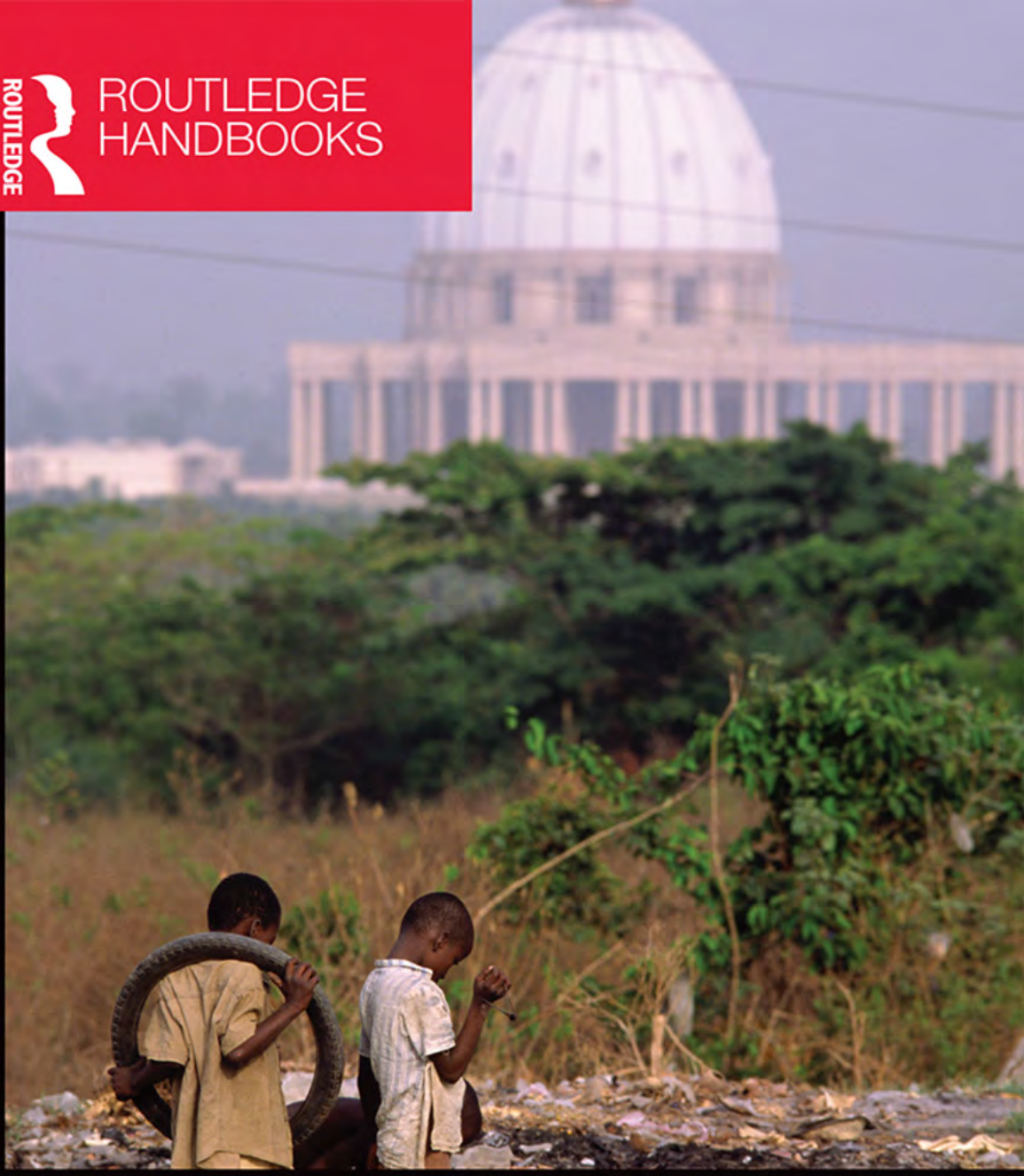
ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOKS



Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics

Second Edition

Edited by Jeffrey Haynes

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF RELIGION AND POLITICS

From the United States to the Middle East, Asia and Africa, religion continues to be an important factor in political activity and organisation. The second edition of this successful handbook provides the definitive global survey of the interaction of religion and politics.

Featuring contributions from an international team of experts, it examines the political aspects of all the world's major religions, including such crucial contemporary issues as religious fundamentalism, terrorism, the 'war on terror', the 'clash of civilizations', the Arab Spring, and science and religion. Each chapter has been updated to reflect the latest developments and thinking in the field, and new chapters such as 'Postsecularism and international relations' and 'Securitization and Secularization: The two pillars of state regulation of European Islam' have been added to ensure the book is a comprehensive and up-to-date resource.

Four main themes addressed include:

- World religions and politics
- Religion and governance
- Religion and international relations
- Religion, security and development

References at the end of each chapter have been overhauled to guide the reader towards the most up-to-date information on various topics. This book is an indispensable source of information for students, academics and the wider public interested in the dynamic relationship between politics and religion.

Jeffrey Haynes is Director of Research in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities and Director of the Centre for the Study of Religion, Conflict and Cooperation at London Metropolitan University, UK.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF RELIGION AND POLITICS

Second edition

Edited by Jeffrey Haynes

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2009
Second edition published 2016

by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Routledge handbook of religion and politics / edited by
Jeff Haynes. — 2 [edition].
pages cm
Includes bibliographical references and index.
1. Religion and politics. I. Haynes, Jeffrey, 1953- editor.
BL65.P7R78 2016
322′.109—dc23
2015030979

ISBN: 978-1-138-82699-1 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-64392-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman/Minion
by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon, UK

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

Tables

Boxes

CONTRIBUTORS

Kristin Aune is Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University, UK. Her research is on religion, gender, contemporary feminism and higher education, and she has published widely on these themes, including in the journals *Gender & Society*, *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *Feminist Review* and *Journal of Contemporary Religion*. Her books include *Reclaiming the F Word* (with C. Redfern, Zed), which explores feminism in the UK in the twenty-first-century, *Women and Religion in the West* (with S. Sharma and G. Vincett, Ashgate), which shines a feminist lens on secularization theories, and *Christianity and the University Experience* (with M. Guest, S. Sharma and R. Warner, Bloomsbury), a study of Christian students in English universities. Her current research concerns women, religion, and secularism and religion in higher education.

Michael D. Barr is Associate Professor of International Relations at Flinders University, Australia, where he teaches international relations, political economy and Asian studies. He is the author of *Lee Kuan Yew: The Beliefs behind the Man* (2000, 2009), *Constructing Singapore: Elitism, Ethnicity and the Nation-Building Project* (2008, Arabic translation 2011) and *The Ruling Elite of Singapore* (2014). He is currently writing a history of Singapore. His work on the interaction between religion and politics includes *Cultural Politics and Asian Values* (2002, 2004) and articles and chapters on Confucianism in East Asia, Islam in Malaysia, and Catholics and Muslims in Singapore. In 2010 he was guest editor of a special issue of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* on 'Religious Nationalism and Nation Building in Asia'. Since 2012 Michael has been editor-in-chief of *Asian Studies Review*.

Jocelyne Cesari is Professor of Religion and Politics at the University of Birmingham, UK, and Senior Research Fellow at Georgetown University's Berkley Center on religion, peace and world affairs. She teaches on contemporary Islam at the Harvard Divinity School and directs the Harvard interfaculty program 'Islam in the West'. Her most recent books are *The Islamic Awakening: Religion, Democracy and Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2014) and *Why the West Fears Islam: An Exploration of Islam in Western Liberal Democracies* (2013). Her book *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States* (2006) is a reference in the study of European Islam and integration of Muslim minorities in

secular democracies. She edited the 2015 *Oxford Handbook of European Islam*. She coordinates a major web resource on Islam in Europe: http://www.euro-islam.info/.

Jonathan Fox (PhD University of Maryland, 1997) is Professor of Political Studies at Bar-Ilan University, Israel and Director of the Religion and State project (www.religionandstate.org). He specializes in the influence of religion on politics including government religion policy as well as the impact of religion on domestic conflict, terrorism, international intervention, and international relations. His other research interests include the quantitative analysis of Samuel Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' theory, nationalism, and ethnic conflict. His recent books include *Political Secularism, Religion, and the State: A Time Series Analysis of Worldwide Data* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), and *Religion in International Relations Theory: Interactions and Possibilities* (with Nukhet Sandal, Routledge, 2013), *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice* (Routledge, 2013), and *Unfree Exercise: A World Survey of Religious Discrimination against Religious Minorities* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

Paul Freston is the CIGI Chair in Religion and Politics in Global Context at the Balsillie School of International Affairs and Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada. He is also *professor colaborador* on the post-graduate programme in sociology at the Universidade Federal de São Carlos, Brazil. He has worked mainly on religion and politics, the growth of popular forms of Protestantism in Latin America, and questions of religion and globalization. His books include *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2001); *Protestant Political Parties: A Global Survey* (Ashgate, 2004); as editor *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Latin America* (Oxford University Press, 2008); and co-authored *Nem Anjos Nem Demônios: Interpretações Sociológicas do Pentecostalismo* (Vozes, 1994).

Peter Friedlander is Senior Lecturer in Hindi-Urdu in the School of Culture, History and Language at the Australian National University where he teaches Hindi-Urdu and the history of religion and politics in India, a subject he has been interested in since he studied in Varanasi from 1977 to 1982, and his current research is on Dalit movements in India and the interaction between religious movements in India and the West during the colonial period. His recent publications include, 'The theory and practice of the Mandala: ritual and identity in the Kabīr Panth', in *Asian Horizons* (2015); *The Treasury of Devotion: Sant Charandas's Bhaktipadarth* (2014); 'Muni Ratnacandra's Nine Jain Questions for Christians', in *International Journal of Jaina Studies* (2013); 'Conflict and Peace in Buddhism', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Religion and Conflict Resolution* (2012); and 'Contemporary Buddhism and the challenge of multiculturalism in India', in *The Reluctant Superpower* (2012).

Jeffrey Haynes is Professor of Politics and Director of Research in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, London Metropolitan University. He teaches in the area of religion and politics/international relations and welcomes postgraduate research students, and is author or editor of nearly forty books. The most recent is *Faith-based Organizations at the United Nations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). During 2015–17, he is undertaking research into the United Nations entity 'Alliance of Civilizations' as part of a large research initiative funded by the USA-based John Templeton Foundation's 'Enhancing Life Project'. A book and several research papers will result from this research. Jeff is convenor of the European Consortium for Political Research's Religion and Politics Standing Group, with more than 170 active members; chair of the International Political Science Association's Research Committee,

'Religion and Politics'; and co-editor of the journal *Democratization*, published seven times a year by Taylor and Francis.

David Herbert is Professor of Sociology at the University of Kingston, London, and Professor (II) in Religion and Society at the University of Agder, Norway. His main research interests are in sociology and politics of religion, media, migration and social integration. His publications include *Religion and Civil Society* (2003), *Creating Community Cohesion: Religion, Media and Multiculturalism* (2013) and *Social Media and Religious Change* (co-edited with Marie Gillespie and Anita Greenhill, 2013). His current research projects include Cultural Conflict 2.0 and Engaging with Conflicts in Mediatized Religious Environments.

Allen D. Hertzke is David Ross Boyd Professor of Political Science at the University of Oklahoma and Associate Scholar of Georgetown University's Religious Freedom Project. He is author of *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights* (2004) and editor of *The Future of Religious Freedom: Global Challenges* (2013) and *Religious Freedom in America: Constitutional Roots and Contemporary Challenges* (2015). As a senior fellow at the Pew Research Center he directed the 2011 study 'Lobbying for the Faithful: Religious Advocacy Groups in Washington DC'. As a consultant for the John Templeton Foundation he developed strategic recommendations for advancing religious freedom around the globe. He is a contributing editor of *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* and served as guest editor for a special edition (Fall 2012) on strategies of advocacy for global religious freedom. He is a member of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences.

Paul Ilo has organised over 200 programmes on the subjects of positive change, international relations and conflict resolution on four continents. He is the author of thirteen books, including *United Nations Mediation in West Africa* (2013). In 2014, he was honoured by the Junior Chambers International in Osaka, Japan, for his contributions to Peacebuilding and International Development. He has helped to train and inspire youths in several parts of the world. Paul holds a Masters Degree in international relations from the University of Kent, UK, and is currently a PhD candidate in peacebuilding at the Centre for the Study of Religion, Conflict and Cooperation, London Metropolitan University, UK. His research interests cut across various themes ranging from religious peacebuilding, religion and politics, international organisations and negotiation/mediation. He is the founder of Royal Diadem Int'l Network and co-founder of Education to Africa, organisations committed to developing people in Africa and beyond.

Mark Juergensmeyer is Professor of Sociology and Global Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where he is also a Fellow and Founding Director of the Orfalea Center for Global and International Studies. He is author or editor of over twenty books, including the award-winning *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, based on interviews with religious activists around the world. His most recent book is *God in the Tumult of the Global Square: Religion in Global Civil Society* (co-authored with Dinah Griego and John Soboslai). He serves as the general editor of the religion section of Oxford Handbooks Online, and his commentaries on contemporary issues of global religion and politics appear in *The Huffington Post*, *The Globalist*, *Religion Dispatches*, *The Immanent Frame* and YaleGlobal Online, and on BBC, CNN and NPR news media.

John Madeley taught for a long time in the Department of Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science, specializing latterly on a long-standing research interest in

religion and politics and, in particular, on the structure and dynamics of religion–state–society relations in Europe. He is currently a research associate of the LSE Government Department. Among his more recent publications are: 'America's Secular State and the Unsecular State of Europe' in Fatton, R., and Ramazani., R (eds.) *Religion, State and Society: Jefferson's Wall of Separation in Comparative Perspective* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); 'Constitutional models of protection of freedom of religion and belief' in Ferrari, S. (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of Law and Religion* (London: Routledge, 2015); and 'Enigmatic Variations: Russia and the Three Secularities' in M. Künkler, J.T.S. Madeley and S. Shankar (eds.) *'A Secular Age' Beyond the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

Luca Mavelli is Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at the University of Kent, UK. Prior to this, Luca was a lecturer at the University of Surrey and an ESRC post-doctoral fellow at the University of Sussex, and held teaching positions at the University of Queensland, Australia and the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. His research focuses on questions of secularism, postsecularism, security and political violence in international relations. He is the author of *Europe's Encounter with Islam: The Secular and the Postsecular* (Routledge, 2012), and the co-editor of 'The Postsecular in International Relations' (2012 Special Issue of the *Review of International Studies*) and of *Towards a Postsecular International Politics: New Forms of Community, Identity, and Power* (Palgrave, 2014). His articles have appeared in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *Review of International Studies*, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, *International Politics*, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *Journal of Religion in Europe* and *Teaching in Higher Education*.

Payam Mohseni is the Iran Project Director and Fellow for Iran Studies at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. He is also a lecturer on government in the Department of Government at Harvard University, where he teaches Iranian and Middle East politics, and the co-chair of the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe Study Group at Harvard's Center for European Studies. Dr Mohseni's research focuses on hybrid and authoritarian regimes, Middle East and Iranian politics, and the politics of ideology and religion. Previously, he served as a postdoctoral research fellow at the Belfer Center's International Security Program in 2013–2014 and as a junior research fellow at Brandeis University's Crown Center for Middle East Studies in 2012–2013. Dr Mohseni received his PhD in government from Georgetown University. He obtained a BA in development studies from the University of California, Berkeley, and an MA in conflict, security, and development from the Department of War Studies at King's College London.

Andrea Mura is a lecturer in Middle East Politics and Political Thought at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter. He has published widely in the fields of political philosophy, psychoanalysis, and comparative political thought, with attention to areas of contemporary applied relevance such as citizenship, migration, borders, and the role of religion and global capitalism in contemporary Europe and the Middle East. He is the author of *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism: A Study in Islamic Political Thought* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

Mohammad Nafissi is Senior Research Fellow in Islam at King's College London, teaches politics and conflict resolution at Boston University's London programme, and is Visiting Senior Research Fellow in the study of religions at Södertörn University in Stockholm. His

research and publications examine foundations of democracy (ancient, medieval and modern) as well as Islam. He is the author of *Ancient Athens and Modern Ideology: Value, Theory and Evidence in Historical Sciences* (2005) and his edition of Ayatollah Muhammad Hussein Naini's path-breaking *Governance from the Perspective of Islam* is forthcoming (I.B. Tauris) with the editor's comprehensive socio-historical introduction and critical commentary.

Line Nyhagen is Reader in Sociology at Loughborough University, UK. Trained as a sociologist (in the USA) and a political scientist (in Norway), her research focuses on gender, religion, citizenship, feminism and women's movements. Much of her research has a comparative focus. She has written several books, including *Religion, Gender and Citizenship: Faithful Women, Gender Equality and Feminism* with Beatrice Halsaa (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) and *Majority-Minority Relations in Contemporary Women's Movements: Strategic Sisterhood*, also with Beatrice Halsaa (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). She has published numerous journal articles and led national and international research projects.

Luca Ozzano is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Turin, and convenor of the 'Politics and Religion' standing group of the Italian Political Science Society (SISP). His research interests include religion-related debates, religiously oriented parties, and transnational religious movements, particularly in relation to the Italian and Turkish cases. Among his recent publications are the book (with Alberta Giorgi) *European Culture Wars and the Italian case: Which Side are You On?* (Routledge, 2015) and the edited book (with Francesco Cavatorta) *Religiously Oriented Parties and Democratization* (Routledge, 2014).

Nukhet A. Sandal is Assistant Professor of Political Science and the Director of the War & Peace Studies Program at Ohio University. She received her PhD in politics and international relations from the University of Southern California in 2010 and she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Watson Institute of International Studies at Brown University between 2010 and 2013. Her research and teaching interests include religion and international relations, conflict management and politics of divided societies. Sandal has published articles in the *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Politics*, *Review of International Studies*, *Alternatives*, *Political Studies*, *West European Politics*, *Human Rights Quarterly* and *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. Her book (with Jonathan Fox), *Religion in International Relations Theory: Interactions and Possibilities* came out in 2013 from Routledge. Sandal has served as the chair of the Ethnicity, Nationalism and Migration Section and the vice-chair of the Religion and International Relations Section of the International Studies Association.

Shmuel Sandler, a former Dean of the Social Sciences Faculty, is the Yehuda Avner Professor of Religion and Politics at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. He completed his PhD at The Johns Hopkins University in 1977 on presidential political strategies and American foreign policy. Since then he was a member of the Political Science department at Bar-Ilan University, where he worked as chair of the Department of Political Science in the years 1998–2001, while also serving as a senior research fellow at the Begin Sadat Center for Strategic Studies since its inception. Professor Sandler's fields of research have been domestic politics and foreign policy, and ethnic politics and religion in international relations with special emphasis on the Arab–Israeli conflict. He has published six books and edited many others, and has authored over seventy articles in these areas. Professor Sandler serves now as Dean of Regional Colleges of Bar-Ilan University.

Giorgio Shani is Director of the Rotary Peace Center and Senior Associate Professor of Politics and International Relations at the International Christian University, Japan. Educated at the University of London, his main research interests focus on religion, identity and international relations theory, with particular reference to human security. He is author of *Sikh Nationalism and Identity in a Global Age* (Routledge, 2007) and *Religion, Identity and Human Security* (Routledge, 2014). Currently, he is also serving as the President of the Asia-Pacific Region of the International Studies Association (ISA).

Andrea Teti is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Aberdeen. His work focuses on political theory, Middle East politics and the politics of democracy promotion. He is the 2015 ACCESS Europe Visiting Professor at the University of Amsterdam.

David Wessels is Professor of Global Studies in the Faculty of Global Studies, Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan. He has a Classical AB in philosophy from Saint Louis University, an MA in government from Georgetown University, MA and STL degrees in Theology from Sophia University and a PhD in political science from Yale University. He has been active in the Human Rights Committee and Religion and Politics Committee of the International Political Science Association for many years. He has been teaching international relations and other fields at Sophia University since 1972.

Clyde Wilcox is Professor of Government at Georgetown University. He is the author or editor of many books, chapters and articles on religion and politics, gender politics, the politics of social issues, interest groups and parties, campaign finance, and science fiction and politics. He is currently teaching in the Doha, Qatar campus of Georgetown University.

Erin K. Wilson has been the Director of the Centre for Religion, Conflict and the Public Domain at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Groningen since January 2012. Dr Wilson received her PhD in political science from the University of Queensland, Australia in 2008. Her research focuses on the intersection of religion with various dimensions of politics and public life, at the local, national and global levels. She has published on religion and global justice, globalization, active citizenship and the politics of asylum in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, *Global Society*, *Globalizations* and *Politics, Religion and Ideology*. Before joining the faculty, Dr Wilson spent four years as a research fellow at RMIT University, Melbourne. Her current research interests include the interconnections between religion, secularism, global justice and human rights, with a particular emphasis on forced migration, gender equality and sexual and reproductive health and rights in development, and the right of freedom of religion or belief. Her books include *After Secularism: Rethinking Religion in Global Politics* and *Justice Globalism: Ideology, Crises, Policy*, co-authored with Manfred B. Steger and James Goodman.

INTRODUCTION

Religion, identity, security and governance

Jeffrey Haynes

LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY, UK

The first edition of this handbook was published in 2009. Now, nearly a decade later, the publisher has requested a second edition. As editor, I was fortunate to be able to gather together again nearly all the original, eminent contributors for the second edition. I asked them to update their chapters and to include new material that would reflect ten years of development in our understanding of religion and politics and international relations. The result of the contributors' and my efforts are collected in the book you are now reading.

The first edition appeared a few years after an epochal event: the attack on the USA by al Qaeda on September 11, 2001. For the next decade, the universe of religion, politics and international relations was dominated by 9/11 and its aftermath. Now, however, fifteen years later, while 'religious terrorism' and 'extremism' are still highly important components of the concerns in the study of these fields, they are not the whole story. Instead, the more than twenty chapters of the second edition focus on many, sometimes diverse, issues, including democratisation, development, gender, civil society, the state, foreign policy, international relations theory and many more. What also stands out, however, is a degree of continuity as much as change when comparing the universe of religion, politics and international relations now to ten years ago.

Today, religion's social and political significance and influence is universal. While its impact varies from country to country and in different international contexts, it is clear that religion is now much more socio-politically significant today compared to half a century ago. How and why is religion now so 'significant'? It is largely because religion can encourage, or help resolve, often-interlinked political, social, economic and developmental conflicts. Religion has important functions serving to engender and/or significantly influence individual and group values that, in turn, impact upon common existential issues, affecting people everywhere. Sometimes such issues lead to irresolvable conflict within countries; sometimes they spill over to become international issues. In both cases, they can impact upon security issues both within countries, and regionally and internationally. To understand political outcomes involving religion both within countries and internationally, the chapters of this book present their analyses within the context of two overlapping, but conceptually distinct, issues: security and governance.

Focusing on today and extrapolating to the next few decades, the chapters of the book collectively identify and examine emerging trends of strategic importance to our understanding

of the universe of religion, politics and international relations. Centrally informed by the centrality of religion's influence – affecting individual identity, society, and governance – we start from the observation that for billions of people religion is highly likely to remain a very significant issue over the next two decades, in both developing and developed countries. But religion does not act in isolation and in recent years two key developments have led to increased religious responses in many parts of the world. On the one hand, the recent expansion of representative governments to all global regions, with the important exception of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), has provided new political and social space for religion to be assertive. On the other hand, however, because religion is so fundamental to many people's identity, opening political and social space in some cases encourages existing or new tensions to surface leading to inter-group conflict, which can sometimes develop into war.

Today, two of the world religions – Christianity and Islam – are showing particularly strong advances. Christianity, especially evangelical Christianity, is currently growing annually by 1.47 per cent, implying 30 per cent expansion in followers by 2035. Christianity's current growth is particularly swift in South and East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.[1] The growth of Islam between 2010 and 2020 is estimated at 1.7 per cent a year, linked mainly to 'high' birthrates among existing Muslims in Asia, MENA and Europe.[2] A 2010 report by the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life estimated that, on present trends, the global Muslim population is expected to grow by about 35 per cent by 2030, rising from 1.6 to 2.2 billion.[3] Given that some countries – such as Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania and Russia – are already experiencing growing tensions between followers of Christianity and Islam, then it may be that swift expansion of both Islam and Christianity over the next two decades will exacerbate such tensions, with implications for global security and governance.[4]

Overall, the chapters of the book underline the following:

- Politically assertive religion will continue to impact upon governance and security outcomes within many countries around the world, as well as internationally.
- Globalisation and associated technology, including satellite television channels and social media, will play an increasing role in spreading sectarian and inter-faith mistrust.
- Religious factionalisation within religious traditions will often exacerbate tensions, both within countries and internationally.
- High levels of economic and developmental inequality – derived from religion, ethnicity and/or class – will endure as sources of tension across many regions, including Sub-Saharan Africa, MENA, Central Asia, South and East Asia and Western Europe.
- Sectarian and other inter-religious tensions usually reflect longstanding socio-economic disparities which will in many cases escalate if governments do not do more to address fundamental issues of socio-economic adversity and growing animosity towards an often overbearing, monopolistic state.
- Sectarian conflicts will deepen pre-existing religious divides which in some cases will escalate into serious domestic and/or international conflict and deleteriously impact upon governance and political and social stability and, in some cases, exacerbate anti-US/Western extremism and terrorism.

Security

The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries saw many examples of politicised forms of religion, which were active both within countries and internationally. This development, which affects all the 'world religions' (Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and

Judaism), became clear following the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s.[5] Yet, with hindsight, we can see that the 'resurgence' actually started a decade earlier, with the Iranian revolution of 1978–9, which had both domestic and international impacts. Within Iran it led to a *sui generis* form of government, which endures to this day, and also ended an experiment in Westernisation, which, like in Turkey decades earlier, had been posited on the apparent strength and desirability of a strongly secular, pro-Western, development model. Internationally, the revolution highlighted the unexpected cross-border 'reappearance' of political religion (in this case, Shii Islam), whose transnational impact, encouraged by the government of Iran, is strongly felt today in, inter alia, Bahrain, Iraq, Syria and Yemen. Some observers, such as Samuel Huntington, claim that following the Iranian revolution there was a 'clash of civilisations', centrally involving Christianity and Islam, because of their allegedly clashing values and norms.[6] While many critiqued Huntington's argument, it would be hard to deny that over the last two decades his 'clash of civilisations' thesis and associated rhetoric has helped further perceptions of a globalised division between 'the West' and 'Islam', with significant impacts on security and governance issues both within many countries and internationally.

After the Cold War, both Christianity and Islam showed increasing political assertiveness, a development that has continued and which seems highly likely to continue in the future. While such political assertiveness has been manifested in many countries domestically, it has also shown itself internationally and transnationally. Central to this development is the phenomenon of globalisation and associated developments in communications technology. The latter permits religious entities' messages to unite or divide real or imagined communities, even when physically separated by international borders and thousands of kilometres. In particular, it enables diaspora populations to feel a closeness otherwise denied them and appeals to a far wider audience than previously possible. Globalisation technology based on the Internet is also likely to contribute to diaspora communities being increasingly affected by intra-faith discord in countries of origin, such as Pakistan and India. In addition, some governments may have to address new challenges from religious groups at home. For example, it is posited that over the next two decades, China will be home to some of the world's largest Muslim and Christian populations. The impact on China's internal politics and global attitude and focus are likely to be influenced significantly by the manner in which these two faith groups pursue their goals and seek enhanced religious freedoms. A wider point is that as religion is so fundamental to many people's identity, where tensions between different groups already exist they may be exacerbated by real or imagined religious differences.

Post-Cold War globalisation has led to dramatic, continuing increases in interactions between people and communities, no longer dependent on geographical closeness easily to enable such connections. Globalisation encourages religions to adopt new, revised or reformed social, moral and/or political agendas. It stimulates many religious individuals, organisations and movements to look not only at local and national issues and contexts but also to focus on regional and international environments, which, in many countries of the developing world, often link into or exacerbate pre-existing negative perceptions of foreign – including US and Western – cultural, political and economic hegemonies. Moreover, encounters between different religious traditions, both within faiths and between them, are increasingly common and not always harmonious. Sometimes the result can be extreme hostility, captured in the term 'culture war'. Continuing culture wars, for example, in countries as diverse as Israel and the United States, occur in relation to pronounced, potentially irreconcilable, differences between secular and religious groups regarding the appropriate positions of religious and secular norms, values and behaviour. Culture war occurs when differing religious worldviews encourage different allegiances and standards in relation to various areas, including the family,

law, education and politics. As a result, conflicts involving, inter alia, gender, ethnicity, class and nations can be framed in religious terms. Such religious conflicts seem often to 'take on "larger-than-life" proportions as the struggle of good against evil',[7] and can impact on security, sometimes dramatically, both within counties and internationally. This is also the case with some religious minorities who may regard their own existential position – for example, Muslim minority communities in Thailand, the United Kingdom, France, the Philippines, and India, and Christian minorities in many countries in MENA – to be unacceptably weakened because of actual or perceived pressure from majority religious communities, such as: Buddhists in Thailand, Christians in the UK, France, and the Philippines, and Hindus in India, which encourage religious minorities to conform to the hegemonic norms and values of the religious and cultural majority.

This issue has recently affected a region long thought to be immune to the public impact of religion and culture: Western Europe. There, governments long ago chose the path of secularisation, with linked 'downgrading' of religion from public realm to privatised belief. Today, however, many urban areas across Western Europe contain areas of pronounced social deprivation, often the home to many migrants. Recent extensive immigration to Western Europe, coupled with enhanced mobility of people within the countries of the region due to the expansion of the European Union, has led to increasingly multicultural societies, albeit often within a wider trend towards secularism. Yet, local communities with strong religious beliefs continue to exist and, due to natural expansion, are growing in size. Recent political developments, such as the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party, have highlighted that many, perhaps most, Western Europeans *tolerate* – rather than actively *embrace* and *welcome* – integration and immigration into their countries and the region more generally. This is particularly apparent in times of economic stress – for example, since 2008 – when it appears that many Western Europeans have reverted to affiliation with older forms of identity, including reference to cultural models of Christianity, feeling that it exemplifies and underlines two key components underpinning modern (Western) European culture: liberal and individualistic values. For some, this sets apart Western European culture from what is seen as different – that is, less liberal, more conservative – values and norms of Europe's Muslim immigrants, who hail originally from MENA, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

To date, this issue has not emerged as a clear security threat either within Western Europe or internationally. Future projections are that the population growth of non-Muslims in Europe is slow, while the Islamic population of Europe is expected to continue to grow, exceeding 58 million by 2030 (that is, approximately 8 per cent of the total population), but with Christian traditions (primarily Protestant, Catholic, or Orthodox) likely to remain dominant.[8] On the other hand, reflecting the continuing impact of globalisation and associated communications technologies, mainly Internet-based, diaspora Muslim communities in Western Europe are likely to be increasingly affected by intra-faith and intra-Islamic discord focused in the countries of MENA. In particular, tension between Sunni and Shia Islam could spread. For example, in 2012, hard-line locally based Sunnis firebombed Belgium's largest Shiite mosque. Yet, while it is conceivable that there will be an increase in such unwelcome incidents, particularly in response to continuing events in MENA, at the moment it appears unlikely that large-scale violence between different Islamic sects will occur in Europe itself, not least because of the small number of Shias in the region.

In MENA itself, the last few decades have seen the region emerge as a global focal point of increased political involvement of religious actors both within countries and internationally. On the one hand, religious minorities across the region are being squeezed and their security compromised. While 'Islamic fundamentalism' or 'Islamism'[9] has attracted much attention in

this context, we can also observe increasingly serious sectarian division and conflict across much of MENA, especially in Syria, Iraq and Yemen. The situation was exacerbated by the Arab Spring and its aftermath when widespread regional state weakness or breakdown combined with the impact of politically assertive religious actors led to increasing pressure on religious minorities in many countries to convert to the dominant religious tradition or, failing that, to flee for their lives.[10]

Extremist actors like 'Islamic State' thrive on sectarian division. Given the widespread diminution of state capacity in MENA following the Arab Spring and the linked expansion of aggressive Sunni entities, such as Islamic State, then it seems highly likely that the short and medium term will feature many sectarian conflicts in MENA, which will cause significant friction and, in some cases, result in out-and-out conflict between warring sectarian groups. Tensions between Shia-majority Iran and the Sunni Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) are likely to remain high in the next few years – not least because each is seen to support one sect of Islam only. However, not all Shia movements will necessarily be pro-Iranian and not every Salafist or Wahhabist Sunni movement kowtows to Saudi Arabia. Indeed, there are significant Shiite minorities in GCC countries, as well as a growing (Sunni) Salafi movement in Iran. Sectarian tensions also reflect socio-economic disparities and are likely to escalate if governments do not address these fundamental issues. For example, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, where economic inequality between Sunni and Shia is greatest, are more likely to see tensions rise than other countries in the region. Globalisation, represented by influential satellite television channels and social media, will play a growing, perhaps pivotal, role in spreading anti-government rhetoric and sectarian mistrust in the region. In addition, over the next few decades we are likely to see growing tensions *within* Sunni and Shiite communities. Sunni Islam is particularly likely to become increasingly factionalised. As Salafist groups grow in prominence around the world, a backlash may emerge from moderate Sunnis. Correspondingly, Shiite Islam contains a number of internal divisions.

The countries in MENA that have most suffered from decades of systematic political, sectarian and racial repression and mass killings – such as Iraq and Syria – made possible the foundation, emergence and development of Islamic State. What makes these countries' situation even more dire is the failure of the 'international community' consistently to condemn this oppression, in effect turning a blind eye to the roots of Islamic State-style radicalisation, and failing, due to political considerations at home, to help meaningfully to deal with the real and present existential threat that Islamic State poses. Yet, it is no longer about a choice between countering terrorism and respecting human rights. It is impossible to win the fight against terror in this region without addressing the oppression and lack of opportunity that spawns it. Defending human rights and confronting religious extremism, working to end the discrimination against Syrian and Iraqi Sunni populations, as well as against the Bedouins of Sinai, would be the necessary first steps in a long journey to deal with human rights violations in MENA and, as a result, begin to undermine the attraction of Islamic State and similar ideological entities for tens of thousands of alienated young people.

Whereas in Western Europe Muslim minority populations question their social and cultural position and in MENA state breakdown encourages sectarian strife and the persecution of religious minorities, in 'secular' Central Asia Islamist movements represent a challenge to the status quo. This is not because they are especially powerful: today they stand almost no chance of overpowering state institutions or gathering substantial support in urban areas. Yet, regional governments have sought to combat what they see as extremism in a heavy-handed manner, which has exacerbated the problem that Islamist movements see themselves fighting against: poor, corrupt and repressive ruling regimes. Many Central Asian governments are

Western-friendly and, while Islamism is likely to remain a long-term (if low-level) threat to stability, it does highlight to many ordinary Central Asians that the West is a friend to their often highly disliked governments. Continued socio-economic adversity and growing animosity towards an overbearing, monopolistic state are likely to increase the number of instances of instability across Central Asia. Social discontent may result in support for underground religious movements rather than opposition parties, while strengthening anti-Western feeling in many Central Asian countries.

Governance and global order

Many recent analyses of religion and politics highlight the relevance of economic, social and/or cultural issues, including the economic range and social and cultural significance of transnational business corporations (TNCs).[11] This often leads to the perception that TNCs are taking economic power from both governments and citizens. This comes in the context of what is popularly understood as a significant downside to economic globalisation: the apparent mass impoverishment of already poor people, in both developing and developed countries. These circumstances have encouraged numerous religious organisations, including, for example, the 350-member World Council of Churches, to focus on these economic imbalances and suggest ways to ameliorate them using the power of religious organisation and community. This focus is manifested in various ways, including: new religious fundamentalisms; support for anti-globalisation activities, such as recent anti-globalisation and anti-World Trade Organisation protests; and North/South economic justice efforts, including the Millennium Development Goals (2000–15) and their successor, the Sustainable Development Goals (2015–30). In short, recent religious responses to what are perceived as the unacceptable face of economic globalisation highlight again the emergence of religion as a globally significant public actor and the (potential or actual) impact on political outcomes, within countries or internationally.

This observation is based on a recognition that around the world many religious organisations and (secular) development agencies share similar concerns: how to improve (1) the lot of materially poor people, (2) the societal position of those suffering from social exclusion, and (3) unfulfilled human potential in the context of glaring developmental polarisation within and between countries, which the World Bank now accepts has arisen in part because of the polarising impact of globalisation. These developmental concerns focus upon, but are not confined to, issues linked to the impact of: poverty, HIV/AIDS, conflict, gender concerns, international trade and global politics. These issues explicitly link all the world's countries and peoples – rich and poor – into a global community. How to resolve them poses a challenge to governance and global order.

These challenges are manifested in the actions of some extremist religious organisations whose impact upon Western interests is explicitly hostile and very difficult to counter. They are likely to get worse over the coming decades – *unless* coordinated, concerted efforts are made to blunt their impact by ameliorating the conditions which give rise to them. For example, al Qaeda has a stronghold in Yemen, while Islamic State has established its hold over large parts of Syria and Iraq and a so-called 'State of Sinai' in Egypt. Today, Islamic State also controls the city of Derna in Libya, has established a transcontinental alliance with Boko Haram in Nigeria, and is carrying out its plan for extending attacks to European cities and on American soil, where two militants were killed recently after an attempted terror attack in Texas. While Islamic State continues to progress in Syria and Iraq, Boko Haram in Nigeria is the latest regional threat to security in Sub-Saharan Africa. Premised upon the idea that 'Western education is forbidden', Boko Haram is vehemently anti-Western although an apparently indiscriminate killer of anyone

who disagrees with the organisation and its ideology. Such horrific suffering is the result of decades of severe social injustices, Islamic extremism, sweeping human rights violations and the absence of good governance. Boko Haram violence underpins rising death rates among Nigerian citizens, while thousands are also killed in conflicts in the Central African Republic, South Sudan and Somalia.

Such conflicts highlight how religion, along with culture, ethnicity and identity, can be an important component in understanding governance and global order issues, while contextualising current Western counter-insurgency efforts. Following 9/11, first al Qaeda and its affiliates and then Islamic State and its allies sequentially posed serious threats to governance in many countries and by extension global order and Western security. While it is well known that al Qaeda perpetrated multiple attacks against US and Western targets in the 1990s and early 2000s, these outrages raised questions about the ideological assumptions and goals of al Qaeda. While bin Laden was personally committed to the fight against the 'far enemy' – the USA – Islamic State fights the 'near enemy': ideologically and 'un-Islamic' governments and populations in MENA. However, given that many of the dead in the attacks were not Western Christians or Jews but local Muslims, it raised the question of what exactly the perpetrators are seeking to achieve. What today are the ideological assumptions and goals of what is left of al Qaeda and its much more powerful successor, Islamic State? Al Qaeda first emerged in the late 1980s to challenge the incumbency and authority of rulers in various Middle Eastern countries, including Saudi Arabia, with the objective of replacing them with plausibly 'Islamic' leaders. Over time, however, a lack of success in achieving these objectives led al Qaeda strategists to shift attention to regional and global goals, including taking the fight, on 9/11, to the 'far enemy'.[12] The result was a continuing 'anti-Western' war, which sought to utilise various 'weapons of terror', a campaign now taken up and adapted to today's specific conditions by Islamic State. Both al Qaeda and Islamic State share concerns about spreading the 'right' religion by jihad, and the global balance of power currently dominated by the USA and the West. Over time, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as more recent – and in some cases continuing – conflicts in Mali, Nigeria and Syria, indicate that religion, culture and identity are continuing concerns in many conflicts. In each case, there are explicit links to long-term and systemic governance shortfalls, which have to be ameliorated before the threat from extremist Islam can be nullified and the threat to the West's security significantly reduced.

Conclusion

The first edition of this handbook was contextualised by 9/11 and associated 'religious terrorism', which not only significantly affected Western interests but also fundamentally changed our perceptions of the role of religion in politics and international relations. Today, the chapters comprising the second edition are also collectively informed by the impact of religious extremism and terrorism in many countries around the world, as well as internationally. It seems highly likely that nothing will fundamentally change in this regard in the coming few decades, as terrorism, often but not invariably encouraged and fuelled by Islamic extremism, will pose a threat to US and Western interests in many parts of the world. Around the world high – and in many cases growing – levels of inequality contextualised by differences-based religion, ethnicity and/or class, are highly likely to endure. There will continue to be often serious sources of tension in many countries and regions and these will impact on the overall governance and stability of many countries, while also affecting global governance.

It is clear that areas of considerable sectarian tension exist across the world, especially in many of the twenty or more countries that comprise MENA. If there was a prolonged period

of escalation, perhaps underpinned by further deteriorations in political and developmental wellbeing, then campaigns of terrorist attacks could be carried out on a previously unseen scale, further plunging the MENA region into chaos with knock-on effects experienced in Western Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa. It is possible that attacks on such a level could cause a major power, hitherto relatively stable, such as Egypt, to descend into civil war. In addition, pre-existing religious and sectarian divisions, including intra-Islamic and Islamic–Christian and/or Islamic–Jewish conflicts, could come together and rapidly escalate into a transnational conflict between several faith-based components of global (civil) society. In such circumstances, it is conceivable that some countries would be drawn into a wider war, as pressure from their populations, existing treaty obligations and allegiances might force them to take sides in the conflict. If the United Nations was deadlocked, weak and hamstrung, and regional security organisations were unable to take up the challenge, then widespread killings linked to religious differences could occur across much of the globe.

While the scenario sketched out in the previous paragraph represents an extreme outcome, it is clear that both terrorism and sectarian and inter-religious tensions and conflicts have been at the centre of global security concerns since at least 9/11 and, arguably, as far back as the late 1970s and the unexpected success of the Iranian revolution. As we have seen in recent years in relation to the Arab Spring events and political developments in many countries in MENA more generally, governance problems are at the heart of religion's involvement in regional and transnational conflicts which collectively impact significantly on global security and development. A starting point for our analysis in the second edition of the handbook in this regard is to note that globalisation both highlights and boosts religious pluralism; while also encouraging intra-faith and inter-religious hostility and conflict. Several of the world religions, including Judaism, Christianity and Islam (the 'religions of the book', because in each case their authority emanates principally from particular sacred texts), claim 'exclusive accounts of the nature of reality', that is only *their* religious beliefs are judged to be *true* by adherents. This is not to expect that the latter outcome is somehow inevitable. On the contrary, religious responses may well aim to be both constructive and ameliorative.

There are many examples of religious involvement in recent and current national and international conflicts; many directly affect global security. In this context it becomes imperative to stress that a stable and prosperous MENA is, or should be, a pivotal goal of the 'international community', as it is essential in order to achieve widespread political stability, diminution of poverty and undermining of religious extremism. On the other hand, the Middle East region is particularly emblematic in relation to religion – in part because the region was the birthplace of the world's three great monotheistic religions (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism). This brings with it a legacy not only of shared wisdom but also of conflict – a complex relationship that has impacted in recent years on countries as far away as Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, the United States and Britain. A key to peace in the region may well be achievement of significant collaborative efforts among different religious bodies, which along with external religious and secular organisations, for example from Europe and the United States, may through collaborative efforts work towards developing a new model of peace and cooperation to enable the Middle East to escape from what many see as an endless cycle of religious-based conflict. Overall, this emphasises that religion may be intimately connected, not only in the Middle East, *both* to international conflicts and their prolongation *and* to attempts at reconciliation of such conflicts. In other words, in relation to many international conflicts, religion can play a significant, even a fundamental role, contributing to conflicts in various ways, including how they are intensified, channelled or reconciled. In addition, religion also has a key part to play in resolution of conflicts in other parts of the

world, including South Asia (notably India/Pakistan) and Sub-Saharan Africa (for example, in relation to the recently ended civil war in Sudan). We can also note continuing involvement of religious actors in the concluded but still troubling civil war in Sri Lanka, between the minority (Hindu) Tamils and the majority (Buddhist) Sinhalese.

Over the last 15 years, conflicts in both Afghanistan and Iraq have served to encourage support for al Qaeda and other extremist entities, including Islamic State, among disgruntled Sunni Muslims in two key ways: (1) generally to focus discontent against the 'West', and the United States in particular; and (2) to polarise often sensitive relations between Sunnis and Shias. Both goals are in line with the ideological and strategic objectives of al Qaeda and Islamic State. It is unfortunate that Western counter-insurgency activities in both Afghanistan and Iraq were seen by many Muslims as a key component of an 'anti-Islam' strategy, which some Muslims perceived as part of a wider Western strategy informing a global 'war' against 'Islam'. This made it very difficult – perhaps, ultimately, impossible – to win the conflict as there is a ready, apparently inexhaustible, supply of both domestic and foreign recruits to the anti-US/Western insurgency. In this context classical counter-insurgency theory seems of limited relevance in the context of a global struggle against religiously informed terrorism, as it is focused on a domestic conflict, while al Qaeda and Islamic State's goal is to fight and win a transnational – ultimately global – battle of, if necessary, long duration. The question remains: to what extent are individual conflict zones – such as in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Somalia – facets of a wider, transnational and international war which pits a generic 'Islamic extremism/terrorism' against the 'West' (especially the USA)? If the conflict is indeed a regional or global one, then the likelihood of success of classical counter-insurgency theory, which focuses on winning wars in individual countries, is likely to be partial at best. This is because, as extremist Islamist combatants have shown themselves ready, willing and able to transfer their anti-Western activities to other emerging theatres of war – such as Mali, Libya, Egypt's Sinai desert and Nigeria – then classical US counter-agency activities will always be playing catch-up in a fast-changing situation and chances of success are by no means ensured.

Notes

1 Martel, 'Christianity booming in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa'.
2 Ibid.
3 See the recent report by the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life (2011), *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*, 27 January. Available at http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population/ (last accessed 23 May 2015).
4 Pew Research Center, 'Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa', 15 April 2010. Available at http://www.pewforum.org/2010/04/15/executive-summary-islam-and-christianity-in-sub-saharan-africa/ (last accessed 23 May 2015).
5 An early indication of this was the inter-faith wars in the Balkans in the 1990s.
6 Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*.
7 Kurtz, *Gods in the Global Village: The World's Religions in Sociological Perspective*, p. 170.
8 Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, 'The Future of the Global Muslim Population' (see note 3).
9 An 'Islamist' is a Muslim who is willing to use various political means to achieve his/her faith-derived objectives.
10 Of the more than twenty countries in the Middle East and North Africa, only Tunisia underwent a post-Arab Spring transition to democracy that seems at the time of writing (mid-2015) to endure.
11 Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*.
12 Gerges, *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*.

References

Gerges, Fawaz. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Haynes, Jeffrey. *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 2nd edition, London: Pearson, 2013.

Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, new edition, New York: Free Press, 2002.

Kurtz, Lester. *Gods in the Global Village: The World's Religions in Sociological Perspective*, New York: SAGE, 1995.

Martel, Frances. 'Christianity booming in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa', www.breitbart.com/national-security/2013/12/19/christianity-booming-in-asia-and-sub-saharan-africa/, 19 December 2013. Last accessed 1 April 2015.

PART I

World religions and politics

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

1
BUDDHISM AND POLITICS

Peter Friedlander

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The past

There is a Buddhist tradition that when the Buddha was born it was prophesied that he could either become a *cakravartin* ('Wheel-turning monarch') and become the ruler of the world, or he would become the Buddha ('Awakened') and become the liberator of the world.[1] This idea of the world having a secular ruler and a spiritual leader stands at the heart of Buddhist tradition. The secular ruler establishes security and prosperity in this world and the spiritual leader, the Buddha, leads people to liberation. This notion of the two separate, but complementary, leadership roles contributes greatly towards the compatibility of Buddhist ideas on governance and modern Western conceptions of the separation between the church and state.

The modern notions of religion and politics have no direct equivalents in ancient Indian thought and both are seen as manifestations of one underlying principle: *dharma*. The meanings of the word *dharma* (Pali *dhamma*) relate to the notions of the true nature of things in themselves, and duty, virtue, and morality.[2] It often occurs in compounds as in *Buddha-dharma*, 'The Buddhist religion', but could equally well be thought of as translated as 'Buddhist morality' or 'the nature of things as taught by the Buddha'. Alongside this is the term *Raja-dharma* and in this compound term *dharma* gives a sense of 'the duties/morality of a king'. In each case, whether for the *raja*, the king, or for the Buddha, what matters is that each upholds an aspect of the *dharma*. *Rajniti* is another word that relates to the notion of 'politics' in classical Indian languages. It is formed from *raja*, 'king', and *niti*, which has meanings that relate to appropriate conduct and in different contexts could be translated as morality or policy, and so *Rajniti* can be understood as meaning 'the policies/morality/code of conduct of a king'.

Neither *Rajadharma* nor *Rajaniti* relates to a system of representation of the people but rather to the notion of how a king should conduct himself.

Ian Harris argued in 1999 in an influential work on Buddhism and politics in Asia that the modern Western concept of the separation of religion and politics should be set aside when discussing Buddhism as it has always had a political dimension.[3] A traditional Buddhist description of this relationship was to speak of there being two wheels of the *dhamma*, one wheel being the wheel of *dhamma* turned by the Buddhist monastic community and the other being the wheel of secular rule turned by the king or *Cakkavatti* ('Wheel-turning monarch').[4]

To define religion as a system of belief would also not be in accord with traditional Buddhist views. Buddhists often refer to the three elements in Buddhism: the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *sangha*. The Buddha is the founder of the tradition. The term *dharma* covers the range of meanings discussed above and the *sangha* is the community of followers of the Buddha and the *dharma*. Richard Gombrich argued that to the modern Western model of defining religion in terms of precepts, 'belief' was inappropriate for pre-modern Asian traditions such as Buddhism which define themselves through practice rather than precept, and this informs how Buddhist tradition today relates to society and politics.[5]

Ancient Indian literature on the duties of the king emphasises the rulers duty: the protection of the people, the maintenance of social order and the administration of justice.[6] Buddhist notions of kingship are informed by this and prime duties of the king include that: he should conquer without violence, maintain social justice and maintain law and order within the boundary of the kingdom so that people can be prosperous and free from danger.[7]

Indications of the early relationship between Buddhism and the state are found in the texts of the Pali Canon which constitute the earliest Buddhist texts to survive to the present day. Theravada Buddhists' tradition identifies ten duties of a king, the *dasarajadhamma*, which include; liberality, morality, self sacrifice, honesty, and non-violence;[8] whilst the role of the *sangha* is to advise the king and to influence him so that his policies uphold values that further the *dhamma*.

Some Buddhist texts also state that Buddhists must follow the laws of the land as laid down by the king. In the *vinaya* texts (codes of monastic conduct) it is stipulated that a criminal cannot be accepted as a monk into the *sangha* and that monks and nuns cannot make use of the king's property without making payment for it. It is explicit that Buddhists must follow the laws of the land and this even extends to the severity of the punishment for a theft by a monk being based on the punishment for the equivalent civil offence. A monk was to be expelled from the *sangha* if the amount he stole was the same as that in a civil case which would cause the king, or his official, to banish a lay person from a country.[9]

On how the *sangha* is to influence the king, the ideal is that the king as a willing patron of Buddhism should uphold its teachings. In the section of the Pali Canon called the *Mahavagga* there is an account of this relationship. It starts by showing how the Buddha convinces the former royal priests, the *Jatila*s of Gaya, to become his followers and then takes their place as the king's chief spiritual advisor.[10] Archaeological evidence suggests that this picture is only partly true and rather than simply supplanting earlier traditions what happened was that Buddhism became one of the spiritual traditions, along with those of the Brahmins, Jains and Ajivakas which received state patronage.[11]

There are two models of how the state should be governed in the Pali Canon. In one model, found in the *Agganna sutta*, there is a description of how men came to be ruled by elected leaders, called the *Maha-samata*, the 'People's Choice'.[12] In the other model, as found in the *Cakkavati-Sihanada Sutta*, the rulership of the state is decided on the basis of a person being born with the marks of being a universal monarch.[13] In the second model there is no suggestion that the universal monarch needs the general consensus of the people to rule. Rather his rule is dependent on his upholding the *dharma* and ensuring the wealth and prosperity of the state. As long as the king rules according to *dharma* the heavens revolve according to their proper pattern, but when he deviates from the *dharma* and rules for his personal benefit then the heavens no longer follow their proper pattern and he falls from power. A possible reason for the existence of these two models is that during the time of the Buddha there were two types of state in existence. The Buddha was born in a *ganatantra* ('village republic') in which the leaders were elected from amongst the people on a temporary basis. However, during the Buddha's lifetime most of the village republics were absorbed into developing kingdoms ruled by hereditary monarchs.

A significant evolution in these early ideas happened during the rule of the Emperor Asoka (*c*.269–243 BCE). Buddhist legends say he converted to Buddhism and then ruled according to Buddhist teachings. Contemporary scholarship has shown though that Asoka was not solely a Buddhist and he also continued to patronise other religions.[14] However, through the edicts he issued it can be said that the historical Asoka took it upon himself to propagate a version of the *dharma* of a king which seems heavily influenced by Buddhism.

Buddhist legends, rather than history, have been very influential in Asia. According to these legends, witnessing a Buddhist monk performing miracles converted him from a cruel and inhumane non-Buddhist ruler into a humanitarian Buddhist ruler. He then became a patron of the Buddhist monastic *sangha* and had 84,000 Buddhist monuments constructed throughout the area he governed into which he redistributed the relics of the Buddha which had been buried in ten funerary monuments, or *stupas*, on the Buddha's death. This linkage of ruler, royal patronage of the *sangha* and the building of monuments became the archetype for later Buddhist kings in South East Asia who sought to emulate his role as state patron of Buddhism.[15]

The historical Emperor Asoka, as opposed to the Asoka of legend, erected a number of edicts throughout his kingdom written mostly in a script called *Brahmi*, but over time people forgot how to read this script and it was not deciphered again until the early nineteenth century.[16] They contain a depiction of Asoka quite different from the legends. In these edicts he describes how he took to the practice of *dharma* after the slaughter involved in his conquest of Kalinga, an area of Eastern India, and how he then abandoned violence and took to the practice of *dharma* as a means of spreading his influence. The linkage between Asoka and patronage of Buddhism and monumental architecture is, however, attested in the edicts, as they describe how he went on pilgrimage to Buddhist sacred sites, where he had monuments built. His patronage of the *sangha* is also evident from the edicts as in them he warned against splits in the *sangha* and indicated that the state would intervene in such matters and expel from the monastic community those who caused such splits. Some of the edicts also say he appointed *dharma* officers to superintend the lay people. Whether this actually refers to spreading the Buddha *dharma*, as Buddhists mostly understand it nowadays, or whether it means more upholding the law, in a secular sense, is a matter for debate. The Asoka of the edicts was not really the same as the Asoka of the legends, yet both were rapidly synthesised into one in the works of popular historians of the era, such as H.G. Wells, who depicted him as a modern liberal ruler who patronised Buddhism.[17] Buddhists also conflated the Asoka of legend and history when it was convenient. Norman points out that in the edicts Asoka sends *dharma* emissaries to spread word of his rule, like ambassadors to neighbouring countries, but in Buddhist traditions this becomes conflated with the sending of messengers to spread the Buddha *dharma* to nearby countries.[18]

As Buddhism spread through Asia it also encountered cultures in which different notions of kingship were current. In each case Buddhist tradition seems to have adapted by absorbing elements of local traditions into it. In the case of central Asia, Buddhist traditions absorbed elements of the Iranian figure of the divine monarch and in the case of East Asia elements of the Chinese concept of the king as the ruler of heaven were fused with Buddhist ideas. This can be seen in the proliferation of celestial Buddhas in Himalayan and central Asian Buddhist traditions and in the development of the notion of Amitabha Buddha as the celestial ruler in Pure Land Buddhism.

A vital element in how Buddhism developed as an Asian religion was the tradition of missions to spread the *dharma* which originated in the time of the Buddha when individual monks were sent to teach Buddhism in areas too remote to be reached by the Buddha himself. There is also a complex history of the inter-relationship of Buddhist traditions in Asia. After Buddhism

was established in China, at various times monks went from there back to India in order to learn more about the teachings and the codes of monastic conduct. Likewise Sri Lankan and Burmese traditions were often involved with contacts with each other. These monastic contacts were the precursors of colonial period contacts between Buddhist traditions in Asia, and show Buddhism had a pan-Asian dimension to it in pre-colonial times.

During the colonial era profound changes took place in Buddhism and its relationship to politics. Many of these changes can be understood by studying some of the leading reformers and considering the political dimensions of their activities. The most significant Sri Lankan figure was Anagarika Dharmapala (David Hewaviratne 1864–1933) who was a lay Buddhist reformer who donned robes in 1881 and gave himself the title *Anagarika Dharmapala* ('Homeless Protector of the Dharma'). He was very involved with Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott during their visits to Sri Lanka in which they became the first Western Buddhists in 1873. He also visited Japan in 1889, and the USA, for the Parliament of Religions, in 1893 and Shanghai in 1893, as well as spending many years in India after he founded the Mahabodhi society in 1891 with the aim of reclaiming the temple at Bodhgaya from the Hindus. His role as a nationalist is now remembered in Sri Lanka as much as his being a Buddhist reformer and this points to the way in which Buddhism became a symbol in Asian states for anti-colonial rhetoric.

In the case of China similar prominent Chinese reformers and activists included Yang Wenhui (1837–1911, Pinyin: Yang Wenhui), who met Dharmapala when he came to Shanghai in 1893, and Tai Hsu (1890–1947, Pinyin: Taixu). Tai Hsu's ideas on reform of the *sangha* were influential and included the involvement of the *sangha* in community and government affairs.[19]

In Japan a similar reformer was Shaku Soen (1859–1919) who was a Rinzai tradition Zen monk who travelled to Sri Lanka where he lived as a Theravada monk and was a Japanese representative at the 1893 world Parliament of Religions in Chicago. Judith Snodgrass has argued that during the Meiiji period there was a re-evaluation of the relationship between the Buddhist *sangha* and the state which sprang from both government efforts to harness Buddhism as a patriotic force and Buddhist efforts to engage in social and political aspects of reform.[20]

In *Modern Buddhism* Lopez argued that Yang and Dharmapala were prominent figures in the development of what he described as one of the 'projects of modernity' and 'Modern Buddhism' was depicted as rejecting ritual and magical elements, stressing equality over hierarchy, the universal over the local and the individual over the community.[21] The notion of 'Modern Buddhism' points to the ways that Buddhism had changed during the colonial period and contemporary Buddhism in Asia is the heir to not only ancient traditions, but also modern ideologies.

The present

Estimates of the total number of Buddhists today vary between two and five hundred million.[22]

There are problems with such figures. For instance, in the Japanese census people can select more than one option for religion, and many people mark themselves as being both Shinto and Buddhist. This points to a problem in how categories of religious adherence are conceived of and the inability of such categories to represent the beliefs of people who follow more than one religion at a time. I will now look at the top ten countries in terms of the number of Buddhists and then at Western countries.

China (244,130,000 Buddhists)

The two main issues which dominate discussions of Buddhism in China are the degree to which there is religious freedom and the treatment of the Tibetans. During the Cultural Revolution

Table 1.1 Estimates of Buddhist populations by country

China	244,130,000
Thailand	64,420,000
Japan	45,820,000
Burma (Myanmar)	38,410,000
Sri Lanka	14,450,000
Vietnam	14,380,000
Cambodia	13,690,000
South Korea	11,050,000
India	9,250,000
Malaysia	5,010,000
Rest of world	26,920,000
Total	487,530,000

period (1966–76) there was a wholesale attack on Buddhist cultures, peoples and monasteries. However, there has been an enormous resurgence of interest in Buddhism since liberalisation began in the late 1970s. By 2003 there were around 13,000 monasteries and around 180,000 monks and nuns. It is striking that though this figure included 120,000 Tibetan monks and 8,000 Theravada monks in and around Yunnan, there were only 50,000 Mahayana monks and nuns from the Han community. However, with a decline in the tradition of giving alms to monks and nuns, monasteries have had to seek new sources of income and have had to deal with being treated as focuses of the tourist industry and transformed into money-making enterprises. Partly this is because the number and strength of lay Buddhist organisations is still low and the monasteries cannot look to them for support as they would in the Buddhist countries of South East Asia. Political figures such as President Jiang Zemin (1993–2003) gave some support to the use of Buddhist morality (*de*) in the political sphere.[23] However, the term he used for virtue, *de*, is the same word for virtue as appears in the title of the Daoist classic the *Dao De Jing* and is not a particularly Buddhist concept. In regulations issued in 2004 religion was to be managed in such a way as to ensure it did not disrupt society or threaten the government's authority but acted to promote economic development.[24] A decade later in March 2014 in a speech to UNESCO, China's President Xi Jinping outlined how Buddhism had originated in India but once in China it had developed into 'Buddhism with Chinese characteristics'.[25] This is a significant development in Chinese state attitudes towards Buddhism as to some extent it recognises the importance of Buddhism in China. Current policies in regard to Buddhism in China reflect though a continuation of a policy of commercialisation of temples and monasteries and institutions such as the famous Shaolin temple which since 1999 has been run as a commercial enterprise by its abbot, Shi Yongxin, who until recently styled himself as the CEO monk of the temple.[26] The Famen temple near Xian houses the relics of the Buddha's finger and forms a focus for Buddhist pilgrimage and for commercial activity. The Famen temple also forms part of Chinese claims to be the world leader of Buddhism which were made at the World Buddhist conference at Famen temple in October 2014.[27]

In Tibet there have also been reverses in Chinese government policy in the last decade. There has been an active campaign to protest against Chinese control by individuals practising self-immolation in protest. This has led to Chinese authorities making efforts to suppress such protests and prevent them being publicised. In parallel with this there has been a move by the Chinese state to claim authority in religious matters for itself to the degree that it now claims to be able to identify who the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama will be. The paradox of an

atheist state being able to identify a reincarnation is profound but is based in the end on the simple possession of a particular bowl which belonged to the Panchen Lama, which was used to draw lots indicating who was the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama. Indeed they used this method when identifying the 14-year-old they chose as the 11th Panchen Lama in 1995, who China asserts is an alternative leader for Tibetan Buddhism. In March 2015 Chinese officials said that the Dalai Lama was 'profaning Buddhism' by saying he may not be reincarnated as they are now the sole body with the authority to authorise Tibetan Buddhist reincarnations.[28]

Thailand (64,420,000 Buddhists)

Around 95 per cent of Thais are Buddhists so all sides of the political spectrum claim Buddhist affiliations at times for their ideologies. Thaksin Shinawatra (Prime Minister 2001–2006) was a successful businessman who rose to power with the promise of economic reforms and who described his market reform concept as a form of Buddhist 'social contract'. In a speech in 1999 on the influence of the Buddhist reformer Buddhadasa (1906–93) he said that Buddhadasa had proposed that 'Politics is *dhamma* and *dhamma* is politics', and claimed that what Buddhadasa, and by implication Buddhist reformers, wanted was a government of men of moral integrity, and he was himself such a person.[29] Kitiarsa (2006) argued that Thaksin's downfall in 2006 was actually due to his failing to convert his power into virtue by acting like a moral Buddhist leader.[30]

In regards to Malay Muslim separatism in the south, Thaksin's approach was to blame it on bandits and deny a link to militant Islam, and attempt to crack down on violence while trying to increase development funding to the area. Disputes over whether it was gangsterism, separatism, Islamic fundamentalism, or even simple opposition to Thaksin Shinawatra's government, became endemic during this period between the Thai government and its own security forces. Thaksin Shinawatra's reforms and his conflicts with the security forces contributed to exacerbating the issues involved which remain fundamentally the same today as they were in 2006.[31]

An extended period of civil unrest in Thailand led up to a military coup on 22 May 2014 led by General Prayuth. During the unrest a number of Buddhist monks, such as Buddha Issara, also took a prominent part in the anti-government protests and gave speeches on the stages set up in Bangkok as part of the movement to stop the city and topple the government of Yingluk Shinawatra.[32] Since the coup Prayuth, now Prime Minister Prayuth, has affirmed his support for Buddhism but also affirmed that people's faith in Buddhism must be strengthened by cracking down on inappropriate behaviour by monks.[33]

Japan (45,820,000 Buddhists)

Despite the number of Buddhists in Japan many younger Japanese people identify more as secular than religious. The Komeito or 'Clean Government Party' is often spoken of as a Buddhist party and it was formed in 1964 by the lay Buddhist Soka Gakkai[34] organisation, which is itself an offshoot of the Nichiren Buddhist tradition.[35] In 1999 Komeito reformed and become the 'New Komeito' Party. The New Komeito Party on its website takes pains to point out that it is not affiliated with any religious groups and there have been no formal links between it and the Soka Gakkai apart from at the time of its foundation in 1964.[36] As of 2015 the Komeito Party has thirty-five members in parliament and forms along with the LDP part of the ruling coalition in Japan led by Shinzo Abe. The shift towards revoking Article 9 of Japan's constitution on the non-use of military forces appears to have posed a strain on Komeito's continued adherence

to the Buddhist concept of non-violence, but as of March 2015 it appears that Komeito has accepted Abe's scheme with some provisos on how it is to be interpreted.[37]

Vietnam (14,380,000 Buddhists)

Religious freedom, or the lack of it, is a dominant issue in the discussion of Buddhism in Vietnam. The Vietnamese government has a very fluid attitude towards Buddhism and other religions; it publicly supports religious traditions but seeks to stamp out superstitions. This means that whenever it dislikes any particular grouping it labels it a superstition and can ban it.[38] The leading Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hahn, who left Vietnam in 1966, has only been able to return once for a visit in 2005. Even then his visit was a source of considerable controversy as monks in Vietnam argued that the government was using his visit to show they were liberal in their attitude to Buddhism, whilst at the same increasing repression of Buddhists and the 'Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam', which was banned in 1981.[39] These policies continue to this day and whilst events such as the Huong Pagoda Festival are celebrated as focuses of cultural tourism[40] Buddhist activists are imprisoned or forced into exile.[41]

Myanmar (38,410,000 Buddhists)

In Myanmar (formerly Burma) there has been a profound change in the relationship between Buddhism and politics since 2011 which marked the end of two decades of suppression of democracy by a military junta. This had come about in part because up until 1990 large parts of the *sangha* supported pro-democracy elements and the National League for Democracy (NLD) led by Aung San Suu Kyi. However, the military ignored the 1990 election which was won by the NLD and set out to suppress opposition to it in the state and in the *sangha.* This culminated in the police attacking a meeting of 7,000 monks in Mandalay to which 20,000 monks responded by boycotting the regime.[42] The government then set out to drive elements hostile to it from the *sangha* and sought to appropriate Buddhist rhetoric to legitimate its rule. The *mangala sutta* was promoted as a basis for government policy and the generals appeared from time to time on television in white robes, like lay Buddhists observing the eight precepts on special days.[43] This situation dramatically changed after the election in 2011 when under the leadership of former general, and now President, Thein Sein a liberalising approach was adopted for the governance of Myanmar. Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest and she and the NLD were allowed to take an active part in politics. As part of the liberalisation many monks who had been imprisoned for their anti-government activities were also released. A most concerning development which has taken place since 2012 has been the emergence of anti-Muslim movements within the Buddhist community. Fostered perhaps in part by a lack of the tight control exercised by the former junta, or some suggest some degree of support from some elements in the regime, anti-Muslim movements came to prominence. As a symbol of identity one group adopted the term '969' which relates to a set of key Buddhist beliefs, the nine attributes of the Buddha, the six attributes of the *dharma* and the nine attributes of the *sangha*. This was intended to be a symbol to use in distinction to the common Muslim use of the number 768 as a way to represent a phrase used at the beginning of an activity (*Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*). A prominent leader of the '969' movement is a monk, Ashin Wirathu, who has described himself as 'the Burmese bin Laden' and led an active collaboration with the BBS from Sri Lanka (see below) in opposition to what he sees as the Muslim threat to Buddhist cultures.[44] This led to anti-Muslim riots, often directed at Rohingya Muslim communities, which began in May 2012.[45]

Sri Lanka (14,450,000 Buddhists)

The conflict between the Tamils and the Singhalese dominated the relationship of Buddhism to politics in Sri Lanka from 1980 to 2009. The background to this goes back not only to Angarika Dhammapala's reforms of the nineteenth century but also to the movement towards the politicisation of the *sangha* in which Walpole Rahula was influential, but which was opposed by the early post-independence leaders such as D.S. Senanayake. Rahula, in his seminal pre-independence work of 1946 *Bhikshuvage Urumaya* ('The Heritage of the Monk'),[46] rejected the notion that monks could not play an active role in society and in politics and favoured the development of the role of the 'political monk'.[47] This has undoubtedly contributed to the situation in which a number of monks now sit in parliament. The first of these was Baddegama Samitha in 2001 and then the 'The National Heritage Party', or Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU), monks held nine seats in parliament and from January 2007 to 2014 formed part of the government led by Mahinda Rajapaksa.[48] They are a conservative group and played a role in campaigning against conversions and were firmly against any peace process with the Tamil community. After the election of Maithripala Sirisena in January 2015 they shifted their allegiance to him and still form part of the ruling government coalition in Sri Lanka.

