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Source: *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Summer 2016), pp. 315-351

Published by: Sage Publications, Inc. on behalf of the Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43948925>

Accessed: 11-04-2025 14:09 UTC

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*The Politics of Migration, Church, and State: A Case Study of the Catholic Church in Ireland*¹

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This article investigates the ways in which a shift from post-colonial nation building to neoliberal state restructuring has shaped church and Irish state relations regarding migrant welfare. It develops the extensive work of Bäckström and Davie (2010) and Bäckström et al. (2011) on how majority churches in European countries are reclaiming a social welfare role as the state relinquishes this responsibility: first, by examining the domain of migrant welfare which is not developed in their work; and second, by arguing that majority church pro-migrant service provision, as it has evolved in recent decades, can be understood in relation to an emergent neoliberal mode of collective responsibility for migrant welfare. It suggests that in spite of other factors and forces that undermine Irish Catholic Church authority, the marketization of more domains of life in the first decades of the twenty-first century has given new significance to Catholic Social Teaching and pro-migrant church initiatives.

INTRODUCTION

The topic of migration has been addressed by modern Catholic Social Teaching (CST) since the early twentieth century. It has also been a central concern for European and US Catholic Bishop's conferences in recent decades as the church attempts to find ways of ministering to mobile members and intervening in the politics of migration for the "common

¹Thank you to the three *IMR* reviewers and to Ide O'Carroll for helpful feedback on earlier versions of this article.

[Minor typographical changes have been made to this article since it was first published.]

good.” And, although church-based pro-migrant organizations have played a significant civil society role over the past century and more, there is much evidence across Europe that they are taking on new significance. However, for states and academics, the relevance of religion or religious organizations to migrant welfare is approached differently in Europe and the US. While a considerable body of scholarship highlights the role of religious communities in integrating migrants in the US (Herberg 1960; Dolan 1975; Levitt 2001, 2007; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2002), religion has tended to be greeted with suspicion and seen as an obstacle to migrant integration in Europe (Foner and Alba 2008). This divergence is accounted for in relation to the relative secularization and more limited religious pluralism of European states (Casanova 2008; Foner and Alba 2008), but also with regard to the increasing public presence of Islam in Europe which is seen as threatening the secularity and supreme authority of the state, civic citizenship (Statham et al. 2005), and liberal norms.

However, the relationship between the state and religion in Europe is more complex than this juxtapositioning suggests. For example, Bäckström and Davie (2010) and Bäckström et al. (2011) demonstrate the ways in which majority churches in eight European countries are reclaiming a social welfare role as states relinquish this responsibility in the move toward market-oriented neoliberal modes of governance. As their work does not address the Irish context and attends only in passing to migrant welfare, this article extends and deepens their analysis by focusing on migrant welfare initiatives undertaken by the majority Catholic Church in Ireland. These church initiatives are located within civil society, which Bäckström and Davie define as “all those activities that take place between the state and the individual or family” (2010, 11).

The article further develops their analysis, first, by highlighting the interplay of church and state notions of membership, and second, by arguing that the “alternative values” promoted by majority church welfare provision (Bäckström and Davie 2010), although frequently articulated as oppositional, can also line up with the neoliberal welfare reform agendas that make individuals and communities responsible for their own welfare. Indeed, mounting evidence of new social arrangements involving faith-based and religious organizations as central agents in the integration of migrants in many European states (Beaumont 2008a,b; Cloke, Williams, and Thomas 2009; Silvestri 2009; Permoserm, Rosenberger, and Stoeckl 2010; Petterson 2010; Gray 2013a,b,c) can be seen as part of “a shift in the social conventions that organize collective moral responsibilities” (Muehlebach 2013b,

300). This trend is related to the emergence of “a new culture of feeling and action” that proceeds from the appeal to “empathy, care and compassion” in CST and is “linked (but not reducible) to the intensification of market rule” (2013b, 300). Indeed, the articulation of pro-migrant church initiatives inspired by CST with neoliberal marketized state approaches to migration and social policy in the Irish case can be seen as a variant of an emergent pattern in Europe and beyond in which a Catholic “moral style” is coupled with a “market disposition” (Bretherton 2011a,b; BBC Radio 4, Analysis 2012; Muehlebach 2013a, 455).

Via an analysis of the migrant welfare role played by the majority (Catholic) church in Ireland over the twentieth and into the twenty first century, the article traces continuities and changes in the relationships between migration, the state, and majority religion. It argues that a state project of post-colonial nation-building that relied on church sustenance of migrant cultural nationalism in the diaspora for much of the twentieth century is being reconfigured by an early twenty-first century project of neoliberal capitalist restructuring. Following Foucault, neoliberalism is understood to involve “the overall exercise of political power . . . taking the formal principles of a market economy and referring and relating them to [and] . . . projecting them on a general art of government” (Foucault 2008, 131). As such, market rationality is imposed on the political sphere, governance practices, and citizenship. But neoliberalism extends beyond marketization insofar as it can contain the oppositional²; it folds market rationality and the moral logics of community, compassion, and solidarity “into a single moral order” (Muehlebach 2009, 495). Indeed, in the increasingly marketized sphere of migrant welfare provisioning, church organizations in the diaspora and in Ireland uniquely bring together the moral resources of love and solidarity that underpin CST with a network of volunteers and resources and a long history of work with migrants.

Although the Catholic Church aspires in its theology to be a universal, transnational institution, it is organized according to national episcopal conferences, which form a particular level of church nested in the universal church (Fitzgerald 2009). For the purposes of the discussion in

²Muehlebach develops her argument via Carl Schmitt’s essay *Roman Catholicism and Political Form* (Stuttgart: Klett/Cotta 1923) in which he develops a theory that the imperial force of Catholicism is made possible by its ability to encompass opposites by leaving “enough space for these opposites to retain the tension of oppositionality”; what Schmitt calls a *complexio oppositorum* (complex of opposites) (2009, 498).

this article, I distinguish between the Roman Catholic Church as a universal centralized institution and its national and ethnically identified manifestation as church in Ireland and abroad. While the Catholic Church is organized on an all-island basis with a single hierarchy, four provinces, and 28 dioceses, my focus is on Catholic Church pro-migrant civil society organizations in the jurisdiction of the Republic of Ireland (hereafter Ireland) and the diaspora only.

In addressing the wider significance of changing relations between the state, migrants, and the Catholic Church, this article is structured around four key themes. Reflecting these themes, the first section examines CST with particular reference to migrants and the ways in which it articulates with neoliberal reforms; the second section reviews the recent history of the Irish sending church and its transnational work in maintaining Irish cultural membership in the diaspora; in the third section, a profile of receiving church activities is presented with reference to how these can be seen as mediated by a neoliberal reworking of church–state relations; the concluding discussion identifies the ways in which relationships between the majority church, state, and migration are restructured by the simultaneous marketization of social support to migrants, and appeals to religiously motivated love, charity, and justice as promoting the “common good.” This new mode of organizing collective moral responsibilities simultaneously charges civil society with managing diversity and promoting social cohesion. This is enabled by a form of collective organization that articulates religious/secular values of compassion and solidarity with neoliberal values of competitiveness and calculation. The institutionalization of active citizenship, competitive tendering, and contract culture facilitate the simultaneous operation of these values.

