rituals but also in everyday social interactions. Some Muslim men in Berlin were not comfortable with women giving lectures and presentations during Koran lessons. They felt that this went beyond accepted norms of Islamic faith. Some men often complained about discrimination in the public sphere of Berlin because of their "heterosexuality". In other words, they felt that women and homosexuals were given more space in the public sphere, cafés and bars than heterosexual men.

The Change of the Function of Religious Communities

Young people understand their immigrant congregations and communities as places for performing their prayers, worship and religious services. At the same time, for them, their churches and mosques are places of fellowship and community gatherings where they can express their sense of belonging and togetherness. The intensity and level of involvement of young people in their communities differ from case to case. Some people are intensively and actively involved in religious activities and the life of the community, whereas others only passively take part in the activities. Medium-level involvement was also identified when people attended some activities while actively contributing to the preparation and

organisation of other activities. The interviews revealed that the duration of one's relationship to his or her congregation and community does not automatically imply the intensity of their religious participation. Some people were long-term members in their community but did not take an active role in community life. Long-term membership was often, but not always, based on strong social bonds and very long friendships. In situations when ties were weakening, people such as Tobias decided to leave the group because of less people attending. At the same time, Tobias developed new ties in another group which he attended and in which he became a member. Weak ties are characterised by a lack of frequency and intensity of social interaction. Nevertheless, people who partially interrupted or decreased their attendance did not experience any significant decline in religious participation. Such periods ranged from situations when young persons were preparing for their college exams to periods of personal crises. As interviews demonstrated, people continued to be religious and to practise their faith – to pray, to contemplate about God or to read religious texts - even if they did not attend their church or mosque for a longer period. This corresponds with Davie's and Kinnaman's observations that young people continue to be religious without belonging and even when they drop out of the church for a certain period, which were discussed in the first chapter (see pp. 31-33).

Duration of relationships and friendships was a factor that often affected young people's membership in the group. Long-term friendships were the strongest reasons why people became involved and sustained their ties to a group. They were often socially bounded by their common past; they knew each other from university, town or region; or they were connected through their work, social activities or cultural events. Although all the groups were open to new people, language barriers often affected the length of stay in the group. In the German community, Taizé services were in English. During the coffee chats after the Taizé services, German-speaking participants who were in the majority would naturally switch to German in their conversions, thus excluding non-German speaking participants. This does not mean that the group was exclusive. People often attended their congregations because of their native language. Not ethnic and national but rather language differences hamper access to a group. As with the case of the German congregation, similar aspects can be observed in the Catholic congregations and the Muslim communities.

Openness and closeness of a group are dependent more on the intensity and duration of the relationship rather than on ethno-national and denominational characteristics. In some cases, good friends would be invited to the group and activities, but it would take them some months even if not a year to become a full-scale member.

Lutherans from other nations were active members of the Lutheran church in Dublin as they gradually developed friendships with other members of the community. In the Slovak church, Czech nationals and Slovak Greek-Catholics were fully accepted by the community and actively involved through family ties and through friendships. The Turkish mosque in Berlin was also open to non-Turkish participants, including German converts who often took part in different activities as they gradually became familiar or developed stronger ties with other members of the community. Ongoing social relations and interactions outside official religious settings such as spending leisure time with another member of the community (e.g. going shopping, to the cinema, for lunch) strengthened the sense of belonging.

Nevertheless, young migrants and people with migration background practise and express their religion and faith not only in their immigrant communities but also in other venues and social environments. They practise their religion and faith in public while taking part in public celebrations, campaigns and protests. These often include politically and socially oriented activities such as pro-life, pro-LGBT rights, anti-racism and anti-discrimination campaigns. Although these activities are not religiously related, they become a form of religious expression of young people's beliefs and faith. Daily routines and leisure activities such as movie nights with friends, sharing food, visiting sacral tourist attractions or even visits to shopping malls and birthday celebrations are often understood by young people as religious experiences and activities. The faith of these young people is reflected in their everyday life. Young people ascribe religious and symbolic meanings to these activities. For example, when they watch a movie, they try to think about and discuss with friends the theological and religious meanings of the movie. They are convinced that God wants to tell them something through this movie. In addition, Internet resources, especially social media networking sites, provide a platform for religious practice for these young people. While following and posting prayers, wishes and other various religious contents on social media websites, they express and live their faith online.

Both religious rituals (such as prayers, singing and communion) and social interaction (such as chats, conversations, and time spent together during and after the service) create a sense of belonging. Prayer is an essential aspect in almost every religious service and gathering - worship or fellowship – in the studied Christian and Muslim communities. Prayers are increasingly suffused with contemporary meanings and performed in new forms which reflect the context and experiences of young people. The relevance of Holy Scriptures such as the Bible and Koran remains the same for most young people. The interpretation of religious texts has changed, however, in that it has taken new

functions and meanings that reflect the life situations and contexts of immigrants and young people with migration background.

Modified Transnational Attachments

Religious and social practices which take place within particular immigrant religious congregations help immigrants to ritually connect with their homeland and its cultural expressions of religion. These rituals and activities help young immigrants remake familiar religious, cultural, ethnic and national symbols of pride into sources of unity and belonging. The findings of this research are in contrast to previous research that emphasised the creation of homeland transnational identities exclusively. Instead, my research demonstrated that the connection to homeland can take on hybrid forms within one particular community. Ethnicity and nationality hugely matter to second- and third-generation Muslim people with migration background in Germany, while they are almost absent in the case of German, Polish and Slovak immigrants in Ireland. EU migrants in Ireland maintain an indifferent attitude to ethnicity and nationality. The reasons for these different outcomes are differences between the legal statuses and societal contexts of the two groups.

Transnationalism is a matter of fact for young EU migrants in Ireland. As EU citizens, EU migrants in Ireland enjoy an affirmative legal status and relatively welcoming conditions. As a result, they do not have to be concerned with the question of citizenship and belonging. While they live, work and study in Ireland, they mainly understand their stay as a temporary one. Religious communities accommodate the cultural, ethnic and linguistic packages that aid the preservation of immigrants' transnational attachments. At the same time, young people are also open to new religious practices and ideas. Although they may experience discrimination and marginalisation at an individual scale or in the media and public discourses, they are not deprived of the recognition of their collective identity nor of their religious identity.

A different situation applies to young Muslims in Germany where their ethnic belonging and background lacks not only a full social recognition, but it is also a subject to marginalisation and stigmatisation. The lack of social inclusion and recognition of their religious and ethnic particularities nourishes the re-construction of Muslim-specific identities which tend to act as a replacement for ethnic and even national identification in some cases. Nonetheless, some Germans with Turkish or Arab background understand their cultural background as distinct from the culture of the homeland of their ancestors. Others utilise religion to cultivate transnational attachments and identification, albeit not

with the country of the origin of their parents but with their ethnic and religious community or group in their country of residence. From a political point view, the ancestral country does not matter to them. The transnational attachments are oriented towards the exploration of ethnic and cultural traditions in Germany rather than actual preservation of ties with Turkey. They are interested in cultural packages which their ancestors brought with them to Germany. They are even aware of the fact that these practices might be and are different from the cultural and religious practices in contemporary sending countries, since these practices have been a subject of re-negotiation and change in Germany. Some young Muslims maintain a distinction between culture and religion, while others see them as two interrelated issues. At the same time, some young Muslims introduce new religious and social practices that allow them to connect with the contemporary way of life in their host societies. They are open to new forms and contents of the maintenance of ethno-religious tradition.

These divergent position to ethnicity can be interpreted through differences in social and political contexts of the two countries and the studied groups. As the introduction to case studies demonstrated, discriminatory social structures and the marginalisation of Muslims in Germany create conditions in which the ethnic and religious identity of Muslim people is strengthened. In contrast, EU migrants in Ireland do not face such situations and conditions. As a result, they do not feel any pressure to strengthen their ethnicity. This observation corresponds with Barth's (1969) and Wimmer's (2013) arguments that the intensity of ethnicity is determined by contextual variables such as inequality, exclusion, political debate or differences in power. Nevertheless, the differences between the Irish case study and the German case study also confirm observations by Anderson that ethnic and national differentiation between "them and us" takes the form of social categories of belonging (2013). Justifications for the exclusion of and discrimination against Turks and Muslims in Germany based on ethnic lines often resemble those based on social and economic lines such as in the case of Eastern European migrants in Ireland.