In Sri Lanka the greatest changes in the relationship between Buddhism and politics in the last five years have related to the emergence of Buddhist anti-Muslim violence. The first nexus of this development appeared in Sri Lanka after the defeat of the Tamil Tiger movement in 2009 when under the government of Mahinda Rajapaksha some militant Buddhist groups turned their attention towards Muslim communities and sites. Prominent amongst this is the BBS, the Bodu Bala Sena, or 'Buddhist Brigade', which has been influential in fomenting anti-Muslim violence. The BBS was founded in 2004 as a breakaway from the JHU and began to actively campaign on a number of issues from 2012 onwards, such as whether Buddhist migrant workers in Arab Countries were able to practise their religion freely. However, the most prominent event linked to the BBS and the anti-Muslim rhetoric it employs were anti-Muslim riots in June 2014 in Aluthgama.[49]

South Korea (11,050,000 Buddhists)

Buddhism in Korea has been through a number of phases of waxing and waning in influence. In the long term this was apparent in its dominance during the Koryo dynasty (918–1392) followed by its being subject to anti-Buddhist statutes during the Choson dynasty (1392–1910). In the twentieth century Japanese imperialism led to initial liberalisation of laws on Buddhism, followed by heavy state interference in the running of the *sangha*. After 1945 Buddhism was all but wiped out in the North under the regime of Kim Il Sung but has flourished in South Korea. The tradition of government control of Buddhist monasteries and temples was further entrenched by the 1961 law on control of Buddhist property in the republic of South Korea. Under the government of Park Chung Hee from 1962 to his assassination in 1979 Buddhism was seen as supporting the regime and was supported by the regime. However, aspects of the relationship that were problematic were highlighted by issues such as the conscription of monks into the armed forces. In yet another turn in fortune the next leader, Chun Doohwan, was a staunch Christian who withdrew support from Buddhism and tried to attack it wherever possible. In a move reminiscent of Chinese current policies Chun turned monasteries and temples into national parks and took control of their lands and began to develop them as tourist resorts. By 1980 this led to open conflict between the *sangha* and the state. Arrests and repression of Buddhist monks continued and culminated in the popular uprisings of 1986 which led to the first democratic

elections in South Korea. There is also some history of Christian attacks on Buddhist monasteries, sites, monuments and individuals which has been going on since 1982. Christians even burned down a number of Buddhist temples in northern Seoul in 1996.[50] In view of the ways in which the South Korean government has taken an active part in the management of the *sangha* and its property since 1945 it is also evident that these conflicts cannot be seen in isolation from political struggles in South Korea over wealth, property and the rights of different communities.

During the office of President Lee Myung-bak (2008–2013) there was considerable tension in South Korea due to his strong Protestant beliefs causing him to appear to favour Protestant Christianity. This led to major demonstrations by over sixty thousand Buddhists and others in Seoul in 2008. However, since February 2013 under the government of President Park Geun-hye religion seems to have played a less divisive role in politics. President Park Geun-hye has been described as an atheist who has been influenced by Buddhism and Catholicism and she appears to have adopted an even-handed approach to religion.[51] However, some Christians have continued to agitate against Buddhism through the carrying out of a practice called *Ddangbarpgi*, singing hymns and performing Christian prayers at sites of Buddhist worship. A film of such activity by Korean Christians at the Mahabodhi Temple in Bodhgaya in 2014 created much controversy and reignited discussion of similar events from Korea itself in 2010 at the temple of Bongeunsa in Seoul and Donghwasa in Daegu City.[52]

Taiwan (9,150,000 Buddhists)

There has been an extraordinary proliferation of new Buddhist movements in Taiwan since 1945 such as the *Fo Guang Shan*, *Tzu Chi* and *Dharma Drum Mountain* which has given rise to questions about the relationship between traditional Buddhism, business and politics. The *Fo Guang Shan* movement, also known outside of Taiwan as the 'Buddha's Light International Association' (BLIA) was founded in 1967 by the Venerable Hsing Yun and has many temples around the world. These include the Nan Tien Temple in Wollongong, Australia, and the Hsi Lai Temple in California, USA. It is the largest Buddhist organisation in Taiwan and extremely wealthy. It is not surprising therefore that it should be courted by political leaders as essentially such a large organisation is a potential vote bank in any democratic system. The Venerable Hsing Yun has also at times been labelled a 'political monk' as he has made comments on Chinese reunification, supported the Tibetan cause and has been implicated in a scandal involving Al Gore where the BLIA Hsi Lai Buddhist Temple in California raised funds for the Al Gore campaign.[53] There is also considerable overlap in Taiwan itself between the government and the *sangha* and a number of religious leaders have played active roles in politics which has led to a blurring of the line between religion and politics.[54]

The Tzu Chi foundation has a membership of around five million in Taiwan itself and two million overseas with overseas membership growing rapidly and membership in Malaysia growing from 100,000 to one million in 2013.[55] However, Tzu Chi, which was founded by a nun, the Venerable Cheng Yen, could be characterised as a charitable group inspired by Buddhist ideals rather than as Buddhist organisation.[56] In terms of the impact of Buddhism on politics in Taiwan Schak argued that the large scale of involvement of Buddhist organisations in community building has fostered the growth of engagement with political representation in Taiwan.[57]

Cambodia (13,690,000 Buddhists)

After the devastation of the Pol Pot regime era (1975–1979) Cambodia has seen a rebirth of Buddhism which highlights the way that Diaspora community members are able to interact with

their own countries of origin. Since 1989 when the People's Republic of Kampuchea started lifting restrictions on religions large numbers of monasteries have been rebuilt and the number of monks and nuns has increased enormously.[58] The *sangha* is today largely a supporter of the government and its leader Hun Sen.[59] Some monks also opposed the government, such as Maha Ghosananda (1929–2007), who is famous for starting in 1992 a practice he called *dhammayatra* ('peace walks'). His activities also included organising meditations by monks and nuns in 1993with the aim of exerting pressure on the government to create a 'just constitution' for Cambodia.[60]

Buddhism has continued to recover in Cambodia. However, as Ian Harris (2013) pointed out there are still profound problems and the situation of Buddhism has changed from 'virtual extinction to a simulacrum of normality'.[61] From 1998 to the present day Cambodia has been governed by Prime Minister Hun Sen and Buddhist monastic organisations have been able to function, but there has been from time to time discontent with his rule. After an election in September 2013 large crowds including Buddhist monks protested against the results of the election and a three-day protest demonstration included an attempt by a monk, the Venerable Sok Dyna, to self-immolate in protest against the governing regime.[62]

India (9,250,000 Buddhists)

The more than nine million Buddhists in India are a very small proportion of the total population. Despite this they are a vocal minority in certain states and Buddhism is a factor in the politics of Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. This is due to its influence amongst the *dalits*, or oppressed, peoples, also formerly known as untouchables. The *dalit* vote has been courted by various parties as numerically the lower caste and *dalit* voters often represent the majority of voters in some areas and during the 1980s a number of state governments came to power which organised coalitions of these communities to seize power from the previous ruling parties.

A proportion of the inhabitants of Ladakh and Himachal Pradesh form an Indian Buddhist community whose culture is closely related to that of Tibet. Following the Indo-Chinese war of 1962 Ladakh and the border areas of China became militarised zones and tension with China continues to this day. Due to this the politics of these Buddhist border areas of India is very sensitive to security concerns related to China. India–China relations during the period when the BJP government was in power in the 1990s were dominated by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpayee taking a conciliatory line on matters related to China, and the defence minister George Fernandez taking a hard line on China-related issues. Under the Congress government from 2005 to 2014 a similar strategy operated.

During the last decade the relationship between Buddhism and politics in India has continued to be influenced by internal Indian politics and India's relations with China. Kumari Mayawati, the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh from 2007 to 2012, was very supportive of Buddhists as most Indian Buddhists, like herself, come from former *dalit* communities.

Since the BJP government led by the Prime Minister Narendra Modi was elected in May 2014 it appears to have been following a policy of reaching out to Indian Buddhists and also of supporting Tibetan exiles within India and the Dalai Lama as a guest of India.

Western countries

Despite the growing interest in and popularity of Buddhism in Western countries the number of Buddhists in these countries is not high, and where it is, it is mostly due to immigration from Buddhist countries. For instance, the number of people who reported that they were Buddhists in the UK census of 2011 was 248,000 people, or 0.4 per cent of the total population.[63] In

Australia in 2011 the number of Buddhists was about 528,977 (2.5 per cent of the population) according to the ABS.[64] The majority of these were immigrants from Vietnam, Cambodia or China or their children. Some estimates suggest that there are around four million Buddhists in North America (1 per cent of the population).[65] Despite the relatively small numbers of Buddhists in Western countries their influence is substantial as they often represent the visible face of Buddhism for Western cultures.

The future

Current trends in the development of the relationship between Buddhism and politics suggest that two conflicting patterns are emerging. One is of Buddhism continuing to be associated with peace activism through Engaged Buddhism, and the other of Buddhism becoming identified with anti-Muslim Buddhist nationalism.

Attempts to foster a 'Mindful Politics' movement in the early part of the century in the US led to little progress in developing a distinctive Buddhist presence in US politics.[66] However the Engaged Buddhist movement has continued to develop during the last decade and taken a significant role in various forms of activism in the West. The Vietnamese monk Thich Nhat Hanh is regarded as the founder of this movement which developed out of his personal involvement in the anti-war movement in his homeland. Thich Nhat Hanh (1993) developed the idea that lay Buddhists themselves were capable of taking action to improve social conditions in the world, to campaign against war, poverty, exploitation and environmental destruction.[67] One of the striking features of Engaged Buddhism is that it has become a form of global Buddhist movement in which Asians living in Asia and in the West, and Westerners in the West and in Asia interact.[68]

Developments in China in the last decade also seem to indicate that the conflict there has now taken a new turn with Chinese efforts shifting from simply opposing the existence of religion to trying to co-opt it. Indicative of this are the 2014 claims by the atheist Chinese government to have the sole right, and ability, to recognise reincarnations of Tibetan Lamas such as the Dalai Lama.[69]

A second, and key, issue in the development of global Buddhist perspectives is the extent to which Buddhist traditions come into conflict with other religions and political systems. Currently, in 2015, it is clear that the most critical issue is violence by Buddhists against Muslims and the consequent cycle of Buddhist–Muslim violence. Obviously in each case it could be argued that the conflict is not really religious, but social, political and economic, but in each case the longer the conflict lasts the greater the chance that the religious label will gain an independent life as an indicator of the conflict. In the case of Sri Lanka and Myanmar the key issue seems to be related to Buddhist perceptions of themselves as being threatened by Islam which has led to Buddhist attacks on Muslims and started a new cycle of communal violence. The global impact of Buddhist anti-Muslim violence in Myanmar has also begun to be felt elsewhere in the Buddhist world and those arrested for the bombings at the Bodhgaya temple in India in July 2013 claimed they did it in revenge for Buddhist attacks on the Muslim Rohingya communities of Myanmar.

In terms of the future of Buddhism and politics there are two key factors. First, the process of globalisation is revealing that although the diverse Buddhist traditions of the world share some common goals they also are characterised by different cultural and national approaches to the realisation of the goals of Buddhism. Second, that Buddhism has now been drawn into the ambit of conflict between groups identifying as Islamic and other communities and this has given rise to Buddhist anti-Muslim violence.

Notes

1 Khosla, *The historical evolution*, 32; Walshe, *Thus Have I Heard*, 205.
2 Rahula, 'Wrong notions of Dhammata', 181.
3 Harris, *Buddhism and politics*, vii.
4 Reynolds, 'The two wheels of Dhamma'.
5 Gombrich, *Precept and Practice*.
6 Flood, *An Introduction to Hinduism*, 71.
7 Walshe, *Thus Have I Heard*, 443.
8 Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*, 84–5.
9 Horner, *The book of the discipline*, Vol. I., 73–4.
10 Horner, *The book of the discipline*, Vol. IV., 47.
11 Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*.
12 Walshe, *Thus Have I Heard*, 407–15.
13 Ibid., 395–405.
14 Norman, *A Philological Approach*, 113–30.
15 Strong, *The Legend of King Asoka*.
16 Keay, *India Discovered*, 39–63.
17 Wells, *A Short History of the World*, 111–12.
18 Norman, *A Philological Approach*, 128.
19 Lopez, *Modern Buddhism*, 85–90.
20 Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism*, 115–36.
21 Lopez, *Modern Buddhism*, xi.
22 Hackett, *The Global Religious Landscape*, 2012, 32.
23 Yin, 'Buddhism and economic reform in mainland China'.
24 Miller, 'The opium of the people'.
25 Xi Jinping, 'Speech by H.E. Xi Jinping'.
26 Chen, 'China's controversial Buddhist abbot'.
27 Han, 'Conference of World Fellowship of Buddhists'.
28 McDonell, 'China accuses Dalai Lama'.
29 Phongpaichit and Baker, *Thaksin: The Business of Politics*, 137.
30 Kitiarsa, *In Defense of the Thai-Style Democracy*.
31 Phongpaichit and Baker, *Thaksin: The Business of Politics*, 234–9.
32 Lefevre, 'Thai Buddhist monk'.
33 'Declining faith in monks'.
34 Metraux, 'The Soka Gakkai'.
35 Hardacre, 'State and religion in Japan'.
36 'New Komeito's Views'.
37 'Coalition reaches deal'.
38 King, 'Thich Nhat Hanh'; Do, 'The Quest for Enlightenment'.
39 'UBCV Patriarch'.
40 'Vietnam's biggest Buddhist festival'.
41 Pearson, 'Abbott has a habit of honouring authoritarians'.
42 Mathews, 'Buddhism and the nation'.
43 Houtman, *Mental Culture in Burmese Crisis Politics.*
44 Ranga and Aneez, 'Hardline Buddhists in Myanmar'.
45 Thompson, 'The 969 Movement'.
46 Rahula, *The Heritage of the Monk*.
47 Malalgoda, 'Buddhism in post-independence Sri Lanka'.
48 'Monk's party to join'.
49 'Sri Lanka Muslims killed'.
50 Tedesco, 'Questions for Buddhist and Christian cooperation'.

51 Song and Ko, 'Park Geun-hye's past and future'.
52 Kang, 'Korean Christians stir controversy'.
53 Sperry, 'Gore's had 15 chances'.
54 Laliberte, *The Politics of Buddhist Organisations*, 42–3.
55 Sui, 'Meeting Taiwan's new-age Buddhists'.
56 Schak and Hsiao, 'Taiwan's socially engaged Buddhist groups'.
57 Schak, 'Community and the new Buddhism in Taiwan'.
58 Gutherie, 'Rebuilding Cambodian Buddhism'.
59 Stuart-Fox, 'Buddhism and politics in Laos', 13.
60 Poethig, 'The transnational in Cambodia's Dhammayatra', 204.
61 Harris, *Buddhism in a Dark Age*, 167.
62 Titthara, 'Protesting monk may be disrobed'.
63 'Religion in England and Wales 2011'.
64 '2011 Census reveals'.
65 'Religious composition by country'.
66 McLeod, *Mindful Politics*; Boyce, 'Who does God vote for?'
67 Hanh, *Interbeing*.
68 Queen, *Engaged Buddhism*.
69 Eaton, 'China Asserts Control'.

References

Print sources

Boyce, B. (2006). 'Who does God vote for? Seeking an alternative to the Christian Right'. *Shambhala Sun*, 15 (1): 48–55, 100.

Do, T. (1999). 'The quest for enlightenment and cultural identity: Buddhism in contemporary Vietnam'. In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, edited by Ian Harris. London and New York: Continuum, 254–84.

Flood, Gavin. (1988). *An Introduction to Hinduism*. Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Gombrich, Richard. (1971). *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gutherie, E. (2005). 'Rebuilding Cambodian Buddhism anew: modernity at a cost or Khmer Renaissance?' Paper presented at the Australasian Association for Buddhist Studies, Sydney, September 28–30.

Hanh, Thich Nhat. (1993). *'Interbeing': Fourteen Guidelines for Engaged Buddhism*. Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press.

Hardacre, H. (2006). 'State and religion in Japan'. In *Nanzan Guide to Japanese religion*, edited by P. Swanson and C. Chilson. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 274–88.

Harris, I. (2013). *Buddhism in a Dark Age: Cambodian Monks Under Pol Pot*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Harris, Ian, ed. (1999). *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*. London and New York: Continuum.

Horner, I. (1970). *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-pitaka)*, Vol. I. *(Suttavibhanga)*. Translated by I. Horner. London: Pali Text Society.

Horner, I. (1982). *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-pitaka)*, Vol. IV. *(Mahavagga)*. Translated by I. Horner. London: Pali Text Society.

Houtman, G. (1999). *Mental Culture in Burmese Crisis Politics*. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Keay, John. (1988). *India Discovered*. London: Collins.

Khosla, S. (1989). *The Historical Evolution of the Buddha Legend*. Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House.

King, S. 'Thich Nhat Hanh and the Unified Buddhist Church'. In *Engaged Buddhism, Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, edited by C. Queen and S. King. New York: State University of New York Press, 321–64.

Laliberte, A. (2004). *The Politics of Buddhist Organisations in Taiwan*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.

Lopez, D. (2002). *Modern Buddhism*. London: Penguin Books.

Malalgoda, K. (1977). 'Buddhism in post-independence Sri Lanka'. In *Religion in South Asia*, edited by Geoff Oddie. London: Curzon Press, 183–9.
Mathews, B. (1999). 'Buddhism and the nation in Myanmar'. In *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-Century Asia*, edited by Ian Harris. London and New York: Continuum, 26–53.
McLeod, M., ed. (2006). *Mindful Politics: A Buddhist Guide to Making the World a Better Place*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications.
Metraux, D. (1996). 'The Soka Gakkai'. In *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, edited by C. Queen and S. King. New York: State University of New York Press, 365–400.
Miller, J. (2006). 'The opium of the people: religion, science and modernity'. In *Chinese Religions in Contemporary Societies*, edited by J. Miller, 31–56. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
Norman, K. (1997). *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
Phongpaichit, P. and Baker, C. (2004). *Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand*. Chang Mai: Silkworm Books.
Poethig, K. (2004). 'The transnational in Cambodia's Dhammayatra'. In *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, edited by J. Marston, and E. Guthrie. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 197–212.
Queen, C., ed. (2000). *Engaged Buddhism in the West*. Boston: Wisdom.
Rahula, W. (1974a). 'Wrong notions of Dhammata (Dharmata)'. In *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, edited by L. Cousins et al. Dordrecht: Reidel Publishing Company, 181–91.
Rahula, W. (1974b). *The Heritage of the Monk*. Translated by K. Wijayasureeendra. New York: Grove Press.
Rahula, W. (1985). *What the Buddha Taught*. London: Gordon Fraser.
Reynolds, F. (1972). 'The two wheels of Dhamma'. In *The Two Wheels of Dhamma*, edited by Bardwell Smith. Chambersburg: American Academy of Religion, 6–30.
Schak, David C. (2009). 'Community and the new Buddhism in Taiwan'. 民俗曲藝 (Folk Opera) 163 (3): 161–92.
Snodgrass, J. (2003). *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press.
Strong, J. (1983). *The Legend of King Asoka*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Tedesco, F. (1997). 'Questions for Buddhist and Christian cooperation in Korea'. *Buddhist-Christian Studies*. 17: 179–95.
Thapar, R. (2000). *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*. Delhi: Oxford India.
Walshe, M. (1987). *Thus Have I Heard: A New Translation of the Digha Nikaya*. London: Wisdom.
Wells, H.G. (1936). *A Short History of the World*. London: Penguin.
Yin, J. (2006). 'Buddhism and economic reform in mainland China'. In *Chinese Religions in Contemporary Societies*, edited by J. Miller. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 85–99.

Internet sources

Australian Bureau of Statistics. '2011 Census reveals Hinduism as the fastest growing religion in Australia'. June 21, 2012. http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/CO-61.
Chen, Stephen. 'China's controversial Buddhist abbot of Shaolin Temple turns his back on title of 'CEO monk'. *South China Morning Post*, March 10, 2015. http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1734156/chinas-controversial-buddhist-abbot-shaolin-temple-turns-his-back-title.
'Coalition reaches deal on security laws'. *The Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 19, 2015. https://www.questia.com/newspaper/1P3-3629048711/coalition-reaches-deal-on-security-laws-ldp-komeito.
'Declining faith in monks must be fixed: Prayuth'. *The Nation*, June 17, 2014. http://www.nationmultimedia.com/national/Declining-faith-in-monks-must-be-fixed-Prayuth-30236408.html.
Eaton, Joshua. 'China Asserts Control over Dalai Lama Lineage'. *Tricycle*, March 25, 2015. http://www.tricycle.com/blog/china-asserts-control-over-dalai-lama-lineage.
Hackett, Conrad, et al. *The Global Religious Landscape*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, 2012. http://www.pewforum.org/files/2014/01/global-religion-full.pdf.
Han, Bin. 'Conference of World Fellowship of Buddhists opens in China Thursday'. CCTV.com. October 15, 2014. http://english.cntv.cn/2014/10/15/VIDE1413351242533693.shtml.
Kang Bying Jin (강병진). 'Korean Christians stir controversy by holding service at sacred Buddhist site'. *Huff Post*, October 17, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/10/korean-christians-buddhist-temple_ n_5574530.html.

Kitiarsa, P. (2006). *In Defense of the Thai-Style Democracy*, Singapore: Asia Research Institute. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thaification.

Lefevre, Amy Sawitta. 'Thai Buddhist monk vows to fight on even as protesters scale back'. www.reuters.com. March 1, 2014. http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/01/us-thailand-protest-monk-idUSBREA2008C20140301.

McDonell, Stephen. 'China accuses Dalai Lama of "profaning" Buddhism by signalling end to reincarnation'. www.abc.net. March 10, 2015. http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-03-10/china-attacks-dalai-lama-over-bid-to-cease-reincarnation/6296420.

'Monk's party to join Lankan govt'. *Hindustan Times*, January 31, 2007. http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/7598_1916135,000500020002.htm.

'New Komeito's views on politics and religion in Japan'. *Komeito*. http://www.komei.or.jp/en/about/view.html, accessed May 10, 2015.

Pearson, Elaine. 'Abbott has a habit of honouring authoritarians: Will Vietnam be different?' *The Guardian*. March 17, 2015. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/mar/17/abbott-has-a-habit-of-honouring-authoritarians-will-vietnam-be-different.

Ranga, Sirilal and Aneez, Shihar. 'Hardline Buddhists in Myanmar, Sri Lanka strike anti-Islamist pact'. www.reuters.com. September 30, 2014. http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/30/us-sri-lanka-buddhism-myanmar-idUSKCN0HP1RE20140930.

'Religion in England and Wales 2011'. Office for National Statistics, December 11, 2012. http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290510.pdf.

'Religious composition by country.' Pew Research Center. April 2, 2015. http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projection-table/2010/number/all/.

Schak, David C. and Hsiao, Hsin-Huang Michael. 'Taiwan's socially engaged Buddhist groups'. China Perspectives, 2005. http://chinaperspectives.revues.org/2803#tocto2n6.

Song, Ho-kyun and Ko, Na-mu. 'Park Geun-hye's past and future'. *Hankyoreh*. July 17, 2012. http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/542885.html.

Sperry, P. 'Gore's had 15 chances to escape Temple of Doom'. *WorldNetDaily*, November 7, 2000. http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=20676.

'Sri Lanka Muslims killed in Aluthgama clashes with Buddhists'. www.bbc.com. June 16, 2014. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27864716.

Stuart Fox, M. 'Buddhism and politics in Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar and Thailand'. Paper presented at the ANU Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Thailand Summer School 2006, Canberra, 29 January–2 February, 2006. https://thaionline.anu.edu.au/_documents/BUDDHISM_AND_POLITICS_IN_SOUTH EAST_ASIA.pdf.

Sui, Cindy. 'Meeting Taiwan's new-age Buddhists'. www.bbc.com, January 29, 2014. http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-25772194.

Thompson, Nathan G. 'The 969 Movement and Burmese anti-Muslim nationalism in context'. *Buddhist Peace Fellowship*. July 16, 2013 http://www.buddhistpeacefellowship.org/the-969-movement-and-burmese-anti-muslim-nationalism-in-context/.

Titthara, May. 'Protesting monk may be disrobed'. *The Phnom Penh Post*. September 19, 2013. http://www.phnompenhpost.com/national/protesting-monk-may-be-disrobed.

'UBCV Patriarch Thich Huyen Quang declines to meet Thich Nhat Hanh in Binh Dinh'. *Que Me: Action for Democracy in Vietnam*. 2005. http://www.queme.net/eng/e-news_detail.php?numb=397.

'Vietnam's biggest Buddhist festival begins its three-month run'. *Thanh Nien News*, February 25, 2015. http://www.thanhniennews.com/travel/vietnams-biggest-buddhist-festival-begins-its-threemonth-run-39080.html.

Xi, Jinping. 'Speech by H.E. Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China at UNESCO Headquarters'. *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China*. March 28, 2014. http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1142560.shtml.

2
CHRISTIANITY
Protestantism

Paul Freston

WIFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY, CANADA

Why study global Protestant politics?

I was once invited to the United States to observe a meeting of scholars who studied Christianity and politics in that country. I soon realised that scholars of Catholicism perceived the comparative dimension of their work, that Catholicism and American politics had to be studied in the light of Catholicism and politics elsewhere. But scholars of Protestantism showed no such awareness; it was as if an important contemporary relationship between Protestantism and politics existed only in the USA. This belief is probably shared by most people in the developed West. But it misunderstands the reality of Protestantism globally.

By a widely accepted estimate,[1] Protestants represent 11 per cent of the world population. Two factors enhance their importance. They are heavily practising, nominal adherence being low in areas of recent Protestantisation. And their truly global spread is due to conversion rather than migration.

Protestantism has done especially well in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Chinese and Korean worlds. After the USA, the countries with most practising Protestants are now Brazil, China and Nigeria. Many of these are not connected with institutions founded in Europe or North America, but with pentecostal denominations founded in Latin America, or 'African Independent Churches', or 'unregistered' Chinese groups. They are the grassroots Protestants of the global South, and often more numerous than those linked with the old mission churches. This expansion (mainly post-colonial) has been largely due to indigenous initiatives. Global Protestantism is predominantly non-white and distant from power and wealth.

These characteristics give it political importance, and invite us to re-examine the historical correlation between Protestantism and democracy. Is that a spurious correlation, dependent on factors in the West which might not exist elsewhere? What is the weight of religious traditions versus circumstances? Religions are always diverse and mutable. Yet social contexts do not explain everything. Each religious tradition has a unique approach to law, territory, religious organisation and religion–state relations, and this may influence how believers behave in particular circumstances.

Protestantism as heir to the Western Christian tradition

Protestantism's spread into economically and culturally distinct societies has increased the variability of its relationship to politics which stems from Christianity's origin as a persecuted sect, the lack of 'law' in its scriptures and its emphasis on cultural and linguistic adaptation. Christ gave no 'law', and early Christianity was distant from political responsibilities. Its politics has generally been less sure of itself. While many Christians speak of a worldview and political *principles*, few find in the Bible a fully fledged political *programme*.

Protestantism is a 'purer' Christian monotheism (rejecting Catholic dilution of the sacred in the saints). Perceptions of its relationship to politics are therefore coloured by perceptions of monotheism in general. For some scholars, monotheistic religions tend to arrogance and intolerance, unless constrained by extraneous factors.[2] But distinctions must be made. Monotheism does not necessarily imply belief that only our group holds the truth. And mass voluntarist monotheism has different implications from elite or state monotheism.

Many scholars also argue for differences *between* monotheisms which transcend their current contexts. While Christianity started on the margins of an empire, Islam became the centre of a new empire and is not carried by a 'church'. Its monist ideal differs from the normative dualism of church–state relations in Christianity, the notion of two 'cities' to which Christians belong and between which critical distance should be maintained. Islam also emphasises religiously sanctioned laws and stresses territoriality, whereas Christianity lacks an original connection with power, law and territory. But no religion is frozen in time; Christianity later acquired territoriality and became Christendom.

Protestantism, born largely within the Christendom model, nevertheless accentuates these characteristics. Especially in its evangelical form, it sees itself as a return to the early church, seeking justification for its stances in the New Testament. However, early Christianity was a discriminated sect which soon became a cross-cultural voluntary community. It spoke of a law 'written on the heart' and a 'kingdom not of this world', which at once enabled believers to belong to any earthly kingdom ('render unto Caesar') but also relativised all of them. Lacking a definite political recipe, a variety of postures towards the state could be adopted, from eschatological indifference through prophetic critique to conformist legitimation. But this voluntarist, non-legalist and non-territorial model faced enormous resistances which partially distorted it. The marginalised faith later became the official cult and partly reverted to the Old Testament programme. But from early modern times, differentiation reactivated its original status as a voluntary group.[3]

Thus, Protestant politics is born two-pronged. Firstly, it 'protests' against accretions to scriptural faith. Thus, Christianity's circumstances when its scriptures were written are vital. Luke's 'Acts' describing the expansion of the politically powerless faith becomes authoritative scripture, whereas Eusebius' fourth-century works lionising the newly converted emperor Constantine do not. But secondly, Protestantism also inherits the Western Christian tradition.

A key part of that tradition is 'dualism'. This stems from prophetic Old Testament religion's rejection of the state-cult and tendency to eschatological relativisation. But 'dualism' also refers to the development of the West, where the church acquired institutional importance after the collapse of the Western empire. Later, dualism was sharpened by the struggle between pope and emperor, laying the groundwork of institutional pluralism for the gradual development of civil society and democracy.[4] In contrast to Byzantine 'caesaropapism' (subordination

of clerical to secular power), the normative doctrine of the West became the 'two swords', recognising secular authority but denying it jurisdiction over the church, and asserting the right of the church to challenge the secular power.

However, both Western and Eastern Christianity were heirs of the fourth-century shift from a popular movement supported by its members to an elite organisation supported by the state. This will also influence Protestantism.

The politics of early Protestantism

The Western tradition did not bequeath a uniform approach. Its variety was accentuated by the early modern world, as well as by Protestantism's own organisational and doctrinal diversity. Protestantism reflects primitive Christianity's political disadvantages. Primitive Christian thought, said Tocqueville, lacked the idea of moral citizenship and created a dangerous political void.[5] This void has continued in (increasingly evangelical) Protestantism with its 'primitivist' return to origins. Since Christianity's origins were distant from the state, the abiding 'temptation' for evangelicalism is not theocracy but apoliticism.

Protestantism has become the natural home of the *sect* tendency, one of the possible sociological outworkings of primitive Christianity. The *church*, in Troeltsch's conception, is an institution endowed with grace, able to receive the masses and adjust to the world. The *sect*, however, is a voluntary association, usually connected with the lower classes or those opposed to the state. It usually renounces the idea of dominating the world (though it may oscillate between indifference, hostility and tolerance).[6]

The Reformation was 'immediately confronted by this fateful question: church or sect? It has deliberately held firmly to the church-type'.[7] Writing in the early twentieth century, Troeltsch sees *sectarian* influence as limited mainly to ascetic Calvinism's 'attempts to restore holy community' within the world. But that scarcely did justice to Anglophone Protestantism; and since then its global expansion has increased influence of the 'sect-type' and of the *denominational model* in which universalism is 'spiritualised' by explicit acceptance of organisational pluralism.

The sixteenth-century Reformation was divided into Lutheran, Calvinist and Anglican branches, plus the Anabaptist 'radical Reformation' (and later voluntarist offshoots of Anglicanism such as Baptists and Quakers). Their political consequences are very diverse. But one emphasis in common is the sovereignty of God (as distinct from pope or emperor), understanding sovereignty as not only a royal metaphor which can legitimate tyranny, but also a prophetic metaphor which debunks claims to absolute power. Another is the notion of some degree of consent in theories of government, stressing the priesthood of all believers. The right to read the scriptures prepared for discovery of the person as subject and the right to freedom of conscience.[8] But Protestantism's lack of a magisterium or canonical sanctions meant a secularisation of politics, linked to its weaker communal dimension (compared to Catholicism and Orthodoxy). The more a religion sees God relating to individuals, the more difficult it becomes to sustain notions of a 'holy commonwealth'.

Lutheranism attempts to retain universalism by Christianising the Decalogue and equating it with Natural Law. It transforms Catholicism's 'two stage' ethics into the contrast between 'person' and 'office'. The 'two swords' theory is replaced with 'two kingdoms'. All political authority is left to the prince, to whom the ageing Luther increasingly turns to oversee the church.[9] In effect, the universal church is replaced by the territorial church, in line with the rise of the nation-state. The Peace of Augsburg in 1555 strengthened this 'Erastian' subordination of church to secular ruler by decreeing that 'the ruler's religion prevails in his territory'

(*cuius regio, eius religio*). Conformity or exile were the individual's only options. Not surprisingly, the stereotypical Lutheran came to be characterised by obedience towards officialdom. Lutheran orthodoxy insisted religion and politics not be mixed. With its conviction of the incorrigibility of the world and autonomy of the state from gospel norms, Lutheranism is historically weak in generating political activism or rational reformism.[10]

Calvinism is very different: it adopted the sect-ideal of 'holy community' and applied it to a national church. The Anabaptists deemed this impracticable, but Calvin believed the spiritual 'elect' were a majority. In the end, though, the attempt made a breach in the state–church system. As 'the second great Christian social ideal [of] comprehensive historical significance', the other being medieval Catholicism, Calvinism penetrated political movements. Making an ethic of sanctification the basis of the state, using Old Testament principles rather than the love ethic of the Sermon on the Mount, Calvinism everywhere attempted 'a systematic endeavour to mould the life of society'. The result was 'this-worldly asceticism', whose connection with modern capitalism has been exhaustively debated.[11]

Calvin's concept of government is variously described as authoritarian,[12] aristocratic[13] or 'essentially positive' rather than merely repressive.[14] His view of religion–state relations hovered between a 'two swords' doctrine and a subjection of temporal authority to spiritual.[15] It desired ecclesiastical independence but appealed to civil coercion in religion. The church, meanwhile, reminds governments of their God-given tasks. Through the idea of 'covenant', this led to justification for violent rebellion as a last resort. On an analogy with Israel, Scots and Dutch Calvinists and English Puritans understood their world in covenantal terms and defended international interventionism. Covenant theology and contract theories of politics show clear parallels.[16]

Calvinism's attempt to combine *sectarian* 'holy community' with *churchly* religious unity did not survive the seventeenth century. Thereafter, the ideal of conformity was set aside. But radical Protestants had abandoned it long before. Mystical groups stressed religious experience and freedom of conscience. And the sects wanted voluntary communities divorced from the state; in fact, the Anabaptists ('rebaptisers', rejecting infant baptism and church membership as ascribed identity) regarded governmental functions as off-limits. Despite occasional revolutionary violence (as in Münster, 1534), they were generally pacifist and held it impossible to implement Christian ethics in the world.

Theocracy, nationalism, religious freedom and pacifism in early Protestantism

In the early seventeenth century, the first English-speaking Baptists pioneered a new approach to religion–state relations which would transcend their direct influence. Rejecting the Anabaptist refusal to participate in the state, they retained the demand for separation of church and state. This contrasted with the theocratic experiments of early Calvinism (Geneva and Massachusetts), and with ideas of 'rule of the saints' which gained prominence in the English Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century, often accompanied by the idea that morality must be enforced to avoid divine punishment upon the whole community. Notwithstanding their harshness, such concepts contained democratic possibilities in their negating of social rank.[17]

But Protestantism's dalliance with theocracy was easy to abandon; a religion that 'requires individual conscience cannot serve as justification for theocracy'.[18] However, it did seem to justify nationalism. Hastings traces nationalism to the impact of the Bible and vernacular literature in creating a politically stable ethnicity. Biblical Israel is a mirror for national self-imagining; as a religion of translation, Christianity has been a shaper of nations. But

Christianity remained ambivalent between nation-state and world empire.[19] In Protestantism, this tension seemed resolved in favour of the former. Yet it was established churches subordinate to the state (Anglican, Lutheran) that were most nationalist. Non-state churches frequently combined a universalist spiritual loyalty with a particularist political loyalty; yet it was from them (Mennonites, Quakers) that the main efforts to free Protestantism from nationalist bondage came. Early Protestantism's link with rising nation-states fed 'wars of religion'. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) introduced the bases of modern international society, including increasing privatisation of religion and the right of each ruler to dictate the religion of his realm.

But eventually the Protestant emphasis on freedom to interpret the Bible undermined religious uniformity. Even mainstream Protestantism promoted tolerance because it weakened all human instances for resolving religious disputes. In addition, radical Protestantism by the 1640s was breaking the 'Augustinian consensus' on religious coercion. And it was doing so from religious conviction, not scepticism. Even sectarians who were intolerant in polemical or ecclesiastical contexts were often supporters of civil tolerance. The 'principled pluralist' position of early Baptists and Levellers was possible because their understanding of the relationship between Old and New Testaments allowed them to overcome any godly/ungodly division of the political world.

Religious freedom is connected to broader human rights. Historically, Protestantism had a closer relationship to human rights than other major religions. Jellinek's classic study argued that human rights had historically centred on the demand for religious freedom by dissident English-speaking Protestants.[20] Recent authors reaffirm this. Johnson says 'a principled position of toleration and freedom happened more quickly in the Protestant camp', but eventually more systematically in Catholicism.[21] For Witte, the right to choose religion was 'patristic, pragmatic and Protestant in initial inspiration'.[22]

Early seventeenth-century Protestant radicals made a principled defence of pluralism on theological grounds. An English Baptist wrote in 1614: 'Let them be heretics, Turks, Jews or whatsoever it appertains not to the earthly power to punish them'. Rhode Island implemented this; its founder Roger Williams stated it was God's will that (since the coming of Jesus) 'a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish or Antichristian consciences and worships be granted to all men in all nations'. For Williams, the state is not Christian but merely 'natural, human and civil'. These early tolerationists 'envisaged a multi-faith society governed by an impartial secular state'.[23] And three seventeenth-century New World colonies established by Protestant dissenters passed the 'power test'.

Some Protestants were also principled pacifists. Pacifism was probably predominant in the early church, but by medieval times the 'just war' tradition was dominant. But the proto-Protestant Waldenses of the twelfth century and some Anabaptists returned to pacifism, and in 1661 the Quakers became 'the first organised body to proclaim pacifism as a principle'.[24] They and Mennonites (of Anabaptist origin) have since become renowned for their 'peace testimony'.

This has never been the mainstream Protestant position. Lutheran and Anglican state churches have generally striven to adjust *raison d'état* to 'just war' doctrine. Calvinism in besieged cultures (early North America, South Africa, Northern Ireland), replete with myths of promised land and ethnic chosenness, at times resurrected the link between territory, ethnicity and 'holy war'. Later Calvinism, however, besides reverting to Calvin's 'just war' stance, sometimes even led the 'ethical movement against war'.[25] One interpretation of this trajectory is in terms of the recovery of Christianity's original peaceableness as a cross-cultural voluntary movement, thus distancing the clergy from the agencies of violence.[26]

Protestantism and democracy

Of major religions, Protestantism has the longest historical links with democratisation. Even today, predominantly Protestant countries are more likely to be democratic.[27]

The question is how to characterise the link. For Anderson, it is 'at the very least a particularly "suitable" religion for democracy'.[28] Berger goes further, talking of an 'inherent affinity'.[29] Hastings specifies that 'countries where democracy, even if limited in scope, first flourished are almost all Calvinist'.[30] And in the 1830s Tocqueville emphasised the Calvinist heritage of Anglo-America and its capacity to combine religion with freedom, thanks to its internalisation of authority. In addition, popular Protestantism democratised through its associational life and ability to combat the democratic temptations of envy and short-termism.[31]

Yet 'none of the leading Reformers were democrats', which leads Anderson to doubt whether the connection 'goes beyond simple correlation'.[32] On the contrary, for Hill, Calvinist doctrines of human depravity led 'logically' to authoritarian theories.[33] One can point to the 'enlightened absolutism' of Lutheran Germany and Scandinavia, the dictatorship of Cromwell, and more recent Protestant backing for apartheid and Third World authoritarianisms.

There is a middle course between portraying democratisation as intended or as merely the result of stalemate in the wars of religion. There were other contributions (intended and unintended) besides organisational pluralism. Elements of Protestant teaching and organisational life also assisted democratisation: the de-sacralisation of religious authority, which aided de-sacralisation of political power and the autonomy of the political; the 'priesthood of all believers', with implied right to individual dissent; the emphasis on sinfulness and its implied notions of accountability and distribution of powers; congregational governance (in some churches) as prototype for political democracy; Protestant organisational forms as templates for trades unions, pressure groups and political parties; congregational life as training in leadership, organisation and public speaking; and encouragement of economic development through general approval of market relations and incentive to literacy.[34] And 'principled pluralism' was one of the early Protestant postures towards the state. Old Testament Israel was exceptional; today, the state should be non-confessional. The Levellers went further, as 'the first modern political movement organised around the idea of popular sovereignty', universal male suffrage and inalienable rights. Such ideas came partly from the Leveller leaders' location on the lower fringes of the social and educational elite and in London, where anonymous market relations made independent expression easier; but also from their experience in 'gathered' churches where they had 'witnessed democracy or something close to it in action'.[35]

History does not support Bruce's opinion that 'religion taken seriously is incompatible with democracy' because the godly/ungodly dichotomy denies that all people are of equal worth.[36] Not only through bitter experience, but also through theological principle and practical contributions, Protestantism became the first major religion to demonstrate its 'compatibility' (and more) with democracy. Nevertheless, early Protestantism included also the 'Christian nation' idea of the state promoting true religion and morals, and the apolitical 'rejection' of the state. In addition, Protestantism has often been undemocratic in its internal life, attitudes towards other religions, and association with undemocratic regimes or undemocratic political actors.

Protestantism and revolution

Protestantism ran straight into a revolutionary situation: the Peasants' Revolt in 1520s Germany. Luther rejected the peasants' political appeal to his theology, but Lutheran pastor

Thomas Müntzer embraced it, leading Engels to conclude that Protestantism, although generally bourgeois, could at times be revolutionary, albeit unrealistically. But Calvinism is often mentioned as contributing to modern revolutionary politics. For Walzer, it did so by shifting the focus of political thought from the prince to the 'saint'.[37] It also encouraged Bible reading, which Hill sees as the main cause of the English Revolution.[38]

Much sectarian revolutionary impulse came from millennialism, the belief in a future divine utopia on earth. The Fifth Monarchists' revolt of 1661 was 'the last attempt to prepare the way for the Kingdom of God by means of the sword';[39] at least in the West. Elsewhere, Protestant millennialism still inspired revolts, as in the nineteenth-century Taiping Rebellion in China. But in Western revolutionary thought, secular and even anti-Christian themes replaced biblical ones, and Protestantism (especially evangelicalism) came to be seen as adversarial to revolution, contributing to Britain's 'extraordinary stability' (in Halévy's view) or crushing the spirit of the new proletariat (for Thompson).[40]

Protestantism and imperialism

Although Protestantism initially neglected worldwide mission, that changed from the late eighteenth century with the invention of the 'voluntary society'. Missions henceforth would be done by civil society, without state support. This distanced missionaries from soldiers and traders; only partially, of course, but enough to ensure the British Empire did not become Anglican as the Spanish had become Catholic.[41] In post-colonial times, declining European involvement has been replaced by Asians, Africans and Latin Americans.

The relationship between Protestant missions and imperialism dates at least from the English colonies in North America. Yet religious motivations did not mean a uniform position regarding the natives. Richard Baxter believed a Christian nation might be obliged to rule some nations and compel them to admit missionaries; but Joseph Hall considered force unlawful. John Eliot felt conversion involved introducing European civilisation; but Roger Williams railed against 'monstrous and inhumane conversions', comparing religious compulsion to rape and questioning colonists' right to take Indian land.[42]

The Dutch and British empires were long run by chartered companies concerned with profitability. Until the 1830s, British missions struggled to gain entrance. When Company rule was abolished, Victoria's coronation speech as Empress of India disclaimed the 'desire to impose our [religious] convictions on . . . our subjects'. Political control was paramount, even if it meant favouring, for example, Muslim interests in northern Nigeria. And administrators' and settlers' opposition to missionaries might be based not on respect for natives but on disdain; Christianisation gave them 'ideas above their station'.

But imperial governments did generally encourage missions for their educational and health work. Sometimes, missions depended on imperialism to gain entrance; but often missions preceded empire. How they regarded empire's subsequent advance varied. Mid-nineteenth-century evangelical missions were generally interventionist (against slavery) but not annexationist, envisaging internal transformation of African societies through legitimate trade and local Christian leadership.[43] Later, however, some lobbied for pre-emptive British annexation, as in the missionary vision of Nyasaland as protected from white (Rhodesian or Portuguese) settlement.

In the heyday of imperialism, most missionaries accepted conventional wisdom regarding European superiority. Colonialism expanded their territorial scope, but made them less 'embedded' in local populations. Colonial-era missionaries were less ready than their predecessors to put Africans in charge. Many Christians escaped mission control by joining African Independent Churches.

Most missionaries were ambivalent about imperialism, accepting it as a historical process but often criticising actual policies (as harmful to native interests or to missions). In general, missionaries were weak agents of cultural imperialism. They had limited resources, depended on indigenous cooperation and their message was constantly turned to local advantage.[44] Most Sub-Saharan nationalist leaders were educated in mission schools, finding in mission education (and sometimes in Christianity itself) the resources for their anti-colonial struggle.

Protestantism and human rights

Despite Calvin's condemnation of slavery, Protestantism was largely indifferent to the phenomenon in Protestant colonies. The first abolitionist tract in the British colonies was from a Puritan in 1700 and Quaker John Woolman pressed for abolition from the 1750s, but only in 1776 did Philadelphia Quakers prohibit slave-owning. Other denominations were even slower, but activists and clergy eventually became the spine of the American Anti-Slavery Society. This led in most denominations to a North-South schism. In Britain's evangelical revival, Whitefield viewed slavery as a necessity whereas Wesley campaigned for abolition. From the 1780s, the group of elite (Anglican and non-conformist) evangelicals known as the Clapham Sect led abolitionism in the British Empire.

The mid-nineteenth century marked the high point of evangelical social reform, connecting traditional humanitarian concern with a rights frame focused on the individual.[45] But it was hard to transfer abolitionist enthusiasm to the ills of industrial capitalism, since evangelical individualism obscured the structural dimensions.

Regarding the twentieth-century human rights movement, the Protestant connection is well-documented.[46] The emerging ecumenical movement affirmed religious freedom and human rights, leading to the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs campaigning for the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since the 1960s, mainline denominations and ecumenical bodies have included human rights promotion in their ministry.[47] And by the late twentieth century, there was a growing Christian consensus (including evangelicals) on the importance of human rights advocacy.

Nevertheless, an irony of the contemporary human rights movement is the relative silence of Protestants.[48] Having pioneered the way, Protestantism now lags behind post-conciliar Catholicism's sophisticated theological statements and global articulation. Protestantism's divisions, which once helped it be in the vanguard, are now a disadvantage. And Protestantism is now concentrated in poorer and less educated sectors in Third World countries. Thus, in Latin America for example, burgeoning Protestantism has taken a back seat in human rights to the Catholic Church. This is partly because of insufficient cultural resources and vulnerability to repression; and also because pentecostalism is largely alienated by a human rights movement which struggles to relate to a lower-class religion successful at proselytising and which has a discourse of individual empowerment through discovery of personal agency. The exceptions have been mostly historical Protestants with ecumenical affiliations. Another option has been to work with international Protestant organisations such as the Mennonite Central Committee or World Vision. An outlier to this pattern is from Peru, where an unusually representative National Evangelical Council spawned a Peace and Hope Commission.[49]

Protestantism in advanced societies in the age of mass politics

Tocqueville saw denominational Protestantism as peculiarly suited to maintaining freedom in a democratic age. By separating church and state and voluntarily keeping clergy out of

partisan politics, it represented a presence in civil rather than political society. However, one branch of Protestantism led the way in forming Christian parties based on broad suffrage: nineteenth-century Dutch neo-Calvinism. Talking of 'sphere sovereignty' and 'common grace', neo-Calvinism rejected Christendom's churchly supervision of societal spheres. The world was thus free from the church but not from God. This paved the way for Protestant parties based on acceptance of multiparty competition, religious freedom and a non-confessional state.[50]

In the Netherlands a variety of Protestant parties developed from the 1870s. The first one can even be considered the first 'Christian Democratic' party in the world. Scandinavian Protestant parties were founded from the 1930s. Subsequently, the model has extended to the former communist world and the 'global South'. Most such parties are small, but the Scandinavian ones have been in coalition governments, and the Norwegian has been in power. The Dutch ARP formed numerous governments between 1888 and its merger with another Protestant party and a Catholic one in 1980, after which the new CDA headed many governments.

The circumstances most favouring such parties are proportional representation and perceived marginalisation in society and existing parties. Church hierarchs are usually cautious, since they represent rival power structures. Parties can represent a range of 'projects': defence of ecclesiastical interests; divine right to rule; identity politics; ethnic defence; broad political and economic concerns. Some are neoliberal, others preach a 'social market' and a few are anti-capitalist. The newer parties are sometimes fundamentalist, whereas the maturer parties of Northern Europe talk of justice, solidarity and stewardship, and support foreign aid and environmental protection.

In inter-war Europe, churches faced the challenge of fascism. Catholic-majority countries (with the Vatican's suspicion of democracy and support for corporatist ideologies) were more susceptible to fascism than Protestant ones, except in religiously mixed Germany.[51] Hitler at first encouraged the 'German Christians' (an Aryanised version of Christianity); in protest, the 'Confessing Church' broke away. However, the Lutheran doctrine of state autonomy reduced the opposition.

The other great challenge was communism. There had been socialist currents in Protestantism since the nineteenth century, but this counted for little with Marxist-inspired post-war regimes. The only Protestant-majority areas in the Soviet bloc were East Germany, Latvia and Estonia. The East German church (weakened by secularisation and Lutheran deference to state power) developed an accommodationist stance called 'the church in socialism'. But the 'church from below' gave space to opposition tendencies, and churches became refuges for gestating the regime's peaceful overthrow. Protestant ethnic Hungarians in Romania also played a catalysing role; while in Latvia, sectors of Lutheranism were important in the independence movement.

Post-war Western Europe experienced growing marginalisation of public religion, due to individual secularisation and churches' loss of functions under the welfare state. Nevertheless, from the 1980s churches once more voiced concerns as neoliberal policies accentuated social divisions and lifestyle and identity issues achieved political prominence.

Although Protestants and Catholics have come closer religiously, old divisions still colour even secular views on European integration. There are no Protestant equivalents of the role of socially minded Catholics in integration since the 1950s. This is partly due to the link between Protestant ecclesiologies and sovereign states. Protestant Norway and Iceland remain outside the EU, while Denmark, Sweden and Britain have sought to limit aspects of integration. Although the Conference of European Churches supports integration, individual Protestants are less supportive than Catholics or secular people. Sectarian Protestants (often influenced by interpretations of biblical prophecy) are the most opposed.[52]

The United States: civil rights and the religious right

The United States was founded on 'no establishment' and 'free exercise', resulting in denominationalism and civil religion. While democracy became secularised in Europe, it became tied to revivalist Christianity in America. Separation meant churches did not compete with the state and religious people could enter politics with abandon. And, not having to compete politically with churches, politicians felt free to draw their imagery from religion.[53]

The major recent cases of Protestant involvement have been the civil rights movement and the religious right. In the civil rights campaign of the 1950s and 1960s, black clergy provided leadership and churches furnished networks and an ethos for non-violent mobilisation. The religious right of the 1980s onwards, however, has appealed essentially to the evangelical community.

Various factors favoured such involvement: the federal polity, which allows strong subcultures and multiple entry points to the system; low turnouts in most elections; and parties which are coalitions of interest groups. But why did the religious right emerge when it did? As Marsden stresses, fundamentalist militancy typically arises when a once-dominant religious culture feels threatened by cultural trends. These included greater federal intervention; judicial decisions affecting gender, family and sexual behaviour; and perceived secularist attempts to eliminate religion from public life. Involvement was encouraged by conservative politicians, and facilitated by church growth and increased regional affluence.[54]

Verdicts on the movement's achievements are mixed. It has been key in the shift to the Republican Party. In 2004, 78 per cent of white evangelicals favoured Bush; the religious right had more space in his administration than in previous ones. Many respected evangelicals pressed for the invasion of Iraq. Evangelical influence on foreign policy is strongest in support for Israel, due to Christian Zionism, which believes much of the Middle East belongs in perpetuity to the Jewish people.

Yet in other ways the religious right has achieved little. It has failed to end abortion, curtail the participation of mothers in the workforce, prevent the advance of gay rights or impose the teaching of 'creation science'. It has not expanded much beyond its religious-ethnic base (83 per cent of black evangelicals voted for Kerry in 2004). And its religio-political zealotry has disadvantages: it resists politics as the 'art of the possible'; it has difficulty tolerating internal differences; and it quickly becomes disillusioned.[55]

Protestantism was the original home of the term 'fundamentalism', which today is heavily determined by Islamic phenomena. Nevertheless, Protestant and Islamic fundamentalisms are different. The latter is communal whereas the former is individual. American fundamentalism reacts to local change, whereas Islamic fundamentalism also reacts to 'Westernising' forces. Almost all American fundamentalists accept democratic rules, shaped by the ideals of the American Revolution, the Baptist heritage of church–state separation and the American Enlightenment heritage of individual choice. This combination means they are wary of governmental coercion nationally, but often uncritical of coercive use of American power internationally.[56]

Protestantism, violence and peacemaking

A leading contemporary case of militant Protestantism in the developed world is Northern Ireland, where the Rev. Ian Paisley rose to power. How did his anti-Catholic evangelicalism relate to violence there? Some accused him of links with Protestant paramilitaries; for others, he incited terrorism or at least created an atmosphere in which violence could flourish. Bruce

feels the latter charge is more compelling, although Paisley explicitly rejected violence.[57] But Juergensmeyer judges that 'paramilitaries have received spiritual sustenance and moral encouragement' from Paisley.[58]

Protestantism, like many religions, offers images of cosmic war which can absolutise conflicts such as the 'war on terror'. But Bruce insists American Protestants have eschewed violence; the few attackers of abortion clinics have been marginal to their own faith communities.

But not committing or condoning violence is not the same as peacemaking. Notwithstanding exceptions, it is often felt churches in Northern Ireland fell short in this. Nevertheless, peacebuilding by religious NGOs has grown worldwide, including Protestant examples such as the Mennonite International Conciliation Service and its Christian Peacemaker Teams, exemplifying the evolution of this Anabaptist denomination from quietism to active peacemaking.[59]

Protestantism in the global South

Global southern Protestantism is more evangelical and pentecostal than in the West. It appeals to those caught in the trauma of globalisation, both to the disappointed and to those who need moral reinforcement and new skills to seize opportunities. Conversion often has economic effects, helping adherents achieve greater control over personal circumstances and to see themselves as agents rather than victims. It combines individual experience of the divine with participation in a moral community. Evangelicals are disproportionately city-dwellers in contexts of migration and violence.

Global Protestantism is usually over-represented among the poor (though South Korea is different). It is not a state religion; in a few countries it is discriminated against. It usually lacks strong institutions and has limited cultural and educational resources. Transplanted foreign denominations are now usually nationally run; but many denominations are locally founded.

Autonomous appropriation has enabled Protestantism to transcend associations with colonialism. However, one interpretation of globalised Protestantism is that it is American fundamentalist neo-imperialism, 'contributing mightily to the Americanization of global culture' and promoting acceptance of American global hegemony.[60] But although American missions are numerous and well resourced, most growth comes from indigenous initiatives. This 'globalisation-from-below' is largely conversionist rather than diasporic, providing new dimensions to existing conflicts (Nigeria and North-east India) or sparking transitions to new religion–state relationships (Latin America).

Positions adopted by Protestants have been diverse and the record mixed.[61] Active Protestants have become presidents of several southern countries, or achieved significant presence in legislative or lower executive levels. Protestants have been hegemonic in ethnic separatist rebellions (Burma, India, Sudan). Church leaders have been key in pro-democracy movements (Kenya). While concern for human rights and democracy predominates among some actors, others merely seek state resources for church aggrandisement. Some talk of a divine right of evangelicals to govern; but fragmentation means their political impact is always smaller than hoped or feared.

Brouwer *et al*. allege that most global southern pentecostal churches form part of an exported American fundamentalism, supportive of capitalism, authoritarianism and intolerance, and identifying God's interests with those of the United States.[62] It is true many pentecostals are unreflective fundamentalists, but they are more interested in spiritual experience. Unlike Islamists, they do not seek an organic relationship between law and faith. Instead, they are part of religion's transformation towards an achieved identity. For pentecostalism as a conversionist faith, pluralism is advantageous, whereas fundamentalisms constitute its most

serious barrier. Most accounts of American fundamentalism emphasise peculiarly American factors; as a reinvention of white Bible-belt religion, there is little reason for it to characterise evangelicalism the world over.

Fundamentalism is often associated nowadays with violent politics. What is global Protestantism's record on this? Despite many contexts of poverty and humiliation, there is so far no Protestant version of religiously justified geopolitical violence. There has, however, been violence (in self-defence, they would allege) against Muslims in Nigeria, Indonesia and Central African Republic, where the state is weak or conniving. Elsewhere, Protestantism has fused with ethnic separatist rebellions in post-colonial states. There was some Protestant involvement in the Rwandan genocide; and a few pentecostal vigilante groups in Central America, where such groups are proliferating. However, a book on religious terrorists mentions only three evangelical phenomena. Two are in the US: racist 'Identity Christians' (not exportable to the Third World); and extreme anti-abortionists (potentially exportable). The third are Christian militias in eastern Indonesia, which emerged as transmigration of Javanese and the activity of Muslim militias upset the local religious and ethnic balance.[63]

What about state violence? Guatemala had the ferocious anti-insurgency strategy of the pentecostal general Ríos Montt, president in 1982–83. Ríos Montt was not repressive because he was pentecostal (there have been many similar Central American regimes); but pentecostalism did not *prevent* him being repressive, since he was highly regarded by his church. And the tendency of many pentecostals to demonise religious rivals is worrying in regions where democratic norms are shaky. Nevertheless, a survey of pentecostals in nine global southern countries paints a more encouraging portrait. To the question whether it is important to have freedom for religions other than one's own, pentecostals everywhere were at least as affirmative as the general population of their countries.[64]

Thus, popular global southern Protestantism has some connection with violence, but nearly always related to self-defence in the absence of the state, or to ethno-regional separatism. These Protestants do not have Islamic concepts of honour of a sacred community and defence of sacred territory, nor the geopolitical influence of American evangelicals. And pentecostalism's insistence on a discourse of 'winning' is opposed to the discourse of victimhood that generally undergirds political violence.

In fact, pentecostalism is perceived as a bulwark against violence in the peripheries of megacities. In the absence of the state, pentecostalism provides escape routes from criminality and addiction. But its capacity for personal transformation is not replicated in the complex task of societal transformation.

Does the globalisation of evangelicalism mean similar politics to that of American evangelicals? So far, American-style 'culture wars' have not really been repeated. In addition, most Protestants are on the edge of survival. As they reconstruct the family amidst unemployment, violence and anomie, they are little attracted to occasional efforts by church leaders to involve them in single-issue 'values' politics.

The Pew survey asked whether abortion is ever morally justified. A high percentage of pentecostals in all southern countries surveyed answered no. That usually reflects or slightly reinforces the national average. When asked whether government should interfere with ability to have an abortion, pentecostals again mostly reflect national opinion, but in four countries are below the average.

Pentecostals generally reflect national opinion regarding a market economy (from 89 per cent favourable in Nigeria to 47 per cent in Chile). However, on welfare (whether government should guarantee food and shelter to every citizen) pentecostals everywhere are slightly more favourable than their populations.

To what extent does global Protestantism conflate American interests with those of God? Attitudes towards the wars 'on terror' and in Iraq suggest not much. A World Evangelical Alliance statement shortly before the invasion of Iraq merely said war 'is almost always the worst solution'.[65] But the Baptist World Alliance called the invasion 'a great sin'.[66]

The leading Brazilian interdenominational magazine *Ultimato* strongly opposed the war, seeing it as a pretext for a new world order and denouncing American evangelicals' defence of huge military spending and exacerbated nationalism. Similarly, on a special television programme, Brazilian evangelical congressmen were unanimous in condemning the imminent invasion. For Spanish-speaking Latin America, Padilla and Scott discovered not a single denomination in favour, even in countries whose governments supported President Bush.[67] A South African political party based mostly among charismatic churches, the African Christian Democratic Party, condemned 'American civil religion that says America is predestined by God to save the world'.[68] In the Philippines, however, many leading evangelicals were pro-Bush, albeit less strongly than before.[69]

The Pew survey asked whether respondents favoured 'the US-led efforts to fight terrorism'. In all countries surveyed, pentecostals were similar to the national average, except in religiously divided Nigeria. Only there (71 per cent) and the Philippines (76 per cent) do pentecostals support the 'war on terror' as much as in the USA (72 per cent); both these countries suffer tension between Muslims and non-Muslims. But in Latin America and South Africa, only around one-third of pentecostals support the war on terror, and in South Korea only 16 per cent. In all Latin American countries surveyed, pentecostals are less favourable than their general populations; so much for the idea of pentecostalism as 'global American fundamentalism'.

Does the globalisation of evangelicalism mean more support for Christian Zionism? Only up to a point. Intensity of prophetic interest depends on other priorities; for poor people, survival takes precedence. They feel no post-Holocaust guilt and feel less threatened by terrorism. Some denominations cultivate links with the 'Holy Land', but usually emphasise 'where Jesus walked' rather than current issues.

The Pew survey asked whether respondents sympathised more with Israel or the Palestinians. Everywhere, pentecostals are above national average in sympathy for Israel. But the sum of the replies which preclude a Christian Zionist position (sympathy for the Palestinians, both or neither) is telling. Only 18 per cent of American pentecostals come in those categories, versus 56 per cent in Chile, followed by five countries between 46 and 52 per cent.

One prediction regarding global Christianity is of a new wave of Christian states.[70] Is this likely?

African anti-colonial nationalism did not stress Christianity. But by the 1990s hopes of rapid development had evaporated, while Christianity had become central to civil society. At this point 'Christian nationalism' emerges. Zambia was declared a 'Christian nation' in 1991 and Madagascar in 2007. But, partly due to denominational pluralism, this means exalting Christianity in general rather than creating a state church or legally discriminating against non-Christians.

When asked (by Pew) whether there should be a 'Christian country' or separation of church and state, pentecostals prefer a 'Christian country' in Nigeria (58–35) and South Africa (45–37). Elsewhere, they reject the idea, notably in Chile (23–62) and Brazil (32–50). However, everywhere except Chile pentecostals are more favourable to it than other believers.

Global southern Protestantism is not yet solidly in the democratic camp, and it often operates in contexts where few other political actors are wholehearted democrats. Woodberry and Shah, however, say the historical correlation between democracy and Protestantism does hold in the global South. However, the effect may be smaller than before, as other religions adopt its

characteristics; and some strains of pentecostalism may be less useful (for their lesser emphasis on education).[71]

Different types of Protestantism are better at different things. For opposing dictatorships, hierarchical transnational churches with elite connections are better than local lower-class pentecostal churches, deprived of intellectual resources and vulnerable to repression. However, in democratic consolidation, pentecostals might be more useful because they are anti-fatalistic and instill skills of leadership and public speaking. But there is no guarantee either type of church will in fact perform these functions. Some pentecostals say believers should govern in the name of God. Others use electoral democracy merely to strengthen their own institutions. In some countries the churches' public image has worsened through association with corruption and hunger for power.

However, pentecostals surveyed by Pew are everywhere affirming of the importance of honest multiparty elections, similar to or above national averages. When asked whether, to solve the country's problems, it would be better to have a more participatory government or a strong leader, pentecostals always prefer participation. In seven countries, they are less favourable to a strong leader than their populations, so in this respect pentecostal attitudes strengthen democracy.

Evangelicalism's pluralist emphasis on individual freedom means paradoxical results for democracy. Totalitarian regimes and non-Christian religious nationalisms are resisted, but authoritarianisms which do not impinge on evangelicals may not be. Evangelicalism is too fissured to undergird movements advocating major political change in whatever direction.

The future of Protestant politics

Protestantism is advantaged and disadvantaged in contemporary politics. It was the first major religion to accept (and even encourage) a secular state and an independent civil society. Its variety of ecclesiastical forms and its individualism accentuate its political diversity and innovativeness. But the complexity of modern politics is a challenge to Protestants, since they cannot achieve economies of scale necessary to develop coherent political philosophies and practices. Paucity of dialogue between pentecostal and mainline churches impoverishes both. Growth in the global South places market pressures on church leaders which are unfavourable to ethical reflection. And, since Christian origins were times of powerlessness, the search for scriptural purity does not produce clear-cut political proposals or consensus for effective action.

When Protestantism was largely Western, its diversity was already evidenced in classical sociologists' evaluations: a domesticating ideology serving the bourgeoisie or an unrealistic popular revolutionary movement (Engels); an unwitting vanguard of capitalist rationality (Weber); a buzzing hive of democratic associational life (Tocqueville). Its shift to the global South has brought further diversification.

Evangelical political effervescence in the global South is reminiscent of mid-seventeenth-century England, when restraints on Protestant pluralism weakened, leading to diverse manifestations at all social levels. But the result was that no new agreed political philosophy could emerge from popular readings of the Bible, which ultimately ceased to guide political action.[72] Similarly, the current phase of much African politics, in which Christianity provides a commonly accepted idiom, may not last.

Evangelicals have not long been politically active in the global South, and they are beginning a steep learning curve. Yet there are foreseeable problems. Each religion has political dilemmas that stem from its tradition and not just from its current context. Christianity's

problems include how to incorporate the Hebrew scriptures with their notion of 'holy commonwealth'. Different approaches to relationship between the Testaments suggest different political postures. It is hard to develop Christian justifications using only the Old Testament. However, if Christian politics relies purely on the New Testament it falls under Tocqueville's strictures about the lack of a civic ethic. Primitive Christianity alone is deficient for a democratic age which needs active citizens. The Reformed tradition (at times) has used a concept of 'unfolding', but many Protestants are bound to 'primitivist' concepts of return to original purity, which in Christianity was distant from the state, leading to the 'default danger' of apolitical conformism exploitable by authoritarian regimes.

Tocqueville stresses the importance of Christianity to democracy, but only in the right relationship (separate from the state and partisanship) and only if performing some necessary tasks, such as reducing envy and difference, and providing long-term thinking to balance the democratic impulse towards the short term.[73] But global pentecostalism, especially, has not done well in maintaining distance from the vicissitudes of democratic politics, or in averting people's gaze from materialistic envy, or in balancing democratic impulsiveness with long-term thinking.

A key challenge for global Protestantism will be to combine institutional plurality with some means of achieving political impact at national and global levels. How much, for example, will it be able (as a faith which straddles global divides) to offer a different vision of our global future?

In Latin America, numerical growth will one day stop, leading to more stable membership and demands for different relations with public life. In Africa, will historic correlations between Protestantism, democracy and development still hold? China may be the next cultural powerhouse of Christianity if, as some believe, it becomes the new centre of numerical growth and eventually achieves greater freedom. This will have political implications. By the time China is a great power, how large and influential will its Christian community (which is mainly Protestant) be? In the United States there are signs, among younger evangelicals, of tiredness with the limited agenda of the religious right, or with overly politicised religion in general. But caution is necessary; the tiredness may also be contributing to sizeable desertion of young people from organised religion as such; and the demise of the religious right has been forecast for nearly thirty years! In Europe, Protestantism's prospects may be tied to immigration. Muslim immigration may encourage (and open space for) a rebirth of public Christianity; all forms of Christian politics (not only reactive anti-Islamic ones) may benefit. Also, many immigrants are practising Protestants. The globalisation of Protestantism may yet play a part in renewing its political importance in the region of its birth.

Notes

1 Barrett and Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia.*
2 Bruce, *Politics and Religion*, 225.
3 Martin, *Does Christianity Cause War?*, 106–7.
4 Berger, 'The global picture'.
5 Siedentop, *Tocqueville*, 134.
6 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 461.
7 Ibid., 382.
8 De Gruchy, *Christianity and Democracy*, 72.
9 Berman and Witte, 'Church and state', 492; O'Donovan and O'Donovan, *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, 555.
10 Madeley, 'The Antinomies', 145.

11 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 647.
12 Smith, 'Calvinism', 94.
13 O'Donovan and O'Donovan, *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, 665.
14 Biéler, *La Pensée*, 283.
15 O'Donovan and O'Donovan, *From Irenaeus to Grotius*, 556.
16 Hill, *English Bible*, 178.
17 Ibid., 274.
18 Bruce, *Fundamentalism*, 122.
19 Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*.
20 Jellinek, *Erklärung*.
21 Johnson, 'Religious rights', 69.
22 Witte, 'Dickensian era', 745.
23 Coffey, *Persecution*, 57.
24 Hill, *English Bible*, 422.
25 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 652.
26 Martin, *Does Christianity Cause War?*
27 Anderson, 'Does God matter', 205.
28 Ibid., 196.
29 Berger, 'The global picture', 78.
30 Hastings, 'Christianity', 140.
31 Siedentop, *Tocqueville*; Mitchell, *The Fragility of Freedom.*
32 Anderson, 'Does God matter'.
33 Hill, *English Bible*, 174.
34 De Gruchy, *Christianity and Democracy*; Anderson, 'Does God matter'; Bruce, 'Did Protestantism'; Witte, *Christianity*; Willaime, 'Contribution'; Berger, 'The global picture'.
35 Wootton, 'Leveller democracy', 413; 'The Levellers', 76.
36 Bruce, *Politics and Religion*, 245; 'Did Protestantism', 18.
37 Walzer, *Revolution*.
38 Hill, *English Bible*.
39 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 709.
40 Halévy, *History*; Thompson, *Making*.
41 Martin, 'Evangelical expansion', 274.
42 Hill, *English Bible*, 137–8; Gaustad, *Liberty*, 32.
43 Walls, *Cross-Cultural*, 96.
44 Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, 317–22.
45 Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, 76.
46 Stackhouse and Hainsworth, 'Deciding for God'; Nurser, *For All Peoples*.
47 Stackhouse and Hainsworth, 'Deciding for God', 227.
48 Witte, 'Dickensian era', 725.
49 Freston, *Evangelicals*, 238–41.
50 Freston, *Protestant Political Parties*.
51 Anderson, 'Does God matter', 194.
52 Hanson, *Religion*, 142.
53 Hammond, 'Conditions'.
54 Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture.*
55 Bruce, *Fundamentalism*, 88.
56 Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*.
57 Bruce, *Politics and religion*, 211.
58 Juergensmeyer, *Terror*, 41.
59 Appleby, *Ambivalence of the Sacred*, 145.
60 Brouwer, Gifford and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 270–1.
61 Freston, *Evangelicals*.