MODERN CST AND MIGRATION

When it comes to modern CST, the accepted starting point is Pope Leo XIII’s encyclical entitled *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which was a response to the anticlericalism of the French revolution, the social effects of the industrial revolution, capitalist individualism, and the growth of communism (Muehlebach 2013a). Since then, a corpus of documents outlining the commitment of the church to the social demands of the gospel (many of which relate to migration) has become known as CST (Santos and Laczniak 2009). This teaching is underpinned by appeals to the universalism of the human family built on love (Roberts 2012). CST is supported by

four foundational principles: (1) the dignity of the human person, (2) the common good, (3) subsidiarity, and (4) solidarity (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace (PCJP) 2005). The expectation is that these principles are incarnated into practice.

The principle of “human dignity” is based on the idea that all human beings are made in the image of God, so that an inalienable and transcendent human dignity underpins human rights and the call to “love thy neighbour.” The principle of the “common good” requires the creation of conditions conducive to realizing the full potential of all individuals and groups. The autonomy of “the first relationships to arise . . . including the family, associations and local communities” (PCJP 2005, 88; see *Quadragesimo Anno* – Encyclical of Pope Pius XI 1931) is central to the principle of “subsidiarity” which resists state intervention in matters that are seen as best handled at a community or individual level. As such, the “needs” of migrants are deemed best met within the family, migrant, or faith community, and the intervention of local church organizations is seen as preferable to that of the state (Itçaina and Burchianti 2010).

The complementary principle of “solidarity” recognizes “*the intrinsic social nature of the human person, the equality of all in dignity and rights*” and human interdependence generally (PCJP 2005, 92; emphasis in original). It legitimates church advocacy, coalition building, and lobbying for the implementation of migrant rights, but also emphasizes individual responsibility for others, so that migrants are constructed as citizen subjects bearing rights in relation to each other, the state and other authorities (Itçaina and Burchianti 2010). This form of solidaristic love is motivated by charity understood both as “a paternalistic giving to the needy” and as “justice in economic and political realms” (Cima and Schubeck 2001, 218).

Questions of how to define religious community and minister to mobile members have been matters of ongoing debate within the church since the mass migration of Catholic-sending nations such as Ireland, Italy, and Central European countries mainly to the US in the nineteenth century (Simcox 1995). From the church point of view, these migrants were “religious pioneers . . . creating bridgeheads for the spread of the faith in the New World,” but needed spiritual support and help with countering anti-Catholic hostility in their new homelands (Simcox 1995, 167). A key actor in the 1880s was the Italian Bishop Scalabrini who proposed a Pontifical Congregation (or Commission) for all Catholic emigrants. His Pious Society of Missionaries of St Charles Borromeo (the Scalabrinians)

eventually formed part of “a larger social vision that understood migration as a profoundly modern international religious problem” (D’Agostino 1997, 136).³ In an attempt to reconcile Italian patriotism with Catholicism at a time of church–state animosity, Bishop Scalabrini deemed religious practice to be mediated by cultural identity and took the view that the retention of cultural identity helped to keep migrants within the Catholic flock (Vecoli 1969; D’Agostino 1997; Fitzgerald 2009). To that end, he deemed material help for migrants a priority and argued for the development of “a few large ‘colonies’ . . . so that the priests could help them and they could help each other” (Robb 1995, 186). Bishop Scalabrini’s proposals were not acted on officially until 1912 when the first Office for Migration Problems was set up within the Consistorial Congregation.⁴

As the mobility and the displacement of church members became more acute following the world wars, the church issued a number of documents relating to the administration of and ministry to migrant populations. The 1914 *Decree Ethnografica Studia* was the first to focus on migration stressing the responsibility of local churches in assisting migrants and calling for the linguistic, cultural, and pastoral training of local clergy (1914, 50, in Mullaney 2002, 39).⁵ The Apostolic Constitution, *Exsul Familia* (1952), issued seven years after World War II by Pope Pius XII, established universal regulations for the Catholic Church in providing “ethnic” ministry to immigrants and their children (Fumio Hamao and Marchetto 2004). This document “identified emigration, immigration and family reunification as basic human rights” (Simcox 1995, 168).

The achievement of unity in diversity was central to the Instruction, *De Pastoralis Migratorum Cura* (1969), in which “ethnic reality came to be a component of the pastoral care of the universal Church” and a pluralist approach to the assistance of migrants was introduced (Fumio Hamao and Marchetto 2004). This was complemented by a principle of extraterritoriality in which “the Church of origin community had ‘co-responsibility’ for migrants” (Fitz-

³The Vatican took direct control over and reformed the Pious Society from 1924 until 1951 when it regained its corporate autonomy (D’Agostino 1997, 123).

⁴The Scalabrinians now work with the poorest groups of migrants across 30 countries although most of the priests still hail from Italy (Robb 1995).

⁵Pope Pius X established a College in Rome in 1914 for the formation of young priests of the Italian secular clergy to minister to their conationals who had emigrated. They would work in foreign dioceses under a bishop who was not their proper bishop without going through excardination–incardination and so remained responsible to their home bishop (Mullaney 2002, 39).

gerald 2009, 74). As such, the coexisting authority of sending and receiving parishes over the same migrant “created a dual parish membership akin to dual nationality” (2009, 74). From the perspective of the church, however, migrant status ends with the third generation, which is seen as “naturalized” into and therefore the responsibility of the new territorial parish (2009, 74).

Church infrastructural support for the pastoral care of migrants was augmented in 1970 when Pope Paul VI established the Pontifical Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migration and Tourism. This became the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People in 1988 and is responsible for:

...all who have been forced to abandon their homeland, as well as those who have none (refugees and exiles), migrants, nomads and circus people, seafarers both aboard ship and in port, all who are away from home and those working in airports or on aeroplanes (EMCC 2004, I.31).

The pastoral initiatives for migrants promoted by the Pontifical Council are shaped by analyses of the larger social, economic, and cultural factors that structure patterns of migration. For example, Pope John Paul II recognized “the fundamental and positive role of business, the market, [and] private property” but also the “risk that a radical capitalistic ideology” poses for human welfare (*Centesimus Annus* 1991, 42). While he suggested that the church could not provide a model to counter this, he noted that “her social teaching [w]as an *indispensable and ideal orientation*, a teaching which ... recognizes the positive value of the market and of enterprise, but which at the same time points out that these need to be oriented towards the common good” (1991, 43). This common good was not to be achieved by the welfare state, which he criticized for its bureaucracy and depletion of human energies, but by neighbors and communities. Furthermore, he noted that “the condition of refugees, immigrants, the elderly, the sick, and all those in circumstances which call for assistance” require not just material responses but “genuine fraternal support, in addition to the necessary care” (1991, 48).

Capitalism, family, and the dignity of labor are all deemed necessary to the common good, although a tension arises insofar as capitalism is seen as having the potential to undermine both family and human dignity. This tension is mediated somewhat by church recognition of both the right to migrate and not to migrate (see *Exul Familia* 1952). For example, the Encyclical *Pacem in terris* (1963) affirmed the right of individuals to migrate on the basis of a right to economic initiative and sustenance of family.

Understood as an effect of the inequalities produced by uneven economic and social development, migration is seen as requiring a structural response that emphasizes both “the service of unity across social, political and cultural divisions and the defense of human rights” (*Gaudium et spes* (GS) 1965, 41–43, in Christiansen 1996, 9). This is achieved by an attitude of love and personalism, which is seen as the only proper and adequate attitude toward the person and is promoted over capitalist individualism (GS 1965, 24). Culture is also perceived as necessary to human life and defined as “the cultivation of natural goods and values” through which “full and ‘authentic humanity’” is achieved (1965, 52). As such, it is through a plurality of cultures that social life is rendered “more human both in the family and the civic community, through improvement of customs and institutions” (GS 1965, 52). In keeping with this emphasis on a plurality of cultures, GS also emphasized the need to preserve the dignity of migrants via the promotion of their spiritual care by national episcopal conferences (1965, 65–66).