This dissertation claims that immigrant incorporation and the cultivation of homeland ties can be a simultaneous process in the case of both temporary migrants and second- or third-generation people with migration background. The contextual conditions and the ways in which these conditions reinforce the identities of immigrants or people with migration background influence the degree of incorporation and transnational attachments. In both settings, an institutional nexus and a legal set of rights and restrictions provide the context in which settlement occurs, personal networks are reconstituted, home ties are reinforced or abrogated, and identities are reconstructed. In Ireland and in

Germany, the local institutional nexus may connect newcomers not only to their new location but also to religious, political, cultural or economic organisations and networks of their homeland.

This fieldwork revealed that young people tend to understand their religion as a transnational community. Young migrants and people with migration background may identify with multiple locations across national borders. As a result, their identities can be multiply located. Young people identify with transnational religions, while the degree of the belonging differs from case to case. For instance, Polish and Slovak Catholics strongly understand themselves as a part of the worldwide Catholic Church. In contrast, young people from the Lutheran church are not concerned about their belonging to the Lutheran World Federation. Young Muslim people from Germany identify with *umma*, the religious community of Muslims. Islam becomes the main feature of their identity, replacing their ethnic identification. This conforms to recent research that observed a decline of transnational attachments alongside the development of new imagined transnational identities (see chapter two). Nevertheless, young Muslims also distance themselves from particular Muslim groups in ethnic terms such as from the Alevites and Kurdish.

The research also looked at the participation of young people in transnational activities and global religious movements. Young Christian migrants create transnational identifications while identifying with transnational religious or spiritual movements such as Taizé movements or Catholic charismatic movements. Young Polish and Slovak Catholics support the global Pro-Life campaigns, take part in religious pilgrimages and become members of transnational prayer groups organised via the social media networks. Young Muslims take part in global religiously motivated campaigns such as Pro-Palestinian protests or actively support Muslim charities working transnationally. The parallels between Muslim and Christian youth in developing transnational religious identities are striking despite the fact that different factors influence these identifications.

Intercultural, Ecumenical and Interreligious Engagement

Some young people participate in intercultural, ecumenical or interreligious activities either within their religious communities or in other settings. The inclination to such activities is conditioned upon readiness and openness to difference. Some respondents were unfamiliar with other religious groups and denominations, while others had significant knowledge of and even experience with other religions. Young people in both case studies are generally tolerant to and interested in other religions. They want to know more about other denominational and religious groups. They are interested in promoting

peaceful relations between religions in society. Participation in such activities increases their intercultural, ecumenical and interreligious awareness. This implies that perceptions and impressions about people who are different are formed through first-hand experience.

Intercultural, ecumenical and interreligious engagement can be observed among young people with strong, medium and weak transnational ties. They engage in these activities for different reasons. The youth groups which I studied in Ireland and Germany actively engage in several youth-run intercultural, ecumenical/ interreligious activities in their neighbourhoods and cities. Apart from official activities, some young people also participate in "informal" local youth activities. Their engagement in these activities enhances their civic awareness and participation since such activities are often linked to civic-related actions and debates. Whether they live in Germany or Ireland, they want to be part of society and they feel responsibility to contribute to the common good of the society in which they currently live. Nevertheless, it should be noted that intercultural engagement, including ecumenical and interreligious activities, does not necessarily and automatically lead to moderate or liberal views, especially on ethical issues. Some religiously committed women in Ireland and Germany were active in ecumenical/ interreligious activities, and even stood for an emancipated position of women within their religion, but maintained rather conservative views on family-related and sexual issues.

7.2 Factors that Influence Identity Change

The varieties of religious identities demonstrate the multiplicity of reasons for young people's decisions to follow their religion; why young people fill in their religion, faith and belief with particular behaviours, practices, ideas, values and norms. While I assumed the role of socialisation and individual agency in the formation of religious identities of young people, the fieldwork revealed that the need to belong and to be recognised is equally important. I thus concede that one's religious identity cannot be reduced to socialisation factors such as social and family influences only. Moreover, one's decision to believe and to join a religious group is not merely a consequence of an individual action. The need for recognition and belonging plays an equal role. As a result, it is a combination of these various factors and aspects in different modes and with different intensity, which influences the formation of religious identities. Most importantly, migration experience and background acts as a carrier of these factors facilitating their intensity and modes of combinations. Religiously committed young people employ different ways of religious

identification for different reasons, purposes and interests and under different influences and circumstances.

Socialisation

The interviews and observations revealed that religious identities of young people both in Ireland and in Germany are shaped by social factors. EU immigrants in Ireland and young people with migration background in Germany live in urban areas, and in societies influenced by globalisation and secularisation. In such environments, they are in a minority status and their religious identity is subject to marginalisation. Social environment, social perceptions and legal conditions impact on the way young people perceive their religion and their roles. Although young Christian migrants in Ireland are not urged to emphasise their religiosity due to negative social stigmatisation and marginalisation of their religion, many young people attempt to alter the negative image of Christianity. A strong incentive to improve the image of one's own religion occurs especially in the case of Catholic migrants in Ireland who are often confronted with the negative consequences of child abuse scandals in the Catholic Church. Some Lutherans also feel a duty to promote a better image of Christian faith in a society driven by consumerism and materialism.

The impact of social environment is more dominant in the case of young Muslims who, in their attempt to improve the stigmatised and marginalised status of their religion in their society, take on a role of representatives and carriers of an affirmative image of Islam. Muslim young people promote a better image of Islam by highlighting that Islam is a religion of peace and that Muslims, Christians and Jews can live peacefully together. Catholic migrants in Ireland also attempt to improve the damaged image of their church by emphasising positive aspects of their religion and by differentiating between institutional religion and lived faith. Marginalisation, discrimination, racism, and cultural and social exclusion are often seen as reasons why young Muslim people turn to religion. These discourses, however, neglect the roles of the agency and decisions of young people. Moreover, such an emphasis on social impacts ignores the meanings that young people ascribe to their religiosity and faith. The intersection of socialisation and individual agency becomes apparent in the cases when young people use religious identification in reaction to the negative influences of secularisation and globalisation.

Differences in social-religious identifications among the two groups are striking. Young people with migration background in Germany are perceived by the media and public discourses as Muslims, even if they do not practise Islam. This is especially questionable given the fact that only up to twenty per cent of Muslims are affiliated with

Muslim communities. Muslim identity becomes a construct that is transformed into a social label associated with marginalised and disadvantaged positions. In contrast, EU migrants are not labelled as Christian migrants, even if they could be so given their extremely high religious affiliation. Strikingly, people with migration background in Germany are subjects of stereotypes, racialisation and social exclusion because of their Muslim and Islamic identities which are regarded as distinct, foreign, alien and even dangerous. The media does not approach Christian migrants in the same way. The Christian religious background of these migrants is silent in the public discourses because their religion is regarded as similar or identical to Christian religion in Ireland. Nevertheless, Eastern Europeans in Ireland face marginalisation, racism and social exclusion based on social and ethnic grounds. Negative perceptions and experiences with discrimination are strong elements in influencing immigrants' integration and their attachments to their ethnicity and nationality. These constructions reveal that the politics, economy, social life and culture of Western societies continue to be shaped by Christian values.

Family environment, and social and peer-group pressure are other factors which shape the modes of religious change. Many young people emphasised that their parents did not push them to be religious. A few respondents noted the role of their families in bringing them to their faith. For example, some people's religious paths were influenced by their grandparents who introduced them to religious rituals and practices. Nevertheless, these young adults noted that, although they were influenced by their family or social environment, it was their own decision to believe and to become religious.

