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2 Flows and Dams: Rethinking Categories for the Study of Transnationalism

The authors of this volume offer a number of rich case studies about religion, space, and transnationalism in Asia and Africa. For most contributors, *network* is a key category, though some also employ other terms that have been influential in the past few decades. My modest contribution is to reflect on those categories, surface the underlying metaphors, and ask how future researchers might modify their interpretive language to attend to the broken transnational connections, consider the links between time and space, and recognize the interplay between cultural and biological forces.

Turkish Muslims in Berlin

To ground that abstract analysis, a case study might help. Let me start – and conclude – by thinking about Turkish Muslim migrants in Germany. I began doing so in fall 1984, when I toured a Turkish school in Kreuzberg, West Berlin. It's a memory that I've returned to over the years as I have tried to understand transnational spaces.[1] Those Turks had come as "guest workers" between 1961 and 1973, and when an undeclared civil war broke out in Turkey in 1984, asylum seekers followed, settling in that working-class neighbourhood adjacent to the Wall, which had its transnational sites – Turkish cafes, video stores, Koran schools, and courtyard mosques.[2] I had visited with a delegation from a US university that was invited by a group in West Berlin. Our hosts fondly remembered the US

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1 My description of Turkish migrants in West Berlin here and below relies on multiple sources, including the following: S.T. Vierra, *Turkish Germans in the Federal Republic of Germany: Immigration, Space, and Belonging, 1961–1990*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, especially pp. 163–192; W. Kil and H. Silver, "From Kreuzberg to Marzahn: New Migrant Communities in Berlin", *German Politics and Society* 24 (2006) 4, pp. 96–100; P. Gupte, "Germany's Guest Workers", *New York Times*, 19 August 1984. I am grateful to my research assistant Danae Jacobson for help with the research for this chapter.

2 On the periods of Turkish migration and the changing conditions in Turkey and Germany, see T. Faist, *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000, pp. 60–95. Faist suggests that 21,900 Turkish asylum seekers arrived in Germany between 1983 and 1985, constituting two-thirds of all Turkish refugees to Western Europe in that period (see Table 3.1).

"raisin bombers" and John F. Kennedy's 1963 speech but worried about being forgotten by American educators.[3] We were given tours of West and East Berlin, from schools and government offices in the West to art museums, opera houses, and military outposts in the East, including a terrifying lecture by the jittery, Reagan-hating officer who supervised the soldiers stationed at the 300 watch-towers on the eastern side of the Wall.

It was a time when lingering Cold War anxiety mixed with rising hostility to-wards Muslims. President Ronald Reagan had just been re-elected, and Germans ridiculed his "Star Wars" defence system designed to intercept Russian missiles: the cover of *Der Spiegel* that greeted me at a Ku'damm newsstand that November pictured Reagan as Darth Vader.[4] It was also only five years after the Iranian Revolution, which had darkened European attitudes towards Muslims, including the 119,000 Turks in West Berlin, where one out of four schoolchildren was for-eign-born in 1984. And a global recession had spiked local unemployment. In turn, West Berlin's vice-mayor condemned Muslim "guest workers" who were failing to integrate, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl was offering foreigners money if they returned home. It was a tense moment.

I boarded my return flight convinced that the jittery officer would soon start World War III, but what I remember most vividly was a conversation in a social science class filled with second-generation, teenage Turks. The Wall was visible just outside the second-story classroom window (Figure 1.1). We had questions for each other. The students wanted to know if I voted for Reagan and watched the TV show *Bay Watch*. Because their curricular unit was about the Civil Rights Movement, they also wanted to know about race relations. I'm not sure what they thought of my answers, but I was surprised by their answer to my question: "What about that Wall, the one right there outside your window? Does it trouble you?" They looked at me quizzically, as if I were asking about breathing, some-thing not worth mentioning. They didn't really notice it, they said. I asked again, using different phrasing, and the answer was the same. I was shocked. That re-sponse stayed with me as I returned to my formal study of transoceanic circula-tions in the Pacific World and later, as I traced movements up and down the Western hemisphere and back and forth across the Atlantic. It reminded me to attend to all features of the migrant experience, including those that are harder to see: video stores renting Turkish movies, prayer rugs imported from home,

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3 The sponsoring group was called the *Internationale Lehrerkonferenz*. When I asked our hosts why they invited us and what I could do to reciprocate, they said, "Don't forget us." They then went on to recount their fond memories of American support after World War II and communi-cated their worry that they would be isolated.

4 Cover, "Waffen für den Krieg der Sterne?", *Der Spiegel*, 12 November 1984.

Figure 1.1: Turkish Berlin women and children on Leuschnerdamm in Berlin-Kreuzberg. In the background, the Berlin Wall spray-painted by graffiti artist Indiano, 1989/90 © Stadtmuseum Berlin | photo: Ergun Cağatay.

mosques hidden in residential courtyards, and, of course, walls of all kinds. Years later I came to see how institutions and technology, as well as the transported religious practices, mediated their experience and transformed the landscape. I learned that resettlement attempts could be slowed and migrant flows could be blocked – by harsh popular attitudes as much as by tall political barriers. First-generation Turkish migrants who arrived by train or walked across Checkpoint Charlie were aware of the barriers. After 1961, it was hard to miss the Wall, and by 1984 those Muslims had noticed how Germans' attitudes had turned against them, even if some barriers became commonplace, almost invisible to the school-age children.

After I returned, I couldn't decide what theoretical language to use to describe what I saw and heard in that neighbourhood, and I put aside thinking about Berlin's Muslims as I finished my degree and left for my first academic job. But I didn't forget my questions about transnationalism. I went on to study Japanese missionaries from a transnational organization who created a transnational space, the first Jodo Shinshu Buddhist temple in San Francisco. I studied Mexican migrants who transformed the streets of a small US town into a transnational space

with a public procession for the Virgin of Guadalupe on her feast day, and Filipino migrants who built an oratory in Washington DC to recall their homeland and claim their place in the capital. I spent five years doing fieldwork at a Miami shrine with Cubans who had fled by plane or escaped by raft.