Pope John Paul II’s *Laborem Exercens* (1981) also addressed the rights of the family to build a better life via migration, and his *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (1987) asserted the right to economic initiative which may lie outside one’s country of origin (Yuengert 2004). Nonetheless, the right to find opportunities to make a life in one’s homeland is also justified on the basis that migration is structured by unequal labor market access, involves a loss to the home country, and exposes migrants to moral vulnerability in the receiving country. These rights to apparently voluntary decisions to migrate or not are compatible with the Catholic notion of free will, and the peaceful and consensual distribution of resources in this way is seen as preferable to the potentially conflictual state control of redistribution (Booth 2007, 34–35). As such, migrant welfare and integration are seen as better served by the “fraternal support” available via civil society secular and church organizations than by the state.

An Instruction published jointly by the Congregation for the Religious and Secular Institutes and the Pontifical Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migration and Tourism in 1987 appealed to religious institutes and congregations for a particular commitment in favor of migrants and refugees (*Erga migrantes caritas Christi* (EMCC) 2004, III. 83). This commitment was formalized into a set of procedures in the most recent Instruction, *Erga migrantes caritas Christi*⁶, which emphasizes

⁶EMCC is based on teaching in Vatican II, interventions of the Holy See and Local Churches on Migration as well as the findings of social analyses of migration.

the importance of the migrants' mother tongue in expressing "the characteristics of their spiritual life and the traditions of their church of origin" (EMCC 2004, II. 33). This Instruction requests that "[c]hurches of departure and of arrival ... establish an intense collaboration with one another" to facilitate this expression (EMCC 2004, II. 67). It also calls for the upholding of migrants' rights as a central element of pastoral care, including the rejection of discrimination, racism, and xenophobia. Finally, EMCC sets out the "juridico-pastoral regulations" that address the tasks and roles of pastoral agents and of the various church entities in relation to the pastoral care of migrants.

The church tradition of rights as "expressions of human unity and dignity that flow from being created in the likeness of God" has existed since the early sixteenth century, but began to converge with secular political models of rights during the papacy of Leo XII in the late nineteenth century (Carozza and Philpott 2012, 18). However, it was the grounding of human rights in the dignity of the person by Popes Pius the XI and XII in the 1930s and 1940s that influenced the drafting of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948 (2012, 18). The French philosopher, Jacques Maritain, who played a key role in trying to achieve consensus around the meaning of human rights in this Declaration, identified human dignity as central to human nature, but also to "political life and human relations" (McCrudden 2008, 662). He promoted "a view of human rights that viewed rights not as espousing radical ethical individualism but rather as essential for the promotion of the common good" (2008, 662). However, difficulties in achieving the UN Declaration aims prompted Pope John XXIII to observe in *Pacem in terris* that "political life in the modern world ... is unequal to the task of protecting the common good of all peoples" (1963, 135; in Roberts 2012, 4). For Pope Benedict XVI, the preservation of human rights is motivated by love rather than politics: "love – caritas – will always prove necessary, even in the most just society. There is no ordering of the state, so just that it can eliminate the need for a service of love" (*Deus Caritas Est* 2005, 28 in Roberts 2012, 7). As such, it is the creation of the conditions for human flourishing as a basis for the common good that is a defining aim of CST. And while human rights underpin the "common good of the human family" and are undermined when economic migrants are treated "as a commodity or a mere workforce," this is a view of human rights that is underpinned by love.

The church collaborates with secular actors such as states and the UN in opposing regimes and policies that violate human rights norms (Carozza and Philpott 2012, 28). However, the limits of such collaborations arise from the position taken by the church that the “*first right is the right to life, from conception to its natural end, which is the condition for the exercise of all other rights*” (PCJP 2005, 73; emphasis in original). The convergence between Catholic and secular versions of human rights unravels in the vehement resistance of the church to the protection of women’s reproductive rights and same-sex unions, which are deemed contrary to the “common good.” For example, the severe regulation of abortion in Ireland means that most women have to travel to access it in another state which has a disproportionate impact on migrant women.

The practice of love can take the paternalistic form of charity in which “vulnerable” migrants become “objects of love, not subjects of justice,” or can be expressed through solidarity and social justice, as in liberation theology (Muehlebach 2013a, 462). Both impulses are based on calls for empathy and love and underpin the work of the Catholic Church with migrants. These Catholic ideas of human dignity and “of ourselves as compassionate beings” have become central to the increasingly invoked notion of human rights in conditions of neoliberalism (Stevenson 2013). Indeed, the promotion of universal standards implied in human rights involves “a sense of hospitality towards difference . . . [which] depend[s] upon not only a break with methodological nationalism and the acceptance of the stranger in more cognitive terms, but also on a more compassionate view of the self” (2013, 14). This extended notion of membership and the emphasis on compassion resonate strongly with the “imperatives of love and universalism for the human family” that are fundamental to CST (Roberts 2012, 3).

The continued authority of the Catholic Church and its teaching can be seen as lying in what Schmitt (1996 [1923]) called its “*complexio oppositorum* (complex of opposites)” in which conservative and radical politics are held together leaving “enough space for these opposites ‘to retain the tension of oppositionality’” (Muehlebach 2009, 498). For Schmitt, the “capacity to ‘entail its own negations’ underpinned the immeasurable strength” of Catholicism (2009, 499). While this argument is convincing in helping to understand the coexistence of conservative and radical impulses within the church, like all institutions, the church is located within wider social relations that can undermine its capaciousness. For example, the repression and intolerance of dissent by the church in Ireland in the past are particularly resented now as church authority is

undermined in the wake of recent sex abuse scandals and the inadequate response of the church to these. At the same time, however, the social effects of neoliberal individualism, instrumentalism, and marketization give renewed political purchase to Catholic Church values of love, charity, and solidarity. And, while these values seem oppositional, they can be read as working simultaneously with neoliberal economic policies in “a complex of opposites consisting of a market and a moral order” (Muehlebach 2009, 515).

In his homily on the Sicilian island of Lampedusa in memory of the many thousands of migrants who have died crossing from North Africa to Europe, Pope Francis stressed the need for responses of love and empathy: “We are a society that has forgotten the experience of weeping, of ‘suffering with’: the globalization of indifference has taken from us the ability to weep!” (*The Irish Times* 2013). Defending the rights of migrants in the current context of economic contraction and austerity, he has also expressed concern about the preservation of social stability and cohesion arising from “a fear that society will become less secure, that identity and culture will be lost, that competition for jobs will become stiffer and even that criminal activity will increase” (in Pullella 2013). It is these fears that drive EU and European state approaches to migrant integration, and appeals to religious and faith-based organizations as agents of social cohesion.

The conditions of possibility for a modern form of transnational Catholicism at the level of civil society were put in place when the church gave up its monopolistic claims and recognized religious freedom and the right to freedom of conscience as universal and inviolable, beginning with Pope John XXIII’s Encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (1961) (Casanova 1994). Pope John XXIII’s later Encyclical, *Pacem in terres*, states that “civil society exists not to confine its people within the boundaries of their nation but to protect, above all else, the common good of the entire human family and join their plans and forces wherever the efforts of an individual government cannot achieve its desired goals” (1963, 98–99). As such, CST has inspired many church-based (and initiated) civil society organizations and provides procedures, conceptions of membership, and a language of compassion and human solidarity that are not available in the same way to secular organization or to states.

