Religion and Migration in Zambia: Experiences of Christian Household Hosts of Migrant Youths in Lusaka's Urban Context

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Abstract

This article interrogated the experiences of Christian hosts of migrant youths in Lusaka's urban context in order to understand the interconnectedness of religious worldviews and migration in contemporary times through the prism of religion as a basis for the more personal regimes of hospitality, reception and integration of migrants. The article is informed by findings from a qualitative case study in which data were collected through interviews with 14 purposively chosen Christian families that had hosted migrant youths in Lusaka urban district. This was supplemented by document analysis in which documents were chosen based on the availability criteria. The data were thematically analysed and interpreted in light of Groody and Campese (2009)'s Christian notions of the image of God, the mission of God and the word of God in migration. It was established that the host Christian households had hosted youths who had migrated largely in pursuit of education and a livelihood in Lusaka. The study also revealed that the hosted migrant youths did not always belong to the same Christian denominations with the hosting households and neither were they always related through kinship ties. It was further established that hosting the migrant youths was shaped by Christian teachings and practices of hospitality and charity. The article therefore argues that while the discourse on religion and migration had focused on the instrumental use of religion by the cross border migrants, religion also remained a basis for accommodating and integrating the rural-urban migrant youths.

Keywords: Religion, migration, experiences, youth, and Christianity

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between religion and migration has long been established because of the realisation that migration is a carrier of religion regardless of its typology. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) provides a general but widely used definition of migration, describing it as 'a definite physical move from one location to another' and adding that "[f] or international migration the locations involved are clearly two distinct countries' (IOM, 2003: 295). The Central Statistical Office (CSO) (2015:21) also classifies migration as internal and international characterised by changes of residence within a nation and across national borders respectively. Of the four common forms of internal migration advanced by CSO (2015), the study focused on rural-urban migration, as it was the dominant form of migration and yet the most neglected in religion and migration studies as the focus had been on international migrations (Goodall, 2015; Gallo, 2014; Mutema, 2010; Chitando, 2003). At the same time, current research on rural- urban migration in Sub-Saharan Africa generally focused on economic impacts such as the distribution of remittances, or health aspects such as the spread of HIV and AIDS into the rural areas (Celnarová, 2014).

The study was situated in post independence Zambia given that the dynamics of rural-urban migration had changed over time in the country. For example, with the removal of colonial restrictions on rural- urban migration in the newly independent Zambia, rural-urban migration became dominant with the proportion of the population living in the urban centres rising steadily. Lusaka, the country's capital city also recorded a considerable influx of migrants. For example, according to the 2015 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey, Lusaka recorded the highest percentage of migration and the peak age group for migration was 20-24 (Central Statistical Office, 2015: 22-23).

Since migration often encompasses religiosity, the rural-urban migration has not been devoid of the influence of religion among the migrants in that religion is a source of identity that influences

people's ways of life (Mbiti, 1991). Hence religion through its teachings, traditions and habits remains a factor in migration. For example, Dupré (2005) posits that religion can be an important part of an individual, and even if such a person migrated to another country certain elements of faith would be carried along. In practice, this entailed that even if the migrant lost all material possessions, the religious capital would remain as part of the migrant's identity (Vwada, 2017). Amidst rapid urbanisation and migration, religion may also forge translocal connections, salve trauma, and generate the social and material capital needed to survive and, occasionally, to thrive (Knörr, 2005).

The study was also located in the broader religion and migration scholarship in order to contribute to the existing body of knowledge from the perspective of the hosting families of migrant youths in Zambia's Lusaka urban district. This was considered significant as scholarship on religion and migration had largely been preoccupied with migrants and their use of religion for resilience to help them cope with the challenges of migration (Hagan and Ebaugh, 2003), the new migrants use of churches and mosques as the primary site for building social networks (Robertson, 2012), the transformation of religion and religious communities in the context of migrants' experiences; the influence of migration on migrants' faith, practices and community formation and the role and significance of faith and religious communities in helping the migrants to cope with stress, insecurities and challenges of migration (Adogame and Weissköppel, 2005; Adogame, 2013; Hanciles, 2008; Schreiter, 2009; Stepick 2005; Uribe, 1998). In addition, studies on religion and migration had addressed how migrants used and moved with their religion (Leviit, 2007; Adogame, 2010) including how migrants replicated religious traditions at various sites of settlement as assertion of cultural and religious identity (Levitt, 2001; 2007; Huwelmeier and Krause, 2010).