62 Brouwer, Gifford and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*.
63 Stern, *Terror*.
64 'Spirit and power', 2006.
65 www.worldevangelical.org.
66 http://www.ethicsdaily.com/baptist-groups-respond-to-war-cms-2448.
67 Padilla and Scott, *Terrorism*.
68 Freston, *Protestant Political Parties*, 96.
69 Personal communication from David Lim.
70 Jenkins, *The Next Christendom*, 12.
71 Woodberry and Shah, 'The pioneering Protestants'.
72 Hill, *English Bible*, 415.
73 Mitchell, *The Fragility of Freedom*.

References

Anderson, John (2006). 'Does God matter, and if so whose God? Religion and democratization'. In *Religion, democracy and democratization*, edited by J. Anderson. London: Routledge, 192–217.
Appleby, R. Scott (2000). *The Abivalence of the Sacred*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
Barrett, D., G. Kurian and T. Johnson, eds. (2001). *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 2 vols., 2nd edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
Berger, Peter (2004). 'The global picture'. *Journal of Democracy*, 15, no. 2: 76–80.
Berman, H. and J. Witte (1987). 'Church and state'. In *Encyclopedia of Religion*, edited by M. Eliade, vol. 3. New York: Macmillan, 489–95.
Biéler, André (1959). *La Pensée Économique et Sociale de Calvin*. Geneva: Georg.
Brouwer, S., P. Gifford, and S. Rose (1996). *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism*. London: Routledge.
Bruce, Steve (2000). *Fundamentalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
Bruce, Steve (2003). *Politics and Religion*. Cambridge: Polity.
Bruce, Steve (2004). 'Did Protestantism create democracy?' *Democratization*, 11, no. 4: 3–20.
Coffey, John (2000). *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England: 1558–1689*. Harlow: Pearson.
De Gruchy, John (1995). *Christianity and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Freston, Paul (2001). *Evangelicals in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Freston, Paul (2004). *Protestant Political Parties: A Global Survey*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Gaustad, E. (1991). *Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
Hálevy, E. (1949). *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd edn. London: E. Benn.
Hammond, P. (1980). 'The conditions for civil religion: a comparison of the United States and Mexico'. In *Varieties of Civil Religion*, edited by R. Bellah and P. Hammond. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 40–85.
Hanson, E. (2006). *Religion and Politics in the International System Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hastings, Adrian (1997). *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hastings, Adrian (1998). 'Christianity'. In *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Politics*, edited by R.Wuthnow. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 131–42.
Hill, Christopher (1993). *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Jellinek, G. (1895). *Die Erklärung der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte. Ein Beitrag zur modernen Verfassungsgeschichte*. Munich: Duncker & Humblot.
Jenkins, Philip (2002). *The Next Christendom*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Johnson, L. (1996). 'Religious rights and Christian texts'. In *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Religious Perspectives*, edited by J.Witte and J. van der Vyver. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 65–95.
Juergensmeyer, Mark (2001). *Terror in the Mind of God*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Keck, M. and K. Sikkink (1998). *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Madeley, John (1994). 'The antinomies of Lutheran politics: the case of Norway's Christian People's Party'. In *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by D. Hanley. London: Pinter, 142–54.
Marsden, George (2006). *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 2nd edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
Martin, David (1997). *Does Christianity Cause War?* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Martin, David (2004). 'Evangelical expansion in global society'. In *Christianity Reborn*, edited by D. Lewis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 273–94.
Mitchell, J. (1995). *The Fragility of Freedom*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Nurser, J. (2005). *For all Peoples and all Nations*. Geneva: WCC Publications.
O'Donovan, O. and J. Lockwood O'Donovan, eds. (2000). *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
Padilla, C. R. and L. Scott (2004). *Terrorism and the War in Iraq*. Buenos Aires: Kairos.
Porter, Andrew (2004). *Religion Versus Empire?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Pew Research Center (2006). 'Spirit and power'. Washington, DC: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life.
Siedentop, Larry (1994). *Tocqueville*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Smith, G. Scott (1998). 'Calvinism'. In *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Politics*, edited by R. Wuthnow. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 93–7.
Stackhouse, M. and D. K. Hainsworth (1999). 'Deciding for God: the right to convert in Protestant perspectives'. In *Sharing the Book*, edited by J. Witte and R. Martin. Maryknoll: Orbis, 201–30.
Stern, Jessica (2003). *Terror in the Name of God*. New York: Ecco.
Thompson, E. P. (1963). *The Making of the English Working Class*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
Troeltsch, Ernst (1931). *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Walls, Andrew (2002). *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
Walzer, Michael (1965). *The Revolution of the Saints*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Willaime, J.-P. (1997). 'La contribution du Christianisme à la modernité politique'. In *Encyclopédie des Religions*, 2nd edn, edited by F. Lenoir and Y. Tardan-Masquelier, vol 2. Paris: Bayard, 2079–88.
Witte, John (2001). 'A Dickensian era of religious rights: an update on religious human rights in global perspective'. *William & Mary Law Review*, 42, no. 3: 707–70.
Witte, John, ed. (1993). *Christianity and Democracy in Global Context*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Woodberry, Robert and Timothy Shah (2004). 'The pioneering Protestants'. *Journal of Democracy*, 15, no. 2: 47–61.
Wootton, D. (1991). 'Leveller democracy and the Puritan revolution'. In *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450–1700*, vol. 2, edited by J. H. Burns and M. Goldie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 412–42.
Wootton, D. (1992). 'The Levellers'. In *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey 508 BC to AD 1993*, edited by J. Dunn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 71–89.

3

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CATHOLICISM IN GLOBAL POLITICS

Allen D. Hertzke

OKLAHOMA UNIVERSITY, USA

The oldest institution on earth, the Roman Catholic Church, sustains a far-flung flock whose one billion-plus adherents comprise nearly one-sixth of the world's population and half of all Christians. The tectonic shift of the world's Catholic population to the 'global south' has transformed the Church into a truly global institution. In 1910 two-thirds of Catholics were Europeans; now over two-thirds live in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[1] Leadership of the Church reflects this new global reality, not only in the person of Pope Francis but in the many cardinals he has appointed from across the world. Also crucial to understanding the Church's political role is its deep tradition of engagement with worldly affairs – a comfortableness with politics not shared by all religious faiths. These facts, combined with the visibility and popularity of Pope Francis, ensure the impact of the Church in world politics.

The Catholic Church, however, defies easy political categorisation. On the one hand it remains a quintessentially conservative body with a hierarchical organisation designed to preserve traditional theological teachings. This impulse produces conservative stances on sexual morality, abortion, and marriage, and puts the Church in alliance with other religious traditionalists, including Muslims. On the other hand, Catholic teachings on the dignity of the human person and the authenticity of the common good produce concern for the poor in the global economy and, especially in recent decades, advocacy of religious freedom, human rights, and democratic governance.[2] Thus the Church stands in seeming equipoise between contending impulses of tradition and modernity.

Despite this strategic position the Church faces challenges that can blunt its political impact. A shortage of priests and women religious (nuns and sisters) stretches Church resources in some places, while elsewhere the Church must sustain itself amidst syncretic influences of local cultures, desperate poverty, or hostile governments. Thus Catholic politics varies enormously by region, context, and issue.

This chapter begins with a review of the theological and historical context of Catholic engagement with politics, paying particular attention to the evolution of Catholic social teaching. It will then examine Vatican diplomacy and global initiatives, with emphasis on the papacies of John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Francis. This is followed by a discussion of Catholic politics in different regions of the world. The chapter concludes by examining issues that loom large on the

horizon. The exploration of Catholicism, consequently, will provide a window into the broader and ever-dynamic relationship between religion and politics in the contemporary world.

Theological and historical context

From its inception the Catholic Church has been enmeshed in worldly affairs. Popes raised armies, formed alliances, and anointed political rulers. The Church sought to wield the two swords of spiritual and temporal authority to perpetuate its vision of a united Christendom. In the West this vision was shattered first by the Protestant Reformation and then by republican revolutions that attacked the Church's official role in political governance. In Italy this meant the loss of the papal states in 1870, the last major vestige of the Church's temporal power.

To understand the logic and rationale of contemporary Catholic politics one must trace how the loss of this temporal position led the Church to think afresh about its place in the world. We see this in the dramatic transformation of the Church in the century between the two Vatican councils (1869–70 and 1962–65). Faced with the challenge of antagonistic political movements and governments, the Church's first response was reactionary. Pope Pius IX not only convened the first Vatican Council, which promulgated the doctrine of papal infallibility, he also issued his infamous Syllabus of Errors in 1864. In that document the pontiff condemned modernism, liberalism, religious freedom, the idea of progress, and separation of Church and state. Such a position was not tenable in the face of inexorable forces of modernisation, and Pius's successor, Pope Leo XIII, began in earnest the long rapprochement of the Church to the 'new things' of the world. His encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) argued that the Church must bring to bear gospel values in addressing the crises of the industrial age – untrammelled capitalism, child labour, mass suffering, and Marxist revolutions.[3] This encyclical, to which Pope John Paul II often referred, inaugurated modern Catholic social teaching and set the stage for the transformation of the Church at Vatican II. In the words of John Paul II, it gave the Church 'citizenship status' to replace its previous temporal ambitions.[4]

Anchoring *Rerum Novarum* and subsequent social teaching is the idea of *Dignitatis Humanae* – the dignity of the human person. Made in the image and likeness of God and equal in his sight, all people are invested with a 'surpassing dignity'.[5] Such a dignity demands that the organisation of society foster conditions for human flourishing and justice. Desperate poverty and exploitation violate the gospel message of love and require appropriate political responses, particularly the payment of just wages and provision of leisure time for worship and family succour. Capital owners, therefore, are bound by transcendent duties to treat their workers not as mere instruments of production or 'bondsmen' but as moral persons endowed with priceless worth and nobility.

This language of human personhood also implies that people are social creatures, embedded in families and organic communities that should be supported, not supplanted by the state. This doctrine of 'subsidiarity' – that is, the need to nurture subsidiary institutions of society – contrasted both with the radical individualism of classical liberalism and the collectivism of Marx. Thus Church teaching sought a middle way between laissez faire capitalism and state socialism.

Although the Church sought to lift the yoke on workers in *Rerum Novarum*, it did not yet accept central tenets of liberal democracy. Just eight years after his encyclical on the condition of workers Pope Leo XIII condemned 'Americanism', which among other things meant the 'false' doctrine of religious toleration.[6] In Catholic countries the Church sought state privilege and the attendant limitation of the rights of non-Catholics. In a symbiotic relationship

authoritarian regimes happily granted such privilege in return for the legitimacy the Church could provide. With the rise of fascism in the twentieth century the Church endeavoured to preserve its position by signing infamous concordats with Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. The legacy of fascism, instrumental in the devastation of Europe during World War II, shocked the Church into a deeper reflection on the proper governance of society. In his Christmas Message of 1944, for example, Pope Pius XII articulated a detailed endorsement of democracy. In opposing the 'concentration of dictatorial power' as contrary to 'the dignity and liberty of citizens', the Pope speculated 'that had there been the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public authority, the world would not have been dragged into the vortex of a disastrous war'. To be sure, the Pope, in Aristotelian fashion, qualified his endorsement of democracy by arguing that it depended on citizens properly guided by natural law and socialised to seek the common good.[7]

Despite this embrace the Church continued to resist a key tenet of pluralist democracy – that all religious groups should enjoy freedom of worship and organisation. As Alfred Stephan has argued, liberal democracy depends on 'twin tolerations': the state protects the freedom of churches to operate in civil society and churches in turn do not seek to use the powers of the state to enhance their prerogatives or limit competitors.[8] As late as the 1950s, however, the Church's official position was that since 'error has no rights', Catholicism, as the true faith, should alone be sanctioned by the state. And the Church enforced that view on its clergy and scholars. The celebrated American theologian John Courtney Murray made a Catholic case for religious freedom, pluralist forms of Church–state relations, and ecumenical cooperation. But he was reproached and silenced by the Church in the 1950s.[9]

Understanding this background helps us see the significance of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), especially its later documents. In its 'Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World', *Gaudium et Spes*,[10] the Church developed its most systematic theological defence of democratic governance, human rights, and economic succour. Claiming no earthly ambition the document instead proclaimed the Church's solidarity with suffering humanity and offered its insight on human dignity as a guide to the development of wholesome social institutions, egalitarian political structures, and just economic organisations.

But it was the companion document on religious freedom that would complete the Church's transformation. Tellingly, its 'Declaration on Religious Liberty' was titled *Dignitatis Humanae*,[11] and the rationale for protecting the free pursuit of spiritual truth was anchored in the 'sublime' dignity of humanity. Two individuals would be pivotal drafters of this historic document: John Courtney Murray, who brought with him the American experience of Catholic participation in a pluralist democracy, and one Bishop Wojtyla of Poland, whose defence of the faith against the totalitarian tyrannies of Nazism and Communism forged a fierce commitment to free churches as bulwarks of civil society and resistance to oppression. As pontiff, of course, he would be placed in a pivotal position to implement this vision.

When the Church stopped relying on temporal power to pursue its spiritual mission it was freed to challenge the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes, and with a few exceptions it did just that. Indeed, like a great ocean liner that turns slowly but with tremendous force in its new direction, the Church became a powerful engine of democracy. As Samuel Huntington documents, the last great wave of democratisation was largely a Catholic wave. In 1974 three-quarters of all Catholic countries were ruled by authoritarian regimes; by 1990 all but a few were democracies.[12] After 'rising' in Iberia in 1975, 'the Catholic wave then surged across Latin America, carried democracy to the Philippines, and crested in Poland with the first of several East European revolutions against communism'.[13] In the latter case the visits by John Paul II to Poland electrified the people and spawned the Solidarity movement that helped

undermine communist rule.[14] Extending and deepening the analysis, more recent scholarship documents that the Catholic Church played a lead or supportive role in three-quarters of all democratic transitions between 1972 and 2009.[15]

Vatican diplomacy and Catholic global activism

The Catholic Church is a unique multifarious institution. Headquartered at Vatican City, the Holy See retains remnants of state sovereignty, including an elaborate diplomatic structure that sends and receives ambassadors.[16] But the Church's myriad institutions also function as interest groups or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that lobby governments or have observer status at the United Nations.[17] Indeed, the Catholic Church encompasses a vast array of national or regional episcopal conferences, religious orders, relief and development organisations, charities, hospitals, and educational associations enmeshed in politics and government. Finally, as Vatican II declared, the Church is also the 'people of God'.[18] Thus to understand Catholicism and civic engagement one must include the laity who populate Catholic organisations or participate as citizens in nearly 200 nations. This section explores the first of these roles, as captured under the rubric of Vatican diplomacy, then touches on transnational global activism of other Catholic organisations.

As a transnational actor the 'Holy See directs a truly global Church'.[19] Thus it has both tangible interests to defend and religious values to promote at different times and in different settings. A major focus of papal initiatives in the past few decades has been human rights, particularly religious freedom. For John Paul II this involved championing religious freedom behind the Iron Curtain, and then, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, to broader authoritarian contexts. For example, in a widely cited speech before the Vatican diplomatic corps in 1996 he sounded the clarion call against communist remnant and militant Islamic regimes that 'practice discrimination against Jews, Christians, and other religious groups'. The Pope condemned such persecution as an 'intolerable and unjustifiable' violation 'of the most fundamental human freedom, that of practicing one's faith openly, which for human beings is their reason for living'.[20]

More recently the waxing of militant Islamist movements, imperilling the lives of indigenous Christian communities, has captured the attention of popes and Vatican diplomats. Pope Benedict XVI took a particularly aggressive stance toward the Islamic world. As Joseph Bottom observed, 'as communism was to Pope John Paul II, so radical Islam is to Pope Benedict XVI'.[21] His Regensburg speech on September 12, 2006, in which he quoted a fourteenth-century Byzantine emperor's statement that Islam brought 'things only evil and inhuman', created a firestorm in Muslim nations.[22] Massive demonstrations, riots, and violent reprisals stunned the pontiff, who issued an apology and assured Muslims that the quote did not reflect his views. In an apparent concession Benedict reversed his opposition to Turkey's entrance into the European Union.[23] But Benedict did not back down on his demand for 'reciprocity', that Christians in Muslim nations be afforded the same rights to religious freedom that Muslims enjoy in the West, including the right 'to propose and proclaim the Gospel' to Muslims.[24] This position reflected an agreement among the cardinals of the Church, whom Benedict had summoned on March 23, 2006, that persecution of Christians in the Islamic world required a sustained diplomatic push.[25]

As conditions worsened for Christians and other minorities with the rise of the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, Benedict's successor, Pope Francis, responded with both public statements and dramatic gestures to challenge political leaders and enlist ecumenical allies for besieged Christians. During a visit to Turkey he joined Patriarch Bartholomew I, leader of Orthodox

Christianity, in pleading for religious freedom and protection for Christians in their homelands. In a conscious act of humility the Pope 'bowed before Bartholomew and asked for a blessing', a gesture unprecedented in the thousand-year split between the two communions.[26] Francis also wrote an open letter to all the Christians in the Middle East, encouraging them in the extreme trials and persecution. Stressing interreligious unity he remarked, 'The more difficult the situation, the more interreligious dialogue becomes necessary. There is no other way. Dialogue, grounded in an attitude of openness, in truth and love, is also the best antidote to the temptation to religious fundamentalism, which is a threat for followers of every religion'.[27] The shocking beheading of the Egyptian Copts in Libya in February of 2015 aroused Francis to issue heartfelt prayers for 'our brother Copts' and to speak of a new 'ecumenism of blood'. By this evocative theological language Francis suggested that in modern martyrdom the blood of disparate Christians is mixed in martyrdom.[28]

Another human rights concern gaining increasing attention by the Vatican is human trafficking. Based on his first-hand work in the slums of Buenos Aires, Pope Francis has invested considerable personal leadership on the issue. Just two months into his papacy Francis sent a hand-written note to the chancellor of his scholarly academies requesting an examination of 'human trafficking and modern slavery'. In response, a global workshop was sponsored by the Pontifical Academies of Sciences and Social Sciences, along with the World Federation of Catholic Medical Associations, which produced detailed recommendations for the Church, governments, and global institutions.[29] Guided by this initiative, Pope Francis joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury in launching the Global Freedom Network to fight against 'new forms of enslavement'.[30] Then in December of 2014 Pope Francis convened an unprecedented gathering of religious leaders at the Vatican – representing Catholic, Anglican, Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jewish faiths – who issued a joint declaration to end slavery.[31] Francis also devoted his January 1, 2015 World Peace Day message to human trafficking as a crime against humanity and a 'scourge upon the body of Christ'. This was followed by a meeting of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences in April of 2015 that convened scholars, law enforcement experts, and activists to highlight successful anti-trafficking strategies and draft recommendations for the UN and national governments.[32] These Vatican initiatives link up with a growing network of Catholic NGOs and national Church institutions that confront trafficking syndicates and offer succour to victims.

Direct diplomacy has also emerged as a key feature of Pope Francis' papacy. As one observer noted, while 'the Vatican has long practiced a methodical, discreet brand of diplomacy', Pope Francis has restored 'a vision of diplomatic boldness, a willingness to take risks and insert the Vatican into diplomatic disputes, especially where it can act as an independent broker'.[33] This manifested itself most dramatically in the key role Francis played in the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba. Not only did the Pope send letters to both President Obama and President Castro inviting rapprochement, he convened a secret meeting between the two countries at the Vatican that facilitated diplomatic openings.[34]

Pope Francis also waded into Middle East politics. Striving to reconcile relations between Palestine and Israel, Francis hosted President Shimon Peres of Israel and Mahmoud Abbas of Palestine at the Vatican to pray together and discuss peace. This gathering, termed a Prayer Summit, featured Jewish, Christian and Muslim prayers emphasising common humanity and forgiveness.[35] A year later, to the chagrin of Israeli authorities, Pope Francis announced that the Vatican would recognise a Palestinian state.[36]

Concern about the plight of the world's destitute has led the Vatican to champion efforts to ameliorate poverty and provide succour to refugees. Agencies like Caritas, Catholic Relief Services, and Jesuit Refugee Services work in some of the harshest places on earth and funnel

information and policy recommendations to the Vatican. One example of how this works concerns debt relief, which is particularly pressing in poor African countries whose debt service payments crowd out expenditures for education, health care, and economic development. Catholic development agencies and advocates joined alliances to press governments and international financial institutions to write off burdensome debts. Pope John Paul II capitalised on the turn of the millennium in 2000 to endorse the biblically evocative 'Year of Jubilee' campaign, which achieved considerable success.[37]

Coming from the developing world, Pope Francis has intensified Vatican attention to the poor and signalled that championing their cause will lie at the centre of his papacy. Indeed, all aspects of his papacy seem to converge to a theology of the poor, to a radical identification with the destitute and exploited and a simultaneous challenge to those with economic resources and political power to do far more than provide alms. Choosing as his namesake St. Francis, he has chided the princes of the Church to abandon their privileges and cast their lot with the poor. He has written that the heart of the gospel is radically for the marginalised. In his apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, he wrote that 'God's heart has a special place for the poor, so much so that he himself became poor', through an emptying Kenosis, such that the 'Entire history of our redemption is marked by the presence of the poor'.[38] Francis instantiated this concern by repeatedly remonstrating with political and business leaders to ameliorate inequalities, exploitation of poor workers, and marginalisation of cast-offs in the global economy.

In addition, the Pope linked the plight of the poor with the state of the global environment. His message, to be developed in a much-anticipated environmental encyclical in the summer of 2015, is that environmental degradation and climate change fall most heavily on the poor, who lack resources to adapt. Thus development strategies must simultaneously provide uplift for the poor and care for creation.[39]

Another notable foray of the Church into global politics concerns war and peace-making. While the Church is known for having the most fully articulated 'just war' doctrine, it has moved toward a greater scepticism about the use of force in international relations. As Drew Christensen observes, 'with Pope John XXIII's landmark encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963)', the Church began developing a concept of peace as more than 'the absence of war'. This trend accelerated from 1991 onward, as John Paul II promoted social justice as an antidote to war and lauded 'nonviolence and forgiveness in international politics'. Increasingly the Pope questioned whether modern warfare could meet the criteria of just war, and erected a high moral threshold for the use of force.[40] This posture was demonstrated during the run-up to the US-led war against Iraq in 2003. Both in private conversations and public pronouncements the Pope inveighed against the war, and his nuncio to the US joined the American bishops in challenging its justification.[41] Pope Francis continued this legacy, in particular when he called upon world powers not to intervene militarily in the civil war in Syria.[42]

Beyond the Vatican, Catholic NGOs and their peace networks play an active role in conflict mediation. Notable is the Community of Sant'Egidio, an organisation of self-conscious peacemakers headquartered in Rome, which capitalises on a blend of indigenous relationships and international networks. A systematic global study found this group involved in a disproportionate number of successful mediating efforts, in such diverse nations as Mozambique, Algeria, Uganda, Kosovo, Guatemala, and Liberia.[43]

Catholic development organisations are also sometimes drawn into peace-making initiatives. In 2015 strife in the Central African Republic (CAR) spawned violence by Christian militias against Muslims, resulting in the destruction of numerous mosques and a massive exodus of Muslim refugees. In response, Catholic Relief Services collaborated with Muslim groups in mediating initiatives to quell the violence and promote reconciliation.[44]

If the Church has taken 'progressive' positions on human rights, poverty, the environment, and war, it remains a traditional body when it comes to the constellation of issues surrounding abortion, human sexuality, AIDS prevention, contraception, marriage, and the family. Because the Vatican and Catholic NGOs have observer status at the United Nations and other international forums, the Church remains an active presence in these debates. At population summits, for example, the Church has clashed with Western nations and feminist organisations over their advocacy of abortion access.[45] With respect to certain forms of sex education and contraceptive services to adolescents, the Church has fought against bypassing parents by emphasising the rights and responsibilities of families. Church officials fear that the approach of liberal NGOs undermines traditional morality and promotes sexual permissiveness that leads to the abuse of girls and women.[46] During the papacy of Pope Benedict the Church condemned the 'condom message' of AIDS activists, pointing to abstinence and fidelity in marriage as the only sure ways to prevent the spread of the disease.[47] Finally, in the face of rapidly changing attitudes on gay rights, the Church has fought against same-sex marriage laws, invoking its teaching on the divinely ordained nature of the male-female union and the social benefits of traditional family bonds.

While these positions put the Church squarely in opposition to liberalising social trends, it has joined progressive allies in calling for more spending on AIDS medical treatment, promoting access for girls and women to education, and expanding economic opportunity for the poor, which it sees as the most efficacious means of stabilising populations.

Moreover, Pope Francis introduced a dramatic new tone to these debates. In a lengthy interview, he admitted that he intended to talk less about abortion, contraception, and homosexuality, warning the Church against becoming 'obsessed' with dogmas to the exclusion of love, especially for the poor.[48] Moreover, in response to a journalist's question on homosexual priests, Francis responded with a question that shocked Catholic traditionalists: 'If someone is gay and he searches for the Lord and has good will, who am I to judge?'[49] But while Francis has indicated openness to the possibility of civil unions for gay couples, he has not fundamentally changed the Church's opposition to the re-definition of marriage to include same-sex partners. Indeed, a synod of cardinals convened to discuss controversies over the family produced a report which, while 'welcoming homosexual persons', nonetheless depicted gay partnerships as 'imperfect' and stressed that 'unions between people of the same sex cannot be considered on the same footing as matrimony between man and woman'.[50] As we will see, this position puts Catholic institutions in some countries in jeopardy of running afoul of new anti-discrimination laws that sanction refusal to recognise same-sex marriages.

We now turn to the diverse examples of political engagement by the Church in different regions of the world.

Europe: Christian roots and secularisation

Europe was once the Catholic heartland and the Church played a large role in statecraft. That has changed, as Church growth has shifted to the developing world of the 'global south'. But it is useful to highlight the contributions of Catholicism to the political scene of Europe.

One of several signal contributions involved the formation of the Christian Democratic parties that played a crucial, if unheralded, role in building stable democracies in Western Europe after World War II. Inspired by Catholic social teaching on human dignity, lay intellectuals and activists in Europe pressed for democracy and human rights, in some cases pushing the envelope farther than the Church's official position. A leading figure was Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), who helped lay the intellectual foundations for the Christian Democratic

movement. In particular, he developed the doctrine of 'Thomistic personalism', a view of the human person as naturally embedded in organic institutions of society, such as family, Church, community, or guild.[51] Although not explicitly planned by the Church, the emergent Christian Democratic parties drew heavily upon the doctrine of subsidiarity – that the state should support, not supplant, these natural societal institutions. Guided by this vision, Christian Democratic parties enacted family- and Church-friendly social welfare policies. Thus while often depicted as the main 'conservative' opposition to social democratic parties, the Christian Democratic movement in fact represented a distinct blend of traditional and progressive elements. A genuine international movement, Christian Democratic parties went on to help consolidate democracy in several Latin American nations.[52]

In Eastern Europe the story of how the Church helped undermine communism is well known.[53] Not only in Poland, but in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in Eastern Europe congregations became places where people could begin to freely express themselves. This shielded religious and secular dissidents alike, who developed trust and solidarity through religious rituals that took on political significance.[54]

With the collapse of communism the Vatican focus shifted to battling secularising trends. When John Paul II returned to democratic Poland, for example, he chided the people for rising consumerism and materialism. Cardinal Ratzinger, in a homily to the conclave that elected him Pope, denounced 'the dictatorship of relativism', and as pontiff frequently called upon Europeans to return to their Christian roots. This took tangible form in deliberations over the constitution of the European Union, in which the Vatican backed language that would explicitly acknowledge the Christian heritage of Europe, but only gained watered down reference to cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe.

Throughout Europe the Vatican also fought (largely unsuccessful) battles against socially liberal policies, such as legal abortion, same-sex marriage or civil unions, stem cell research, and euthanasia. Pope Benedict XVI urged Catholics to fight 'with clarity and determination' any legislation seeking to redefine the traditional family or compromise the 'sanctity' of human life.[55]

While Pope Francis has not departed fundamentally from his predecessors on these questions, his reorienting emphasis on the crisis of the marginalised has fostered new goodwill for the Church on the continent. His dramatic gestures (such as washing the feet of prisoners) evoke an approach to evangelisation rooted in an ideal of sacrificial service rather than doctrine. Whether his enormous popularity will translate into renewal remains to be seen.

The United States: robust presence and emerging challenges

The Catholic Church represents 'a distinct voice' in American politics.[56] It joins conservatives in opposing abortion and gay marriage, or in supporting educational vouchers and public displays of religion. But it unites with liberals in backing humanitarian foreign aid, health care for the poor, social welfare spending, increases in the minimum wage, humane treatment of immigrants, and opposition to the death penalty.

Because of this unique ideological blend Catholics have become the quintessential swing voters in American politics, a strategic voting block assiduously courted by both political parties. One-fourth of the US electorate, Catholics comprise the median voting group whose movement often provides the decisive margin of victory in national elections, with Hispanic Catholic voters more Democratic and white Catholics more Republican.

Catholics in America also operate an impressive array of institutions, including the nation's paramount parochial school system, a large hospital network, extensive charities and adoption

agencies, diverse religious orders, along with national and state Catholic conferences. This institutional presence provides Catholic lobbies with expertise and heft on a host of issues.

In a sense Catholic Americans came of age with the election of John Kennedy in 1960, which along with the prominent participation by priests and women religious in the landmark civil rights struggle gave the community a certain cachet in American society. The shock of the Supreme Court's 1973 Roe v. Wade decision legalising abortion in turn spurred an extensive pro-life network in the Church, which continues to provide the most vigorous institutional support for limits on abortion and its funding by government. A growing critique of public schools, especially their perceived failure to adequately serve the poor, led to increased attention to the ways parochial schools compensated for family deficits,[57] producing alliances with both home-schooling evangelicals and inner city blacks for various 'school choice' initiatives. The bishops' visibility and clout rose in the 1980s, as they aligned with liberals in producing pastoral letters critical of nuclear arms and certain capitalist structures, and in opposing Reagan Administration military initiatives in Central America.[58]

From the 1980s onward the devolution of policy-making authority to the states has enhanced the role of state Catholic conferences, which are permanent agencies composed of dioceses but 'usually headed by a lay executive director'.[59] In the majority of states these conferences are often the most well-established and influential religious advocacy presence – but in characteristic fashion blending culturally conservative stands with economically progressive positions.[60]

The recent ascendance of assertive social liberalism in America, however, has increasingly pushed the bishops into the traditionalist camp in defence of Church autonomy and conscience rights. As states and the courts rapidly redefined marriage to include same-sex unions, the Church joined with conservative evangelical groups and others in affirming the legal status of traditional marriage. Catholic institutions also joined other religious traditionalists to resist mandates that they include contraceptives and sterilisation in their health plans to meet regulations implementing the Affordable Care Act, President Obama's signature domestic priority. This has produced a prodigious litigation battle between the Obama Administration and an array of Catholic charities, religious orders, and colleges seeking conscience exemption from the mandate. If they lose they face millions of dollars in fines or, ironically, the prospect of dropping health coverage.[61]

Throughout the modern era Catholic leaders could count on political leaders of both parties to defend the autonomy of Church institutions. That has changed. As gay marriage has become law by statute or court decree, non-discrimination statutes have been applied to Church institutions, forcing them to choose between defying the law or violating their teaching on marriage. For example, long-standing Catholic adoption programs in Massachusetts, Washington, DC, and Illinois shut down because authorities insisted that they place children with same-sex couples. In the face of these converging challenges, the bishops launched a national educational campaign to defend religious freedom and conscience rights. Letters from the bishops have been read from thousands of pulpits and rallies were held as part of the Church's 'Fortnight of Freedom' events.[62]

Latin America: democracy and development

The most significant story from Latin America is, of course, the elevation of Argentine Cardinal Bergoglio of Buenos Aires to the seat of St. Peter, producing ecstatic responses of cultural pride. As the first Pope from Latin America, Francis brings a distinct focus on poverty, mercy, and a new evangelisation in the face of competition.

Latin America contains the largest regional Catholic population, comprising some 39 per cent of all the world's Catholics.[63] For nearly five centuries the Catholic Church backed authoritarian regimes and economic oligarchs in Latin America. This makes the transformation of the Church following Vatican II especially noteworthy. In a number of instances bishops, priests, and women religious opposed dictatorships and shielded dissidents. Papal nuncios in turn provided international legitimacy of such efforts, helping to lead a wave of democratisation in the last few decades.

An excellent example is Brazil, by population the largest Catholic country in the world. For centuries the Church tied itself to wealthy landowners and authoritarian rulers who granted it vast privileges. But by the 1960s a progressive episcopate embraced the aspirations of the poor and offered the most prominent challenge to despotic military rule. By providing space for civil society and undermining the legitimacy of the regime the Church helped midwife democratisation.[64]

To be sure, democratisation in Latin America was uneven, and Church support for authoritarianism endured until recently in a few countries, such as Argentina, Honduras, and Uruguay. One possible explanation for this variability is that the Church changed the least where it faced little competition, either from Protestant growth or secular movements.[65]

Closely linked to its democratic role was the Church's embrace of justice for rural peasantry and urban poor. Vatican II highlighted the enormous inequalities in the global economy and questioned the justice of destitution amidst unprecedented wealth. This theme was developed at meetings of the Latin American Bishop's Conference (CELAM) in Medellin in 1968 and Pueblo in 1979. Church leaders articulated the widely influential idea that public policies should be guided by a 'preferential option for the poor'.

This idea was, of course, bolstered by liberation theology, which applied the analysis of class conflict to press for radical changes in societal structures that would end exploitation of the destitute.[66] While many bishops may not have embraced the 'Marxist methodology of liberation theologians', as Anthony Gill observes, 'they could not but help to reflect upon their critiques of Latin American society and perhaps arrive at less radical, but still progressive conclusions'.[67] So whether influenced by Vatican II, CELAM conferences, or liberation theology, Church leaders in many cases became champions of the dispossessed.

Of course, the Marxist dimension of liberation theology troubled the Catholic hierarchy. By the 1980s Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger had condemned liberation theology as a 'fundamental threat' to the Church and silenced Brazilian friar Leonardo Boff, a leading figure in the movement.[68] Despite this assault, liberation theology lingers among a cadre of priests and lay Catholics, who seek structural changes in confronting desperate poverty.[69]

Pope Francis appears to draw from this wellspring in his critique of the global economy, of the inequality that represents a denial of the dignity of all persons. Chastising the 'idolatry of the market', he challenges 'trickle down theories' as expressing a 'naïve trust in those wielding economic power'.[70] His conviction that neo-liberal economic trends leave too many in a destitute existence echoes themes of liberation theology, perhaps without the Marxism.

But while the Pope may be popular in Latin America, the Church has lost many of its flock to Pentecostalism or secularism. Its diminished influence is also reflected in the fact that 'countries in the region have been so quick to adopt laws legalising abortion, gay marriage, and the decriminalization of marijuana'.[71]

Africa: Catholic leaven in struggles

The Catholic Church has experienced dramatic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa, from a tiny presence in 1900 to over 170 million by 2010, or 16 per cent of the globe's Catholic population.[72]

At least four African nations are at or near majority Catholic population while a substantial Catholic presence is found in several others.[73] Not only is growth accelerating and outstripping other parts of the world, but Africa is producing so many priests that they are being sent to take over churches in the United States and Europe.[74]

As an independent sector of civil society the Church has promoted democratisation in a number of countries. In Malawi, for example, the Catholic bishops distributed a pastoral letter that criticised the one-party rule of Hastings Kamuzu Banda, which was the 'turning point' in that nation's democratization. The Church likewise led popular opposition movements against authoritarianism in Kenya, Zambia, and Ghana.[75] In war-torn Congo, where the number of Catholics has more than tripled in the past thirty-five years to encompass half of the population, Church leaders have striven to provide a forum for reconciliation as a means of promoting peace and democratic transition.[76] The bishop's conference also deployed observers and condemned as tainted the election that returned President Joseph Kabila to power in 2011.[77]

The Church often provides vital educational and health services where governments are either ineffective or corrupt. In Angola the Church transformed itself from a virtual appendage of Portuguese colonisers into a truly independent force. As the nation recovered from civil war in the new century the Church became a 'surrogate state', managing a network of schools and charities, operating the country's premier radio station, and serving as a potent 'political leader in an independent Angola'.[78] In Nigeria the Church also compensates for state weakness or corruption, particularly in the face of the Boko Haram insurgency in the north. Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah of Sokoto in north-western Nigeria observed that the 'entire architecture of governance has collapsed. The Church remains the only moral force.'[79]

The Church's international connections also serve as a resource for popular struggle, but that does not ensure success, as we see with its role in the independence movement of the southern Sudanese people. In Sudan an Arab Islamist regime waged a twenty-year scorched-earth war (1993–2003) against the nation's ethnic Africans of the south, comprised mostly of Christians and tribal religionists. The war resulted in two million deaths and displaced another five million. Indigenous Catholic leaders, such Bishop Macram Gassis, along with global Church leaders and activist lay Catholics in the United States, played an important role in the coalition that induced the US government to pressure Khartoum to sign a peace treaty with the southern rebel movement,[80] which ultimately led to the creation of the new nation of South Sudan 2011. International Catholic development agencies, such as Caritas and Catholic Relief Services, invested heavily in the fragile new country. But the country – afflicted by decades of devastation, bereft of infrastructure, beset by tribal and ethnic divisions, and sapped by poor governing capacity – was too fragile to hold. A power struggle in the capital city of Juba in December 2013 erupted into widespread tribal violence and armed insurrection, sparking massive displacement, disease, and famine, and undermining Catholic development initiatives. Sudanese Catholic bishops joined other religious leaders in pressing the combatants to sign a peace deal in August of 2015, but they face a daunting task of rebuilding the shattered land.

Uganda, which is over 40 per cent Catholic,[81] suffered through a different crucible. During the reign of terror of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda, the Church provided centres of refuge for children threatened with abduction. In turn, the Community of Sant'Egidio helped broker peace talks with the LRA that ended the civil war.[82] In the aftermath of the conflict, the Uganda Church established programs of rehabilitation to help former child soldiers to reintegrate into society. This account underscores both the indigenous resources of the Church and the benefits of transnational networks.

While the above illustrations show the Church's influence, elsewhere 'Catholics proved ineffective as brokers of democracy', particularly in Rwanda.[83]

Rwanda, the majority of whose population is Roman Catholic, represents an example of abject failure to overcome tribal conflicts. The roots of this failure lie in the fact that the Church colluded with Belgian colonisers, who employed a deliberate policy of playing the Tutsis and Hutus against each other.[84] This had devastating consequences in 1994 when Hutu forces inaugurated a genocidal campaign against Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Not only did the Church not systematically protest the genocide, but some Catholic priests actually participated in the atrocities, their sanctuaries becoming killing fields. Even after the killing ended Rwandan Catholic leaders continued to downplay the massacres and refused to acknowledge their complicity and failure. Though some observers hold out hope that the Church can still engage in truth and reconciliation processes, its mission has been seriously discredited, opening the way for evangelical Protestant competitors to move into the social and moral void.[85]

Asia: a quest for civil society

With its huge population and geographic reach Asia presents a multifarious setting for Catholic political engagement. Despite diverse nationalities and forms of government, the quest to carve spaces for itself in civil society is a consistent thread throughout the region.

For example, with a growing Catholic population in Taiwan and South Korea, the Church nurtured dissent against authoritarian regimes and helped to encourage democratisation in the two states. Remarkably, in South Korea Catholic Kim Dae-jung, who fought a life-long democracy campaign, used Church settings to arouse the citizenry against South Korea's military dictatorships. He was twice imprisoned and even sentenced to death in 1980. The intervention of the United States led to his release and exile; his subsequent return to South Korea intensified pro-democracy forces. He was elected in 1997 and earned the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 for his role in democratising the nation.

Similarly, in the Philippines the Church fostered the central opposition to the authoritarian rule of Ferdinand Marcos. This began in earnest in the early 1980s with a series of pastoral letters from the Bishops Conference critical of the regime, which prepared the ground for the 'people power' revolution of 1986. Under pressure from the Church, Marcos called a 'snap election' designed to 'throw the opposition off balance'. But Cardinal Jaime Sin and other bishops frustrated Marcos by in effect backing the candidacy of Cory Aquino, wife of the assassinated opposition leader Ninoy Aquino. The bishops then condemned widespread voting fraud that initially gave the election to Marcos. Finally, in one of the most dramatic episodes in Philippine history, the Church called out hundreds of thousands of Filipinos to flood the streets and protect with their bodies military officers who joined the Aquino forces. Under pressure from the Church and the US government, Marcos resigned and Aquino assumed the presidency.[86] The Church continues to play an active role in the nation, supporting initiatives for the poor and challenging corruption.

Another example of where the Church became tied up in a people's cause was East Timor. For centuries the Church served colonial power, but the invasion by Indonesia in 1975 severed the Church from the government and ironically freed priests to lead the popular struggle against occupation. As the interests of the Church and the indigenous population merged, affiliation with Catholicism mushroomed. In 1973 less than a third of the population was Catholic; by 1990 that figure was an astonishing 90 per cent. Under international pressure Indonesia agreed to a referendum on independence in 1999. Its passage resulted in violent reprisals by Indonesian military troops and militia, in which some priests and nuns were killed. This brought new pressure on the Indonesian government, which ultimately withdrew its troops and recognised East Timor's independence. The Church now focuses on rebuilding community structures shattered by occupation and war.[87]

Asia contains most of the remaining communist states: China, Vietnam, Laos, and North Korea. North Korea, which crushes religion with some of the worst persecution in the world, is *sui generis*, and there the Church barely clings to life. Internationally, however, Catholics have taken up the cause of refugees who have fled the totalitarian regime, putting pressure on China to cease deporting or exploiting them.

Elsewhere in Asia the Church strives for independence from communist authorities, who seek to keep power by controlling nascent civil society. In China this has produced a persecuted and divided Church. Underground Catholics who pledge fealty to Rome risk harassment or arrest by authorities, and they often disdain those who worship in state-sanctioned 'patriotic' congregations. Wanting to unite both state-sanctioned and 'underground' Catholics (who pledge fealty to the Pope), the Vatican has engaged in a delicate minuet of negotiations. The Vatican has signalled that it might end diplomatic relations with Taiwan and establish them with Beijing in return for the authority to appoint or approve Chinese bishops. But the failure to reach some kind of detente with the regime has perpetuated divisions, which inhibit Church growth and hamper the Church's ability to foster an independent civil society.[88] The cutting edge for Christian growth in China, therefore, clearly rests with independent Protestants and evangelicals.

Crisis for Christianity in the Middle East

The seizure of Mosul, Iraq's second largest city, by Islamic State (ISIS) militants in the summer of 2014 stunned the world. Especially shocking was their brutal efficiency in killing or expelling the entire Christian population from the city and the wider Nineveh plain. This event captured the existential peril facing Christians and other minorities in the region. The chaotic wake of the American-led overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq exposed vulnerable Christian communities to sectarian assaults and systematic Islamist terror. The crisis accelerated with the Syrian civil war and the rise of ISIS. Perhaps only a third of the Christian population remains in Iraq, as Christians in the entire region continue to flee their ancient homeland.

Christianity in the Middle East is comprised of distinct communities and traditions, from Orthodox to Eastern Rite to Catholic. Nonetheless, Catholic leaders, drawing upon transnational networks, have emerged as the most visible advocates for the besieged faithful. Patriarch Louis Raphaël I Sako, head of Iraq's Chaldean Catholic community, is the singular example. Before the rise of ISIS he sounded the alarm about the perilous situation for Christians in Iraq.[89] Since the fall of Mosul he has become a singular spokesman for Christians and other minorities. In a speech before the United Nations Security Council he proclaimed that Islamist extremist groups were 'erasing all traces' of non-Muslims in the region, and he pleaded with world leaders to take coordinated action to protect the remnant.[90] In a dramatic illustration of the global linkages of the Church, Pope Francis personally called Patriarch Sako to express his solidarity with Iraqi Christians and to endorse the patriarch's plea for international action to protect them.[91]

Beyond advocacy, the Church faces the striking challenge of serving a growing refugee population in Kurdistan, Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon, and reconstituting the Assyrian diaspora into functioning communities. This will require both generosity from the global Church and creative indigenous leadership.

Conclusion: to the future

As this discussion indicates, the Catholic Church will remain a strategic actor in national and global politics. Its effectiveness, however, will depend on its vitality as a religious institution, and that will vary from region to region, nation to nation. The challenges it confronts, in turn,

will vary enormously. The millennia-old challenge of *libertas ecclesiae*, protecting the freedom of the Church from state intrusion, remains an urgent goal in authoritarian contexts, but is also reemerging in the West as aggressive secular policies threaten to undermine the autonomy of religious institutions. Thus the Church and its leaders will continue to be significant voices in promoting religious freedom.

With the continued shift of the Catholic population to the global south, the Church will find itself heavily nested among the world's poor, exploited, and displaced. This demographic reality not only produces a concordance with the emphasis of Pope Francis on being a Church of and for the poor, but will profoundly shape the context for future pontiffs. One of the striking trends is the significant number of Catholics among the world's refugees, migrants, and exiles. From Christians expelled in Middle East, to desperate Central American migrants, to refugees displaced by strife in South Sudan, Nigeria, or the Congo, many live in a diaspora Church – in refugee camps, as sojourners on the move with few possessions, or as undocumented migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation. Such evocative biblical images pose a serious test of whether affluent and comfortable laity in the West will respond with commensurate compassion and advocacy.

Finally, the looming bio-genetic revolution will present new challenges to basic theological understandings of the unique giftedness of persons made in the image and likeness of God. Though hardly on the political radar, genetic engineering poses profound questions about the dignity of human life, even about the definition of human life itself. Cloning, foetus farming, patenting life forms, designer babies engineered with specific traits, even the chimera of animal-hybrid combinations used to harvest organs, mark the horizon. If the abortion controversy hinged on when human life begins, the genetic revolution thrusts forward such questions as 'What is a human being? Who decides? What about new creations?' The genetic revolution also raises the further question of how society will perceive (or welcome) the imperfect.[92] New technologies may also widen the gap between the poor and the affluent, who are most likely to engineer advantageous traits in their offspring or, as is already occurring, to exploit the poor in organ trafficking.

Although Catholic theologians have begun focusing on these profound questions, it will take a massive educational campaign for the Church to provide a moral lead in the debates to come. Again, its capacity to provide moral guidance in this revolutionary era will hinge in part on whether the Church remains a vigorous spiritual institution around the globe.

Notes

1 Pew Research Center, 'The Global Catholic Population'.
2 Huntington, *The Third Wave*; Philpott, 'The Catholic wave'.
3 *Rerum Novarum*.
4 *Centesimus Annus*.
5 *Gaudium et Spes*.
6 Jelen, 'The American Church', 75.
7 'Democracy and a lasting peace'.
8 Stepan, 'Religion, democracy'.
9 Wills, *Why I am a Catholic*, 214–21.
10 *Gaudium et Spes*.
11 *Dignitatis Humanae*.
12 Huntington, *The Third Wave*.
13 Philpott, 'The Catholic wave', 32.
14 Weigel, *Witness to Hope*.

15 Toft, Philpott and Shah, *God's Century*.
16 Allen, *All the Pope's Men*.
17 Ferrari, 'The Vatican as a transnational actor'.
18 Philpott, 'The Catholic wave', 36.
19 Ferrari, 'The Vatican as a transnational actor'.
20 Pope John Paul II, 'Annual message to diplomatic corps'.
21 Bottum, 'Benedict meets Bartholomew', 14–15.
22 Pope Benedict XVI, 'Speech at University of Regensburg'.
23 Fisher and Travernise, 'Pope backs Turkey's bid'.
24 Kahn and Meichtry, 'A tumultuous world'.
25 Allen, *All the Pope's Men*.
26 'Pope Francis addresses Christian persecution'.
27 Pope Francis, 'Letter to the Christians in the Middle East'.
28 'Pope Francis and the Copts'.
29 'Statement on trafficking in human beings'.
30 Winfield, 'Pope Francis and Archbishop of Canterbury'.
31 Barrett, 'World faith leaders join Pope'.
32 'Human trafficking: issues beyond criminalization'.
33 Yardley, 'Bolder vision of Vatican diplomacy'.
34 Yardley and Pianigiani, 'Pope Francis is credited with crucial role in U.S.-Cuba Agreement'.
35 Booth, 'Pope Francis hosts Israel, Palestinian leaders'.
36 Rudoren and Hadid, 'Pope aids push for statehood by Palestinians'.
37 Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, Ch. 8.
38 Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, 197.
39 Rivkin, A., 'With Pope Francis's encyclical on climate change done'.
40 Christiansen, 'Catholic peacemaking'.
41 Allen, *All the Pope's Men*, Ch. 7.
42 Winfield, 'Pope Francis leads peace prayer vigil'.
43 Toft, Philpott and Shah, *God's Century*, 190.
44 Bryson, 'When Christians kill and destroy'.
45 Cowell, 'How Vatican views Cairo'.
46 Crossette, 'Vatican holds up abortion debate'.
47 'Pope rejects condoms for Africa'.
48 Spadaro, 'Big heart open to God'.
49 Donadio, 'On gay priests'.
50 Wofford, 'What did the Vatican really say?'
51 Maritain, *The Rights of Man*.
52 Papini, *The Christian Democrat International*; Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy*.
53 Weigel, *Witness to Hope*.
54 Havel, *The Power of the Powerless*.
55 Nouaille, 'Pope courts intellectuals'.
56 Steinfels, *American Catholics and Civic Engagement.*
57 Coleman and Hoffer, *Public and Private High Schools*.
58 Byrnes, *Catholic Bishops in American Politics*.
59 Yamane, *Catholic Church in State Politics*.
60 Yamane, *Catholic Church in State Politics*; Cleary and Hertzke, *Representing God at the Statehouse.*
61 Hertzke, *Religious Freedom in America*.
62 Hertzke and Pudlo, 'Defending civil society'.
63 Pew Research Center, 'The global Catholic population'.
64 Casanova, *Public Religions*; Huntington, *The Third Wave.*
65 Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar*.
66 Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation.*

67 Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar*, 45.
68 Reel, 'An abiding faith'; Rother, 'Pope Benedict XVI'.
69 Reel, 'An abiding faith'.
70 *Evangelii Gaudium.*
71 Gomez, 'Catholic Church losing ground'.
72 Pew Research Center, 'The global Catholic population'.
73 CIA World Factbook.
74 Nossiter, 'Church helps fill a void'.
75 Philpott, 'The Catholic wave'.
76 Elenga, 'The Congolese Church'.
77 BBC News, January 3, 2012.
78 Heywood, 'The Angolan Church'.
79 Nossiter, 'Church helps fill a void'.
80 Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*, Ch. 7.
81 'International religious freedom report'.
82 Toft, Philpott and Shah, *God's Century*, 189.
83 Philpott, 'The Catholic wave', 110–11.
84 Rutagambwa, 'The Rwandan Church', 176.
85 Ibid.
86 Wooster, 'Faith at the ramparts'.
87 Lyon, 'The East Timorese Church'.
88 Madsen, *China's Catholics*; Reardon, 'The Chinese Catholic Church'.
89 Allen, 'Iraqi Catholic leader'.
90 Brown, 'Catholic Patriarch in Iraq'.
91 'Pope calls Patriarch Sako'.
92 Cameron, 'Evangelicals and bioethics'.

References

Allen, Jr., J.L. (2004) *All the Pope's Men: The Inside Story of How the Vatican Really Thinks*, New York: Doubleday.

Allen, Jr., J.L. (2006) 'A challenge, not a crusade', *The New York Times*, 19 September.

Allen, Jr., J.L. (2013) 'Iraqi Catholic leader asks West: "If they kill us all, will you do something then?"' *National Catholic Reporter*, 15 December.

Barrett, D.V. (2014) 'World faith leaders join Pope to sign human trafficking declaration', *Catholic Herald*, 2 December, http://www.catholicherald.co.uk/news/2014/12/02/faith-leaders-join-pope-at-vatican-to-sign-human-trafficking-declaration/.

Booth, W. (2014) 'Pope Francis hosts Israeli, Palestinian leaders at "Prayer Summit"', *Washington Post*, 8 June.

Bottum, J. (2006) 'Benedict meets Bartholomew: the real reason for the pope's visit to Turkey', *The Weekly Standard*, 11 December, 14–15.

Brown, L. (2015) 'Catholic Patriarch in Iraq', cnsnews.com, 30 March 2015.

Bryson, J. (2015) 'When Christians kill and destroy but also make peace, CAR today', *Arc of the Universe* Blog, 20 March, http://arcoftheuniverse.info/when-christians-kill-and-destroy-but-also-make-peace-car-today.

Byrnes, T. (1991) *Catholic Bishops in American Politics*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cameron, N.M. (2003) 'Evangelicals and bioethics: an extraordinary failure', in Cromartie, M. (ed.) *A Public Faith: Evangelicals and Civic Engagement*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Casanova, J. (1994) *Public Religions in the Modern World*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Centesimus Annus (1991) Encyclical letter of Pope John Paul II.

Christiansen, D. (2006) 'Catholic peacemaking, 1991–2005: the legacy of Pope John Paul II', *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 4(2), 21–28.

CIA World Factbook (2015) https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/wfbExt/region_afr.html, (accessed April 2015).

Cleary, E.L. and Hertzke, A.D. (eds.) (2006) *Representing God at the Statehouse: Religion and Politics in the American States*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Coleman, J.S. and Hoffer, T. (1987) *Public and Private High Schools: The Impact of Communities*, New York: Basic Books.

Cowell, A. (1994) 'How Vatican views Cairo', *The New York Times*, 18 September.

Crossette, B. (1994) 'Vatican holds up abortion debate at talks in Cairo', *The New York Times*, 7 September.

Dignitatis Humanae (1965) *Vatican Council II*, Flannery, A. (ed.) 1975. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.

Donadio, R. (2013) 'On gay priests, Pope Francis asks, "Who am I to judge?"' *The New York Times*, 29 July.

Elenga, Y.C. (2006) 'The Congolese Church: ecclesial community with the political community', in Manuel, P.C., Reardon, L.C., and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Ferrari, L.L. (2006) 'The Vatican as a transnational actor', in Manuel, P.C., Reardon, L.C., and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Fisher, I. and Tavernise, S. (2006) 'In reversal, pope backs Turkey's bid to join European Union: gesture is an effort to repair a rift with Muslims', *The New York Times*, 29 November.

Gaudium et Spes (1965*) Vatican Council II*, Flannery, A. (ed.) 1975. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press.

Gill, A.J. (1998) *Rendering unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Gomez, A. (2014) 'Report: Catholic Church losing ground in Latin America', *USA Today*, 13 November.

Gutierrez, G. (1973) *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Havel, V. and Keane, J. (1990) *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Hertzke, A.D. (2004) *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hertzke, A.D. (2005) 'Roman Catholicism and the faith-based movement for global human rights', *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, 3(3), 19–24.

Hertzke, A.D. (ed.) (2015) *Religious Freedom in America: Constitutional Roots and Contemporary Challenges*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Hertzke, A.D., and Pudlo, J.M. (2014) 'Defending Civil Society: Religious Advocacy in America', in Glendon, M.A. and Alvira, R. (eds.) *The Changing Faces of Religion and Secularity*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.

Heywood, L. (2006) 'The Angolan Church: the prophetic tradition, politics, and the state', in Manuel, P.C., Reardon, L.C., and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

'Human trafficking: issues beyond criminalization' (2015) XXI Plenary Session, Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, 17–22 April, Vatican City, http://www.pass.va/content/scienzesociali/en/events/2014-18/humantrafficking.html.

Huntington, S. (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

'International religious freedom report' (2013) Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. State Department, http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm#wrapper.

Jelen, T.G. (2006) 'The American Church: of being Catholic and American', in Manuel, P.C., Reardon, L.C., and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Kahn, G. and Meichtry, S. (2006) 'A tumultuous world tests a rigid Pope', *The New York Times*, 25 November.

Kalyvas, S.N. (1996) *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Lyon, A.J. (2007) 'The East Timorese Church: from oppression to liberation', in Manuel, P.C., Reardon, L.C., and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Madsen, R. (1998) *China's Catholics: Tragedy and Hope in an Emerging Civil Society*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Maritain, J. (1943) *The Rights of Man and Natural Law*, New York: Scribner's Sons.
Maritain, J. (1947) *The Person and the Common Good*, Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
Nossiter, A. (2013) 'Church Helps Fill a Void', *The New York Times*, 23 February.
Nouaille, M. (2006) 'Pope courts intellectuals in defense of Europe's Christian values', *Agence France Presse*, 19 October.
Papini, R. (1997) *The Christian Democrat International*, translated by Robert Royal, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
Pew Research Center (2013) 'The global Catholic population', 13 February, http://www.pewforum.org/2013/02/13/the-global-catholic-population/.
Philpott, D. (2005) 'The Catholic wave', in Diamond, L., Plattner, M.F., and Costopoulos, P.J. (eds.) *World Religions and Democracy*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Pope Benedict XVI (2006) 'Speech at University of Regensburg', 9 September, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060912_university-regensburg.html.
'Pope calls Patriarch Sako in Iraq', Vatican Radio, 26 July 2014, http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2014/07/26/pope_calls_patriarch_sako_in_iraq/1103457.
'Pope Francis addresses Christian persecution in Middle East' (2014) *Beliefnet*, http://www.beliefnet.com/Faiths/Catholic/Articles/Pope-Francis-and-Mid-East-Persecution.aspx#JFxyWKqDllaxd5L6.99.
Pope Francis (2014) *Evangelii Gaudium* 'Apostolic Exhortation', 24 November.
Pope Francis (2014) 'Letter to the Christians in the Middle East', Vatican City, 21 December.
'Pope Francis and the Copts: Blood and Ecumenism' (2015) *The Economist*, 17 February.
Pope John Paul II (1996) 'Annual message to diplomatic corps'.
Pope Pius XII (1944) 'Democracy and a lasting peace', Christmas message, 25 December.
'Pope rejects condoms for Africa' (2005) BBC News, 10 June.
Reardon, L.C. (2006) 'The Chinese Catholic Church: obstacles to reconciliation', in Manuel, P.C., Reardon, L.C., and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
Reel, M. (2005) 'An abiding faith in liberation theology', *Washington Post*, 2 May.
Rerum Novarum (1891) Encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII.
Rivkin, A. (2015) 'With Pope Francis's encyclical on climate change done, now a Vatican sales push – and pushback', *The New York Times*, 28 April, http://dotearth.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/04/28/spin-substance-and-pope-franciss-environmental-encyclical/.
Rother, L. (2005) 'Pope Benedict XVI: developing nations', *The New York Times*, 20 April.
Rudoren, J. and Hadid, D. (2015) 'Pope aids push for statehood by Palestinians', *The New York Times*, 14 May.
Rutagambwa, E. (2006) 'The Rwandan Church: the challenge of reconciliation', in Manuel, P.C., Reardon, L.C., and Wilcox, C. (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
Spadaro, A. (2013) 'A big heart open to God: the exclusive interview with Pope Francis', *America*, 30 September.
'Statement on trafficking in human beings' (2013) Pontifical Academies of Sciences and Social Sciences and the Federation Internationale Des Associations De Medecins Catholiques, November, http://www.pass.va/content/scienzesociali/en/events/2009-13/trafficking/traffickingstatement.html.
Steinfels, M.O. (ed.) (2004) *American Catholics and Civic Engagement: A Distinctive Voice*, Lanham, MD: Sheed & Ward.
Stepan, A. (2005) 'Religion, democracy, and the "twin tolerations"', in Diamond, L., Plattner, M.F. and Costopoulos, P.J. (eds.) *World Religions and Democracy*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Toft, M.D., Philpott, D., and Shah, T.S. (2011) *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
Weigel, G. (2005) *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*. New York: Harper Perennial.
Wills, G. (2002) *Why I Am a Catholic*, New York: Harper Perennial.
Winfield, N. (2014) 'Pope Francis and Archbishop of Canterbury pledge to fight human trafficking together', *The Huffington Post*, 16 June, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/06/16/pope-francis-justin-welby-modern-slavery_n_5499330.html?utm_hp_ref=religion.
Winfield, N. (2014) 'Pope Francis leads peace prayer vigil for Syria with 100,000 at St. Peter's Square at Vatican', *The Huffington Post*, 7 September.

Wofford, T. (2014) 'What did the Vatican really say about gay marriage yesterday?', *Newsweek*, 14 October.

Wooster, H. (1994) 'Faith at the ramparts: the Philippine Catholic Church and the 1986 revolution', in Johnston, D. and Sampson, C. (eds.) *Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, New York: Oxford University Press, 153–76.

Yamane, D. (2005) *The Catholic Church in State Politics: Negotiating Prophetic Demands and Political Realities*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Yardley, J. (2014) 'Under Francis, a bolder vision of Vatican Diplomacy emerges', *The New York Times*, 18 December.

Yardley, J. and Pianigiani, G. (2014) 'Pope Francis is credited with a crucial role in U.S.-Cuba agreement', *The New York Times*, 17 December.

4
CONFUCIANISM
Classical, Neo- and 'New'

Michael D. Barr

FLINDERS UNIVERSITY, AUSTRALIA

Confucianism notionally began in the sixth century BC with the teachings of an obscure Chinese scholar and occasional government adviser called *Kongfuzi* (Confucius). This picture, however, is slightly misleading because Confucius was himself drawing upon traditions, ideals and cosmologies that were already ancient. He was in fact calling for a revitalisation of these traditions in an attempt to bring an end to the chaos that had engulfed China in his own day. He reaffirmed the traditional Chinese notion that virtue, morality, humaneness and harmony are all heavenly realities waiting to be discovered through education and the adoption of 'proper' relationships between members of families and members of society. In the hands of his disciples and generations of their successors his teachings gave rise to an ethical code that assumed a status akin to that of a state religion in China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam, providing a central basis of regime legitimacy for many generations of imperial dynasties.[1] In the tenth century a rigid, state-centric version known as Neo-Confucianism was imposed in China as the national ideology and versions of this spread to Japan and Korea. It was in this period that the examination system became the basis of governance in China and the empire entered a new period of conservatism. As both a state religion and as a system of governance Confucianism is now dead, but at the level of the lived experience of ordinary people, it continues to act as a religion, imposing patterns of social cognition that provide a reasonably consistent social underlay across Chinese and other East Asian cultures. The divergent elements separating these 'Confucian' cultures (China, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Vietnam and Singapore) are legion, but the common elements are also very firmly established.

Confucianism makes no claim to absolute or revealed truth, though Neo-Confucianism at its peak guarded its orthodoxies with a keenness reminiscent of a revealed faith.[2] Nevertheless, in all its manifestations it begins from the premise that 'the way of the sages' brought to light natural and innately known truths rather than revealed faith. It is a philosophy and a praxis that provides a logical and time-honoured method of ordering society for the common good by cultivating virtue in everyone from the highest political authority to the most menial commoner, with the ruler and his advisers setting the highest standard: a 'virtuocracy'. Indeed its classical statecraft was premised on recognition of the absolute power of the emperor, but sought to direct that power for the common good by cultivating virtue in the heart of the emperor and by surrounding him with wise, virtuous and scholarly advisers. The ideal Confucian is a 'cultured gentleman'

(*junzi*) and a 'humane person' (*ren*) as opposed to a 'mean/small person' (*xiao ren*). The two central elements that we find in common in societies influenced by Confucianism include:

- a heavily relational, hierarchical and conservatively ordered view of society, whereby society is regarded substantially as an extension of a patriarchal family; and
- respect for scholarship and virtue, with an implicit assumption that the latter is derived from the former.

In its pre-modern forms Confucianism also saw virtue as being properly expressed through rites and rituals (*li*) that ensure everyone in society operates in a proper fashion according to his or her place in the social hierarchy. Although the formal rituals are no longer very common practice, social intercourse still tends to follow somewhat ritualised patterns that can seem obsequious to outsiders. Central to the relational and hierarchical perspective of classical Confucianism are two sets of relationships. The first is the 'five relationships' that govern Confucian thought: ruler over minister/subject; father over son; husband over wife; elder brother over younger brother; and friend and friend. Friendships are the only apparently non-hierarchical relationship in the Confucian order, but in practice friends tend to model their behaviour on the older brother/younger brother relationship. The second set of relationships is the traditional hierarchy of occupations, whereby scholars are almost venerated, farmers are accorded considerable respect, workers are held in lower regard, and merchants are at the bottom of the pile. Soldiers are so low that they are not accepted as part of the hierarchy at all, except in Japan, where the Samurai traditionally took the place of scholars in the hierarchy. It is a sign of the flexibility of contemporary Confucianism that the subservient role of women is generally dismissed (at least at levels of official policy), that merchants are held in high regard in many Confucian societies, and every country with a Confucian heritage gives its military a place of honour (except, ironically, in pacifist Japan where the military had earlier held a place of honour).

Described in broad terms, Confucianism can appear to be a monolithic social force and an uncompromising force for conservatism, but such an assessment ignores the heterogeneity that is found in Confucian societies. Perhaps the most stark and public point of difference today is in political outcomes, whereby Confucianism has found itself from time to time being conscripted to the side of authoritarian established orders in China and Singapore, even as radical and apparently successful experiments in democracy are taking place in the Confucian societies of South Korea and Taiwan. The conservative claims rest upon Confucianism's elitism, the high value it places on social order and its promotion of deference towards those in positions of authority. Advocates of democracy do not generally justify their positions with reference to Confucianism at all, but there are some who focus on the ways that a Confucian perspective helps shape and modify the practice of democracy,[3] and others who go further and argue the positive advantages that a Confucian perspective brings to democratic processes and cultures.[4] Rarer among scholars (but more common among ordinary South Koreans, Taiwanese, Hong Kongers and Singaporeans) are those who articulate an unambiguous case that Confucianism needs liberal democracy to establish its relevance and legitimacy in the twenty-first century.[5]

The renewed interest in and thinking about Confucianism has been led by a high-profile and extremely prolific group of scholars who have been engaging in efforts to recast Confucianism to make it newly relevant and important. They are often described by others and themselves as advocates of 'New Confucianism', though there is too much diversity in their thinking to regard New Confucianism as anything more than a convenient label for a complex phenomenon. They can be broadly described as an unstructured group of scholars who emphasise the

humanitarianism and benevolence inherent in an ideal Confucian order,[6] though they sometimes engage in intellectual slippage whereby the ideal of a Confucian order is not compared to the ideal of a liberal democratic order, but is juxtaposed to the tawdry realities and shortcomings of liberal democratic societies.[7] Notable examples of New Confucianists include the prolific Daniel A. Bell of the Department of Philosophy at Tsinghua University (who actually titled one of his books *China's New Confucianism*[8]), Tu Wei-ming of the Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies at Peking University and Wm. Theodore de Bary, an Emeritus Provost at Columbia University. The advocates of New Confucianism are matched by scholars such as Qing Jiang of Yangmin Academy, who believes New Confucianism has been unduly influenced by Western ideas like democracy, and by others like Joseph Chan of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, who push for a fuller integration of ancient Chinese political theory with arguments and theories developed in the West.

A religion?

The residual life of Confucianism as a grassroots mode of social cognition should be sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case that, regardless of any quibbles over whether it is technically a religion, it is worthy of being treated as such for the purposes of understanding its relationship to politics because it has the capacity to exercise social power comparable to that of a religion.[9] Indeed, in its pre-modern forms it was, as Turner articulates, primarily a state religion, though one that also conveyed an expression of 'a sense of human dependency on the spiritual realm'.[10] It has now been thoroughly deposed from exercising direct state power, but it still retains elements of both the public and the private dimensions of its original character. It is true that in both spheres it is substantially subservient to other religions and world views (e.g. capitalism, democracy and some hollow vestiges of communism), but then this is only a variation of the historical record whereby Confucianism has always found itself in porous relationships with rival religions and ideologies; hence the prevalence of syncretism in East Asia, with variously Legalism, Daoism, Buddhism, Shinto and Shamanism sharing social and political hegemony with Confucianism in different times and places.