Socialisation factors play a pivotal role in identity formation when it comes to the role of religious communities and social networks. The impact of the social capital and networks developed in religious communities influences the way in which young people behave and think with regard to their religion. Relationships are the most common ways which impact on young people's views, ideas and behaviours. Social interactions, conversations, time spent with others have a great deal of responsibility in developing perceptions and positions that influence the shape of people's religious norms and values. Socialisation played a pivotal role in enhancing people's attitudes to difference and diversity. Participation and involvement in intercultural, ecumenical and interreligious activities enhanced the intercultural and interreligious sensitivity of participants as they met people of other backgrounds. Through such interactions, young people also met with gay people or individuals who engaged in activities which would be considered as not religious. Regular interaction with such people facilitated the change of attitudes. As

already mentioned, it should not be assumed that such interactions automatically lead to an increased liberalisation of one's attitudes, however.

This research also confirms Berger's observations that a religious congregation is situated in a particular social context and environment which influences religious change (Chapter 2). When engaging in religious activities in religious congregations and communities, young people craft their identities in relation to their local social environment. Young people in both case studies take part in local intercultural, ecumenical and interreligious activities organised by their communities in their neighbourhoods. In accordance with Appadurai's and Croucher's arguments, the social interactions of young people shape their identities, strengthening their sense of belonging to the wider society and enhancing their civic awareness (Chapter 2).

The Need to Belong

The need to belong and to be recognised and accepted also plays a consequential role in the formation of religious identities, although only a few cases demonstrate the importance of these aspects. Many migrants have limited or no support of social structures, friends and families upon their arrival in Ireland. They thus look for alternative "homes" and new friendships. This corresponds with Fromm's argument of the link between the desire to build a relationship and the need for love and being loved (Chapter 2). Young people seek to connect to immigrant communities in their desire to belong, to develop new contacts and to be part of a community. Desire for contact and recognition is apparent especially among young people who find themselves in situations of crises, loneliness and despair.

These situations rediscover one's desire for religion which is understood as providing one with the meanings of belonging and recognition. When experiencing such situations, young people in Ireland started to think about God and religion. They resorted to religious communities as places where their need for belonging could be satisfied. The religious community is not the only significant player here, however. Young people can find spiritual support in other forms of social and cultural life. Individual faith as such also offers them a new sense of life, orientation and appreciation. In the German study, the case of a young man who was hanging out on the streets of Berlin and looking for a place to belong fits this explanation. Young Muslim people seek to be respected, recognised and accepted. As a result, affiliation with Islam becomes an important source of empowerment, recognition and belongingness.

Despite the importance of functionalist approaches to identity formation, the theory on its own was not sufficient to explain the dynamics of religious change. Such approaches

overlook the effects of the social environment and contexts in which the need to belong and desire to be recognised and accepted develop, as well as individual agency. I would thus claim that functionalist, human needs, approaches provide supportive explanations for the understanding of identity change in certain situations. These situations include mainly existential crises such as in the case of some young migrants in Ireland and social marginalisation of one's identity such as in the case of some Muslim people in Germany. These explanations never stand on their own, however. The role of social influences and individual agency are crucial in these situations.

Individual Decisions

The findings also confirm the relevance of the theories that emphasise the formation of religious identities as a result of individual decision. These theories correspond with discourses which highlight the individualisation of religion and faith in the context of globalisation and secularisation. Young migrants and people with migration background view their religion as a matter of choice and personal decision. They tend to decide what they want to believe in, which religious contents and forms they want to adopt, and how they want to practise their faith. Personal choices play an important role especially in situations when individuals decide to explore new religious practices and/or join another religious community. They are not only followers and passive receivers of the tradition which they inherited, but they also negotiate the contents and forms of their religious beliefs, practices and community formations. Individual decisions substantiate the creativity and agency of individuals in shaping their religious identities. The importance of the individual decision suggests that the religious identity of an individual is formed as an autonomous process. Young people reproduce new norms and values in their social and religious practice. Individual decisions and "creative" ways of constructing religious identities do not entirely overthrow traditional religious contents. Instead, individualised approaches often only renegotiate old practices, values and norms by providing them with new meanings and symbolic attachments.

Although young people emphasise the autonomous nature of their decisions to believe, this research demonstrates that their identity formation is not constructed in isolation. Social influences may encourage and facilitate one's individual decision. The role of individual agency becomes apparent when one takes into account that both groups postulate their new ways of believing by contrasting them to the religiousness of their parents and older generations. They have shifted from conventional, cultural and ethnic forms of religious practice characteristic for previous generations to new religious forms.

Theories of generational change support this tendency while emphasising the interrelation between individual decision and social processes. Many young people noted that their parents did not introduce them to religion nor pushed them to be religious. Their parents were not religiously active and if they were than they practised their faith only occasionally or formally. These are very valid responses when taking into account that parents of Eastern-European youth lived in Communist countries, and parents of German and Turkish youth were influenced by secular and material lifestyles. The absence of the influence of family on one's religious participation suggests the role of individual decision in the formation of one's religious identity. Nevertheless, it is also this absence which, when combined with other social factors, engenders one's individual agency.

As a result, one-sided explanations of identity formation are insufficient to describe the formation of religious identities of young migrants and people with migration background. Instead, a combination of factors such as socialisation, human needs and individual choice aids the understanding of young people's identity formation. Although I do not trace any situationalist approaches to religious identity formation in my cases, I acknowledge the role of situations of change in preparing a stage for or accompanying the development of one's religious identity. As a result, I would not claim that identities are constructed in situations of change and changing social experiences. These situations and experiences are rather linked to social factors and support one's individual agency.

The Role of Migration Experience and Background on Religious Identities

The research identified a combination of factors that push or pull young people with migration experience and background towards particular identity formations. Whether it is socialisation, the need to belong or individual decision, the search for faith and the religiosity of young people is connected to their migration experience, status and background. The immigration experience and immigration background is seen by some interviewees as a religiously life-altering event. Different impacts of one's migration experience and/or background on his or her religious identity suggest that religion takes on different roles for immigrants.

Young people in Ireland refer to their religious change through the lenses of their immigration experience that involves moving to a strange environment, exploring their own cultural packages, encountering new social environments and struggling with adaptation. They often associate their migration and life in Ireland with situations of existential and personal crises. Affirmative experiences with the host society and intercultural exchange are equally connected to immigration experience. Young people in

Ireland emphasise that their religious identity has been influenced by their immigration experience. Some young migrants were not religiously active in their homelands. In Ireland, they started to attend their immigrant communities and became religiously active and believers. Other interviewees in Ireland also show patterns of change in their religious behaviour and positions. Some became more moderate and tolerant towards diversity, while others became more conventional with regard to their religious and ethical standards.

Young Muslim people in Germany understand their migration background as an ethno-cultural background, belonging to a community, linguistic particularities, transnational attachments or social labels. Under migration background, some interviewees understand their ancestral roots, culture and the religious heritage they acquired in their families. Some young Muslims with migration background noted that they understand their migration background as an important element of their religiosity. They claimed that Islam and their migration background are interconnected. They usually found the way to religion while searching for ancestral and cultural roots. They maintain strong transnational ties, hence not to the country of origin of their ancestors. In these cases, ties are formed to the culture and ethnicity of the minority group in the host society to which they belong.

Other respondents distance themselves from their migration background. They understand their migration background as exclusively linked to their parents (first-generation). They do not maintain any attachments to their nationality and culture. These young people do not pay any attention to the political, social and economic life of their ancestors' country of origin. They also make a strong distinction between religion and culture, although they do not necessarily maintain adverse attitudes to certain cultural traditions. According to them, culture is not part of religion. Instead, it can be practised as part of family and ethnic traditions. Nonetheless, further interviewees and observations showed that their understanding of their migration background affected their religious preferences and behaviours, although in different ways as in the case of the former.