Furthermore, the discourse on religion and migration had not only largely concentrated on cross border migrants and the role

of religion at institutional level, in responding to the effects of migration such as social service provision and social responsibility often associated with notions of social justice and obligation to assist those in need. For example, in the Zambian context, Chita and Mwale (2017) studied the social challenges faced by refugees and the Catholic church's social responsibility in response to the 2016 prejudiced attacks on 'Others' following the events of April 2016, when Rwandan refugees and other foreign nationals in Zambia sought refuge in a Catholic church. This was to the neglect of internal migration and the experiences of individual families that were hosting migrant youths as informed by their religious worldviews. Hence the study explored the experiences of the Christian families that were hosting migrant youths (spoken of as persons between the age of 12 and 35 who had moved from one household to the other after the initial shift from the rural area in Zambia). This was in order to show the interconnectedness of religion and migration in contemporary Zambia in relation to rural-urban migration dynamics. The article focused on the voices and experiences of Christian households because the religious demographics indicate that Christianity is the largest religion on the Zambian religious landscape (Pew Forum, 2015). Christianity was also chosen because of its growing public role in the country.. Consistent with case study research, the insights in this study were not purposes of generalisation but rather for providing in-depth understanding on how religion interacted with migration in contemporary Zambia through the experiences of the Christian households that hosted the migrant youths.

In so doing, the article hoped to make a modest contribution to religion and migration as an emerging field of scholarly interest in Zambia. As such, the possible beneficiaries of the insights drawn in this article include not only scholars of religion but also religious groups and civil society in the area of migration.

Analytical Framework

The study largely drew on theories of religion and migration that emphasize religion as a basis for the more personal regimes of hospitality, reception and integration of migrants. This tradition is primarily concerned with the response of the church to increasing visible migrant communities, and the failure of the state to adequately respond to the needs of migrants. By this, the church in migration invokes themes of hospitality (Groody and Campese, 2008), church as host and welcoming the stranger (Cruz, 2010; Mpofu, 2016), church as suffering body (Rivera, 2012), and inclusion and incorporation (Baggie, 2008). The metaphors of church or religious communities are thus characterised by unity, oneness, shared belief and at times empathy in this orientation. Groody and Campese (2008) highlighted three Christian notions - *Imago Dei* (the Image of God), the *Verbum Dei* (the Word of God), and the *Missio Dei* (the Mission of God) - that touch directly on the migration debate and help to understand that migration is at the heart of human life, divine revelation, and Christian identity. Through drawing attention to *Imago Dei*, Groody and Campese (2008) insist that Christians ought to see immigrants not as problems to be solved but people to be healed and empowered. As Frederiks (2016) observed, missiological debate seems to have focused mainly on theory-building pertaining to migrants (and especially Christian migrants).

These Christian notions of the image of God, word of God and mission of God have been used to frame studies that have investigated how church communities had responded to migration. For example, Settler (2018) delineated this orientation into two perspectives, namely; those concerned with how migrants move with, and use their religious traditions and practices, in which case the focus is on discourses of incorporation and hospitality; and migrants' use and access to churches, mosques, and other religious sites for building social networks. It must be noted that the church as host to migrants was not devoid of hostility as Mpofu (2018) revealed that the church

was both hostile (through negative statements about how migrants felt received and treated by members of the local congregations) and a home to migrants in the South African context. Informed by Reken (1999) who makes a clear distinction of the ways of thinking and speaking of the church as an institution and an organism and Berkhof (1979: 339-422) who considers the church in terms of its threefold character, as an institution, community, and its orientation to the world respectively, the study was concerned with how the individual members of the church tapped into their church teachings to host the migrant youths.

Methodology

The article is informed by findings from a qualitative case study design whose topic of inquiry was qualitative in nature and focused on the experiences of selected Christian households that hosted migrant youths in Lusaka urban district. The study was guided by the overall research question that was centred on exploring how and why Christian families were hosting migrant youths in Lusaka's urban context. In this regard, the experiences were limited to the process of gaining knowledge and skills related to the religious life of the host Christian households. The study adopted a case study design because the interest of the study was to provide an in-depth understanding (Creswell, 2007) of the host Christian households' experiences by uncovering how and why they were hosting migrant youths from their religious worldview.