There are many elements of Confucianism as a religion that are worthy of study, but if we consider it precisely as it articulates with modern politics we can reasonably restrict ourselves to three elements that are identified by Fox as elements specifically relevant to politics:

- religion as a direct influence on policy makers;
- religion as an indirect influence on policy makers because of:
    - the expectations of their constituents;
    - the expectations generated by the 'political and cultural mediums' created by the religion; and
- religion as a tool of legitimation for governments and for those who oppose them.[11]

Fox's interest is in religion as a phenomenon rather than Confucianism itself, but the same cannot be said of Tu Wei-ming. Tu was for many years a Harvard-based scholar of Confucianism who, since the early 1980s, has also been a tireless international advocate of Confucian ethics and philosophy, having been intimately involved in state-sponsored campaigns to revive Confucianism, first in Singapore and then in China. During his advocacy in Singapore he argued that there are three distinct but related forms of Confucianism at work in the modern world:

- Confucianism as an ideology;
- Confucianism as a mode of scholarship; and
- Confucianism as a system of personal ethics.[12]

To study the role of Confucianism in modern politics I suggest that we need a framework based essentially upon Tu's, but which is more open to answering the questions raised by Fox.

With these parameters in mind I propose to interrogate the relationship between Confucianism and modern politics through three conceptual prisms:

- Confucianism as a tool for manipulation by political elites.
- Confucianism as a subject of study by scholars of Confucian texts, ethics and philosophy, and any scholars who are wont to become participants in state-sponsored Confucian revivals.
- Confucianism as a generic term for the many traditional East Asian forms of social cognition related to family, education, scholarship, society and governance that – despite significant variations between them – can be loosely described as 'social Confucianism'.

At all three levels, Confucianism continues to influence the conduct of politics in Chinese and East Asian societies. This can be seen most clearly in the recent history of China and Singapore, where the elite manipulation of Confucianism for political ends and legitimation is most overt, but it is also apparent in the 'informal' politics of South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and Vietnam because of the strength of social Confucianism. I postulate that Confucianism at all three levels will continue to influence Chinese and East Asian societies, but its impact on politics will not be constant or uncontested, first because the political sponsorship waxes and wanes according to regimes' contingent needs, and second because the stakeholders (elites, scholars and the various East Asian societies) have differing and to some extent contradictory interests and no one stakeholder has sufficient moral or political force to monopolise a single national agenda, let alone the international discourse.

Political elites

The most obvious point of articulation between Confucianism and politics is in the way particular political leaders have attempted to revive something of the spirit, if not the working detail, of Neo-Confucianism, and to harness it for their own ends. Political elites have sometimes been tempted to market Confucianism as a basis of state and political legitimacy. In recent decades this has happened in two places in particular: the largest and the smallest national repositories of Chinese society, China and Singapore. In each case the resurrection of Confucianism was prompted by the collapse of a previously useful basis of legitimation, and – probably not coincidentally – by the emergence of new domestic political threats. In the case of China, the regimes found it convenient in the 1980s to encourage and sustain a resurgence of interest in Confucius and Confucianism that had taken root on its own over the previous decade.[13] In the case of Singapore it was part of a broader, even more contrived state effort to instil defences against 'Western decadence'.[14] It was particularly ironic to see this activity taking place in China, where the state set out to purge society of Confucianism both under the Nationalists in the 1920s–1930s and again during Mao's pathological anti-Confucian campaigns that began in the 1950s and reached their zenith in the Cultural Revolution of the 1970s.[15]

In the case of Singapore, which had its 'Confucian' heyday in the 1980s, the particular triggers were the forced withdrawal of Singapore from the Socialist International in 1976, and the

electoral resurgence of opposition parties.[16] Yet behind both these immediate causes lay a more remote one: then-Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's Chinese 'turn', whereby he apparently 'discovered' his Chinese roots and set out to make 'Chineseness' the centrepiece of his personal life, his statecraft and Singapore's successful pursuit of economic growth.[17] He saw the public promotion of 'Confucianism' in schools, in the media and in social welfare, family and housing policy – along with speaking Mandarin, and celebrating 'Chinese culture' and history – as central to this re-articulation of the Singapore national project.[18] A particularly unsavoury aspect of Singapore's Confucian turn in the 1980s was the cover that it provided for the transformation of both Singapore's national elite and its society more generally from being one based on a thoroughly multicultural ideal (as befits a Chinese-majority society where non-Chinese make up more than a quarter of the population) to one that is thoroughly Sinocentric.[19] Singapore's Confucian experiment had slipped to the background of the broader Sinicisation project by the late 1980s, but it continues today at a less intensive level. Overt references to 'Confucianism' and kindred concepts (such as 'filial piety', 'meritocracy', deference to those in authority), are now thoroughly integrated into most mainstream public discourses in Singapore.

China

The resurgence of officially sponsored Confucianism in China had tentative public beginnings in 1983 with the restoration of Confucius's tomb, came fully into the open in 1989 (the first year in which Confucius's birthday was celebrated in the People's Hall in Beijing) and emerged officially in 1994, which was the year in which the International Confucian Association was launched with a gala international conference in Beijing. During this period Deng Xiaoping's embrace of capitalism was in full force throughout Eastern China, the widespread unrest of 1989 (culminating in the Tiananmen Square massacre) was a fresh memory and China was facing severe diplomatic-cum-trade pressure from the United Nations and the United States over its human rights record.[20] The subsequent success of China's economic development programme did much to overcome the regime's 'legitimation deficit', but the unintended consequences generated a new set of challenges in the form of peasant and worker protests. The Ministry of Public Security has reported a massive increase in the number of what it calls 'mass incidents' over the decades of China's capitalist success. It reported over 180,000 mass incidents in 2010, up from 32,000 in 1999.[21] Most of these mass incidents were relatively small in scale, but between 2003 and 2009, there were 248 that involved more than 500 people, with protest causes including industrial issues, land confiscation and forced relocation, and official corruption.[22] In March 2005 the National People's Congress (NPC) publicly declared the increase in public protests as a primary reason for the renewed emphasis on the Confucian virtue of 'harmony'.[23] This NPC meeting also proved to be something of a turning point in official attitudes to mass incidents, whereby news media were encouraged to display a new level of sympathy towards protesters.[24] Regardless of the immediate cause, the accumulation of challenges from these disturbances indicated a major crisis of legitimacy for the government because in the Confucian order, peasant satisfaction is a vital sign of legitimacy, and peasant unrest is one of the signs that an emperor has lost the right to rule (i.e. lost the 'Mandate of Heaven').[25]

The year 2010 turned out to be the final year in which the government issued official figures so we cannot now ascertain whether the rate of incidents is continuing to rise. Certainly the number of media reports about mass incidents is superficially suggestive that the numbers stopped rising part-way through 2010, and either dropped or began flattening in about April (see Figure 4.1), but the suddenness of the drop in the press under the tightest government

control suggests that this is more due to a deliberate change in the rate of reporting rather than a change in the rate of incidents. Unofficial figures based on first hand reporting by the Hong Kong-based *China Labour Bulletin* indicate that the rate of worker strikes doubled from 2013 to 2014,[26] so it may be wishful thinking to hope that the number of mass incidents is really dropping. Yet this is not the point: the reason for the government's sensitivity about peasant protests in particular is the challenge it poses to the legitimacy of the government.

Former President Jiang Zemin responded to the challenges of the 1990s by overtly promoting Confucianism, both as a stabilising factor and as a new rationale for the legitimacy of the regime. His efforts culminated in his 2001 call for the study of Confucian classics in Party schools, and his publicly voiced aspiration to see the imposition of a 'rule of virtue' in China to complement the widespread but half-hearted campaign to introduce the rule of law.[27] A sceptic might interpret this as Jiang calling for the existing ruling elite to be recognised as virtuous, thereby bestowing Confucian-inspired legitimacy on the regime. The response of his successor, Hu Jintao, extended and refined Jiang's approach: he made a strategic decision even before taking over the full reins of the leadership to make 'harmony' the key concept of his rule so that he was able to launch his strategy in his nationally televised acceptance speech immediately after being elected President of the People's Republic of China (PRC).[28] After

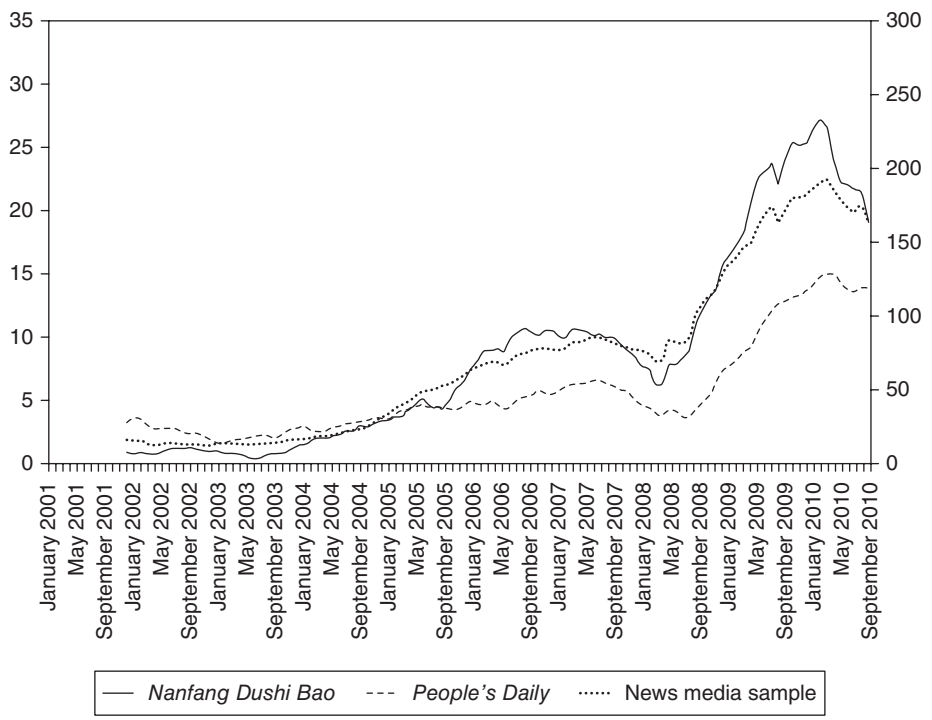


Figure 4.1 'Mass incidents' in the Chinese news media (12 month moving average), 2001–2010

Source: Steinhardt, 'From Blind Spot to Media Spotlight', 127.

Note: Values represent the monthly frequencies of news media reports containing the term 'mass incident' in two daily newspapers, *People's Daily* and *Nanfang Dushi Bao* (left axis), and in a sample of 34 Chinese news outlets (right axis). Two synonymous ways to write 'mass incident' in Chinese were used. The author is grateful for H. Christoph Steinhardt's permission to reuse this chart, which first appeared in his article in *Asian Studies Review*, Volume 39, Number 1, 2015.

that, his promotion of 'harmony' and a 'harmonious society' became ubiquitous, with Hu's speeches and those of other members of the political elite containing so many references to these concepts that it would be tedious to cite them individually. Suffice to say that the promotion of a harmonious society quickly became the officially designated top priority of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).[29] By October 2006 harmony had been listed as a direction for the country, on a par with the quest for prosperity, democracy and a civilised society.[30] In strictly Confucian terms this was perhaps an odd choice of concept because Confucian harmony is not so much a virtue to be practised or a state to be imposed, but a good outcome to be applauded. Harmony is the social benefit derived from rule by virtue and the proper functioning of society, but here it was being presented as the pre-condition, not a result, of a good social order.[31]

The succession of Hu Jintao by Xi Jinping towards the end of 2012 changed the tenor of the official rhetoric drastically. Talk of harmony disappeared overnight as if it had never been, and Xi all but dropped the Confucian imagery, replacing it with a narrative that evoked Chinese pride and nationalism – the 'Chinese dream' of the restoration of China's former glory. Confucian roots could still be identified in his anti-corruption campaigns, but they were mostly assumed and unstated, not needing constant and explicit exposition. Xi does still make public displays of devotion to Confucianism, yet even on such occasions he denies Confucius a full starring role. One such example was his keynote address to the International Confucian Association in September 2014, when he said:

> Confucianism, *along with other philosophies and cultures taking shape and growing within China*, are records of spiritual experiences, rational thinking and cultural achievements of the nation during its striving to build its home (emphasis added).[32]

A perusal of Xi's little white book, *The Governance of China*, confirms the pattern that is suggested by this extract.[33] Its 497 pages contain only seven explicit references to Confucius or Confucianism, a single reference to the Book of Rites, and not a single explicit reference to the Analects, harmony, filial piety or the five relationships. As in his address to the International Confucian Association, Xi's book consistently diminishes Confucius and Confucianism by presenting it in a much broader, even eclectic context: Confucius and Lao Zi (the founder of Daoism);[34] Confucianism and Buddhism and Daoism;[35] Confucius and a string of other Chinese sages;[36] Confucius, Goethe and Shakespeare.[37]

In stark contrast to Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, Xi has reduced Confucius to an emblematic figurehead; little more than a mascot whose statue fronts Confucius Institutes throughout the world. Selected aspects of Confucianism do survive in Xi's discourse. Most are in the background but a closer read of *The Governance of China* uncovers one that is very prominent: upholding the virtue of study and the related Confucian notion that virtue is acquired through study.[38] The former is generic and common among many cultures, but the latter is particular to Confucianism.

The reduction of Confucius to a mascot while concurrently accepting much of the social cognition provided by Confucianism is not fully ingenuous, but it is still refreshingly honest compared to the recent decades during which Confucianism was presented in parody by his predecessors.

Singapore

Turning to Singapore, we find that its Confucian revival of the 1980s was mapped out in explicit detail in a series of 'Confucian Ethics' textbooks designed for use in Singaporean

schools and was reinforced by rhetoric from the political elite. The messages were constant and quickly became predictable: the ideal of the *junzi*; the importance of education and meritocracy; the virtues of a supposed 'Confucian work ethic'; the central role of filial piety and the importance of the extended, three-tier family; 'family values'; social responsibility; the need for consensus, co-operation and political restraint from sectional and political interests; social harmony; respect for elders; and deference to those in positions of authority. The cynicism with which this rejuvenation of Confucianism was approached was indicated in a research interview that I conducted with Goh Keng Swee, Singapore's former Deputy Prime Minister and the man who founded the research institute that spearheaded the Confucianism revival of the 1980s. I asked him whether Lee Kuan Yew was really a 'Confucian gentleman'. He replied:

> [Lee Kuan Yew] is not a Confucian. He can't be a Confucian gentleman. But he did say that societies that were under a Confucian theory have certain attributes – Japan, Korea, China, and overseas Chinese – and these attributes were useful. Like saving money, working hard and education.
>
> *(Author's interview with Goh Keng Swee, 1 October 1996)*

The spirit of the regime's approach is revealed in an anecdote that this same Goh Keng Swee – then speaking as Deputy Prime Minister – recounted in 1972:

> Recently I had an interesting after-dinner discussion with a widely travelled American banker. . . . He asked what my choice would be if I had to recommend one single prescription to solve the economic problems of a poor country. I said I would recommend that the population be converted to some demanding, narrow-minded, intolerant form of the Protestant religion, such as one of the more extreme Calvinist sects. This would bring about the end of easy-going thriftless habits among the populace and the beginning of scrupulous honesty in public administration.
>
> This fanciful idea puts, in an extreme way, the view that a firm moral order need be established in a society which seeks economic progress.[39]

Converting Singapore to Calvinism was never an option, but Confucianism was clearly considered to be a viable substitute.

Singapore's experiment with a Confucian revival reached its most public and official zenith in the country's five official 'Shared Values', which were adopted by Parliament in 1991. The final version of the values reads:

1. nation before community and society before self;
2. family as the basic unit of society;
3. community support and respect for the individual;
4. consensus, not conflict; and
5. racial and religious harmony.

The 'Shared Values' were consciously designed through the prism of Confucianism, which is indicated by the fact that the Government White Paper that paved the way for their adoption explicitly invoked the Confucian ideal of 'government by honourable gentlemen', *junzi*.[40] Yet the political intent of these 'values' is revealed in another episode in their gestation. At one point the government considered, but rejected, a proposal to amend Shared Value 1 to read 'harmony or balance between individual and community interests'.[41] This change would have

weakened the conceptual supremacy of the state over the individual and community, and so was rejected by the government.

At this point it is worth noting that Lee Kuan Yew, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao are not the only rulers of Confucian societies to conscript Confucianism for their own ends. In the 1930s the Kuomingtang leadership of Nationalist China overtly invoked Confucianism under the banner of the New Life Movement, and as recently as 2004, South Korean President Roh Moon-Hyun donned classical Confucian garb (literally) and very publicly withdrew from public life in the style of a Korean emperor of old as part of his strategic (and successful) response to impeachment proceedings initiated by the parliamentary opposition parties.[42] These examples of overt political usage of Confucianism demonstrate the latent potential for this type of exploitation across East Asia, but in most countries of the region the role of Confucianism in politics is much more subtle and takes the forms that are more properly explored in the section on 'Social Confucianism' below.

Scholars

Scholars play a ubiquitous but uncomfortable role in political Confucianism. Ubiquitous because scholars and scholarship are and always have been intrinsic to Confucianism, to the point where Confucian revivals cannot achieve any level of credibility without the co-operation of scholars. Uncomfortable because modern Confucian scholars are generally well-meaning humanists who believe that Confucianism, properly understood, can be an active agent for humanistic virtue and civility among rulers and ruled alike (and who generally argue that Confucianism is compatible with democracy and human rights), but who routinely find themselves as the handmaidens of authoritarian regimes. Take the case of Tu Wei-ming and the other North American Confucian scholars who were brought to Singapore in the 1980s to facilitate the government's Confucian revival. They came and they wrote and delivered scholarly papers. They took part in televised discussions and gave advice to the government, but the crucial task of writing the Confucian Ethics textbooks and workbooks went to a team of Singaporeans, none of whom has any record of scholarship or publication on Confucianism outside the confines of the Singapore 'Confucianism' project. The final product of these courses was didactic and conservative, predictably emphasising the social hierarchy of the Confucian world view and projecting society as a conflation of the family.[43] The Secondary Three Confucian Ethics textbook described the relationship between the ruler and the ruled using Confucius's analogy:

> The grass must bend when the wind blows across it. . . . In other words, just as healthy green grass sways naturally and gracefully with the breeze, so good citizens will spontaneously respond to the good policies of virtuous leaders.[44]

The Secondary Four textbook goes further: 'Fulfilment begins with the cultivation of the individual self. . . . The leaders must show the way. That is why the virtuous and able are elected to office.'[45] No wonder Tu Wei-ming now disassociates himself from the revival movement that he helped to start.[46]

The scholars of the PRC's revival find themselves in a similar position, with the added complication that many of them have academic positions in China itself, which means that they cannot question, among other things, the leading role of the Party in China. These academics, whether from Asia, North America or Europe, have played crucial and very direct roles in the Confucian revival in China. Hu Jintao's strategic decision to use 'harmony' as

the central conceptual tenet of his regime was itself the result of representations over a long period of time by Confucian scholars and 'think tanks' operating within Chinese academic institutions. During Hu's rule, scholars remained crucial to the development and perceived legitimacy of the Confucian revival, and scholars within China were routinely co-opted into the government's overtly political Confucian programme. This involved not just scholars of Confucianism and related topics attending conferences on Confucianism and themes related to 'harmony' (of which there are many), but the whole academic community. The scope and dimensions of this programme were indicated in March 2005 when the city of Beijing announced that its 11th Five-Year Plan would downplay economic growth for the first time in years, and would instead 'strive to achieve harmonious development'.[47] This shift of focus, together with the 'preliminary investigations' needed to begin giving distinct shape to this vague new direction, involved over 600 researchers from 57 institutions: not just scholars of Confucianism and the humanities, but, according to *China Daily* (31 March 2005), specialists covering 'a wide range of local social and economic development issues, including industrial development, communications network construction, environmental protection, heritage preservation and social security'. This academic involvement is a form of co-option. In saying this I do not wish to imply passivity or submission on the part of these academics. When harmony became the mantra, money and sponsorship was laid on for scholars, and the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences and most universities studied aspects of harmony at length. Even in Hong Kong universities harmony became a major research theme in the social sciences and humanities. I took part in one such exercise sponsored by City University of Hong Kong in June 2006: the discussion was as critical as one could desire and the research output consisted of a high-quality edited volume published by Routledge,[48] and yet we all contributed, however indirectly, to Hu's discourse on harmony.

It is important to note that whether they were scholars of philosophy, ethics, politics or civil engineering, the academics that were pro-actively contributing to Hu Jintao's harmonious society were generally operating from benign motives, including from a desire to contribute to the common good. They saw themselves in the mode of the classical Confucian scholarly advisers to emperors, and insofar as they had an agenda to influence government, it was mostly one that idealises a humane, beneficent administration. The fact that an authoritarian regime was able to cherry pick its way through this academic discourse to find the bits that suited its own agenda was generally accepted with equanimity. Even today, when Confucianism is no longer at the forefront of political discourse, the top academic institutions in China still abound with departments and institutes hosting proponents of what is sometimes called 'the Confucianism', for example the Advanced Institute of Confucian Studies at Shandon University, the Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies at Peking University and the Department of Philosophy at Tsinghua University. This repository of talent is not going anywhere, and will keep working away, gnawing away at intractable questions of governance, ethics and culture and publishing sophisticated books on political philosophy, and hopefully contributing positively to elite thinking on issues of governance, rights and social values.

Social Confucianism

The aspects of Confucianism that have been canvassed thus far are easily the most public and quantifiable elements of Confucianism as a factor in politics, but perhaps the most significant in terms of endurance, consistency and profundity is the more mercurial aspect of Confucianism's impact on the political cultures of the countries that come under its influence; aspects that are identified by Dittmer *et al.*, as the 'informal politics' of East Asia,[49] and

described in their volume as 'interpersonal activities stemming from a tacitly accepted, but unenunciated, matrix of political attitudes existing outside the framework of legal government, constitutions, bureaucratic constructs and similar institutions (the latter being the domain of formal politics)'.[50] It is remarkable, for instance, how easily the resonance of Confucianism can be identified in the familial and social actions of generations of nationalist, communist and post-communist Chinese, who have tended to remain locked in Confucian patterns of thought and habit, often despite their conscious intentions. Even in matters of statecraft, the legacy of Confucianism still flourishes just below the surface throughout East Asia. In Vietnam, not only has the politics of the educated Mandarinate been reproduced under the guise of the Leninist bureaucratic state, but centuries-old Vietnamese classics on the art of Confucian statecraft have been re-published and have enjoyed a major resurgence.[51] Even during the worst barbarities of Mao Zedong's rule, Maoist political rituals and education replaced only the dogma of Confucianism: it retained the template in which the dogma lived. The Confucian emphasis on personal virtue (*de*) was retained, but it was aligned according to 'redness' and revolutionary purity, rather than to the virtues of the Confucian gentleman.[52] And when the concept of 'good' and 'bad' class replaced that of lineage, one's class was still determined by the traditional method: patrilineal descent.[53] A strong, almost tangible tribute to Confucianism's perseverance is the fact that China's modern student-dissidents of the 1980s and 1990s, who grew up decades after Confucianism's supposed eradication, constructed their dissent according to classical Confucian precepts, and operated substantially according to Confucian expectations of how scholarly dissidents should act. This included presenting deferential petitions to the rulers, and holding their worker and merchant allies in contempt.[54] Perhaps it is just as extraordinary that the Communist Party leadership also followed Confucian patterns of action when dealing with these students: receiving students' petitions relatively graciously, and showing relative leniency towards the student-dissidents, but attacking worker-dissidents savagely. On one occasion Jiang Zemin (then Mayor of Shanghai) apologised for police brutality against a student, explaining that police had mistaken the student for a worker.[55]

A survey of the rest of East Asia elicits a similar picture, though without the extremes found in China. In Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, the formal study and practice of Confucianism died during the twentieth century, as it faced the various challenges of modernity, rising levels of prosperity and education levels, Christianity, capitalism and communism.[56] Yet in all these cases the low cultural influence of Confucianism is overt and inescapable at all levels of society and governance – though admittedly it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the influences of Confucianism *per se* and Confucianism's various accommodations with local cultures. It is surely not a coincidence that China, Vietnam, Japan (at least as it operated until 1993) and Singapore are all governed by Mandarinates that are basically distorted versions of the traditional Confucian Mandarinates of old. One of the differences between the old Mandarinate and the new is that today the personnel staffing the Mandarinates and advising governments are generally not *junzi*, schooled in Confucian humanism as verified in Confucian examinations, but engineers, scientists, lawyers, doctors, town planners and other professionals.

What I am describing here is not an attempt to paint a two-dimensional picture of supposedly 'Confucian East Asians' reacting in Pavlovian fashion to stimuli according to an equally two-dimensional view of 'Confucian culture'. Hopefully such distorted pictures died with the 'Asian Values' discourses of the early 1990s. I am actually arguing a much more modest case: that popular, grassroots assumptions of 'good' that have survived persecution and attacks from a myriad of modern and pre-modern enemies continue to inform constituencies at all levels of these societies. This affects how these constituencies expect members of their societies

to behave – including their political leaders, their students and their academics. Not only are political leaders influenced directly by the same expectations, but they also have an incentive to be seen to be behaving in such a fashion.

Most of this chapter has focussed on authoritarian uses of political Confucianism, but at the level of social Confucianism, Confucian democracies need also to be considered. Scholarly opinion varies over how social Confucianism is affecting the development and stability of democracies in East Asia, with scholars shifting their opinions over the years as the evidence or their thinking changes. For instance Doh Chull Shin argued in 2006 that Confucian influence is on balance a negative influence on the operation of democracy but six years later presented a more nuanced argument that citizens in democratic Confucian societies are engaged in an ongoing project of producing a new form of democracy, responding to different expectations to that which operates in liberal societies.[57] Oknim Chung argued on similar lines when writing about the early years of South Korea's experiment with democracy, pointing to the continuing prominence of Confucian notions of what is 'humane', 'just' and 'moral'.[58] L.H.M. Ling and Chih-yu Shih argued the same case, using newly-democratic Taiwan as their example:

> Politicians may hinge their moral leadership on appearance more than fact, rhetoric more than action. But mass and elite alike demand a ritualised demonstration of self-lessness for the common good as the critical standard for public office.[59]

Given the hierarchical, elitist, communitarian and conservative character of Confucianism, it does seem unlikely that on balance it will be a positive force. Yet there is every reason to think that democracy will nevertheless accommodate itself to Confucian societies and vice versa, thus producing forms of democracy that are genuinely democratic while still being distinctively Confucian in character.

The adaptation of democracy into a Confucian culture is neither mysterious nor profound. Just as different Western cultures have developed different democratic cultures that reflect, for instance, a spirit of individualism (such as in the US) or a culture of consensus (such as in Scandinavia),[60] East Asian democracies are acculturating democracy to suit the proclivities of their societies. This is in the nature of democracies. If constituencies in a democracy expect, for instance, the Confucian virtues of consensus, harmony and deference to those in authority, then of course politicians will be seen to be trying to deliver it.[61]

Conclusion

In this survey we set out to examine the role of Confucianism in politics through the prisms of the political elites, scholars and social Confucianism. Through this tripartite approach we hoped to find answers to the questions that Fox asked about religions more generally: religion as a direct influence on policy makers; religion as an indirect influence on policy makers; and religion as a tool of legitimation for governments and for those who oppose them.[62] It is clear that in all three forms, Confucianism continues to influence the conduct of politics in Chinese and East Asian societies. This can be seen most clearly in the recent history of China and Singapore, where the elite manipulation of Confucianism for political ends and legitimation has been very overt, but it is also apparent in the 'informal' politics of South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and Vietnam because of the strength of social Confucianism.

Political rulers of all hues can be expected to continue their efforts to exploit Confucianism for their own ends, though it seems to be authoritarian rulers who find the most sustenance in Confucianism – reflecting its conservative, elitist roots. Yet despite its anti-democratic

tendencies, scholars, democratic politicians and the grassroots of Confucian societies find Confucianism and democracy to be companionable bedfellows, able to live comfortably in the one culture and the one polity.

Notes

1 Turner, 'Religion and politics', 212.
2 Kim, 'Confucianism, moral equality and human rights', 150, 179.
3 E.g. Shin, *Confucianism and Democratization in East Asia.*
4 E.g. Bell, *Confucian Political Ethics*; and de Bary, *The Great Civilized Conversation.*
5 Chan, *Confucian Perfectionism*.
6 Qing, *A Confucian Constitutional Order*.
7 Bell, *Beyond Liberal Democracy*.
8 Bell, *China's New Confucianism.*
9 Sun, *Confucianism as a World Religion.*
10 Turner, 'Religion and politics', 112.
11 Fox, 'Religion as an overlooked element', 61–7.
12 Tu, *Confucian Ethics Today*, 204.
13 Dubois, 'Religion and the Chinese state', 344–58.
14 Barr, *Cultural Politics and Asian Values*, 32–9.
15 Mitter, 'Mao Zedong and charismatic Maoism', 94–8.
16 Barr, *Cultural Politics and Asian Values*, 30–1.
17 Barr, *Lee Kuan Yew*, 164–74; and Barr and Skrbiš, *Constructing Singapore*, chapter 5.
18 Barr and Skrbiš, *Constructing Singapore*, chapters 6–10.
19 Ibid., chapters 5 and 11; and Barr, *The Ruling Elite of Singapore*, chapter 5.
20 Barr, *Cultural Politics and Asian Values*, 51–63.
21 O'Reilly, 'China's "mass incidents"'.
22 Tong and Lei, 'Large-scale mass incidents in China', 24, 25.
23 Xinhua News Agency, 8 March 2005.
24 Steinhardt, 'From blind spot to media spotlight', 127.
25 Chan, *Confucian Perfectionism*, 72, 109. Also see Shin, *Confucianism and Democratization in East Asia*, 116.
26 'Strike map', *China Labor Bulletin*.
27 *South China Morning Post*, 20 February 2001.
28 Xinhua News Agency, 17 March 2003; BBC, 18 March 2003.
29 Xinhua News Agency, 20 February 2005.
30 *South China Morning Post*, 12 October 2006.
31 Hu, quoted in Xinhua News Agency, 27 June 2005.
32 CCTV News, 25 September, 2014.
33 Xi, *The Governance of China*.
34 Ibid., 304.
35 Ibid., 286.
36 Ibid., 64.
37 Ibid., 492.
38 Ibid., 55, 64, 194, 195, 202.
39 Goh, *The Practice of Economic Growth*, 46.
40 Government of Singapore, White Paper: *Shared Values*.
41 Mauzy and Milne, *Singapore's Politics*, 63.
42 *The Straits Times*, 2 April 2004.
43 Grosse, *Confucian Ethics: Secondary Three*, 101, 102; and Grosse, *Confucian Ethics: Secondary Four*, 124.
44 Grosse, *Confucian Ethics: Secondary Three*, 124.

45 Grosse, *Confucian Ethics: Secondary Four*, 92.
46 *Asian Wall Street Journal*, 28 May 1993.
47 *China Daily*, 31 March 2005.
48 Tao *et al.*, *Governance for Harmony*.
49 Dittmer, Fukui and Lee, *Informal Politics*.
50 Pike, 'Informal politics in Vietnam', 281.
51 Woodside, 'Exalting the latecomer state'.
52 Shirk, *Competitive Comrades*, 1–23.
53 Stockman, *Understanding Chinese Society*, 83–134.
54 Perry and Fuller, 'China's long march to democracy', 667–71.
55 Perry, 'Casting a Chinese "democracy" movement', 155.
56 For an intensive quantitative analysis of the severe impact of factors such as rising incomes and education levels on the approaches to democracy and Confucian approaches to politics, see Wang, *Democratization in Confucian East Asia*.
57 See Park and Shin, 'Do Asian values deter popular support?', 341–61; Shin, *Confucianism and Democratization in East Asia*; and Wang, *Democratization in Confucian East Asia*.
58 Oknim Chung, 'Values, governance and international relations', 105, 106.
59 Barr, *Cultural Politics and Asian Values*, 66.
60 Pierre, 'Consensual but not Confucian'.
61 Barr, *Cultural Politics and Asian Values*, 64–71.
62 Fox, 'Religion as an overlooked element of International Relations', 61–7.

References

Barr, Michael D. *Cultural Politics and Asian Values: The Tepid War*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.

Barr, Michael D. *Lee Kuan Yew: The Beliefs Behind the Man*. Second Edition. Kuala Lumpur: New Asian Library, 2009.

Barr, Michael D. *The Ruling Elite of Singapore: Networks of Power and Influence*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2014.

Barr, Michael D. and Zlatko Skrbiš. *Constructing Singapore: Elitism, Ethnicity and the Nation-Building Project*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 2008.

Bell, Daniel A. *Beyond Liberal Democracy: Political Thinking for an East Asian Context*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Bell, Daniel A. *China's New Confucianism: Politics and Everyday Life in a Changing Society*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Bell, Daniel A., ed. *Confucian Political Ethics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Chan, Joseph. *Confucian Perfectionism: A Political Philosophy for Modern Times: A Political Philosophy for Modern Times*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Chung, Oknim. 'Values, governance and international relations: the case of South Korea'. Chap. 4 in *Changing Values in Asia: Their Impact on Government and Development*. Edited by Sung-Joo Han, 76–111. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; Tokyo and New York: Japan Centre for International Exchange, 1999.

de Bary, Wm. Theodore. *The Great Civilized Conversation: Education for a World Community*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

Dittmer, L., Haruhiro Fukui and P. Lee, eds. *Informal Politics in East Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Dubois, Thomas David. 'Religion and the Chinese State: three crises and a solution'. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 64 no. 3 (2010): 344–27.

Fox, Jonathan. 'Religion as an overlooked element of International Relations'. *The International Studies Review* 3 no. 3 (2001): 53–73.

Government of Singapore. White Paper. *Shared Values*. Singapore: Singapore Government, 1991.

Grosse, Paula, ed. *Confucian Ethics: Textbook Secondary Three*. Singapore: EPB Publishers, 1985.

Grosse, Paula, ed. *Confucian Ethics: Textbook Secondary Four*. Singapore: EPB Publishers, 1985.

Keng Swee, Goh. *The Practice of Economic Growth*. Singapore: Federal Publications, 1977.

Kim, Sungmoon. 'Confucianism, moral equality and human rights: a Mencian perspective'. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 74 no. 1 (2015): 149–85.

Mauzy, Diane K. and R.S. Milne. *Singapore's Politics Under the People's Action Party*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Mitter, Rana. 'Mao Zedong and charismatic Maoism'. Chapter 4 in *Makers of Modern Asia*, edited by Ramachandra Guha, 92–116. Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014.

O'Reilly, Brendan. 'Diverse reasons behind growth in China's "mass incidents"'. China Outlook, 13 May 2014, available at http://chinaoutlook.com/diverse-reasons-behind-growth-in-mass-incidents/. Accessed 16 March 2015.

Park, Chong-Min and Shin, Doh Chull. 'Do Asian values deter popular support for democracy in South Korea?' *Asian Survey* 46 no. 3 (2006): 341–61.

Perry, E. 'Casting a Chinese "democracy" movement: the roles of students, workers, and entrepreneurs'. Chapter 3 in *Popular Protest and Political Culture in Modern China: Learning from 1989*. Edited by J. Wasserstrom and E. Perry, 146–64. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992.

Perry, E. and E. Fuller. 'China's long march to democracy'. *World Policy Journal* 8 (1991): 663–85.

Pierre, Jon. 'Consensual but not Confucian: resolving the paradox of consensual politics in Scandinavia'. Chapter 12 in *Governance for Harmony in Asia and Beyond*. Edited by Julia Tao, Anthony B.L. Cheung, Martin Painter and Chenyang Li, 228–42. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Pike, Douglas. 'Informal politics in Vietnam'. Chapter 11 in *Informal Politics in East Asia*. Edited by L. Dittmer, Haruhiro Fukui and P. Lee, 269–89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Qing, Jiang. *A Confucian Constitutional Order: How China's Ancient Past Can Shape its Political Future*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Shin, Doh Chull. *Confucianism and Democratization in East Asia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Shirk, S. *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and Student Strategies in China.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982.

Steinhardt, H. Christoph. 'From blind spot to media spotlight: propaganda policy, media activism and the emergence of protest events in the Chinese public sphere'. *Asian Studies Review* 39 no. 1 (2015): 119–37.

Stockman, N. *Understanding Chinese Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.

'Strike Map'. *China Labor Bulletin*, available at http://maps.clb.org.hk/strikes/en. Accessed 17 March 2015.

Sun, Anna. *Confucianism as a World Religion: Contested Histories and Contemporary Realities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Tao, Julia, *et al.*, eds. *Governance for Harmony in Asia and Beyond*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Tong, Yanqui and Shaohua Lei. 'Large-scale mass incidents in China'. *East Asian Policy* 2 no. 2 (2010): 23–33.

Tu Wei-Ming. *Confucian Ethics Today: The Singapore Challenge*. Singapore: Curriculum Development Centre of Singapore and Federal Publications, 1984.

Turner, Bryan S. 'Religion and politics: nationalism, globalisation and empire'. *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34 no. 2 (2006): 209–24.

Wang, Zhengxu. *Democratization in Confucian East Asia: Citizen Politics in China, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008.

Woodside, Alexander. 'Exalting the latecomer state: intellectuals and the state during the Chinese and Vietnamese reforms'. *The China Journal* 40 (1998): 9–36.

Xi Jinping. *The Governance of China.* Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2014.

5
HINDUISM AND POLITICS

Peter Friedlander

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The relationship between Hinduism and politics is a complex issue and has gone through several important stages. These could be described as developments during the pre-colonial period, the colonial period and the post-independence period. In the first phase, prior to the late eighteenth century, the term 'Hinduism', or a similar Indian-language word, does not seem to have been used by Indians as a term to describe religion and society in India. The term Hinduism seems rather to have been coined by Western observers of India during the late pre-colonial period. However, once the term Hinduism had come into usage in India by the later part of the nineteenth century various groups in India began to use it to describe how they saw the role of religion in India. During the post-independence period there has also been a shifting understanding of the role of Hinduism in politics in India. In the period up to around 1990 what could be described as a secular approach to politics in India put forward by India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was dominant. However, from the 1990s onwards there has been a rise in the power of politics that identifies itself as Hindu. This led to a number of tenures in office for the BJP (*bhārtīy jantā parṭī*, 'Indian People's Party') and to the rise to power in 2014 of the BJP under the leadership of Narendra Modi.

Introduction: the pre-colonial period and the question of Hinduism

There is a long history in India, that is the Indian subcontinent, of the development of the relationship between the state and religious communities. This began with state patronage of the Brahminical Vedic tradition in the expectation that the sponsorship of Vedic rituals was a way to ensure continued prosperity in the material world and the maintenance of the cosmic order. The relationship between the state and organised religion then developed further during the rise of Buddhism in India and was marked by a belief that state patronage of Buddhism ensured not only the continued maintenance of the sacred order but also protected the secular world and the realms of the ruler from attack.

A further important aspect of state patronage of religion was that local state rulers gifted land revenue from villages to monasteries and temples on a permanent basis, and this allowed for localised institutional state patronage of religious institutions. These understandings of the relationship between religion and politics and the need for the state to patronise a range of religious traditions, such as the Brahminical, Buddhist, and Jain communities,

were highly successful in India, and influential elsewhere in Asia, up to the end of the first millennium.

The arrival of Central Asian communities identifying as following Islam led to changes in models of governance in India. From the eighth century onwards Sind, present southern Pakistan, began to be ruled by groups that identified with Arab cultures and Islamic concepts of the relationship between politics and religion. Then around the beginning of the first millennium Sultanates governed by Central Asian communities began to be established in northern India and finally from the sixteenth century onwards the Sultanates were displaced by the Mughal Empire, which drew upon Persian notions of polity in its understanding of the nature of the state and religion.

One of the key differences between earlier Indic periods and the Sultanate and Mughal periods was in relation to state patronage of religion. Regimes identifying as Islamic normally patronised only Islam and to varying degrees opposed the existence and functioning of non-Islamic traditions. However, there were clearly accommodations between the ruling minorities and non-Muslim majority in India. Indian historians often point to the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1542–1605) as a famous example of an emperor who fostered religious tolerance and allowed for the patronage of non-Islamic practice within his empire. However, his successor Aurangzeb (1618–1707) is equally pointed to as an emperor who was notorious for his opposition to non-Islamic traditions and imposing the *jizya* tax, a levy on non-Muslims within a Muslim state.

It is also important to consider whether the Sultanates and Mughal Empire brought with them new notions of the state in relation to land revenue taxes and centralised state control of state patronage of religion which shifted the emphasis in the notion of state from an area in which a ruler patronised religions to an area in which a ruler raised land revenue. Richard Burghardt made a significant contribution to study of the development of the nation-state in South Asia. He argued that based on Nepali practice there is a distinction between country as an area defined by religious associations, for which Nepali uses a Sanskrit word for country, *desh*, and country meaning an area from which land revenue is raised, for which Nepali uses an Arabic word for country, *mulk*.[1] The emphasis on land revenues can be seen in accounts of the conquest of Bihar by Sultanate armies in the twelfth century which link the destruction of monasteries to the redistribution of their land revenues to the new local rulers who had been generals in the Sultanate armies. Likewise, one of the founding features of the Mughal Empire was the preparation of a central register of its land revenues made during the brief rule of Sher Shah Suri in 1540–45.

The relationship between religion and politics in India is founded on an Indic model in which state patronage of religion ensured that the state would be protected by that religion, and patronage of multiple religions meant each religion added in their own way to the security of the state.

From the Sultanate period onwards this model was largely displaced by a model where rulers centralised revenue and directed state support to Islam.

The colonial period and the emergence of Hinduism as a term in politics

There has been much debate over the origin of the notion of Hinduism and current research suggests that there are two issues involved here: pre-colonial Indian understandings of community identities; and colonial-period constructions of Western observers of India. The point is that although there are references from the time of Kabīr (*c*.1440–1518) onwards to group identities such as Hindu and Turk, it is not clear whether such references are to Hinduism and Islam as religions, or in relation to ethnic communities. In a study of this topic David Lorenzen

argued that in early references to Hindu from the fourteenth century onwards it is unclear whether it is a demarcation between Indian and non-Indian rulers and communities or between religions.[2]

Hinduism as a term for a religion began to be used from the late eighteenth century onwards.[3] It first appears in missionary writing on India which sought to expand earlier categories of Christian, Muslim, Jewish and 'Heathen' by distinguishing between different non-Abrahamic traditions and, in the case of India, creating a category, Hindu. It is from this time onwards that the term Hindu as a reference for all non-Abrahamic religions in India starts to appear and it is characterised as a religion dominated on Brahminical traditions and practices.

After some initial hesitance to accept such an identification of all religion in India as belonging to one category, Hinduism, rapidly adapted, or adopted, this view and it became a focus for community identities in India. This also coincided with the period when due to colonialism many Indians re-examined their culture and religious beliefs and sought to find ways to articulate them in relation to colonial power and the relationship between the state and religion. Initially this took the form of movements such as that led by Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) whose Brahmo Samaj was perhaps more a religious reform than a political movement.

Movements for political reform also adopted the notion of Hindu identity and began to employ it for different purposes within political debate. The foundation of the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885 can be regarded as a formative moment in this development. However, the moderate liberal goals of the INC did not appeal to all. On the one hand there was a radical faction led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920) who adopted a slogan in Marathi, 'Freedom is my birthright, and I shall have it', and sought to align a militant sense of Hindu identity with the campaign to agitate for the removal of the British from power. On the other hand there were those who wanted to espouse a more moderate form of Hindu identity, led by figures such as Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915), and wanted to campaign for reform from within the British colonial system. By 1906 these tensions in the INC had come to a head and Tilak and his supporters were expelled. However, the pressure for further splits within the nationalist movement was inexorable and this led to some Muslim groups founding the Muslim League in 1906 and some Hindu factions founding the Hindu Mahasabha ('great assembly') in 1914.

These developments highlighted ongoing tensions over what the term Hindu referred to in an era of religious and political change, when the way a community self-identified had enormous significance. From the 1880s a Sikh movement, the Singh Sabhā, campaigned for Sikh self-identity proclaiming 'We are not Hindus' (*ham hindu nahīṃ haiṃ*), and to a great degree were successful in establishing that Sikhism was separate from Hinduism. However, many Hindus still regarded Sikhism as a part of Hinduism. Likewise, the Bengali reformer Swami Vivekananda in his address to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 asserted a Hindu claim that Buddhism was a part of Hinduism, a view which was not shared outside of India by Buddhists in Asia. Even more problematic for India was the issue of whether untouchable communities were Hindu. For many Hindus they were not Hindu as their communities were outside of the caste system. So while the nineteenth century had seen the notion of Hinduism come to the fore in India as a possible uniting symbol of Indian identity, it also revealed the deep fissures and complexities that ran through Indian society.

Hinduism and politics in the twentieth-century independence movement

During 1920–24 under the leadership of M. K. Gandhi the INC and the Muslim League joined in a campaign dubbed the 'Khilafat movement' to protest over the issues of overthrow of the

Ottoman Empire, and the demand for independence through the practice of non-co-operation. This period can be seen as the beginning of politics based on mass mobilisation in India and one in which issues related to Hindu–Muslim co-operation in the independence movement became increasingly strained. This notable example of Hindu–Muslim co-operation also pointed to some growing disparity between the liberal approaches advocated by some Hindus and Muslims and more hard-line communal views emerging from the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

Two of the founding leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861–1946) and Lajpat Rai (1865–1928), both advocated within the Hindu Mahasabha for a form of moderate Hindu identity within Indian politics. However, from the mid-1920s the Hindu Mahasabha became increasingly influenced by the ideas of a more radical Hindu identity and revolutionary politics promoted by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966). In 1921, while in prison for his revolutionary activities, he wrote a tract, published in 1923, called *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?* In this he espoused the idea of Hindutva or 'Hinduness' as a founding characteristic of Indian nationalism within a vision of how Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism and Buddhism all form part of one Hindu identity. Following his release from prison after a pardon, he again became actively involved in politics and was president of the Hindu Mahasabha from 1937 to 1943.

An important offshoot of the Hindu Mahasabha was the Raṣṭriya Svayaṃsevak Sangha (the 'national volunteer corps', hereafter RSS), founded in 1925 by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar (1889–1940). This more militant manifestation of Hindu identity drew strongly on contemporary fascist symbolism in its opposition to British rule. Unlike the Hindu Mahasabha, which has gradually faded from prominence, the RSS has remained a major feature in Indian political life and is one of the most controversial Hindu organisations.

In no small part its notoriety comes from the fact that Gandhi's assassin, Nathuram Godse, was a former member of the RSS. Godse held Gandhi responsible for the partition of India, an idea that perhaps had grown in his mind during his time in the RSS. The RSS also remains immensely influential today in India as it is a guiding organisation for the BJP, and the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, has been for much of his life an active member of the RSS.

On a second front, the notion of Hindu also encountered difficulties in this period as B. R. Ambedkar (1891–1956) emerged as a leader of the Indian Untouchables. As in other sections of Indian society, caste communities, or *jāti*, also exist amongst Untouchables and B. R. Ambedkar first came to the fore as the leader of the Mahar jāti of Maharashtra. In particular the issue was that M. K. Gandhi wanted to include Untouchables within a system of proportional representation in a kind of advisory legislative assembly proposed by the British. However, Ambedkar wanted separate representation for Untouchables in the same way as Muslims were being offered. The British proposed separate electorates for Untouchables, also called by the British 'Scheduled Castes' (SC) in 1932, which was what Ambedkar advocated. Gandhi threatened an indefinite fast unless Ambedkar abandoned the separate-electorate claim and accepted his proposal, which was that in some seats within the general electorate only SCs would be allowed to stand for office. Ambedkar had to relent, and in the Poona Pact of 1932 he accepted what came to be known as 'reserved seats' for SCs. The importance of Ambedkar's influence cannot be underestimated and Jaffrelot and other scholars have argued that Ambedkar's ideas and influence have been a significant challenge to Hindu nationalist ideology in India.[4]

During the independence struggle in the twentieth century there were thus conflicting pressures developing in the notion of what the relationship of Hinduism and politics would be. On the one hand there was a growing strength in support of Savarkar's view that all Indians were

Hindu, in the sense of being part of Hindutva, while on the other, Untouchables continued to maintain that that their traditions had separate identities.

Nehru and secularism in post-independence India

Hinduism, in the sense of Hindu identity, played an ambiguous role in politics after independence. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) was the first Prime Minister of Independent India, from 1947 till his death in 1964. He was a Hindu, but was renowned as an advocate of a form of secular identity that favoured secular socialist policies to develop an India within which people could worship as they wished. Nehru's understanding of secular was reflected in the Hindi word he used for it, which was *dharmnirpekṣa*. This gives a sense of 'not being aligned with any religion'. He also used the same Hindi term for non-alignment to describe his policy of India being a member the non-aligned movement, *guṭnirpekṣa āndolan*. This was quite different from the term coined by Gandhi in 1932 for secular which was *sarvadharma sambhava*, which means holding similar sentiments towards all religions. It is also notable that the BJP later rejected Nehru's Hindi word for secular and adopted Gandhi's.[5]

To some degree perhaps Nehru's position was reminiscent of that of Asoka, India's legendary emperor, as his state fostered the growth of all religions in India, and in particular the Indic religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism.

Nathuram Godse's assassination of Gandhi and the subsequent ban on the RSS during 1948–1949 certainly influenced post-independence public opinion against Hindutva ideals. However, over time the RSS and other Hindu groups formed an informal alliance, and in 1951 a political party called the Bhartiya Jan Sangh ('Indian people's assembly') was founded as a political party representing the RSS. After a number of changes in fortune, including being banned in 1975–77 during the emergency and forming part of the coalition Janta Party government from 1977 to 1980, it re-emerged in 1980 as the BJP, the ruling party in India in 2015. Alongside this, during the 1960s people began to talk about a range of Hindu nationalist groups as in one sense or another being part of what became known as the Sangh Parivar ('the family assembly'). The BJP's policies are today influenced by a combination of its own internal dynamics and groups such as the RSS, and those within the Sangha Parivar, which act as lobby groups trying to influence BJP policies.

To some extent the Congress Party, as the INC became known after independence, was able to successfully counter threats to its majority up to the 1980s by representing Muslim and untouchable communities' interests and making them part of its core vote. However, during the government of Indira Gandhi (1917–1984, Prime Minister from 1966 to 1977 and 1980 to 1984) religion became much more prominent in Indian politics.

Moderate Hindu ideas based on Gandhian thought had continued to be influential after Gandhi's death. One of the leading figures in this was Vinoba Bhave (1895–1902) who had been a disciple of Gandhi and became a campaigner for social justice. His ideas included the notion of the need for universal uplift (*sarvodaya*) and the vision that voluntary gifting of land to the rural poor by rural landowners would be the means to attain it. The Bhudan ('land gift') movement began in 1951 and over the following decades gradually increased the amount of land given to the rural poor. Unfortunately it became apparent that the movement was hampered by issues such as whether the land promised to be donated was actually transferred, and whether the land donated was actually suitable for farming. However, the movement in itself attracted many talented followers such as Jayaprakash Narayan (1902–1979), a noted Marxist, who had been a member of the INC and took an active part in the independence movement struggle. However, by 1974 he was so disillusioned by the state of the country that he launched a movement in

Patna, capital of Bihar, for what he called a total revolution by following Gandhian principles of non-violent mass agitation. Like Vinoba Bhave his ideas were informed by liberal Hindu visions of the possibilities for universal welfare. In speeches he made in the 1960s, such as his address to the convocation assembly of Delhi University in 1966 on 'Hindu revivalism', he contended that much of what that was being done in the name of Hindu revivalism was not what he hoped to see happening in what he would regard as being a genuine Hindu revival.[6]

By 1975 the call for total revolution led by Jayaprakash Narayan was proving troubling for Indira Gandhi's government in some parts of the north of India. At the same time there were also other pressures, such as inflation, growing inequalities in society and tensions between the centre and the states over calls for more federalism. The final straw was in the end a case held in the Allahabad High Court in 1975 in which the judges ruled that her victory in the 1971 election was null and void and banned her from holding office for six years. Indira Gandhi then declared an emergency and took direct control of government, suspending the normal democratic government in India. Eventually, after two years Indira Gandhi rescinded the emergency order and in a return to the democratic system lost power in a general election to a coalition which included both left-wing factions and the BJP.

The importance of religion in this period was also highlighted by the conflict between Indira Gandhi and Sikh sentiments in support of the Punjab becoming a separate state to be called Khalistan. This led her to attempt to weaken the Akali Dal, the political party of the Sikhs, and this helped to contribute to the growth of a militant movement for a separate Punjab which culminated the occupation of the Golden Temple in Amritsar by the militant leader Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his armed supporters. In an effort to end this situation Indira Gandhi then ordered the military to storm the temple in June 1984 which led to the death of Bhindranwale and many of his followers. This led to a cycle of violence when in revenge for this attack two of Indira Gandhi's Sikh security guards assassinated her in October 1984, which itself then led to widespread anti-Sikh rioting in which a very large number of people lost their lives.[7]

This devastating outcome points to the rise of the importance of religion in politics in India during this period. It is also dependent on what perspective is taken as to how to regard these contestations over the role of Hinduism in Indian politics. On the one hand Jayaprakash Narayan's 'Total Revolution' movement could be seen as an attempt to re-assert a form of moderate Hindu identity within Indian politics; while on the other hand Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's movement for a Sikh homeland can be seen in part as a response to Hindu assertions that Sikhs are Hindus, and a reaction to not being allowed to represent themselves as having a separate Sikhs identity within India.

This suggests that in considering Hinduism and politics in India it is a mistake to focus only on the relationship between politics and Hindu identity politics as fostered by the RSS. Rather it is necessary to acknowledge that contestation over who is a Hindu and what that means has been a central undercurrent in Indian political life since independence.

Hinduism in Indian politics and the Bavari Mosque 1992

During 1984–1989 when Indira Gandhi's son, Rajiv (1944–1991), was Prime Minister, religion and the impact of Hindu identity politics became much more significant in India. A number of factors contributed to this including underlying dissatisfaction with dynastic Congress politics. However, two other factors were vitally important: the growth of mass media and growing organisation amongst Hindu political groups.

Arvind Rajagopal argued that central to this was that with the spread of television after 1984 outside of the metro cities a new mass audience for Hindi and other vernacular languages

came into existence.[8] This created, he argued, a split public with liberal secular views more associated with the older English-language media, and a new, more radical Hindu identity characterising the Hindi and vernacular channels. Within this a major contribution was made by nationally serialised TV versions of the Indian epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Ramanand Sagar's 78-episode serialisation of the Ramayana was broadcast in 1987–1988 and this was followed by a 94-episode version of Mahabharata, directed by Ravi Chopra, broadcast from 1988 to 1990. These programmes were a new focus for community viewing and became ways in which new understandings of what it meant to be a Hindu came into being based on the values in the epics.

Around this time the BJP under the leadership of A. B. Vajpayee (b. 1924) and L. K. Advani (b. 1927) joined a major campaign of public agitation to construct a temple in Ayodhya at the reputed site of the birth of Ram, the hero of the Ramayan and an incarnation of the God Viṣṇu. However, the location was in dispute and had been the site of a mosque since 1572 when the Mughal emperor had a mosque built there called the Babri Masjid. In May 1989 at the Hindu festival of the Kumbh Mela at Allahabad, which was attended by around twenty-nine million people, Hindu groups led by the Vishva Hindu Parishad ('World Hindu Council') encouraged volunteer workers (*karsevaks*) to converge on the Babri Masjid site bringing with them bricks from every one of the 600,000 villages in India. Advani was very prominent in this campaign. To encourage the *karsevaks* he rode in a truck converted to a replica of an ancient chariot and staged a *Ram rath yatra* ('Ram's chariot journey') from Gujarat to Ayodhya in September and October 1990. His followers were prevented by the Uttar Pradhesh state government from actually reaching Ayodhya and Advani himself was arrested in Bihar at the orders of the Chief Minister, L. P. Yadav.[9]

This mass agitation had gained enormous energy and this led in 1992 to around 150,000 *karsevaks* storming the mosque and demolishing it with their bare hands. This was followed by communal riots throughout northern India in which at least 2,000 people died. There were even riots as far away as Bangladesh where Muslims attacked Hindus in response to the destruction of the mosque. This incident has become a source of permanent enmity between extremist Muslim and Hindu groups.

BJP governments led by Atal Behari Vajpayee (1996, 1998–2004)

Following the destruction of the Babri Masjid the renewed focus on conflict between religious communities, called 'communalism' in India, led to increased support for the BJP. In the general election of 1996 the BJP was the single largest party and A. B. Vajpayee was invited to become the Prime Minister. However after thirteen days he resigned when it became apparent that the BJP could not ensure alliances to gain a majority in parliament. Following the next general election in February 1998 the BJP was not only the largest party again but was also able to form a majority alliance called the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) which governed for thirteen months. In May 1998 the BJP government then took the credit for authorising renewed nuclear bomb tests in Rajasthan. The first Indian nuclear tests at Pokhran in Rajasthan had been carried out in 1974, authorised by Indira Gandhi with the code name of 'The Buddha has smiled'. Vajpayee commented on this in a speech at the Buddhist site of Bodhgaya in 1988 when he said that now that India had nuclear weapons it had the power to take the Buddha's message of peace to the world. Around this time BJP efforts to build friendly relations with Pakistan were also frustrated by the discovery that the Pakistan military was infiltrating the Siachen glacier area near Kargil in Kashmir. This led to a full-scale military conflict between the Indian and Pakistani armies in the area in May–July 1998.

The BJP had lost a confidence motion in April 1999 and acted in a caretaker role till September 1999 when another general election was held. This time the BJP was able to gain 182 seats and with its NDA alliance held 270 seats, giving it a working majority in the 545-seat parliament with the support of 29 members of the regional Telegu Dasam Party.

Factors which led to the BJP victory in this election included perceptions of its abilities to manage the economy better than Congress. There was also considerable controversy created by the BJP over the issue of 'Indianness' (*Bharatiyatva*) and whether the Italian-born Congress Party leader Sonia Gandhi could really understand India in the same way as the Indian-born leaders of the BJP. The combination of economic factors and communal and military security concerns led to the BJP emerging as the only party capable of forming a government.

During the period 1999–2004 under the BJP government a number of issues began to appear that suggested that the party had problems. In power it was no longer in its interest to stoke the fires of communal unrest and it attempted to go slow on the issue of whether to build a Ram Temple on the site of the Bavari mosque in Ayodhya. This impressed neither its followers nor those who opposed it. The external threat issues also refused to quieten down and instead of Pakistan being the main cause for anxiety it was the growing tension along the China–India border that provoked the most concern. Perhaps most critically the pace of economic development turned out to be very uneven and heavily favoured urban middle classes at the cost of the rural poor, who saw little improvement in their situation. Moreover, the BJP tried to promote an image that India was undergoing an economic resurgence. This led to the party campaigning in the 2004 election on the slogan 'India Shining', with images of happy prosperous urban Indians who had benefitted from the BJP government. There was widespread commentary in the press that this campaign failed to connect with the reality of the poor in rural India.

Narendra Modi (b. 1950)

While out of power during 2004–14 the BJP again renewed its approaches to garnering power through mass campaigns based on communalism and reassessed its economic strategies. Critical in this was a generational change in which first A. B. Vajpayee and then L. K. Advani stepped down from their leadership roles, which focused attention on Narendra Modi as a potential leader of the BJP. Narendra Modi was born into a Gujarati Vaishya, trading, community called Ghanchi, of which Modi is a branch, related traditionally to oil pressing and running businesses such as grocery shops. During his childhood he helped to run a family tea shop in Ahmadabad and conquering adversity, gained an education including an MA in political science. Modi was a child member of the RSS from the age of eight. In 1965 during the Indo-Pakistan war and in the Gujarat floods of 1967 Modi worked as a volunteer. After the Indo-Pakistan war, he became a full RSS worker (called a *pracharak* or 'campaigner') and then in 1978 an RSS *sambhaag pracharak* (regional campaigner/organiser). During the emergency in 1975–1977, while the RSS was banned, his activities as leader of the RSS Akhil Bartiya Vidyararthi Parishad (All India Student Council) led him to be in conflict with the government. However, following this he was appointed to various offices of the RSS in Delhi before being appointed organising secretary of the BJP in Gujarat in 1988. He was then influential in organising national events such as Advani's 1990 Rath Yatra campaign and in 2001 he was elected the Chief Minister of Gujarat. In 2002 there was an incident at Godhra in Gujarat where a carriage of Hindu *karsevaks* returning from Ayodhya died in a fire on their train. This led to widespread rioting throughout Gujarat in which over a period of several days more than a thousand people died or went missing and at least 790 Muslims were killed. There has been considerable debate over how Narendra Modi as Chief Minister of Gurajat was either unable to

control the rioting or, as his opponents argue, in some sense allowed the rioting to take place. The seriousness of this was that right up to his election to government in May 2014 some foreign governments, including the US government, had bans in place on his visiting due to the issues surrounding the violence in Gujarat in 2002.

A second communal issue that came to the fore in the years after 2000 was that of conversion and the passing of an anti-conversion law in Gujarat in 2003. The Indian Constitution grants individuals the freedom to practise and promote their own religion as long as it does not threaten to disrupt peace. However, there had been disquiet in some quarters about missionaries and others seeking to convert people from one religion to another. The first state to pass an anti-conversion law aimed at preventing Christian missionaries from converting tribal people to Christianity had been Orissa in 1967. The depth of conflict in that state was also shown by the incident in 1999 when a Christian missionary and his two sons were burned to death by activists opposed to the conversion of tribal peoples to Christianity. Alongside this animosity towards Christian conversion amongst tribal peoples there are also RSS-inspired activities to 're-convert' tribal people back to Hinduism. The complication here is that for the RSS, tribal people have always been Hindus despite many tribal people not regarding themselves as ever having been Hindus and saying that their religious beliefs are not part of Hinduism but separate indigenous traditions.

The contradiction here is that some state governments regard RSS-inspired campaigns as legitimate actions to re-convert tribal peoples but Christian missionary activities as illegitimate conversion activities. The problems that arose in Gujarat at this time also related to conflicts between RSS-inspired groups and Christian groups over attempts to convert tribal peoples. The response of the Gujarat state government to then ban religious conversion appeared to be partisan as it only applied to Christian missionary activities and did not apply to RSS-inspired activities as it regarded tribal people as being intrinsically Hindu, even if they regarded themselves as Christians and held that they had never been Hindu to begin with. This is another aspect of the interplay between Hinduism and politics in India: the question of whether tribal people are intrinsically Hindu, and whether freedom of religious belief includes the freedom for tribal peoples to convert to a religion than Hinduism.

For many people the period 2001–2014 when Narendra Modi held the office of Chief Minister of Gujarat was marked not so much by sectarian issues but by his efforts to promote the economic growth of Gujarat. This, which has often been called the Gujarat model, was based on a paradigm of 'less government, more governance' and emphasised that business should be freed from government red tape and be allowed the freedom to develop as it saw fit. This model is to some degree similar to many neo-conservative models for development which see the central problem as being the need to roll back big government and allow the private sector the freedom to develop a market economy.

There has been considerable discussion of the degree to which the Gujarat model was successful. Like the central BJP government during 1999–2004 it was a model that seemed to promote urban middle- and upper-class prosperity rather than seeking to promote the welfare of all, including rural areas. The figures are open to dispute but it is possible to present Gujarat's development during this period as very successful economically but at the same time as failing to improve the lot of the poor throughout the state and in particular in rural areas.

The BJP government under Narendra Modi (2014–)

Narendra Modi's government came to power in a historic landslide victory in May 2014 with an absolute majority for the BJP in parliament, winning 282 seats in the 545-seat parliament.

So far the signs are that the relationship between Hinduism and politics in India during his government may follow a similar trajectory to those during previous BJP periods in office.

On the one hand the degree to which the government remains secular, as the constitution defines the government of India, is being carefully scrutinised, and on the other the supporters of the government seem keen to test the limits on how they can act.

Indicative of Narendra Modi's own negotiation of his interpretation of secular has been his measured approach to the idea of starting work on building the Ram Temple at Ayodhya. While this was not even mentioned in the BJP's 2014 election manifesto it has clearly been on the agenda of the VHP (Vishva Hindu Parishad, the 'World Hindu Council', an international organisation which is sometimes regarded as associated with the BJP) and remains central to the vision of many RSS activists. However, complications remain and due to a 2010 supreme court decision the site is now to be divided, with two-thirds of the site given to the Hindus but reserving the central third for Muslims. Under such circumstances it is very hard to see how any settlement could be reached and there is talk of Narendra Modi drawing up a five-year plan in relation to the issue.

On the other hand it has been striking that during Narendra Modi's visits to a number of countries he has given copies of the Hindu sacred text the *Bhagavadgita* as gifts to foreign heads of state. In regard to giving a book of writings by Swami Vivekananda and a copy of the Hindu *Bhagavadgita* to Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, Narendra Modi himself commented that he was aware it would cause a storm with secularists in India but he did not care as it was a personal gift from him to Shinzo Abe and he had also given one to the Emperor of India.[10] He does not, though, give a gift of the *Bhagavadgita* to all world leaders and apparently Australia's Prime Minister was given instead a replica of a cricket trophy[11] and an original petition by an Australian lawyer in relation to a hero of the first independence war of 1857, the Queen of Jhansi, in regard to her complaints against the East India Company.[12]

When President Xi Jinping of China visited India, Modi gave him a Chinese translation of the *Bhagavadgita*. Xi Jinping's trip began with a visit Narendra Modi had organised for him, a pilgrimage to Gandhi's ashram at Sabarmati on September 17, 2014. On this visit both Modi and President Xi Jinping honoured a statue of Gandhi.[13] Then on his visit to the USA he gave a copy of the *Bhagavadgita* according to Gandhi to President Obama and spoke of how India is guided by the spirit of non-violence promoted by the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi.[14]

Gandhi is normally seen as associated with the Congress Party, as he is one of its founding fathers and was bitterly opposed by the RSS. It is therefore interesting to see how Narendra Modi will take this apparent adoption of Gandhian symbols and ideology and relate them to his support for the RSS. This is also apparent in Narendra Modi's 'clean India campaign' (*svaccha bhārat abhiyān*) which he launched on Gandhi Jayanti, a festival celebrated on Gandhi's birthday, on October 2, 2014. This directly draws on Gandhi's use of the symbolism of higher-caste people picking up a broom and cleaning up India by sweeping it clean. This suggests that one approach to Hindu identity politics that Narendra Modi may be trying to make is to draw Gandhian symbolism more into the arc of activities associated with the RSS and separate it from its association with more liberal interpretations of Hinduism.

More problematic for Modi may be whether he can keep a rein on his supporters and how he will deal with some of the programmes advocated by the VHP. In addition to the Ram Temple at Ayodhya, there is also the issue of mass conversions which had raised its head by December 2014. A number of activists had begun campaigns to hold mass conversion ceremonies in which Muslims and Christians were re-converted to Hinduism as part of what was called *ghar vapsī* ('Homecoming') ceremonies. However, after several of these events had been held over a period of some weeks, on December 22, 2014 a VHP spokesman said that the events had been

suspended as Narendra Modi has expressed his displeasure with such events.[15] Despite this, attacks on Christian churches and sites in India have continued and activists have continued to hold *ghar vapsī* conversion events. President Barack Obama on his visit to India on January 27, 2015 also commented on religious violence and then again in a speech at a national prayer breakfast in Washington on February 5, 2015 he said that Gandhi would have been shocked by the targeting of people for their beliefs in India, which had led to 'acts of intolerance'.[16] It is possible that the continued violence itself and President Obama's words may have in some way influenced Narendra Modi who said in a speech on February 17, 2015 at a Christian ceremony in Delhi that his government would not tolerate the persecution of minorities and his government would act strongly against any religious violence.[17]

The Diaspora and the future

Another factor in the relation between politics and religion in India is the growing influence on internal Indian politics of Indians living in the Diaspora. There are around twenty-five million people of Indian origin who live outside India. These include Indians who are descended from indentured labourers who settled in the nineteenth century in areas such as East Africa, South Africa, the West Indies, South America and Pacific islands like Fiji. The influence of these Indians on India is to some extent limited today by their connections being mostly with the poorer rural areas they originally came from and the length of time they have spent developing distinct senses of being overseas Indians. However, more recent immigrants who have settled since World War II in the United Kingdom, North America and Australia and New Zealand have come increasingly from urban educated professional communities. This has led to the increased interaction between such migrant communities around the world and India. One impact of this has been that some of the people living in the Diaspora have been attracted to the visions of Hinduism favoured by the BJP and have consequently supported the BJP from outside of India. One factor which has influenced this development is the role that temples and religious identities can play in helping people make sense of their lives as immigrants.

It also seems to be that as some Hindus inside, and outside, of India have become more affluent this has led to an increase in devotional activity which includes temple building, sponsoring religious events such as teachings by different gurus, and fostering a sense of communal identity.[18] So rather than modernity leading to a decline in the influence of religion on daily life quite the opposite is happening and religion is becoming more and more influential.