In some cases, the formation of religious identity was connected to a search for an identity within German society. As young teenagers, raised in an environment dominated by the majority population, they often faced discrimination based on their migration background. They found religion as a way of their identification. The access to religion is easier for them as they do not associate religion with ethnic and national connotations. Their understanding of religion is also more inclusive since they know Muslims of other ethnic backgrounds and since they are comfortable with the inclusion of converts to the wider religious community.

7.3 Theoretical Reflections

Consequences for Approaches to Secularisation

Religious acts, behaviours and ideas are not situated in a vacuum, but are performed within a particular context. The social milieu in which people live affects their religious beliefs and practices. Young migrants in Ireland and young people with migration background in Germany also live in globalised, secular and what some frame as post-secular societies. In both case studies, a few young people adopted modes of resistance towards some aspects of what they considered to be a secular, globalised or immoral society. They emphasised the crucial importance of their religious communities and religious practice in protecting and sustaining their faith in such an environment. Importantly, young people accept other forms and styles of secular life. Instead of denouncing the secular lifestyle completely, these young people combine certain modern aspects with their traditional religious norms and values. Moreover, they understand themselves as promoters of their religion in their societies. They do not live their faith in their communities and private rooms only. They enter public spheres by adjusting their clothing styles according to their religious standards, by joining various civic-related issues, by taking part in religiously-driven campaigns, and by simply living and witnessing their faith in their everyday situations. The dissertation reveals Ireland and Germany, as post-secular societies, accommodate both the religious and the secular which co-exist in complex combinations. The term "post-secular" has been introduced to define societies in which both religious and secular people coexist (or should live) together. This dissertation emphasises that the complex intersection of the secular and the religious can be found within particular religious communities and even individuals. In other words, people are both secular and religious.

The studies on secularisation and/or post-secularisation have to take into account the role of immigrant religion in shaping the public sphere. The literature on secularisation concentrated on native populations mainly. As this study shows, young populations of migrants and people with migration backgrounds are turning to religion for various reasons. The voices of religious migrants challenge the established theories of secularisation. Sociologists of religion have to take into account the different manifestations and understandings of immigrants' religious identities. Studies should focus not only on those manifestations of immigrant religiosity which resist and oppose secular and globalised lifestyles. The manifestations of religion which combine secularity and religiosity should be equally considered to avoid any generalisation and stereotypes of religious and ethnic groups.

Consequences for Approaches to Immigrant Religion

The hybridisation and variation in religious identity formation have decisive consequences for the ways in which young people relate to their religion and faith. Young people's identification with religion is not a homogeneous process. Rather than complying homogeneously with religious norms and values, young people in both cases renegotiate religious contents, i.e. values, norms, practices and ideas. In both case studies, functional and substantive roles of religion were identified. Religion functions for migrants and people with migration background as a source of empowerment, community, mental and practical support, and social capital. Young people also resort to their religion in order to preserve and nourish their transnational attachments either to their country of origin or to their ethnic particularities. Substantive roles of religion are equally noticeable in this research. Young people in both studies emphasise the importance of religious meanings that they ascribe to their beliefs and practices. They are concerned about their relationship with God. They seek answers to their existential and theological questions such as salvation, sin, forgiveness, post-mortal life and *Theodicy*. The role of meanings is powerfully expressed in cases when people experience existential crises, prefer individual religiosity, and become charismatic Catholics or pious Muslims. Nevertheless, they are also present in other cases in which functional roles of religion seem to dominate.

The manifestations of these different roles and functions of religion in the life of an individual person exemplify the multi-faceted nature of religion. Young migrants and people with migration background emphasise various aspects of their religion. They present and perceive themselves not only as Christians, Lutherans, Catholics or Muslims. They search for meaningful and sincere manifestations of their faith and religious identity which not only present who they are, but also explain why and how they believe. Understandings of one's own religiosity are negotiated rather than static. As a result, religiously committed people are characterised by multiple rather than single religious identities.

Young people produce their religious identity in an interaction with their religious experiences, practices and beliefs. Religious practices include prayers, singing, meditations, attending religious services, and reading religious texts. Religious practice and belief take place at both an individual level and a community level. In particular, I looked at young people who took part in prayers, religious services, group discussions about religious texts and ethical issues and in social and cultural activities. At the same time, young people practise their faith at home when praying, meditating or reading religious texts. Their religious beliefs and practices shape the way they view the world and

behave in public life. Religious practices often become social practices which function as carriers of social capital and social networks. Young people often resort to their communities in order to find new contacts and friends.

Nevertheless, religious practices and beliefs are not all-encompassing. Religious values and norms are often intertwined with acquired or self-constructed aspirations, ideals, interests, ideas and goals. They refer to the ways in which young people examine what is correct, appropriate and acceptable for a believing and religiously practising person. This research generates an important observation, namely that young people in both case studies continue to embrace authority and conservative norms, albeit in new forms and styles and for different purposes. As a result, both conformist and moderate forms of religious beliefs and practices can coexist together.

Obviously, religious practice and belief, in a narrow sense, are not part of every aspect of young people's lives. Young people do not practise their religion all the day. They have responsibilities in their school, work and family. While some spend considerably more time in their religious community, others dedicate only one day in the week to the religious service. Nevertheless, religious principles, faith persuasions, norms, values, beliefs and identifications guide their everyday actions. As a result, everyday situations are ascribed symbolic religious meanings, thus becoming part of young people's religious lives. Religion is not pushed behind the walls of their churches, mosques or private rooms. Young people live their faith in their everyday situations while applying religiously oriented norms, values, ideas and aspirations to their everyday actions. Faith becomes a visible marker noticeable in the way people behave and socialise.

The above conclusions imply that studies of religious identities should employ inclusive definitions of religion that will focus on the exploration of both functional and substantive roles of religion in the lives of individuals. At the same time, studies on religion should consider various aspects of religious manifestations, including religious behaviours, practices, values, norms, beliefs, institutions, communities, social capital and even social environment. While not everyone's religiosity must include all the aspects of religiosity, such an inclusive approach may avoid the ignorance and neglect of important aspects. Also, the study refers to a particular phase of respondents' lives. As already mentioned, I recognise that religiosity can vary with age and family situation and that one's religious identity is a constantly evolving and lifetime process.

7.4 Considerations on Policies and Further Research

Implication for Policy-Makers and Religious Institutions

The comparative manifestation of various religious identities of migrants and people with migration background emphasises that immigrant religion has to be taken seriously and acknowledged by state authorities and the wider society. The Irish legal, social and cultural environment allows young EU migrants to maintain their distinctive religious particularities. The faiths of EU migrants are not regarded as alien or foreign. A different situation occurs in Germany, where Islam is not regarded as part of German culture and society. Islam is perceived as a foreign, and even alien, religion in the German cultural and religious landscape. These differences in perceptions and the recognition of particular religions and faiths highlight the need for state policies to overcome biases and discrimination based on religious and ethnic grounds.

Although welcoming and helpful, Irish majority population churches are less inclusive when it comes to migrants. Migrants tend to turn to their immigrant congregations where they find a more inclusive community. Importantly, not all migrants share this experience. In contrast to previous research, some migrants found their ways to Irish churches and even became active members while still maintaining their immigrant communities. Nevertheless, a majority of responses suggests that Irish churches need to be more inclusive. Similarly, the majority population Christian churches as well as the society in Germany need to be more empathetic with Muslim communities. German authorities, churches, media and wider public should seek to appreciate Muslim religious particularities and to accept that Islam belongs to the German society.

Most importantly, the findings suggest that both Christian and Muslim faith-based communities have to develop new models of communities and congregations that are relevant to and reflect the needs of young people in the 21st century. From an organisational perspective, the churches and communities should be structured in a bottom-up rather than top-down fashion. The participation of young Muslims in traditional religious activities is limited. Instead, young Muslims create their own spaces for religious and social engagement which reflect their specific needs. In Ireland, many, albeit not all, young Lutherans do not take part in traditional Sunday services. They prefer to attend their youth group or modern-style services such as family services held once a month. The situation is different in Polish and Slovak Catholic communities where the high concentration of young people impacts on the shape and form of Masses and other religious activities.