The following two sections of the article address the civil society profile of Irish church initiatives on behalf of migrants as a sending church for most of the twentieth century and as a receiving church since the late 1990s. Via an analysis of local and transnational Irish church pro-migrant civil soci-

ety organizations, my aim in the following sections is to advance two lines of argument: First, that the principles of CST facilitated the extension of a culturally nationalist form of membership by the church to emigrants marginalized by the state for much of the twentieth century; and second, that these configurations of membership and of church–state relations are reworked by neoliberal state restructuring in the twenty-first century. As a unique source of compassion and social solidarity responding to the effects of state facilitated neoliberal capitalism and associated labor mobility, church organizations compete in a marketized civil society to secure contractual relations with the state and philanthropic funders. The profile of these organizations varies between pro-migrant *church-run* organizations which publicly retain their religious ethos and *church-initiated* organizations which have evolved into secularized organizations. Both categories draw volunteers from church networks and maintain channels of communication with the church.⁷

THE IRISH CATHOLIC CHURCH – A SENDING CHURCH

Following independence in 1922, a “constitutional division of labor” took place in which the new state in Ireland was responsible for political and economic matters, and the church, based on its claim to be “responsible for the moral well-being of the nation,” took charge of education, health, and social welfare (Larkin 1975, 1274). Catholic teaching on the family, education, and private property was incorporated into the 1937 Constitution (Whyte 1971), and until the 1960s, the state took on the duty of helping to “maintain traditional Catholic teaching and values” (Larkin 1975, 1274). As such, a political consensus emerged that recognized the power of the church and its prerogatives so that “it became virtually at one with the nation’s identity” (Larkin 1975, 1276). However, this consensus has come under some pressure since the 1960s with the rise of an anticlerical and liberal agenda among a secular elite (Garvin 2004). Scandals within the church since the 1990s have further undermined its legitimacy and credibility. Despite the decline in the popularity and institutional power of the church, 84 percent of the population identified as Catholic in the 2011 Census (CSO 2012), and the work of the church with migrants continues to be widely recognized and supported.

⁷Data collected as part of the University of Limerick-based Irish Research Council project “The Irish Catholic Church and the Politics of Migration.”

In providing pastoral care to emigrants, the Irish church is able to draw upon transnational ethnic church networks in English-speaking emigrant destinations established during the nineteenth century. The description of Ireland as “a mother country of many millions in ‘Ireland’s spiritual empire,’ especially in the United States and Australia,” reflects the proliferation of Irish missionary orders and societies in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Corish 1985, 237–8). Cardinal Cullen’s prediction in the mid-nineteenth century that “Catholics would convert the world-empire of Protestant England to the true Catholic faith” (Corish 1985, 195) added significance to this close “identification of race and faith” (Twomey 2003, 26) at the heart of the Irish Catholic “spiritual empire.” Beyond Ireland, Irish Catholic missionary congregations helped locate the new state on an international stage and contributed to its post-colonial identity formation as Catholic (Kenny 2004). While many individual missionaries engaged sensitively with local values and customs, the “‘missionary zeal’ of the Irish Catholic Church sometimes worked in tandem with the civilizing mission of English imperialists” as Irish missionaries contributed to the replacing of indigenous beliefs with European Christian morals and norms (Lennon 2004, 182). This history has in turn shaped the myriad global connections and flows of people, ideas, and experience that characterize the Irish Catholic Church today (Gray and O’Sullivan Lago 2011).

Alongside its missionary work, the church in Ireland identified a need to respond to the large number of emigrants leaving Ireland in the nineteenth century and since. Although modern patterns of migration began in the eighteenth century when the outflow was mainly Protestant and from northern counties (Fitzgerald and Lambkin 2008), it was in the nineteenth century that “mass” emigration commenced with no other country losing “so large a proportion of its people during the nineteenth century, or experiencing such consistently heavy emigration over so long a period” (Fitzpatrick 1984, 1). Emigration peaked around the time of the Great Famine with about two and a half million emigrating between 1846 and 1855. Most of these migrants were Catholic, young, single, and low-skilled. The United States was the destination for most, with Britain, Canada, and Australasia accounting for smaller flows (Fitzpatrick 1984).⁸ By maintaining contact with the homeland, these nineteenth century emi-

⁸Those emigrating to Australasia and Canada in the latter decades of the nineteenth century were an exception as they were more likely to claim higher level occupations and to travel as a family than those going to the US (Fitzpatrick 1984).

grants contributed to the development of “an international consciousness, as the pride in religion and nationality at home was strengthened by an awareness of a new empire of common faith and purpose beyond the seas” (Gilley 1984, 197). A key actor in sustaining this dynamic, the church “became an international agency for achieving assimilation in the new-found land while preserving a traditional apartness” (1984, 203).

Miller argues that nineteenth century emigrants to North America adopted a “traditional Irish Catholic world view that predisposed them to view themselves... as involuntary, non-responsible ‘exiles,’ compelled to leave home by forces of British and landlord oppression” (1985, 556).⁹ Although this worldview was not found in other emigrant locations, such as Britain (MacRaild 1999), South Africa, or Argentina (Harris 2009, 128), a discourse of emigrants as “unwilling and tragic political exiles” shaped the narratives of Irish nationalists (Daly 2006, 7). It is not surprising, therefore, that the ideal independent Ireland was imagined as free of emigration; an aspiration that was not to be realized as emigration persisted (with the exception of the 1970s and the latter half of the 1990s) throughout the twentieth century.

Britain replaced North America as the main emigrant destination in the 1930s due to more restrictive US immigration policy, closer labor market links, and the absence of border controls between Ireland and Britain. The 1950s (followed by the 1980s) marked a high point in twentieth century emigration with about one out of every five people born since independence and resident in Ireland in 1951, having left by the end of this decade (Breen et al. 1990, 35). At this time, assumptions of population homogeneity (as white and Catholic) made diversity and a multicultural nation unimaginable. For example, a collection of essays edited by Fr. John O’Brien addressing population decline in Ireland between 1841 and 1951 lamented the potential disappearance of “the Irish race” (O’Brien 1955). A concern with preserving an Irish identity linked to religion was emphasized by Fr. Jeremiah Newman, professor of sociology at St. Patrick’s College, Maynooth, who noted that the church should help emigrants to preserve their religious, family, and cultural integrity (Newman, *Irish Independent* 1956 in Bourke et al. 2002). Moreover, the state-

⁹Akenson (1993) argued that readings of Irish emigration as “exile” tended towards “exceptionalism” and called for a focus on overlooked aspects of the Irish emigrant story, such as the contribution of Irish emigrants to Empire, the global spread of emigrant destinations, and the significance of emigration amongst Protestants as well as Catholics.

established Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, which reported in 1956, took the view that “it would not be desirable to try to increase the population by increased immigration” (1956, 132). This position was supported by Bishop Lucey of Cork, whose minority report stated that “population increase can come about only through an increase in the birth rate or a diminution or cessation of emigration. Immigration we rule out” (1956, 335).