The importance of this can also be seen in the ways that Narendra Modi, on his various visits to countries outside of India since his election, has focused on the ways that Indians living outside of India can contribute to India's development. These appeals are in part about economics, seeking new sources for investment in India, but in part they also show the ways in which Diaspora voices are now listened to in Indian politics and are seen as being part of Indian polity. Furthermore, there is overlap between rhetoric surrounding the Diaspora community and the Hindu community. Indeed there was some public controversy in Australia in regard to the organisation of a mass community event where Prime Minister Modi addressed 27,000 people at a public stadium in Sydney. The organisation of this event was handled by a new community group set up for that purpose, led by a prominent member of the Hindu Council of Australia.[19] The sense of an overlap between Hindu conceptions and conceptions of India more broadly could also be seen at an event in Gujarat in 2015 aimed at Diaspora Indians, the Pravasi Bhartiya Divas ('Overseas Indians' Day') where Narendra Modi spoke of Indian development and the importance of the River Ganges in India.[20] Of course on a purely material level the Ganges is the main support for the millions of people who live in the

Ganges basin. However, the Ganges is also a potent Hindu symbol and is revered by millions of Hindus as a sacred river. In some senses, though, what is evident in how Narendra Modi is handling this convergence of Indian and Hindu symbolism is that he is skilfully balancing rhetoric that appeals to Hindus in particular and to the broader Indian community including Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Muslims and Christians. However, many are watching closely to see if the rhetoric is matched by actions which foster the welfare of all in India, whether or not they are Hindu.

Conclusion

It is remarkable how much Indian politics has changed since 1990 and the degree to which Hinduism has come to the fore as a force in Indian politics. One of the main questions that might currently be asked is what path Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government will take in its definition of the relationship between religion and politics. It is quite clear that there is no chance of adopting a course like that of Nehruvian secularism, which BJP rhetoric completely rejects. The question is rather, will Narendra Modi emulate a form of the model first established by Asoka, of state patronage for all religions, or shift towards a model of favouring only one religion, as introduced during the Sultanate and Mughal periods, but in this case for Hinduism alone?

It is too early in Narendra Modi's tenure in office to say what course his government will take during its full term of office. The signs so far from the first year of his incumbency are that he appears to be adopting and adapting symbols previously not associated with the RSS and the BJP, such as Gandhi and some form of Gandhian ideas, and incorporating them into a new articulation of the idea of how Hindu and Indian identity overlap. However, the issue now facing India is how to balance the social stability need for the BJP's economic reform agenda against the possibility that the more extremist ideas of some of Narendra Modi's followers could over the coming years destabilise communal harmony in India.

Notes

1 Burghart, 'The Concept of Nation-State', 101–125.
2 Lorenzen, 'Who Invented Hinduism?', 30–659.
3 Pennington, *Was Hinduism Invented?*; Oddie, *Imagined Hinduism*.
4 Jaffrelot, *Religion, Caste and Politics*.
5 Friedlander, 'The Challenge of Multiculturalism', 79–104.
6 Bhave, *Hindu Revivalism*.
7 Jeffrey, *What's happening to India*?
8 Rajagopal, *Politics after Television*.
9 Sahgal, 'L.K. Advani's rath yatra'.
10 *Times of India*, September 14, 2014.
11 NDTV, November 18, 2014.
12 *The Hindu*, November 18, 2014.
13 *Business Standard*, September 18, 2014.
14 *Indian Express*, 29 September, 2014.
15 *Times of India*, December 22, 2014.
16 *Indian Express*, February 6, 2015.
17 *Financial Express*, February 17, 2015.
18 Nanda, *The God Market*.
19 NDTV, November 12, 2014.
20 *Indian Express*, January 12, 2015.

References

Bhave, Vinobha. *Hindu Revivalism: Convocation Address, Delhi University*. December 23, 1966. http://www.mkgandhi.org/jpnarayan/hindu_revival.htm.

Burghart, Richard. 'The Formation of the Concept of Nation-State in Nepal'. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 44, no. 1 (1984): 101–125.

Friedlander, Peter. 'Contemporary Buddhism and the challenge of multiculturalism in India'. In *The Reluctant Superpower*, edited by Amitabh Mattoo, 79–104. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2012.

Jaffrelot, Christopher. *Religion, Caste and Politics in India*. Delhi: Primus, 2010.

Jeffrey, Robin. *What's happening to India?* London: MacMillan, 1986.

Lorenzen, David N. 'Who Invented Hinduism? Comparative Studies in Society and History'. 41, no. 4 (1999): 630–659.

Nanda, Meera. *The God Market*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011.

Oddie, Geoffrey A. *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Missionary Constructions of Hinduism, 1793–1900*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006.

Pennington, Brian K. *Was Hinduism Invented? Britons, Indians, and the Colonial Construction of Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Rajagopal, Arvind. *Politics after Television: Hindu Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Public in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Sahgal, Priya. '1990-L.K. Advani's rath yatra: Chariot of fire'. *India Today*. December 24, 2009. http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/1990-L.K.+Advani's+rath+yatra:+Chariot+of+fire/1/76389.html.

6
SUNNI ISLAM AND ISLAMISM[1]

Andrea Teti and Andrea Mura

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY, UK AND OPEN UNIVERSITY, UK

Introduction

One of the most common misunderstandings about Islam is that it contains some kind of essential 'core' which dictates the fundamental nature of political movements adopting its banner. Such misunderstandings are nowhere more obvious than in Western reactions to the 1979 Iranian Revolution and to Khomeini's followers, who eventually dominated the post-revolutionary government, which saw frenzied talk of a 'Green Peril' rising in the East, describing the Islamic Republic and its regional sympathisers as a new and unprecedentedly dangerous 'Pan-Islamic' revolutionary movement, 'state terrorism' without boundaries, which was somehow quintessentially 'Islamic'. However, during the revolution, slogans such as 'neither East nor West, [only] an Islamic Republic', or the adoption of religious symbols such as veiling, were simply straightforward and highly visible ways of protesting against the US-backed Shah's policies and the Superpowers' twin attempts at 'imperialist' influence. Moreover, religion as the hijacked banner for politics was not a new phenomenon, even then. In its 'modern' guise, it has its roots at least a century earlier, at the peak of European imperial influence, when, throughout the Ottoman Empire, debates raged about whether religion could provide a solution to the Empire's weakness. In the twentieth century, religion provided a rallying point for opponents of authoritarian regimes, both monarchic and 'secular' nationalist. The Iranian Revolution simply thrust these movements to the forefront of the West's political attention.

These kinds of misunderstandings arise in relation to both Sunni and Shi'a Islam, so although this chapter looks at key theological and legal aspects of Islam, and to its practical historical manifestations, with a particular focus on Sunni Islam, a similar analysis can be carried out in relation to the Shi'a world (see Mohammad Nafissi's chapter in this volume: 'Shiism and politics'). The idea that Islam – whether Sunni or Shi'a – is somehow inherently political, and perhaps inherently violent, has been central to Western debates about Middle Eastern politics, and more recently also to Western states' domestic politics. An overview of the connection between 'Islamist' movements and the political context within which they emerge, however, shows that the nature of these movements has little to do with religion in itself. Rather, it reflects a politicisation of religion by which Islamist movements oppose a *status quo* which adherents believe is inherently unjust.

Principles of Islam

Islam is one of the three 'Abrahamic' religions, along with Judaism and Christianity. While Christianity sees itself as a 'refinement' of Judaism, Islam sees itself as the final revelation in that line. For Muslims, the Prophet Muhammad is the 'Seal' of a long line of prophets starting with Adam and including most of those recognised by Judaism and by Christianity. Beliefs and rules of behaviour in Islam are based on three sources: holy scripture (Qur'an), stories (*hadith*) about the Prophet's life (which, combined, constitute the *Sunna*), and the extensive body of Islamic legal scholarship (*shari'a*). The fundamental elements of the faith, known as the 'Five Pillars', are:

1. *Shahada*: recognising the oneness of God, and that Muhammad is His Prophet;
2. *Salat*: prayer five times a day;
3. *Zakat*: an 'alms tax' to care for the poor;
4. *Hajj*: pilgrimage to Makkah once in one's lifetime, if possible;
5. *Ramadan*: daytime fasting and spiritual reflection during this holy month.

Beyond this, however, Islam's principles have been interpreted in widely different ways, and the practices carried out by Muslims themselves have varied just as much as those of any other 'world religion'. Indeed, shortly after the Prophet's death (632 CE), a schism occurred between two groups, Sunni and Shi'a, over who should be his rightful successor – Abu Bakr (Muhammad's father-in-law) or 'Ali (his son-in-law) – and how succession should be determined (by consultation or by family line). Today, Sunnis are the majority in North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean, most of the Arabian Peninsula, and in Asia, while there are Shi'a majorities in Iran, parts of Central Asia and in some Sunni-ruled Gulf states. Within Sunni Islam, there are four major theological and legal schools – Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki, Shafii – alongside which Sufism (mysticism) must also be mentioned.

One of the many poorly understood aspects of Islam is its jurisprudence. *Shari'a* is a body of scholarship on the basis of which legal codes can be drawn up. *Shari'a* is therefore *not* a specific legal code; it is if anything 'Islamic legal studies'. For most Sunnis, *shari'a* is based on the Qur'an and *hadith*: through *qiyas* (analogy) and *ijma* (consensus) the body of Muslim scholars (*ulama*) arrives at the principles which any law must respect. *Ijtihad* (interpretation) is the exercise of judgement necessary to apply principles and precedents to new cases. After the rule of the Prophet's Companions, the 'Rightly-Guided Caliphs', as the community of Muslims moved farther away from the spirit of those times, the 'door of *ijtihad*' was closed, theoretically preventing 'innovation' in Islamic jurisprudence. This has remained, however, a highly controversial issue, with some Sunni and mostly Shia Ulama claiming the legal possibility of *ijtihad* following the rule of the Prophet's Companions.

Box 6.1 Practices

While the main beliefs in Islam – the Five Pillars – have remained constant, legal and theological interpretations, as well as practices, have varied across regions/states and over time. Saint-worship, for example, is associated with traditional popular Islam, but was challenged by modernist Salafism (the label for radical reformism) in early-twentieth-century North Africa.

- *Purdah* (modesty): dress in public should be 'modest' (for both men and women). For women, this has taken various forms: loose scarves of the Sudan; *chador* in Iran; *burqa* in Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan; in Turkey, non-provocative dress but no *hijab*.

- There is no Qur'anic injunction specifying how women should dress. What 'modesty' entails has been interpreted differently over time and in different places (e.g. urban/rural, Gulf/Levant).

- *Marriage*: technically, men can take up to four wives. This was a provision related to a specific historical context in which there were many widows (largely legally unprotected before Islam), a paucity of men, and no means for most women to earn a living. Given women's weak position at the time, it was useful for them to be protected in this way. Most Muslims today see this as arcane. Moreover, this right is legally subject to men being able to look after all wives *equally* – but, as the Qur'an itself points out, this equality is impossible to achieve in practice.

Overall, diversity of interpretations of Islam and its real-world practices induce a scepticism regarding suggestions that there is but one unique or unchanging 'essence' of Islam. Just how much Islamic discourses and practices in politics have changed over time becomes evident in an overview of its political history.

Traditional concepts constituting the Islamic heritage have often been reformulated to legitimise change and present political aspirations. For instance, the Ottomans reinvented the tradition of the caliphate, promoting the myth of a formal passage from the last descendant of the Abbasids to the Ottomans in the sixteenth century.[2] Other debates – which became particularly important during the nineteenth century – centred on traditional concepts such as *dhimma*, *shura* and *ijtihad*.

Caliph, from the Arab *khilaf* is the 'successor' of the Prophet Muhammad and the leader of the entire Muslim community. Although endowed with religious credentials, as the supreme ecclesiastic dignity of Islam, the Caliph is mostly a political figure and the guarantor of Muslim unity. As the absolute authority in the religious and the political domain, the caliphate, however, underwent periods of more and less cogency, facing increasing dwindling in its effective and symbolic power following the decline of Arabs after the Abbasid age (750–1258 CE) until its abolition in 1924.

Dhimma is a formulation allowing non-Muslim 'people of the Book' (Jews, Christians, Sabeans and Zoroastrians) to live freely in Muslim states in their own communities, governed by their own laws, by paying a small tax. This system, known as *millet* under the Ottomans, allowed the peaceful coexistence of different faiths on the same land. For Sunnis, *shura* (consultation) is an important principle in selecting a leader: the community as a whole should agree on a choice. Shura was particularly emphasised in response to the need, felt by some, to lessen the absolutism of the Ottoman Empire. Finally, some argued that the problems of the time were unprecedented and therefore not covered by the existing body of jurisprudence, thus requiring the elaboration of new rules for this new era. But re-opening 'the door of *ijtihad*' generated understandable controversy.

Early history and expansion

In 610 CE, Muhammad received his first revelation, and in 622 CE started public preaching. Gradually, Islam became a political force, and, after encountering opposition in Makkah, the first community undertook the *hijra* ('emigration') to Medina in 627/28 CE where it achieved political power through an alliance with the local Jewish majority. The so-called 'Constitution

of Medina', which regulated relations between religious communities, is the first written historical document of Islam, and still remains central to many contemporary debates. One such debate concerns under what conditions Muslims may live under non-Muslim authority, and the fact that the Constitution of Medina did not establish a theocracy but a religiously pluralist city-state is highly significant.

The period going from the classical age of Arab expansion under the Umayyad (661–750 CE) and Abbasid (750–1258 CE) caliphates to the intervention of European forces in the eighteenth century saw various ethnic groups assuming the lead and expansion of 'Islamic' empires, emphasising their inclusive, universal character. In addition, different ethnic groups found themselves leading parts of the Islamic world through different dynasties, including Turks, Berbers, Iranians, and Mongols. This produced various dynasties, such as the Seljuks, Almoravids, Ayyubids, and Mamlukes. Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Muslim world found itself divided into various empires: the Sunni Ottoman Empire (Middle East, Balkans, and Northern Africa); the Shi'a Safavid Empire in the Caucasus and West Asia; and the Mughul Empire, occupying most of the Indian subcontinent. This range of different ethnic groups and dynasties was mirrored in a great diversity of cultural expressions, including: Hellenistic traditions, Persian (Indo-Iranian) culture, and Turkish influences. This contributed to development of highly refined literatures, artistic expressions, architectures, philosophy, and sciences (e.g. Moorish Spain, or Safavid Isfahan). It was through this heritage that many classical Greek texts were later 'rediscovered' in Europe during the Renaissance.

Moreover, throughout the Empire's expansion, Islamic jurisprudence recognised the legitimacy of various kinds of political system. It is important to stress that since its earliest times, Islam has been used by 'temporal power' to consolidate itself. This affected both theology and jurisprudence: scholars close to the Empire developed theories of 'jihad' which allowed the political leadership to justify expansion into richer lands to the north of Arabia.

The political and cultural climate subsequent to the early conquests favoured the emergence of legal interpretations which provided key examples of religious and ethnic pluralism, often by drawing on the notion of *dhimma*. The closest comparison in Europe was Frederick II's Sicily, itself largely based on the model of the island's earlier Muslim rulers.

Next, our discussion focuses on the period following the encounter with European colonial powers in the nineteenth century in the Sunni Arabophone Middle East since it provides major paradigms explaining further developments in the history of Muslim countries.

Late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century political debates

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire's economic and military weakness in relation to Europe became increasingly clear. This strongly coloured political debate within the Empire, eliciting two kinds of responses: first, some argued that the Islamic community – which is what, after all, the Ottoman Empire at least nominally claimed to be the Sunni incarnation of – had weakened because it had abandoned its original spirit, and that therefore it should rediscover that spirit by going back to the original purity of Islam. The second response was that the Empire was faced with an unprecedented threat, which should be dealt with at least partly by adapting technical knowledge and institutions from Europe. This led to the Ottoman *tanzimat* (reform) laws, and other local reforms within the Empire (notably in Egypt). Three religious scholars, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida, are the central figures of late-nineteenth-century debates over the reform of (Sunni) Islamic law

to meet the challenge of European imperialism, the 'fathers of Islah' (reform) to whom both moderates and radicals today trace their intellectual roots, and whose heritage they claim.

Al-Afghani (1838–1897) dreamt of a reinvigorated caliphate unifying the entire Muslim world under one political and spiritual leadership. Despite his very limited political success, he is important, firstly, for his influence on later figures like Rashid Rida and Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the Islamist movement 'Muslim Brotherhood' (Ikhwan al-Muslimun); secondly, because he was the first major intellectual to react against European penetration by formulating a political opposition based on innovative religious grounds; and finally, because to do so he looked back to a supposed 'Golden Age' of early Islam – a move which, albeit historical rather 'creative', has since then marked virtually all attempts to think about burning issues such as the relationship between Muslim communities and secular states.

Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) came from a wealthy family, and taught at Cairo's prestigious al-Azhar University. He was a gradualist reformer, advocating adaptation of some European institutions. Supporting the need for consultative government, 'Abduh argued that rather than 'importing' from Europe, Muslims should rediscover *shura*. He also called for re-opening the 'door of *ijtihad*' in order to meet the unprecedented challenges of European imperialism.

Rashid Rida (1865–1935), who was a student of both 'Abduh and al-Afghani, and edited the political magazine *al-Manar*, marks a turning point in Islamist thought and in the attitudes of intellectuals towards Europe. Writing during the British occupation of Egypt (1882–1922), he advocated *active resistance* to imperialist encroachment by arguing that (defensive) jihad should be widened to include defence against political as well as religious oppression, its more conventional understanding.

To understand why these developments took place at this particular time, it is necessary to note that in Egypt at the time the main political problem was – and, until 1952, remained – independence from British occupation. Following Egypt's declaration of bankruptcy, Viceroy Ismail was deposed in 1875 and the 'Dual Control' – a sort of *ante diem* International Monetary Fund – established. After Ismail, Egyptian rulers were mostly compliant to British interests. Like the British, they felt threatened by nationalist opposition, and co-operated with the former in curtailing nationalists' access to power. Following a coup in 1880 by a nationalist – Colonel 'Urabi – the British invaded, heralding seventy years of military and political presence. Other features, such as parallel courts for Egyptians and for foreigners, gradually established a system of discrimination which contributed to radicalising both nationalist and religious opposition.

From peaceful reform to armed resistance in early-twentieth-century Egypt

In a highly destabilised context marked by colonialism, among the utmost factors of the weakening of Muslim settings in the early twentieth century, the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the dissemination of nationalist discourses in the form of local nationalisms, pan-Arabism and Kemalism, and the ultimate abolition of the caliphate in 1924, played a crucial role. The ending of the caliphate denoted the traumatic penetration of nationalistic discourses into the Islamic land, with the traditional ethos of Islamic universalism now irremediably challenged by local and racialised representations of space and community. Although a certain fluid and creative use of tradition had long marked the institution of the caliphate, its symbolic role had been central over the centuries, guaranteeing and symbolising Muslim unity and functioning as the ultimate reference of political legitimation. It is therefore not surprising that a strong sense of anxiety spread in the Muslim world when the caliphate was abolished in

1924 following the replacement of the Ottoman Empire with the 'modern' republic of Turkey. A number of unsuccessful international conferences in the following decades aimed at re-establishing this institution outside Turkey, reflecting the sense of lost identity that the abolition of the caliphate enacted in Muslim settings, from India to Egypt.

In Egypt, the continued presence of the British helped to radicalise political ideologies and practices across the political spectrum. Two events epitomised the impact of British imperialism: declaration of a British Protectorate over Egypt during World War I, effectively allowing the former to occupy the country; and the refusal to admit an Egyptian delegation demanding national independence to the post-World War I peace negotiations at Versailles. The establishment of a Mandate following the war reflected a further Western betrayal of the 'democratic nationalism' which was supposed to inform the Versailles settlements. Even when, in 1922, after three years of unrest, the British unilaterally recognised Egyptian 'independence', they retained control over areas such as foreign policy and the right to a military presence and to political intervention, which effectively emptied 'independence' of any meaning: Egypt remained a de facto colony.

Paralleling trends in Europe, the 1920s and 1930s saw the emergence of extremist politics across the entire political spectrum, from socialist and communist movements, to Islamism and radical Egyptian nationalism. Meantime, although the popular nationalist Wafd was regularly voted into power, the British collaborated with the Egyptian king – as they did with the Hashemite monarchs in Syria, Iraq and Arabia – in consistent attempts to discredit the opposition. In practice, this helped undermine Egyptian nationalism, creating the context for alternative ideologies – e.g. Islamist, Arabist, and Socialist – to challenge the Wafd's 'liberal nationalism', and facilitating a generalised political radicalisation.

In this context schoolmaster Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949) established the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 as an organisation providing welfare services, aiming to encourage and defend morality, Islamising society 'from below', rather than through revolution. The Muslim Brotherhood was soon drawn into politics, developing explicit political goals. The increasingly troubled political context favoured the radicalisation of the Brotherhood's political philosophy and tactics – just like its 'secular' counterparts – and, like these, the Brotherhood soon developed an armed wing. However, its main focus remained education from below and the infiltration of political and social institutions. The combination of its welfare services, its religious credentials, the government's increasing authoritarianism, and the progressive discrediting of the Wafd, soon made the Muslim Brotherhood Egypt's largest political organisation.

It is important to understand that the Brotherhood, despite its own rhetoric, was not a manifestation of traditional Islamism. On the contrary, it was a prime example of a *modern* political organisation: mass-based, populist, supported mainly by the urban middle and lower classes, using a cell-based structure, and embracing religious reformism. Finally, the Brotherhood prioritised Egypt: it wished to reform primarily *Egyptian* politics, not the universal Islamic community, struggling first and foremost for Egyptian independence. Like the nationalists, it wanted 'Egypt for the Egyptians'.

The radicalisation of Islamism in the Sunni world

Sayyid al-Mawdudi (1903–1979) was an influential Islamic thinker and the founder of the Sunni Islamic political movement Jamaat-e-Islami. He elaborated most of his radical theories during the political turmoil preceding the separation of Hindu-majority India, and Muslim-majority Pakistan. Al-Mawdudi thought Islam was *inseparably* faith and state (*din wa dawla*), arguing sovereignty cannot rest with the people but only with God, and that a religious state

cannot simply be Muslim-majority, it must be governed not only according to his vision of 'true Islam' but also only by 'true Muslims'.

Another separate and distinctive approach – Wahhabism – also emerged as a conservative movement based on normative and literalist approaches to scripture. As for many such movements of its time, in Wahhabism, tradition is perceived as a fixed set of values that must be protected from the assaults of religious innovations (*bid'ah*). Wahhabi clergy had – both doctrinally and politically – supported the ruling family of Saud in Arabia in their rise to power during the eighteenth century. During the rejuvenation of Islamism in the 1970s, Wahhabism provided the Saudi family with an alternative ideological platform to spread its 'political' influence, in concurrence with the great international resonance of the (Shi'a) Islamist Iranian Republic.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood took a radical turn. Having helped Nasser come to power and consolidate his rule, under him the Brotherhood was not only heavily repressed by the state but also marginalised politically by Arab nationalism. Nasser's single party co-opted, marginalised or repressed his main rivals: the Brotherhood, large-land-owners, and the Communists. This radicalised the Brotherhood, as evidenced by the history of the involvement of Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), who had joined the Brotherhood in 1951. Arrested in 1954 under Nasser and executed in 1965, while in prison Qutb personally experienced the harshness of Nasser's repression. There, he wrote his most important tract, *Milestones*. For Qutb, the depth of contemporary corruption was such that society should be regarded as being in a state of *jahiliyya* (pre-Islamic ignorance), and therefore be rejected in its entirety, requiring a radical overhaul to be imposed 'from above'.

What links the ideas of all these movements is not theoretical unity or even agreement about goals and methods of political struggle, but the simple fact that the radicalisation of Islamist discourse and practices (in our case Sunni) occurred as a response to a specific political context, namely the combination of internal repression and growing 'Western' interference.

The question of jihad

The notion of jihad is central both to the political theory of radical Islamists, and to many Western (mis)representations of Islam.

In mainstream Islamic thought, conventional interpretations of jihad are far from its common – and erroneous – translation, especially in the West, as 'holy war'. Jihad translates as 'striving', but the historical theorisation of this struggle, still by far the most dominant today, could hardly be farther from that of a 'holy war'. Nor is jihad central to Islamic political theory, as is often claimed. In the Qur'an, organised violence is referred to as *ghazwa* (raid), *harb* and *qital* (war) – not jihad – using terms with roots *qtl* and/or *hrb*, not *jhd*. Indeed, verses in which *jhd* appears rarely directly and exclusively link it to armed conflict, but *always* to personal effort (e.g. hence *ijtihad*, the effort of exegetic interpretation). Just how misleading interpretation can be is clear when considering verses containing the term jihad and substituting the two different meanings. Take for example: 'Fear God and attempt to move closer to Him and His religion, and fight on His path' (Qur'an V, 35). Here one finds *jhd*, not *hrb* or *qtl*, and replacing 'fight' with 'strive' changes the apparent meaning of the verse entirely.

So what *is* jihad? Conventional interpretations distinguish between at least two kinds of jihad: the 'greater jihad', entails striving against one's own negative inclinations, behaving piously. The 'lesser jihad', or 'jihad of the sword' permits the use of force to defend the faith only when Muslims are actively prevented from practising their religion (if there has been a *fatwa*, a legal opinion issued by legitimate religious authorities). This shows how marginal armed resistance, let alone aggression, is in conventional jurisprudence. The interpretation by modern radicals is

very different: exclusive, sometimes aggressive, and through a language of 'defending the faith' and 'individual duty', aims towards 'Islamising' state and society. It is also more central to modern radical theories, to the point that it is sometimes considered to be 'the neglected duty', the 'Sixth Pillar' of Islam (recall that the only imperative duties are the Five Pillars).

Such a stark difference between classical and contemporary radical notions, such a movement from a spiritual meaning to a duty of revolution, begs an explanation. The gradual evolution of the concept of jihad into an attempt to justify *armed* struggle against *political* oppression cannot be divorced from the historical context of 150 years or so of European (neo)imperial pressure: it is a response in both political discourse and in practices to (a) authoritarian governments at home, and (b) the impact of imperialism. The Egyptian case clearly illustrates a spiral of authoritarian governments, foreign interference, and radicalisation.

From armed struggle to elections: contemporary Islamism in Egypt before the Arab Spring

It should not be assumed that the only or indeed dominant translation of Islam into politics is violent. Indeed, in the Middle East and elsewhere Islamist groups have emerged to political prominence, even power, which are not violent or particularly radical. Turkey, Jordan, Morocco, and Egypt all provide cases in point. In Jordan and Morocco, Islamists have been co-opted into a political process dominated by an authoritarian monarchy; in Turkey an Islamist party was voted into power in 2002; while in Egypt Islamists have provided the only credible, mass-based opposition to authoritarian regimes since the 1970s.

The emergence of this complex range of Islamist politics is rooted in external political influence in the Middle East, in the failure of Arabism and of 'developmental' nationalism, and in the authoritarianism of regimes throughout the region. Again, Egypt's experiences typify these trajectories.

Arab nationalism was severely damaged by its defeat in the 'Six-Day War' of 1967, shifting power towards the conservative and more pro-Western monarchies led by Saudi Arabia. However, it was Sadat's negotiations with Israel after the October War of 1973, culminating in the Camp David Accords, which finally broke Arab nationalism's back. After that, although Arab identity remained important, Islam has increasingly been used to justify government policy and to hold governments to account for failing to fulfil their promises, for protesting corruption, immorality, etc.

Sadat became President upon Nasser's death in 1970, but no one expected his succession to last. This supposedly innocuous vice-president, however, oversaw a momentous shift in Egyptian politics which frames the relationship between regime and Islamist opposition to this day. A weak figure, Sadat consolidated his power by doing two things: first, he went to war with Israel. This brought them to the negotiating table, and Sadat won not only a public-opinion coup but also got the Sinai Peninsula and the Suez Canal back. It also allowed him to offer his allegiance to the US, as he disliked the Soviets. Secondly, he isolated Nasser's single party, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU) by using the Muslim Brotherhood as a domestic counterweight.

This tactical choice had far-reaching strategic implications. The Brotherhood's leadership had been radicalised by prison, some extreme sections splintering into groups like Gamaat al-Islamiyya or al-Jihad. The price of Sadat's international realignment was a peace with Israel which left his Arab counterparts badly weakened, a personal trip to Israeli-occupied Jerusalem, and a speech to the Knesset for which he would never be forgiven. Economic liberalisation (*infitah*) required by the USA also badly hit the poor, causing extensive riots. Along with his

periodical crackdowns on opposition, his political and economic reforms proved his undoing: Sadat found he ultimately could not control the forces he had unleashed and was assassinated at a military parade in 1981.

Hosni Mubarak, who also 'inherited' the presidency, continued the alternating cycles of liberalisation and repression his predecessor used to manipulate domestic politics. He immediately declared a state of emergency which has been renewed to this day, and while he allowed elections, he made sure the National Democratic Party (NDP) stayed in power, thereby guaranteeing his presidency. He maintained the ban on the Muslim Brotherhood, preventing their participation in elections, and met armed resistance with brutal repression. The Brotherhood, however, engaged in innovative political strategies: they entered into electoral alliance with weakened secular parties, allowing Brothers to run for office. By the late 1990s, Brotherhood candidates were standing as 'independents', and rapidly became the largest opposition 'party' in parliament. Moreover, migrant labour returning from the Gulf brought back more conservative social attitudes, Brotherhood supporters rose through the ranks of professional associations, and the state's continued weakness as a welfare provider contrasted starkly with the array of social services provided by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Political Islam and the changing conditions of the Middle East

The pattern noted in the section above – Islamists adapting to government oppression while developing ability to build and consolidate mass support – provides important indications not only regarding political developments throughout the Middle East generally but also in relation to Islamism. Since the 1970s, the economic and political crisis of postcolonial development projects stimulated the growth of a diverse political opposition. The oil-related economic slump of the mid-1980s increased pressure on the already struggling economies of non-oil-producing states, highlighting their economic difficulties and – given their general crackdowns on opposition – just how thin the veil of 'democracy' covering these regimes was. The 1990s increased such pressures, as the end of the Cold War on the one hand undermined the need for limited liberalisation to combat Soviet influence (as well as US aid), while on the other democratic discourse became unassailably central to international politics. The first Gulf War, following the breaking of another Arab nationalist taboo, the invasion of one Arab state (Kuwait) by another (Iraq), also stoked the embers of anti-Americanism as it was widely perceived to be a 'war for oil'. This weakened Washington's allies' domestic position, with opposition movements accusing them – with more than some justification – not only of being in Washington and Riyadh's pockets, but also of not practising the democracy they preached.

Some have argued that 'political Islam' has failed to produce successful revolutions, where it would have lived up to its supposed universalist ideals, or indeed modernising reforms.[3] This underestimates the influence, either directly in government or indirectly in opposition, which increasingly popular Islamist movements have had. Some parties have been allowed to contest elections, and, as in Turkey or Palestine, have won the election. In other cases, governments have tried to pre-empt such electoral success through a combination of police harassment (e.g. Egypt, or the Algerian extreme of an Army coup suspending elections, leading to a bloody civil war), legislative obstacles, and an at least superficial pandering to a conservative Islamic agenda.

Islam and revolution?

Can we say that there is a link between 'Islam' and revolution or political violence generally? This question has often been raised, particularly since the Iranian Revolution. It should

be clear that the answer is negative. The Iranian Revolution provides a case in point: this was not, as many incorrectly state, an 'Islamic' revolution, but an uprising by a wide range of forces across all Iranian society – from the Shi'a clergy to the Communists to the Kurds – reacting to an authoritarian monarchy which was perceived as being 'in the pocket of the USA', and whose imbalanced 'modernisation' project placed enormous strain on society. Only afterwards did Islamists gain primacy among other factions. The role of Islam during the revolution was that of a symbol of opposition to arbitrary 'modernisation', which felt too much like a wholesale abdication of a proud millennia-long identity in favour of narrow materialism, consumerism, and subjection to foreign interests. The Ayatollah Khomeini (1902–1989), religious authority and political leader of the Iranian Revolution, significantly called this 'Westoxification', and, again significantly, one of the Islamists' slogans was 'Neither East nor West, [only] an Islamic Republic' – a token of how oppressively the superpowers' presence was felt during the Cold War.

Thus, *religious principles* did not bring about revolution: political oppression and enormous inequalities clashed with a discourse of development and democracy – these were the motors of the Revolution. 'Islam' was simply its banner. So much so, that the significance of the revolution was felt across the Sunni/Shi'a and Arab/Persian divides. Iran became a model not for doctrinal reasons, but because for the first time it demonstrated the feasibility not only of a revolution, but of a culturally 'authentic' political system: it appeared to throw off the yoke of imperialism, both material and cultural, completely and definitively.

Islamist nationalist movements such as Hizballah and Hamas provide analogous cases: for these movements, the independence of a national community is even more important than the 'Islamisation' of society. Indeed, both happen to be responses to the Israeli presence in South Lebanon and in the Occupied Territories respectively. It is also no coincidence that these movements rose to prominence once their earlier 'secular' counterparts were perceived to be failing.

Islam(ism) and democracy

Another supposed 'failure' of Islam in its relation to politics is Huntington's (1993) argument that Islam in its 'essence' constitutes a 'civilisation' inherently different from, and more violent than, any other. This supposedly explains why the Middle East did not democratise after the end of the Cold War, as did Eastern Europe. This argument, however tempting such simple answers might be, ignores the causes of the emergence of radical ideologies and violent practices and the relationship between political oppression and radical politics generally (not just religious radicalism). In the Middle East, it is clear that what has radicalised the opposition is the inability and/or unwillingness of local regimes and their international counterparts to accept the consequences of genuine pluralism.

In Western debates, questions about the relationship between Islam and violence are virtually symbiotic with doubts about its 'compatibility' with democracy. The argument is often heard that while democracy requires secularism, openness and the acceptance of non-religious state authority, Islam as a religion – and therefore any 'Islamist' politics – demands a theocratic state in which there can be no debate about right and wrong, or about appropriate social order, because its aim must be 'to bring about the rule of God'. It should be clear by now that this is historically and jurisprudentially wrong.

Nonetheless, there has been considerable debate about the scope for liberalising Middle Eastern politics. Salamè[4] points out that, aside from a few notable examples, what 'democratisation' there has been in the Middle East has been largely cosmetic, putting in place institutions, but undermining their democratic potential by curtailing their remit or bypassing them

(e.g. skewing electoral law in favour of ruling parties, or rigging the results). Guazzone[5] points to an apparent 'Islamist Dilemma': if allowed to run for elections, Islamists may win and cancel elections once in power, but preventing them from running undermines democracy. On the other hand, allowing real pluralism may give more moderate voices a chance to meet popular political demands, thus preventing wider socio-political marginalisation and radicalisation.

Such debates about the relationship between Islam and violence, democracy, etc. are significant not so much for their intellectual depth, but because they illustrate a certain way of thinking about Islam, particularly in the West. As Edward Said[6] and others point out, much Western public discourse about the 'Orient' suggests a Manichean representation of the West as advanced, progressive, democratic, egalitarian, secular, rational, and peaceful, and of the East as backward, stagnant, authoritarian, discriminatory, religiously dogmatic, fanatical, and violent. This representation is supported by the histories of neither Western states nor Middle Eastern ones, but it has historically enabled policies such as colonialism, or the Mandate system, which would have been difficult to justify had non-Western cultures been accorded equal dignity to those of the West. Overall, recent Islamist political responses throughout the Middle East and North Africa are neither specifically *Sunni* nor even particularly *Islamic*. Instead, they are inherently *political* responses to authoritarian political systems and continuing foreign meddling.

The Arab Uprisings

The Arab Uprisings presented a powerful challenge to Orientalist notions about regional politics: where Orientalist representations see violent political culture(s) the Uprisings were largely peaceful; where stereotypes assumed Islam was inextricable from politics, in the Uprisings religious rhetoric was notable for its absence; where Islamist organisations were assumed to be the only ones capable of mobilising populations, mass popular protest took place often despite and against the directions of such organisations, which had to quickly catch up with popular action.[7] Until the Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, most observers made the mistake of conflating regional regimes' use of coercion as a sign of strength. The speed with which uprisings washed across the region suggests that those regimes ought to be seen as violent, fierce even, but brittle if not fragile. In particular, far from resulting in economic and then political liberalisation, IMF-mandated economic 'reforms' which had privatised state assets led to the polarisation of income and wealth, to the reinforcement of an oligarchic elite, and to unrest.[8] In addition, the Uprisings powerfully demonstrated that Islam is not necessarily the (only) solution: well before Sisi's renewed attempts to stigmatise it, for example, the Egyptian Brotherhood had been widely perceived as at best taking advantage of the revolution, if not badly out of step with it. Both the Egyptian Brotherhood and Tunisia's Nahda Party convincingly won elections, despite not being at the forefront of the Uprisings. In this sense, it would be a mistake to attribute such success to 'Islam', or even to the putatively religious nature of their ideology. In fact, their success cannot be understood except in the context of a series of converging forces: the unwillingness of local regimes to soften economically and politically exploitative arrangements; the unwillingness of international powers – first and foremost the US and the EU – to seriously countenance such changes; the determination of regional powers (particularly Gulf States) to crush any possibility of popular mobilisation and government accountability; and of course the decades-long determination to crush any form of political alternative to either the regime or Islamist groups. While the (partial) success of the 1989 East European transitions to democracy was made possible by a permissive international environment, the 'failure' of the Uprisings and the advent of the so-called 'Islamist winter' are direct results of the determined opposition of local, regional, and international actors. In their

scramble to explain the Uprisings, many Western observers in both academia and government have emphasised factors such as the use of social media developed in the West; the supposedly unprecedented adoption of non-violent protest tactics derived from Western thinkers (particularly Gene Sharp); and US funding for the propagation of such approaches. These claims are Orientalist in that they share an inability and/or an unwillingness to acknowledge the possibility that local populations could recognise and act against the forces exploiting them without outside help. Such explanations also conveniently neglect precisely those dynamics of social, economic, and political marginalisation driving protest waves in European 'liberal democracies'.

Radicalisation and extremism after the Arab Spring

Among the most important developments in the wake of the 'Arab Spring' is certainly the emergence of ISIS. The organisation stemmed from the regrouping of the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), which in turn amalgamated several groups that had been operating in Iraq since the US-led invasion of 2004, including al Qaeda. Led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, a Sunni preacher claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad, the movement seized vast territories from northern Syria to central and northern Iraq, declaring the inclusion of these regions within the new 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria', and demanding allegiance from other Islamist groups and Arab tribes. The Arabic denomination for the movement is Al-Dawla Al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham (DAIISH is therefore the group's Arab acronym). It should be pointed out that the Islamic concept of *dawla*, although traditionally associated with the nation-state, presents important differences. Denoting a complex system of loyalty that blurs the fundamental distinction between the inside and the outside of the modern nation-state, it challenges the character of national sovereignty. While the ruler of the *dawla* is traditionally accountable internally towards a domestic constituency (the 'subjects' of the *dawla*), an outward accountability is also established externally with the Caliph representing the whole global Muslim community.[9]

Besides the establishment of an institutional platform and the provision of social services sustaining the image of a state, it is DAIISH media wing's use of TV editing techniques for terror and propaganda videos, and successful military operations that have contributed to the movement's sweeping expansion. Symbolic targets have been crucial in sustaining the victorious image of DAIISH, while also denoting a possible rejection of nationalist imaginary.[10] DAIISH has been able to tap into Western fears, for example by efficiently disseminating videos of ferocious beheadings by broadcasting Hollywood-style trailers drawing on action-movie components such as slow-motion explosions, or cinema-like titles such as 'Flames of War: Fighting Has Just Begun', and through references to the internationally acclaimed TV series *Homeland*. By drawing on the same anxieties and unconscious fears Hollywood itself incarnates, these propaganda techniques create a splash between fiction and reality. Another major symbolic gesture has been to crash a bulldozer through the border boundary dividing Syria and Iraq, announcing that they were in fact destroying the 'Sykes-Picot' border, in reference to a 1916 Franco-British agreement that epitomised European imperialism in the region. Conversely, this event aimed to undermine the political order devised by European powers and symbolically reconnected with the idea of pre-colonial territoriality and the pan-Islamic imaginary of the caliphate.[11] Even more radical as a gesture – but also novel and controversial in the history of Islamist movements – was the group's decision on 29 June, 2014, to supplement the declaration of the Islamic *dawla* with the proclaimed 'restoration of caliphate'. While renouncing the reference to Iraq and Syria, with 'Islamic State' now remaining the only

denomination for the new entity, the celebration of a universalistic ideal has thus been fully realised, with the decision to declare Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi the Caliph of all Muslims and the Prince of the Believers (*Amir al-Mu'minin*). Thus, they did what other groups and movements had never dared to attempt: they reinvented and revived the tradition of the caliphate, with all its incredible symbolic appeal, not as a promise for the future but as a living entity in the present, ending almost a century of discussions about the possible re-establishment of this political institution. Naturally, the restoration of the caliphate by DAIISH has not failed to attract harsh criticism. Prominent Muslim leaders and scholars across the Sunni Islamic spectrum, including Al-Azhar graduates, have rejected the Islamic State group's self-proclaimed caliphate as 'null' and 'deviant', and Islamist figures as the Qatar-based Egyptian religious leader Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the founder of the Tunisian al-Nahda Party, Rachid Ghannouchi, and Assem Barqawi, a supporter of the al Qaeda-affiliated Nusra Front, have questioned the legitimacy of this operation.

Islamism in theory and in practice

It should be clear by now that Sunni 'Islamist' movements – much like their confessional counterparts – are primarily political phenomena, and that beyond the language they use to articulate their goals, they cannot be said to stem from some 'essence' of Islam. Islam is not Islamism. Not only is Islam's 'intrinsic nature' a historical myth, but both supporters and opponents use it for political purposes. The historical variety of 'political Islam' shows that many different phenomena fall under this label – a range within which violent extremism is a minority position. 'Islamism' is simply a set of political and social movements aiming to 'bring Islam back' into politics and society. Islamists aim for some kind of 'Islamisation' of the state and/or of society, meaning essentially a return to a more socially and morally just life. In contemporary political contexts, this translates into demands for changes in the law, changes in political leadership, and changes in foreign policy. In social terms, this means demands for a more conservative morality and for changes in education. But on specifics, there is little – if any – agreement between such movements, and indeed there is often acrimonious disagreement.

Whatever the political outcomes, Islamist groups have adapted to state pressure by innovatory political tactics. In some cases, larger groups with greater popular support have been able to achieve a variety of goals, such as pushing for changes in the law to meet their interpretation of *shari'a*. Since the 1980s, these tactics have allowed their influence – whether in power or in opposition – to grow throughout the region (e.g. Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Jordan). In several cases, for example, *shari'a* is acknowledged in constitutions as 'one', of or even 'the' principal source of law. Also, religious courts have often been allowed to rule on 'personal status' issues (e.g. divorce or inheritance). Moreover, the restrictions on participation in electoral politics has often led Islamists on the one hand to promote precisely the democratic and pluralist discourse they are accused of wanting to undermine (e.g. Turkey), and on the other hand to attempt to infiltrate those professional associations which act both as access to, and channels of, patronage (e.g. lawyers' and judges' guilds, medical associations, etc.).

The role of Islamism as a way of articulating political demands is clear not only from Islamist movements, but also from states' reactions. Several states, notably Morocco, Jordan, and Egypt, have attempted to appropriate religious symbolism to legitimise their own rule. Egypt's Anwar Sadat portrayed himself as the 'Believer President', while Moroccan and Jordanian kings have used their lineage – which they trace back to the Prophet Muhammad's family – to legitimise their rule. Also, the Saudis and other ruling Gulf families combine traditional and religious symbols to legitimise their rule.

How important is 'Islam'?

Does Islam set the Middle East apart from other regions? If so, is this difference purely one of degree, or is it unique, utterly different? The answers to these questions are vital: answering in the affirmative raises the spectre of a 'clash of civilisations' between 'Islam and the West', while a negative answer sweeps away the very foundations upon which such arguments stand.

Islam is seen as 'more political' than other religions. Yet, other religions are also highly political, as even cursory overviews of the history of Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, or Judaism show. Moreover, like others, Islam leaves room for interpretation concerning the relationship between religion and politics.

Islam has been used as a vehicle for conferring political legitimacy, and has been made to 'serve' authoritarianism, monarchy, and democracy. In this, it is in no way dissimilar to its counterparts, as clearly in most countries – Western as well as non-Western – religion plays an important part, both directly as a party-political force, and indirectly as an influence upon morals. Not all Western states, for example, have a strict separation of Church and politics (UK, Japan), and even in those which do – for example Spain, Germany, France, or Italy – clearly Christianity, its Churches, and the parties which subscribe to their values play a considerable role. In North America, most US Presidents have been active Christians, while Israel is an explicitly religious state.

Given the connection between authoritarianism and radical politics, it seems more plausible to explain the manifestation of extremism in relation to local authoritarian contexts. Moreover, while the most 'media-friendly' images are those conjured by violent extremism, the fact remains that most Muslims and most Islamist politics remain non-violent and desirous of more, not less, democracy.

Islam, globalisation and the Internet

The idea that in principle religion can and should be separated from politics, and that they are separate in fact, is a staple of political debate in the 'West' and of Western representations of itself. However, the lines of demarcation between such domains are neither precise nor self-evident, whether in historical contexts, in current practices of Western democracies, nor in the theories underpinning them, as evidenced by the debate on 'civil unions' in Spain and Italy or on the *hijab* in France or Britain. This demarcation is not clear in either the West or in the East, nor is it clear in Christianity, in Islam, or in other religions. Indeed, the notion of religion itself might vary significantly in different religious settings, challenging Western societies' 'commonsensical' beliefs about themselves and about their global counterparts.

In an Islamic setting, the debate about the role of religion in individual and social life has produced an enormous variety of opinions and practices combining religion and politics in different ways, sometimes overlapping through the notion of 'Islamic order' (*al-Nizam al-Islami*), other times maintaining separation of some sort. As noted above, Islamic jurisprudence legislates on a variety of topics (marriage, inherited property, social duties, etc.) which would, from a Western perspective, be generally considered non-religious, but which some Muslims perceive to be strictly religious affairs.

Others might be aware of and accept this distinction, but may choose to challenge society's specific arrangements of a given social institution – e.g. divorce or banking – through the language of a critique based on religious principles. Religious precepts thus provide a self-conscious way of articulating and pursuing political aims. Indeed, throughout the history of

Islam, religion has often helped legitimise what from a Western perspective may appear purely 'political' decisions.

The notion of two clearly distinct and separable domains, public/political and private/religious, is equally problematic: there are clearly a whole range of phenomena which inherently bridge these dimensions. Consider a wedding: whether in a Western or Middle Eastern setting, although technically a private event, it may acquire recognised public relevance, especially when speeches given during the celebration spread significantly via word of mouth or videotape.[12]

By further blurring these borders and hierarchies, by increasing possibilities of cross-cultural encounters, and by stimulating cross-border migration, globalisation has increased the number and 'visibility' of these hybrid spaces, accelerating and intensifying the degree of interconnection between the public and the private. These unprecedented cultural challenges, alongside mass education and the emergence of new media, have contributed to reshaping these supposedly independent spheres, redefining the space from which ideas on community and selfhood – Islamic, but not exclusively – are discussed.

These challenges have also eroded the privileged position of both traditional religious authorities and of political establishments, whose ability to control the elaboration and broadcast of ideas has decreased drastically.[13] Significant in this sense has been the appearance of the Internet as a medium through which the monopoly over traditional religious interpretations has been challenged.

Traditional media such as the printed press, television, and radio, were based on a centralised, top-down model of communication in which the sender controlled the elaboration and diffusion of messages, while audiences passively received it. Audiences did attempt to bypass government control of such media through alternative vehicles of new ideas. In the Middle East, this led to the diffusion of audio and videotapes by which religious teachings and cultural forms of expression – including the politically subversive North African musical genre, *ra'ï* – have bypassed strict state control.[14]

In this sense, the Internet represents the most important vehicle in the articulation and dissemination of alternative doctrinal, social, and political viewpoints about Islam. The net has been increasingly used in very different contexts and for very different purposes.

As an instrument for political action, the methods and uses to which it has been put have varied. Unlike ten years ago, cyberattacks, cyberwars, and cyber terrorism, are no longer remote possibilities. Many websites discuss the implementation of e-jihad (jihad on/via the Internet); some provide military training and sometimes bomb-making instructions. 'Hacktivism', attacks carried out by hackers, require a level of sophistication which some Islamist groups now possess, as demonstrated recently in the hacking war between DAIISH and Anonymous, the latter a roughly organised international network of activist and hacktivist actors.

In some cases, movements from Muslim countries attempt to address the international community by providing information on local political contexts or by explaining their political objectives. Islamic organisations sometimes resort to websites in English and Arabic to address different audiences. For instance, while the Arabic-language website of the London-based Saudi Movement for Islamic Reform in Arabia (MIRA) emphasises its Islamic dimension, its English-language version presents MIRA as an organisation fighting human-, civil-, and political-rights violations. Similarly, where the official websites of the Egyptian and Jordanian Muslim Brotherhoods focus on doctrinal issues to avoid censorship, unofficial English-language websites and newsletters openly level political criticism at their respective regimes.

The Internet also enables a much more immediate mass debate over the role of Islam, bypassing historical monopolies of state and *ulama*, and increasingly challenging the doctrinal

and socio-political role of classically trained religious scholars. Both the language and the scholarly traditions upon which many new 'experts' – often engineers or doctors – draw is much more popular (and populist) and finds inspiration in non-traditional areas such as science or popular culture.

A worldwide Islamic community (*ummah*) previously fractured into national, political, and doctrinal particularities seems to be increasingly replaced by a new, innovative, rich, and complex space in which voices and ideas bypass previous structural limits of geography, politics, and confession.[15] For some, this promises a new age of global unity, a global 'virtual *ummah*' which will finally (re)unify the Muslim community.

Within the virtual *ummah*, complex networks of websites, chat forums, newsletters, and blogs give voice to an incredible exchange of opinions and information about every aspect of a Muslim's life. Sharing information and community-building are two frequently and explicitly articulated aspirations. Participants may endeavour to build virtual communities of like-minded individuals sharing the same views on Islam and on the problems of living in the modern world. Sometimes the Internet is used simply to convey the difficulty of sharing communitarian feelings in real life. In Western countries this may be a consequence of Muslims being a minority within societies in which many of them do not feel fully integrated – indeed, many such European websites are based on a sense of religious and social solidarity, reducing Western Muslims' sense of isolation, and reinforcing identities and self-confidence. This is true of both second- and third-generation Muslims, and of newly arrived and more obviously isolated migrants. Moreover, the very fact of living in Western countries stimulates discussions about the best way to reconcile religious precepts with a secular environment. This may also be true for Muslims living in 'Islamic' societies.

A common feature of Christianity and Islam in fact seems to be that of conceiving the religious community as a 'minority' in the face of a global scenario which is perceived as a secularised one. Discussing Islam in relation to a specific milieu entails that a certain degree of mutual criticism arises between traditional and new interpreters. Some of the most popular websites such as Islam Online,[16] IslamiCity,[17] and Fatwa-Online[18] feature not only news and general information on Islam, health, culture, art, and many other topics, but also links to archives of fatwas issued by contemporary and historical scholars and 'experts'.[19] Where for instance Fatwa-Online reveals the influence of Saudi Arabian scholars, Islam Online has featured many fatwas issued by Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian religious scholar whose modern style and alternative (not necessarily progressive) views on specific issues have encountered strong criticism by more traditional interpreters.

Another new and significant phenomenon is Internet use by young Muslims, who also express their views on Islam, debate issues from alternative viewpoints, and build virtual communitarian ties. Many claim the importance of Islam in their everyday life, yet its celebration is conducted in 'progressive' ways. Religion and politics come to be filtered by an alternative multidimensional vision of Islam which often radically rebels against traditional views on Islam. Blogs, chat forums, and social networks allow users to easily create an interactive, user-submitted network of friends. Groups discuss issues such as the defence of male and female homosexuality, women's emancipation, youthful rebellion, distinctive fashion, DIY attitudes, and a variety of anti-establishment perspectives.

Blogs and social networks have also contributed to spreading and developing innovative cultural movements, such as Islamic hip hop and Islamic punk. Hip hop has been one of the most important forms of protest against social and political discrimination, racism, lack of education, and all sources of social disquiet over the last few decades. Spreading beyond its original African American context, Muslim rappers have been central to its evolution. Many

rappers, from Mos Def to JT the Bigga Figga, stress its importance in spreading the faith, bridging the gaps between Muslim Black communities, and creating a global hip hop *ummah*.

Hip hop's popularity as a vehicle for social reflection and protest is in part due to the immediacy of a rhyme scheme by which considerable amounts of information can be easily delivered and memorised.[20] The Internet's ability to popularise Muslim rappers' lyrics has been crucial in bringing it to a wider audience, in turn providing an Islamo-hip hop melting pot, with Islam being celebrated by new rappers like Vinnie Paz (an Italian-American convert), the European Muslims Aki Nawaz (Fun-Da-Mental, UK), Natacha Atlas (Transglobal Underground, UK), and Akhenaton (IAM, France), as well as the Egyptian MBS and Arabian Knightz, and the Algerian Intik, Hamma, and Le Micro Brise Le Silenc, etc. Nor has this phenomenon gone unnoticed by traditionalists: www.muslimhiphop.com, for example, criticises rebellion among Muslim rappers, offering a counter-selection of morally conservative artists.

'Islamopunk' is another trend encompassing punk, hard rock, and hip hop influences. Initially spreading particularly among American Asian Muslims, it was rapidly reflected by the publication of Michael Muhammad Knight's (2004) novel, *The Taqwacores.* The author, an American of Irish-Catholic descent who converted to Islam, proposes the adaptation of *taqwa*, an Islamic concept of love and fear of Allah, to Hardcore, a punk subgenre. In his view, what relates Islam to punk is that both 'smash idols' such as materialism and dogmatism, thereby also contesting conservative establishments.[21] A wide range of intellectual activities and music groups inspired by Islamic punk and, partly, by this book, gave rise to several forums and blogs. Among the most popular groups – with MySpace profiles – are *Vote Hezbollah*, *Al-Thawra*, and above all, *The Kominas*, whose recent song 'Rumi Was a Homo' controversially attacks Siraj Wahhaj, a prominent Brooklyn imam accused of homophobia.

Finally, the creation of virtual worlds such as 'Second Life' (SL) has seen accompanied by the emergence of virtual Islamic settlements. SL is a user-created 3D virtual reality enabling its 'virtual citizens' to participate to the creation of this virtual world, to communicate through movable avatars, organise individual and group activities, and buy virtual goods and services. The presence of religious groups was first reported in 2004 when a virtual Catholic mass was organised. Subsequently, Buddhist, Jewish, Muslim, and several Christian groups have settled, triggering long discussions on SL's forums. Interestingly, several Islamic groups and mosques have settled in this virtual world, while *Muxlim*, a similar digital world made of virtual towns, cities, buildings, mosques, parks, etc., was experimented for a few years following its creation in 2006, providing an Islamic alternative to its secular counterparts.

Conclusion

This chapter suggests two key conclusions: first, that Islam has often been moulded for political goals by both rulers and their opposition; and second, that such manifestations, in all their 'extremist', 'conservative', or 'progressive' diversity, must be understood as a product of their political contexts, not of some religious 'essence'.

What exercises political attention, particularly in the West after '9/11', is the idea of 'Islam' as an inescapably radical and violent political force. The history of the development of 'Islamism', however, reveals a wide range of ideologies and political practices responding to specific problems, such as corruption, oppression, or foreign interference. In this sense, the similarities between the political origins and trajectories of these movements and their nationalist counterparts are more significant than their differences.

As Halliday,[22] Esposito,[23] and others demonstrate, the notion that Muslim cultures must necessarily have a confrontational relationship with others is a myth. Similarly, notions of

a 'Green Peril' are not new, dating back to the Iranian Revolution. Along with the idea of 'Islamic terrorism' as an unprecedented – and unprecedentedly dangerous – threat, both these ideas were criticised already in the early 1990s for being a thinly veiled attempt to look for new enemies after the end of the Cold War. The idea that Islam per se presents a threat is therefore not only historically wrong, but also far from new: the heat generated by the events of September 11 is the latest version of this idea. The fact remains that violent Islamists are a small minority, and that the wider anti-Western centre of gravity in Middle Eastern politics has much more to do with the corrupt and socially ineffective regimes – eager to receive Western support in the name of 'democracy', but reticent to translate it into practice – than it does with religion. The real challenge, therefore, is to understand and deal with the underlying issues of political representation, accountability, and welfare which generate Islamist movements.

This chapter has covered considerable territory, necessarily ignoring much that falls under the rubric of 'Islam and Politics'. There has been no in-depth discussion of 9/11 and its aftermath, or of the relationship between Muslim immigrants and their European host societies, their impact on debates about asylum and immigration, or of the development of 'European Islam(s)'.

An implicit over-simplification which we tried to avoid is, however, common to many treatments: in their political engagement, Muslims are implicitly represented as either middle-of-the-road democrats, secular and absorbed into mainstream Western societies; or as radical and violent extremists, probably bearded and dressed in *galabiyyas*. The last section in particular hopefully challenges such over-simplifications. What is important about those phenomena is that they directly and innovatively intervene in a public debate about Islam and about politics in a way which transcends conventional dualisms – secularism/public, religion/private, moderate/radical and geographical boundaries. What it means to be 'Muslim' continuously finds new expressions, all of which are equally valid ways of articulating the relationship between 'Islam' and 'politics', just as in the relationship between politics and other religions. Moreover, in their geographical, cultural, and political hybridity, they explode the myth of 'Political Islam' as either modernist or anti-modern.

This diversity of Muslims' contemporary politics is at least as important as the historical, theological, and jurisprudential diversity of the movements outlined above. The point about 'Political Islam' is not so much that it is 'Islamic', but that it is *political*.

Notes

1 While the focus of this chapter is primarily on Sunni Islam, comparative points will be made with the other main strand of Islam: Shi'a Islam.
2 Inalcık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1916.*
3 Roy, *Globalized Islam.*
4 Salamè, *Democracy without Democrats?*
5 Guazzone, *The Islamist Dilemma.*
6 Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*; Said, *Covering Islam*.
7 Teti and Gervasio, 'The Unbearable Lightness of Authoritarianism'.
8 Gervasio and Teti, 'Civic Activism and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution'.
9 Barghuthi, *The Umma and the Dawla*.
10 Mura, *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism*.
11 Ruthven, 'The Map ISIS Hates'.
12 Eickelman and Anderson, 'Redefining Muslim Publics'.
13 Eickelman and Piscatori, *Muslim Politics*.
14 Eickelman and Anderson, 'Redefining Muslim Publics'.

15 Roy, *Globalized Islam.*
16 www.islamonline.net.
17 www.islamicity.com.
18 www.fatwa-online.com.
19 Bunt, *iMuslims: Rewiring the House of Islam.*
20 See, for example, Cooke and Lawrence, *Muslim Networks*.
21 Telegram's 2007 UK edition was heavily censored in the wake of the 'Danish cartoons' affair.
22 Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*.
23 Esposito, *Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*

References

Barghuthi, T. (2008) *The Umma and the Dawla: The Nation State and the Arab Middle East*, London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.

Bunt, G. (2009) *iMuslims: Rewiring the House of Islam*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Cooke, M. and Lawrence, B. (eds.) *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Eickelman, D., and Anderson, J. (2003) 'Redefining Muslim Publics', in D. Eickelman and J. Anderson (eds.) *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Eickelman, D., and Piscatori, J. (2004) *Muslim Politics*, 2nd edition, London: Princeton University Press.

Esposito, J. (1999) *Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gervasio, G. and Teti A. (2014) 'Civic Activism and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution', in G. Gervasio, L. Anceschi and A. Teti (eds.) *Informal Geographies of Power*, London: Routledge, pp. 55–70.

Guazzone, L. (ed.) (1995) *The Islamist Dilemma: The Political Role of Islamist Movements in the Contemporary Arab World*, Reading: Ithaca Press.

Halliday, F. *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*, London: I.B. Tauris.

Inalcık, H., and D. Quataert, (eds.) (1994) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1916*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Knight, M. Muhammad (2004) *The Taqwacores*, New York: Autonomedia.

Mura, A. (2015) *The Symbolic Scenarios of Islamism: A Study in Islamic Political Thought*, Farnham: Ashgate.

Roy, O. (2004) *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, London: Hurst.

Ruthven, M. (2014) 'The Map ISIS Hates', *The New York Review of Books*, June 25, 2014, available at http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/jun/25/map-isis-hates/.

Said, E. (1995) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London: Penguin (revised edition).

Said, E. (1997) *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*, 2nd edition, London: Vintage.

Salamè, G. (ed.) (1994) *Democracy Without Democrats?* London: I.B. Tauris.

Teti, A. and G. Gervasio (2011) 'The Unbearable Lightness of Authoritarianism: Lessons from the Arab Uprisings', *Mediterranean Politics*, 16(2): 321–7.

7
SHIISM AND POLITICS

Mohammad Nafissi[1]

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON, UK

Shiism represents Islam's largest minority branch with up to 15 per cent of the world's 1.5 billion Muslims. Like the majority Sunnis, the Shia further divide into several sects of which the Imami or Twelver Shias are the largest and politically the most significant. This has not always been the case. If this account had been written almost any time in Islam's first millennium, the Ismaili or Sevener sect, the founders and rulers of the Fatimid empire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, would have formed its main focus. But this being the twenty-first century and the subject of a short essay, I concentrate on Twelver Shiism and discuss its political impact with reference to Iran, its main home since the Safavids made it the religion of the empire they founded in the sixteenth century. After Iran's revolution in 1979, the country's status as Shia Islam's core state was further enhanced by the establishment of Islam's first clerical theocracy.

In part thanks to the resonance and resources of the Islamic Republic (IR), in the past three and half decades political Shiism has gained momentum in most states with a significant Shia population. Muslim-majority states with ten per cent or more Shia in the total Muslim population include Azerbaijan (approximately 75 per cent), Bahrain (75 per cent), Iraq (70 per cent), Lebanon (55 per cent),Yemen (40 per cent), Kuwait (25 per cent), Pakistan (15 per cent), Afghanistan (15 per cent), Saudi Arabia (15 per cent), UAE (10 per cent), Oman (10 per cent), Qatar (10 per cent).[2] Not only variations in the size of Shia community but also other differences, including institutional capacity and sociological composition of Shia sects, geo-political factors and relative significance of other sources of identity, contribute to significant variations in the impact of the so-called Shia revival.[3] Note, however, that due to their cultural resources and geo-political concentration, Shias' political and ideological influence has historically been and remains greater than their numbers as a proportion of the Muslim population might suggest.

The first part of this chapter discusses the sacred foundations of Shiism with reference to which subsequent significant Shia approaches to politics have developed. These foundations were laid during a period where the 'proto-Shia' lost the early confrontations over the Prophet's succession. The second part examines the period characterised by the 'quietist' rejection of politics and the consolidation of 'private jurisprudence'.[4] The period between Shiism's emergence from semi-clandestine conditions as the official religion of the Safavid state and Iran's Constitutional Revolution (CR: 1905–11) which divided the Shia hierocracy for and against democracy is discussed in the third part. The fourth part examines the

development of democratic and theocratic Shiism under the 'modernising' Pahlavi monarchy which approached Islam as a developmental hindrance. The post-revolutionary ascendancy since 1979 of theocratic Shiism and its contradictory realisation in a theo-democracy or electoral theocracy is covered in the fifth part.

Islam's sacred foundations and the rise of Shiism

Although signifying a diverse, changing tradition, Islam is understandably considered the political religion *par excellence*. As the 'final' re-formation of the Abrahamic tradition, Mohammad realised Judaism's Messianic promise and ruled Medina by fusing spiritual and temporal authority. Judaism, as Weber observed 'never in theory rejected the state and its coercion but . . . expected in the Messiah their own masterful political ruler . . . '[5] Mohammad, however, fulfilled this expectation by extending, in line with Christian universalism, Yahweh's constituency to humanity as a whole. In the process, he resolved the Christian problem of the Saviour's postponed return and unified the secular and religious realms. It is thus not surprising that the rise of Shiism is traced to succession conflicts following Mohammad's death in AD 632.

Performing the Prophet's burial rites, his son-in-law and cousin Ali and his followers (the *shiat*) were absent from the community's council that elected Abu Bakr, the Prophet's father-in-law. Following the consolidation of Shiism, this dispute came to be seen as the first of a series of transgressions committed by 'usurpatory' caliphs against the Prophet's 'true' 'successors', i.e. Ali and his 'infallible' offspring. To avoid martyrdom, the fate believed to have been visited on all his forefathers, the Twelfth Imam went into occultation in 874 CE.[6] Like Christ, who will accompany him, Mahdi is to return to restore the just order before the Judgement Day.

Although this primordialist (re-)construction of the Sunni–Shia split is understandable in the schism's retrospective light, it is not supported by a critical scrutiny of scanty historical evidence or indeed the mytho-historical accounts that have functioned as facts for generations. The salient observation here is that however unhappily, Ali himself accepted the consensus of the electors, even if critically and to avoid internecine conflict,[7] and went on to be elected the fourth caliph and venerated by the future Sunnis as the last of the 'rightly guided caliphs'. The consecration of these caliphs took place when the proto-democratic basis of their polity was replaced by the dynastic principle and the armed might of Umayyads. This was the development to which the Sunni–Shia divide may be traced.

All notable branches of Islam were consolidated in response to the coercive transformation of the caliphate into a hereditary institution and the separation of the sword and the word thus ruling out popular and merited rule.[8] Both Shii and Sunni solutions were crucially influenced by the example of Ali's sons, the realist Hassan and the idealist Hussain, the second and third Shii imams. Elected the fifth caliph after his father's assassination amidst the ongoing Umayyad armed rebellion, Hassan gave up the caliphate in favour of Mu'awiya 'since I considered whatever spares blood as better than whatever causes it to be shed'.[9] In return, the new caliph agreed to allow the community to choose his successor. Instead, Mu'awiya installed his dissolute son Yazid as the next caliph, laying the ground for Hussain's and other uprisings. Invited by the people of Kufa to lead them against Yazid and then abandoned in the face of the overwhelming force of the caliph's army, Hussain refused to escape and was martyred along with his closest companions. Hussain's martyrdom became Shiism's most commemorated hallmark, a militant counterpart to the passion of Christ.

In view of the double failure of these and other attempts to restore righteous rule even after the success of the 'Abbasid revolution' in 750 CE, both Shii and Sunni political theologies

developed via two versions of 'quietism', which may be distinguished as oppositional and accommodationist or 'realist'. Repelled by the divisiveness and futility of opposition to ruling caliphs, and committed to guarding Islam's sacred legacy from their despotic reach, the emerging Sunni hierocracy developed an ingenious 'second best' solution that prevailed until Western modernity intervened. Sanctifying and drawing mostly on the Prophet's at least partly fabricated words and deeds (tradition/sunna), 'traditionist' scholars developed Islamic law (*fiqh*, although now Islamic law and *sharia*, a broader idea denoting the normative way of life, are generally equated) that effectively replaced the Qur'an as the Muslim's ultimate guide. This enabled them to (a) extend and resolve the Qur'an's limited and ambiguous legal content, and (b) trump all living claimants to Islam, including caliphs, Shia imams, rationalist theologians and Sufi masters, with the legacy of the dead Prophet. Thus armed with the sharia, the men of the word struck a compact with the wielders of the sword which separated political and religious realms but masked it in view of the sacred era's unified legacy. Accordingly, the caliphs retained the title of 'commander of the faithful' but had generally little to do with matters of faith, and the religious establishment, although projecting a comprehensive and binding sharia, left the political sphere to the rulers without following or developing Islam's political legacy. Western modernity eventually highlighted the debilitating costs of this ideological conflation of the ideal and actual in Sunni Islam, including its comparative 'closure of the gate *ijtihad*' (independent reasoning) and the associated preclusion of an authoritative agency, able to respond effectively to new challenges. From this perspective, Shiism presents a contrasting, evolutionary, case, even though it lost the battle of hegemony for compelling reasons: insistence on caliphate as the preserve of Ali's offspring undermined the case for opposing the ruling dynasties and minimised the role of community (*umma*) and consultation (*shura*); the insistence on divine endorsement and holiness of imams appears to contradict Mohammad's position as God's last messenger. The full explanation of this paradox requires a comparative account of the Sunni developments;[10] here only an overview of the Shii trajectory is provided.

Shiism and political principles

Emerging in response to injustices suffered by the Prophet's 'family' at the hands of usurping caliphs, Shiism rested on an oppositional political theology emphasising the intrinsic illegitimacy of rulers. In addition to Islam's three universal principles that there are no gods but God (the principle of *tawhid*), that Mohammad is his (last) messenger (*nubuwwa*), and resurrection (*ma'ad*), the Shia asserted two other principles. These are justice (*'adl*) and divinely guided leadership (*imamate*), confirmed in a longer call to prayer that attests to Ali's divine appointment as Muslims' ruler-guide (*wali*) and enjoins the community to act justly.[11]

The major Shia sects originally divided over the leadership and organisation of the struggle for just governance. Ismailis built a centralised missionary organisation around the offspring of Ismail, the predeceased eldest son of the Sixth Imam, eventually establishing the Fatimid Empire in North Africa. For a period, this revolutionary-hereditary fusion of imamate and caliphate posed the gravest threat to the Abbasid caliphate. Eventually, however, it proved unsustainable as Caesaropapism retarded the work of Ismaili missionaries and left the empire with a majority Sunni population open to the restoration of Sunni rule, and a political order threatened by incompetent hereditary rulers, patrimonialism and sibling rivalry.[12] In contrast, a two-stage occultation, closing the gate of infallible imamate in the case of Twelver Shiism, cleared the ground for the development of an institutionally authoritative hierocracy to guide the community until the Imam's return. Fearing persecution, Imam al-Mahdi is said to have appeared in public only once when six years old on the occasion of his father's funeral

(874 CE), after which he went into 'lesser' occultation. During this period he guided the community through four successive 'gates' (sing. *bab*) or deputies (sing. *na'ib*) who also collected the religious taxes. The 'greater' occultation was declared in a written message from the Imam shortly before the fourth deputy's death when he would thence have no direct envoy. This allowed for the emerging Shia clergy to follow the Sunni school in developing their own overlapping variant of the Law but with the additional collective authority and resources of Hidden Imam's deputyship. From this angle, occultation contributed to at least five long-term evolutionary developments.

