Religion, Migration, and Foreign Policy
April 23, 2007 and March 14, 2008

A project of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs and the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University

Co-sponsored by the Institute for the Study of International Migration with support from the German Marshall Fund of the United States
Religion, Migration, and Foreign Policy

FORUM: April 23, 2007
**Moderator:** Dr. Susan Martin, Donald G. Herzberg
Chair in International Migration and Director of the Institute for the Study of International Migration in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University

- **Dr. Ishani Chowdhury**, Executive Director at the Hindu American Foundation (HAF)
- **Helen Rose Ebaugh**, Professor of Sociology at the University of Houston and Associate at the Center for Immigration Research
- **Mr. Mark Hetfield**, Senior Vice President for Policy and Programs at the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS)
- **Mr. Cem Özdemir**, leader of the Green Party in Germany

FORUM: March 14, 2008
**Moderator:** Dr. Susan Martin

- **Bishop Nicholas DiMarzio**, Bishop of Brooklyn
- **Dr. Richard Land**, President of the Southern Baptist Convention's Ethics & Religious Liberty Commission
- **Dr. Peggy Levitt**, Chair and Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Wellesley College
- **Dr. Michael Werz**, a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for the Study of International Migration in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University

**Religious Sources of Foreign Policy**
These two events are part of a broader project on the Religious Sources of Foreign Policy within the Luce/SFS Program on Religion and International Affairs. The program addresses the impact of religion on the foreign policies of key states around the world, placing the U.S. case in an international context. Its key components include new undergraduate and graduate courses and symposia that bring together scholars and policy experts around emergent issues, such as the mobilization of religious groups around foreign policy, the intersection between religion, migration, and foreign policy, and the politics of international religious freedom.
On April 23, 2007 the Luce/SFS Program on Religion and International Affairs convened a forum exploring the intersection of religion, migration, and foreign policy, focusing specifically on the role that religion plays in defining the interconnections between immigrants’ countries of origin and destination.

The panel explored some of the key issues of this topic, such as immigrants’ role in defining the relationships between their host country and the country of origin; immigration policies that facilitate or impede the admission of religious leaders and teachers and their impact on religious practice and beliefs; and the impact of immigrants and diasporas on religious and cultural practices in countries of origin.

A second forum was held on March 14, 2008 that focused on how immigrants are transforming religious life in their destination countries and how mainstream religious groups are addressing the tensions in immigration policy and immigrant integration.

Other issues considered included the role of religion in immigrant integration, immigrants and their effect on religious diversity, immigration and the perceptions of mainstream religious groups, and religion and immigrant identity.

The two fora were a collaborative project of Georgetown University partners, including the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, and Institute for the Study of International Migration.
Forum I: April 23, 2007

This forum was the first of two exploring the intersection of religion, migration, and foreign policy. More specifically, this forum focused on the role that religion plays in defining the interconnections between immigrants’ countries of origin and destination. Other questions explored related to immigrants’ role in defining the relationships between their host country and the country of origin and the impact of diasporas on religious and cultural practices in countries of origin.

Core questions addressed:

How does the impact of growing religious diversity resulting from international migration affect foreign policy in countries of origin, transit, and destination? What sorts of issues arise from religious-based political organizing?

Dr. Mark Hetfield, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society

Religious communities in the United States have succeeded in working with and shaping U.S. refugee and foreign policy to ensure that their co-religionists overseas will have some access to the U.S. refugee program. Unlike the transnational religious networks we are talking about for migrants, this transnational tie has less to do with ethnicity, I believe, but more to do with common religion … It’s interesting that of the three [categories of refugee under U.S. law], two are completely religious or community oriented and the third also has a religious tie to it … The way it happened is really due to advocacy by their religious communities in the United States. [An example] is the Jackson-Vanik Amendment of 1975, which was pushed very hard by the American Jewish community. It tied “most-favored nation” status of the Soviet Union not to religious freedom, but rather to immigration policies—largely to the treatment of Soviet Jews.

Mr. Cem Özdemir, Green Party in Germany

Because Muslims are now living in European coun-
tries, the states have this request to have some kind of dialogue partner … in countries like Germany, Muslim organizations which are very diverse, which are not united, which are divided under the lines of the countries they came from, under the lines of ethnic roots or religious roots are now forced to come together because it’s easier for the state to have one umbrella organization to talk to. What happens is that in a way the Muslims are forced to organize themselves along the line of the Christian churches, which is not the usual way that Muslims organize themselves.