Categories for Translocative Analysis of Religion

The guiding categories and root metaphors of my theory of religion emerged from my study of that Cuban Catholic shrine. The Miami exiles I met during five years of fieldwork at the Shrine of Our Lady of Charity, which honours Cuba's national patroness, seemed preoccupied with where they were and where they used to be. They wept as they told me about their former lives on the island, and they grinned as they imagined their return from exile. As I argued in *Our Lady of the Exile*, their *diasporic religion* was *translocative*, terms I coined to make sense of what I found during fieldwork: religious rituals, narratives, institutions, and artefacts propelled them back and forth between the homeland and the new land.[5] Standing at the Shrine – and at the feast day mass in a downtown stadium – I began to discover a vocabulary, formulate a theory, and craft a definition.[6]

As I understand them, religions are "*confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and suprahuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries*".[7] This definition draws on aquatic metaphors in order to emphasize movement, avoid essentialism, and acknowledge contact. Each religion, then, is a flowing together of currents – some institutionally en-forced as "orthodox" – traversing channels, where other religions, other transverse confluences, also cross, thereby creating new spiritual streams. Religions cannot be reduced to economic forces, social relations, or political interests, but always emerge from the swirl of transfluvial currents, as both religious and non-religious streams propel religious flows. These flows are also "organic-cultural", in my view, so I invoke the hyphen to suggest that both biological and cultural processes are at work. Religions are processes in which institutions (the state, the temple, and the family) bridge biological constraints and cultural mediations to produce

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5 T.A. Tweed, *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

6 T.A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006. I applied my understanding of "translocative analysis" to the study of Buddhism in T.A. Tweed, "Theory and Method in the Study of Buddhism: Toward 'Translocative' Analysis", *Journal of Global Buddhism* 12 (2011), pp. 17–32.

7 Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, p. 54 (emphasis added).

reference frames that draw on superhuman agents (gods, spirits, or bodhisattvas) and imagine an ultimate horizon of human life (Amida Buddha's Pure Land or the Kingdom of God). It is the appeal to suprahuman forces and an ultimate horizon that distinguishes religion from non-religion, in my view, though it can be useful to classify practices and artefacts on a continuum. Some cases – for example, Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction Programs – might fall between the poles of the fully secular and the fully religious.

All this helps us understand what religion *is* and even how we might identify quasi-religious practices; but how does religion *function*? I suggest, first, that religion "intensifies joy and confronts suffering". Religions involve emotion as well as cognition. They not only interpret and ease suffering – disease, disaster, and dislocation – but also provide ways for humans to imagine and enhance the joys derived from encounters with the natural world and transitions in the lifespan, from birth to death. Religions, in other words, are about enhancing wonder as much as wondering about evil.[8]

Second, shifting to spatial metaphors, I suggest that religions "make homes and cross boundaries".[9] Religions are about finding one's place (dwelling) and moving across space (crossing). As dwelling, religions include spatial practices that orient devotees in time and space, situating them in four *chronotopes*, or time-spaces: the body, the home, the homeland, and the cosmos. Religions function as watch and compass. But they make sense of the nomadic as well as the sedentary in human life and involve another spatial practice: crossing. Religions enable and constrain corporeal, terrestrial, and cosmic crossings. They mark and traverse the boundaries of the natural terrain, as with pilgrimages and missions, and the limits of embodied life, like illness and death; but they also chart and cross the ultimate horizon, whether that final crossing is imagined as transport or transformation, as ascending to heaven or attaining enlightenment.

Assessing, Creating, and Modifying Categories

I created new terms and adapted others to make sense of moving and settling. I added *confluences* to the scholarly conversation about *flows* to capture the inter-causality of religious and non-religious forces. I conjoined an emphasis on *dwelling*, or place-making, with the usual focus on itinerancy. I then repurposed a term Bakhtin used in literary interpretation, *chronotope*, and amplified

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8 Ibid., pp. 69–73.
9 Ibid., pp. 73–77.

its meanings to add a temporal dimension to spatial analysis.[10] I suggested we talk about *time-spaces*, and proposed new categories, recommending that we attend to the *translocative* and *transtemporal* practices that propel devotees back and forth in time as well as space. Viewing the temporal as entangled with the spatial, I argued that translocative religious rituals, narratives, and artefacts were also retrospective and prospective, returning adherents to an imagined past or situating them in an imagined future. All these categories were employed to interpret the religious life of those Cuban exiles.

Yet I hoped they might also make sense of movements in other times and places. But which categories would be most useful for interpreting those Turkish Muslims in Berlin and for future research about transnational religious spaces in Asia and Africa? As I argued in a 2002 article called "On Moving Across", and as the sociologist Peggy Levitt has suggested more recently, despite all the cross-disciplinary attention to religion and transnationalism "scholarship on religion needs better tools to capture how people, ideas, and objects circulate". Indeed, we also need better tools to capture how the displaced – including migrants and missionaries – create distinctive spaces in the new land.[11]

Scholars of transnationalism have employed different terms, with varied underlying metaphors.[12] Those categories are not true or false, only more or less useful for a particular researcher's purposes. Each term has advantages and disadvantages. James Clifford proposed *travelling* as his key metaphor, and Anna Tsing suggested we speak of *movements*, both in the sense of social movements and the circulation of products, ideas, and people.[13] Some favour Deleuze's analogy, the *rhizome*, a continuously growing underground stem that, unlike tree roots, puts out *lateral* shoots at varying intervals and, thereby, creates a series of

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10 M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981, p. 84.

11 T.A. Tweed, "On Moving Across: Translocative Religion and the Interpreter's Position", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 70 (June 2002) 2, pp. 253–277; P. Levitt, "Religion on the Move: Mapping Global Cultural Production and Consumption", in: C. Bender, W. Cadge, P. Levitt, and D. Smilde (eds.), *Religion on the Edge: De-Centering and Re-Centering the Sociology of Religion*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013, chap. 7, p. 172.

12 For criticism of the scholarship, see P Levitt, "What's Wrong with Migration Scholarship? A Critique and a Way Forward", *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 9 (2012) 4, pp. 493–500. I agree with Levitt's claim that the scholarship often "assumes that boundedness, rootedness and membership in a single national, ethnic or religious group are the natural order of things" and "does not take culture seriously enough."

13 J. Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997, p. 7; A. Tsing, "The Global Situation", in: X. Inda and R. Rosaldo (eds.), *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*, Malden: Blackwell, 2002, p. 475.

lines that connect any point to any other point.[14] Other interpreters discuss religious *assemblages* that form across space or the *creole or hybrid* forms that emerge from cultural mixing, what I called *traces* and *confluences*. Some authors in this volume use the term *assemblages*, and others talk about *travelling* or employ my language about *translocative* devotion. The categories that appear most frequently are *network* and *flow*, so let's assess those; but, while we're at it, let us also consider two other terms that inform the broader scholarship – *web* and *transnational social field*.[15]

But first we need to propose standards for assessment. How would we decide which terms are most adequate? The most basic criterion is that the chosen category prompts generative questions and allows the interpreter new angles of vision. Let me also propose five more specific criteria, though the final judgment of a term's utility will depend on the researcher's specific aims.[16] For me, an adequate category for the study of religion and transnationalism should, first, emphasize dynamism – negotiate "the mobility turn" – while also accounting for constraints on movement, symbolic, political, and environmental barriers.[17] Second, a useful term should illumine religion's role in both moving and place-making, mobility

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14 G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p. 21; Levitt, "Religion on the Move", pp. 161–162.