First, whilst maintaining the universal Shii claim that God never leaves the world without a living guide, occultation minimised the institutionally debilitating consequences of patrimonialism by making the Imam invisible and imamate inaccessible to new claimants. Thus patrimonialism was removed as a source of politico-religious schism, as was reliance on inherited or personal charisma that blocked the institutional development of other Shii sects.

Second, the occultation completed the differentiation of religious and political fields by withdrawing the only legitimate agent for restoring their original union. As the last imam became invisible to avoid martyrdom, so were his followers given the option of using dissimulation (*taqiya*) to ensure their own survival as individuals and communities in the face of persecution. The corollary of this double occultation and distance from the established order was reliance on the community's resources, and the believers' involvement in the choice of religious leaders rather than submission to those favoured or imposed by the state.

Third, occultation left a massive void that, borrowing from the pioneering Sunni schools of law, the Shia filled with their own version of the law. Although radically limiting in many intellectual and creative respects, this legalistic turn was important in grounding a stable identity and a degree of 'innovative' action.

Fourth, adding the traditions of the dead imams as the distinguishing source of Shii law did not satisfy the demands for personal guidance. This was addressed in part by waiting for the Imam's return, but also through the gradual clerical assumption of his 'prophetic' and welfare functions (*hisba*). Compared to Sunni jurists, senior Shii clerics (sing. *mujtahid*) retained a still limited, but normatively legitimate and historically consequential exercise of 'personal reason' in their rulings. This in turn allowed comparatively greater space and openness to draw on the legacies of rationalist theology and philosophy marginalised early under the hegemonic Sunnism.

Fifth, in contrast to revolutionary Shii sects whose radicalism was often driven by charismatic claimants to Mahdihood, Twelvers' institutional closure of the holy imamate entailed a quietist programme. Nevertheless an 'inner' ideological distance provided Shii leaders with a comparatively flexible ideational space and motivation to switch from quietism to activism and vice versa. Although this ideological versatility did not necessarily serve the community's interests, it facilitated the hierocratic accumulation of social power. As the Imam of the Age, the Twelfth Imam is invisible yet ever-present and a source of dynamic tension in a context dominated by the secularising/rationalising tendencies of the legalistic jurists. The Imam's shadow spreads to the present day, with Iran's former president Ahmadinejad being one of the self-proclaimed beneficiaries of his direct blessing.[13] On the other hand, by ending the period of quietist waiting for the return of the Imam, reformist clergy were able to play leading roles in Iran's revolutions to contrasting democratic and theocratic outcomes.

Yet, it is unlikely that these advantages would have added to an evolutionary breakthrough without the forceful, and theologically questionable, patronage of the Safavid state that inaugurated a new, public, stage in Shiism's evolution. Distinguished by the installation of Imami

Shiism as an imperial religion, the threat of Sunni persecution, the main reason for the double occultation of Imam and community, is thence removed, and the conversion of most Sunnis by persecution as well as by persuasion is effected. This ended the period of so-called private jurisprudence stretching between the occultation (874 CE) and the coronation of the first Safavid shah in 1501.

For over two centuries, the Shia hierocracy and the Safavid state served each other, despite the continuing refusal of many *ulama* to recognise the legitimacy of even such a supportive state.[14] It was, however, the growing anti-Sunni sectarianism of the hegemonic clergy that played an important part in provoking the Afghan invasions that led to the dynasty's collapse in the eighteenth century.[15] Although the Safavids had entrenched the Shia scholars to ensure their own longevity, they ended up by serving the latter both when in power and then by losing power. The only society-wide institution to maintain continuity in the unstable interregnum between the Safavids' fall in 1721 and the crowning of the first Qajar monarch in 1795, the hierocracy emerged in the following century with its prestige and power enhanced absolutely and relative to the state. A tribal formation with no claim to sacred lineage or heritage, the Qajars lacked the religious credentials of the Safavids or the hierocracy's three-century-evolving 'national' reach. In this context the hierocracy could extend its role as 'the Imam's deputy' beyond charitable distribution of religious taxes, supervising care of orphans and the disabled, and ensuring the correct implementation of religious rituals. At the hands of the hegemonic *Usuli* faction, this went as far as a clear division of the members of the community into a mass of followers or imitators and a few senior *mujtahids* or *Marja'Taqlids* (Sources of Emulation, SE). The latter were so qualified by virtue of their knowledge of Islamic law and principles (certified by their predecessors and demonstrated in their own catechism), and justice in the practice of law and piety (*taqwa*). However, instead of taking this to its hierarchical conclusion of establishing a supreme authority, the choice of one or other SE to 'emulate' was left to the potential followers themselves. Consequently, the hierocracy has remained a multi-centred network, only occasionally engendering, without any formal mechanism, an SE with paramount authority. The influence of the SEs to this day varies with their sense of 'leadership' (*riyasat*) as indicated by the size of their voluntary following among the clergy and lay believers.[16] The followers provide the religious leaders with the social and financial resources with which the SEs support the junior clergy, who in turn transmit their rulings and maintain their network.

The hierocracy's official association with the state was thus complemented by its role as the society's representative agency with growing capacity for collective action in opposition as well as in support of the state.[17] The resulting dynamic dialectic was reflected in the so-called theory of bipolar governance. Bipolarity refers to the division of the political domain overseen by the sultan/shah (*saltanat*) and the socio-religious domain represented by the SEs, the sultan's counterparts. Although sometimes conflictual, this relationship was primarily a partnership based on mutual need. The CR forced the clergy to choose between continuing this partnership or the one they had forged with the increasingly rebellious nation and thus help create a new type of society.

Between the state and the nation: autocratic versus democratic Shiism

The governor of Tehran's public flogging in December 1905 of two respected merchants, the civil society's leading strata and the main source of religious taxes and charities, was a catalyst for CR. The anti-despotic camp that sprang into action had already had its dress rehearsal during one of the world's first and most widely observed consumer boycotts ever. The 'Tobacco Rebellion' of 1891–2 stopped the consumption of tobacco until the monopoly concession

awarded to a British subject, Major G. Talbot, to produce and sell the country's entire tobacco crop for fifty years, was cancelled.[18] Driven by reformist clergy as well as the intelligentsia and merchants, the mass mobilisation was made possible by an edict from the paramount SE calling for the boycott and consolidated the position of the clergy as leaders of the civil society against a weakened state.

Again driven by the *bazaaris* and reformist clerics and officials, but primarily fronted by mainstream *mujtahids*, the first, generally peaceful, phase of CR was victorious after a short campaign (1905–6). Royal assent was given to a liberal constitution which was subsequently amended to both give a role to clergy in vetoing transgressive laws and strengthen the equality and rights of all citizens. The revolution entered its second and far bloodier phase with the enthronement of Mohammad Ali Shah, an autocrat who bombarded the parliament and was met with the resistance of the revolutionary forces who recaptured Tehran in 1909. The royalist forces, however, only gave up with the Shah's escape to Russia in 1911. This was also the year that Iran's first experience of parliamentary government ended in the face of the advancing Russian army which forced, with British support, the dissolution of the parliament for trying to assert the country's full economic and political independence.[19]

It is in this phase that for the first time Imami-Usuli Shiism divided openly and violently over the question of just order. Standing opposed as leaders of the revolutionary camp or apologists of the autocracy, the jurists were compelled to articulate their polarised political agendas clearly and publicly rather than in truncated and obscure legal commentaries. In the period between the tobacco protest and the execution of the leader of the autocratic faction, Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri, Shia political theology developed to explain and legitimise its own surprising political power. Among the many often hasty, confused or weathervane pronouncements, two mutually illuminating treatises may be singled out: Nouri's *Illegitimacy of Constitutionalism* (1907) and Ayatollah Mohammad Hossein Naini's *Government from the Perspective of Islam* (1909) in defence of constitutionalism and what may be called democratic Islam. Both Nouri and Naini, however, recognised the classical Shia insistence on separation of religion and state. The central political difference between the opposed camps was whether autocratic rulers should remain clergy's partners and in charge of the political domain. For Nouri, the answer was 'yes', whereas the constitutionalists turned to the nation and its elected representatives. Nouri's fundamental theological objection to constitutionalism rested on the claim that 'Islam has no gap for somebody to fill' through democratic legislature.[20] In this he anticipated Ayatollah Khomeini's theorisation of Islamic Government (IG) as the *Guardianship of the Jurisconsult* (*Velayat-e Faqih*) in a series of lectures delivered in 1970.[21] At the time a utopian or 'academic' exercise by an exiled cleric in Iraq, it was recalled only after the revolution and used as the basis of the country's new theocratic constitution when Khomeini retreated from the revolution's unifying democratic platform. In sharp contrast to Nouri, however, Khomeini never prayed for the success of autocrats or sanctioned their dependence on foreign powers.

Perhaps more acutely than his rivals, Nouri sensed the threat democracy posed to clerical privileges and traditionalist sharia. Yet, he was undermined by failing to answer the question still facing Muslim traditionalists and anti-modernists who called for the renewal of premodern clerical-sultanate status quo, namely how to account for the incontrovertible comparative decline of Iran and the Muslim world which in the first place made their submission to 'Christian' powers unavoidable. Naini's tract opens by addressing this question and identifies the 'despotic' regime and religion as primary causes of Muslim societies' backwardness, and traces the European ascendancy to having got rid of both earlier.[22] This entailed not only learning from Europe but also acknowledging the merit of Sunnis' original emphasis on consultation in the choice of caliphs rather than relying on sacred inheritance. Naini

thus followed reformers such as Sayyid Jamal, enhancing the universalist basis of their pan-Islamism by authenticating democracy as internal to Islam's sacred, proto-modern heritage.[23] Absolute justice depended on the Saviour's return, but democracy was meanwhile its closest human approximation.

Anti-Islamic modernisation and the rise of theocratic Islam

Iran's CR was Asia's first modern revolution and for a time it appeared that democracy was to be an irreversible evolutionary advance from both modern and Islamic perspectives. Violent factionalism pitting moderates (including most religious leaders) against radicals (mainly revolutionary social democrats and secularist nationalists) broke out, exacerbated by tribal and regional centrifugal forces unleashed by the reinforcing coincidence of several turns: the revolution, the First World War, and Anglo-Russian interventions. The ground was thus prepared for a new type of ethno-nationalist autocracy. As the Sassanid name, Pahlavi, he chose for the dynasty he founded in 1925 suggests, Reza Shah viewed Islam as a hindrance to his mission of revitalising Iran. Instead, the Janus-faced Pahlavi state looked back to an idealised ancient Persia to mobilise the nation for a modern future variously represented in Europe and above all by Kemalist Turkey.

In this context, quietist, depoliticised Shiism managed to reclaim its predominance. Unlike the pre-Safavid period, however, this revival took place within a generally shrinking religious field, with one notable exception. The graduates of the newly established Tehran University and the scholarship students sent to Europe as part of the modernisation drive articulated their own liberal and socialist variants of Islam and broke the hold of clergy as monopoly suppliers of Islam. Their agendas spread when Iran entered another unstable democratic interregnum following the Allied invasion and forced abdication of the pro-German Shah in 1941. The years before the new Shah regained autocratic power following the Anglo-American-engineered coup in 1953, saw the rise of political groups such as God Worshipping Socialists and professional bodies such as the Association of Engineers whose co-founder as well as the first chair of the country's nationalised oil industry was Mehdi Bazargan, the 1979 revolution's first prime minister. In between, Bazargan co-founded the Freedom Movement, the main liberal Islamist party from among whose members and supporters came many of the revolution's leading figures.[24]

On the theocratic side, the Devotees of Islam, an organisation inspired by the example of the Muslim Brotherhood, achieved notoriety with several high-profile assassinations including Prime Minister Razmara and the country's most notable historian (and critic of Shiism), the former cleric Ahmad Kasrvai.[25] Khomeini was associated with this movement and his first book-length contribution is an uncompromising defence of traditionalist, 'Safavid', Shiism against the charges of backwardness raised by Kasravi and others.[26] At the time, in contrast to both theocratic and democratic Islamists, the religious leadership was resigned to further loss of ground under the Pahlavi modernisation, which was considered less damaging than the agendas of the liberal and leftist opposition. This explains its general support for the royalist camp in the conflict over the powers of the monarch and the nationalisation of oil. However, in return the second Pahlavi proceeded with a more grandiose variant of his father's authoritarian ethno-nationalist modernisation. This fuelled the rise of revolutionary Shiism in both theocratic and quasi Marxist forms.

An important turning point came a decade after the 1953 coup that restored the Pahlavi autocracy. To gain legitimacy especially in the eyes of the fast-growing educated, urban stratum, the regime started its own 'White Revolution' by appropriating the many demands of the

left and liberal opposition that the Shah, along with Western (and Soviet) social scientists and intelligence agencies, considered his regime's main threat. Instead, lacking popular legitimacy, the autocracy not only lost its traditional mainstays, but failed to gain a reliable constituency among the emerging modern sectors. The extension of women's rights alienated the mainstream clergy, and the land reform effectively eliminated the landlords as a socio-political force, whilst increased oppression and dependence on the US discredited the reform package as a whole.[27]

Khomeini's rise as a national leader is traceable to this moment. He was the youngish SE who issued an edict banning '*taqiyya*', thus ditching quietism in what he considered an existential struggle against the state.[28] On 5 June 1963, hundreds of (mainly) Khomeini followers were killed in an aborted rising against the 'White Revolution', projected as another Ashura, the day of Hussain's martyrdom. However, one telling difference was that this time the martyred were the ordinary followers while their leader was eventually exiled in Iraq whence he made via Paris his triumphant return to assume the title and authority of the Twelfth Imam. In the intervening period, Khomeini reformed his corner of the hierocracy into a revolutionary network linking his supporters in mosques, seminaries, bazaars, charitable associations and several clandestine organisations engaged in activities ranging from assassination to distribution of his edicts and collection of religious taxes. In retrospect, Shiism was about to find its own Luther, Pope, and Constantine, not to mention Lenin, rolled into one.

Democratic revolution and theocratic republic

According to Kadivar, Khomeini was the first among the Shia jurists to have used the term Islamic government and to have theorised it politically as an absolute theocracy.[29] This position, however, still remains that of a minority of senior clerics, and indeed was only one among several advocated by Khomeini himself.[30] Khomeini's writings and pronouncements feature four different approaches to Islamic governance: the traditional bipolar theory whereby the state respects the sharia (1943); theocratic governance of the jurisconsult (1970/1981); democratic bipolarity championed by Naini and his modern descendants (1978–9); and electoral theocracy (1979–) whose theological basis was radically undermined by the time of Khomeini's death in 1989.

As the legitimating source of the theocratic-military (Revolutionary Guard Corps and Basiji Militia) axis dominating Iran, however, IG remains Khomeini's most influential political contribution. The gulf between the theocratic Khomeini of IG and the traditional Shia view of governance may be gauged by the following passages. In his first major work on Shiism and politics he leaves no doubt about bipolar governance: 'We do not say that government is the task of the jurist. But we say government should be run in accordance with divine law which is in the interest of the country and the people. And this cannot be undertaken without the supervision of the clergy as stipulated in the Constitution.'[31] Contrast this with what he says about the same issue in 'Islamic Government' (IG): 'If the ruler adheres to Islam, he must necessarily submit to *faqih*, asking him about the ordinances of Islam in order to implement them. This being the case, the true rulers are *fuqaha* [jurisoncults] themselves, and rulership ought officially to be theirs . . . '[32]

Underpinning his practical revolutionary stance against the Pahlavi regime, this political theology was crucial in turning Khomeini's hierocratic network into a quasi-party machine dedicated to the seizure of political power. The Shia community is now re-imagined in its pre-Safavid situation where all 'non-Shia', i.e. all existing polities, are 'systems of *kufr*' or anti-Islamic/Shia, but, and here's the major advance, where the believers no longer have to await

the return of the Imam for the establishment of the just Islamic state governed by jurists with the same authority attributed to the Prophet and the Imams.[33] In time, Khomeini reincarnated as Imam Khomeini.

Despite some 'vigorous criticism' from senior SEs[34] this revolutionary, if not heretical, reform did not marginalise Khomeini within the hierocracy; nor did its totalitarian-theocratic agenda lead to his isolation among the rest of the opposition. This was, first, because of the historically decentralised flexibility of the Shia hierocracy where the autonomy of individual *mujtahids* was theologically entrenched and geo-politically dispersed. Second, Khomeini's position enhanced the powers of the clergy overall and appeared as the evolutionary culmination of a century of institutional and theo-political development. Third, it was presented at a time when his fellow clerics shared his particular concerns over the autocracy's anti-Islamic direction. Fourth, Khomeini's revolutionary clericalism replete with attacks on imperialism resonated widely in the 1960s and 1970s, coinciding with the rise of new radical agendas throughout the world in a variety of Third Worldist, neo-Marxist, and liberationist-clerical guises. In this context, rather than losing support for his break with traditional Shiism, his theocratic militancy attracted a large contingent of energetic junior clerics enhancing his links with other 'anti-imperialist' and even liberal movements. Fifth, whereas every other political agenda (with the partial exception of the Shah's own suicidal one) had an exemplar in Western or communist camps, Khomeini's was truly novel even in Islam, and thus had an untested and utopian quality that seduced many into overlooking its questionable features.

Khomeini thus represented a potential second-best option for most of the opposition. The revolution, let alone 'the Islamic revolution', however, would not have taken place without the Shah's own self-destructive moves that blocked the possibility of a reformist resolution of his regime's deepening crisis. Nor would Khomeini's position as the leader of the widest revolutionary front in the modern era[35] have been assured without the groundwork laid by pluralist Islamists.

In the late Pahlavi era, the standard bearer of democratic Shiism was the Freedom Movement led by the aforementioned Mehdi Bazargan and Ayatollah Taleghani, both ardent supporters of the secular nationalist Mossadeq and most prominent Muslim opposition leaders of their generation. The armed People's Mujahedin Organisation represented socialist Islamism and was led by Masoud Rajavi, who, following the Organisation's failed attempts in the 1980s to overthrow IR, has presided over its cultish decline.[36] Associated with both movements, but remaining an independent thinker with the greatest influence in renewing Islam in Iran, was Ali Shariati, who died in 1977. Shariati has been singled out as 'probably the only twentieth-century Iranian intellectual who created a socio-political momentum which gave birth to a social movement, culminating in a social revolution',[37] albeit one which engendered a theocracy exhibiting many features that he had characterised and thoroughly rejected as 'Safavid Shiism'.[38] Eclipsed by Khomeini's triumphant legacy is the fact that the overall share of this broad pluralist camp in Iran's second revolution was at least as great as that of the former and his theocratic followers. Yet, exemplifying victor's history, current academic and journalistic writings on the Iranian revolution and 'political Islam' almost universally equate 'Islamism' with the theocratic variant that eventually dominated Iran's post-revolutionary state, and ignore the pluralist Islamists and their secular allies whose inclusive agenda won the revolution. Thanks to the pluralists and their modernist application of *ijtihad*, Islam regained its appeal among the educated strata and especially the young, without whom there would not have been an Islamic revolution or republic.

By the time of the revolution, Khomeini had, as discussed above, already developed his preferred, theocratic, option. In the course of the revolution, however, either as a result of genuine

conversion as some of his democratic followers believed, or pragmatic recognition of 'the objective conditions', Khomeini himself gave every impression that he favoured an Islamic state that respected democratic norms.[39] Crucially, he never once referred to the government of jurist and specifically rejected any suggestion that he would have an executive role or assume the powers of the monarch,[40] and to this extent his position coincided with 'the best option' of the religious and lay democrats.

In retrospect, Khomeini's shifting agenda resembled and was influenced by that of the influential authoritarian left whose constituent groups generally saw liberal democracy as a transitional stage to some idealised version of Soviet, Chinese, Cuban or even Albanian socialism.[41] The liberal agenda, however, united the opposition to the Pahlavi monarchy not only because democracy is the default option of all modern movements against autocracy. It also reflected the socio-political conditions after seven decades of uneven and often misguided but continuous socio-economic development. The terminal decline of the Pahlavi regime may be dated to the period in March 1975 when having crushed all open opposition and awash with oil money and international admiration, the Shah decided against his earlier promise of return to 'constitutional monarchy'. Instead, he dropped all pretence to competitive party politics by replacing the two long discredited 'legal' parties with the Resurgence Party of the People of Iran, a would-be totally totalitarian 'movement' encompassing the country's entire adult population, as he therefore offered refuseniks the choice of leaving the country or going to prison.[42]

Beyond the articulation of a generally democratic Islamic vision, Khomeini's recognition of the revolution's democratic trajectory was indicated by the appointment of Bazargan as the revolution's prime minister presiding over a cabinet whose members all came from lay liberal religious and secular ranks of the Freedom Movement and National Front. This was followed by the democratically inclined Abolhassan Banisadr's election as IR's first president with Khomeini's tacit blessing. The draft constitution, based on the French presidential system and the country's existing constitution, too, was written in the main by Hassan Habibi of the Freedom Movement. It was approved by Khomeini himself who advised that it be put to a referendum. Ironically, it was especially at the insistence of Taleqani and Bazargan, who argued that without ratification by the Constituent Assembly promised in the course of the revolution the new constitution would lack legitimacy, that Khomeini conceded the convocation of the Assembly of Experts.[43]

Only then and there, the approved draft was radically revised around the office of a supreme clerical leader with the consequences that continue to bedevil Iran and the world. Replete with authentic and opportunist theocrats, the Assembly enshrined in the new constitution the most momentous development in Shiism since the Safavids by giving the fallible Khomeini and his successors as the Supreme Leader the same authority and powers as the awaited infallible Imam. The turbaned imam was thus enthroned in place of the crowned sultan[44] and Twelver or now Thirteener Shiism came to have its first caliph-imam since Ali.

A potent brew of mass adulation, radicalising logic of the revolution, and historical fear may have persuaded Khomeini to assume or, as his Shia opponents would say, usurp the title and powers of the Hidden Imam. Referring to the assassination of his closest disciple and the chair of the revolutionary council, Ayatollah Mottahari, one of his most senior and respected disciples, by a dissident Shia group in the early days of the revolution Khomeini remarked: 'They want to sideline the clergy just as they did after the Constitutional period. They killed Nouri and diverted the path of the nation. They have now the same plan; they have killed Mottahari and perhaps it is my turn tomorrow.'[45] Khomeini's fear was informed by the fact that those who intended to 'sideline' the clergy included many of the highest-ranking clerics, who considered the assumption of the Imam's unique privileges a step too far. Grand Ayatollah Shariatmadari,

a 'moderate' and theo-politically progressive *marj'a* with a large following especially among Azari Shia, even permitted his followers to establish the Muslim People's Republic Party to fight the dominant, Khomeini backed, Islamic Republic Party on a democratic platform. Proving too popular, the party was banned and later Shariatmadari was forced to recant on state television. Such coercive measures against senior clerics overturned another central plank of Shiism underlined by Khomeini on his way to absolute power: 'the *fuqaha* do not have absolute authority over all other *fuqaha* of their own time, in the sense of being able to appoint or dismiss them. There is no hierarchy . . . endowing one with more authority than another.'[46]

By the revolution's second anniversary in the winter of 1981, Bazargan's government had been replaced by a hardline lay theocrat and a cabinet with a sizeable clerical membership. Ayatollah Taleqani, Tehran's Friday Prayer Imam and more popular than Khomeini himself before and after the revolution, was dead under dubious circumstances having more openly than ever declared his opposition to theocracy in his last sermon. President Banisadr was well on his way to impeachment by a parliament dominated by the theocrats. He would soon be back in Paris to join forces with the Mujahedin, Kurdish Democrat Party and others in the National Resistance Council, promising to return to Iran within three months to complete the transition to democracy. That was in June 1981 with the said Council reduced subsequently to a discredited instrument of a much shrunken Mujahedin.

By the time of Khomeini's death in 1989, IR had survived many challenges including an eight-year war against Iraq, several coup attempts, a civil war, and a US-led economic siege in response to its embassy staff being kept hostage between November 1979 and January 1981. In the process, all groups, Islamic or otherwise, opposed to the 'governance of the jurist' were suppressed. The main threat to theocracy over the last two decades has instead come from reformist tendencies evolving out of the original theocratic camp with the support of many who, given the choice, may have opted for secular alternatives. This reflects the nature of IR whose institutional configuration, national and international contexts, ideological goals, and socio-economic roots display characteristics of a 'torn state'. The country's constitution effectively frames this condition by its dual theocratic and democratic conceptions of sovereignty. Theocratic tendency's foremost guardian, 'the supreme leader of the World Muslims', is appointed by an Assembly of Leadership Experts (Islam's first formal 'college of cardinals') which in turn is elected by popular vote, but from a restricted list filtered by the unelected Guardian Council. In addition to 'the supervisory' function 'over the proper execution of the general policies of the system', article 110 of the new constitution gives the leader the power to appoint or dismiss the following:

- clerical members of the Guardian Council;
- supreme judicial authority of the country;
- head of the radio and television network;
- chief of joint staff;
- commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps; and
- supreme commanders of the armed forces.

Among many other notable sources of unaccountable power, the leader also appoints the heads of vast semi-public 'charitable' foundations, and has 'special emissaries' variously 'guiding' the otherwise formally accountable ministries and public organisations inherited from the Pahlavi period. Yet, according to article 107: 'The leader is equal with the rest of the people of the country in the eyes of the law' and article 6 of the Constitution stipulates that 'the affairs of the country must be administered on the basis of public opinion expressed by

means of elections'. True to these articles and compelled by its internal divisions, IR must have held more competitive, if highly restricted, elections, than any other authoritarian state. This contradictory insistence on theocracy and democracy has engendered, on the one hand, a crisis-prone, factionalised state incapable of articulating any viable conception of the 'national interest' and, on the other hand, contested domains and democratising tendencies that dispute theocratic domination and may have paradoxically helped ensure its resilience.

Between praetorian theocracy and secular democracy

Khomeini's theocracy has survived at the cost of the collapse of the theocratic case that originally underpinned it. This is most obviously attested by the defection of its once most credible champions, from the late Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, the former chair of the Assembly that drew up the republic's constitution, to Abdul Karim Soroush, the country's foremost Islamic philosopher and a one-time member of the Council of the Cultural Revolution that presided over the closure and purge of the universities. The depletion of the regime's religious legitimacy became fully evident when Ali Khamenei, the incumbent president but a relatively junior cleric, was installed as Khomeini's successor, even though he was far from achieving the rank of *marj'a*, the principal religious qualification for the job. With the removal of Montazeri as Khomeini's confirmed successor for his growing opposition to Khomeini-sanctioned measures (including mass execution of many sentenced but supposedly 'unrepentant' political prisoners), there was no one left in Khomeini's camp with the theo-political standing to succeed him. Thus a choice had to be made between religion and politics, and Khomeini chose the latter and on his deathbed convened the Assembly for Revising the Constitution, which duly removed the qualification of *marja'iyat* along with several other changes.

This turn was already anticipated by another implosive reversal in an edict issued to resolve one of the many conflicts between the government, the parliament and the Guardian Council (entrusted with vetoing anti-Islamic measures), this time clashing over the 'national interest' and sanctity of private property: 'Islamic government . . . is one of the primary injunctions of Islam, taking precedence over all subsidiary precepts, even praying, fasting . . . The government may even unilaterally annul the legally-binding agreements it has made with the people when these agreements are against the interests of the Islamic state'.[47] As Khomeini's biographer noted, 'from now on religion would serve the Islamic state rather than vice-versa'.[48] But then what would be 'Islamic' about IR and who could determine its interests, now that religious knowledge and/or infallibility were made redundant as the decisive qualification for supreme leadership?

But to have acknowledged the answer implied by this formulation of the question would have meant returning to the platform of pluralists who claimed that in the absence of direct divine guidance in the secular era inaugurated by the death of the Seal of Prophets (and occultation of the Imam) the 'Islamic' state had to be a democratic state. To save IR, Khomeini drank 'the poison chalice' and agreed to end the war with Iraq after prolonging it for over five years in the hope of 'liberating Jerusalem via a liberated Baghdad'. But he could not bring himself to do the same when faced with his state's impasse and join his deposed heir apparent in exonerating the political programme of the liberal Islamists, nationalists and socialists persecuted for a decade as agents of the Great Satan and 'corrupters of the earth'. That, after all, would have been tantamount to overthrowing his 'Islamic state'. But nor could Khomeini abandon his electoral theocracy in favour of unifying it as a full-blown theocracy. Indeed, throughout his ten-year rule not only did he refrain from implementing his own 1970 theocratic programme, but he ensured that a left–right balance was maintained within the ruling camp

with his closest associates, the then Speaker of Parliament and acting commander of the armed forces, Ayatollah Rafsanjani, and President Ayatollah Khameanei, holding the 'centre' ground.

Thus, although those who refused to embrace the Guardianship of Jurisconsult in the first place were politically excluded or annihilated, their appropriately 'adjusted' programmes were pursued within the authorised public sphere to provide a degree of dynamic political openness not found in most post-revolutionary ideological states. The present-day reformists therefore have a strong case that more often than not, Khomeini backed them against the conservatives, theocrats, and traditionalists, not least by coming around to asserting the interests of the Islamic state over Islamic law. But unwilling to take the next step and let the people decide among conflicting determinations of their state's interest, he moved to consolidate his own variant of pluralism by creating the last institution of his career, The Expediency Discernment Council. Members were drawn from various branches of government including the Guardian Council and Revolutionary Guards (RG), with the intention of resolving their recurring conflicts. But this only further acknowledged factional 'state capture' rather than overcome it. The revised 1989 constitution made the new Council a permanent fixture and another arena to ensure that IR would remain governed by an ungovernable state.[49]

Khomeini's passing marked the end of a decade of revolution, liberation and repression, civil and foreign wars, institutional innovation, terrorism, and martyrdom as hopes were raised and sunk of inspiring the Muslim world's renewal through exportable models of popular revolution and Islamic democracy. Once seen from the perspective of consolidating an untimely theocracy, Khomeini may have indeed been wise to have encouraged governance in accordance with his infamous maxims that 'economics is for donkeys' and 'war is a blessing'. They signposted an emerging trajectory where the 'faithful' (to 'Imam's line') took over from the 'experts' in the old institutions and populated the new ones such as RG and the *Basij* Militia, who received intense training and exhaustive resources through war and repression. But to sustain the theocracy in the absence of Khomeini's theo-revolutionary authority and the 'war economy', his successors had to address the resulting dire socio-economic and political conditions. Thus the sequential projects of economic and political liberalisation respectively undertaken under the presidencies of the pragmatic 'centrist' Rafsanjani (1989–97) and the insider 'reformist' Khatami (1997–2005).

In neither case, however, could Iran's asymmetrically gridlocked and redistributive political economy be sufficiently loosened to maintain their initial promise of respectively sustained economic and political reform. In contrast to Khomeini, Khamenei compensated for his lack of theo-political authority and charisma by sanctioning the expansive appropriation of the largest swathes of the private sector, autonomous 'charitable' foundations, and state institutions (e.g. the judiciary and the Guardian Council) by 'conservative' clergy-*bazaari* networks. For the same reasons the RG were allowed to expand into a self-governing military-industrial complex. Together with the vast politico-economic resources of the Supreme Leader, the space for rationalisation and reform was (and remains) severely constrained. Nevertheless, the presidencies of Rafsanjani and Khatami seemed to unveil the country's shift to an insider-reformist track towards democracy for which the ground was now sufficiently cleared by the coincidence of several developments. These included the death of Khomeini and Soviet Union's demise as well as the IR's theological, military, and socio-economic setbacks reflected in suing for peace with Iraq, accelerating popular discontent, and amending the constitution.

Ahmadinejad's two-term presidency (2005–13) dramatically reversed this shift in every respect. On both occasions, he was elected with the 'forceful' support of the Supreme Leader, Revolutionary Guards, the conservative camp, and the militant theocrats, and for a time it seemed that the primordial democracy–theocracy clash was about to end in a praetorian

theocracy. Indeed, it was with the unprecedented vote rigging which ensured Ahmadjinejad's re-election, and the violent suppression of the ensuing mass protests in mind that Ayatollah Montazeri pronounced that his own handiwork was no longer 'an Islamic Republic but a Military Republic'.[50] This is true enough insofar as the theocracy has lost the support of a large majority of the population and survives thanks largely to fear and repression. It is also the case that RG, as the regime's chief repressive arm, has long grown into a 'total institution' with its own expansive economic, political, and international interests and resources which would not survive a functioning democracy.[51]

Yet, the repressive unification of the regime implied by theocratic-military dictatorship of, say, the Zia-ul-Haq or al-Bashir type seems beyond the reach and capacity of any one of the regime's factions. At its simplest, this is both because the majority of the population vocally and electorally rejects theocracy and because the ruling camp no longer has a credible theo-ideological vision or leadership to unify around even an internally compelling governance agenda. The ruling factions thus can only exercise their collective domination negatively, that is, to block the reforms that may force their retreat from the captured public resources and state institutions. What they have been able to achieve 'positively' and on a sustained basis is accumulation of factional power. This, however, only further fuels the multiple crisis of governance, economic decline, and legitimacy that may only be partially contained through elections and emergency reformism as well as repression.

This was clearly demonstrated in the period of Ahmadinejad's presidency. Despite benefitting from the exceptionally high oil revenues and the geo-political gains made on Iran's behalf by its adversaries, Anglo-American imperialism, Saddam Hussein, Taleban, and al Qaeda, Ahmadinejad's presidency performed badly on almost every socio-economic and political front, from growing inequality and drug abuse to failure to resolve the nuclear standoff or stem the rising sectarianism that is tearing the region apart. Most telling, however, was the break-up of the theocratic-military coalition that had ensured his re-election at great cost to the credibility of the leader and the regime as a whole. Not long after containing the Green Movement and incarcerating its leaders, the president and the Supreme leader and the president and the 'conservative' Speaker of Parliament variously clashed with the threat of impeachment raised against Ahmadinejad in parliament amidst hostile measures and counter-measures. With the necessarily temporary silencing of the reformists, the winners thus reverted to factionalism characteristic of usually short revolutionary transitions but now a nearly four-decade-long fixture of the IR as a state in and of permanent transition. This affirms both the effective redundancy of the theocratic theology as the supplier of the unifying vision and principles of the ruling camp and its overarching importance not so much as a legitimising ideology, as a unifying discourse for blocking reform without having the capacity to run the country without reformists.

In this context, Ahmadinejad's twofold ideological agenda, Mahdism and renewal of Iran's pre-Islamic heritage, is less bizarre than its reception suggests. The revival of the apocalyptic promise of the return of the Twelfth Imam indicates the extent to which the 'guardianship' of a supreme clerical leader (the 'Thirteenth Imam') as the inheritor of the rights and powers of the infallible Prophet and Imam has been discredited even within the ruling factions. The renewal of the inheritance of pre-Islamic Iran reflects the extent to which Twelver Shiism as a whole has lost ground among the people, to need buttressing by an agenda hitherto damned as the preserve of nationalism.

By the 2013 election, the Islamic Republic was as close to becoming a 'martyred state'[52] as at any time since Khomeini drank the poison chalice of peace to save it from collapse but then was compelled, as was seen, to theologically and constitutionally undermine it. Rouhani's election reflected the recognition that forcing the election of one of the 'conservative' candidates

through another electoral coup was no longer a viable option. Equally important, the reformists understood that with Green Movement leaders Mousavi and Karoubi still under house arrest and even Rafsanjani excluded from standing, their only chance of political renewal was to extend their reach to centrists and moderate conservatives. As a middle-ranking cleric with a doctorate from a British university and a seasoned international and domestic 'diplomat' who has managed to maintain close links with both the leader and Rafsanjani, Rouhani stood at the right place. By effectively joining forces with former presidents Rafsanjani and Khatami to support Rouhani, the current standard bearers of (radical) reform (Mousavi, Karoubi, the Green Movement) showed that they had learned the lessons of earlier failures to establish the broadest unity to balance the dominant bloc. Rouhani's success thus both extends and diversifies the counter-hegemonic movement on a differentiated spectrum now extending into the leader's inner sanctum. This may prove the moment reformism broke through to a cumulative power trajectory long achieved by the 'conservative' bloc.

Such a balancing, a necessary step in transition to a stable democracy, is, however, far from assured. The institutionalised power gap between the two sides is large enough to suggest that the likelier medium-term outcome is the isolation-instrumentalisation of Rouhani's government as a firefighting agency which sorts out the sanctions/nuclear programme emergency. This raises the crucial role of international actors in shaping both the history and pre-history of the Islamic Republic and the fate of rival accounts of Islam, from the 1907 Anglo-Russian treaty that divided the country into zones of imperialist influence and played a major role in ensuring an autocratic outcome to Iran's first democratic revolution, to the present day. In recent years, Anglo-American invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, Israel's invasions of the Lebanon, and the continued occupation of Palestine, the Anglo-French bombing of Libya, Western support for 'revolutionary' regime change in Syria, and reactionary regime consolidation in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf 'states' and now Egypt have all handed the theocratic Islamists in Iran (and elsewhere) their most important victories and grounds for further advance.

This underlines the long standing position of 'the West' as an internal as well as international actor in the affairs of Iran and the region and is sharply illustrated by the nuclear issue. The sanctions increased ordinary Iranians' hardships, and for a time strengthened the hands of hardliners. But, as with hostage taking, prolongation of the war with Iraq, or the Rushdie fatwa, they demonstrated the clash of factional and collective rationality and the limits of the former in the present global context. From this angle, the sanctions played a positive role in Rouhani's election, and should the current negotiations succeed in ending them, they may prove just the boost the emerging reformist-centrist-moderate conservative coalition needs to turn Rouhani's presidency to more than an emergency turn. Such an outcome may also enhance the chances of similar coalitions emerging in the region or even in 'the West' to address the issues for which it bears direct responsibility, from Israeli colonialism and nuclear arsenal to the unlimited wealth laundered through and by the 'Saudi' Arabia and the Gulf 'states' in the cause of corporate profit, oppression, and sectarianism in the region and beyond.

Concluding remarks

Khomeini died in 1989, having already presided over the collapse of the theological basis and global ambitions of his theocracy.[53] He had come to power with most Iranians and other Muslims literally at his 77-year-old feet. The rest of the world also listened to his every word; many took him for a new Gandhi. Others saw him as the modern world's first transnational Muslim leader, Islam's own popularly acclaimed pope. For a historic moment, Khomeini stood alongside his younger contemporaries, Pope John Paul and the Dalai Lama, but with greater

legitimacy and well placed to address Islam's 'crisis of authority' and perhaps inaugurate a progressive stage in the evolution of Sunni as well as Shii Islam. At that moment, Khomeini was indeed 'the leader of the world's Muslims', the healer of the Sunni–Shii divide, and the scourge of every tyranny in the Middle East. 'No to East, No to West, Islamic Republic is the Best' seemed a battle cry that would soon spread across the region and elsewhere. As an egalitarian democracy renewing Islam's and Shiism's cardinal principle of justice and Sunnism's ideal of consultation in the light of the comparative institutionalisation of these values in European states, the Islamic Republic seemed to show the way across Muslim-majority societies.

By switching the revolution's track from democracy to theocracy, Khomeini ensured the redundancy of his own vision of renewing Islam as the religion of both worlds and terminated any hope of exporting his model of Islamic state to the rest of the Muslim world. Even in the Shii majority states the Guardianship of the Jurisconsult never had a chance, let alone in Sunni majority societies. By opting for it, IR condemned the country's Sunni population to second-class citizenship along with other religious and ideological 'minorities'. It suffices to note that Tehran, a metropolis of twelve million inhabitants, is yet to have a Sunni mosque. What is more, the official or 'governmental Shiism' currently practised by the regime has itself become a minority affair. Sectarianism is the counterpart and legitimising source of factionalist power politics nationally and internationally. But the difference is that constituting no more than around 15 per cent of world's nominal Muslims, sectarian Shiism in all its varieties cannot hope to counter Sunni sectarianism to any sustainable benefit. The rise of Daesh (also known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, or ISIS) is a clear illustration not only of the costs of Anglo-American imperialism (and the redundancy/complicity of EU internationalism) or Saudi-Gulf states' sectarian-economic colonisation of vast areas of the Muslim world, but of IR's own sectarian expansionism with its comparatively meagre resources.

Iran's dilemma in Iraq is directly traceable to abandoning the democratic promise of the revolution, the IR's own variant of original sin. Having opted for theocracy, the ruling factions could not switch back to democracy when they were gifted with the role of the hegemonic foreign power in Iraq. But ethno-religious composition and geo-political factors apart, the Iraqi hierocracy led by Grand Ayatollah Sistani, now Shiism's preeminent SE, had no truck with clerical rule (rather than 'guidance') even before the 1979 revolution, let alone after witnessing its record since. In this context, the only option for ensuring Iraq's territorial integrity and political stability would have been to pursue policies that accorded with the first article of Iraq's constitution defining the country as 'a single federal, independent and fully sovereign state in which the system of government is republican, representative, parliamentary, and democratic'. Having discarded the constitution that was drafted in similar terms, the Iranian leaders stood by Maleki government's sectarian colonisation of the Iraqi state, only to be forced to reconsider when faced with the advancing Daesh forces, recalling other cases of costly factionalist overstretch, from the prolongation of the Iraq war to the still unfolding nuclear dispute.

Seen in the context of Shiism's evolutionary trajectory, the costly experience of revolution and electoral theocracy has not been wholly in vain. Hegemonic quietism was rooted in persecution and the depoliticised theology of occultation, but continued after the Safavid turn in alliance with autocratic states to maintain clerical privilege and power, and survived the CR strengthened. In between the two revolutions, democratic Islamism was mainly the eclectic pursuit of religious intellectuals and professionals squeezed by traditionalists, theocrats, and the authoritarian left as well as by the global ascendancy of secularist modernity. Now, democratic Islamism is the only programme standing in the religious field with any historical and ideological credibility whose consistent exponent, the Freedom Movement, nevertheless

remains excluded from the electoral process. Yet, its non-violent means as well as its democratic aims and account of Islamic governance are to be found in the uneven but convergent political theologies and practices of powerful tendencies evolving out of quietist and revolutionary wings of traditional Shiism.

This is most clearly exemplified in the initially contrasting careers of the late Ayatollah Montazeri, the exemplary revolutionary theocrat and Khomeini's heir apparent, and Ayatollah Sistani, who rose to his present position as Shiism's pre-eminent SE as the prize student and successor to Grand Ayatollah Khoii, Khomeini's main 'quietist' opponent. The evolutionary significance of their eventual convergence over democracy lies in the fact that each retained the defining elements of his original tradition whilst extending and transforming it by appropriating elements from the other. Thus Montazeri remained faithful to theo-political activism and guardianship of the jurists but in the form of guidance and support for just causes rather than clerical governance. Sistani, on the other hand, has retained the quietist distance from governorship, but sanctioned guardianship as political engagement as well as religious guidance or providing for orphans and others unable to support themselves.[54] From this perspective, Shii hierocracy has maintained its capacity for evolutionary development, albeit as an altogether diminished force within a theo-political field increasingly occupied by comparatively junior clergy and lay Islamists, many armed with sectarianism and guns.

In this context, a key question is whether the hierocracy is theologically and institutionally further democratised by drawing on both the long standing Usuli Shiism's reliance on believers' traditional right to choose an SE of their choice, and the IR's two-stage process whereby the leader (or leadership council) is elected by an Assembly of Experts whose members are elected by the people from a currently restricted list vetted by a partial Guardian Council.

From the Islamic revolution of 1979 to the revolutionary upheavals that shook Arab countries in 2011 and the ups and now downs of Islamism in Turkey, the one common lesson is that only by consistent adherence to democracy may Islamism serve the aim of renewing Islam as a religion and civilisation that persuades rather than coerces.[55] From this perspective, it is Tunisia that now stands out as a compelling example. Yet, compared to Saudi Arabia, its main regional rival, but also most other Muslim-majority states, IR's electoral theocracy benefits from institutional, religious, and historical resources as well as a democratic space to engender and survive significant degrees of open political and ideological conflict and debate. Thus it may yet emerge from one of its recurring crises with the socio-political balance required for sustained reform rather than awaiting a third revolution or the return of the Hidden Imam.

Notes

1 I thank Najma Yousefi whose incisive and stimulating comments have variously improved this article.
2 Pew Research Center, *Mapping.*
3 Nasr, *Shia Revival*.
4 Kadivar, *Theories*, 13.
5 Weber, *Economy and Society*, 594.
6 Momen, *Shii Islam*, 165
7 *Nahjul Balagha*, Sermon 3; Momen, *Shii Islam*, 62–71; Hodgson, 'Early Shia', 1–13.
8 Nafissi, 'Reformation'.
9 Madelung, *Succession*, 323.
10 Lapidus, *History*, 2014.
11 Sachedina, *Just Ruler*.
12 Daftary, *Ismailis*; Hodgson, *Venture*, 25–8.
13 Amanat, *Apocalyptic Islam*, 221–51.

14 Newman, *Myth*, 264–301.
15 Algar, *Shiism*, 326.
16 Amanat, 'Madrasa', 99–111; Cole, 'Imami Jurisprudence'.
17 Algar, *Religion*.
18 Keddie, *Religion.*
19 Shuster, *Strangling of Persia*.
20 Nouri, 'Illegitimacy', 167.
21 Ever since the publication of these lectures in book form both titles have been used separately or together in various Persian editions. The English translation by Hamid Algar (1981) used here is published as *Islamic Government*.
22 Naini, *Enlightenment*; 1–17; Hairi, 'Shiism'.
23 Bellah, 'Islamic Tradition', 150–2; Crone, *God's Rule*, chaps 5, 6, 16, 19.
24 Chehabi, *Iranian Politics*.
25 Akhavi, *Religion and Politics*, chapter 3.
26 Khomeini, *Discovery*.
27 Katouzian, *Political Economy*; Abrahamian, *Iran*.
28 Moin, *Khomeini*, 96.
29 Kadivar, *Theories*, 24.
30 Kadivar, Velaii, 160–204.
31 Khomeini, *Discovery*, 222.
32 Khomeini, 'IG', 60.
33 Khomeini, 'IG', 63.
34 Moin, *Khomeini*, 158–9.
35 Kurzman, *Unthinkable*, vii–viii.
36 Abrahamian, *Radical Islam*; Banisadr, *Masoud*.
37 Rahnema, *Islamic Utopian*, 370; Bazargan, *Iran's Revolution*, 103.
38 Shariati, *Alavid Shiism*.
39 Bazargan, *Iran's Revolution*, 49–55; Banisadr, *Betrayal*.
40 Kadivar, *Velaii*, 172–5; cf. Martin, *Creating*.
41 Behrooz, *Rebels*.
42 Abrahamian, *Iran*, 440–6.
43 Shirazi, *Constitution*, 27–33.
44 Arjomand, *Turban*.
45 Cited in Moin, *Khomeini*, 223; Martin, *Creating*, 75–99.
46 Khomeini, 'IG', 64.
47 Cited in Moin, *Khomeini*, 260.
48 Ibid., 259–60.
49 Shirazi, *Constitution*, 229–44. On the formation of IR's factional politics see Barzin, *Political Factions*; Moslem, *Factional Politics*.
50 Cited in Axworthy, *Revolutionary Iran*, 408.
51 Safshekan and Sabet, 'Ayatollah's Praetorians'.
52 Duss, 'Martyr State'.
53 For a recent assessment of various aspects of Khomeini's career and legacy see Adib-Moghaddam, *Critical Introduction*.
54 Rahimi, 'Discourse'.
55 Qur'an 2.256.

References

Abrahamian, E. (1982) *Iran Between the Two Revolutions*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Abrahamian, E. (1989) *Radical Islam:The Iranian Mojahedin*, London: I.B.Tauris.
Adib-Moghaddam, A. ed. *A Critical Introduction to Khomeini*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Akhavi, S. (1980) *Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran: Clergy-State Relations in the Pahlavi Period*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
Algar, H. (1967) *Religion and State in Iran, 1785–1906*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Algar, H. (2008) 'Shi'ism and Iran in the eighteenth century', in P. Luft and C. Turner (eds.) *Shi'ism*, vol.1, London: Routledge, pp. 325–40.
Amanat, A. (1988) 'In between the Madrasa and the Marketplace: the designation of clerical leadership in modern Shi'ism', in S.A. Arjomand (ed.) *Authority and Political Culture in Shiism*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
Amanat, A. (2009) *Apocalyptic Islam and Iranian Shiism*, London: I.B. Tauris.
Arjomand, S. (1988) *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York: Oxford University Press.
Axworthy, M. (2014) *Revolutionary Iran*, London: Penguin.
Banisadr, A. (1981) *Betrayal of Hope* (in Persian), http://www.banisadr.org/ketab/Kianat.pdf.
Banisadr, M. (2004) *Masoud: Memoirs of an Iranian Rebel*, London: Saqi.
Barzin, S. (1998) *Political Factions in Iran* (in Persian), Tehran: Nashr-e Markaz.
Bazargan, M. (1984) *Iran's Revolution in Two Movements* (in Persian), Tehran: Freedom Movement.
Behrooz, M. (1999) *Rebels with a Cause: The Failure of the Left in Iran*, London: Tauris.
Bellah, R. (1970) 'Islamic tradition and the problems of modernisation', in *Beyond Belief*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Chehabi, H. (1990) *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernism: The Liberation Movement of Iran under the Shah and Khomeini*, London: I.B.Tauris.
Cole, J. (1983) 'Imami jurisprudence and the role of the Ulama: Mortaza Ansari on emulating the Supreme Exemplar' in N. Keddie (ed.) *Religion and Politics in Iran*, Yale, CT: Yale University Press.
Crone, P. (2010) *God's Rule: Government and Islam*, New York: Columbia University Press.
Daftary, F. (2007) *The Ismailis: Their History and Doctrine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Duss, M. (2011), 'The martyr state myth', http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/08/24/the-martyr-state-myth/. Accessed 15 April 2015.
Hairi, A. (1977) *Shī'īsm and Constitutionalism in Iran: A Study of the Role Played by the Persian Residents of Iraq in Iranian Politics*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
Hodgson, M. (1955) 'How did the Early Shia become Sectarian?' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75, 1–13.
Hodgson, M. (1974) *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Kadivar, M. (1997) *Theories of State in Shia Jurisprudence* (in Persian), Tehran: Ney.
Kadivar, M. (1998) *Velaii Government* (in Persian), Tehran: Ney.
Katouzian, H. (1981) *The Political Economy of Modern Iran: Despotism and Pseudo Modernism 1926–79*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Keddie, N. (1966) *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Tobacco Protest of 1891–2*, London: Frank Cass.
Kurzman, C. (2004) *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Khomeini, R. (no date) *Discovery of Secrets* (in Persian), Tehran: Nashr-e Falaq.
Khomeini, R. (1970/1981) 'Islamic government', in H. Algar, translator and editor, *Islam and Revolution*, Berkeley, CA: Mizan Press.
Lapidus, I. (2014) *A History of Islamic Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Madelung, W. (1997) *The Succession to Muhammad*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Martin, V. (2003) *Creating an Islamic State*, London: I.B. Tauris.
Moin, B. (1999) *Khomeini: The Life of the Ayatollah*, London: Tauris.
Momen, M. (1985) *An Introduction to Shii Islam*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Moslem, M. (2002) *Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
Nafissi, M. (2005) 'Reformation, Islam and democracy: evolutionary and antievolutionary reform in Abrahamic religions', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, 25. 2.
Nahjul Balagha. Sermons, Letters, and Sayings of Imam Ali (various editions).
Naini, M.H. (1907/1955) *Enlightenment of the Community and Purification of the Religion: Governance from the Perspective of Islam* (in Persian), Tehran: Enteshar.
Nasr, V. (2006) *The Shia Revival*, New York: Norton.
Newman, A.J. (2008) 'The myth of the clerical migration to Safawid Iran', in P. Luft and C. Turner (eds.) *Shi'ism*, vol. 1, London: Routledge.
Nouri, F. (1907/1998) 'The illegitimacy of constitutionalism', in Gh. Zargarinejad (ed.) *Treatise on Constitutionalism* (in Persian), Tehran: Kavir.

Pew Research Center (2009) http://www.pewforum.org/2009/10/07/mapping-the-global-muslim-population/. Accessed 10 April 2015.
Rahnema, A. (1998) *An Islamic Utopian: A Political Biography of Ali Shari'ati*, London: I. B. Tauris.
Rahimi, B. (2008) 'The discourse of democracy in Shii Islamic jurisprudence: the two cases of Montazeri and Sistani', EUI Working Papers, Florence: European University Institute, 1–17.
Sachedina, A. (1988) *The Just Ruler in Shiite Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Safshekan, R. and Sabet, F. (2010) 'The Ayatollah's praetorians: The Islamic revolutionary guard corps and the 2009 election crisis', *Middle East Journal* 64. 4, 543–58.
Shariati, A. (1998) *Alavid Shiism and Safavid Shiism* (in Persian), Tehran: Chapakhsh.
Shirazi, A. (1998) *The Constitution of Iran*, London: I. B. Tauris.
Shuster, W.M. [1912] (1968) *The Strangling of Persia*, New York: Greenwood Press.
Weber, M. (1978) *Economy and Society*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

8

JUDAISM

State and foreign policy

Shmuel Sandler[1]

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, ISRAEL

The relationship between religion and politics has always been complex. For some time, due to the emergence of the modern (secular) state, religion's role was downplayed. However, in the contemporary era, contrary to academic expectations, especially among social scientists, religion re-emerged to play a role in world politics.

It is also particularly challenging to study Judaism and politics. Judaism is a multifaceted phenomenon. It expresses itself as a religion, a nation, and a political entity at the same time. It is even more challenging as after almost two millennia of Diaspora existence Jews are now acting in world politics as both a state and as an identified worldwide ethno-religious community.

The central question that we pose is whether it is possible to identify a Jewish approach to statehood and foreign policy. This question encompasses the interaction between Jews, the state, and external groups both in the Diaspora and when a Jewish state has existed. In addition to considering normative foreign policy that can be identified in various sources including Biblical and Halakhic literature, this study will focus more on concrete Jewish behaviour, which is more reflective of the Jewish narrative.[2] Our inquiry goes beyond a narrow definition of Judaism as a religion and it will not be limited to a particular time or place. In order to justify such a broad approach I adopted the concept of a Jewish political tradition and applied it to both politics and foreign policy.

A historic perspective on the intersection between Judaism and politics that goes beyond the contemporary era is problematic. Indeed, to some, only the establishment of the State of Israel signified the return of the Jewish people to the world's political history, from which it had been absent since the destruction of the Second Temple and the collapse of the Kingdom of Judea.[3] To others, the mix between statehood and Judaism is not conceivable.[4] The working assumption of this chapter is that in both domestic and international affairs a Jewish political tradition has existed, beginning with the inception of the Jewish people and, in contrast to the above views, many of these norms and institutions continue to influence Israeli politics and foreign policy.

Daniel J. Elazar created the concept known as 'the Jewish Political Tradition'. According to Elazar 'a tradition is, in fact, a continuing dialogue based upon a shared set of fundamental questions. For Jews, this dialogue began with the emergence of the Jewish people as an entity, a body politic, early on its history.'[5] In addition, Elazar developed the concept of the 'Jewish polity', both in his work as the founder of the academic study of the Jewish political

tradition, as well as in his studies of the behaviour of the world Jewish community. By so doing, Elazar developed a constellation of political concepts that includes both the Jewish state and the Diaspora.[6] His concepts were meant to expand the Jewish political structure beyond limitations of place and time.[7]

According to Elazar the Covenant between God and the Jews is the basis of their political regime,[8] a concept which will be further developed at the outset of this chapter. According to the Jewish narrative the interaction between Jews and external forces starts with the migration to the Land of Canaan of Abraham, the forefather of Judaism. The second section will concentrate on the special bond between Judaism and the Land of Israel. But not only in their homeland but also in the Diaspora the Jews had to interact with external forces. These realities added another dimension – which I define as a Jewish foreign policy.[9] The link between the foreign relations of the Jewish people over the generations with foreign policy and international politics principles is intended to uncover an additional dimension of the Jewish political tradition, which extends over thousands of years. Unveiling the international Jewish dimension will contribute to a better understanding of Israel's foreign policy as a Jewish state. However, even restored Jewish statehood did not abolish the compound interaction of Jews as a nation and a Diaspora. The latter section of this chapter will be devoted primarily to this concern.

The Jews and the state

In retrospect, the relationship between the Israelites and the state has not been simple. The Jewish political tradition discloses a multifaceted attitude towards the state: a mixture of respect and contempt for state power. It initially began with apprehension, as the first noted interaction took place between Abraham and the absolute ruler of the organized Egyptian Empire who had abducted Abraham's wife Sarah, to release her only following divine intervention.[10] However, this is only the first of several informative interactions between the Israelites and Egypt. The foremost impression one gets from the relation between the Israelites and Egypt is the built-in tension between Pharaoh, the earthly ruler of the empire who represents bondage, and God, the spiritual ruler who frees. The exodus from Egypt appears repeatedly throughout the Bible as the formative event of both Judaism as a religion and the Israeli/Jewish nation. Moreover, God links his presence and special relationship with the Israelites in the first of the Ten Commandments directly to the exodus from Egypt: 'I am the Lord thy God, who has brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage'.[11] The Empire of Egypt is being portrayed as the inverse of God, who stands for the ideal regime.

The alternative to the Egyptian rule on earth is the Covenant between the Israelites and God. Abraham and God contract the Covenant after the former's return from Egypt. It is during this holy scene and formative event that Abraham is informed about the forthcoming enslavement of his descendants in Egypt and their eventual exodus. After the exodus from Egypt, God again contracts the binding agreement between Himself and the Israelites at Sinai. The Covenant can be seen as a basis of 'consent theory', the opposite of the slavery regime they left behind in Egypt.[12] There are blatantly uneven power relations between the Almighty and human beings. However, according to interpretations in the rabbinic literature, despite the unequal relationship, the people must consent for the Covenant to be binding.[13] Elazar goes one step further and sees the idea of the Covenant as a form of constitution-building.[14] While over time, of course, the notion of the limitation of power has become a key basis of all democratic regimes, the concept is apparent in this ancient Covenant – where the omnipotent God takes it upon Himself not to exercise all His powers and the Israelites take it upon themselves to live according to His norms.[15]

The long-lasting effect of the Israelites' experience in Egypt continued with the nation's settlement in Canaan. Indeed, upon entering Canaan, the disdain of the Israelites for the imperial Egyptian regime resulted in a decentralized confederacy of tribes. This structure, described in the book of Judges, was arguably ideal, as it conformed to the revolutionary idea rejecting the centralized model of the 'Egyptian house of bondage'.[16] Even following the later establishment of the monarchy, the non-centralized tribal structure was still preserved in the Israelite kingdom. Likewise, during the Second Temple, the Hasmonean ascendance to power was primarily a religious rebellion and expressed itself in the exploitation of patriotic sentiments,[17] but never in the building of a powerful state.

External needs might create a powerful state in both domestic and external senses, even if this goes against a society's initial philosophy and political tradition. For example, the institution of the American presidency grew in power over the course of time in light of the global needs of the USA; the imperial presidency served an imperial America.[18] Jewish history is not replete with instances of imperial institutions and empire-building. With the exception of the era of Kings David and Solomon, during the First Commonwealth a strong state, in the étatist sense, that is likely to develop imperial aspirations never emerged. Rather, following the death of Solomon in 928 BCE a split occurred, thus terminating the attempt to build a powerful monarchy.[19] Despite the constant external threats faced, the Judean kingdom did not become a strong state, either in the sense of strong institutions and bureaucracy or in that of external power. As noted above, the Israelite kingdom in effect returned to a non-centralized tribal structure. The instability of the monarchy and the frequent transformation of power did not reflect a potent central state. With the emergence of the Assyrian empire, the Kingdom of Israel was defeated and sent into exile. Subsequently, the Kingdom of Judah – also not noted for strong ruling institutions and, despite the fact that its rulers enjoyed the legitimacy of belonging to the Davidic dynasty, could not stand up to the empires situated along the Nile or the Euphrates. Thus, in 586 BCE, 140 years after its northern sister, the Babylonian Empire defeated the Judean kingdom and exiled its inhabitants.

Likewise, during the period of the Second Commonwealth, Judea did not emerge as a strong state with external power. After the Return of Zion (516 BCE) Judea was a province of the Persian Empire and, subsequently, part of Alexander the Great's Empire. The Hasmoneans' religious rebellion, though also a patriotic uprising, did not proceed into the building of an empire. Even those Hasmonean kings who had statecraft ambitions, particularly Alexander Yannai, [20] gave up on these plans because of domestic opposition. The Rabbinic Sages struggled with Alexander Yannai for religious reasons. The Sages feared he would lead to the Hellenization of the Jewish people because Judea would emulate the Hegemonic Greek culture. Most important, they were not impressed by his state-building efforts and territorial aggrandizement.

This struggle between the Sages and the King was related to the tradition of decentralization of power and the tradition of separation of powers that had presumably developed since the establishment of Priesthood in the desert. Moses was the leader but not a Priest, and alongside him were the Zekenim (the Sages). Following the entrance to the Land of Israel, the political leadership parted from the prophets. As such, the power of the Priesthood and religious leaders was kept apart from the political leadership. Moreover, throughout the biblical era, both the Israelite and the Judean kings encountered prophets – such as Nathan, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Elijah – who denounced the King and the nation for what they saw as their iniquitous behaviour. King Uzziah, upon entering the Temple to perform functions preserved for the High Priest, was thereafter penalized with leprosy for violating the separation of power.[21]

The concept of the separation of powers was sustained in the era of the Second Temple. During the Second Temple period we find three institutions competing against each other:

Priests, Kings and Sages. A major factor in the Hasmonite rulers' difficulty in being perceived as legitimate rulers was that while they were Priests (*Kohanim*), they sought to combine the monarchy and Priesthood – an act flagrantly opposed in Jewish political tradition. Another source of [22] tension was over the authority of the Sages. This strain was expressed in the hostility between King Yanai and the Sanhedrin (Council of Sages). The latter claimed its authority through an assumed chain of a *halakhic* (Jewish law) tradition going back to Moses. Yet, with the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 Œ, the Priesthood lost its power and the institution of the Sages that had existed since the time of Moses took over.[23]

With political authority moving to the Diaspora around the third century, Jews found it necessary to replace the territorial component of their leadership with other constituents. The overall structure came to be known as the *Kehila* (the Community). Significantly, the Jewish polity in the Diaspora kept its diffused structure. To ensure security, they developed a strategy of establishing interdependence with local rulers or the host state. For example, according to Salo Baron, the Jews later integrated themselves within the corporative structure of medieval Europe and thus created a special status in the eyes of the local rulers who needed their services.[24] The special status entailed Jewish autonomy as a polity with full powers of running their public affairs.

The central element to safeguarding Jewish subsistence was the Torah – both written (the Five Books of Moses) and oral (the Talmud). It thus, in effect, became a constitution for the people. In response to the dispersion of the exile, Judaism developed a combination of a centralized authority over judicial decision-making alongside a means for local interpretation. For example, in the sixteenth century the Jewish polity was essentially divided between two communities: the Sephardim, concentrated around the Mediterranean, and the Ashkenazim, living in Central and Eastern Europe. Both accepted the Joseph Karo Code (Shulchan Aruch) that came out from Zefat in Palestine as the basic religious code. However, while the Sephardi communities fully accepted the code as it was, Ashkenazim adopted modifications to the Karo Code as formulated by the East European *Halakhic* authority Rabbi Moses Isserlesh. In this way, the overall structure of the constitution was maintained while also simultaneously being moulded to the local customs that had developed over centuries. In addition, the enormous literature – comprising commentaries, codification, and *responsa*[25] – kept the Jewish polity despite the lacking a territorial base.

However, the steady development of local authority under the guidance of a central Judaic code, or constitution, was only temporary. This structure of autonomous communities and a central code began to dissolve with the advance of modernity, especially following the French Revolution. On the one hand, modernity brought with it a secularization that weakened the role of religious code. On the other, the modern nation-state was unable to tolerate a separate autonomous Jewish identity within the state. Emancipation for the Jews came with a demand that, in exchange for equality, Jews must abandon their separate national identity.[26] At the same time, religious anti-Jewishness was reincarnated in the form of modern anti-Semitism, based on nationhood and not solely religion. Consequently, it was considered that survival during the nation-state era required territoriality. Having been influenced by the rise of modern nationalism, the Jews developed their own national movement, opting for a return to the land of Zion. It was against this background that a new type of community (*Kehila*), a territorial one, started developing in Palestine.

The Jewish authority in Palestine under the British Mandate during the first half of the twentieth century, known as the Yishuv, developed a consociational political system – characterized by cooperative association as well as power sharing between groups – in contrast to the Westminster model. Both institutional branches of the Yishuv – the World Zionist

Organization and the Jewish Agency – and the territorial Knesset Israel developed consociational mechanisms, such as a proportional electoral system resulting in a multi-party government. The governing institutions were ruled by grand coalitions that encompassed almost all the ideologically distinct parties in the Yishuv and the Jewish Diaspora.[27] Such a system ensured representation for the multiple communities and ideologies that had developed among the dispersed Jewish people. The federated political structure of the World Zionist Organization and the consociational political regime that emerged in Palestine illustrates how the democratic culture of the Jewish polity – adopted from 1948 onwards by the Jewish state of Israel – did not emerge from a vacuum: the historic Jewish political tradition influenced the evolving Israeli political culture.[28]

Following independence, the Jewish state retained proportional representation with broad coalition governments similarly belonging under the category of consociational democracies rather than a Westminster one practised by Britain.[29] Seemingly, the Jewish political tradition had a greater impact on the newly founded state's political formation than the previously overseeing Mandatory power. An additional aspect of preserved Jewish tradition was a tacit power-sharing arrangement between the religious and secular sectors of the Israeli society. Only rarely during the political history of Israel has there been a government formed that did not include a religious party – even when an alternative secular majority was available.[30] Compromises were continuously worked out in order to avoid a rift between the secular and the religious political parties of the emerging Jewish state. In sum, power sharing in the contemporary State of Israel has a long political tradition supporting diffusion of power over two millennia, both in the Diaspora and in ancient Israel.

To fully comprehend the total disposition of decentralization of power in the Jewish state we must look at the rise in power of the Supreme Court under the leadership of Chief Justice Aharon Barak, who as President of the Supreme Court between 1996 and 2006 promoted the status of the Court vis-à-vis the other branches of government. Chief Justice Barak regarded every issue as judicable, implying that the Supreme Court had a voice on every social or political dispute. To justify his approach, Barak used Jewish phrases with religious tones. Mimicking the Biblical expression 'the whole land is full of His glory', Barak coined the expression 'the whole land is Law'. Notably, it was primarily the religious sector that objected to this legal revolution since the Supreme Court is more exclusive and is perceived to not represent Israeli pluralism like the Knesset.[31] Once the Supreme Court under Barak adopted a policy allowing it the right to abolish Knesset legislation that was deemed unconstitutional, the struggle moved to the legislative process of the evolving Israeli constitution. Thus, for instance, in the early 1990s two basic laws were amended. In the 'Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty', and the 'Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation', a paragraph was added stating that its purpose was 'to anchor in the Basic Law the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state'.[32] The fact that the Supreme Court did not challenge this legislation indicated that it accepted that the two definitions were not incongruous.

As shown, Judaism developed a political tradition that has functioned in both conditions of statehood as well as Diaspora. The strength of this tradition has been proven by the fact that the Israeli political system that emerged in the mid-twentieth century sustained at least the spirit of that millennia-old tradition. Despite many of the immigrants flowing into Palestine being heavily influenced by their European origins, and many of the settlers in the land guided by the British pre-state Mandatory regime, they were all apparently also predominantly predisposed to the Jewish political tradition that can be traced back to over two millennia and had been maintained all the way through the Diaspora. It was this combination that ultimately found its expression in the emergence of the definition of Israel as both a 'Jewish and democratic state'.

Due to its historical tradition of balancing the religious and secular expressions of the Jewish nation, the Jewish state was able to ultimately overcome recurrent political crises that sprang out from the inherent tension between the two.