Ecumenical and interreligious dialogue is another area that needs revision. Although ecumenical and interreligious dialogue has taken place in Ireland and Germany at national and local levels, this research highlights the need for new approaches in this area. First, the increasing representation of non-Christian faiths, including Islam, requires the adoption of more inclusive platforms for ecumenical and interreligious dialogue. Such platforms should aim at being as inclusive as possible by inviting immigrant religious organisations and communities to take equal roles and parts in dialogue as well as decision-making processes. Second, the increasing presence of grass-root interreligious and ecumenical youth activism in both countries underlines the importance of moving from official high-level interreligious dialogue to constructive dialogue and interaction at local levels. Religious institutions should move from official and top levels of engagements to grass-root levels by encouraging more participatory ecumenical and interreligious activities. Ecumenical and interreligious dialogue should occur not only between official representatives and the clergy of religious groups on a community level and a national level but also among ordinary and lay members of religious groups and communities.

Most importantly, the German case study presents non-violent forms of Islamic faith, thus suggesting the conditions under which a religion is peaceful. This presentation contradicts the generalisations and stereotypes often justified by a few cases that lack any legitimate grounding. The similarities between the Irish and the German case demonstrate that religion as such does not promote violence nor peace. Religion depends on culturally, socially and politically influenced packages that individuals and groups bring into that religion. The agency of individuals and groups is equally important. In addition, as this research demonstrated, basic human needs such as the need for belonging and recognition can influence modes of religious identity. If someone is a peaceful person, his or her Islam and Christianity or any other religion will be peaceful. In other words, it is people who are violent or peaceful. Their actions are influenced by their political, social and cultural interests, the satisfaction of their needs and their individual decisions. This research thus indirectly acknowledges that religion can be dangerous when individual agency, psychological factors and social aspects impact on religious packages in the way that encourages the use of them for the justification of violence. Further research is needed to investigate why some religious individuals and groups use their faith and religion to justify violence, whereas others do not resort to such actions. Although the importance of interreligious and inter-faith dialogue for societal peace is undeniable, religions and religious groups need to engage more substantially in intra-faith dialogue.

Further Research

This research raises new fascinating questions that should be pursued further. During my fieldwork, I collected a large amount of data which I have not used and included in this dissertation due to the thematic and word count limits. Gender was an important variable which I did not include into the analysis. Although this research was not quantitative, gender differences in religious participation were clearly noticeable in all the studied communities, with more women than men participating in religious activities. Further research should investigate whether such gender differences are plausible and why women appear to be more religious than men.

More research should be done on religious material artefacts and visible religious expressions to which young people continue to ascribe religious meanings. The clothing styles of many young Christians and Muslims are often influenced by religious commitments and beliefs. Visible symbols are frequently markers of young people's religious identities. Religious meanings and the importance of these symbols are not necessarily transmitted to these young people by their parents as it could be assumed. Many young people who use these religious symbols grew up in non-religious families and environments. Nonetheless, this research did not go into detail to explore deeper meanings and reasons for why young people choose to wear a cross, a headscarf or to grow a beard.

Another area to explore is how young migrants and people with migration background reflect on the religion of their parents. This dissertation partially touched upon this question while revealing that young people contrasted their religious practices and understandings with those of their parents. At the same time, the religiosity of their grandparents was often displayed in images that resemble a very religious, and even pious and spiritual life. It is important to examine to what extent these understandings differ from those of previous generations. Cross-generational comparative research may serve as a helpful approach in such studies. Also, comparative studies with young migrants in other contexts and with natives would enhance the understandings of religious change and the varieties of religious identity formation.

The impact of globalisation and secularisation on the formation of young people's identities needs to be studied further, with a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Although these patterns receive much attention, they remain difficult to be determined. The role of the media is certainly an aspect of socialisation which may aid our understanding of the formation of religious identities of immigrant populations. This research did not pay much attention to the impact of the media. While my interviewees concentrated on negative aspects of media stereotypes, research should

investigate further to what extent and how young people's religious identities are affected by lifestyle images and model roles presented by the media. The parallels between Muslim and Christian youth with migration background in developing transnational religious identities and joining transnational religious movements are especially salient. As this dissertation demonstrated, these identifications are influenced by different factors and reasons, and are differently shaped. Nevertheless, certain important similarities occur which could be studied further.

In terms of theoretical considerations, this research prompts both sociologists and theologians to develop more inclusive and non-conclusive definitions of religion. Different definitions of religion focus on specific dimensions of religion such as religious institutions, practices, beliefs and also individual, communal and privatised aspects separately. As such, they fail to provide a comprehensive framework for understanding the complex and multifaceted nature of immigrants' religiosity. They are helpful in advancing our understanding of immigrants' religion only if they are applied together. Thus, rather than developing a migrant-specific definition of religion and religiosity, an overarching approach to existing religious theories is needed to avoid terminological 'discrimination'. This re-definition of immigrant religion should take into account the varieties of expressions and elements of immigrants' religiosity while not demoting immigrant religions to a minority position, but acknowledging them as equal actors both in their societies and globally.

While this research focuses on Europe, I share Connor's view on the necessity of researching new immigrant destinations in order to investigate the plausibility and generality of theories on migration and religion (Connor 2014). These theories have been produced in the Western context. As such, they may not be applicable to other regions. Moving beyond the Western world would allow for less Euro- and Western-centric approaches. As noted in the first chapter, some countries in the Middle East and Asia have immigrant shares of their populations far larger than those in Europe. Immigration has also been expanding across Africa in the last decade. Current academic thinking is insufficiently informed about the religious lives and faith of these immigrants. The scholarship on migration and religion needs to acknowledge these new tendencies in international migration movements.

Finally, summer 2014 was not only the time when I concluded my fieldwork, but also the time when I realised that I have to leave the communities, including those in Ireland. While sitting in the pews and observing religious gatherings, I was thinking about how the religiosity and religious identities of these young people will develop in a few

years. How will their beliefs, practices, norms and values change once they get children and once they become older? To what extent will their current patterns and modes of religiosity be sustained? Academic research should investigate further the process of religious identity formation over the life course to observe how identities can change and modify over one's life. Future research should also observe how immigrant religions will develop and whether the religious participation of migrants will decline. This research will necessarily have to consider the relationship between the secular and the sacred.

Appendix 1

Email Communication: Requests for Participation in the Research Project

Email sent to the Sehitlik DITIB community in Berlin[54]

date: 15 November 2013

Lieber ...,

herzlichen Dank für Deine Zeit für Gespräch. Am Ende der Vorlesung habe ich bereits zwei Kontakte aufgenommen. Falls Du noch jemanden gerne vorschlagen möchtest, würde ich mich sehr freuen. Sonst könnte ich Dich bitten, die Information unten (auch als Anhang) an die Gemeinde weiter zu leiten.

Herzlichen Dank
Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

Vlado

[Attached letter]

Liebe Gemeinde,

Ich möchte Sie gerne fragen, ob Sie Interesse hätten auf einem Forschungsprojekt über die religiöse Identität der Muslimischen Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsenen mit Migrationshintergrund teilzunehmen?

Als Gastdoktorand bei der Professor Göcke Yurdakul an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin forsche ich über das Thema wie die junge Muslimen mit Migrationshintergrund ihre religiöse Identität verstehen und wahrnehmen und wie sie Islam praktizieren. Ich suche deshalb diejenigen die über eigene religiöse Erfahrungen zu sprechen bereit sind. Die Interviews würden ungefähr halbe Stunde dauern und es geht eigentlich um ein lockeres Gespräch. Das Interview wird hinsichtlich des Zeitpunkts als auch hinsichtlich des Ortes mit Ihnen abgestimmt. Gerne auch nach dem Mittwochsunterricht. Die Gespräche werden aufgenommen, wobei anonym ausgewertet. Ihre Antworten und Kommentare in dem Interview werden vertraulich behandelt. Ihr Name wird nicht in dem Forschungsprojekt einbezogen.