15 Scholars have analysed the metaphors of web, network, and transnational social field. See T. J. Steigenga, M.A. Vásquez, and P.J. Williams, "A Place to Be: New and Old Geographies of Latin American Migration in Florida and Beyond", in: *A Place to Be: Brazilian, Guatemalan, and Mexican Immigrants in Florida's New Destinations*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009, pp. 209–226. Some have argued for clearer distinctions among the terms transnational social fields, networks, and cultural flows: N. Glick Schiller, "Theorizing about and beyond Transnational Processes", in: M. Cervantes-Rodriguez, R. Grosfoguel, and E. Mielants (eds.), *Caribbean Migration to Western Europe and the United States: Essays on Incorporation, Identity, and Citizenship*, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009, p. 29. See also O. Sheringham, "A Transnational Space? Transnational Practices, Place-Based Identity and the Making of 'Home' among Brazilians in Gort, Ireland", *Portuguese Studies* 26 (2010) 1, pp. 60–78.

16 I have not formulated these criteria before, but I have discussed the following five points in several books, chapters, and articles, including *Crossing and Dwelling*; and T.A. Tweed, "Following the Flows: Diversity, Santa Fe, and Method in Religious Studies", in: P.C. Phan and J.S. Ray (eds.), *Understanding Religious Pluralism: Perspectives from Religious Studies and Theology*, Eugene: Pickwick, 2014, pp. 1–19.

17 I have argued this in "Following the Flows", but I also take this to be one of Faist's points: T. Faist, "The Mobility Turn: A New Paradigm for the Social Sciences", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (2013) 11, pp. 1637–1646. Some suggest we should distinguish between symbolic and social boundary-making: M. Lamont and V. Molnar, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences", *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002), p. 168. Scholars have distinguished the linguistic turn, cultural turn, spatial turn, and others. I discussed the "quotidian turn", the shift to considering ordinary people and everyday life. See T.A. Tweed, "After the Quotidian

and locality. In other words, it should encourage us to also celebrate "the spatial turn".[18] Third, an adequate category should lead the scholar to attend to human agency, individual action and collective labour, as well as geographical setting and social structure. Fourth, researchers should not presume the nation state as the unit of analysis, and our terminology should encourage us to trace bidirectional and multiscalar circulations, following the flows where they go. Fifth, a category should discourage mono-causal explanations and inspire the scholar to consider the full range of intersecting forces – religious, political, legal, economic, technological, psycho-physiological, and ecological – including by focusing our attention on the biological as well as the cultural.

Applying those criteria, each of the most widely employed interpretive terms has some insights and blind spots. Influential scholars in science studies and media studies have advocated *network* as most useful. Bruno Latour has argued, for example, that it is "more supple than the notion of a system" and "more historical than the notion of structure".[19] The lexical definition of *network* suggests it refers to a manufactured object in which the intersecting lines, the threads or wires, are interlaced like a net.[20] A fishing net seems to be the root metaphor. Whether network is used to describe communications, corporations, computers, or transregional spiritual institutions, it usefully highlights interconnection. However, the term can signal stasis more than motion. Also, human agency can be minimized in the root metaphor's emphasis on fixed impersonal structures, though "social network analysis" since Stanley Wasserman and Katherine Faust's book of that title provides resources for attending more fully to human actors. Those authors defined a network as a finite set of actors connected by a set of ties, and in

Turn: Interpretive Categories and Scholarly Trajectories in the Study of Religion since the 1960s", *Journal of Religion* 95 (July 2015) 3, pp. 361–385.

18 I made this point in Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*. James Clifford talked of "routes and roots", and another scholar of migration used the phrase "mobility and locality" to make a similar point, though neither of them have sustained interest in religion: J. Dahinden, "The Dynamics of Migrant's Transnational Formations: Between Mobility and Locality", in: R. Bauböck and T. Faist (eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories, and Methods*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, pp. 51–72; J. Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997. I talked about space and place in T.A. Tweed, "The Interdisciplinary Study of Geography and Religion: A Pragmatic Approach", *Relegens Thréskeia: Revista de Pesquisas e Estudos em Religião* 3 (2014) 2, pp. 1–27.

19 M. Castells, *The Rise of Network Society*, 2nd edn, vol. 1, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000; B. Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 3.

20 "Network, n. and adj.", *Oxford English Dictionary*, OED online, 3rd edn, September 2003.

their account actors, and not institutions, serve as its nodes.[21] In a recent formulation that might be adapted to the transnational study of religion, an interpreter of "advocacy networks" suggests we understand them as "a structure of relations in which actors are embedded".[22] That term "relation" helps focus on interaction, and the word "embedded" points to context. The problem, however, is that the use of *structure* unwittingly obscures motion. Network could be expanded to include neural networks, but, to mention another weakness, it still calls to mind non-biological referents, whether those are political, commercial, or technological. As the chapters in this volume show, network seems most helpful in describing the interpersonal bonds of affiliation within a religious organization and the interconnected worship spaces within a transregional movement.[23] Yet it is still difficult to feature collective labour or highlight motion.

The term *web*, which some scholars use, captures the fibrous connective strands involved in transnationalism. The dictionary definition suggests either a fabric woven on a loom, a tapestry, or, more often, an intricate pattern of silk filaments spun by a spider, a spider's web.[24] Clifford Geertz used the spider analogy in his 1973 definition of culture – "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" – and many symbolic anthropologists and religion scholars later relied on that metaphor, though the analogy's use increased precipitously after Tim Berners-Lee's 1989 proposal for the "world wide web", which he imagined as an interlinked space for information management.[25] The spider web referent offers advantages: the labour of the web-maker is preserved and the natural world is included. Both uses of the term convey the complexity of connections. Yet this grounding metaphor refers to a finished product, a crafted artefact, and not the dynamism of an ongoing process of construction. There also seems to be no obvious way to identify how the connective threads can break.

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21 S. Wasserman and K. Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 20. For a lucid description of their model, and a helpful revision of it, see J. Hadden, *Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 42–44.

22 Hadden, *Networks in Contention*, p. 40. See also A. Mische, "Relational Sociology, Culture and Agency", in: J. Scott and P.J. Carrington (eds.), *Sage Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2010, pp. 80–97.

23 See M. Vásquez, "Studying Religion in Motion: A Networks Approach", *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 20 (2008), pp. 151–184.

24 "Web, n.", *Oxford English Dictionary*, OED online, 3rd edn., June 2017.

25 C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, p. 5; T. Berners-Lee's original proposal can be found at "History of the Web", World Wide Web Foundation, https://webfoundation.org/about/vision/history-of-the-web/ (accessed 5 December 2018).

Transnational social field, a category proposed by Nina Glick-Schiller in 1999, refers to "an unbounded terrain of interlocking [personal] networks" that is "more encompassing" than the chain of egalitarian or unequal relationships specific to an individual, because it includes the "social, economic, and political processes" that "embed" migrant populations in two or more nation states.[26] The fields, she suggests, are "networks of networks that stretch across the borders of nation-states".[27] Scholars have visually and conceptually represented these fields in different ways, including as a Venn diagram, to illustrate the ways that migrants' transnational activities create an overlapping social field between the sending country and receiving country. The term transnational social field can invite attention to both agency and structure, though the foregrounding of the "social" obscures the psycho-physiological processes of the embodied person and natural processes in the wider environment. If we emphasize flows that connect the nodes, the interpreter can try to highlight movement, but since *field* still implies a bounded space, usually understood as a sending and a receiving country, it also provides less help to those hoping to de-centre the nation state and attend to bidirectional and multiscalar circulations.