Study Site

The study was conducted in Lusaka, which apart from being the capital city was also the provincial capital of Lusaka province. As of 2010, Lusaka's population was about 1.7 million, with 921 896 people aged 18 years and above (Central Statistical Office, 2011). This represented a population growth rate of 4.9% each year from the 2000 census. Economically, Lusaka had various manufacturing industries which employed many young people. Owing to its central location, the city hosted many people from different provinces of the

country. The main economic activity for most Lusaka residents was trading which could be seen on virtually all the streets of the city (CSO, 2015; Mulenga, 2003). Most people engaged in vending were youths of the productive age group.

Target Population and Sampling Techniques

Consistent with qualitative case study research, Christianity and Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) Churches and the participants of the study were purposively selected. In this case, Christianity was represented by the Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist churches that were also purposively selected based on the fact that they were among the earliest and oldest churches in social service provision in Zambia (Henkel, 1989; Gibbs and Ajuba, 1999). By selecting Catholicism and Adventism to be part of the study, this did not mean that members of other Christian churches had not experienced or hosted migrant youths, but rather it was simply to exemplify how religion was used in hosting the migrant youths through the lived experiences of the hosting families.

The study involved fourteen (14) participants who were purposively selected, specifically, seven (7) from each of the represented churches. Inclusion and exclusion criteria was also used in which the participants needed to be household heads or responsible persons at households, which had in the last one year received visitors who came to stay for a relatively long period. For the purpose of this study, only households with visitors who had stayed for more than six months were considered to participate in the study. All the participants were given numbers for easy identification, recording and analysis of data. Participants 1-7 belonged to the Catholic Church, and 8-14 were SDAs. The Catholics and SDAs households that hosted migrant youths were also purposively selected from one of Lusaka's densely populated residential area (Garden compound) that was near some affluent townships like Rhodespark and Northmead as symbols of power in geographical spaces or location. Issues of accessibility also contributed to the selection of

the residential area (Cohen *et al*, 2007) including the association of migrants with densely populated areas in literature such as Silavwe (1994), who studied the effects of rural urban migration on urban housing.

The seven participants from the Catholic church included four (4) women and three (3) men. The age range was between 35 and 66 years. With regards to occupation, three (3) of the women were in informal (self) employment after retiring from formal employment while one (1) was in formal employment. For men, two (2) were in informal employment and one (1) was retired from formal employment, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Participant Characteristics of Catholic Participants.

Participant Identity	Sex/Gender	Age (years)	Occupation/ Employment Status
1	Male	52	Informal
2	Male	50	Unemployed
3	Male	66	Informal
4	Female	56	Informal
5	Female	60	Informal
6	Female	58	Informal
7	Female	35	Formal

From the Seventh Day Adventist Church, three (3) participants were women while four (4) were men. The age range for participants was between 36 and 68 years. All women were in informal employment (self-employed) while three (3) of the men were in formal employment and one (1) was in informal employment (See Table 2).

Table 2: Participant Characteristics of SDAs

Participant Identity	Sex/Gender	Age (years)	Occupation/ Employment Status
8	Male	64	Informal
9	Male	44	Formal
10	Male	36	Formal
11	Male	57	Formal
12	Female	68	Informal
13	Female	38	Informal
14	Female	37	Informal

Data Collection Methods

Guided by Yin (2003) that case study research relied on six types of information, namely documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observations, and physical artifacts, the study adopted the use of interviews that lasted between 30-45 minutes and document analysis. In this regard, both primary and secondary sources of data were employed because the aim was to collect qualitative data on the experiences of how and why the Christian households were hosting the migrant youths. Semi structured interviews were used because they allowed for flexibility and detailed understanding of the participants descriptions (Frankfoft-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996) of how they had used their religious worldview to host the migrant youths. Bernard (1988) also argued that semi-structured interviews were best suited when the research sought to get more than one chance to interview someone. Documents in the form of church manuals and policies were also examined for themes that addressed religion and migrant youths in contemporary times.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data were analysed thematically. To do this, recorded interviews and field notes were collated and organised according to the types of