Diejenigen die Zeit und Interesse für ein Gespräch haben, können sich bei mir per Email (...@.... oder telefonisch (.....) melden, oder persönlich nach dem Mittwochsunterricht.

Ich freue mich darauf, von Ihren Erfahrungen zu hören! Falls Sie weitere Fragen haben, bitte lassen Sie mich wissen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen.

Vlado Kmec

[54] The attached letter with the request for interviewees was sent to the Chairman of the Sehitlik mosque in November 2013 and to a facilitator of the youth group in January 2014 to be circulated among the members.

Email sent to the DITIB office in Berlin

Date: 5 September 2011

Guten Tag,

Ich bin ein Doktorand an der Trinity College Dublin in Ireland und als Gastdoktorand an der Georg-August Universität in Göttingen. Ich mache eine Forschung über interkulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Migranten-Gemeinden und anderen lokalen Gemeinden und Gruppen. In Deutschland möchte ich gerne die interkulturelle Zusammenarbeit und Zusammenleben zwischen Immigranten und einheimischen oder anderen Migranten/ Minderheitsgruppen beobachten. Ziel meiner Forschung ist es zu beobachten wie interkulturelle Beziehungen und Aktivitäten zwischen einheimischen und Migranten-Gemeinden zu friedlicher Koexistenz in der Gesellschaft führen.

Ich war letzte Woche bei Ihnen im Büro und Sie haben mich gebeten Ihnen diese Woche ein Email mit meinem Fragen zu senden.

Meine Fragen:

Organisieren Sie/ Ihre Gemeinden in Berlin interkulturelle Aktivitäten (Treffen, Vorlesungen, Freizeit Aktivitäten, gemeinsame Gebete, Gottesdienste, etc.) mit anderen Gemeinden in Berlin (deutschen Gemeinden, Christilichen Kirchen, zivil-gesellschaftlichen Einrichtungen)?

Wie oft im Jahr/ Monat organisieren Sie interkulturelle Aktivitäten mit anderen Gemeinden?

Wieviele Leute aus Ihren Gemeinden nehmen teil an diesen Veranstaltungen?

Wie hoch ist der Zahl von jüngeren Leuten an diesen Aktivitäten? - d.h. Sind da mehr jüngere Leute (die 2. und 3. Generation) als die 1. Generation?

Wie ist die Teilnahme der jünger Generation an anderen Aktivitäten (Freitagsgebete, etc.) die von Ihren Gemeinden organisiert werden?

Ich würde mich sehr über Ihre Antworten freuen. Sie können mir Ihre Antworten direkt hier schreiben. Falls Sie Zeit finden, könnte ich Sie auch besuchen.

Herzlichen Dank

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

Vladimir Kmec

Appendix 2

Profiles and Schedule of Interviewees

The Slovak Catholic Community

N	Age	Gender	Year of immigration	Reasons for moving	Marital status	Children	Interview date
1	33	Female	2005	Work*	single	No	22.10.2012
2	32	Female	2006	Family reunion	Married	Yes	12.11.2012
3	29	Male	2006	Work/ English	Married	No	3.2.2012
4	31	Male	2009	Work	Single	No	18.9.2012
5	32	Male	2005	Work*	Married	No	20.2.2013
6	35	Female	2012	Work*	Single	No	21.2.2013
7	29	Female	2010	Work/ English	Single	No	3.10.2012
8	30	Male	2007	Work/study	Single	No	5.10.2012
9	26	Female	2010	Work/ English	Single	No	11.5.2012
10	29	Female	2004	Work/ English	Single	No	7.10.2012
11	35	Male	2008	Work	Single	No	12.10.2012
12	30	Female	2008	Work/English*	Single	No	22.5.2012
13	28	Female	2006	Work/English*	Single	No	5.6.2012
14	29	Male	2007	Work/ English	Single	No	4.7.2012
15	22	Female	2010	Work/ English	Single	No	4.7.2012

Male: 6; female: 9
Average age: 30

The Polish Catholic Chaplaincy

N	Age	Gender	Year of immigration	Reasons for moving	Marital status	Children	Interview date
1	29	Male	2006	Work	Single	No	21.1.2013
2	31	Female	2008	Work	Single	No	22.1.2013
3	30	Male	2004	Work	Single	No	19.2.2013
4	25	Female	2010	Study	Single	No	7.3.2013
5	32	Male	2006	Work/ English	Single	No	14.3.2013
6	23	Male	2011	Work/ English	Single	No	15.3.2013
7	29	Male	2009	Work*	Single	No	21.4.2013
8	30	Male	2004	Work*	Single	No	24.4.2013
9	28	Female	2010	Study	Single	No	10.5.2013
10	32	Female	2006	Work/ English	Single	No	14.6.2013

Male: 6; female: 4
Average age: 28.9

The Lutheran Church

N	Age	Gender	Year of immigration	Reasons for moving	Marital status	Children	Interview date
1	36	Female	1996	New experience	Single	No	7.10.2011
2	32	Female	2001	Work	Single	No	6.5.2012
3	38	Male	2006	Work/ English	Single	No	12.1.2012
4	34	Male	2004	Work/ English	Single	No	17.09.2012
5	30	Female	2009	Studies	Single	No	4.3.2012
6	36	Male	1999	Studies	Single	No	11.3.2012
7	38	Male	2006	Work/ English	Single	No	19.4.2012
8	25	Female	2008	Work/ English	Single	No	8.10.2012
9	29	Female	2002	Work	Single	No	16.9.2012

Male: 4; female: 5
Average age: 29.2

* People who preferred to move to Ireland instead of the UK since Ireland is a Catholic country.

Interviews with senior members of the Lutheran church

N	Age	Gender	Year of immigration	Reasons for moving	Marital status	Children	Interview date
1	55	Male	1995	Work	Married	Yes	18.1.2012
2	53	Male	1990	Family reunion	Married	Yes	19.1.2012
3	45	Female	1995	New experience	Single	No	2.4.2012
4	40	Male	1998	Work/ studies	Single	No	11.11.2012
5	63	Female	1965	Studies/ Family	Married	Yes	21.2.2013
6	57	Female	1980	Family	Married	Yes	20.2.2013

Male: 3; female: 3
Average age: 52.2

Interviewees in Göttingen

N	Age	Gender	Background	Citizenship	Marital status	Children	Interview date
1	23	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	8.6.2011
2	24	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	9.6.2011
3	30	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	17.6.2011
4	26	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	29.6.2011
5	25	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	30.6.2011
6	28	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	6.7.2011
7	20	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	8.7.2011

8	22	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	13.7.2011
9	31	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	14.7.2011
10	21	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	16.7.2011
11	23	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	25.7.2011
12	21	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	26.7.2011
13	29	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	28.7.2011
14	24	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	10.8.2011
15	30	Male	Turkish/ mixed	German	Single	No	11.8.2011
16	32	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	12.8.2011

Male: 7; female: 9
Average age: 25.5

Muslim communities in Berlin

N	Age	Gender	Background	Citizenship	Marital status	Children	Interview date
1	25	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	5.2.2014
2	24	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	26.4.2014
3	20	Female	Arab	German	Single	No	27.2.2014
4	20	Female	Arab	German	Single	No	4.2.2014
5	26	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	3.3.2014
6	36	Male	Turkish	German	Married	Yes	13.11.2013
7	18	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	6.2.2014
8	26	Female	Turkish	German	Single	No	21.2.2014
9	24	Male	Arab/mixed	German	Single	No	24.4.2014
10	26	Male	Turkish	German	Single	No	20.12.2013
11	24	Female	Turkish	Turkish	Single	No	5.2.2014
12	36	Male	Turkish	German	Married	Yes	23.4.2014
13	23	Female	Turkish	Turkish	Single	No	11.3.2014
14	21	Female	Turkish	Turkish	Single	No	15.4.2014
15	24	Female	Turkish	Turkish	Single	No	3.4.2014
16	24	Male	Turkish	Turkish	Single	No	1.4.2014
17	19	Female	Turkish	Turkish	Single	No	7.3.2014

Male: 7; female: 10
Average age: 24.5

Total number of young male respondents: 30; number of young female respondents: 37
Average age of all young respondents: 27.6

Appendix 3

Interview Questions

I. General/ basic questions
Age:
Religious affiliation:
Gender:
Family status:
Occupation:
Ethnicity:
Nationality:

II. Interview guide for semi-structured interviews: German case study
[Interviews were carried out in German]

1. Background

- What is your ethnicity? How would you describe your ethnicity?
- Are you a German citizen?
- Do you consider yourself as a Turkish or as a German?
- Where does your family originally come from?
- Do you have any connection to your parent's country?
- Do you have any particular feelings to the country from which your parents come?
- Do you think that your migration background has an impact on your religiosity (the way you perceive and understand your faith, religion and religiosity)? How and to what extent? To what extent is your migration background important for your religiosity?
- Do you have a need to explore your background/ roots?