Judaism and territoriality

The relationship between Judaism and the state cannot be fully understood without the territorial component, namely the role of the Land of Israel in Jewish political norms and behaviour. Jewish religious bonds to a particular land have been associated with a sense of common origin (Abraham as the nation's ancestor), as well as a common history. Both a nation and state need a territory to qualify as such. A nation, in order to qualify as such, must be identified with a particular territory, while it is the territory that associates the nation to the state and through it to international relations. A.D. Smith asserted that 'modern concepts of national mission and national destiny are linear descendants of the ancient beliefs in ethnic election, with their emphasis on the privileges and duties of the elect before God'.[33] With the birth of modern nationalism replacing, to some extent, religion as a source of identity, some ethno-religious communities became ethno-national communities.[34] However, despite the linkage between ethno-nationalism and the state via the territory, there is not always congruence between the two. More than two ethno-national groups residing in the same state may have claims to the same territory and, hence, the interest of the state and the nation are not always identical.[35]

It is significant that the Jewish narrative starts with the migration of Abraham from Mesopotamia to the Land of Canaan upon God's order. Subsequently, God contracts a Covenant in which He promises the land to Abraham's ancestors. It is to this land that, according to the Jewish narrative, the Children of Israel head to after the exodus from Egypt. After being exiled to Babylonia, the Jews returned to this land upon an imperial decree of the Persian monarch King Cyrus.[36] During the Second Temple, despite the existence of a Diaspora in Babylonia and, later on, around the Mediterranean, they nevertheless clung to their historical land. The Diaspora became religiously significant (for example, the establishment of religious academies and the editing of the Babylonian Talmud) only after the dwindling of the Jewish settlement in Palestine (the new name given by the Romans to the Land of Israel following the two Rebellions). But even after the transition of the centre from Palestine, the Land of Israel remained the focus of Jewish religious ritual. Hence, for example, prayers for rain in the Diaspora were accorded with the seasons in the Land of Israel, as were the harvest festival and other agricultural celebrations. In their prayers, Jews requested God's return to Zion. The land is said to enjoy divine attributes that may only be realized when reunited with its people. Only in the Land of Israel could prophecy take place. Following the expulsion of the Jews from their land, mystical Judaism's view was that God's presence on earth (the *Shechina*) was also in exile.[37]

During the Middle Ages and into the Modern Era religion motivated some Jewish migrations to Palestine. Rabbinical authorities such as Maimonides, Nachmanides, and Joseph Karo arrived and were buried in Palestine. Notably, in 1700, Rabbi Judah the Pious led 1,000 Jews to immigrate to the Land of Israel, although this migration differed from previous ones, as these pilgrims sought to hasten redemption, despite the Sabbatai Zevi Messianic debacle.[38] Over the next two centuries rabbinical sages and Cabbalists immigrated and established what came to be known as the Old Yishuv (settlement).[39] It was only during the last decades of the nineteenth century that secular Zionists started immigrating to Palestine and established what came to be known as the New Yishuv (also called the Jewish polity in Mandatory Palestine).[40]

The significance of the Land of Israel in Zionism came to the fore during what came to be known as the Uganda debate. Despite the formal victory of Theodor Herzl, head of the Zionist Congress, in the debate at the Zionist Congress, to investigate the possibility of a temporary Jewish settlement in Eastern Africa, it is agreed that in effect it was a defeat. This was because the Zionist movement could not foresee – despite the gravity of the Jewish condition in the Diaspora – even a *temporary* detour from the Land of Israel.[41] In 1937, when the Royal Peel Commission suggested the partitioning of Palestine into two segments, with a Jewish state on one part and an Arab on the other, the debate among the Zionist leadership almost tore apart the Zionist movement as it was seen as forsaking the Land of Israel for immediate security. This time, however, the leadership of the Yishuv won and accepted partition because of both the gravity of the Jewish condition and the fact that this would enable a Jewish state to be established on at least part of the Land of Israel. The Religious Zionists objected to the proposal because of the divine promise of the whole Land of Israel for the Jewish people.[42] In 1947, following the United Nations partition decision of November 29, the religious parties again demanded the whole of the Land of Israel on religious grounds.[43]

The issue of obtaining the entire Land of Israel remained dormant in Israeli politics between 1948 and 1967 – that is, from Israeli Independence up to the Six Day War. During this time, the National Religious Party (NRP), the political organ of Religious Zionism, was a loyal and close partner of the ruling Labour Party in foreign and national security affairs. Following the June 1967 War, when Israelis came into renewed contact with territories (Judea and Samaria) that had constituted the heartland of Biblical Israel, a new wave of ethno-religious feelings poured out. Foremost in this awakening was the Old City of Jerusalem, where the Western Wall – the last remnant of the Temple – was still standing. Indeed, three weeks after the conquest of the Old City the government formally annexed it. The West Bank encompassed other holy towns, such as Hebron and Bethlehem, where the Patriarchs and the Matriarchs had been buried, and their tombs traditionally were prayer places to Jews. Places like Shiloh and the Tomb of Joseph were identified as were dozens of other religious sites. Yet, the religious parties did not become overly active on the issue of the Land of Israel until the mid-1970s. It was after the 1973 War that Religious Zionists founded the settlement movement named Gush Emunim (Block of the Faithful) that defied the government understanding of the territories as collateral to be exchanged for peace. In 1977, following the electoral defeat of Labour, the NRP had no difficulty in swiftly switching loyalties to the nationalist Likud, the party most identified with the ideology of settlement within the whole of the Land of Israel.[44]

Nevertheless, despite the ascendance to power of the right-wing Likud, the settlement drive revived the conflict between settling the Land of Israel and the State of Israel. The peace process with Egypt and the autonomy plan for the Palestinians led to the establishment of what was known as 'the Jewish Underground' in the early 1980s. For the first time, the Jewish state was confounded with the prospect of organized Jews actively pursuing to undermine the government and national policies. The most extreme group within the underground was headed by Yehuda Etzion, who planned to remove the Dome of the Rock Mosque, an event that would induce unpredictable tumultuous reactions throughout the Arab world. In 1984 the Likud government, led by nationalist Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, arrested a large number of the Jewish Underground leaders. Subsequently, as part of attempts to stop the Oslo Peace process that would lead to partition of the Land of Israel, in 1994 a supporter of extremist Rabbi Meir Kahane massacred twenty-nine Palestinians in the Patriarch's Tomb in Hebron. Most notably, on November 4, 1995 an extremist religious student assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin while claiming religious and Halachik justifications. Ten years later, religious settlers

clashed with the Israeli Defence Forces when Likud Prime Minister Ariel Sharon implemented the disengagement plan of all Israeli settlements and towns from the Gaza Strip.

However, despite the large number of incidents, many would claim that violent contention between Religious Zionists and the state is more a rarity than the norm. For Religious Zionists the struggle against the State of Israel poses a theological dilemma. Many of the leaders of Gush Emunim were influenced by the teachings of Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Kook as interpreted by his son Zvi Yehuda Kook. His teachings argued that there should be limited tension between settlement of Israel and the state, as the State of Israel was just as holy as the Land of Israel. In contrast to Ultra-Orthodox Jewry's theological difficulties in cooperating with secular Zionism, Rabbi Kook based his theology on a Cabalistic tradition that expounded equal respect and tolerance of all Jews no matter the religious observance. Rabbi Kook taught that an inner divine spark propels all Jews, reasoning that the largely secular Zionist movement was a mark of the beginning of redemption.[45] Jewish efforts in redeeming the Land of Israel through agriculture and physical labour further revealed the divine spark, while the blooming of the arid land and resurrection of the State of Israel were seen as vivid indications that the redemption had started. Historic events, like the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the United Nations vote in 1947 to establish a Jewish state, and the Six Day War in 1967, were perceived signals to Religious Zionists that the Messianic Era had dawned, with Israel serving as an integral part of the process.[46]

The theological schism that confronted Religious Zionism is an interesting example of a conflict between religion and state. Two sanctified ideals collided; the Land of Israel versus the State of Israel. A violent response to the orders by the Israeli government to evacuate settlements in the Land of Israel for the sake of national security has put the theology of Religious Zionism in a dilemma. This is a challenge that Religious Zionism has not faced since its inception. It represented a more complicated problem than the traditional dilemma of who prevails: the law of God or the law of the state? For Religious Zionism, both the State of Israel and the Land of Israel encompass religious connotations. Moreover, the territorial issue has forced Religious Zionism to formulate positions in an arena they had had abstained from between 1948 and 1967 – the area of foreign policy. As we shall see, the linkage between the state and foreign policy has been inherent in the historic Jewish political tradition.

Jewish foreign policy and the state

The request for state-building through government institutions in the Jewish political tradition traces back to Biblical Israel and is directly related to external threats.[47] The decentralized tribal political system that prevailed following the conquest of the Land of Canaan exposed them to repetitive external conquests. Following a failed hereditary succession, the Israelites demanded the prophet Samuel to anoint a king 'so that we also may be like all the nations and that our king . . . go out before us and fight our battles'.[48] Significantly, the twelfth-century *Halakhic* authority and philosopher Maimonides entitled the section of his code relating to monarchy 'Laws of Kings and Their Wars'.[49] In other words, the building of a state with central institutions was initially deemed necessary in order to amass strength against external threats. Moreover, the unique status of David, the founder of the monarchy and the one to whom eternal kingship was promised, speaks to the fact that he not only built a Jewish centralized state but also defeated the enemies who had threatened the Jewish people since they entered the land.

International politics also regularly entails alliance politics. In general, the normative Jewish approach towards alliances is negative. It is an attitude reflective of the apprehension of alien

cultural influences, as well as the implied lack of trust in God. Moreover, there is a certain antagonism between God's Covenant with Israel and international alliances.[50] The prophets Hosea and Jeremiah warned primarily against the dangers involved in regional alliances with Egypt and Assyria, together with reliance upon them.[51] In fact, there were alliances, starting with King Solomon and Hyram, King of Tyre and ending with the alliance between Judah the Hasmonean and the Romans during the Second Temple. But the main dilemma in alliance politics during the biblical era was related to the geo-political situation of the Israelite polities (approximately 1200–586 BCE).

Early Jewish history was deeply influenced by the geo-political location of the Israelite tribes and the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, beginning with its position between the Egyptian Empire and the major empires that lay to the north. The Land of Israel also became a battlefield during the power struggles between the Persians and the Greeks, between the latter and the Romans, and finally between the Romans and the Parthians. Beyond the Land of Israel, in the Diaspora during the Middle Ages the Jews were caught in requests for identifying their political identity during periods of conflicts between empires. At times the Jews found themselves in the middle of power struggles between empires, the most striking of which was the religio-civilizational conflict between Islam and Christianity. Despite an inherent historic repulsion towards alliance-building, Judaism had to cope with continuous external political realities.

Another dilemma occurring during the Middle Ages was the Jewish position as subordinates of the aristocracy and monarchs who provided them with protection. The strategy of relying upon the state or local rulers, as identified by Ginsberg, may be seen as an offshoot of the concept of the vassal treaty,[52] which is a form of an alliance. However, the peasantry and other serfs tended to perceive the Jews as agents of the oppressors, tax collectors, interest sharks and thus as enemies of the general populace.[53] Many of the Jewish massacres occurred against this background.

How do we detect Jewish attitudes towards the state and foreign relations in the post-independence State of Israel? In fact, the appearance of Zionism, in its various varieties, was intended first and foremost to ensure national survival. To be sure, the forebears of Zionism, as they are called by Jacob Katz,[54] were greatly influenced by the rise of nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe and the 'spring of nations' surrounding them. Yet, political Zionism was primarily motivated by the physical threat to the Jews and hence demanded a Jewish state as a means of immediate security. Perhaps the most significant proponent calling for a state as a shelter was Rabbi Jacob Reines, the founder of Religious Zionism, who was prepared to go to East Africa in order to establish a Jewish colony as a 'night refuge'.[55] For Rabbi Reines, who was devoted to the Land of Israel,[56] establishment of a colony in Africa was necessary for Jewish survival.

The State of Israel's foreign policy also carried on with some of the characteristics of traditional Jewish alliance politics. From its inception, the secular Zionist movement, as well as the secular State of Israel, continued in many regards the Jewish foreign policy of courting powerful actors. This can be seen through Herzl's search of an international charter in his *The Jewish State* and his diplomatic activity at the dawn of the twentieth century.[57] During World War I and its aftermath, Haim Weitzman, president of the World Zionist Congress, adopted a pro-British orientation.[58] Later, however, Israel's founding father and first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, followed the shift in the global balance of power by reorienting to the United States while trying to maintain the support of at least one great power,[59] such as was done with Great Britain and France in 1956. Despite the cost of being perceived as an emissary of the colonial powers, the Jewish state preferred the support of the major powers rather than

trying to improve its image among its Middle Eastern neighbours and or within the developing world more generally.[60] Similarly, by identifying with the colonial powers and the United States, the Jewish state was often criticized by some of the developing countries, notably from within Africa, at the United Nations.

Judaism comprises correspondingly normative dimensions. Michael Walzer, in a lecture entitled 'Universalism and Jewish Values', which was dedicated to the memory of Hans Morgenthau, identified four examples of Jewish universalism.[61] The first two originate in the Bible and were articulated by the prophets, while the latter two are derived from rabbinic literature. The first example is a rebuke by the prophet Amos to the neighbouring nations for their failure to keep international agreements and their responsibility for what would today be termed 'war crimes'. Walzer argues that, in practice, the prophet is calling for the adoption of what we might define today as international law.

The second example is found in the parallel prophecies of Isaiah and Micah concerning the end of days, which may be best described as reflecting a vision of world peace based upon a pluralistic international system. The third example is the Talmudic statement that 'the law of the Kingdom is law'.[62] This statement refers to the relations of Jews to their host state, binding them to uphold the laws of their host country when in foreign lands, and therefore belongs to the area of Jewish foreign policy. According to Walzer, since we have here the recognition of the law of the state by the *Halakhic* legal system, we find here an example of international law being adapted to the needs of a Diaspora.

The fourth example is provided by the Seven Noahide Code. The acceptance by the non-Jewish nations of the normative system that was given to the world (in the sense of the cosmos) even prior to the giving of the Torah to the Jews facilitates co-existence between Jews and non-Jews. It provides a *modus vivendi* for non-Jews living in a Jewish state, as well as for Jews living in a non-Jewish state. The common denominator of all four examples is that they reflect the support of a normative Jewish approach to international order. Support for a determined international order is usually the lot of imperial powers who wish to establish rule within their own spheres of influence or small nations seeking protection from said powers. The Jews, as we have seen, did not belong to the first category, and so the second category is more appropriate for them.

David Ben-Gurion, repeatedly spoke about Israel becoming 'A Light to the Nations'. The realities in the Middle East did not allow it to pursue this normative path. Like ancient Israel and the Jews in the Middle Ages the State of Israel found itself in the predicament of struggles between imperial powers. Salo W. Baron has drawn an analogy between this problem and the dilemmas that confronted the nascent State of Israel, which from the beginning was in the middle of the global struggles between East and West.[63] Some would argue that the Jewish state finds itself today in the midst of a 'clash of civilizations' by being located in the heart of the Middle East while leaning Western in its orientation and political culture.

The Jewish state and world Jewry

The establishment of a Jewish state did not prevent conflicts of interests from arising between Israel and those of the greater Jewish people or local Diaspora communities. For example, in the 1960s, when Israel sought international recognition by the new states of black Africa, they demanded Israel's vote against South Africa in the United Nations as well as an economic boycott against South Africa. The local South African Jewish community had another interest. The Pretoria government exerted pressure on its local Jewish community to exert their influence on Jerusalem to refrain from anti-South African steps. The diplomatic repercussions and the

contradiction that faced Israel in supporting Apartheid contrary to its self-proclaimed image of 'Light to the Nations', convinced Israel to vote against Apartheid in 1961. Another notable example was the kidnapping of World War II Nazi criminal Adolph Eichmann, motivated inter alia by Israel's self-image as being the historical heir of the historic Jewish people. By hunting the leading Nazi war criminal, Israel wished to assert itself internationally as the protector of the Jewish people and persecutor of its enemies. This act, however, undermined the local Jewish community in Argentina. With the Argentinian government viewing the mission as a violation of its sovereignty by the Jewish state, the local Jewish community was caught in the dilemma of choosing between allegiance to its homeland or rejoicing in Israel's historic mission.[64]

There were several other occasions where the Jewish and the Israeli interests did not coincide. Salient among them were the emigration of Algerian Jewry and Soviet Jewry. In the case of Soviet Jewry, during the 1950s, due to its own political interest, the government of Israel did not protest the persecution of the 'Jews of silence'.[65] In the 1970s the government of Israel wished to limit the struggle for immigration from the Soviet Union to those Jews who intended to come to Israel, while American Jewry demanded an overall struggle unrelated to the destination of Russian emigration.

Overall, it would be accurate to say that in cases where there was no existential threat to the State of Israel, the Jewish state took world Jewish interests fully into account. By contrast, in national survival incidents the Israeli interest always prevailed over foreign considerations.[66] Israel did not dare challenge the Soviets regarding their treatment of Soviet Jewry without American backing. Israel only began to raise the subject of Soviet abuses on the world agenda in the 1970s once Washington stood behind it. Similar to Israel's relation to Soviet Jewry, the interests of Israeli–Franco relations did not always correspond to those of Algerian Jewry.[67] On the issues of Algerian Jewry, Israel's interest in receiving a supply of Mirage fighter planes from France, and the completion of the construction of the atomic reactor in Dimona, was stronger than the needs of the local Jewish community. Ultimately, most of Algerian Jewry immigrated to France.[68]

The priority given to considerations of survival for the Jewish state above general Jewish interests do not contradict the values found in the Jewish tradition. Jewish survival, at a state and national level, has been a basic impulse in the Jewish value system. To be sure, every state within the international system entails prioritizing survival and in the case of Israel, there were both valid objective and subjective reasons for the search after broad margins of security. Moreover, Ben-Gurion, the founding father of the state, laid the foundation of Israel's national policy under the conviction that the fate of world Jewry was dependent on the survival of the State of Israel.[69] This was a far-reaching claim that closed a cycle that had started over 3,000 years earlier when the first Jews developed a state. After a Diaspora experience of almost 2,000 years in which they had embraced their foreign host lands they now clinched to a Jewish state.

Conclusion

The state has played a central role in Judaism from its inception. Ideally, the regime that the Jewish political tradition inspired to establish was the inverse of the centralized Ancient Egyptian Empire. At the basis of this ideal polity was the Covenant tradition with God that could be seen as the origin of the idea of a contractual relationship and constitutionalism. When the loosely confederated tribal structure evolved into a monarchy, the Israelites did not construct a lasting centralized polity. It was this mixture of central authority and competing

institutions that evolved during Jewish history, including the Jewish community (*Kehilah*) in the Diaspora. Significantly, despite its secular character, the contemporary Jewish state has successfully preserved key elements from the Jewish political tradition. The definition of Israel in the evolving constitution is as 'a Jewish and democratic state'.

A second feature in the Jewish relationship with the state is the bondage with its ancient sacred territory. To be sure, the Jewish political tradition helped keep Judaism alive during the Diaspora, while the Jews crucially lacked a territorial element. The birth of the nation-state in nineteenth-century Europe and the intensification of modern anti-Semitism that culminated in the Holocaust in the mid-twentieth century induced Jews to re-constitute a national state in the land of their ancestors. This restoration of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel, though, resulted in a protracted conflict without a solution in sight. For the religious national sector in the country, there are inherent contradictions that have emerged between two sacred maxims: the State of Israel and the Land of Israel.

The tension between statecraft demands and religious principles was also felt in ancient times in foreign affairs. Most of the history of the Israelite and Judean kingdoms was one of a defensive doctrine against their neighbouring imperial powers. The prophets strived to advance an international order based on norms, an approach that fits the needs of a small isolated nation. This approach was also suitable for a national or religious minority in exile that constantly felt threatened and insecure. Another facet of this reality in the Diaspora was the policy of allying with the ruling political elite, despite it garnering the hostility of the subordinate classes. This policy of alignment with the leading power was also maintained in modern-day Israel, as shown through its foreign policy of searching for the support of the great powers despite negative reactions from the Third World.

Finally, despite the almost full support of the Jewish Diaspora to the Jewish state, the two's interests have not always coincided. On certain occasions, of which only a few have been outlined in this essay, the overall Jewish national interest has split between the Jewish state and local Jewish communities. In most cases, it was the Israeli state's interest that prevailed, but that definitely has not occurred in all instances. Despite the occasional tension and the on-going issues between religion and state, the State of Israel defines itself as a Jewish and democratic state – one whose internal disputes and foreign policies trace back millennia.

Notes

1 Shmuel Sandler would like to thank Steven Moser, a 2014 graduate of The George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs, for helping edit this essay.
2 I take the Bible literally and assume that the Jewish narrative as it appeared in the Bible has influenced the Jewish approach to the state over the ages.
3 Harkabi, 'Jewish ethos and political positions in Israel', 44.
4 Leibowitz, *Judaism, the Jewish People and the State of Israel*; Belfer, 'The Jewish people and the kingdom of heaven', 302–26.
5 Elazar, *Kinship and Consent*, xix.
6 Ibid., 3–6.
7 Elazar, 'The themes of the Jewish Political Studies Review'.
8 Elazar, *Covenant and Polity in Biblical Israel*.
9 Sandler, 'Is there a Jewish foreign policy?', 115–121.
10 Genesis 12:11–20.
11 Exodus 20:2.
12 Wildavsky, *The Nursing Father, Moses as a Political Leader*, 93; Walzer, 1986, Chap. 3.
13 Walzer, Lorberbaum and Zohar, *The Jewish Political Tradition*, 7–8.

14 Elazar, 'The themes of the Jewish Political Studies Review', 2.
15 Ibid., 98–9.
16 Walzer, 1986, 17–45.
17 The ruling dynasty of Judea and surrounding regions during classical antiquity between 142 and 63 BC.
18 Schlesinger, *The Imperial Presidency*.
19 Mazar, 'Israel's wars with Aram', 207–9.
20 A Hasmonean ruler (103–76 BCE) of Judea, he was depicted as a wicked tyrant, despite his heroic role in the development of Judea.
21 Chronicles II, 27:16–22.
22 Avot I:1
23 For more on the idea of separation of powers between King, Priests and Torah see: Cohen 1997, 59–60. This diffused structure, according to Elazar and Cohen (*Jewish Polity*, 1997), accompanied the Jewish polity right through to contemporary Israel.
24 Baron, 'Ghetto and emancipation: Shall we revise the traditional view?', 515–26.
25 *Responsa* is the Latin plural of *responsum*, meaning, literally, 'answers'. The *responsa* literature, known in Hebrew as *Sheelot U-teshuvot* ('questions and answers'), is the body of written decisions and rulings given by rabbis in response to questions addressed to them by Jews living in a Diasporic reality.
26 Sacher, *A History of Israel*, 3.
27 Horowitz and Lissak, *The Origins of the Israeli Polity*, 317–18.
28 Dowty, 'Jewish political traditions', 60–1.
29 Horowitz and Lissak, *Trouble in Utopia*, 26–7.
30 Don-Yehiya, 'Religion and coalition'.
31 Neuer, 'Aharon Barak's revolution'.
32 *Ha'aretz*, 29 November 1993: A4
33 Smith, 'Ethnic election and national destiny: Some religious origins of nationalist ideals', 350.
34 Smith, 'States and homelands: The social and geopolitical implications of national territory', 187.
35 Connor, 'Nation building or nation destroying?' 319–55.
36 Chronicles II, 36:22–3
37 Vital, *The Origins of Zionism*, 5.
38 Sabbatai Zevi was a seventeenth-century Sephardic rabbi and Kabbalist who claimed to be the long-awaited Jewish Messiah. His conversion to Islam in 1966 devastated his followers and was followed by a deep crisis in some Jewish communities.
39 Dinur, *Israel and the Diaspora*, 90–5.
40 Horowitz and Lissak, *The Origins of the Israeli Polity*.
41 Vital, *The Origins of Zionism*, Chap. 9–10.
42 Gorny, *The Arab Question and the Jewish Problem*, 350–2.
43 Ibid., 395–6.
44 Sandler, *The State of Israel, the Land of Israel: The Statist and Ethnonational Dimensions of Foreign Policy*, 150–7.
45 Yaron, *The Philosophy of Rabbi Kook*, 87–9.
46 Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism*, Chap. 3.
47 Judges, 8:10.
48 Samuel 1, 8:20.
49 Blidstein, *Political Concepts in Maimodean Halakha*, 214.
50 Greenberg, *On the Bible and Judaism*, 187, note 11.
51 Isaiah, 30:1–7; ibid., 31:1–3; Hosea, 7:11; ibid., 8:9–13; Jeremiah, 16–19.
52 Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace*.
53 Baron, *The World Dimensions of Jewish History*, 87–9.
54 Katz, *Jewish Nationalism*, 263–85.
55 Vital, *The Origins of Zionism*, Chap. 7 and 10; Vital, *Zionism: The Formative Years*, 223.
56 Schwartz, *The Land of Israel in Religious Zionist Thought*.

57 Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 95–6; Sandler, *The State of Israel, the Land of Israel: The Statist and Ethnonational Dimensions of Foreign Policy*, 28–9.
58 Rose, *Chaim Weizman*, Chap. 13.
59 Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, 262–9.
60 Brecher, *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, 118–52.
61 Walzer, *Universalism and Jewish Values*, 9–32.
62 BT, *Gittin* 10b.
63 Baron, *The World Dimensions of Jewish History*, 39–42.
64 Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, 229–44.
65 Blum, 'A Jewish State Among the States', 131–9.
66 Inbar, 'Jews' "Jewishness" and Israel's foreign policy', 165–83.
67 Mualem, 'Between Israeli foreign policy and Jewish foreign policy: The exodus of the Jews of Algeria in 1958–1962', 229–41.
68 Ibid., 229–44.
69 Brecher, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, 256.

References

Baron, Salo W. 'Ghetto and emancipation: Shall we revise the traditional view?' *Menorah Journal*, 14 (1928): 515–526.
Baron, Salo W. *The World Dimensions of Jewish History*, Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Centre for Jewish History, 1996.
Bavli Talmud, Ketubot
Belfer, E. 'The Jewish people and the kingdom of heaven', in D. Elazar (ed.) *People and Community: The Jewish Political Tradition and its Implications for our Day* (Hebrew), Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1991: 302–26.
Blidstein, G. *Political Concepts in Maimodean Halakha*, Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983.
Blum, Y. 'A Jewish State Among the States', *Hagut, Between Israel and the Nations* (Hebrew), Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture (1985): 131–9.
Brecher, M. *The Foreign Policy System of Israel*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972.
Brecher, M. *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
Cohen, S. A. 'The concept of Three Ketarim: Their place in Jewish political thought and implications for studying Jewish constitutional history', in D. J. Elazar (ed.) *Kinship and* Consent, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997: 47–76.
Connor, W. 'Nation building or nation destroying?', *World Politics* 24, 3 (1972): 319–55.
Dinur, B. Zion. *Israel and the Diaspora*, Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publications Society of America, 1969.
Don-Yehiya, E. 'Religion and coalition: The National Religious Party and coalition formation', in A. Arian (ed.) *The Elections in Israel – 1973*, Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press, 1975.
Dowty, Alan. 'Jewish political traditions and contemporary Israeli politics', *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 2, 3 and 4 (1990): 55–84.
Elazar, D.J. 'The themes of the Jewish Political Studies Review', *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 1 (1989): 1–5.
Elazar D. J. *Covenant and Polity in Biblical Israel*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1995.
Elazar, Daniel J. (ed.) *Kinship and Consent*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997.
Elazar D.J. and Cohen, S. *The Jewish Polity*, Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 1997.
Ginsberg, B. *The Fatal Embrace*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
Gorny, Y. *The Arab Question and the Jewish Problem*, Tel Aviv: Am-Oved, 1985.
Greenberg, M. *On the Bible and Judaism* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1984.
Ha'aretz (1993) 29 November, p. A4.
Harkabi, Y. 'Jewish ethos and political positions in Israel', *Forum*, 56 (1985): 43–52.
Herzl, T. *The Jewish State*, New York: American Zionist Emergency Council, 1946.
Horowitz, D. and Lissak, M. *The Origins of the Israeli Polity*, Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1977.
Horowitz, D. and Lissak, M. *Trouble in Utopia*, Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1990.
Inbar, E. 'Jews' "Jewishness" and Israel's foreign policy', *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 2, 3 and 4 (1990): 165–83.

Katz, J. *Jewish Nationalism* (Hebrew), Jerusalem: The Zionist Library, 1983.
Leibowitz, Y. *Judaism, the Jewish People and the State of Israel* (Hebrew), Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Mossad Bialik, 1975.
Mazar, B. 'Israel's wars with Aram', in J. Liver (ed.), *Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Ma'arakhot, 1965.
Mualem, Y. 'Between Israeli foreign policy and Jewish foreign policy: The exodus of the Jews of Algeria in 1958–1962', in M. Orfali and E. Hazan (eds.) *Renewal and Tradition: Creativity, Leadership and Processes of Culturization of North African Jewry* (Hebrew), Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2004: 229–41.
Neuer, H. 'Aharon Barak's revolution', *AzureOnline*, 3 (Winter 5758/1998). http://www.daat.ac.il/DAAT/ezrachut/english/hillel.htm/.
Ravitzky, A. *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1993.
Rose, N. A. *Chaim Weizman*, Jerusalem: Keter, 1996.
Sacher, Howard M. *A History of Israel, From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time, Tel Aviv: Steimatzky's Agency*, 1976.
Sandler, S. 'Is there a Jewish foreign policy?', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 24, 2 (1987): 115–21.
Sandler, S. *The State of Israel, the Land of Israel: The Statist and Ethnonational Dimensions of Foreign Policy*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994.
Schlesinger, A. M. Jr. *The Imperial Presidency*, New York: Popular Library, 1974.
Schwartz, D. *The Land of Israel in Religious Zionist Thought* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1997.
Shilo, S. *The Law of the Land is the Law* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1975.
Smith, A. D. 'States and homelands: 'The social and geopolitical implications of national territory', *Journal of International Studies*, 10, 3 (1981): 187–202.
Smith, A.D. 'Ethnic election and national destiny: Some religious origins of nationalist ideals', *Nations and Nationalism*, 5, 3 (1999): 331–55.
The Holy Scriptures. A Jewish Bible According to the Masoretic Text, Tel Aviv: Sinai, 1971.
Vital, D. *The Origins of Zionism*, Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1975.
Vital, D. *Zionism: The Formative Years*, Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1982.
Walzer, M. *Exodus and Revolution*, New York: Basic Books, 1986.
Walzer, M. *Universalism and Jewish Values*, New York: Carnegie Council, 2001.
Walzer, M., Lorberbaum, M., and Zohar, N. J. (eds.) *The Jewish Political Tradition*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.
Wildavsky A. *The Nursing Father, Moses as a Political Leader*, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1984.
Yaron, Z. *The Philosophy of Rabbi Kook* (Hebrew), Jerusalem: WZO, 1974.

PART II

Religion and governance

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

9
RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

Luca Ozzano

UNIVERSITY OF TURIN, ITALY

Introduction: a controversial concept

The concept of 'religious fundamentalism' is very widely used, but also very controversial, for both theoretical and 'partisan' reasons. The term was coined in the context of American Protestantism, and was reportedly used for the first time in July 1920 by pastor Curtis Lee Laws. At the time, the term was not intended as a pejorative: the members of the movement themselves adopted it to indicate their desire to return to the 'fundamentals' of Christianity (which also implied the creation of an organization named World Christian Fundamentals Association, and the publication of a series of books entitled *Fundamentals*). However, to external observers, especially in the secular mainstream media, 'fundamentalist' gradually became synonymous with fanatic and obscurantist.

In the following decades, the term was thus applied to identify a conservative faction of US evangelicalism, without any comparative use of the concept. Before the Iranian revolution, only a few scholars, such as Hamilton Gibb (talking about Wahhabism and the Islamic movements of religious reawakening of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries),[1] used this concept in relation to a phenomenon outside the Protestant context. After the shock experienced by the Western world because of the Iranian events, the term started to be used with reference to different cultures and religions (gradually extending from Protestantism to Islam and, later, to other religious traditions) and with an increasingly pejorative bias. As we will see in the following paragraphs, it was only at the end of the 1980s that the term started to be adopted in academic research. More recently, there have also been attempts to introduce in academic literature the concept of 'secular fundamentalism', in order to describe the fanaticism of some outspoken opponents of religion in the public sphere, in contexts such as the US and Turkey.[2]

Today, the use of 'fundamentalism' in academic research is still very controversial. The following are the main objections against it:

- It belongs to the American Protestant tradition and cannot be applied to other religions. Quite interestingly, this position is supported both by scholars willing to preserve the term as a prerogative of Christianity,[3] and by others rejecting it as a Christianity-related concept.[4]
- It is conceptually flawed, a too vague and 'imprecise category for making comparisons across cultures'.[5]

- It is not suitable for the analysis of political phenomena because it allegedly does not carry any political meaning. According to Mark Juergensmeyer, for example, 'to call someone a "fundamentalist" suggests that he or she is motivated solely by religious beliefs rather than broader concerns about the nature of society and the world'.[6]
- Its pejorative bias is too strong for an objective analysis, since it is 'too partisan, usually in a pejorative sense, to be anything but damaging to some of the most important goals of religious studies'.[7]

A further factor, which is not precisely an objection to the use of 'fundamentalism', but which has prevented, up to a point, the development of the studies about this phenomenon, is its alleged regressive character, which – at least in the 1970s and 1980s – was against the values of a mainly progressive academic community sticking to the 'secularization paradigm';[8] this community, rather than studying the phenomenon, would allegedly prefer to see its threat 'evaporate, becoming a bad dream limited to the eighties'.[9] This partly explains why literature about fundamentalism, especially in comparative perspective, has developed much later than the phenomenon, and relatively slowly.

The early scholarly works and the 'Fundamentalism Project'

The first thorough comparative work about religious fundamentalism was *Defenders of God* by Bruce Lawrence, who probably was the first scholar to openly propose and defend a comparative approach to the study of the phenomenon, criticizing the idea that fundamentalism was 'the special preserve of Protestant Christianity'.[10] Moreover, although he agreed with the traditional idea that 'scripture [is] a crucial, defining element', he recognized the importance of other factors such as charismatic leadership. Lawrence clearly perceived the political side of the phenomenon, stating that 'fundamentalists *do* relate to the public sphere. They *do* care about political power, economic justice, and social status . . . they are reacting against a notion of intellectual hegemony as well as sociopolitical privilege. . . . They are not granted access to the circles of the dominant ruling group; they are challenging their exclusion from such echelons of power.'[11] He also set the frame for the interpretation of fundamentalists' behaviour towards modernity, pointing out that 'fundamentalists are moderns but not modernists', since they accept the instrumental side of modernity, but refuse its values reorientation.

In Europe, some of the early comparative works about fundamentalism were produced in Italy, by Enzo Pace; and in Germany, by Thomas Meyer, and particularly by Martin Riesebrodt, one of the first sociologists to address the phenomenon in comparative perspective with the attempt at a thorough theoretical formulation. Riesebrodt defined fundamentalism in terms of 'radical patriarchalism', and more precisely as 'an urban movement directed primarily against the dissolution of personalistic, patriarchal notions of order and social relations and their replacement by depersonalized principles', caused primarily by 'the dramatic reduction in chances of the traditionalist milieu to reproduce itself culturally under conditions of rapid urbanization, industrialization, and secularization'. Riesebrodt also proposed some typological distinctions, later echoed by other authors, such as those between 'world-fleeing' and 'world-mastering' fundamentalisms (this latter category further divided into reformist and revolutionary, according to the movements' approach to power) and between book-centred ('rational') and experience-centred ('charismatic') ones. About the organization and the strategies of the fundamentalist groups, Riesebrodt discerns between fundamentalism as

a public protest movement and fundamentalism as a secret society, as in the case of small terrorist groups.[12]

Among the seminal works about religious fundamentalism it is also necessary to include – although the author does not mention the concept explicitly – Gilles Kepel's *La Revanche de Dieu* (the revenge of God), the first 'popular' book analyzing the resurgence of religion throughout the world since the late 1970s. According to its thesis, the new extremist religious movements were the product of the displacement – 'a deep social disquiet' – caused by the fast social and political changes marking out the contemporary era. Another broader work worth mentioning is Jose Casanova's *Public Religions in the Modern World*, which frames the global resurgence of religions in a wider process of 'deprivatization' of religion, from the private realm back to the public sphere.[13]

In 1989, the University of Chicago, with the support of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, launched the 'Fundamentalism Project' (FP), which marked the end of the pioneering phase in the research on fundamentalism, and eventually gave birth to a series of five edited volumes (published between 1991 and 1995).[14] It was in the last one, *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, that real theoretical conclusions were carried out, providing a definition of fundamentalism through nine recurring features (five related to ideology, and four to organization):

1. *Reactivity to the marginalization of religion*, which can be the result of 'the general processes of modernization, from other religions and/or ethnic groups, from a secular state (imperial or indigenous) seeking to secularize and delimit the domain of the sacred, or from various combinations of these'.
2. *Selectivity*. Movements are selective towards tradition (choosing and reinterpreting parts of it as the focus of their theology); towards modernity (adopting its technological innovations, but rejecting its values orientation); and they also select some consequences and processes of modernity (for example, abortion in the US), and single them out as targets for their campaigns.
3. *Moral Manicheanism*. In the fundamentalist worldview, reality is uncompromisingly divided into light and darkness, a pure world inside, and a sinful outside.
4. *Absolutism and inerrancy*, often connected to the literal reading of the sacred texts but which can also refer to 'its analogues (e.g., papal infallibility, a privileged school of Islamic jurisprudence, etc.)'.
5. *Millennialism and messianism*. In the fundamentalist worldview, history has a miraculous culmination, with 'an end to the suffering and waiting' and the coming of 'an all-powerful mediator' (the Messiah, the Hidden Imam, etc.).
6. *Elect, chosen membership*, since 'fundamentalist movements tend to have an 'elect', a chosen, divinely called membership, described variously as 'the faithful', 'the remnant', the 'last outpost', etc.
7. *Sharp boundaries* between believers and the external world: they can be physical, as in the case of the Israeli *haredim*, or symbolic and implemented especially through the media and education.
8. *Authoritarian organization*. Movements are usually structured in a charismatic leader–follower relationship, with equality among the believers and absence of 'bureaucracy in the sense of rational-legal division of power and competence'.
9. *Behavioural requirements* that create 'a powerful affective dimension, an imitative, conforming dimension', with distinctive music, rules of dress, and rules about drinking, sexuality, appropriate speech and the discipline of children.[15]

Another well-known theoretical contribution proposed in the last volume of the FP is a typology of fundamentalist movements according to their attitude towards the world, which includes and widens Riesebrodt's model, by classifying the movements in world conqueror, world transformer, world creator and world renouncer.[16] The FP also provides a survey of the fundamentalist political strategies, which singled out a top-down strategy (aiming at seizing political power before achieving societal hegemony) and a bottom-up one (the opposite): the former (non-violent) one most commonly adopted within democratic regimes.[17] In this case, however, they 'find difficult to govern without resorting to the services of professional politicians and nonfundamentalist allies', which often leads to 'the politics of compromise and the distillation of the fundamentalist sociomoral message'.[18]

Other theoretical perspectives

The FP, and particularly its definition of fundamentalism, has been widely appreciated and cited, but also criticized, as too influenced by the secularization paradigm, as too inclusive and arbitrary in the choice of movements, as too hegemonized by religious studies scholars, while neglecting the political side of the phenomenon (and particularly the importance of the enemy in the fundamentalist mobilization).[19] In the following years, several other theoretical perspectives have therefore been developed, which can be classified as follows.

Fundamentalism as an effect of globalization

One of these clusters of works interprets fundamentalism as an effect of exogenous variables, related to international and/or transnational dynamics. Some authors, for example, maintain that the rise of fundamentalism is directly connected to the worldwide process of globalization. Roland Robertson points out that globalization – synthetically defined as 'involving the compression of the world' – unavoidably produces a global 'search for fundamentals' in terms of 'tradition, identity, home, indigeneity, locality, community and so on'. Thus, 'many forms of fundamentalisms . . . constitute ways of finding a place within the world as a whole'.[20] The author, in his early works on the subject, maintained an idea of fundamentalism as a reaction to globalization oriented towards creating and maintaining peculiar identities: a vision also proposed by Misztal and Shupe, who define this phenomenon 'global fundamentalism'.[21] However, in his later researches, Robertson conceptualized fundamentalism no longer as a reaction against globalization, but as a direct effect of it. This change of mind is framed by the author in relation to the dichotomy global/local, which, according to Robertson, is usually seen as opposite concepts, while in reality they are two faces of the same coin. This process, defined with the neologism 'glocalization', prevents the communities from asserting their identity locally: therefore, they try to assert a reinvented version of it at the global level, as in the cases of religious fundamentalisms.[22]

A similar point of view was chosen, some years later, by another American sociologist, Benjamin R. Barber, in the book *Jihad vs. McWorld*. With these two terms he highlighted two powerful forces acting within modernity: the regressive collective identities (including fundamentalist movements) and the forces of neo-liberal globalization. According to Barber, these forces 'operate with equal strength in opposite directions, the one driven by parochial hatreds, the other by universalizing markets, the one re-creating ancient subnational and ethnic borders from within, the other making national borders porous from without'. However, they are only apparently opposite to each other: they are indeed strictly interrelated and need each other since 'they both make war on the sovereign nation-state's democratic institutions'.[23]

Fundamentalism as a symptom of the clash of civilizations

Another strand of scholarship about fundamentalism interprets the phenomenon as a consequence of a 'clash of civilizations', a concept originally coined by Bernard Lewis and made popular by Samuel P. Huntington. This theory presupposes that 'culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world'.[24] Huntington defines a civilization as 'the broadest cultural identity . . . the biggest "we" within which we feel culturally at home as distinguished from all the other "thems" out there';[25] its central elements are language and religion.[26] Huntington singles out three possible reactions to the Western expansion in the world: total refusal of Westernization, Kemalism (complete acceptance of it), and reformism (which tries to merge modernization and preservation of the local values). Fundamentalism is defined as an extreme form of reformism, developed in the twentieth century, as 'the surface waves of the much broader and more fundamental religious tide that is giving a different cast to human life at the end of the twentieth century',[27] and as a reaction to the feeling of emptiness engendered by the sudden adoption of Western social and political institutions and values.

A not so different theme is developed by Mark Juergensmeyer in his book *The New Cold War: Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (1993).[28] Unlike Huntington's, this book focuses not on the clash *between* civilizations, but on the clash *within* cultures and nation-states between the supporters of secular nationalism (inspired by democratic and socialist ideologies) and those of religious nationalism. This latter force is described by the author as struggling for a revival of religion in the public sphere against Western secularism and denouncing both the moral decline in the West (this latter is also deemed responsible for the moral decline in the rest of the world), and the failure of the political institutions imported from it.[29]

Fundamentalism as totalitarianism

Another group of contributions interpret fundamentalism as a manifestation of totalitarianism (and, particularly, assimilate it to 'left-wing' totalitarianisms, such as Stalinism). Ernest Gellner maintains that fundamentalism 'repudiates the tolerant modernist claim that the faith in question means something much milder, far less exclusive, altogether less demanding, and much more accommodating; above all something quite compatible with all other faiths, even, or especially, with the lack of faith'. The British philosopher is, however, convinced that all the great civilizations have almost irreversibly secularized, except Islam. Therefore, although 'fundamentalism occurs in many religions', it is today 'at its strongest in Islam'.[30] Gellner explicitly compared Islamic fundamentalism to Soviet Marxism, and also maintained that 'Islam fulfils some of the very functions which nationalism performs elsewhere', namely the transition to a modern society: what elsewhere 'expresses itself as nationalism, expresses itself in the Muslim world as religious revivalism, as fundamentalism'.[31]

Shmuel Eisenstadt,[32] on the other hand, highlights the Jacobin face of fundamentalism, defined as 'a modern Jacobin anti-modern utopia and heterodoxy'. According to the author, although promoting ideologies which are clearly opposed to modernity, fundamentalists don't reject the technological and organizational features of this latter, as well as its totalitarian, especially Jacobin, sides, such as the nearly complete overlapping of centre and periphery which denies the existence of intermediate institutions, which also implies the sacralization of the centre, as well as missionary expansionism. In this perspective, he compares fundamentalist

movements to 'Communist ones, with whom they share some paradoxical and some mirror-like characteristics' and to 'the major types of nationalistic movements and regimes, especially fascist and national-social ones, that developed in modern societies'. Particularly, 'communist and fundamentalist movements and regimes share the tendency to promulgate a very strong salvationist vision or gospel', and their visions entail 'the transformation of both man and society, and the construction of new, personal and collective identities', demanding 'total submergence of the individual in the general totalistic community'.[33]

Fundamentalism as a niche of the religious market

A more structured and methodologically coherent approach is provided by the 'religious economy' model. This school of thought, born between the 1970s and the 1980s with the work of Rodney Stark and other scholars, analyses religion with the tools provided by the 'rational choice' perspective. This approach regards religion (not unlike economy and politics) as an eminently rational field, wherein both the supply side (religious institutions) and the demand side (individuals) aims at maximizing its benefits and minimizing costs.[34]

According to Stark and to Roger Finke, religious demand can be arranged on a 'tension [with the environment] continuum, with one end focusing on the supernatural to the fullest extent possible and the other accepting only a remote and inactive conception of the supernatural'. Religious demand thus takes the shape of a bell curve: the central niches (moderate and conservative), providing low benefits and demanding low costs, will appeal to more people, but also encourage free-riding.[35] However, as we move towards both extremes (strict and ultra-strict; liberal and ultra-liberal), and the degree of tension with the environment becomes higher, we will find religious organizations with higher and higher costs and benefits, fewer followers, and a lower level of free-riding.[36] Fundamentalist movements are included in the strict niche (while the ultra-strict is occupied by even more extremist religious groups, such as terrorist ones), whose organizations tend to grow and strengthen because, although imposing higher costs on individuals, they provide these latter with even higher, mostly identity-related, benefits.[37]

This approach, as well as the whole rational choice school, has attracted considerable criticism, because it reduces the individuals' behaviour to its rational side, and neglects the idea of religious movements as collective identities.[38] Moreover, the only factor which is taken into account to determine the individuals' orientation is their official religious affiliation. This perspective, strongly US-centred, neglects other kinds of religious behaviour, not connected to institutional religions and to the dimension of 'belonging'.[39]

The case of Protestant fundamentalism

As mentioned above, the concept of fundamentalism derives from a strand of American Protestantism developed between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, with the Niagara Bible Conferences and the publication of a book series named *Fundamentals*. This movement was partly the effect of endogenous developments of American Protestantism, and particularly the spreading of premillennialist and dispensationalist ideas, made popular in the first half of the nineteenth century by the British preacher John Nelson Darby. His theology was based on the idea that history was divided in different eras named dispensations, each marked by a different kind of God's rule. Darby believed that the forthcoming dispensation would entail the rapture to heaven of the true believers, the restoration of the Kingdom of Israel, the battle of Armageddon, and the

Second Coming of Christ, with the start of his thousand-years rule. The focus of the early fundamentalists was therefore to save from damnation as many people as possible before the Second Coming.[40]

On the other hand, the birth of the fundamentalist movement was also a reaction to the modernization and secularization processes involving nineteenth-century American society, and particularly to the development of the *higher criticism* method, applying hermeneutics to the interpretation of the Bible, and the spreading among religious liberals of the Social Gospel, neglecting doctrine to focus on social activism. The early fundamentalists, however, regarded as their main enemy Charles Darwin's evolutionist theses, which put into question the creationist idea of the origin of man derived from a literal reading of the Genesis book. The first massive mobilization of the fundamentalist movement, taking place in the 1910s and 1920s, was therefore a campaign in defence of the creationist creed, which found its culmination in 1925 with the Scopes trial (a lawsuit against a biology teacher who had violated Tennessee's anti-evolutionism law).[41]

In the following decades, Protestant fundamentalism entered a phase of quiescence and separation from the increasingly secularized mainstream American society. During these decades, from the 1930s to the 1960s, the movement developed its own organization, with separate congregations under the umbrellas of the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) and the National Association of the Evangelicals (NAE), a separate network of educational facilities, and its own media network. This latter significantly contributed to the development of the ideas of the movement, thanks to the use of radio, and (since the 1950s) television, which in the following decades made widely popular Evangelical preachers such as Jerry Falwell and Marion (Pat) Robertson.[42] It was only since the late 1960s and early 1970s that Protestant fundamentalists (now commonly referred to as 'Evangelicals') became once more part of the mainstream public sphere, also thanks to the emergence of popular 'moderate' Evangelicals such as the preacher Billy Graham and President Jimmy Carter and to popular best sellers such as Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth*.[43] This new visibility was, however, mainly due to a massive mobilization against the liberal development of American society, and more particularly against the Supreme Court's rulings such as *Roe vs. Wade* (which in 1973 made abortion legal in the US) and the attempt to include in the US Constitution an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) sanctioning complete equality between man and woman. This mobilization started at the grassroots level in the early 1970s, to become visible at the national level only some years later, when three activists of the Republican Party's 'new right' faction, Howard Phillips, Richard Viguerie, and Paul Weyrich, started to meet the most popular Evangelical leaders to convince them to get engaged into politics. Evangelists such as James Kennedy, Tim LaHaye (author of the best-seller series of apocalyptic novels *Left Behind*),[44] and Ed McAteer started a cluster of political organizations, among which Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority stood out in terms of size and popularity. The movement focused its attention on several issues: creationism, the battle against abortion, the opposition to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights, and the support for Israel (whose existence and territorial expansion were seen by Protestant fundamentalists as a precondition for the Second Coming of Christ).[45]

Although Ronald Reagan's rise to the presidency was hailed by conservative Evangelicals as a breakthrough, the movement did not obtain relevant achievements in terms of public policies, while in the mid-1980s some of its leaders were involved in financial and sexual scandals. Its reorganization, in the early 1990s, was led by Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, which (mainly thanks to the involvement of a young former Washington lobbyist, Ralph Reed)[46] turned the movement from a religious-based organization into a network of political activists,

and reframed in 'liberal' language many Evangelical stances (for example, the opposition to abortion became 'the protection of the rights of the unborn'). In this phase, grassroots campaigns were complemented by a strategy of conquest of the Republican Party from the inside: the Christian right became thus a sizeable faction among conservative republicans, whose role seemed to be sanctioned by the election of George W. Bush, a conservative, 'born again' Evangelical, to the White House.[47]

To date, despite its huge influence on the Republican Party and popular conservative media such as Fox News, the movement has not been successful in obtaining results in terms of public policies at the national level (which is not true, however, in relation to many local contexts, and particularly some conservative-oriented states, where controversial laws on abortion, education and LGBT issues have been approved, often to be repealed by the Supreme Court); on the contrary, in relation to issues such as same-sex marriage, the trend seems to favour the liberal side of the debate. However, the influence of the Christian right on the positions of the Republican Party and on the increased polarization in the national political debate – especially through the powerful conservative media – must not be underestimated.

The case of Islamic fundamentalism

Although the concept of 'fundamentalism' became widely used in comparative perspective only in the 1980s, in other religious traditions *ante litteram* phenomena of fundamentalism had already developed. In the case of Islam, the forerunner of contemporary fundamentalism was a wave of uprisings and reform movements started in the late eighteenth century, often as a reaction to Western colonialism, but also to the attempts by many Muslim rulers to forcefully modernize and secularize their countries from above.[48] While modernists believed that to compete with the Western powers Middle Eastern countries had to reject their traditions and adopt a rationalist perspective, these reformers, such as the Salafi movement, aimed at restoring the 'golden age' of the early centuries of Islam. Such movements, often facing authoritarian governments, mainly relied on a bottom-up approach to hegemony, at first focused on proselytism and education rather than the seizure of power by force.[49] This was the case for the Muslim Brotherhood, founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, an Egyptian religious and political leader and educator who sought in the sacred law the answer to the problems of society (as shown by the organization's motto: 'the Koran is our constitution'). The Brotherhood was not simply a religious group: it was designed as a wide social movement encompassing many sides of society, spanning from education to politics and business, with a social activism among the poorer strata of the population which resembled in some ways that of the European socialist movement. This model proved very successful and found imitations in several Muslim-majority countries.[50] The movements had, however, to face the brutal repression of many Middle Eastern regimes, which did not hesitate to use the force against them: al-Banna himself was assassinated in 1949, while his successor Sayyid Qutb spent many years in jail before being hanged in 1966 by Nasser's regime.

It was in this climate of repression that the main theoretical elaborations founding contemporary Islamic fundamentalism were created. Qutb himself produced his main works while in jail, in which he applied the concept of *jahiliyyah* (pre-Islamic ignorance) to the Middle Eastern authoritarian secularist regimes: the struggle against them was therefore *jihad*, a sacred duty, for all believers. Another thinker crucial for the development of contemporary fundamentalism was the Pakistani Abu'l 'Ala al Mawdudi (founder of the Jama'at-i Islami organization), who also extended the terms of the traditional use of jihad according to the idea that God's is the only legitimate sovereignty (*hakimiyyah*).[51]

The rise of contemporary Islamic fundamentalism was further facilitated, in the second half of the twentieth century, by some historical developments. First, the 1967 Six-Day War, when Israel defeated an alliance of neighbouring Arab countries, significantly undermined the legitimacy of the nationalist and socialist ideologies which founded many Middle Eastern regimes, and favoured the return of Islam in the public sphere as a legitimate political ideology. It was, however, in 1979 that the Islamic revolution in Iran and the start of the anti-Soviet jihad in Afghanistan turned political Islam from an abstract political ideology into a viable tool for the conquest of power in the eyes of the Middle Eastern masses.[52] The Islamic revolution in Iran represented a big surprise, since Shi'i Muslims had traditionally stood out for its political quietism, with their wait for the return of the 'Hidden Imam'. Ayatollah Khomeini overturned this perspective, by declaring that in the absence of the Imam, its role could be surrogated by the Shi'i clerics, led by a 'rightful faqih'.[53] The ideology that justified the Iranian revolution also borrowed some of its tenets from Western revolutionary ideologies, mainly thanks to the elaborations of Ali Shariati, an ideologue who had been killed by the Shah's secret police in 1977.[54] On the other hand, the jihad in Afghanistan proved essential for the development of contemporary fundamentalism, since the tens of thousands of Arab fighters engaged in that struggle provided later the bulk of al Qaeda and other jihadi groups, while the mobilization of resources for the Afghani jihad represented a milestone in the creation of a wide network of charities and fundraising institutions which (mainly thanks to the wide resources available in the Gulf states) in the following decades became crucial for the spreading of radical Islam throughout the Muslim world.[55]

Another crucial factor in this evolutionary process was the developments of the Israeli-Palestinian issue, particularly after the start of the popular uprising known as First Intifada (1987), which became a warhorse for the mobilization of the masses throughout the Muslim world. Israel and the Jews became thus one of the main targets of jihadi groups, and the opposition to 'Zionists' became one of the ideological tenets of a global strategy of struggle against the West and its values.

A final turning point of this process was the First Gulf War (1990–1), when the presence of foreign troops in the Arabian holy lands was seen as sacrilegious by al Qaeda's leader Osama bin Laden (formerly engaged in the Afghan jihad) who in 1996 made public a 'Declaration of War' against the US. His anti-Western struggle, begun in 1993 in Somalia, went on in 1998 with the attacks against two American embassies in Africa, and culminated in 2001 with the 9/11 attacks. While in this phase al Qaeda showed a more or less coherent and hierarchical organization, after the War in Afghanistan (2001–2) and the closure of al Qaeda's training camps in the country, the network increasingly worked on a 'franchising' principle, providing its brand and its resources to local groups with little contact with the mother organization (as in the cases of several attacks carried out in Europe and Asia in the 2000s).[56] On the other hand, the transnational jihadi network since the early 2010s also had to face the competition of new groups claiming the restoration of the caliphate, such as the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and Boko Haram in western Africa.[57]

The case of Jewish fundamentalism

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as mentioned above, is a particularly thorny issue in the contemporary Middle East, also because it is a clash of opposite fundamentalisms, with the involvement of Muslim and Jewish extremists alike.

Although Jewish history is traditionally marked by the presence of messianic and reform movements, the roots of contemporary Jewish fundamentalism must be traced to the late

nineteenth century, when the Zionist movement started to encourage the migration of European Jews to the 'promised land'. Although the movement was mainly secular in nature, the idea of the return was supported in the nineteenth century also by some rabbis, such as Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, who thought that the time for Jews to return to Palestine had come. This perspective was deeply opposed by the mainstream point of view of European Jewry, according to which the Jewish people was bound by the so-called 'three oaths' not to 'force the wall of exile' and return *en masse* to Eretz Israel (the promised land) before the coming of the Messiah:[58] thus, 'any human attempt to achieve redemption or "hasten the end" by taking practical steps to realize the Kingdom in the Holy Land, was abhorrent'.[59]

The religious Zionist perspective developed into the Mizrachi movement, officially created in 1902 in Vilnius by the Orthodox Rabbi Yitzchak Yaacov Reines. In the following decades the movement worked with secular Zionists to encourage Jewish migration to Palestine. It was one of its followers, the Chief Rabbi of Palestine Avraham Yitzchak Kook, who developed the religious Zionist theology, by interpreting Zionism – despite its secular nature – as an unconscious answer to God's call, which represented the start of the Redemption process.[60] This message was systematized by Kook's son, Rabbi Zvi Yeduda Kook, who interpreted it according to a nationalist perspective, which sacralized the biblical Land of Israel, making the incorporation of the whole of it into the Israeli state a precondition for the Redemption process.[61]

This identification between Land of Israel and Redemption process became a dogma of faith for Kook's followers, gathering since the 1950s around his Merkaz HaRav *yeshiva* (religious seminary). These latter, such as Moshe Levinger, Yaakov Ariel, Shlomo Aviner, and Haim Druckman, later became the founders and the bulk of the main religious Zionist fundamentalist organization, the Gush Emunim (bloc of the faithful). The event which moved this faction from a marginal position to the centre of the public debate was the Six-Day War, which in the eyes of religious Zionists confirmed Kook's thesis and was a 'sign of the times' showing that Redemption was imminent.[62] In the following years, the members of the group started a campaign of establishment of illegal settlements in the occupied territories, while in politics its members managed to gain the upper hand within the National Religious Party or Mafdal, the traditional political party of religious Zionists, which became part of several centre-right cabinets led by the Likud party, giving birth in the following decades to other offshoots (the main party representing religious Zionists in today's Knesset is Neftali Bennet's The Jewish Home).[63]

In the 1980s and 1990s, after the disappointment following the return of part of the occupied territories to the Arabs countries, the movement underwent a further radicalization process, also as a consequence of the emigration to Israel of the American Rabbi Meir Kahane, who avowed the deportation of Palestinians and the ban on mixed Jewish-Arab marriages,[64] and some of its offshoots explicitly resorted to violence. Among them, the Machteret, a group of Gush Emunim followers, which in the 1980s carried out several deadly attacks against Arabs and planned to blow up the Dome of the Rock mosque in Jerusalem; Baruch Goldstein, a Kahane follower who in 1994 killed twenty-nine Palestinians at the Cave of Patriarchs in Hebron; and the murderer of Prime Minister Rabin, Ygal Amir.[65]

Alongside religious Zionists, during and after the twentieth-century persecutions of the Jews, many Orthodox religious people, ideologically opposing Zionism, chose to emigrate to Israel for security or economic reasons. However, since they refused to acknowledge as legitimate the existence of the State of Israel, they mainly preferred to live in a regime of separation from mainstream Israeli society, and mostly continued to adopt many customs of traditional European Jewry, also in terms of clothing, rejecting many aspects of modernity. Commonly known as *haredim*, they are regarded by some scholars as fundamentalists, by others as a mere

traditionalist group (such as the Amish).[66] In the latest decades, they have been increasingly involved in the Israeli political system (through their traditional party Agudat Yisrael and its offspring, such as the ethno-religious party Shas, which represents the Sephardi Orthodox community), mainly to preserve the privileges (such as the exemption from military service for religious students) that sanctioned their separation from mainstream Israeli society.[67]

Other cases

Much of the literature about religious fundamentalism has focused on the three religious traditions reviewed above. However, a growing corpus of works has been taking into account the possibility of development of fundamentalist strands within other traditions. First, there is a lively discussion about the possibility that some Catholic movements, such as Communion and Liberation, or ultra-traditionalist groups, such as Marcel Lefebvre's Society of Saint Pius X, can be labelled as fundamentalists. A widespread opinion, however, regards Catholicism as ill-suited to the development of fundamentalist movements, given the Vatican's tight hierarchy.[68]

Many of the residual works on fundamentalist movements focus on the religions of India's sub-continent. A rather huge corpus of literature deals with Hindu fundamentalism, regarded as a kind of religious nationalism with some features similar to the Jewish movement. As in Israel, we have an ideology, commonly known as *Hindutva* (hindu-ness), and developed by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in the 1920s, which regards India's land as sacred and regards the followers of non-Indian religions, such as Christians and Muslims, as intruders, giving rise to strong religious nationalist feelings.[69] Savarkar's followers turned these ideas into a concrete programme for political action through the creation, in 1925, of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS – national volunteers organization), a paramilitary religious nationalist group which significantly grew in the following decades to reach a membership of millions. Members of RSS and its affiliated organizations, such as the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, and the Bajrang Dal, have been involved in the following decades in a growing wave of interreligious clashes, mainly with India's huge Muslim minority, whose most infamous events have been the 1992 destruction of the Babri Masjid (mosque of Babur) in Ayodhya and the 2002 riots in Gujarat.[70] The right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP – India's popular party), also close to the movement, has won the parliamentary elections in India in 1998, 1999 and 2014 and currently leads the national government.

While in the past decades several works have been written about Sikh fundamentalism (also because Sikhism is the only monotheism among the main Indian faiths),[71] in recent years a growing debate has developed about Buddhism. Traditionally regarded as peaceful and quietist,[72] this religious tradition was regarded by many as quintessentially antithetic to fundamentalism. However, the events taking place in Sri Lanka during the last decades have put into question this view, with the development of a fundamentalist orientation which juxtaposes religion, culture, land, and identity and defines the Tamil minority (mainly Hindu and Muslim) as 'the hated other'.[73] More recently, this trend has extended, according to some accounts, also to other South-East Asian countries, such as Burma and Thailand.[74]

Concluding remarks

Religious fundamentalism, as shown above, is a phenomenon hard to define. However, in relation to both the state of the art and the description of the cases carried out in this work, it is possible to draw up a list of points which are common to all its versions:

- Fundamentalist movements can be found within all major religious traditions.
- Fundamentalism is not 'simply' a religious phenomenon: on the contrary, it is strongly linked to politics and to the search for the control and hegemony over society.
- It is not a traditionalist phenomenon, not only because fundamentalists often use modern tools and techniques, but also because they usually select, reinterpret, and sometimes rewrite their own religious traditions.
- Broadly speaking, we can find two main varieties of fundamentalism: one mainly targeting the secularization of society and the public sphere, and adopting as main issues cultural and symbolic matters and issues related to morality and sexuality; the other marked by a nationalist orientation and focused on the struggle against other religious communities for the control of the territory, and particularly of some sacred places.
- Fundamentalists are not necessarily violent – especially when they adopt a bottom-up strategy focused on education, rather than a top-down one aiming first at the conquest of power – and can be part of a democratic political system. However, their activity often results in a higher level of polarization at both the social and the political levels – with a higher probability of violence – especially in the cases of fundamentalist movements with a strong nationalist orientation.

Notes

1 Gibb, *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*.
2 Conkle, 'Secular Fundamentalism'.
3 Barr, *Fundamentalism*.
4 Esposito, *The Islamic Threat*.
5 Juergensmeyer, 'Why Religious Nationalists', 86.
6 Ibid., 87.
7 Shepard, 'Comments on Bruce Lawrence's Defenders of God', 281.
8 Swatos, 'Fundamentalism in the Islamic World'.
9 Lawrence, *Defenders of God*, 8.
10 Ibid., 6
11 Ibid., 1–7.
12 Riesebrodt, *Pious Passion*, 9–19.
13 Kepel, *La Revanche de Dieu*; Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*.
14 In 2003, the most interesting theoretical chapters of the work were later reprinted in: Almond, Appleby, and Sivan, *Strong Religion*.
15 Almond, Sivan, and Appleby, 'Fundamentalism: Genus and Species', 405–8.
16 Almond, Sivan, and Appleby, 'Explaining Fundamentalisms', 438–9.
17 This model had already been proposed in 1984 by Gilles Kepel in his analysis of the Egyptian Islamism movement: *Le Prophète et Pharaon*.
18 Marty and Appleby, 'Conclusion: Remaking the State: The Limits of the Fundamentalist Imagination', 631.
19 Simpson, 'Review of Marty and Appleby: Fundamentalisms and the State'; Swatos, 'Fundamentalism in the Islamic World'; Ozzano, 'A Political Science Perspective on Religious Fundamentalism'; Ozzano, *Fondamentalismo e Democrazia. La Destra Religiosa Alla Conquista Della Sfera Pubblica in India, Israele E Turchia*.
20 Robertson, *Globalization*, 166.
21 Misztal and Shupe, 'Making Sense of the Global Revival of Fundamentalism'.
22 Robertson, *Globalization*, 166–180; Pace and Guolo, *I Fondamentalismi*, 123–5.
23 Barber, *Jihad Vs McWorld*, 6.
24 Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 20.

25 Ibid., 43.
26 Ibid., 59.
27 Ibid., 96.
28 It must be said that Juergensmeyer (as already explained earlier in this chapter) is a fierce opponent of the concept of fundamentalism. However, his work has been included in this review since the phenomena he deals with are mostly what other scholars label as fundamentalism.
29 Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War?*
30 Gellner, *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*, 2–4.
31 Gellner, 'Fundamentalism as a Comprehensive System', 285–6.
32 Quite interestingly, both Gellner and Eisenstadt use concepts such as stages of history and axial age, first proposed by Jaspers. Another, more recent, study based on these concepts, but with different conclusions, is *The Battle for God*, by the theologian Karen Armstrong. Her work – analysing fundamentalism in historical perspective, from the end of the fifteenth century – is based on the dialectical opposition between *mythos* (myth) and *logos* (rational thought). While these two principles were coexistent in the pre-modern world, in the latest centuries the first became more and more predominant over the second. Fundamentalists, in Armstrong's theory, just try to adapt religion to modernity, by transforming *mythos* into *logos* (Armstrong, *The Battle for God*, 2001).
33 Eisenstadt, *Fundamentalism, Sectarianism, and Revolution*, 106–7.
34 Iannaccone, 'Rational Choice: Framework for the Scientific Study of Religion'.
35 For the concept of free-riding, see Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*.
36 Finke and Stark, 'The New Holy Clubs'.
37 Introvigne, 'Niches in the Islamic Religious Market and Fundamentalism: Examples from Turkey and Other Countries'.
38 Bruce, 'Religion and Rational Choice'.
39 Davie, 'Believing without Belonging'.
40 Ammerman, 'North American Protestant Fundamentalism'; Marty and Appleby, *The Glory and the Power*.
41 Larson, *Summer for the Gods*.
42 Bruce, *The Rise and Fall of the New Christian Right*; Armstrong, *The Battle for God*, 2011.
43 Lindsey and Carlson, *The Late Great Planet Earth*.
44 LaHaye and Jenkins, *Left Behind*.
45 Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*; Brown, *For a Christian America*.
46 Reed, *Politically Incorrect*.
47 Moen, 'From Revolution to Evolution'; Moen, 'The Changing Nature of Christian Right Activism: 1970s–1990s'; Wilcox and Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers?*; Oldfield, *The Right and the Righteous*.
48 Armstrong, *The Battle for God*, 2011.
49 Kepel, *Le Prophète et Pharaon*.
50 Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood*; Rubin, *The Muslim Brotherhood*.
51 Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*; Armstrong, *The Battle for God*, 2011.
52 Kepel, *Jihad*.
53 Khomeini, *Islamic Government*.
54 Abrahamian, 'Ali Shariati: Ideologue of the Iranian Revolution'.
55 Rashid, *Taliban*; Kepel, *Jihad*.
56 Springer, Regens, and Edger, *Islamic Radicalism and Global Jihad*; Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda*.
57 Stern and Berger, *ISIS*.
58 Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism.*
59 Armstrong, *The Battle for God*, 49.
60 Aran, 'The Father, the Son and the Holy Land'; Ravitzky, 'Religious Radicalism and Political Messianism in Israel'.
61 Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism*; Aran, 'The Father, the Son and the Holy Land'.

62 Guolo, *Terra E Redenzione. Il Fondamentalismo Nazional-Religioso in Israele.*
63 Friedman, *Zealots for Zion*.
64 Sprinzak, *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right*; Sprinzak, 'Kach and Kahane: The Emergence of Jewish Quasi-Fascism'.
65 Shahak and Mezvinsky, *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel.*
66 Greilsammer, *Israel, les hommes en noir.*
67 Cohen, 'The Religious Parties in the 2006 Election'; Lehmann and Siebzehner, *Remaking Israeli Judaism*.
68 Zadra, 'Comunione E Liberazione: A Fundamentalist Idea of Power'; Pace and Guolo, *I Fondamentalismi*.
69 Ghosh, *BJP and the Evolution of Hindu Nationalism*; Madan, *Modern Myths, Locked Minds*.
70 Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics*; Hansen and Jaffrelot, *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*; Andersen and Damle, *The Brotherhood in Saffron.*
71 Oberoi, 'Sikh Fundamentalism: Translating History into Theory'.
72 Harris, *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*.
73 Obeysekere, 'Buddhism, Nationhood, and Cultural Identity', 239; Pace and Guolo, *I Fondamentalismi*.
74 Keyes, 'Monks, Guns, and Peace'.

References

Abrahamian, Ervand. 'Ali Shariati: Ideologue of the Iranian Revolution'. *MERIP Reports*, 1982.

Almond, Gabriel A., Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby. 'Explaining Fundamentalisms'. In *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 425–44. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Almond, Gabriel A., Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby. 'Fundamentalism: Genus and Species'. In *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 399–424. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Almond, Gabriel A., R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan. *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms Around the World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Ammerman, Nancy T. 'North American Protestant Fundamentalism'. In *Fundamentalisms Observed*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 1–65. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Andersen, Walter K., and Shridhar D. Damle. *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*. Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1987.