Another important aspect of the discussion is the change of perception that we’re going through in domestic media policy towards what I would describe as a kind of Muslimization. What I mean with that is when I started in politics, usually when you wanted to have a discussion with those “strange others” you invited somebody from a union, you invited somebody from a parents organization; today you have dialogue with Muslim organizations. Everybody who wants to have dialogue invites someone from the next mosque so it just completely shifted from unions, from other kinds of organizations, to mosques. So the main dialogue partner today is the mosque and those people who are organized in mosques.

Dr. Mark Hetfield, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
The impact of this … has not been limited to the U.S. refugee program; it’s also expanded to other foreign policy areas. In 1998 Congress passed the International Religious Freedom Act in spite of very lukewarm support and actually original opposition by the Clinton administration who felt that the National Religious Freedom Act would be an infringement upon their ability to exercise foreign policy … In this act, it begins by saying “the right to freedom of religion undergirds the very origin and existence of the United States …” And what this act did is it established religious freedom as being a major priority for U.S. foreign policy, required that the United States write a human rights report specifically on religious freedom for every country in the world and that it exercise and implement sanctions against those countries that are the worst violators. It also included a number of provisions to improve the refugee program.

Dr. Ishani Chowdhury, Hindu American Foundation
… We annually publish a book on the plight of Hindus around the world where there’s religious persecution. An example is in the creation of Bangladesh. There was
a massacre of an estimated 2 million Pakistani citizens and ethnic cleansing of nearly 10 million mainly Hindus who fled from what is now Bangladesh to India … It’s surprising that, in 1947 31% of Bangladesh’s population was Hindu. In 1961 the population was 19%. In 1974, the population was 14% and in 2002 the population was 10%. And it’s decreasing day by day … We’re closely working with organizations such as the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom … and explaining the situation of Hindus there, [including] … a press briefing on Capitol Hill which we were invited to attend and they actually issued a policy brief on Bangladesh. Bangladesh is currently going through its next election cycle and they issued a policy brief because the Commission realized the fact that the religious situation of not only Hindus but other minorities such as Christians is really in peril there.

What role do immigrants have in defining the relationships between their host country and the country of origin? What about government-to-government engagement on religious issues important to immigrants?

Dr. Helen Rose Ebaugh, University of Houston

U.S. immigrant congregations become influential actors in other nations because of the core country status of the U.S., and the kinds of resources and experiences that immigrants in a wealthy nation can amass. Capitalizing on the strengths of the core country, immigrants can in turn exert economic, political, social, cultural and religious influences on their communities of origin. Because of the selectivity of U.S. immigration laws since 1965, a large portion of the contemporary immigrant population is composed of highly educated professionals. They may be political refugees and intellectual exiles who are considered elites in their home country—not every immigrant is poor and undocumented and unskilled … Contemporary immigrants are also concentrated in metropolitan areas, where cultural pluralism and cosmopolitanism are part of their everyday lives. Their transnational connections with their home countries facilitated by advanced technologies of communication; transportation and material wealth are an important stream of globalization. Therefore, the power and influence of the core country in the world system, the tangible and intangible resources of these new immigrants, and the social, cultural and religious experiences of their living in pluralistic America are forces that together provide necessary conditions for contemporary immigrants to exert influence within their global religious systems.

Mr. Cem Özdemir, Green Party in Germany

Another very important debate … is a classical debate about diaspora. It did not start in Turkey, it started in Germany where the headquarters of the Alevite umbrella organization is followed by other countries. It was a debate about whether Alevites belong to Islam or do not belong to Islam and it went all the way from Germany back to Turkey, but it didn’t start in Turkey. In Turkey there was never such a big discussion about whether that’s the case or not … So again the question
it raises in Germany is how strong for instance should the role of Turkey be? Because the biggest organization of Muslims in Germany and in those countries where you have Turkish migration of Muslims from Turkey, of Sunni Muslims is DITIB, which is a state funded organization linked to the ministry of religious affairs in Turkey. So, should they have a say at all? Shouldn't they have a say? If they have a say should they have a monopoly, (which for a long time Turkey asked for)? Should they share it with other organizations … Should there be religious instruction [and] … should it be in Turkish? But shouldn't it be in the language in which they live? So this shows you the different effects of this discussion with the sending country, with the receiving country, and with the people from those countries living in the migrant countries right now.