At this time of public anxiety about the sustainability of the country and Irish Catholic identity, the state continued to delegate matters of health, education, and welfare (including emigrant welfare) to the church. The church responded to concerns about emigration by establishing an infrastructure of emigrant support services from the middle decades of the twentieth century. The Archbishop of Dublin set up the Catholic Welfare Bureau incorporating an Emigrant’s Section in Dublin in 1942 (Daly 2006; Delaney 2007).¹⁰ Just over a decade later in 1953, the Irish Episcopal Commission for Emigrants (IECE) was established, followed by the Irish Emigrant Chaplaincy Scheme in 1957, which was to support migrants through chaplaincy services, provision of pre-emigration advice, lobbying governments, research, and proclaiming the faith (Irish Episcopal Commission for the Care of Migrants (IECM) 2012).¹¹ Pastoral care for migrants was complemented in the 1950s by a bishops’ initiative to send special envoys to Britain “to foster the Apostolic spirit among our people there, through the Legion of Mary”¹² (Newman, in Bourke et al. 2002, 582).

However, differences existed in the ways that emigration was understood by different sections of the church. Although associated with a

¹⁰The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau offered advice and assistance to emigrants from the 1940s until the 1970s, but was replaced by ‘Emigrant Advice’ in 1987 as an updated response by the Dublin Diocese to the increased rate of emigration in the 1980s. In 2008, it changed its name to Crosscare Migrant Project to reflect its work with both emigrants and immigrants. Crosscare is the Dublin Diocesan Social Care Agency of which this project is a part.

¹¹The aims of the Episcopal Commission for Emigrants in 2013 are as follows: to express the concern and care of the Irish Church for the spiritual and temporal needs of Irish people overseas in partnership with the local church; to research the ongoing needs of Irish emigrants and keep them before the Irish church; to develop and initiate services which will give practical expression to these concerns; to liaise with national and international bodies dealing with migrants and refugees’ <http://www.catholicbishops.ie/migrants/1584>. Accessed on 2 February 2013.

¹²A Catholic lay organisation formed as the Association of Our Lady of Mercy in 1921, and renamed the Legion of Mary in 1925.

“leakage’ of faith” in the hierarchical church (Fuller 2002, 44), emigration began to be addressed in terms of social needs by some members of the emigrant chaplaincy. Chaplaincy missions to building sites and hotels, and to Irish Centres in London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, responded to the poor living and working conditions of many migrants and helped shape mainstream housing and welfare services in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s (O’Shea 1985; Kennedy 2007; IECM 2012). Pastoral support was increasingly accompanied by politicized solidarity based on key principles of CST including love, subsidiarity, human dignity, and human rights.

By the 1980s, professional and non-manual workers (NESC 1991) were over-represented among emigrants, but emigration continued to act as a survival strategy for working-class and small-farming families (McLaughlin 1994). While most went to Britain and Europe, many entered the US as undocumented migrants. Those going to Britain were supported by an expanded and professionalized Irish NGO sector (supported by British local authority multicultural policies and funding) with Irish chaplains and Irish Catholic Church-run or initiated organizations working in partnership with many of these NGOs to provide pastoral and social support.

Pastoral, social, and political work with migrants in Britain was replicated in the United States and included church campaigns to regularize the status of undocumented Irish immigrants from the 1980s (Goodbody 2007, 14; O’Carroll 2008, 123–132). In the US, Irish and American Catholic bishops collaborated to establish the Irish Apostolate USA based on “the Christian imperative of caring for those who move far from the ancestral home, and welcoming the stranger as one would welcome Christ, once an exile himself” (Irish Apostolate USA 2013). Following a visit by Bishop Seamus Hegarty, Chair of the IECE in 2005, to highlight the church’s concern for the plight of the undocumented in the United States, the Irish Apostolate USA joined the US Conference of Catholic Bishops led “Justice for Immigrants” campaign.

Although playing a lesser role in the integration of emigrants abroad in the 1980s and 1990s, church initiatives combined charitable responses to migrants in need with solidarity approaches including lobbying the Irish state for recognition and funding. For example, Bishop Eamonn Casey condemned the Irish government’s meager support for vulnerable Irish emigrants:

To have pegged its aid to welfare, information and counseling services for emigrants at last year's figure of £255,000 is hardly evidence that the government regards emigration, particularly of the most vulnerable and unprepared as the critical social problem it really is. . . The Church will continue to play its part, as it has done for many years, to help and support our emigrants wherever their greatest needs are, in London, New York or Europe. (IECM 2012)

During the 1980s and 1990s, the link between faith and Irish identity was inflected more by the politics of the Northern Ireland conflict than concerns about the integrity of Irish culture and religion. Its impact on emigrants in Britain in particular was raised by Catholic Church Primate, Cardinal Ó Fiaich and prompted the establishment by the bishops of the Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas in 1984. This visible church support for Irish political prisoners abroad enabled some chaplains to become active in lobbying the Irish, British, and US states on miscarriage of justice cases.¹³ This church focus on justice for emigrants often clashed with an alternative state and media discourse of globalized mobility that celebrated the up-skilling of emigrants abroad on the basis that they would return to aid Irish economic growth and development in the future (Gray 2004). Due to the Celtic Tiger boom from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, about half of those who left in the 1980s returned and emigration in this period was redefined as a thing of the past.

But if emigration was on the decline from the mid-1990s, evidence was mounting that those who had left in the 1950s and entered casual labor market niches in Britain in particular were now retired without adequate pension and other protections. In response, the IECE commissioned a report, which called for a coherent infrastructure of policy, funding, and service provision to support these emigrants (Harvey 1999). This acted as one of two key stimuli leading to a shift in the state's position with regard to the diaspora in the 2000s. The second and more significant factor was the amendment of the constitution (following a referendum) to recognize the diaspora as part of the Irish nation following state undertakings in the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement (1998). However, when the recommendations of a government-appointed Task Force on Policy regarding Emigrants in 2001 were not acted upon, church activists (in alliance with

¹³The Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas (ICPO) was established to fulfill this prophetic role (IECE 2012). The ICPO used extensive transnational Catholic Church networks to lobby on behalf of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four, the Winchester Three, and Judith Ward.

secular groups) ensured that commitments to act were written into the Social Partnership Agreement for 2003–2005 (Sustaining Progress 2003–2005). The state response was to establish the Irish Abroad Unit (IAU) in the Department of Foreign Affairs in 2004. The diaspora was now identified by the state both in terms of a vulnerable constituency in need of funded welfare support and as a resource for national economic growth via Irish global economic networks (Gray 2012). These constitutional and infrastructural changes were instrumental in the state's development of a selectively transnational version of membership based on its perceived duty to those in need of welfare support and a project of cultivating national loyalty among economically successful sections of the diaspora. This transnationalized membership is achieved via two Irish Abroad Unit initiatives: the mobilization of "high net worth" members of the diaspora into a state-sponsored "Global Irish Network"; and the funding of support services to "vulnerable" migrants via the "Emigrant Support Programme." These new arrangements marked a shift in the balance of responsibility for emigrant welfare from the church to the state.