responses. The interviews were transcribed as accurately as possible by listening to the recordings again and comparing them with the transcriptions as informed by Creswell (2007). Data analysis was therefore, an ongoing process of reflection about the data as well as asking analytical questions. The process was not sharply divided from other activities such as collecting data (Keith, 2010). Ethical concerns raised by Babbies (2003) were taken into account. This involved upholding confidentiality, getting consent from the respondents and respecting and being honest with the respondents. The researchers also ensured that the data collected was solely used for the purpose of this study (Bryman, 2004). Most importantly, participants have been identified by numbers in the article for purposes of anonymity (and as part of ethical considerations). Trustworthiness was among other ways addressed by triangulating data collection methods, adoption of research methods well established and in particular, from those that had been successfully utilised in previous comparable projects and related to existing literature (Merriam, 1998).

Results And Discussion

Characteristics of Youths Hosted

Fourteen households in this study housed an average of four (4) youths each in the period prior to this research in the year 2017. The age range of the migrant youths was between 12 years to 35 years. However, there were other people hosted in these households that did not fall within the inclusion criteria of this study. For example, some households hosted children below the age of 12 years as well as people above 36 years of age.

Another characteristic feature that was established was that youths who migrated were either in school or not in school, in which case they were categorised as unemployed. This was observed from four participants who expressed the following:

> I have three youths at home. One is a boy aged 17 years and goes to school. The other two are girls aged 15 years and 19

years old. The 15 year old is still at school while the 19 year old stopped school. She has a child (Participant 5).

Another participant also noted that:

There are five people you can consider as youths. Three are old and they are not in school and they do not work anywhere. The youngest one is a 16 year old boy and the other is a girl aged 17 years. They are both in secondary school (Participant 11).

I have three people under my care. All of them are at school. But sometimes they can be problematic to attend school. One is a girl aged 15 years and the rest are boys aged 18 years and 19 years (Participant 14).

The religious affiliation of all the hosted migrant youths was Christianity, with the exception of one who was a Muslim. It was also revealed that migrant youths did not always belong to the Christian denomination with all the hosting families. In addition, the migrant youths were not always closely related to the host families in which case, coming from the same village and going to the same Christian denomination were unifying factors. The attributes of the migrant youths resonated with conclusions that have been drawn in literature. For example, Silavwe (1994: 240) observed that rural urban migration had different dynamics that included the fact that the majority of the migrants were in the unskilled labour category and had strong cultural ties, noting that 'in most cases, when we talk about high rural urban migration in Zambia, we are referring to this group of people.' Therefore, these findings suggested that the hosting Christian families and the migrant youths were both in pursuit of better opportunities for the youths.

Reasons Accounting for Migration of Youths who were Hosted by the Christian Households

Before exploring how and why the hosting Christian households used religion to accommodate the migrant youths, an inquiry was made into the reasons that prompted the youths to migrate from the perspective of the hosts. The study established that the migrant youths who were hosted by the Christian families had migrated because of various reasons that ranged from personal to family aspirations related to education, livelihood, leisure, medical treatment and unfortunate life's events as discussed below in order of prominence. Given that the household heads were responsible for the youths who were being hosted, it was assumed that they were informed on the possible reasons why they had ended up hosting the migrant youths. The views of the participants were also checked against existing literature on youth migration in Zambia.

Education

The study revealed that the high poverty levels in some households compromised many young people's desires and opportunities to attain education; hence the youths had migrated in search of opportunities in education as reflected in some excerpts below:

> In this household, one of the youths I am keeping came because he wanted to be in school in Lusaka….The two girls came because of an unforeseen circumstance of death which resulted in them coming here so that they could continue their education (Participant 5).

The five dependents I care for in my household came for different reasons. The three male youths came to find something to do in Lusaka. The other two (boy and girl) came because their parents could not take them to school so I felt that I should take the responsibility (Participant 11).

Some of the youths in my custody came because I wanted them to go to better schools. Here in Lusaka there are better opportunities for studies (Participant 7).

These findings showed that access to education was a key motivating factor to migrate. The search for education was also driven by different circumstances that signified ties that went beyond one's immediate family.