Mr. Cem Özdemir, Green Party in Germany

Let me concentrate on what [second and third generation immigrant] communities themselves can do … First of all, it is important that they realize that it’s not enough to say, after 9/11, after the London bombing, the Madrid bombing, “You know, we don’t have anything to do with that because those people are not Muslims.” That was the first reaction. I can understand that reaction because in a way, why should I take some kind of responsibility for people that also threaten my life? But it doesn’t help us to reach out to the people because that’s not what people want to hear, whether you like it or not. So you have to deal with the question, there is no way to avoid it. That’s the first thing I always say when I visit mosques. The second point … it is very important that you describe yourself as part of the society in which you live. You’re not in a diaspora. You’re not an ambassador of the country of your forefathers. You are part of the society in which you live and you have to describe yourself like that. Then you can expect the others to listen more carefully to what you say.

What are the trends in immigration policy as well as migrant practice with regards to religious leaders, teachers, and traditions and their impact on religious practice and beliefs?

Dr. Helen Rose Ebaugh, University of Houston

Some immigrant religious communities are shifting their world-wide organizational centers to the United States. Many immigrant religions have their holy centers in other parts of the world. When people migrate they often move away from the foundational or historical centers of their religion. However, immigrants in the U.S., the core country in the contemporary world system, possess rich resources including material wealth, advanced technologies, organizational skills, and one of the world’s most advanced societies. Therefore, American immigrant communities are in a powerful position to exert influence in their countries of origin and possibly in other parts of the world as well. For an example, in the year 2000, we had the world-wide Zoroastrian conference in Houston. We can’t be the center of Zoroastrianism because that fire that exists in Zoroastrian temples cannot be transported
across the water. So we don’t have official Zoroastrian centers in the United States. However, the Houston community of Zoroastrians is exerting a very strong influence throughout the world. It’s probably the center of Zoroastrianism right now on a lot of measures.

**Mr. Cem Özdemir, Green Party in Germany**

In European countries where you have large Muslim communities, should the states sponsor its partners? Should the state even go so far to create its partners? Or is that leading to, even poisoning, the situation and making it worse? Or, as I prefer, should the state find an indirect way to support the ones who should be supported and help these communities feel a part of the society? Make it easy to have access to the society. Many don’t see the socioeconomic factors, such as unemployment, which I see as a very dangerous in Europe right now. We see this one dimensional track towards Islam and completely miss other the dimensions such as education.

**What is the impact of diasporas on religious and cultural practices in countries of origin?**

**Dr. Helen Rose Ebaugh, University of Houston**

There is a new dimension to this transnationalism today [as compared to the 1960s]. It’s very different to get a letter from a home country two weeks after it was written compared to the fact that the telephone rings and you can be involved instantaneously with family that you left behind in the home country. So transnationalism is very different today than it was in earlier waves of migration. Today migrants often go back home for a long weekend without missing much work. And family from the homeland can readily come to the U.S. for a visit. Such ease of transportation facilitates the maintenance of transnational ties… One dimension of the process that has been virtually neglected… is the role of religion.

Religious beliefs and customs follow a circular path… Initially, immigrants bring with them many religious practices from their home country, which they subsequently adapt to their lives in the United States. In fact, it is well documented now that immigrant religious groups over time take on the congregational characteristics of American religion. This includes things like congregational structure, voluntary membership, lay-leadership, expansion of services, organizational networks, scheduling formal religious services, usually at seven o’clock on Sunday morning—unheard of in the home countries—adapting ways of worship to American norms and many of them even registering as a 501-C3 tax exempt organization—unheard of in the home country. So immigrants bring religious systems from the home country, adapt them in the United States, and then what happens over time is that many of those adaptations are transported back to their home countries… Over time, as immigrants adapt to their new environment and both they and their religious institutions acquire more financial stability, flows of monetary resources, religious personnel and influence often reverse or at least become two-way, and of course this becomes expedited by modern means of communication and forms of travel.
Dr. Mark Hetfield, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society

The American national myth as a refuge of religious freedom is certainly well grounded in history, although not all immigration to the United States has been in order to flee religious persecution. In fact during the biggest immigration waves of the 19th century much of it was to flee economic turmoil and to find a better life. But nonetheless, the United States has been seen as the golden medina for those who have been persecuted on basis of religion.