Flow is another popular category, and one that I have used. The original meaning of the noun *flow* referred to the movement of water, as in a river, though it came to be applied to air and electricity. It was popularized in the eighteenth century to discuss the circulation of capital, as in money-flow, and talk of "global cultural flows" surged in the 1990s.[28] This term has some advantages. *Flow* clearly

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26 N. Glick-Schiller and G.E. Fouron, "Terrains of Blood and Nation: Haitian Transnational Social Fields, "*Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (1999) 2, p. 344. I am indebted to the analysis of the term's uses in J.L. Molina, S. Petermann, and A. Herz, "Defining and Measuring Transnational Fields", Working Paper 12–16, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (2012), pp. 9–14, http://www.mmg.mpg.de/publications/working-papers/2012/wp-12-16/ (accessed 4 December 2018). For the term's use in interpreting religion, see P. Levitt and N. Glick-Schiller, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society", *International Migration Review* 38 (2004) 3, pp. 1002–1039. See also P. Levitt, "Redefining the Boundaries of Belonging: The Transnationalization of Religious Life", in: N. Ammerman (ed.), *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 103–120. For a geographical perspective, see L. Kong and O. Woods, "Mobile Bodies, (Im)mobile Beliefs? Religious Accord and Discord as Migratory Outcomes", *Social Compass* 65 (2018) 2, pp. 153, 155, 158–160.
27 N. Glick-Schiller, "Transnational Social Fields and Imperialism: Bringing a Theory of Power to Transnational Studies", *Anthropological Theory* 5 (2005), pp. 439–461.
28 A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, p. 33. For the early usage of "flows" and a persuasive critique that suggests we foreground "work", see A. Sedgewick, "Against Flows", *History of the Present* 4 (2014) 2, pp. 143–170. Many others have used flows as a central interpretive term. For sociologists

suggests movement, and if the implied analogy is rivers, it opens up possible attention to human biology and environmental setting, as well as providing language for analysing how religious movements change over time and are modified by contact. It also offers another advantage for scholars of migration: aquatic analogies are used in hostile everyday speech in English and German, with references to the "wave of refugees" (*Flüchtlingswelle*) or the "flood of foreigners" (*Ausländerflut*).[29] Yet the term *flow* also has shortcomings, at least in terms of our criteria: it implies that personal agents are swept along by forces beyond their control, thereby obscuring human labour, and it suggests that those flows are uninterrupted. The category does not encourage the researcher to notice how the flow of migrants can be blocked or redirected – for example, as the Turkish guest workers were constrained in West Berlin by policies, attitudes, and walls. Nor does it help us analyse how Mormon missionaries in Germany were alternately permitted and restricted, from their first arrival in 1852 to the end of Cold War limitations after 1989.

I'm not suggesting we abandon any of those terms, of course. I suggest only that it would help to consider the implications of metaphors, anticipate objections, and modify categories. For example, the most popular terms do not easily account for how transnational transit stops or shifts, a process that several chapters in this volume explore. Yet there are ways around that conceptual difficulty for scholars who use movements, field, web, flow, or network as their guiding image.

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of religion advocating it, see R. Wuthnow and S. Offutt, "Transnational Religious Connections", *Sociology of Religion* 69 (2008) 2, p. 211. They also point to the complexity of flows, as I do, by noting their type, duration, and speed.

29 For example, this contribution to a "readers' forum" talks about "*der Ausländerflut nach Deutschland*": "Leserforum; Leserforum", *Frankenpost*, 10 July 2018, https://advance-lexis-com.proxy.library.nd.edu/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:5SS5-4SF1-JDHD-W045-00000-00&context=1516831 (accessed 5 December 2018). I am grateful to Oliver Freiberger for helping me think about the use of aquatic metaphors in describing migrants in German and English: e-mail to the author, 21 November 2018. For a helpful attempt to count the migrants and map the flows, see G.J. Abel and N. Sander, "Quantifying Global International Migration Flows", *Science* 343 (28 March 2014), pp. 1520–1522. On the religion of migrants, see Pew Research Center, "Faith on the Move: The Religious Affiliations of International Migrants", 8 March 2012, http://www.pewforum.org/2012/03/08/religious-migration-exec/ (accessed 5 December 2018).

Movements and Friction

Anna Tsing's work might help. She has suggested we employ the term *friction* to describe "the imperfect connectivity" between the local and global and different cultures and actors.[30] That friction, she suggests, both impedes and generates movement. In that sense, it can be "creative". So, if movement is your chosen category, perhaps pair it with an accompanying term: talk about movement *and* friction.

Hard and Soft Structures

If you prefer transnational *social field*, you might want to refine your usage by referring to "harder" and "softer" social structures within that field, as the geographer Lily Kong proposes, noting that some host cultures have "thicker, more impenetrable boundaries" that require more compromises by the newcomer.[31] That won't solve all conceptual problems, but it can help.

Webs and Broken Threads

If you prefer to talk about a transnational *web* of connections, you could use analogies taken from the World Wide Web or creatively tease out the implications of the metaphor of the spider web. Two physicists have developed a "model for the mechanics of spider webs" and introduced a vocabulary we might borrow.[32] They note that there are radial and spiral threads in an orb web. Those spider-crafted orbs have remarkable "elasticity" and high "damage tolerance". At the moment of completion those dense webs are "free of stress concentrations", areas where there is a danger of broken "threads". But sometimes the stress concentration becomes too great and threads fray or break. If you favour this web metaphor,

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[30] In her earlier work, Tsing suggested we talk about "movements", which apparently meant travel across land: Tsing, "The Global Situation", in: X. Inda and R. Rosaldo (eds.), *The Anthropology of Globalization: A Reader*, Malden: Blackwell, 2002, p. 475. She later suggested we also talk about "friction": A. Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

[31] Kong and Woods, "Mobile Bodies", p. 160. Kong and Woods refer to both "webs of connection" (pp. 152, 159–160) and "social fields", though the latter seems to be their more central term (pp. 153, 155, 158–159).

[32] Y. Aoyanagi and K. Okumura, "Simple Model for the Mechanics of Spider Webs", *Physical Review Letters* 104 (2010) 3, 038102, pp. 1–4.

perhaps you might describe the "threads" in the transregional web, analyse levels of "damage tolerance", and map the "stress concentrations". Then tell the reader how some connective "threads" broke in that migrant community or mission outpost.