Bishop Hegarty (Chair of the IECE) emphasized that "the Bishops' Commission for Emigrants had sought the establishment of a body, such as this Irish Abroad Unit, to implement the findings of the Task Force Report" (Hegarty 2005). Taking the church welcome a bit further, former Director of the IECE, Fr. Alan Hilliard, identified it as an opportunity to rethink citizenship and nationhood:

A relationship with our Diaspora adds to our cultural diversity . . . The changes made to our constitution when we signed the Good Friday Agreement challenge us to think differently about citizenship and nationhood. Diaspora should not be associated any longer with loss. If we don't change our thinking, then when the undocumented situation is resolved and when the victims of mass emigration of the 50s and 60s to Britain have died we can close the book. But the moral argument that brought the Task Force into being has only brought us to the threshold of something new. (Hilliard 2007)

If responding to the diaspora provided political, economic, and social opportunities for the state in the 2000s, it also provided a moral opportunity to call for a more inclusive, dispersed, and multicultural version of national membership. Fr. Hilliard's statement above echoes former President Mary Robinson's appeal to the diversity and vitality of the diaspora as an inspiration for promoting tolerance and inclusiveness at home (Gray 2004). The Emigration Support Programme was justified on the basis that many emigrants to Britain in particular were forced to leave in

times of recession and through their substantial remittances they enabled those at home to achieve a better standard of living. Moreover, the resources afforded by the Celtic Tiger economy and state commitments under the political settlement in Northern Ireland made this form of state welfare support possible both economically and politically.

Many services in the diaspora are now funded by the Emigrant Support Programme within the IAU and are contracted to church-led or church-initiated organizations based on their track record, expertise, and efficient organization. Organizations with roots in the church and those that continue to be run by church actors span the spectrum of organizational forms, from the chaplaincies in Britain, the US, and Australia, and the Irish Commission for Prisoners Overseas whose purpose is religion, pastoral care, and welfare, to the London Irish Centre and the Irish International Immigration Center, Boston, which were initiated by church actors (alongside migrants in the case of the latter) but are now run as secular organizations with church involvement only at the level of networks and background support. The work of the chaplaincy continues to incorporate welfare work but now with essential funding from the Irish Abroad Unit's Emigrant Support Programme. In 2013, this programme was the main funder of the Irish chaplaincy in Britain with other funding coming from Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference, trusts, businesses, and friends. The chaplaincy in Britain now describes itself as "a leading and innovative charity that provides high quality services and support to excluded, vulnerable and isolated Irish emigrants in Britain" (Irish Chaplaincy in Britain 2013). Organizations working under the auspices of the Irish Apostolate in the US also receive substantial funding under the IAU Emigrant Support Programme, but such diaspora church organizations in the diaspora must now compete with other providers to obtain state funding.

The position of Catholic pro-migrant organizations vis-à-vis the state changed most dramatically in the early 2000s for two main reasons. First, emigrants and the diaspora became a target of state policy and governance, and second, the rise of tendering for service provision and calculative audit logics of accountability moved them into competitive relations with other civil society organizations and contractual relations with the state (see Goodbody 2007). As noted earlier, the relational labor of compassion, pastoral care, and advocacy undertaken by these organizations is shaped by CST and represents a unique contribution to migrant welfare. This work can be seen as helping to "recuperate and reactivate

solidarity under neoliberal conditions and create a form of living that appears not as atomized or isolated, but as intent on building social relations through acts of intense moral communion and care” (Muehlebach 2012, 7). In the past decade, the relationship of the Irish Catholic-sending church with the state in emigrant welfare has shifted from a transnational cultural and religious nation-building project to a project of cultivating a citizenship based on trans-national and trans-ethnic empathy and social responsibility. This shift enables the promotion of national social cohesion and solidarity at home at a time when the state is embracing the diaspora as a vehicle for reputational enhancement in conditions of globalized neoliberal capitalism. So while Catholicism as a marker of Irish identity is more contested than in the past, it is being made newly significant in the shaping of a transnationally responsibilized citizenry.

THE IRISH CATHOLIC CHURCH – A RECEIVING CHURCH

One effect of rapid economic growth during the 1990s was that Ireland became a country of net immigration in 1996, achieving the third highest in-migration rate across the 27 EU Member States by 2007 (Ruhs and Quinn 2009). This reversal in migration flows turned a traditionally sending church into a receiving church. At the same time, the failure of the state to recognize the membership rights of asylum seekers and economic migrants led the church to establish an uneven national infrastructure of pro-migrant services. Although this response could be seen as mirroring the church response to emigrant welfare in the twentieth century, many of these initiatives were much more rapidly and intensively marketized as large philanthropic funding foundations began to fund them based on business models of organization in the early 2000s.

The number of non-Irish nationals resident in the Republic of Ireland increased by 143 percent between 2002 and 2011, with Polish nationals making up the largest group, followed by those from the U.K., Lithuania, Latvia, Nigeria, and Romania (Central Statistics Office (CSO) 2012). Although the proportion of the population who were Catholic reached its lowest point in 2011 at 84.2 percent, the Catholic Church congregation, at 3.86 million, was the highest since records began. These demographic trends are explained by the pluralization of the religious landscape due to immigration, increased numbers identifying as “no religion” (a fourfold increase since 1991), and the fact that 8 percent of

Catholics are non-Irish. The largest non-Irish group is Polish followed by those from the UK who, between them, account for over half of all non-Irish Catholics (CSO 2012). Thus, the Catholic Church in Ireland is located in a more multifaith landscape than ever before and is itself becoming a multicultural church.

This shifting orientation of the church in Ireland was acknowledged by Bishop Hegarty at an Irish Apostolate Conference on immigration in Washington, DC in 2005 when he welcomed:

...this opportunity to learn from the American Church which has gathered great expertise as a receiving Church. Our expertise is as a sending Church. I am availing of this opportunity to reflect on our duties and obligations towards migrants who are now making Ireland their home.
(Hegarty 2005)

Yet, it was nearly 14 years after the reversal of migration flows before the Irish Bishops' Conference agreed to restructure the IECE to institutionally recognize its role in relation to immigrants. The IECE was renamed the IECM in 2008 and is now supported by two councils: a Council for Immigrants and a Council for Emigrants. The tardiness of the church hierarchy in adapting to its new receiving church status is also evident at parish level with only some parishes instigating any form of welcoming arrangements for newcomers (O'Mahony and Prunty 2007, 6). Despite calls by the church for diversity to be embraced, practices of inclusiveness and pluralism are unevenly adopted insofar as they herald the transformation of an institution that has been deeply imbricated in a national and transnational project of cultural nationalism (Gray and O'Sullivan Lago 2011).

It is at the level of civil society that the influence of the church in migrant integration is most evident. Since the mid-1990s, a new landscape of church-run and church-initiated pro-migrant organizations emerged across the country due to the initiatives of individual church actors, primarily returned missionaries and diaspora chaplains. Many of these individuals facilitated the donation of buildings and accessed seed-funding through their orders and other sources to initiate projects which were subsequently able to attract large-scale funding from philanthropic sources. Indeed, much of the national infrastructure of welfare and other social supports for migrants, as it stands in 2014, can be traced back to these initiatives. While a variety of motivations, approaches, and politics shape this infrastructure of services, and "a singular form of agency cannot be

generalized to all religious actors involved" (McDuie-Ra and Rees 2010, 21), most were inspired by CST which, as noted earlier, works in some contexts more or less in synergy with aspects of the secular global human rights agenda. Subsequently, these initiatives became subject to the agendas of state neoliberal restructuring and philanthropic foundations, which adopted funding models that combined a business ethos with human rights agendas.