What is uniquely American, however, is that the religious communities of the United States have so internalized the national myth of the role of the United States as a beacon for the persecuted, that this has become embedded in the perspective of the communities themselves. This perspective shapes their relationship with their coreligionists overseas and with the United States government. In many instances, ultimately, it also shapes U.S. policy. This beacon-consciousness, and the particular attention paid to religious communities fleeing persecution, is further enhanced by the strength of religious communities and religion in the United States.

ABOUT THE PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Ishani Chowdhury is Executive Director at the Hindu American Foundation (HAF), a non-profit, non-partisan organization committed to promoting religious tolerance, pluralism, and human rights. HAF works to bring a Hindu-American perspective to U.S. policymakers through its government outreach programs in D.C.

Dr. Helen Rose Ebaugh is Professor of Sociology at the University of Houston and Associate at the Center for Immigration Research. Her recent Pew-funded project on immigrant congregations resulted in the book *Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations* (Alta Mira Press, 2000).

Mr. Mark Hetfield is Senior Vice President for Policy and Programs at the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS). He formerly served as immigration counsel and director of international refugee issues for the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF).

Mr. Cem Özdemir is the leader of the Green Party in Germany. Formerly, he was a Member of the European Parliament and the German Parliament and sat on the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Delegation. He is particularly informed on issues relating to German and European migration and integration policy.
In March 2008 a second forum convened to explore the intersection of religion, migration, and foreign policy. This forum focused on how immigrants are transforming religious life in their destination countries and how mainstream religious groups are addressing the tensions in immigration policy and immigrant integration. More specifically, participants considered the role of religion in immigrant integration, immigrants and their effect on religious diversity, immigration and the perceptions of mainstream religious groups, and religion and immigrant identity.

**Core questions addressed:**

How important is religion in the integration of immigrants in the United States?

**Bishop Nicholas DiMarzio, Bishop of Brooklyn**

The importance of the role of religion and integration of immigrants into the United States is one of the most underestimated and understudied parts of immigration itself… In order to answer this question properly I would like to borrow [a model] from an interesting article in *International Migration Review*. The first stage of the process is the decision making process. Why do people migrate… What sacrifices do they make and what influences their decision? If the potential migrant has a religious background [he or she] certainly makes use of religious faith in coming to these kinds of life changing decisions. The second part of the process would be preparing for the journey. [In] my own experience, I have listened to migrants who tell us that before leaving home they have consulted their spiritual advisors, made pilgrimages to places of worship and certainly have prayed about this journey that is completely new to most… The third part of the process that I think entails religion as we encounter the perils of the migration journey. For some it might be the first time they’ve ever been on an airplane, for others it might be walking across a desert. Whatever the inherent challenges are, migrants are usually accustomed to calling upon their faith to help them and assist them… Finally, the arrival itself. Here religion plays a very important role in the lives of most migrants. I clearly remember what one
Italian immigrant told me in the early ’70s when in my career as a priest I was working with immigrants. She said to me everything here is different, but one thing I recognize as the same—the church and my faith. I think that really is true and how the church can be a real force in integration because it is something that the immigrant understands no matter where they come from.

Dr. Peggy Levitt, Wellesley College

I think religious communities are the places that dampen that [social] tension because of those shared faith traditions, because of the role that faith communities play in helping immigrants integrate but also because of the kind of interaction that comes about so there are different kinds of religious architectures that bring you in to contact more or less with the native born. There are places where religious communities can form pan-ethnic communities or pan-religious communities in ways that other kinds of civic organizations can’t, and so I think it sort of counter-balances that rather than contributes to tension between [religions and groups].

Dr. Richard Land, Southern Baptist Convention

According to the Pew Forum, 61% of Americans say that religion is “very important” to their lives, so religion will be an important part of the solution for problems in our society … and religion plays a very important role in the countries where most of the new immigrants come from (e.g., Mexico). We have an obligation [as Christians] when dealing with these issues to remember our citizenship in two kingdoms: as citizens of the United States, we are to obey the laws … As citizens of the kingdom of heaven … we have a responsibility to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and help the poor … Every person, including immigrants, is of incalculable worth. [This is the lesson] of our faith as well as our founding document, “All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights …”

What role do religious institutions play in immigrant integration in the U.S. and Europe?