Flows and Dams

If you think my notion of *translocative flows* is useful for your research, we can improve that category by pairing it with another term, *dams*. Correcting my early emphasis on flows, I now think we should talk about dams *and* flows. Let me explain. The kinetics of crossing is mediated not only by transportation and communication technology but also by institutional structures. All space is striated, marked by the traces of social power wielded by institutional actors and their legal and moral codes. There are no unimpeded flows. The flows – of people, things, and practices – are propelled, compelled, and blocked, directed this way and that, by institutions. Extending the aquatic metaphor to explain how institutional power – as well as individual agency – is at work, we might say that institutions channel and regulate flows, functioning like a dam.[33] In those sorts of engineering

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[33] For this clarification and expansion of my theory, I am indebted to many readers and audiences in the United States, Canada, Japan, and Europe. Some suggested that I reconsider institutional power (especially Bruce Lawrence, Kim Knott, and Manuel Vásquez), so did those I met during lectures or conferences in London, Turku, and Tromsø. It was during another conference session dedicated to the theory's implications for scholars of the history of Christianity that Marie Marquardt suggested that "the religious institutions that shape religious flows look more to me like retaining walls, levies, and dams that divert flows, and that create great pools of stagnant water." Michael Ostling then added a related suggestion: that I consider "the analogy of valves or filters". Michael Osling to the author, 15 November 2010, electronic mail. I learned more in a discussion about my theory with graduate students enrolled in a seminar taught by Michel Desjardins at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo. My colleague Perin Gurel reminded me that dams sometimes spring a leak. With these helpful suggestions in hand, I have researched how dams and valves work, and I draw on that information in my analysis here. My understanding of dams was informed by a number of studies, including P. T. Milanovič, "Dam Engineering and Its Environmental Aspects", in: R.A. Meyers (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Sustainability Science and Technology*, New York: Springer, 2012, pp. 2788–2804; and F. Constança et al., "Riverscapes Downstream of Hydropower Dams: Effects of Altered Flows and Historical Land-Use Change", *Landscape and Urban Planning* 153 (2016), pp. 83–98. Some authors have used "dams and flows" metaphorically for a very different purpose: T. Milstein et al., "Dams and Flows: Immersing in Western Meaning Systems in Search of Ecocultural Reflexivity", *Environmental Communication*, 2018, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17524032.2018.1423626 (accessed 15 June 2019).

systems, walled structures divert the water's direction and 'control valves' modulate its rate of flow. A large organization – the state or a corporation – usually constructs and maintains the dam, yet that collectivity also authorizes a particular person to turn the valve and control the flow, even if sometimes the unexpected happens when the wall springs a leak. Similar processes are at work, I suggest, as institutions, including nation states, the United Nations, or non-governmental agencies, modulate religions' flows. It's important for scholars of transnationalism to notice this – and, so, to attend to the ways that power is enacted and not only the ways that meaning is made. This talk of dams as well as flows helps to explain compelled and constrained crossings.[34]

Networks and Nodal Disruptions

If *network* is the key term, as for many contributors to this volume, it can help to seek terminology that accounts for moments when nodes become disconnected. That scholar of advocacy networks talks about "network tensions", "communications breakdowns", and varying degrees of "connectivity", where some nodes are harder to reach than others.[35] Scholars who rely on the analogy with communication technologies might talk about fast, slow, and lost connections; those foregrounding linked organizations might talk about "nodal disruptions".

Towards New Paired Categories

It can help to pair categories, as with my use of *crossing* and *dwelling*. The theme of *crossing* highlights human agency, since it invites us too look for the embodied beings moving across; and dwelling, or emplacement, calls us to notice where the crossers lived before and where they live now. I still think those categories are useful, but let me propose two other possible paired terms that scholars of transnationalism might consider.

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34 In terms of the suggestions I made in "Following the Flows", which lists ten methodological principles, two of my proposed guidelines seem relevant: note how technologies "channel religion's aquatic, terrestrial, and virtual flows" and how institutional structures "regulate religious flows, functioning like a dam." Tweed, "Following the Flows", p. 15.
35 Hadden, *Networks in Contention*, pp. 43–58.

Mapping and Memory

First, as we notice how culture, economy, and politics impact transit, let's not forget that migrants and missionaries are embodied persons. In my theory of religion and my entry on "Space" in *Critical Terms in Material Religion*, I noted the brain's role in spatial orientation.[36] That seems important for keeping the focus on biological processes. There are six defining features of space for those who study religion, I had argued: space is differentiated, kinetic, interrelated, generated, and generative. All those features also characterize *transnational* space, and crucial for our purposes are the ways that transnational spaces are *generated* by embodied beings. Spatial orientation comes into being through embodied perception, figurative imagination, and ritual practice. It always begins with bodies, biologically constrained and culturally coded selves. Those transnational spaces are co-produced by embodied selves interacting with sensorial environments encountered through sound, touch, taste, smell, and sight. That interaction begins with the brain and an allocentric (or object-centred) reference frame. Drawing on the hippocampus as well as culturally transmitted symbols, the creation of transnational spaces involves neurons firing and cultures coding. The displaced imagine those spaces as near and far, and as connected with the homeland.

This focus on how brains work reminds us that spatial navigation and memory processes are linked. The hippocampus, the seahorse-shaped area underneath the cortex, plays a role in both spatial sensing and episodic memory.[37] Long-term memories are indexed by the spatial location of the original event, whether the devotee was walking in a street festival or kneeling at home to pray. Studies show that even if the landmarks are taken away, the mental and affective associations remain. The feel for the event's space and time isn't lost when the site is distant. Scholars of transnationalism need to attend to hippocampal neurons firing to understand the hold of the homeland and the persistence of the past. Even more than I realized when I proposed this in my 2006 theory, the piety of the displaced

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36 T.A. Tweed, "Space", in: S.B, Plate (ed.), *Key Terms in Material Religion*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, pp. 223–229; Idem, *Crossing and Dwelling*, pp. 91–95.

37 There are many studies that support this point. For an accessible summary, see J.M. Groh, *Making Space: How the Brain Knows Where Things Are*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014, pp. 189–201. See also J. Lisman et al., "Viewpoints: how the hippocampus contributes to memory, navigation, and cognition", *Nature Neuroscience* 20. (2017) 11, pp. 1434–1447; B. Gauthier and V. van Wassenhove, "Cognitive mapping in mental time travel and mental space navigation", *Cognition* 154 (2016), pp. 55–68; C.E. Connor and J.J. Knierim, "Integration of Objects and Space in Perception and Memory", *Nature Neuroscience* 20 (2017)11, pp. 1493–1502.

is irrevocably transtemporal as well as translocative. We might lose sight of that unless we focus on the psycho-physiological processes of the displaced devotee.