Search for Livelihood

Related to the search for opportunities in education, all participants who were in formal employment attributed the youth migration to the search for a livelihood. They were of the view that young people seemed to have a perception that there were opportunities for better employment and livelihood in the city. For example, in addition to participants with youths in their custody (like Participant 11 above) who had migrated in the hope of finding employment, another participant recounted that:

> After the two youths I helped find employment here in Lusaka completed school, there was no option but for them to come to Lusaka where they could be employed (Participant 7).

Harsh Treatment

Participants in the study also pointed out that some young people who were in their custody had migrated due to perceived and actual abusive treatment by the guardians. Some of the perceived abuse included working for long hours, spending days without food and being involved in work that one could not otherwise manage. Out of the 14 participants, only two heads of households reported that the youths they were caring for had migrated due to abuse related to working long hours and being denied food whenever they refused to work. For example, one participant noted that:

> I adopted one of the youths I am keeping from the Church because he used to be severely beaten by the uncle (Participant 7).

Unfortunate Life Events

The study also established that some young people moved because of unfortunate life events such as retrenchments of breadwinners or death of parents or guardians. Participants indicated that it was both a traditional and religious duty for them to care for children or dependents of the deceased family members. One participant indicated the following in the interview:

> Here, I have two young people. Both of them were living on the Copperbelt but they are now here because their father died. Their father was my elder brother. So I got them here to take care of them and make sure that they are educated. You know in our culture and even at church, we know that these children are also my children because they are children of my relative. Sometimes it can be difficult to take care of them but the Lord is always good to us. He provides and I try every day to make these young people comfortable so they don't have to be thinking too much about their father (Participant 4).

Leisure

It was also revealed that youths were migrating in pursuit of leisure activities. One Adventist participant observed that:

> In this house we have two young people one of them came here because the parents said that he liked too much music and some of these leisure activities so when they tried to restrict him from doing such, he ran away and came here. However, it seems he is adjusting now because you know according to our religious teaching, secular music is discouraged (Participant 8).

Added to this were the views of a Catholic male (participant 1) who asserted that it was common for many young people to move to urban settings, which were perceived to have more recreation facilities.

These reasons that were brought to the fore by the host households confirmed the general reasons that accounted for youth migrations. For example, the CSO (2015) reported that the highest percentage of those who migrated to seek work and start business were recorded in the age group 20-24 and concluded that youths were more likely to migrate for purposes of seeking or starting work or businesses. This explains why the search for education and a livelihood were the key reasons that accounted for the hosting of the migrant youths. The findings also pointed to the role of social networks that were embedded in indigenous cultural ties and Christian ties in the migration circle.

Acceptance of Migrant Youths by the Christian Hosting Household

The study further sought to establish how the host Christian households were using their religion to accommodate the migrant youths. To start with, the hosting households reported that the religious denomination of the youths was not a factor in determining whether they (youths) could be hosted or not. For example, in four Catholic households, the study found migrant youths belonging to Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventist, Reformed and Pentecostal churches. It was also the case with the Adventist families that hosted migrant youths who belonged to other denominations. All the participants indicated that they welcomed people as a result of the love they had for humanity according to the word of God. Participant 9 exemplified this in the following words:

> …only two of the youths I take care of go to the same church (SDA) as me. The other two go to Catholic Church because they say that they are used and that is where their parents used to go. You know with issues of religion, you cannot force someone; at the end they may say you do not want to care for them because of that. So what is important at least is that they go to a known church. But with my children, we

> go to Seventh Day Adventist; I welcomed all of them as children of God.

This pointed to hosting migrants because of the teachings on love for humanity despite belonging to different Christian denominations. These sentiments of hosting youth regardless of their religious affiliation but rather on the basis of being children of God signified the hosts' tapping into their religious teachings that associated the migrant youth as children of God, with the image of God. As Cahill (1980) long opined, the image of God was the 'the primary Christian category or symbol of interpretation of personal value accompanied by moral demands. Groody and Campese (2008) also assert that the image of God entails that Christians ought to see immigrants not as problems to be solved but people to be healed and empowered.

In addition, some host Christian households had accommodated the migrant youth because of the desire to open up to strangers and help fellow church members based on the Christian practices of charity. For example, one participant noted that:

> After retirement ad being a widow, I thought it would be better for me to stay with young people who could keep me company so when a friend of mine, from my church, asked me if I could keep her niece I found it reasonable to do so (Participant 12).