Church actors tend to emphasize the "experiential capital" accumulated by a long history of Irish church activities on behalf of emigrants (and in missionary work abroad) when referring to their work with immigrants.¹⁴ A kind of relational labor of empathy is invoked that draws on this track record and CST to promote migrant integration based on principles of care, social cohesion, and solidarity. For example, Fr. Alan Hilliard states:

We are challenged now to place our story in the global perspective. We have learnt a lot that we can now pass on. We have also contributed to an understanding of the care of the migrants that needs to be acknowledged and contextualized we now have to name and insist that it is heard. As this globe tries to balance human rights with economic need, we have to share the story of the Irish migrant and in particular highlight the option for the migrant that the Irish Church was brave enough to take. (Hilliard 2006)

This balancing of the "care" of migrants with "human rights and economic need" is reinforced by state partnership with civil society organizations to achieve social cohesion through contract culture. For example, the White Paper on the Community and Voluntary Sector identified civil society organizations as "essential partners in economic and social development" (Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs 2000, 16). While this White Paper acknowledged the decline of religious (mainly Catholic Church-based) organizations, the Report of the Taskforce on Active Citizenship asserted that "organizations involved in . . . religious dimensions of Irish life," among others, have the "ability to achieve trust, cohesion and confidence in ways that governments cannot" (2007, 43). One effect of the devolving of welfare provisioning to community and religious organizations via an ethics of active citizenship is to render all "equally responsible for the common good, and the state . . . merely one 'partner' among many" (Muehlebach 2009, 500).

¹⁴Data collected as part of the University of Limerick-based Irish Research Council project "The Irish Catholic Church and the Politics of Migration."

This binding of citizens to one another via active citizenship “inserts a fantasy of moral community into the heart of neoliberal reform” (Muehlebach 2009, 504); a fantasy that is also present in the official government policy document on migrant integration which identifies faith groups and sporting organizations as key actors in promoting inclusion and social cohesion (Office of the Minister for Integration 2008). In launching a review of integration policy in 2014, the Minister named “social inclusion, equality, diversity and the participation of migrants in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their communities” as central goals (Office for the Promotion of Integration 2014). One submission to the review commission from a church-initiated NGO recommended that, among other things, “meaningful community engagement and volunteering should be further explored as opportunities for integration and active citizenship” (Office for the Promotion of Integration 2014).

The two national pro-migrant organizations – the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI – established in Dublin in 2001) and the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI – established in Dublin in 2001) – and two regional support organizations – *Nasc*: The Irish Immigrant Support Centre (established in Cork in the late 1999) and *Doras Luimní* (established in Limerick in 2000) – were initiated by Catholic clergy or religious. Yet the mission statements and objectives of these organizations include no references to Catholicism. They are funded mainly by two large philanthropic organizations and are staffed, for the most part, by lay professionals. Their inspiration in CST remains very much in the background, as they rely primarily on technical expertise in social policy, community work, human rights, legal skills, auditing, the monitoring of targets and outcomes, and financial management. Nonetheless, religious members of the church remain integral to their work via their ongoing involvement on boards, public lobbying work, and in attracting small amounts of funding via religious orders. Such secularized pro-migrant organizations in Ireland today negotiate the contested spaces between church-based founders and large philanthropic and other funders, as well as their diverse user constituencies and the state. Other organizations are more visibly church-run and work primarily with asylum seekers and refugees. These include SPIRASI (run by the Spiritans – Congregation of the Holy Spirit), the Vincentian Refugee Centre, and the Jesuit Refugee Service, all which provide a combination of pastoral care, drop-in services, legal support, and advocacy (Gray 2013b). In these organizations,

religious and religious aspects of the service are evident alongside secular discourses and practices.

Church-run and initiated services have always had a place in European welfare states including Ireland, but are now becoming key components of a market-based approach to migrant integration services (Beaumont 2008a,b). In Ireland, the Office of the Minister of State for Integration official policy document, *Migration Nation* identifies a central role for faith-based groups in migrant integration:

All of the faith-based groups have expanded the range and scope of their activities in response to the needs of newly-arrived migrants. Because of their attachment to their religious beliefs and practices many migrants look to religious authorities for information and assistance on settling in Ireland (Office of Minister for Integration 2008, 44).

This policy document goes on to propose a central role for faith groups in the integration of migrants “with a view to putting in place arrangements to financially support that aspect of the groups’ activities” (2008, 45). As such, the governance of migrant integration is framed in terms of the assumed social cohesion effect of “faith-based groups” and “religious authorities” (2008, 44). A commitment to a marketized civil society is combined with the promotion of collective well-being and cohesion via the work of such organizations. While this policy document (*Migration Nation*) is currently under review and religion is not given the same centrality in this review, the trend toward state funding for faith-based organizations in some other European countries has led to the professionalization of services, an emphasis on efficiency and the adoption of an entrepreneurial approach (Beaumont and Dias 2008, 382–383).

In the absence of state funding for pro-migrant organizations to date, two (time-limited) philanthropic foundations, Atlantic Philanthropies and The One Foundation, have funded the MRCI, the Immigrant Council of Ireland, the Irish Refugee Council, and *Nasc* and *Doras Luimní*. Although Ireland has the smallest number of Foundations per capita in Europe with only three large-scale private funders (McKinsey & Company 2009), two of these have been central to the development of church-initiated pro-migrant organizations. The One Foundation engages in “venture philanthropy,” in which “the Foundation takes a direct, assertive role in what it describes as ‘supporting grantees to reach their goals in growth and impact, including involvement in governance and manage-

ment selection” (Proscio 2011, ii). Atlantic Philanthropies is more focused on strategic direction and is concerned with “identifying opportunities for improving law and policy, and funding both expert and grass-roots efforts to bring about those changes” (Proscio 2011, 4). The One Foundation emphasizes “well-run, performance-driven organisations . . . capable of charting their own strategies” and shares the goal of “delivering measurable services to immigrant families” with Atlantic Philanthropies (2011, 4). Indeed, the overall aims of the two foundations “are now closely aligned” in the area of immigrant rights (2011, 8).

In an evaluation of how these foundations worked together in funding and reshaping pro-migrant organizations, a staff member of one organization is quoted as stating that “[w]hat defines the collaboration is the flow of information: market intelligence, access to networks, sharing of skills and expertise” (Proscio 2011, iv). An example of such a funded organization is the MRCI which was started as a drop-in centre by two Catholic nuns with funding provided by the Columban Order. Following investment by the One Foundation in 2005/2006, “MRCI moved to a more substantial, city-centre office base, and completed a strategic planning process” (O’Carroll 2013, 46). O’Carroll notes that the organization’s former Chair, Bobby Gilmore (a Columban priest), brought “a global perspective informed by experiences working in the Philippines and in the UK” with the Irish diaspora (2013, 46). The organization therefore combined a community development approach with the professionalized strategic planning and efficiency approach required by its key philanthropic funders. This combination of church initiatives with philanthropic funding in the area of migrant support facilitates a combination of competitive entrepreneurial spirit with a “moral style” that emphasizes community development, compassion, and pastoral care.

If the Catholic Church played a default role in relation to migrant welfare in the past, state policy now explicitly recognizes and promotes the role of religious organizations in migrant integration and implicitly supports such services for emigrants via its funding of chaplaincies and church-initiated organizations abroad. Services to immigrants in Ireland have been primarily funded by philanthropic organizations and Catholic Church sources to date with the state playing only a minimal funding role. As significant elements of a marketplace of services, church-run and initiated organizations in the diaspora and in Ireland engage in activities related to the “social practices of citizenship” such as social integration projects and language training (Fyfe and Findlay 2006, 22). Indeed, such

organizations are gaining increased significance as civil society actors precisely because churches and religious organizations are seen as having a track record in such activities (Lunn 2009, 943).