Habits and Habitats

Second, we also need to attend to nature as well as culture as we refine our understanding of the new land, the locale where the displaced stay temporarily, like a refugee camp in Bangladesh, or permanently settle, like a migrant neighbourhood in Berlin. At this moment when refugees are on the move and climate change is having an impact, scholars of transnational religion urgently need to widen their gaze to include the environment. We need to green transnational studies.[38] We need a conceptual frame that illumines the ecology of itinerancy and place-making and adds new guiding metaphors and interpretive categories. We can begin that shift, I suggest, by adapting niche construction theory.[39] This shift might yield new paired categories, like *habits* and *habitats*, that encourage us to consider the biological and the cultural.[40] With these as our guiding terms, perhaps we might be more inclined to acknowledge the habituated ways of feeling, thinking, and doing formed by religious practice, including religion's role in place-making. Those categories seem to account for agency and structure, as they also prompt us to document religion's positive and negative effects on the regional biosphere, as well as the local landscape that devotees inherit, modify, and bequeath.[41]

Communities use what I call *figurative tools* – analogical language like metaphors, symbolic actions like burials, and special buildings like temples – to

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38 On "greening" fields and subfields, see S.D. Fassbinder, A.J. Nocella II, and R. Kahn (eds.), *Greening the Academy: Ecopedagogy through the Liberal Arts*, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012.
39 I argued for the utility of niche construction theory in: T.A. Tweed, "On Narratives, Niches, and Religion: A Response to Jonathan Marks", *Philosophy, Theology, and the Sciences* 3 (2016), pp. 183–187.
40 Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* also has some uses, and it includes some of what I mean here, but his understanding of *habitus* as a "system of dispositions" that "functions as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions" is more grounded in class structures than ecological niches, and, despite his protests, Bourdieu's scheme seems more economically determined than how I imagine *habits* and *habitats* interrelating. P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 72–73, 82–83, 85–86. For an analysis of a "moral Muslim habitus", see D. Winchester, "Embodying the Faith: Religious Faith and the Making of a Moral Muslim Habitus", *Social Forces* 86 (2008) 4, pp. 1753–1780.
41 On the related terms "biosphere" and "bioregion", see C. Glotfelty and E. Quesnet (eds.), *The Biosphere and the Bioregion: Essential Writings of Peter Berg*, London: Routledge, 2015.

transform the local ecology and construct an imagined world. In this sense, religion is about making a dwelling place or, to borrow a new term from the evolutionary biologists, constructing a niche.[42] Humans' ecological-cultural niches are more complex than those of other animals – think of beaver dams – and religion's figurative tools have done some of that work of clearing the ground and making a world. Humans' niches or habitats also can be transported, a crucial point for those of us interested in transnationalism. Migrants have carried niches and created new ones by combining the cultural materials they brought from afar with those they found nearby. In fact, much of religious history has involved transoceanic and transcontinental migrants doing just that.

Niches also have been stressed, even "cracked", to again use the scientists' language; and religion has both exacerbated and eased those crises of sustainability. Problems haven't arisen only when climactic conditions changed or residents depleted food sources. The term *sustainability*, as I'm using it, has a broader meaning. Most simply, a habitat is sustainable when the dynamic interplay between the community, its way of life, and the environment allows residents to meet "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[43] Those "needs" – or conditions for flourishing – are intellectual, emotional, and social as well as ecological. For a habitat to be fully sustainable, my recent research has led me to believe, it must provide renewable

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42 I introduced the notion of "figurative tools" in Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, p. 68. I discussed dwelling, or homemaking, on pages 80–122. See especially pages 74–75, 82–84, 97, 112–113, 223 n.14. In that work, I talked about dwelling places and habitats, but I have also found the cross-disciplinary conversation about "niche construction" helpful. See F.J. Odling-Smee et al., *Niche Construction: The Neglected Process in Evolution* (Monographs in Population Biology, vol. 37), Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003; K. Laland and M.J. O'Brien, "Niche Construction Theory and Archeology", *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 17 (2010), p. 305. On the implications of niche construction theory for the study of religion, see J. Bulbulia, "Meme Infection or Religious Niche Construction? An Adaptationist Alternative to the Cultural Maladaptationist Hypothesis", *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 20 (2008), pp. 67–107; B.G. Purzycki and R. Sosis, "The Extended Religious Phenotype and the Adaptive Coupling of Ritual and Belief", *Israel Journal of Ecology and Evolution* 59 (2013) 2, pp. 99–108; W.E. Paden, "Tracks and Themes in a Shifting Landscape: Reflections on 50 Years of the Study of Religion", *Religion* 43 (2013) 1, pp. 94–97. The anthropologist Agustín Fuentes offers a simple definition of niche construction: "the building and destroying of niches by organisms and the mutual dynamic interactions between organisms and environments". A. Fuentes, *Evolution of Human Behavior*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 260.

43 This definition of sustainability is taken from a report issued by a group created by a UN resolution in 1983: *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future*, April 1987, p. 16 (paragraph 27), http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf (accessed 25 November 2018).

resources, meaning and purpose, safety and health, equity and productivity, and as much individual freedom and political participation as the common good permits.[44] So, culture – and religion in particular – plays a crucial role. How a migrant group and the host society deals with resources – and imagines economic and political life – depends, in part, on how devotees use stories, artefacts, and rituals to understand themselves, their homeland, their new land, and their place in the wider universe. In turn, habitats can become stressed if some needs go unmet and can become increasingly unsustainable if multiple challenges converge.[45]

This broader notion of sustainability – and the talk of making and breaking niches – can help us analyse transnationalism by providing language for discussing how those who stayed and those who moved experienced transitions, especially crisis moments when habitats became less stable. The focus on sustainable habitats also reminds us that dwelling, or efforts at place-making, have sometimes been linked with crossing, or the movement of people. Ancient migrants resettled after climate change caused crops to fail, for example, and Africans and natives regrouped after colonists displaced communities and destroyed niches. Colonists of European ancestry "removed" indigenous peoples and restricted them to "reservations", just as itinerant missionaries evangelized natives in stressed habitats like the mission and pious planters enslaved Africans on the

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44 I rely on this notion of sustainability in my forthcoming history of religion in the lands that became America, a volume under contract from Yale University Press. As J.L. Caradonna, *Sustainability: A History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 1–20 notes, the most common model of sustainability, which was endorsed by the UN World Summit in 2005, is a Venn diagram of the "three Es" – environment, economy, and equity. A newer model emphasizes the centrality of the environment; it represents economy and equity as nested inside the wider circle of the environment. My model builds on this second one but adds more factors. My understanding of the conditions for flourishing aligns with lists generated by some development experts and UN documents, including the UN's 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the UN's 2015 list of seventeen *Sustainable Development Goals*. See The United Nations, *Sustainable Development Goals*, adopted by the United Nations, 25 September 2015, http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/ (accessed 25 November 2018).