These reasons resonated with the Christian tradition where a number of teachings and scriptures point to a requirement to welcome and support 'strangers' as part of the mission of God. For example, the Adventist church expressed the teachings on hospitality and kindness to strangers by urging its members not to 'forget to entertain strangers, for by so doing some have unwittingly entertained angels" (Heb. 13:2)… [and] to cultivate a spirit of hospitality, an essential element of Christian life and experience (SDA Church manual, 2015:117). Similarly the Catholics were informed by the teachings on the corporal works of mercy especially in feeding the hungry, sheltering the

homeless, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and imprisoned and burying the dead (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1994).

This understanding of the 'stranger' was related to Christ, a link that has been confirmed in many other writings on the Christian basis for hospitality towards strangers and those in need (Kilps, 2008; Schenk, 2008; Schulman and Barkouki-Winter, 2000). This association had its roots in the idea of biblical hospitality, drawing references from the story of Jesus arriving with Mary and Joseph with nowhere to stay, a motif which is contained in many pieces on Christian teachings on hospitality to the 'stranger' (Goodall, 2015). These acts of hospitality at household level were a mirror of how religious institutions like the Catholic church had been a place of refugee for the Rwandan refugees and other nationals in the wake of the 2016 riots and protests as informed by Catholic social teachings (Chita and Mwale, 2016).

The narratives of accommodating migrant youths based on requests from church members further ignited the notion of churches as spaces for social network. As Groody (2009) argues the church breaks down a 'human-human' divide, where people erect barriers between each other by bringing people together. In addition, the findings pointed to religious tolerance. This was supported by sentiments expressed by the following participant:

> In Christianity we do not force people. We just try to explain to them. If they are willing they come and become part of us. So the people I care for I tell them the same thing. One boy now joined us but the other is going to Muslim mosque. I have no problem with this. What is important is unity within a home and I try to tell them to stick to the principles of love and unity because I know that both the Bible and Quran talk about these two and they are important in the eyes of God (Participant 6).

Religious tolerance was therefore understood in the light of migrant youths who belonged to different religious denominations. In cer-

tain instances, as was the case among the Catholic and SDA hosting households, the migrant youths had evangelised to the children of the household. At the same time, some households reported inviting the migrant youths to their respective denominations. One participant narrated that:

> Youths here are allowed to belong to any religious groupings as long as it strengthens their Christian or Muslim religious life and that they know and/or maintain their religious beliefs and practices even when it differs with that of my family (Participant 10).

Narratives like these pointed to how teachings of co-existence facilitated the acceptance and integration of the migrant youths by the host Christian households, signifying religious tolerance and acceptance within families.

From the above experiences of different participants, we concluded that just as religion had been an instrument for migrants as demonstrated in existing studies (Adogame and Weisskoppel, 2005), religion was also instrumental in accepting and integrating the migrant youths in the hosting families as their actions were grounded in their church teachings that were related to the image of God, mission of God and word of God. This is because both Catholicism and Adventism as Christian denominations have many commonalities related to charity, benevolence and the assistance of those in need. While the Christian worldview seemed dominant, the African Indigenous religious attributes of communal life and cultural ties could also not be detached from the narratives of the participants, a demonstration that religion is always grounded in a particular cultural context. The influence of indigenous religion remained hidden in the cultural ties as it is found in the customs and indigenous Zambian way of life (Mbiti, 1991; Mwale, 2014/15). In the words of Smith (1978), these experiences also suggested that migration remained 'a theologising experience.'

Conclusion

From the findings of the study, it was also evident that the households that hosted migrant youths were using their Christian teachings and practices to accommodate the migrant youths especially that the majority could not be considered as the 'well to do.' The article has therefore demonstrated that rural-urban migration encompassed a religious dimension in that hosting the migrant youths was shaped by Christian teachings and notions of the image of God, mission of God and word of God in their experiences of offering hospitality and charity. It was also established that even when the migrant youth had come with their own religious orientations, the religious worldview of the receiving household was more influential in accommodating the migrant youths. The article therefore argues that while the discourse on religion and migration had focused on the instrumental use of religion by the cross border migrants, religion also remained a basis for accommodating and integrating the rural- urban migrant youths.

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