Noting a shift in the spirit of capitalism from a Protestant to a Catholic ethic, Muehlebach suggests that contemporary neoliberalism can be understood in terms of “an ethic that couples the market to moral sentiment, and economic rationality to the emotional urgencies of *caritas*” (2013a, 455). This “Catholized neoliberalism” involves a coexistence of “the moral neoliberal” and “the market neoliberal” that weds markets “to a specific moral form, a form hinging on a core loving subject that may also ambivalently disrupt market rule” (2013a, 456). As social cohesion and calls for compassion become matters of intense state concern in the contemporary culture of neoliberal capitalism, the moral resources of CST and the accumulated “experiential capital” of the Irish Catholic Church can give such organizations a competitive advantage. Although the moral authority of the church has been undermined by persistent scandals, and while its continued institutional involvement in education and health is actively contested, its role in migrant welfare continues to be positively regarded both in the diaspora and in Ireland.

I have argued that church–state relations with regard to migrant welfare in twentieth century Ireland enabled a lining-up of church and state cultural nationalisms based on the fear of emigrants becoming foreigners (Fitzgerald 2009) and, in more recent decades, of immigrants changing cultural and religious practices in Ireland (Gray and O’Sullivan Lago 2011). Since the early 2000s, this relationship has been reconfigured with the state adopting a more inclusive approach to the diaspora, including funding for emigrant support services abroad, most of which is allocated to Catholic Church-run or initiated organizations. With the return of net emigration since 2009, this work with emigrants has gained new momentum. Similarly, when immigration replaced emigration as the dominant migratory trend from the mid-1990s until 2009, priests and religious (most returned from missionary work abroad and the diaspora) inspired by CST principles of love, compassion and welcoming the stranger, set up services which both challenged and lined up with state restructuring agendas. As such, the social domain of migrant welfare is increasingly managed via marketized relationships between the state, philanthropic organizations, church-run, and church-initiated organizations, as well as secular groups. Neoliberal social cohesion involves the production of entrepreneurial and socially tolerant citizens and migrants. This is achieved via the promotion

of active citizenship, compassion, and partnership which are organized in a marketized and contractual relationship between the state and civil society including, and sometimes privileging, church- and faith-based organizations.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

Across Europe, a number of trends are converging to give majority churches a greater public role and to reconfigure church–state relationships. A key dynamic underpinning these trends is the ways in which market demands and neoliberal state policies stimulate and shape specific migration patterns while official discourses securitize migration and target migrants, and particularly Muslim migrants, as threatening social cohesion. One of the trends emanating from this tension is the ongoing struggle “to accommodate diverse religious minorities in a part of the world dominated by Christianity for nearly two millennia” (Bäckström et al. 2011, 157). Another trend is the expanding role “of churches in the delivery of welfare . . . partly in response to drastic reductions in state-provided welfare and questioning of assumptions underpinning post-war welfare state” (Bäckström et al. 2011, 155).

A third trend is the increasing threat to state authority from transnational sources of authority such as those of religion and the global infrastructure of human rights. In response, states attempt to balance territorialized neoliberal economic policies (that rely on the construction of certain categories of migrants) with the promotion of social cohesion. This project of social cohesion often involves both an appeal to religious and faith organizations as integrating agents and the introduction of civil integration initiatives, such as citizen tests. The latter often challenge religious norms and require adherence to liberal norms such as gender equality. So at the same time as a more religiously inflected civil society organized by partnership, competitive and contractual relationships is promoted, some countries have introduced bans on the wearing of some religious attire and restrictions to minority religious practices. The contradictions that arise here could form the basis for another article.

However, for the purposes of the article in hand, suffice to say that the trends noted above point toward a restructuring of corporatist church–state arrangements. As the literature on Islam and Muslim migrants proliferates, it is important to turn the lens back onto Europe’s Christian heritage and to question the received narrative of European sec-

ularization. The Westphalian state system loosely mapped nation states in Europe alongside relatively homogenous religions, and this relationship between state and religion continues into the present with most European states continuing to subsidize specific Christian faith denominations (Klausen 2009). The legacy of these institutional arrangements is to produce a banal Christianity which is being invigorated by the religious pluralization of the European landscape in recent decades. Research on the responses of majority churches to migration and diversity at a time of neoliberal state restructuring holds particular potential, therefore, in unraveling the changing dynamics of church–state relations.

Taking the role of the majority Irish Catholic Church in migrant welfare as its focus, this article adds to accumulating evidence that the relationship between religion and migrant welfare in European countries may be more significant than is evident in much of the literature comparing the US and European contexts. An emerging model of collective responsibility for migrant integration relies to some extent at least on a valorization of love and empathy as unique qualities of religious- or faith-based organizations which are invited to play responsibilized civil society roles. As such, the liberal conception of civil society as a sphere of contestation, conflict and deliberation, is re-organized into one of compassion-based service provision, voluntarism, competition, and contractual relations with the state and other funders. While this trend takes a particular form in Ireland, it reflects a wider shift across Europe whereby religious organizations are enlisted as “repositories of the kinds of cultural, moral and social resources vital for effecting change” (Beaumont and Dias 2008; Dinham and Lowndes 2008; Bretherton 2011a). As such, religious authority is put to work to criticize state and market authorities, but also to embed care, empathy, and responsibility as the collective responsibilities of the citizenry who should act on these as volunteers, partners, and active citizens often under the umbrella of church organizations. Social policy which previously acted as “a counterweight to unrestrained economic processes” and their unequal societal effects (Foucault 2008, 142) now works in support of economic policy to promote an “enterprize society . . . subject to the dynamic of competition” (2008, 147) and held together by the public action of religious and secular citizens.

By demonstrating the dynamics of how this moral form is taking shape in the shifting politics of migration and relations between church and state in Ireland, it is evident that the “alternative values” (Bäckström and Davie 2010; Bäckström et al. 2011) promoted by the majority Catholic Church

and its pro-migrant initiatives can actually have the effect of bolstering the impetus of neoliberal restructuring via the articulation of personal and collective values of love and caritas. This rationality of collective responsibility, based on marketized contractual relations as well as on solidarity and compassion, depoliticizes social problems and privatizes responsibility. All “differences, disagreements, conflicts and critiques are posited as enemies of healthy social relations” (Bretherton 2011a, 357). Apparently, “alternative values” themselves become resources in shaping the social arrangements emanating from neoliberal state restructuring as these intersect with the effects of European religious and cultural pluralization.

Although my aim has been to identify points of convergence between neoliberal rationalities of rule, CST, and pro-migrant church initiatives, I am not positing an internally consistent frame for conceptualizing the shift to neoliberal rationalities of rule and the changing moral and civil society role of the Catholic Church pro-migrant church organizations. Instead, my aim has been to bring attention to political resonances, convergences, and complementarities such that the apparent holding together of the values underpinning neoliberal state restructuring and Catholic values of love and empathy can be subjected to new questions about the current reorganization of collective responsibility and the implications for understanding the contemporary politics of migration. The complex interaction of church, state, and market in the domain of migrant integration poses theoretical questions that move us to the edge of received theoretical frameworks. While Bäckström and Davie (2010), Bäckström et al. (2011) and Muehlebach (2012) are important theoretical reference points for this article, more theoretical work is required to investigate the spaces and possibilities that move beyond church as either a source of “alternative values,” or appropriated into “moral neoliberal” social arrangements.

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