45 Odling-Smee et al., *Niche Construction*, pp. 420. On "cracked" niches, see also K.N. Laland, J. Odling-Smee, and M.W. Feldman, "Niche Construction, Biological Evolution, and Cultural Change", *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 23 (2000), pp. 131–175; I. Kuijt and A.M. Prentiss, "Niche Construction, Macroevolution, and the Late Epipaleolithic of the New East", in: A.M. Preintiss, Ian Kuijt, and J.C. Chatters (eds.), *Macroevolution in Human Prehistory: Evolutionary Theory and Processual Archaeology*, New York: Springer, 2009, pp. 263–265.

plantation.[46] Despite those obstacles, the displaced often managed to recreate a meaningful habitat, though always within the dispiriting constraints of violence and inequity. Industrialization also spurred movement and transformed landscapes – and required resilience from the countryside farmers and transnational migrants who sought ways to flourish materially and spiritually in grimy factory towns and crowded urban neighbourhoods in the nineteenth-century. And that process has continued to the present, when we have begun to see "climate refugees", and environmental degradation threatens to push more poor migrants to flee their natal place, as at the nine locales identified in one recent study – including the dust bowl of Lake Chad.[47]

Back to Berlin

Even if you are not fully persuaded by my evaluation of categories or my suggestions for new language, I hope you agree that self-consciousness about scholarly language – and this trek through the terminological thicket – can help. It can prompt new questions and provide new angles of vision. In fact, this categorical fussiness has helped me see things I originally overlooked about those Turkish Muslims in Berlin, and about the nature and function of transnational spaces.

Attending to embodied cognitive processes and natural environmental forces has broadened and refined my thinking. Our discussion of the neural processes involved in mapping, which is conjoined with memory, helps me explain the migrants' *geopiety*, or attachment to the natal landscape.[48] It reminds me why the pull of Turkey was so strong for those I met in Berlin, and why it's still strong, if we believe opinion polls that suggest many feel more Turkish than German and have considered returning home, at least before the recent political changes there.[49] Attending to how flows are redirected by dams has reminded me to

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46 I refer here to the Americas. As Nugent points out, all four migrant receiving nations in the Western hemisphere – the US, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina – "carried out Indian removal policies of greater or less harshness" during the nineteenth century. W. Nugent, "Four New-World Migration Targets: Some Comparisons", *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 42 (1997) 3, p. 393.

47 C. Argos, *Climate Refugees*, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2010.

48 The geographer John K. Wright coined the term "geopiety" to describe the religious dimension of the attachment to the homeland. J.K. Wright, "Notes on Early American Geopiety", *Human Nature in Geography: Fourteen Papers, 1962–65*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966, pp. 250–285.

49 D. Crossland, "German Turks No Longer Feel Welcome", *The National*, 31 August 2012, https://www.thenational.ae/world/europe/german-turks-no-longer-feel-welcome-1.355979

attend to power differentials. There were more walls than the one I was obsessed about, which the students hardly noticed. I'm reminded to observe other barriers, educational, political, and economic. Thinking about dams and friction, broken threads and nodal disruptions, and conditions for sustainable habitats can focus attention on social problems: too many Turkish students drop out, get diverted from the college track, and don't earn a living wage. Back then, the housing conditions in that decaying neighbourhood were terrible. In the mid-1980s, 21 per cent of Turkish residences in West Germany didn't have a bathroom and 42 per cent didn't have central heating.[50] And of course, as "guest workers", they didn't enjoy the political participation or economic equity that full sustainability requires. That 1984 neighbourhood, in my terms, was a stressed habitat.

The talk about habitats also reminds me of something I'd forgotten – that the Green Party had just won government seats the year before I visited, and it was much discussed that fall.[51] Thinking about the urban habitat can prod us to consider the history of environmentalism in Germany, where policies and practices have been better than in most nations, even if scholars suggest climate change is having its effects there, and Germans have been slow to give up the automobile or abandon their faith in fossil fuel.[52] Thinking with and through the terminology about habitats can also prompt us to wonder if the surge in refugee resettlement and the concomitant rise of Islamophobia has made the Turks' contemporary urban niches less sustainable, and if their homeland's changing political climate with its reduction of democratic liberties alters the neural networks and weakens the cognitive bond with the homeland for some in Berlin, for example, those who protested the Turkish president's 2018 visit.[53]

(accessed 1 December 2018); "German Turks Still Rooted in the East: Study", *DW Akademie*, 24 July 2018, https://www.dw.com/en/german-turks-still-rooted-in-the-east-study/a-44799929 (accessed 2 December 2018).

50 P. Fernandez-Kelly, "The Unequal Structure of the German Education System: Structural Reasons for Educational Failures of Turkish Youth in Germany", *Spaces Flows* 2 (2012) 2, pp. 93–112. See especially the table on page 109.

51 On "the most successful Green Party in Europe", see W.T. Markham, *Environmental Organizations in Modern Germany: Hardy Survivors in the Twentieth Century and Beyond*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2008, p. 4. See also E.G. Frankland, "Parliamentary Politics and the Developments of the Green Party in West Germany", *Review of Politics* 51 (1989) 3, pp. 386–411.

52 Markham, *Environmental Organizations*, pp. 4–5; T.M. Lekan and T. Zeller (eds.), *Germany's Nature: Cultural Landscapes and Environmental History*, New Brunswick: Rutgers, 2005.

53 The Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan made a three-day visit to Germany in September 2018. As some have noted, "transnational ties and local attachment can be complimentary", so it is not an either-or question of having or not having ties. It can be both, though in differing degrees. Sheringham, "A Transnational Space?", p. 77. On more recent migration, see "The Growth

Thinking about making and breaking transnational connections and raising and lowering barriers to integration can help us analyse how Turkish transnational spaces have changed since 1984. We might distinguish, I suggest, *spaces of outreach* and *spaces of refuge*, those about seclusion and those about spectacle.[54] Turks made few collective ventures into public space beyond their neighbourhood in 1984. However, in the intervening years, streets have become sites of spectacle, public display, and not just ethno-religious seclusion, as in pre-unification Kreuzberg. Turkish Muslims now make ritual claims on civic space in street parades, as in Turkish Day celebrations, which one scholar suggests have become transnational festivals for a multicultural World City, rather than ethno-nationalist celebrations in the German capital.[55] Of course, Turks in Berlin also make claims on civic space through architecture. In 1984, many transnational religious spaces were hidden from view or blended in the cityscape, including those mosques cloistered in courtyards. Many mosques in contemporary Berlin are still found in repurposed buildings, warehouses or churches. Yet some buildings boldly assert Islamic presence. For example, consider the Şehitlik Mosque, built in 2001 on a historic Turkish cemetery I hadn't noticed during my earlier visit.[56] The organization that sponsored that Sunni mosque is directly linked with the Turkish state, and the Turkish architect who designed its white dome and twin minarets deployed seventeenth-century Ottoman architectural idiom. The exterior design and organizational ties allow second- and third-generation Turks to strengthen the threads of connection with the homeland. Yet, with the mosque's twice-daily tours, that diasporic space of refuge also functions as a

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of Germany's Muslim Population", Pew Research Center, 29 November 2017, http://www.pewforum.org/essay/the-growth-of-germanys-muslim-population/ (accessed 2 December 2018).