2. Religiosity

- Are you religious/ spiritual? Do you consider yourself as religious?
- How important is your religiosity/ spirituality/ faith for you in your life? Why is faith/ religion important to you?
- How and when did you become religious/ spiritual?
- How do your perceive and understand God?
- What does Islam mean to you?
- How would you describe your religiosity/ religious identity?

3. Religious practice

- How do you practice your religion? (traditions, customs, symbols, festivals, etc...) within community/ within family?
- Do you pray/ fast/ observe religious duties? Why? To what extent does it help in your faith? How important is it for you/ your faith?
- Do you read Koran? How important is it to you to read Koran?
- Which rituals/ activities do you consider as most important in your religious practice? Why?

4. Religion and family environment

- Do you live with your family?
- Have your parents taught you about their religious traditions and about religion?

5. Places of worship/ community

- Is/ was there a house of worship where you can/ could practice your religion?
- Are you a member of any religious community? How long have you been member of this community? Since when do you come to this mosque/ Koran lessons?
- Why do you come to this community? Why did you choose to attend this mosque/ community? What are your motivations/ reasons for attending this community?
- Which activities do you attend in this community? Why?
- Are there other members of your religion with whom you can worship or socialize? Do you have close friends in the mosque?
- Has attending religious and social events in your community/ mosque helped you to foster your faith? How?
- Has your community helped you in providing information on practical issues? How?
- Have you been active in this community? How and why?
- Do you attend other mosques/ places of worship? Why?

6. Being Muslim in Germany

- Are you proud of being Muslim? Is it difficult to be a Muslim man/ woman in Germany? Why?
- Have you experienced discrimination because of being Muslim?
- Have you seen the fact that you grew up as a Muslim in a Christian society as a problem?
- Is it difficult or easy for you to be religious/Muslim in your school/ university/ work?
- Do/ Did you attend religious education at your school?
- Do/ Did you discuss religious issues with your German fellows?
- How was/has been your mosque helpful in providing religious education or other education to you?

7. Transnational networks

- Do you keep in touch with people in your parents' country of origin? Who and why? How do you keep in touch?
- What cultural traditions have you been able to maintain?

8. Interreligious interaction

Individual:

- Do you have friends from other religious communities?
- Do you discuss religious issues and about your faith/ religion with your friends who are of another religious affiliation?
- Have you ever attended a Christian/ inter-faith event? How did you find it?
- How was your first encounter with Christianity?

Group focused:

- Why has the community/ mosque decided to use German in their activities?
- Who are the members of the community (age, gender, nationality, ethnicity)?
- Which religious and social activities does the parish organise for its members?
- Is the cultural and national diversity a problem for the organisation of joint intercultural and interreligious activities?

- Which cultural and religious traditions has the community (leaders) been able to maintain/ which new forms of religious life have been introduced?
- Do you organise intercultural and interreligious activities with other religious communities in Berlin/ your district? - How often? What kind of activities? How many people do attend them? What is the proportion of young people taking part in these activities?

III. Sample questions for a particular interview - German case study
[Interviews were carried out in German]

1. Religious participation

- Since when do you come to Wednesday lessons?
- Do you come regularly?
- Why do you come to this mosque? What motivates you to come here?
- How socialised are you here? Do you have friends here?
- Are you actively involved here? Why?
- Do you visit other mosques? Why?

2. Religion

- What does Islam mean to you?
- Are you religious? Why is religion important to you?
- How would you describe your religiosity/ religious identity?
- How do you practise your religion? (Prayer, fasting, Koran reading, everyday life?
- Which religious rituals/ activities do you consider as most important for your spiritual/ religious life?

3. Intercultural interaction

- Do you talk about your religion with non-Muslims? How is it?
- Have you attended any intercultural or interreligious event? How was it?
- Have you had any personal experience with discrimination based on your religiosity in Germany?

4. Family, background

- Are your parents religious? Did your parents instruct you in Islam?
- How important is your migration background for your religiosity/ religion?
- To what extent has your background had an impact on your religiosity?
- Have you sought to explore your background in order to find out more about your religion?

IV. Interview guide for semi-structured interviews: Lutheran church in Dublin
[Interviews were carried out in German or English]

1. Identity

- Are you religious?
- Why are you a member of this community/ parish? Have you found a faith community where you feel received and which became your spiritual home?
- What do you like most about the church parish/ congregation?
- Were you a member of a church parish in Germany?

- How would you describe your religious identity?
- How important is religion for you?
- What does influence your religiosity most? Your personal decisions, religious services, Bible, prayer, religious leaders in your homeland or in your community in Dublin (pastors), other members in the community, or family?

2. Religious participation

- How often/ regularly do you attend church services? Sundays/ weekdays? (For example: at least once a week, at least once a month, several times a year, less than once a year)
- Do you attend church services in one community or in more? Why?
- Why do you attend religious services in the German church? Why do you attend services in an Irish church while, at the same time, in your German parish?
- Are the church services in this community different from what you were used to do in your home country?
- How often do you attend Taizé services?
- Did you attend a Taizé group in your home country before coming to Ireland?
- Why do you attend Taizé services? What are the main reasons and motivations?
- Did you know someone in your Taizé group before starting to attend the services?
- Do you also attend Taizé services organised by other Christian/ religious groups? How often? And why?
- How often do you pray personally? Is praying important for your faith?
- How often do you read the Bible? How important is it for you to read Bible to foster your faith? What are your main purposes for reading the Bible?

3. Faith/ religion before and after migration

- What was the reason for leaving your home country/ moving to this country?
- Do you plan to return to your home country or to stay in Ireland? Why?
- Was faith/ religion important for you when you left your homeland? How?
- Is faith/ religion important for you now? How?
- Did you experience any significant change in your spiritual life since you left your home country? To what extent has your religiosity and your religious participation changed since you moved to Ireland? What were the causes of this change?
- Tell me about how you have experienced the growth of your faith in your new residence?
- How has your religiosity (beliefs, values, practices and behaviours) changed?
- Did you find anything in your new place that helps you, sustains you, nourishes you spiritually, or enriches your spirituality that you did not experience at home?
- What did you find most challenging for your spiritual life at your new place of residence?
- What do you miss most?

4. Transnational, ecumenical and intercultural interaction

- Do you keep in touch with people in your country of origin?/ Do you have any connections to your country of origin? How do you keep in touch? e.g. How often do you travel to your home country? How often do you communicate on phone/ skype/ facebook with your family members/ friends in your home country?

- Which cultural and religious traditions have you been able to maintain in Ireland? Are there some traditions that you no longer follow but that you followed in your country of origin
- How was your first encounter with other Christians at ecumenical/ intercultural activities in Ireland?
- How often do you attend ecumenical activities, or religious activities of other Christian groups in Ireland? (once a week, once a month, once a year, never)
- Do you have friends from other religious/ Christian communities?
- Do you discuss religious issues with your friends who are of another religious/ Christian affiliation in Ireland?
- Have these discussions lead you to change/ or influenced your religious views and perceptions?