Bishop Nicholas DiMarzio, Bishop of Brooklyn

Since 1970, [Catholic] immigrants have a right to their religious services in their own language. Not for any period of time, not as any bridge. They just have a right to it because their culture and their languages are so much integrated into their religious life that to separate them could do damage … For example, in our own diocese we have 29 organized language apostolates. There are probably many more but these are the bigger, larger groups organized, to ensure they keep the language and culture. But at the same time it becomes the integrated bridge to the larger church community and to the civil community. Again, I think the principle is, people integrate from a position of strength. When they feel weak, when they feel excluded, they don’t integrate. So the more welcome they can feel, the more strength they can feel as community and as persons, then they’re more apt to integrate in to the larger community and the larger church.
Dr. Richard Land, Southern Baptist Convention

Baptist churches all across the country [have] started English classes. Most people who come to this country understand that to assimilate to the degree they want to they need to speak English and that we ought to be having English classes and we ought to use the good news for modern man which is the New Testament at a fourth grade level for a text and just give them free classes to learn English. We are certainly seeing a rise in the number of these ethnic congregations … You may see a church sign in Spanish, you may see a sign in Cambodian, and you may see a sign in Laotian. If you go along the Gulf Coast you’ll certainly see signs in Vietnamese. And you have these Baptist congregations, most of whom, depending on how long they’ve been here, are worshipping in their native language. To some degree, many transition to English over time; certainly they want their children to do so.

Are the issues associated with immigration and religion only domestic, or are there transnational features?

Dr. Peggy Levitt, Wellesley College

Just as the economy is part of a global network … so churches and mosques are part of dense and thick networks of religious institutions where religious goods are produced and consumed … We need to think outside of the nation-state box … Domestic political outcomes are influenced by transnational movements … we need to trade national lessons for transnational ones, or use both simultaneously … People who can live with feet in two worlds are … showing us what it is like to live in a global world … they are the religious diplomats that we need.

Dr. Richard Land, Southern Baptist Convention

On the transnationalism issue [what has changed in the U.S. is] most congregations, Baptists and evangelicals in general of any size, have groups within them that have actually been on mission trips to other countries around the world. They’ve gone on medical missions to Central America or they’ve gone to build a church in Brazil or they’ve gone to Africa to do relief and to evangelize and to help coreligionists in those countries. So they have a personal interest, they can put a face and a name and a place on their coreligionists in these other countries, in Haiti, in Ghana, in Nigeria.

Michael Werz, Institute for the Study of International Migration

In Germany we are taking measures which are highly counterproductive because they conflate religion and migration traditions. Right now we have a bunch of interfaith dialogues going on at the highest level of government. My friends of Turkish background are absolutely furious because it’s the first time migrants can make their voices heard at a very high political level and expose their grievances and their arguments, but they have to dress up in religious garb if they want to do so. And I think it is very important to be very clear, especially with Muslim communities which are much less institutionalized than other forms of faith, that people...
are first and primarily individuals that can address the body politic or their government in ways they wish to, not in ways that others ascribe to them.

Is immigration influencing and changing religion in the United States?

Dr. Peggy Levitt, Wellesley College

Religion is changing within our society. [Unlike] traditional separation of church and state, for many immigrants religion and culture are … coterminous … [They have] simultaneous [political, cultural] memberships enabled by religious communities …

We need to think outside the Christian box…that you go to a building where there is a book with a leader at the front (usually a male).” This is not necessarily how others see their faith. We also need to look not only at who goes, but who stays … such as the issue of social remittances … Religion matters in terms of sending and receiving (local, national, and supranational).

Dr. Richard Land, Southern Baptist Convention

Many of the people coming to this country are from countries where the growth of Christianity is exponential, as University of Pennsylvania Professor Philip Jenkins has shown in his research. By 2030, the majority of Christians will be in the global South, so these immigrants do and will have an effect [on religious communities] in the U.S.

Are there religious freedom issues associated with the experience of immigrants to the U.S. and Europe?

Dr. Richard Land, Southern Baptist Convention

Serving on the U.S. Commission for International Religious Freedom, we’ve had extensive conversations with others...about “cults.” And ultimately, after a pretty vigorous debate, we made what I consider to be an extremely wise decision as a nation, and that was that we weren’t going to criminalize belief, we were going to criminalize behavior, that it was illegal to kidnap someone whether you were doing it for the purposes of selling them Tupperware or for the purposes of trying to brainwash them in to your cult. You couldn’t hold people against their will. You could believe in polygamy, you just couldn’t practice it in the United States, that it was against the law to have more than one wife at a time. And I think that’s the best way to protect. Certainly government has a responsibility to protect its citizens.