54 Although I focus on worship spaces below, we should acknowledge that the home and the threshold spaces surrounding it also function as diasporic spaces where place-making happens. On the home and Turkish migrants, see B. Bilecen, "Home-making Practices and Social Protection across Borders: An Example of Turkish Migrants Living in Germany", *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 32 (2017) 1, pp. 77–90.

55 L. Soysal, "World City Berlin and the Spectacles of Identity: Public Events, Immigrants, and the Politics of Performance", Migration Research Program at the Koc University, Istanbul, Research Projects 2005–2006, www.mirekoc.com (accessed 1 December 2018). See also "Turkish Day in Berlin", *DW* [*Deutsche Welle*], 26 May 2002, https://www.dw.com/en/turkish-day-in-berlin/a-543933 (accessed 1 December 2018).

56 My interpretation of this building is indebted to E. Becker, "Tour-guiding as a Pious Place-making Practice: The case of the Sehitlik Mosque, Berlin", *Annals of Tourism Research* 73 (2018), pp. 81–90. Becker also persuasively argues that the tours function as place-making activity for the guides.

space of outreach, a site where bilingual guides try to counter European misperceptions of Islam.

Finally, the careful attention to categories can lead us to wonder if the new ritual and architectural claims on public space have altered Turkish Muslims' attachment to the homeland and sense of belonging. Surveys say many residents of Turkish descent still feel estranged, and want to return, but I wonder if things could improve. Could changes in the built environment, like one planned structure, the House of One, make a difference?[57] Could this tri-faith worship space, which will be erected on the foundations of the historic St. Peter's Protestant church and near a government building, make some Turkish Muslims feel closer to the centre of German civic life? Supported by both government and private funds, that structure will be in central Berlin, where the medieval city was founded, where civic and spiritual life flourished, and where the bomb-damaged Protestant church stood until it was demolished in 1964. Citing Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Martin Luther King, the planners of the House of One express lofty aims for the reclaimed site – to create peaceful relations between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The winning plan calls for three distinct worship spaces – a church, mosque, and synagogue – which lead up a staircase to shared higher ground, thereby signalling that civic participation and interfaith cooperation won't require giving up distinctiveness. At the same time, that domed central space, called the House of Learning, invites adherents of monotheistic faiths and Germans of no faith to seek shared values. Maybe the interactions will help: a survey found that Western Europeans who know a Muslim are more likely to have positive opinions.[58] It's not clear what Berlin's non-Abrahamic communities, like the Vietnamese Buddhists, or those who attend the city's migrant churches – Nigerian Pentecostals, Korean Presbyterians, and Polish Catholics – will think of that civic-religious structure.[59] To complicate things, German Turks apparently are

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57 I relied on multiple sources for my analysis of this building, including G. Hohberg and R. Stolte (eds.), *Das Haus der drei Religionen*, Berlin: DOM publishers, 2013. "House of One", https://house-of-one.org/en (accessed 1 December 2018). A copy of the "Charter for a Partnership of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam" [2011] as well as press releases, local newspaper stories, and other documents can also be found at *Berliner Historische Mitte*, http://www.berliner-historische-mitte.de/petriplatz.html (accessed 1 December 2018).

58 S. Gardner, "In Western Europe, Familiarity with Muslims Is Linked to Positive Views of Muslims and Islam", Pew Research Center, 24 July 2018, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/07/24/in-western-europe-familiarity-with-muslims-and-islam/ (accessed 2 December 2018).

59 On Vietnamese Buddhists in Berlin, see G. Hüwelmeier, "Bazaar Pagodas: Transnational Religion, Postsocialist Marketplace, and Vietnamese Migrant Women in Berlin", *Religion and Gender* 3 (2013) 1, pp. 76–89. On the Vietnamese and belonging, see Su, Phi Hong. "'There's

divided about one Muslim organization that donated to the project because it is linked with Fetullah Gülen, the US-based Turkish cleric accused of supporting Turkey's failed coup, though most German Christian leaders and government officials have defended him.[60] That controversy might lead many to stay away, but will some of Berlin's Muslims – including the descendants of those guest workers – see the House of One as a place for them, a site where they might help build up a sustainable civic niche and tear down another wall, one that's just as high and even more visible? Time will tell. But whatever happens with Turkish Muslims and the built environment in Berlin, we need to continue to refine the categories we use to understand transnational religious spaces.

No Solidarity' Nationalism and Belonging among Vietnamese Refugees and Immigrants in Berlin", *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 12 (2017) 1, pp. 73–100. Vietnamese religion in Berlin is very complex and includes even Pentecostal congregations. On that, see G. Hüwelmeier, "Female Believers on the Move: Vietnamese Pentecostal Networks in Germany", in: G.T. Bonifacio and V.S. M. Angeles (eds.), *Gender, Religion, and Migration: Pathways of Integration*, Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2010, pp. 115–132. On Berlin's migrant churches, see B. Dümling and H. Sommerfeld, "Neue Gemeinden hat die Stadt: Migranten, Migrationskirchen und interkulturelle Gemeinden", in: H. Sommerfield (ed.), *Mit Gott in der Stadt: Die Schönheit der urbanen Transformation*, Marburg: Francke, 2016, pp. 407–424. See also "*Migrationskirchen in Berlin*", http://www.migrationskirchen-in-berlin.de (accessed 2 December 2018).

60 M. Adam-Tkalec, "House of One in Berlin: Unterstützt der Bund mit der Gülen-Bewegung ein 'geheimes Netzwerk'? *Berliner Zeitung*, 29 November 2018, https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/house-of-one–unterstuetzt-der-bund-mit-der-guelen-bewegung-ein-geheimes-netzwerk-31669072 (accessed 3 December 2018). On the press coverage of the Gülen movement, see also N. Conrad, "In Berlin, Inside a Gulen 'Lighthouse'", *DW*, 12 December 2016, https://www.dw.com/en/in-berlin-inside-a-gulen-light-house/a-36806245 (accessed 3 December 2018); G. Köhne, "Turkey's Gulen Movement on the Rise in Germany", *DW*, 13 July 2018, https://www.dw.com/en/turkeys-gulen-movement-on-the-rise-in-germany/a-44652895 (accessed 3 December 2018). For a positive scholarly assessment, see G. Barton, "The Gülen Movement, Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama: Progressive Islamic Thought, Religious Philanthropy and Civil Society in Turkey and Indonesia", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* (2014), pp. 1–15. A more nuanced interpretation by someone with insider contacts suggests that Gulenists see their leader as the *Mahdi*, who will save the Islamic world, and they played a role in the coup attempt, though it is also true that they have been involved in interfaith activities, as in Berlin. See M. Akyol, "Who Was Behind the Coup Attempt in Turkey?", *New York Times*, 22 July 2016, A27, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/22/opinion/who-was-behind-the-coup-attempt-in-turkey.html (accessed 3 December 2018). The author of that opinion piece, hardly an extreme voice, also wrote *Islam without Extremes: A Case for Muslim Liberty*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2011.