5. Religious community as a provider of networks

- How did you find about the German Lutheran parish after you arrived in Ireland?
- To what extent were cultural ties to your German heritage (e.g. services in your language, meeting with people from your country, etc.) important in joining the German Lutheran church parish/ attending its activities? Why? Important --- less important – unimportant
- To what extent were social ties to people in the parish important in joining its activities? (Meeting people with whom you could celebrate holidays, help to find a job, be with people who spoke your language). Why?
- Has your community helped you in providing information on finding jobs, housing and other practical issues?

V. Sample interview questions - Slovak case study

[Interviews were carried out in Slovak]

1. Taizé, intercultural interaction and first experience in Ireland

- How did you become involved in Taizé? How did you become involved in Taizé back in Ireland?
- Do you like meeting people from other countries and of other religious backgrounds? Do you not experience any barriers [in interpersonal/ intercultural encounters]?
- How was you first experience in and with Ireland? How did you feel in a country which was foreign to you?

2. Slovak community, transnational attachments

- How did you find about the Slovak community in Dublin?
- How did you then started to attend the Sunday Masses?
- How important is it for you to attend the Slovak community?
- How would you describe your religious identity?
- Do you think that your religious identity has changed since the time you arrived in Ireland? Did your experience which you have had in Ireland has changed your faith or has your faith remained unchanged?
- Do you plan to return to Slovakia or do you plan to stay in Ireland? Could you imagine to live in Ireland?
- What do you miss from Slovakia?What you miss here? What would you like to change in Ireland?What do you perceive here as negative?

- How often and how regularly are you in contact with people in Slovakia, in particular with your family?

3. ***Migration experience in Ireland***

- Have you found any friends among the Irish and other migrants?
- Have you experienced discrimination because of your migrant status?
- Have you followed the political, social and cultural situation/ news in Ireland?
- Do you have something to add?

Appendix 4

Consent Form and Interview Protocol[55]

Consent form used in the Lutheran church in Dublin

Interviewer:	Vladimír Kmec
Titel des Projekts:	Der Einfluss von Immigration auf religiösen Identitäten und interreligiösen Dialog
Universität:	Trinity College Dublin (Irland)
Programm:	Doctor in Philosophy (Research)

Dieses Interview ist ein Teil des Forschungsprojektes, in dem die Beziehung zwischen der Immigration und den religiösen Identitäten untersucht ist. Ich möchte mich ganz herzlich für Ihre/ Deine Teilnahme bedanken. Ihr/ Dein Eingang wird für diese Forschung sehr wertvoll sein, besonders bei der Bereitstellung von Daten für die Analyse der Frage der religiösen Identität und bei der Bereitstellung von Hintergrundinformationen für die Entwicklung von bester Praxis und Strategien zur friedlichen Bewältigung der religiösen Vielfalt.

Vertraulichkeit der Antworten und persönlichen Daten ist gewährleistet.

Die Erlaubnis zur Verwendung der Name: i.e. Kann Ihre/ Deine Vorname bei der Darstellung der Analyse der Teilen von diesem Interview verwendet sein?

Vorname:	Ja		Nein*	

* Es wird eine andere Name verwendet.

Unterschrift des Forschers Unterschrift des Befragten

[55] Used in the beginning of the fieldwork to obtain a written consent from interviewees.

Interview protocol form used in Göttingen

Interviewer:	Vladimír Kmec
Titel des Projekts:	Der Einfluss von Immigration auf religiösen Identitäten und interreligiösen Dialog
Universität:	Trinity College Dublin (Ireland) Geor-August Universität Göttingen (Deutschland)
Programm:	Doctor in Philosophy (Research) mit finanzieller Unterstützung aus dem Irish Research Council für Geistes-und Sozialwissenschaften
Dauer:	September 2010 - September 2013
Betreuer:	Dr. Gladys Ganiel (Trinity College Dublin)
Betreuer in Deutschland:	Prof. Dr. Martin Tamcke (Georg-August Universität Göttingen)

Befragte _____

Datum _____

Zeit _____

Ort _____

Erläuterungen zum Interviewpartner:
Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme. Ihr Eingang wird für diese Forschung sehr wertvoll sein, konkret bei der Bereitstellung von Daten für die Analyse der Frage der religiösen Identität und bei der Bereitstellung von Hintergrundinformationen für die Entwicklung von bester Praxis und Strategien zur friedlichen Bewältigung der religiösen Vielfalt.

Vertraulichkeit der Antworten und persönlichen Daten ist gewährleistet.

Die Erlaubnis zur Nutzung / Verwendung der folgenden Informationen:

Vorname:	Ja	Nein
Alter:	Ja	Nein
Geschlecht:	Ja	Nein
Religionszugehörigkeit:	Ja	Nein
Ethnizität:	Ja	Nein
Staatsbürgerschaft:	Ja	Nein

Unterschrift (befragte) :_____

Unterschrift (Interviewer) :_____

Translation of the interview form used in Göttingen

Interviewer:	Vladimír Kmec
Titel of the project:	The Impact of Immigration on Religious Identities and InterReligious Dialogue
University:	Trinity College Dublin (Ireland)/ Irish School of Ecumenics Geor-August Universität Göttingen (Deutschland)
Programme:	Doctor in Philosophy (Research) with the financial support from the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences
Duration: ***Supervisor:*** ***Co-supervisor in Germany:***	September 2010 - September 2013 Dr. Gladys Ganiel (Trinity College Dublin) Prof. Dr. Martin Tamcke (Georg-August Universität Göttingen)

Interviewee _____

Date _____

Time _____

Location _____

Notes to interviewee:
Thank you for your participation. I believe your input will be valuable to this research in providing data for analysis of religious identity issues and in providing background information for the development of best practices and policy approaches to the accommodation of religious diversity.

Confidentiality of responses and personal information is guaranteed.

Permission to use/ not use the following information:

First Name:	Yes	No
Age:	Yes	No
Gender:	Yes	No
Religious affiliation:	Yes	No
Ethnicity:	Yes	No
Citizenship:	Yes	No

Signature (Interviewee) :_____

Signature (Interviewer) :_____

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Interview 3 with Eugen Rybanský, Slovak Catholic priest of the Slovak Catholic community in Dublin, Dublin, December 2012.

Interview 4 with a priest from the Polish Catholic Chaplaincy in Dublin, Dublin, January 2013.

Interview 5 with a facilitator of the youth group in the Sehitlik mosque community, Berlin, July 2011.

Interview 6 with Ender Cetin, the Chairman of the Sehitlik mosque community and youth facilitator, Berlin, November 2013.

Interview 7 with the facilitator of the IZDB, Berlin, August 2011.

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Religion and Migration: Exploring the Religious Identities of Young Migrants in Ireland and Young People with Migration Background in Germany

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the interrelationship between migration and religion in the context of current global social and political changes with a particular focus on young people living as immigrants or permanent settlers with migration background in Ireland and Germany. The research assesses the question of how immigration, both as a lived experience and as an inherited background, impacts on the religious identity of young immigrants and people with migration background in Ireland and in Germany. While observing how young Christian migrants and young Muslims with migration background perceive and understand their religious identities, this dissertation brings an insight into people's individual perspectives on faith. This research compares trajectories of religious identity construction among individuals who belong to different immigrant religious groups and communities. The Irish case study analyses first-generation temporary Christian immigrants of Central Eastern European background in Dublin. The German case study focuses on young Muslims with Turkish and Arab migration background in Berlin and Göttingen. The research explored that young migrants and people with migration background develop a variety of religious identities, which highlights that young people's identification with religion is heterogeneous process. The formations of religious identities in these cases are influenced by socialisation, the satisfaction of the belongingness needs and the individual decisions. The research is grounded on sociological and anthropological approaches, in particular multi-sited and multi-case ethnography. The dissertation spans across the global societal context and local settings by focusing on particular immigrant religious communities and the societal dynamics driven by globalisation and secularisation forces.