Bishop Nicholas DiMarzio, Bishop of Brooklyn

I think the problem you describe is one of proselytism and not evangelization. Proselytism has all those negative connotations because it’s using coercion and force to make people adapt their religion and then forcing them to go out and be proponents of it… It’s misusing something that is good which happens often. How much governments can get involved, that becomes another issue because again the whole premise of the United States is the separation of church and state is
that religions can be safe from government not the
other way around, and that's part of how I think we sur-
vive here. We make sure that religion is not interfered
with by the government.

Michael Werz, Institute for the Study of
International Migration

I also wanted to give you one example from Germany
that shows what you get if you start outlawing certain
forms of expressing religious belief. Within that entire
debate about Muslims in our society, there was a law
being pushed through one of the state assemblies in
the south of Germany that was outlawing teachers to
wear veils. And I called the people that pushed for that
legislation and asked how many cases do you have?
And they said none. So it was a preemptive law against
anyone who could come up with the idea to teach a
class of students in a veil. At the same time they did
not outlaw crosses or kippas? You have to understand
that in Germany, to a certain degree in France, and
certainly in Italy and Spain, it is a political currency
to establish religious differences along the lines of
ostracizing the minorities. The entire discussion about

the EU membership of Turkey, reading between the
lines and knowing the context, can be read as a cipher
for the continental European societies' difficulty com-
ing to terms with their relatively limited diversity by
American standards.
About the Luce/SFS Program on Religion and International Affairs

Religion is a critical but neglected factor in world affairs. The Henry R. Luce Initiative on Religion and International Affairs, announced in 2005, seeks to deepen American understanding of religion as a factor in international policy issues. The Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University is the recipient of a two-year grant that funds the Luce/SFS Program on Religion and International Affairs, implemented in collaboration with the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University.

The Luce/SFS Program focuses on two thematic areas: religion and global development and the religious sources of foreign policy. Luce Foundation support enables innovative teaching, research, and outreach activities in both areas, as well as innovative publications and web-based knowledge resources.

PEOPLE

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR
Thomas Banchoff
Associate Professor, Department of Government and School of Foreign Service
Director, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs

Professor Thomas Banchoff, Berkley Center Director
THE EDMUND A. WALSH SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE

Founded in 1919 to educate students and prepare them for leadership roles in international affairs, the School of Foreign Service conducts an undergraduate program for over 1,300 students and graduate programs at the Master’s level for more than 700 students. Under the leadership of Dean Robert L. Gallucci, the School houses more than a dozen regional and functional programs that offer courses, conduct research, host events, and contribute to the intellectual development of the field of international affairs. In 2007, a survey of faculty published in Foreign Policy ranked Georgetown University as #1 in Master’s degree programs in international relations.

THE BERKLEY CENTER

The Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, created within the Office of the President in March 2006, is part of a university-wide effort to build knowledge about religion’s role in world affairs and promote interreligious understanding in the service of peace. The Center explores the intersection of religion with contemporary global challenges. Through research, teaching, and outreach activities, the Berkley Center builds knowledge, promotes dialogue, and supports action in the service of peace. Thomas Banchoff, Associate Professor in the Department of Government and the School of Foreign Service, is the Center’s founding director.

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM), founded in 1998, is part of the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and affiliated with the Law Center at Georgetown University. ISIM focuses on all aspects of international migration, including the causes of and potential responses to population movements, immigration and refugee law and policy, comparative migration studies, the integration of immigrants into their host societies, and the effects of international migration on social, economic, demographic, foreign policy and national security concerns. ISIM also studies internal displacement, with particular attention to the forced movements of people for reasons that would make them refugees if they crossed an international border. Susan Martin, Donald G. Herzberg Chair in International Migration in the School of Foreign Service, is the Institute’s director.
This paper is part of a series of reports that addresses the impact of religion on the foreign policies of key states around the world. These reports explore emergent issues, such as the mobilization of religious groups around foreign policy, the intersection between religion, migration, and foreign policy, and the politics of international religious freedom.

**About The Berkley Center Religious Literacy Series**

Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service
301 Bunn InterCultural Center
37th & O Streets, N.W.
Washington, DC 20057
202.687.5696
http://sfs.georgetown.edu

Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs
3307 M Street NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20007
202.687.5119
http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu

The Luce/SFS Program on Religion and International Affairs
http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/luce-sfs

Copyright 2009, Georgetown University.