Aran, Gideon. 'The Father, the Son and the Holy Land; The Spiritual Authorities of Jewish-Zionist Fundamentalism in Israel'. In *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders in the Middle East*, by R. Scott Appleby. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 294–327, 1997.

Armstrong, Karen. *The Battle for God*. First edition. New York: Ballantine Books, 2001.

Armstrong, Karen. *The Battle for God: A History of Fundamentalism*. Random House, 2011.

Barber, Benjamin R. *Jihad Vs McWorld*. London: Random House, 2010.

Barr, James. *Fundamentalism*. Second edition. London: SCM Press, 1981.

Brown, Ruth Murray. *For a Christian America: A History of the Religious Right*. First edition. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2002.

Bruce, Steve. 'Religion and Rational Choice: A Critique of Economic Explanations of Religious Behavior'. *Sociology of Religion* 54, no. 2 (June 20, 1993): 193–205. doi:10.2307/3712139.

Bruce, Steve. *The Rise and Fall of the New Christian Right: Conservative Protestant Politics in America, 1978–1988*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Casanova, José. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Cohen, Asher. 'The Religious Parties in the 2006 Election'. *Israel Affairs* 13, no. 2 (2007): 325–45. doi:10.1080/13537120701204928.

Conkle, Daniel O. 'Secular Fundamentalism, Religious Fundamentalism, and the Search for Truth in Contemporary America'. *Journal of Law and Religion* 12, no. 2 (January 1, 1995): 337–70. doi:10.2307/1051585.

Davie, Grace. 'Believing without Belonging: Is This the Future of Religion in Britain?' *Social Compass* 37, no. 4 (January 12, 1990): 455–69. doi:10.1177/003776890037004004.

Eisenstadt, S. N. *Fundamentalism, Sectarianism, and Revolution: The Jacobin Dimension of Modernity*. First edition. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Esposito, John L. *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* Third edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 'The New Holy Clubs: Testing Church-to-Sect Propositions'. *Sociology of Religion* 62, no. 2 (June 20, 2001): 175–89. doi:10.2307/3712454.

Friedman, Robert I. *Zealots for Zion: Inside Israel's West Bank Settlement Movement*. First edition. New York: Random House, 1992.

Gellner, Ernest. 'Fundamentalism as a Comprehensive System: Soviet Marxism and Islamic Fundamentalism Compared'. In *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 277–87. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Gellner, Ernest. *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

Ghosh, Partha S. *BJP and the Evolution of Hindu Nationalism*. First edition. New Delhi: Manohar, 1999.

Gibb, H.A.R. *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962. http://archive.org/details/mohammedanismanh027895mbp.

Greilsammer, Alain. *Israel, les hommes en noir: Essai sur les partis ultra-orthodoxes*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1991.

Gunaratna, Rohan. *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Guolo, Renzo. *Terra E Redenzione. Il Fondamentalismo Nazional-Religioso in Israele*. Milano: Guerini, 1998.

Hansen, Thomas Blom, and Christophe Jaffrelot. *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Harris, Ian, ed. *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Iannaccone, Lawrence R. 'Rational Choice: Framework for the Scientific Study of Religion'. In *Rational Choice Theory and Religion. Summary and Assessment*, by Lawrence A. Young, 25–44. New York and London: Routledge, 1997.

Introvigne, Massimo. 'Niches in the Islamic Religious Market and Fundamentalism: Examples from Turkey and Other Countries'. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 1 (2005): 2–25.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s – Strategies of Identity-Building, Implantation and Mobilisation (with Special Reference to Central India)*. London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1996.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*. London: University of California Press, 1993.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 'Why Religious Nationalist Are Not Fundamentalists'. *Religion* 23 (1993): 85–92.

Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2006.

Kepel, Gilles. *La Revanche de Dieu: Chrétiens, juifs et musulmans à la reconquête du monde*. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1991.

Kepel, Gilles. *Le Prophète et Pharaon: Les mouvements islamistes dans l'Égypte contemporaine*. Paris: La Découverte, 1984.

Keyes, Charles F. 'Monks, Guns, and Peace: Theravada Buddhism and Political Violence'. In *Belief and Bloodshed. Religion and Violence Across Time and Tradition*, by James K. Wellman, 145–63. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

Khomeini, Ruhollah. *Islamic Government*. New York: Manor Books, Incorporated, 1979.

LaHaye, Tim F., and Jerry B. Jenkins. *Left Behind: A Novel of the Earth's Last Days*. Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1995.

Larson, Edward J. *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Science and Religion*. New York: Basic Books, 2008.

Lawrence, Bruce B. *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt Against the Modern Age*. London: I. B. Taurus, 1989.

Lehmann, David, and Batia B. Siebzehner. *Remaking Israeli Judaism: The Challenge of Shas*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Lindsey, Hal, and Carole C. Carlson. *The Late Great Planet Earth*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1970.

Madan, T. N. *Modern Myths, Locked Minds: Secularism and Fundamentalism in India*. Second edition. New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Marsden, George. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990.

Marty, Martin E., and R. Scott Appleby. *The Glory and the Power: The Fundamentalist Challenge to the Modern World*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1992.

Marty, Martin E., and R. Scott Appleby. 'Conclusion: Remaking the State: The Limits of the Fundamentalist Imagination'. In *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Polities, Economies, and Militance*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 620–44. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Misztal, Bronislaw, and Anson Shupe. 'Making Sense of the Global Revival of Fundamentalism'. In *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: Revival of Religious Fundamentalism in East and West*, by Bronislaw Misztal and Anson Shupe, 3–9. Westport: Praeger, 1992.

Moen, Mathew C. 'The Changing Nature of Christian Right Activism: 1970s–1990s'. In *Sojourners in the Wilderness: The Christian Right in Comparative Perspective*, by Corwin E. Smidt and James M. Penning, 21–37. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997.

Moen, Matthew C. 'From Revolution to Evolution: The Changing Nature of the Christian Right'. *Sociology of Religion* 55, no. 3 (September 21, 1994): 345–57. doi:10.2307/3712058.

Moussalli, Ahmad S. *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb*. Beirut: Syracuse University Press, 1993.

Oberoi, Harjot. 'Sikh Fundamentalism: Translating History into Theory'. In *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Polities, Economies, and Militance*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 256–85. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Obeysekere, Gananath. 'Buddhism, Nationhood, and Cultural Identity: A Question of Fundamentals'. In *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 231–56. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Oldfield, Duane Murray. *The Right and the Righteous: The Christian Right Confronts the Republican Party*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996.

Olson, Mancur. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Ozzano, Luca. *Fondamentalismo E Democrazia. La Destra Religiosa Alla Conquista Della Sfera Pubblica in India, Israele E Turchia*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009.

Ozzano, Luca. 'A Political Science Perspective on Religious Fundamentalism'. *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 10 (2009): 339–59. doi:10.1080/14690760903454341.

Pace, Enzo, and Renzo Guolo. *I Fondamentalismi*. Second edition. Roma; Bari: Laterza, 1998.

Rashid, Ahmed. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. Second edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

Ravitzky, Aviezer. 'Religious Radicalism and Political Messianism in Israel'. In *Religious Radicalism and Politics in the Middle East*, by Emmanuel Sivan and Menachem Friedman, 11–37, 1990.

Ravitzky, Aviezer. *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism*. Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Reed, Ralph E. *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics*. Special edition. Dallas: W Pub Group, 1994.

Riesebrodt, Martin. *Pious Passion: The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.

Robertson, Professor Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage, 1992.

Rubin, Barry. *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Shahak, Israel, and Norton Mezvinsky. *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*. London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2004.

Shepard, William. 'Comments on Bruce Lawrence's Defenders of God'. *Religion* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 1992): 279–83. doi:10.1016/0048-721X(92)90023-W.

Simpson, John H. 'Review of Marty and Appleby: Fundamentalisms and the State'. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 1994.

Springer, Devin R., James L. Regens, and David N. Edger. *Islamic Radicalism and Global Jihad*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2009.

Sprinzak, Ehud. 'Kach and Kahane: The Emergence of Jewish Quasi-Fascism'. In *The Elections in Israel – 1984*, by Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, 169–87. New Brunswick, NJ and Oxford: Transaction Books, 1986.

Sprinzak, Ehud. *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right*. First Edition. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Stern, Jessica, and J. M. Berger. *ISIS: The State of Terror*. New York: Ecco, 2015.

Swatos, William H., Jr. 'Fundamentalism in the Islamic World'. *Review of Religious Research* 35, no. 1 (September 1, 1993): 66–68. doi:10.2307/3511064.

Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement*. First edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Wilcox, Clyde, and Carin Robinson. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*. Fourth edition. Dilemmas in American Politics Series edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010.

Zadra, Dario. 'Comunione E Liberazione: A Fundamentalist Idea of Power'. In *Accounting for Fundamentalisms*, by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, 124–48. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

10
RELIGION AND THE STATE

John Madeley
LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, UK

At the turn of the third millennium of the Common Era the national state appeared to have established itself as the almost universal model of political organization. Over the previous half-century since the end of the Second World War formally independent and sovereign nation-states had quadrupled in number from approximately 50 to 200, so that by 2000 they covered the entire land surface of the planet with the sole exception of Antarctica. In spite of its virtual ubiquity in 2000, however, the European model of the nation-state was not without serious ongoing challenges – from the evolution of supra-national forms of governance, the continuing role and influence of transnational business corporations, the growth of sub-national movements struggling for greater local independence, the increasingly widespread phenomenon of state failure and even – not unconnected with the latter – the dramatic emergence of cross-national networks of religious (and especially Islamist *jihadi*) militancy. The last-named of these developments, which has since become associated with dramatic terrorist attacks in the developed world as well as with an increasingly widespread undermining of the inherited political order in North Africa and the Middle East, is only the most eye-catching of a number of developments which have placed in question the secularity of all levels of governance. State secularity had long been seen as a key – even, a defining – feature of the nation-state model as it had first developed in Europe after the end of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but the resurgence of the religious factor in domestic and international politics across the world since the 1970s has led to a re-examination of its empirical status and of the normative claims made on its behalf.

Any survey of the actual patterns of relations between religion and the state across the world has to take account of the enormous variety of traditions, institutional forms and ethical drives to be found in each of the two spheres or fields. Even operating with mainstream Western conceptualizations of the principal terms the range of combinations identifiable over different periods is as vast as it is in detail complex. Traditionally in the West most treatments have reduced the scope and range of these complexities to manageable proportions by addressing them through the lens of 'church–state relations' where the term 'church' can be expanded to encompass all religious bodies and organizations and the term 'state' can be assumed to represent instances of the modern state conceived in Weberian terms as based on successfully achieved claims to territorial sovereignty. This foreshortening of focus with its distinctly ethnocentric underlying assumptions as to what counts as 'religion' and 'state' systematically

underestimates the actual range of variation to be found in the other parts of the world and at other times, however. It can further be argued that focusing on sets of institutional arrangements has led in certain quarters to the 'fetishization' of particular models, so undercutting a more appropriate concern for the values, such as, for example, the French trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity (or solidarity) which they might or might not subserve.[1]

Within political science, attention to the contemporary political significance of religious traditions and how they relate to different forms of the state has been a relatively recent phenomenon. When in the 1950s the field of comparative politics was extended from a concentration on Western political systems to address the major changes occurring in the then newly independent states of the developing world, the subject remained peripheral. This peripherality was reinforced by the fact that one of the principal organizing concepts which came to dominate comparative politics at the time was modernization, understood crudely as the process whereby 'traditional' societies became 'modern' and, inter alia, religious institutions, behaviour and beliefs became progressively weaker and marginalized in largely secular environments. By the 1980s the modernization theory which underlay these expectations was being progressively abandoned. Attention tended to switch to the role of episodic change occurring around critical discontinuities in the history of particular societies, cultures and traditions. Weber's analogy comparing decisive historical junctures with the points on railway tracks which send trains off in one direction or another (with unavoidable 'path-dependent' consequences) provided a useful metaphor for these discontinuities which appeared to explain contrasting patterns of institutional and cultural change, not least in the area of relations between religion and the state. Taking the case of Christianity, the variety of state forms which it had confronted over its two millennia of existence as a distinct tradition had spanned the range from Roman colonial administration in first-century Palestine, to pagan empire, to Christian empire(s) of contrasting types, to feudal lordships, city-states, principalities (both civil and ecclesiastical), papal states, republics, kingdoms, authoritarian dictatorships (both sympathetic and antagonistic) and latterly a variety of forms of (liberal) democracy. In some of these contexts, particular Christian institutions and traditions had been minor, marginal and even actively persecuted, and in others overwhelmingly dominant, oppressive and intolerant of all forms of opposition; while in most they had been located somewhere in between. Certainly, with regard to Christianity as a whole, it became difficult to argue that there had been some uniform trend of development from an undifferentiated pristine community cult towards its current condition in most of the West, as a more or less vibrant enclave of religiosity in an otherwise largely secular environment. In 1978 David Martin presented a dense analysis of the different principal patterns of development in modern Europe which systematically stressed the role of critical historical junctures in bringing about, deflecting and occasionally reversing secularizing trends in the territories of particular states.[2]

For many normative theorists of liberal democracy, separation of religion and state (reflecting the differentiation between the two spheres) was until recently a matter of widespread consensus: a system that did not institutionalize this basic requirement could scarcely qualify as a liberal democracy at all. For John Rawls and Jürgen Habermas in their trend-setting early works, religious speech and argument had no proper place in political debate or in the justification of publicly applicable laws. The recent resurgence of the religious factor in politics across the world has, however, led to a re-examination of these normative arguments and at the same time the empirical links between church-state separation and liberal democracy has come under close scrutiny.[3] In 2001 Alfred Stepan, for example, was able to point out that 'virtually no Western European democracy now has a rigid or hostile separation of church and state', while other authors argued forcefully that separation did not appear to be a requirement for the

protection of religious liberty.[4] Disagreements about state–religion separation in the consolidated liberal democracies is, however, as a distant echo compared to the din heard elsewhere in the world, especially following the impact of such critical junctures as the 1979 Iranian revolution and September 11, 2001 ('9/11'). As Fred Halliday put it, the Iranian revolution posed a particular challenge to observers of world affairs, that of explaining how for the first time in modern history (that is, since the great French revolution of 1789) 'a revolution took place in which the dominant ideology, forms of organization, leading personnel and proclaimed goal were all religious in appearance and inspiration.'[5] Although that religion did not, as feared by many and hoped by some, spread widely to other countries it did occur at a time when the resurgence of the religious factor in politics was to the fore in many other places around the world as well.[6]

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart have argued that secularization, if understood simply as a progressive decline in levels of belief and observance in the mainstream forms of organized religion, can only be seen to have progressed in the world's most economically developed countries (with the notable exception of the United States).[7] Since these societies currently account for a decreasing proportion of the population of the planet and other, less well-favoured, societies generally exhibit a resurgence of religious belief and observance, it can be concluded that the world as a whole is becoming, in an important sense, more rather than less religious. Furthermore, it can be argued that the political mobilization, in particular of fundamentalist variants of many of the world religions including Christianity, has made the issue of state–religion relations increasingly one of urgent political concern as well as of academic interest. Fundamentalist movements, especially those which combine religious revivalism with claims that their religious outlook mandates particular forms of state, stand witness to the continuing possibility that trends of secularization (whether as religious decline, differentiation or marginalization) can evidently under certain circumstances be stopped dead in their tracks and reversed by projects of radical de-differentiation, even on occasion under the literal 'presidency' of religious figures and institutions, as in Iran. Nor in this context can Europe be seen as a complete exception: as the cradle of the modern nation-state and in its Western part one of the most secular parts of the globe, it can be seen as marked by sets of state–religion relations across its fifty-odd territories which the American Supreme Court in its separationist heyday would not have tolerated in even one of its own fifty constituent states.

Religion and the state in modern Europe

The record of the relations between religion and the state over time and space in Europe illustrates better perhaps than any other, the decisive role critical junctures have played in marking the shifts between often radically contrasting patterns of state–religion relations. From the time of its birth as a distinctive religious tradition, Christianity famously distinguished between what was due to Caesar and to God, something which it was easier to do for as long as Caesar was both pagan and, occasionally, an agent/perpetrator of persecution. When the Emperor became the supporter and enforcer of the Christian cult, however, the distinction became progressively blurred – only to reassert itself when the papacy in the eleventh century bid for recognition as the fount of all power on earth; this occurred when Pope Gregory VII reiterated the long-standing claim to the precedence of papal over imperial or royal authority at a time when it seemed there was, at least briefly, the possibility of making a reality of the claim. It was arguably at this time that the Latin Christian concept of the proper relationship between secular and religious took a decisive form in which the Roman Catholic Church presented itself as

representing the superordinate religious and spiritual sphere counterposed on earth to the state which represented a subordinate secular and temporal sphere.[8] A lasting legacy of this conceptual shift in the West has been that with the designation of the state as definitionally secular, it cannot be seen itself as a subject of secularization – state secularization is logically ruled out as much as the possibility of the sacralization of the state. In a wider context, however, the partial or complete secularization of the state, not least in the case of Western Europe, appears as a key feature of the emergence of the modern nation-state. Earlier the instrumentalities of state power and authority could be – and often were – dedicated to and utilized for religious ends in Christian Europe as much as in other parts of the world – in other words states have at times been, and in a number of cases remain, in some non-trivial sense religious.

The emergent pattern of the modern state developed in sixteenth century Europe initially as a confessional institution committed to defending and promoting favoured religious traditions and practices. The birth of the modern state system, which is conventionally dated from the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, did require the signatories henceforth to desist from attempts by diplomacy or war from changing the religious adherence of target populations but this 'secularizing' requirement only affected the external relations between states. Internally, by contrast, Westphalia buttressed the prohibition against religious war by insisting on the sovereign right of the state authorities of a given territory to impose a particular confession on their subject populations on the basis of the *cuius regio eius religio* rule (literally, whose the region, to him the religion). In fact, from 1648 onwards, recognition of the exclusive authority of state authorities in matters of religion led to a new and decisive phase in the consolidation of church settlements aimed at enforcing conformity to locally established religion and penalizing or expelling those who refused to conform.[9] This process of the 'confessionalization' of populations continued after 1648 for a long time, as signified by such notorious episodes as the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which ended the toleration of the Huguenots in France, and the expulsion of many thousands of Protestants from the archbishopric of Salzburg in the 1720s.

Keith Ward claims that the birthday of the first secular state, properly so called, can be precisely dated not to the 1789 French Revolution, with its notoriously anticlerical antecedents, but to the political arrangements thrown up by the American Revolution shortly before. 'In 1789 the American Revolution introduced to the world in a formal way the idea of a secular state. The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America, drafted two years later, laid down that there would be "no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The idea of a secular state was born.'[10] Until that point, on the eastern seaboard of the North American continent, the norm had of course been church establishment. The liberal idea as represented by the Constitution and reinforced by its first ten amendments adopted in 1790 endorsed an incipiently secular view of the state as 'a purely neutral mechanism without purposes or values. Its sole function is to protect the rights of individuals, that is, to protect freedom.'[11] And for some liberal observers of the American scene, the institutional separation of church and state combined with a vibrantly competitive religious 'market' has continued to be seen as one of the efficient secrets of its constitutional structure, a virtuous arrangement worthy of emulation elsewhere.

In France, anticlerical radicals for a short time during the 1789 French Revolution launched Europe's first attempt completely to dismantle the structures of state confessionalism, taking church property into state ownership and even at one point attempting to abolish Christianity altogether in order to replace it with a more congenial cult of Reason. As Rémond puts it, 'France was the [European] country to make the first breach in the old order founded on the principle of state religion . . . For the first time in a European society, belonging to a

denomination would no longer be a measure of individual rights or a condition of citizenship.'[12] Although the uncoupling of citizenship from denominational belonging and good standing was never subsequently to be overridden in France, the nineteenth century was, however, a period of partial restoration and retrenchment in church–state relations. Starting from 1801, a Napoleonic system of multiple establishment of recognized religions was more or less firmly in place for over a century, supported by arrangements for public subsidy, the provision of religious education in the public-school system, and so on. Only in 1905 did the country finally institutionalize its distinctive *laïciste* version of the separation of church and state. It is remarkable that elsewhere, church establishment of one sort or another still remained more or less firmly in place across most of Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. The codings of 2001 World Christian Encyclopedia documents that, despite the progressive de-linking of citizenship from church membership and other measures of progressive church reform, mainline churches almost everywhere in 1900 continued to benefit from advantageous arrangements with the state authorities.[13] This was most particularly the case in the three mono-confessional blocs, which occupied the Lutheran (northern), the Roman Catholic (southern) and the Orthodox (eastern) parts of Europe.[14] In Europe's principal multi-confessional belt, which spanned from Ireland in the north-west through Britain, the Netherlands, southern Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia and Hungary all the way into the Transylvanian part of Romania in the south-east, relations between the different religious institutions and the state were complicated by the coexistence of substantial populations of different confessional adherence – but even in those territories, the predominant pattern was one of establishment of the historically dominant confession twinned with the more or less de facto toleration of religious minorities.

In addition to their confessional affiliations the actual forms of establishment varied a great deal. In France before 1905 Catholicism was recognized not as a – or the – state religion but as the religion of the great majority of the French nation, while the Protestant and Jewish communities also received official recognition and state support. In the United Kingdom the Anglican state church retained full and formal establishment status in England and Wales and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland remained the officially recognized national church while the laws penalizing nonconformity in various ways were progressively abandoned. Other systems of multiple establishment could be found at or below state level in the belt of multi-confessional territories, for example in Switzerland with its wide variety of patterns at the cantonal level. In those parts of Europe where the eighteenth-century Enlightenment had impacted either through the action of so-called Enlightened Despots such as Frederick the Great in Prussia, Joseph II in Austria and Catherine the Great in Russia, or through the later, and more forceful, intervention of the French revolutionary armies, systems of religious establishment had on the whole made a successful, if partial, return after 1815. Around 1900 in Eastern Europe the trend was also in favour of reinforcing the principle of religious establishment; in the Russian Empire, for example, Russian Orthodoxy was forcefully promoted even in the peripheral territories where Lutheranism (in the northern Baltics), Catholicism (in Poland) and Armenian Orthodoxy (in Armenia) had previously enjoyed a measure of toleration and even privilege.

In 1900 all but one of Europe's forty-five territories (as identified by late twentieth-century borders) were occupied by states which could still be judged *de jure* 'religious', that is officially committed in one way or another to the support of either a particular religion or religions (thirty-one cases) or to religion in general (fourteen cases).[15] The sole exception identified was the Netherlands, which the World Christian Encyclopedia labelled *de jure* 'secular'.[16] With this Dutch exception, the foundations of the inherited systems of church establishment, which

still survived across almost all of Europe, were by 1900 nonetheless under threat, even though in most cases the more punitive laws, which had underwritten them, had been reformed and largely abolished. In France the Law of Separation of 1905 proclaimed that henceforth the Republic would neither recognize nor subsidize any religious confession or cult whatsoever, thereby inter alia unilaterally annulling the Concordat of 1802.[17] Remarkably, however, separation was deemed consistent with the taking into state ownership of all churches built prior to 1905, and over the succeeding century a number of other derogations from strict separation were made; after 1945, despite the constitutional affirmation that the republic was *laïque*, other compromises were made so that by the time of the 2005 centenary of the Separation Act, voices were being raised in favour of a revision to bring the law more into line with current practice. Elsewhere across Europe there were other retreats from establishment models. Even in Britain, at around the same time as France made its separationist move, nonconformist agitation for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales was rising on the back of a dispute about the funding of religious education, and in 1914 the decisive vote was taken to disestablish, something which finally came into effect in 1920.

If the principle of formal church establishment was already being pegged back in parts of Western Europe before 1914, the First World War and its outcome acted as a major 'extinction event', especially in Eastern Europe, where the great land empires were finally broken up and new nation-states emerged. In Russia the Orthodox Church was disestablished three months after the Bolsheviks had seized power in late 1917; it was thereby reduced to the status of a mere religious association with no corporate personality and thus prevented from owning property. The end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 also spelt the end of church establishment in Austria itself, Hungary and the territories which became part of 'Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' (from 1921 Yugoslavia). Similarly, in Germany the Weimar constitution of 1919 formally disestablished the state church while allowing for cooperation in matters of religious education in the public schools, the raising of the *Kirchensteuer* (a church tax collected by the state tax authorities) and military chaplaincies. And, finally, in Europe's far south-east, after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire the Kemalist regime not only abolished the caliphate in 1923 but also launched a radical campaign of state-enforced secularization, not by introducing separation but by subjecting all religious bodies to close state control under a Ministry of Religious Affairs. The survival of church establishment in different confessional guises in the Nordic countries, the Iberian Peninsula and the Orthodox states of south-eastern Europe has often been seen as anomalous. To the Catholic mind, state churches – despite their virtual existence in the small, overwhelmingly Catholic states of Liechtenstein, Malta and Monaco – although tolerated, had never been fully legitimate institutional forms. The arrangement preferred by the Vatican was, rather, friendly cooperation between Church and the secular state authorities within a particular territory on the basis of Concordats, i.e. treaties negotiated to protect the autonomy of the church within the spiritual sphere and to provide favourable conditions for its mission within civil society. It was on such a basis that relations between the Vatican itself and the Italian state were finally settled with the Lateran Pact of 1929 – a series of Concordat agreements which also finally regularized the existence of Europe's only remaining church-state: the State of Vatican City. Four years later, in 1933, major concordat agreements were also signed with Germany and Austria, while in Spain, after three years of bitter civil war (1936–9), Franco's authoritarian regime introduced a system of National Catholicism.

For almost fifty years after the Second World War patterns of state–religion–society relations varied sharply, as between Eastern and Western Europe. In the West a wave of democratization fuelled by complete disenchantment with the authoritarian and totalitarian alternatives

of fascism, Nazism and communism set in. Christian Democratic parties were among the beneficiaries of this rejection of both extremes of left and right alternatives and they were responsible for ensuring conditions favourable to the principal religious institutions in their several countries. The principal churches tended to be restored to their former places of honour and relative privilege. In Eastern Europe, however, the outcome of the world war produced very different outcomes as Soviet-installed regimes imposed strict controls on the churches and other religious bodies as local variants of the state atheism, which had been pioneered in Russia after the Bolshevik takeover in 1917, were adopted. The Russian-dominated regimes bent their energies to controlling the historically dominant churches, while signing up to constitutional provisions, which ostensibly guaranteed religious freedom in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and other international legal instruments.[18] In 1970, according to the codings of the World Christian Encyclopedia, all twenty-two countries of Central and Eastern Europe which lay behind the Iron Curtain could be designated Atheistic *de jure*, i.e. committed to 'formally promoting irreligion'.[19] Separation in these states meant exclusion from public life and the cutting off of most of the resources required for religion to flourish; it emphatically did not mean that the state was debarred from interfering in the field of religious provision and in the extreme and exceptional case of Albania an attempt was openly made between 1967 and 1991 to abolish religion altogether.

With the collapse of communism around 1990, churches and religious groups were, in some of these countries – most notably in Poland, active in the campaigns for liberalization and democratization which precipitated this shift to more open democratic regimes. Ten years later the twenty-two states which had coded as Atheistic in 1970 had either returned to the category of *de jure* Religious states providing support to the locally dominant religious traditions (fifteen cases) or had opted to be *de jure* Secular (seven cases: Russia, the three Baltic states, Hungary, Slovakia and Macedonia), that is, 'officially promoting neither religion nor irreligion'.[20] Not one of the eight former Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe that eventually joined the EU in May 2004 (in alphabetic order: the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) formally adopted a state church model after the end of the Cold War; nor on the other hand did any of them adopt a rigid separation model, despite the claim of some that it constituted a *sine qua non* of liberal democracy. Most instead chose one or other pattern of 'benevolent separation' or 'cooperation' models and all, including those that did not have significant Catholic populations, negotiated some kind of concordat settlement with the Vatican.[21]

In 1999 René Rémond concluded that 'today there is a way, both common to all European peoples and original as regards the rest of the world, of regulating religion-society relations'.[22] This 'way' was based on 'an absolute separation', not between church and state but between religious belonging and citizenship: '[t]he state can no longer be confessional; belonging to everyone, it must be neutral and practise a strict equality between denominations'.[23] The same year Silvio Ferrari proposed a similar thesis that, despite continuing surface differences between separatist, concordatarian and national (or state–church) systems, at the level of 'legal substance' an emergent 'common model' of relationship between states and religions across Europe could be identified.[24] What distinguished the model in particular, however, was not any claim to state neutrality or complete equality of treatment but the deliberate privileging of religion, so that 'various collective religious subjects (churches, denominations, and religious communities) are free to act in conditions of substantial advantage compared to those collective subjects that are not religious'.[25] On the basis of the World Christian Encyclopedia codings just reviewed, what distinguishes the European model is not so much state secularity as a species of state-religious partiality, particularly when it is contrasted

with the separationist model which, for example, operated in the USA between the late 1940s and the early 1980s. This is something which other work identifying the incidence of state religions also highlights; if the state secularity is to be seen as a fundamental principle of the European model, then, it is surely one more honoured in the breach than the observance.[26] In many respects this is not surprising as it is remarkable how little Europe's confessional geography has changed despite the turbulence and violence of the continent's 'short twentieth century', 1914–1991. The division of Europe along confessional lines, which was inherited from the Latin-Orthodox schism and – in Western Europe – from the period of the Reformation and Wars of Religion, is still evident in the proportion of countries' populations which retain confessional or denominational identities. Of the continent's forty-five major sovereign territories, fully thirty-eight (84 per cent) continued in 2000 to exhibit single-confession absolute majorities; thirty-three (72 per cent) had super-majorities (that is, populations where more than two-thirds shared a single confessional identity), while in twelve countries (27 per cent), more than 90 per cent of people shared a single religious identity.[27] However crude, these figures can be taken to show that the early modern confessional state continues to throw a long shadow across contemporary Europe despite the challenges represented in recent decades of major immigration flows from outside Europe, which have considerably increased levels of religious pluralism. Using Ferrari's terms, these challenges include claims for equality of treatment in systems which continue to accord 'substantial advantages' to 'collective religious subjects' as much as pleas for the abolition of those advantages issuing from 'collective subjects that are not religious'.

Beyond Europe: contemporary religion–state relations in the rest of the world

Looking beyond Europe, shifts in the mutual entanglement of states and religion across the world seem to point in a number of different directions: while the parliament of Tuvalu in 1991 approved legislation establishing the [Congregationalist] Church of Tuvalu as the state church, at the end of 2007 Nepal's provisional parliamentary assembly voted to abolish the monarchy whose kings had traditionally been held to be reincarnations of the Hindu god Vishnu. Meantime, the 2008 Constitution of the Maldives declared not only that Islam was the religion of the state and the basis of all its laws, but that 'A non-Muslim may not become a citizen of the Maldives'. As Ran Hirschl observes: 'there is much more diversity in the religion-and-state universe than often meets the popular Western eye'.[28] His treatment of the subject identifies nine archetypal models, which span across a continuum running from communist atheism at the anti-religious end – such as was typified by the USSR in the 1930s at the height of its anti-religion campaign – to more or less strong forms of what he calls 'constitutional theocracy', such as has existed in a strong form in Iran since 1979. As with most normal continua the bulk of the world's 200-odd cases can be found around the middle of the distribution, a finding which can be illustrated by using Jonathan Fox's large worldwide data collection of religion–state connectedness. This data set covers a large range of both core and more peripheral components of state–religion relations, from constitutions to dietary laws, laws against blasphemy to fiduciary arrangements and systems of overall religious regulation; using the scores for all years between 1990 and 2008, it is now possible to both make an overall description of the contemporary state of affairs and identify ongoing trends on the basis of empirical indicators for all the world's states of significant size.[29]

As in the case of Europe, it appears that across the world secularizing trends of varying strength have failed to make for anything like a clear separation between state and religion,

even in those countries where critical political changes have for much of the previous century placed anti-religious or anticlerical elites in power. In recanting his earlier belief in secularization as theory and empirical reality, Peter Berger claimed that '[t]he world today, with some exceptions . . . is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever'.[30] The Fox data in large part substantiates this claim with its logging of the various indicators of religious influence in constitutional and general governmental arrangements – and this regardless of the almost universal declaratory guarantees of religious freedom which are now found in constitutional charters and bills of rights.[31] The number of cases which correspond most closely to Hirschl's communist-atheist model, identified by Fox as hostile to religion (i.e. characterized by 'hostility and overt persecution of religion where state ideology specifically singles out religion in general or religion is in some other way uniquely singled out for persecution'), had only stood at three by 1990 (North Korea, Cuba and Vietnam) but by 2008 this number was judged to have been further reduced to just one (North Korea). At the other end of Hirschl's continuum (in Fox's more extended typology corresponding to two classifications of religious states: one where religion is deemed mandatory for members of the official religion, the other – at the furthest end of the continuum – where religion is deemed mandatory for all citizens) there are, respectively, eight cases (up from two in 1990) and two (Saudi Arabia and the Maldives down from seven in 1990), revealing overall a slight increase which accordingly contrasts with the almost complete disappearance of its polar-opposite type. It is, however, in the middle of the distribution that most cases are to be found. Here the failure of separationism to have made significant headway becomes evident: only seven states out of the world total of 196 in 1992 could be counted as having separationist regimes (in Europe, only France and Azerbaijan, and, in the Americas, only Mexico and Uruguay) and by 2008 there had been no overall increase. In fact fully 92 per cent of all cases are coded as having in 2008 state–religion regulatory regimes which range from various forms of full religious establishment to 'cooperationism' and 'accommodationism' (the last being the single category with the largest number of cases in both 1990 and 2008, understood as involving a posture of what is oxymoronically deemed benevolent neutrality towards religion, as in Ferrari's European model). According to the codings for 2008, however, the largest connected group of categories, which groups together 'preferred religions', 'historical or cultural state religion' and 'active state religion', is one which most positively favours not just religion in general but one or more named particular religion(s) – as, for example, in the anomalous cases of the United Kingdom and Finland, two particular established religions. This pattern is not only to be found in all Protestant Christian traditions, however; it is in fact most common in those countries where Islam has been historically dominant, where it accounts for almost 60 per cent of all cases.

While this brief review of the Fox data can provide a summary overview of state–religion relations in terms of alternative models, a more intensive analysis is needed to probe the variations in range, scope and intensity of the regulatory relationships which are to be found within and across the individual categories. For example, while cases of established religion, or 'active state–religion', models are identified in Catholic Malta, the Protestant United Kingdom, and Muslim Saudi Arabia, even without quantitative measures to demonstrate the fact it is evident that the 'weight' of religious establishment varies widely between these three cases across a number of dimensions. Similarly, the fact that France, Mexico and Azerbaijan can be coded as cases of separationist regimes obscures vast differences in their internal arrangements. For the purposes of broad comparison, however, Fox's government involvement in religion (GIR) index provides a useful summary indication of these variations.[32]

Table 10.1 shows the banded scores for GIR in millennium year 2000 across 175 countries arranged by world region. In many respects the picture which emerges from the comparison of these scores confirms what area experts already knew. The fact that the mean GIR score for the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), which are overwhelmingly Muslim (the exceptions being Israel and Lebanon), is much the highest (over 50) is consistent with the impression that a large majority of countries where Islam has been historically dominant have systems of religious establishment. Equally, the fact that Saudi Arabia (78) and Iran (67) score first and second in this measure of governmental regulatory weight in the sphere of religion accords with what is widely known about their variations of theocratic (or possibly, hierocratic) systems of government, given their treatment of certain religious minorities, their patterns of regulation of the majority religion and their privileging of religious legislation and customs. Israel's GIR score (37), which is by contrast low for the MENA world region, is also shown to be relatively high in a world context. The overall GIR scores for the Western liberal democracies with a mean under half that of the MENA is, while still well above a separationist zero, on the other hand, relatively low, with the scores for the former Soviet bloc lying only modestly higher. It is interesting to note, however, that when all the elements of governmental involvement in the sphere of religion are taken into account only four out of twenty-seven Western democracies score under 10, with only the USA scoring zero, reflecting its history of strict separationism. Interestingly, the median case is Portugal (22), where according to Barrett *et al.*, 97 per cent of the population are, formally at least, Roman Catholic and Catholicism has been the established religion throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century.

This brief statistical overview of state–religion arrangements can take little account of the turbulent struggles which have revolved, and in many parts of the world continue to revolve, around them. Thus, militant Islamists following the line marked out by pioneering ideologists including the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966) and the Pakistani Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi (1903–1979) regard many of the political regimes which incorporate forms of Islamic religious establishment in Egypt or Algeria or Saudi Arabia as corrupt, in practice anti-Islamic, and worthy only of violent overthrow. In those countries where Islamists have for a time at least gained power – Iran, Afghanistan, Sudan and, briefly, Egypt, for example – and attempts have been made to craft an authentically Islamic polity with the state under the authority of religious officials or activists, the resulting struggles have been turbulent; and in others where the contest between rival factions still remains undecided – Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan, for example – the threat or actuality of state failure with the complete breakdown of the state's ability to rule is evident. While the world of Islam presents the most dramatic attempts by religious forces to assert their precedence in the exercise of state powers it is not alone. In India and Sri Lanka, for example, Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist fundamentalists also struggle to reorder along religious lines the political arrangements set in place at the time of independence.

Conclusion

There is no Archimedean point from which the relationships between religion and the state can be observed. While in the early twenty-first century the modern state as first developed in Europe continues to be the key template for political organization across the globe, its form and function continue to remain matters of ongoing dispute. Responsibility for the management of affairs affecting the physical and material security of citizens is generally accepted to be an essential state function but on wider issues – including how it should relate to religious

or religion-related ethical concerns – radicals, liberals, conservatives and reactionaries of various hues continue to engage in seemingly unresolvable controversy. The liberal democratic option of ruling that such concerns are no proper business of the state and should as much as possible be kept off the political agenda has failed to attract general agreement even in the more prosperous parts of the first world.[33] Elsewhere, where material conditions are much less favourable, issues of state–religion relations often now occupy centre stage. The existence of different worldviews encapsulated in, or extrapolated from, contrasting religious traditions continue to make for incommensurable and, even, non-compossible standpoints on important issues.

Located in a world context, the situation in Europe is increasingly seen as exceptional; for Berger, Europe was the major exception he had in mind to his claim that the world seems to be as furiously religious as ever. In spite – or, perhaps, because – of the maintenance there of important state–religion linkages, the secularity of European societies and cultures has seemed to resist the countervailing sacralizing trends evident elsewhere. Even in the USA pressures of this kind can be observed, although they might be seen as calling for relatively modest changes which would bring state–religion relationships there closer to those obtaining in Europe.[34] Europe is far from immune to trends making for the deprivatization of religion, however, in particular as immigration flows and the inclusion of Central and Eastern European countries in the European Union has led to a distinct heightening of levels of religious pluralism and challenges to largely secular cultures.[35] Nor is it clear that Ferrari's European state–religion model of benevolent neutrality will prove sufficiently robust to accommodate and so 'domesticate' the more difficult challenges that face it, as religious minorities of immigrant background call for the same level of favourable treatment by the state that long-established groups enjoy.[36] The fact that issues relating to the place of significant Muslim minorities in Europe have tended to become 'securitized' as terrorist attacks threaten to bring to the continent a spill-over of violent challenges from crises in a number of MENA countries has made a resolution of the underlying tensions all the more difficult to achieve. Olivier Roy has argued that what he calls 'neofundamentalist' Islam, which has increasingly appealed to Europe's often rootless and materially disadvantaged Muslim youth, is associated in one of its forms with sympathy and occasionally active support for the militancy of extreme groups such as al Qaeda and, latterly, Islamic State.[37] It is even the case according to his analysis that the more 'pietistic' variants of Islamic revivalism, which are typically more concerned with reasserting strict or 'pure' Islamic values within their minority communities, while they might be seen as embracing multiculturalism do so principally as a means of resisting, rather than easing, integration into the European host societies where their adherents reside. Both cases, however, would appear to represent unsettling challenges to both state and society in Europe, and place a large question mark over any future trends of secularization as differentiation, the marginalization of religion or, even, its eventual irrelevance to public life. In the red dawn of the third millennium of the Common Era it is a nice irony that academic debates about secularization continue unabated; the rising trend line of controversy would itself seem to mock the very idea that religion as a whole is in decay and declining in political significance. The violent events of 2004 in the Netherlands, including the murder of the film director Theo van Gogh by an avowed Islamist, stand as a cautionary tale in what can be seen as modern Europe's first largely secular state and the site of a number of its most progressive social experiments: in the minatory words of one author '[w]hat happened in this small corner of northwestern Europe could happen anywhere, as long as young men and women feel that death is their only way home'.[38]

Table 10.1 Fox GIR scores in 2000 by region

GIR scores (inclusive)	*Western democracies*	*Former Soviet bloc*	*Asia*	*M. East and N. Africa*	*Sub-Saharan Africa*	*Latin America and Caribbean*	*Total cases*
0.00–9.99	USA Netherlands Australia Canada	Estonia Albania	Taiwan S. Korea Mongolia Solomon Is Philippines Japan		Congo-Brazzaville Lesotho Namibia Benin, Angola Burkina-Faso Burundi, Gambia S. Africa, Zaire Swaziland, Liberia Senegal, Malawi Mozambique, Ghana Botswana, Rwanda	Guyana Ecuador Bahamas Brazil Barbados Trinidad and Tobago Suriname Uruguay	**38 (21.7%)**
10.00–19.99	Luxembourg New Zealand Sweden Italy Ireland Gk. Cyprus Tk. Cyprus Germany	Tajikistan Slovenia Bosnia-Herz. Yugoslavia Latvia Lithuania Czech Rep. Kyrgyzstan Slovakia Ukraine	Fiji Papua NG Vanuatu		Mauritius, Guinea-Bissau Sierra Leone Gabon Cape Verde Togo, Cameroon Mali Zimbabwe Tanzania Central African Rep Madagascar Niger, Uganda Ivory Coast	Mexico Jamaica Guatemala Nicaragua Columbia	**41 (23.4%)**
20.00–29.99	Switzerland Portugal France Andorra Austria Belgium Malta, Norway Denmark Liechtenstein UK, Spain Iceland	Poland Croatia Hungary Romania Macedonia	Thailand India Nepal Cambodia Singapore	Lebanon	Ethiopia Guinea Nigeria Chad Equatorial Guinea Kenya Eritrea Zambia	Belize Chile Paraguay Honduras Haiti Peru Venezuela El Salvador Panama Dominican Rep.	**42 (24.0%)**

(continued)

Table 10.1 (continued)

GIR scores (inclusive)	*Western democracies*	*Former Soviet bloc*	*Asia*	*M. East and N. Africa*	*Sub-Saharan Africa*	*Latin America and Caribbean*	*Total cases*
30.00–39.99	Finland Greece	Russia Azerbaijan Kazakhstan Moldova Georgia Belarus Bulgaria Turkmenistan	Sri Lanka Bangladesh Laos	Israel Bahrain	Djibouti Somalia	Argentina Costa Rica Bolivia	**20 (11.4%)**
40.00–49.99		Armenia Uzbekistan	N. Korea Bhutan Indonesia Burma China Afghanistan	Syria Oman Kuwait Turkey Libya Yemen W. Sahara	Comoros Mauritania	Cuba	**18 (10.3%)**
50.00–59.99			Pakistan Brunei Vietnam Malaysia	Morocco Qatar Algeria Iraq Tunisia UAE	Sudan		**11 (6.3%)**
60.00–69.99			Maldives	Jordan Egypt Iran			**4 (2.4%)**
70.00–79.99				Saudi Arabia			**1 (0.6%)**
Mean scores	**19.17**	**24.24**	**30.71**	**50.82**	**15.82**	**17.88**	
Totals	**27**	**27**	**28**	**20**	**46**	**27**	**175 (100.1%)**

Source: Fox, Jonathan. *A World Survey of Religion and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Notes

1 Taylor, 'Why we need . . . ', 41.
2 Martin, *Toward a General Theory of Secularization.*
3 Casanova, *Public Religions.*
4 Stepan, *Arguing Comparative Politics*, 222; Monsma and Soper, *The Challenge of Pluralism.*
5 Halliday, *Islam and the Myth*, 43.
6 Kepel, *Revenge of God*.
7 Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular.*
8 Badie and Birnbaum, *Sociology of the State*, 87
9 In fact the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, which together constituted the Peace of Westphalia, required the signatories to tolerate the existence of some religious minorities but this only applied in certain territories of the German Empire – or to use the proper designation, 'The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation'.
10 Ward, *Religion and Community*, 106.
11 Bellah, 'Religion and legitimation', 12.
12 Rémond, *Religion and Society*, 38.
13 Barrett, Kurian and Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia.*
14 Madeley, 'Framework', 27–36.
15 Madeley, 'Unequally yoked', 279.
16 The Dutch Reformed Church had been disestablished in the 1790s and in 1815, when the United Kingdom of Netherlands had incorporated the southern Catholic provinces, the previous state church had not been re-established; instead, the principle had been introduced that the state should not interfere in the internal affairs of religious organizations (Bijsterveld, 'State and church').
17 Rémond, *Religion and Society*, 149
18 Leustean, *Eastern Christianity.* On the 'disconnect' between ostensible guarantees of religious freedom and actual conditions in many states, see Fox 'Out of sync'.
19 Barrett, Kurian and Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 96.
20 Madeley, 'European liberal democracy', 16.
21 Schanda, 'Church and state'.
22 Rémond, *Religion and Society*, 217.
23 Ibid.
24 Ferrari, 'The new wine'.
25 Ibid., 3.
26 Barro and McCleary, 'Which countries'.
27 Madeley, 'America's secular state', 115–17.
28 Hirschl, *Constitutional Theocracy*, 39.
29 Fox, *Political Secularism*.
30 Berger, *Desecularization*, 2.
31 See Ibán, 'God in constitutions'; Madeley 'Constitutional models'.
32 The index scores represent an overall measure of GIR obtained by combining six narrower-gauge measures for: (a) state support for one or more religions either officially or in practice; (b) state hostility toward religion; (c) comparative government treatment of different religions, including both benefits and restrictions; (d) government restrictions on the practice of religion by religious minorities; (e) government regulation of the majority religion; and (f) legislation of religious laws. The scores simply represent summations of the number of positive instances of GIR.
33 Madeley, 'Liberal democracy'.
34 Monsma and Soper, *Challenge of Pluralism.*
35 Byrnes and Katzenstein, *Religion in Expanding Europe*; Zucca, *A Secular Europe*.
36 Klausen, *Islamic Challenge*.
37 Roy, *Globalized Islam*.
38 Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam*, 262.

References

Badie, Bertrand and Pierre Birnbaum. *The Sociology of the State*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. London: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian and Todd M. Johnson (eds.) *World Christian Encylopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*. Second edition, two vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Barro, R.J. and R. McCleary. 'Which countries have state religions?' *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 4 (2005): 1331–70.

Bellah, Robert, N. 'Religion and the legitimation of the American republic'. Chap. 1 in *Varieties of Civil Religion*, edited by Robert N. Bellah and Phillip E. Hammond, 3–23. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1980.

Berger, Peter (ed.) *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999.

Bijsterveld, Sophie C. van. 'State and church in the Netherlands'. In *State and Church in the European Union*, edited by Gerhard Robbers. Second edition. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag, 2005.

Buruma, Ian. *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance*. London: Atlantic Books, 2006.

Byrnes, T., and P. Katzenstein (eds.) *Religion in an Expanding Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Casanova, José. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Ferrari, Silvio. 'The new wine and the old cask: tolerance, religion, and the law in contemporary Europe'. In *The Law of Religious Identity: Models for Post-Communism*, edited by Andras Sajo and Shlomo Avineri. The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1999.

Fox, Jonathan. *A World Survey of Religion and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Fox, Jonathan. 'Out of sync: the disconnect between constitutional clauses and state legislation on religion'. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 44, 1 (2011): 59–81.

Fox, Jonathan. *Political Secularism, Religion and the State: A Time Series Analysis of Worldwide Data*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Halliday, Fred. *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1995.

Hirschl, Ran. *Constitutional Theocracy*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Ibán, Ivan C. 'God in Constitutions and Godless Constitutions'. In *Law, Religion, Constitution: Freedom of Religion, Equal Treatment, and the Law*, edited by W. Cole Durham, *et al.*, 37–56. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

Kepel, Gilles. *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.

Klausen, Jytte. *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Leustean, Lucian N. (ed.) *Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945–91*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Madeley, John T.S. 'European liberal democracy and the principle of state religious neutrality'. In *Church and State in Contemporary Europe: The Chimera of Neutrality*, edited by John T.S. Madeley, and Zsolt Enyedi, 1–22. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Madeley, John T.S. 'A framework for the comparative analysis of church-state relations in Europe'. In *Church and State in Contemporary Europe: The Chimera of Neutrality*, edited by John T.S. Madeley and Zsolt Enyedi, 23–50. London: Frank Cass, 2003.

Madeley, John T.S. 'Unequally yoked: the antinomies of church-state separation in Europe and the USA'. *European Political Science* 8, 3 (2009): 273–88.

Madeley, John T.S. 'America's secular state and the unsecular state of Europe'. In *Religion, State and Society: Jefferson's Wall of Separation in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Robert Fatton and R. K. Ramazani, 109–36. New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Madeley, John T.S. 'Constitutional models of protection of freedom of religion and belief'. In *Routledge Handbook of Law and Religion*, edited by Silvio Ferrari. London: Routledge, 2015.

Martin, David. *Toward a General Theory of Secularization*. London: Robertson, 1978.

Monsma, Stephen V. and J. Christopher Soper, C., (eds.) *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Democracies*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997.

Norris, Pipa and Ronald Inglehart. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge, 2004.

Rémond, René. *Religion and Society in Modern Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
Roy, O. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. London: Hurst, 2004.
Schanda, Balasz. 'Church and state in the new member countries of the European Union'. *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 8, 37 (2005) 186–98.
Stepan, A. *Arguing Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
Taylor, Charles. 'Why we need a radical redefinition of secularism'. In *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*, edited by Judith Butler, Eduardo Mendieta and Jan VanAntwerpen, 34–59. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
Ward, Keith. *Religion and Community*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
Zucca, Lorenzo. *A Secular Europe: Law and Religion in the European Constitutional Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

11

RELIGION AND THE 'THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRACY'

Jeffrey Haynes

LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY, UK

Until fairly recently, there were few democratically elected governments outside Western Europe and North America. Instead, such countries had various kinds of authoritarian regimes – including, military, one-party, no-party and personalist dictatorships. However, during the 1980s and 1990s, the shift from unelected to elected governments was deemed so significant that Huntington (1991) gave it a name: the 'third wave of democracy'.[1] The third wave was a fundamental, near universal, shift in governance arrangements which occurred between the mid-1970s and early 2000s. As a result, Waylen noted a decade ago, 'competitive electoral politics is now being conducted in a record number of countries'.[2] A key focus in this regard was to try to explain the varied democratisation outcomes which occurred as a result of the third wave. Many analyses point to the importance primarily of internal factors, although external considerations are also widely noted. My aim in this chapter is to examine interactions between key religious and political actors in the context of the third wave of democracy. I focus upon Turkey, an example of a strongly Muslim country that shifted from authoritarian rule to democratic rule during the third wave, and the role of selected Christian churches in several Sub-Saharan African countries during the same period. My overall purpose is to compare and contrast how 'Islamic' and 'Christian' actors engaged with democratisation during the third wave in two previously undemocratic contexts: Turkey and Sub-Saharan Africa.

The third wave of democracy

The third wave of democracy followed two earlier 'waves'. The first took place during much of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century, when various European and North American countries democratised. The second began directly after World War II, when several countries, including Italy, Japan and West Germany, moved decisively from authoritarian to democratic rule, strongly encouraged by the government of the United States. Both of these waves of democracy were followed by reverse waves, away from democracy.

The third wave of democracy began in the mid-1970s with democratisation in three southern European countries – Greece, Portugal and Spain. In the 1980s and 1990s, numerous authoritarian regimes in Latin America, Eastern Europe, Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa underwent shifts from authoritarian rule. The extent of these changes is demonstrated by the fact that in 1972 only a quarter of countries had democratically elected governments. Twenty years

later, the proportion had grown to over 50 per cent and by 2002, 75 per cent of the world's 192 countries had elected governments with at least some significantly democratic characteristics. The situation between 1972 and 2015 is summarised in Table 11.1.

The table indicates that the number of 'free countries' – that is, those commonly regarded as having most 'democratic' characteristics – reached a high point in 2002. Since then the number of 'partly free' countries – that is, countries with *some* democratic characteristics – has remained almost static (from 56 to 55) while the number of 'not free' countries (no or very few discernible democratic characteristics) has grown (from 47 to 51). In the next section, I survey briefly the theoretical assumptions behind transitions from authoritarian to more democratic governments, before introducing the topic of religion's involvement in this process. I then assess the role of selected Islamic and Christian actors, respectively, in the democratisation process in Turkey and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Explaining the shift from authoritarian to democratic rule

Democratisation is a process that can occur in four stages: (1) political liberalisation, (2) collapse of authoritarian regime, (3) democratic transition and (4) democratisation consolidation. *Political liberalisation* is the process of reforming authoritarian rule. *Collapse of the authoritarian regime* refers to the stage when a dictatorship falls apart. *Democratic transition* is the material shift to democracy, commonly marked by the democratic election of a new government. *Democratic consolidation* is the process of embedding both democratic institutions and perceptions among both elites and citizens that democracy is the best way of 'doing' politics.

The four stages are complementary and can overlap. For example, political liberalisation and transition can happen simultaneously, while aspects of democratic consolidation can appear when certain elements of transition are barely in place or remain incomplete. Or they may even be showing signs of retreating. On the other hand, it is nearly always possible to observe a concluded transition to democracy. This is when a pattern of behaviour developed *ad hoc* during the stage of regime change becomes institutionalised, characterised by admittance of political actors into the system – as well as the process of political decision-making – according to previously established and legitimately coded procedures.

Until then, absence of or uncertainty about these accepted 'rules of the democratic game' make it difficult to be sure about the eventual outcome of political transitions. This is because the transition dynamics revolve around strategic interactions and tentative arrangements

Table 11.1 'Free', 'partly free' and 'not free' countries, 1972–2015

	Number of 'free' countries	*Number of 'partly free' countries*	*Number of 'not free' countries*
1972	43	38	69
1982	54	47	64
1992	75	73	38
2002	89	56	47
2007	89	59	44
2015	89	55	51

Source: http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=372 and https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2015?gclid=CLG6y__Y5sUCFSLKtAodvUsA0Q#.VWg5C2fbKUl.

Note: The terms 'free', 'partly free' and 'not free' correspond respectively to the terms used in this book: established democracy, transitional democracy, and non-democracy.

between actors with uncertain power resources. Key issues include: (1) defining who is legitimately entitled to play the political 'game', (2) the criteria determining who wins and loses politically, and (3) the limits to be placed on the issues at stake. What chiefly differentiates the four stages of democratisation is the degree of uncertainty prevailing at each moment. For example, during regime transition *all* political calculations and interactions are highly uncertain. This is because political actors find it difficult to know: (1) what their precise interests are and (2) which groups and individuals would most usefully be allies or opponents.

During transition, powerful, often inherently undemocratic, political players, such as the armed forces and/or elite civilian supporters of the exiting authoritarian regime, characteristically divide into what Huntington calls 'hard-line' and 'soft-line' factions.[3] 'Soft-liners' are relatively willing to achieve negotiated solutions to the political problems, while 'hard-liners' are unwilling to arrive at solutions reflecting compromise between polarised positions. Democratic consolidation is most likely when soft-liners triumph because, unlike hard-liners, they are willing to find a compromise solution.

A consolidated democracy is often said to be in place when political elites, political groups and the mass of ordinary people accept the formal rules and informal understandings that determine political outcomes: that is, 'who gets what, where, when and how'. If achieved, it signifies that groups are settling into relatively predictable positions involving politically legitimate behaviour according to generally acceptable rules. More generally, a consolidated democracy is characterised by normative limits and established patterns of power distribution. Political parties emerge as privileged in this context because, despite their divisions over strategies and their uncertainties about partisan identities, the logic of electoral competition focuses public attention on them and compels them to appeal to the widest possible clientele. In addition, 'strong' civil societies are thought to be crucial for democratic consolidation, in part because they can help keep an eye on the state and what it does with its power. In sum, democratic consolidation is said to be present when all major political actors take for granted the fact that democratic processes dictate governmental renewal.[4]

Observers have also noted that, despite numerous relatively free and fair elections over the last two decades in many formerly authoritarian countries, in most cases ordinary people continue to lack ability to influence political outcomes.[5] This may be because small groups of elites – whether, civilians, military personnel, or a combination – not only control national political processes but also manage more widely to dictate political conditions.[6] Under such conditions, because power is still focused in relatively few elite hands, political systems have narrow bases from which most ordinary people are, or feel, excluded. This can be problematic because, by definition, a democracy should not be run by and for the few, but should signify popularly elected government operating in the broad public interest.

In sum, during the third wave of democracy, increased numbers of governments came to power via the ballot box – yet not all of them have strong democratic credentials.

Islam and democratisation in the Middle East

The issue of political pluralism in the 'Islamic world', especially among the Arab countries of the Middle East, is a defining theme of much recent research on democratisation. The issue was of course given a fillip by the recent Arab Spring events but, given that only Tunisia appears to have undertaken a consistent democratisation, then it is not appropriate to include the Arab Spring events in an overall assessment of democratisation in the region.[7] Of more consistent focus has been the issue of the relationship between 'Islam' and 'democracy'. Does the former significantly or fatally inhibit the likelihood of the latter? Many scholars work from

one of two premises: (1) there is nothing 'inherent' in Islam that means that Muslim countries will 'inevitably' lack democratic credentials, or (2) there is something 'inherent' in Islam that means that Muslim countries will 'inevitably' lack democratic credentials.

On the one hand, it is widely asserted not only that many Muslim countries have few structural characteristics conducive to both democratisation and democracy but also that this is how things have been for a long time. This situation did not widely change among the Muslim countries during the two decades of the third wave of democracy, from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, or as a result of the Arab Spring.[8] On the other hand, Muslim-majority countries around the world – of which there are more than forty, from Morocco in the west to Indonesia in the east, collectively home to more than a billion people – do not comprise an unchanging, undemocratic monolith. This is also a key theme of many recent works on the topic of democratisation and democracy in the Muslim world, a focus that also stresses that to understand why some countries in the Muslim world have democratised while others have not, we need to look for explanations to both internal and external factors, and their interactions.

In the Middle East, the region perhaps most commonly associated with the theory and practice of 'Muslim government' or 'government by Muslims', we can note three periods, encompassing a period of around 120 years, of often profound political changes: the 1860s to 1930s; late 1950s to early 1960s; and the 1970s to 1990s. The first phase was characterised by significant political changes in the region that occurred under Ottoman (Turkish) colonial rule, the imperial cement that quickly dissolved at the end of World War I. From the 1860s to the 1930s, national assemblies were created in a number of countries in North Africa and in the Arabian Peninsula. After Ottoman rule collapsed in the aftermath of World War I, parliamentary regimes were created under mandated British or French rule, reflecting the aegis of the League of Nations, in a number of regional countries, including: Egypt (1924–58), Iraq (1936–58) and Lebanon (1946–75). Second, in the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a further period of significant political amendments in the region. Within the space of a few years, radical, often junior, army officers overthrew conservative governments in four key regional countries: Egypt, Iraq, Libya and Syria. Their common goal was to oust what they regarded as unacceptably unrepresentative governments, widely regarded as unforgivably subservient to Western countries, especially the governments of Britain and the USA. However, over time, it became clear that the new rulers had no intention of democratising their political systems along lines familiar to Western governments and voters. Instead, they installed authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, with the political role of the armed forces well to the fore, and sometimes modelled on the communist governments of the Soviet bloc. Despite their differing political characteristics, they were all regimes with few if any conventional attributes of democracy, beyond regular, albeit heavily controlled, elections.

Third, while the third wave of democracy (mid-1970s to early 2000s) was not overall a time of profound political change in the Muslim and Arab world, some Muslim countries, notably Turkey (98 per cent Muslim) and Indonesia (88 per cent Muslim), did emerge from authoritarian rule to establish at least partially democratic systems during this time. Turkey has now been a 'functioning democracy' since 1983, with a strong – albeit unfulfilled – case for membership of the European Union.[9] Indonesia emerged in 1998 from three decades of personalist rule under General Suharto and since then the country has gradually developed a flawed yet recognisably democratic system.[10] In addition, we can also note a number of other Muslim-majority countries – such as, Kuwait (85 per cent Muslim), Jordan (92 per cent) and Morocco (99 per cent) – that embarked on, sometimes stalled, political liberalisation and/or democratisation. Each began an unfinished democratisation process that appeared to denote aspirational moves towards more democratic politics.

However, despite political liberalisation/democratisation among a small but not insignificant group of Muslim-majority countries, much conventional wisdom would insist that the great majority of Muslim countries should be characterised in two general ways. First, the governments of many (most) Muslim-majority countries seem to resist democracy. Second, many such governments also seem to have relatively little respect for citizens' human rights. However, while various kinds of authoritarian regimes are still the norm among such countries, many observers, including Fuller, would agree that this situation is primarily the outcome of various historical and structural characteristics.[11] These include:

- *Political systems headed by personalistic leaders.* Typically, in the Muslim world such rulers preside over very hierarchical, centralised states. In many cases, the extant political system depends on top-down power and as a result rulers are most unwilling to devolve any real power to other political institutions – if they meaningfully exist, which is often not the case.
- *Politically significant militaries.* Military men quite rightly see it as their job to protect the state from attack from within and without. Among Muslim polities, there are significant examples of armies that exist primarily to thwart challenges for political control from groups wishing to change the political status quo via rebellion or revolution.
- *Weak and fragmented civil societies*. Civil societies in Muslim countries are often weak and fragmented; as a result, they do not present a challenge to incumbent governments to encourage them to amend undemocratic behaviour.
- *The cultural and religious hegemony of Islam*. Islam is often said to be a religious system that is not beneficial to democratisation. In the Middle East, the regional ubiquity and socio-political significance of Islam – the dominant religion in all regional countries with the clear exception of Israel and debatable exemption of Lebanon – is said to help explain not only the authoritarian nature of most governing regimes in the region but also significantly to account for political cultures of repression and passivity that are antithetical to democratic citizenship.[12]

As Fattah notes, '[t]here is no question that Muslim countries are disproportionately autocratic . . . no single Muslim country qualifies today as a consolidated democracy . . . '[13] On the other hand, others emphasise the point we made earlier: potentially or actually significant political changes are beginning to take place in the many parts of the Muslim world, including the Middle East region. Political elites in various regional countries – including, Turkey, Kuwait and Jordan – are now to varying degrees engaged in political liberalisation or democratisation.[14]

According to Fattah, 'three predominant worldviews' within the Muslim world influence 'religion and governance: traditionalist Islamists, modernist Islamists, and secularists'.[15] Traditionalists believe that they are the keepers of the Islamic traditions. It should be noted, however, that there are various kinds of 'traditionalist Islamists'. Some propose (and/or practise) armed struggle to wrest power from governments that are seen to be ruling in un-Islamic way, such as al Qaeda; some believe in incrementalist change through the ballot box, such as the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria in the early 1990s; some seek to achieve their goals by way of a combination of extra-parliamentary struggle, societal proselytisation and governmental lobbying, including the Muslim Brotherhoods of various Middle Eastern countries, including Egypt and Jordan. But despite differences in strategy and tactics, such entities have two beliefs in common: (1) politics and religion are inseparable; and (2) *sharia* law should ideally be applied to all Muslims. Many also share a third concern: Muslims as a group are the

focal point of a conspiracy involving Zionists and Western imperialists aiming to take over Muslim-owned lands and resources (notably oil). Such a concern is underlined by American transnational corporations' control over Arab oil, as well as by Israel's implacable denial of political and civil rights for its (largely Muslim) Palestinian constituency. In sum, traditionalist Islamists believe that for something to be 'Islamic' it must be accepted by both *sharia* and *ulama* (Muslim clerics) and 'Western-style' – that is, liberal – democracy is anti- or un-Islamic.

Modernist Islamists believe that 'Muslims can learn about anything they believe is good for themselves and society regardless of its origins'.[16] In other words, unlike traditionalist Islamists, modernist Islamists do not reject (liberal) democracy *per se* as they do not find either ethical or religious problems with adoption of such democratic mechanisms – as long as they are generally appropriate to Muslim beliefs. They base their acceptance on two factors: first, early Muslims adopted non-Islamic innovations and, second, democracy is not a Western invention and as a result it can be Islamised. In sum, for modernist Islamists, for something to be Islamic it must not contradict the *sharia*, while (liberal) democracy is Islamic or at least 'Islamisable'.

Finally, there are the (Muslim) secularists who start from two assumptions. First, Islam does not offer a *concrete* guide for governance, that is, Muslim holy texts do not tell Muslims explicitly how to run their societies, especially in the twenty-first century, a period marked by profound and continuing economic, cultural and social changes. While holy texts, including the Qur'an, are valuable sources of ethics and morality they are not much help in running political or economic systems at the current time. The second assumption is that Muslims need to follow what the most successful societies have done in order to outdo them. This is said to be exactly what the West did in the past by learning from Muslims and others. For secularist Muslims, for something to be Islamic it should be in the interest of society quite regardless of holy texts. In addition, democracy is widely regarded among secularists as necessary in order to provide representative, legitimate and authoritative governments in Muslim countries. In sum, there are various positions regarding (liberal) democracy within current Islamic thinking and nothing suggests that 'Islam' is inherently anti-(liberal) democracy. In the next section, we see how Turkey has engaged with the issue of democracy over the last thirty years or so, during which the country significantly democratised.

Turkey

Turkey has a population of around 75 million people, of whom more than 80 per cent are ethnically Turkish. There are also a number of minority peoples, including Kurds, an issue which has periodically informed the nature of the country's politics. Ninety-eight per cent of the population is Muslim, and Islam maintains a strong social and political position despite the secular emphasis of state policy since the founding of the post-Ottoman Turkish republic in the early 1920s. In recent years, demands for 'more Islam' in public life has conflicted with the country's strongly pro-secular orientation laid down nearly a century ago by the founder of the Turkish republic, Kemal Atatürk.

Political culture and regime legitimacy

Turkey is actually a second- rather than third-wave democracy, having first democratised in 1950. However, the country was taken over by the military three times – in 1960, 1971 and 1980 – before the latest round of democracy, which began in 1983. Between the early 1970s and the late 1990s, Turkey fluctuated between being a 'free' and a 'partly free' country (in

2015, Turkey was rated by Freedom House as 'partly free').[17] Over the last three decades, the position of both political rights and civil liberties has fluctuated. This situation is often linked to the traditionally important political role of the armed forces which, for decades, has sought to control the country's political development in a strongly secular direction. Overall, the armed forces have been the country's most important political institution since the fall of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, eclipsing underdeveloped political institutions, such as the increasingly fragmented party system.

The most recent transition from military rule in 1983 exemplified the degree to which outgoing military regime in Turkey set the terms of their departure from power. Post-1983 constitutional amendments eradicated some legacies of military rule, including the ban on political activity by former politicians and on cooperation between political parties and civil society organisations, including trade unions and professional organisations. In addition, other constitutional exit guarantees, such as the president's power to block constitutional amendments, automatically expired in 1989. On the other hand, the progress of civilianisation – and hence democratic consolidation after 1983 – arguably had less to do with formal constitutional change than with informal practice and adaptation. The point is that three decades after the onset of the current phase of democratisation, the military retains high political salience in Turkey. In sum, the long term structural effect of military domination has influenced the country's political culture, making it problematic to develop a consolidated democracy.

Political participation and institutions

A cohesive political party system is often associated with democratic sustainability. Turkey offers an example of a party system that began with just two parties for the first contested election in 1950. However, over time, party numbers grew. This was a consequence of increasing political polarisation and ideological division. The consequence was that, in 2015, there were nine parties represented in parliament and around forty smaller parties without a parliamentary presence.[18] Their ideological concerns ranged from those represented by secular, ultra-nationalist parties, through Islamic groups, to those of the extreme left.

In the mid-1970s, at the start of the third wave of democracy, Turkey's party system was characterised by volatility, fragmentation and ideological polarisation.[19] Volatility took the form of sudden and significant changes in the share of the votes that the main parties gained from one election to the next. Fragmentation was reflected in increasing numbers of parties appearing in parliament, while ideological polarisation was represented by parties such as the Islamic National Salvation Party and the ultra-nationalist National Action Party (NAP). The appearance of ideologically polarised parties was symptomatic of wider divisions appearing in society at this time. Not only did parties polarise, but so did many Turkish institutions, including the bureaucracy, the universities, schools, the media and the police. This was a symptom of an important transformation in the Turkish system as a whole; a sharpening left-right ideological dimension that encouraged the military to return to power in 1980, leading to the temporary cessation of democracy.

How to explain Turkey's sharpening ideological divisions in the 1970s? It seems certain that the loss of political efficacy for centre parties was exacerbated by the country's serious fiscal, social and economic difficulties and pervasive state-level political corruption from the 1970s, which appeared to encourage some people to look to extremist solutions. Economic problems placed new limits on the largesse that parties were able to distribute among their supporters. This was a serious blow to their chances of picking up votes.[20] The drift from the moderate parties was also encouraged by the fact that most of Turkey's political parties were

organised as strongly centralised organisations, highly dependent on access to government patronage, dominated by their top leaders who were rarely challenged from below. The consequence was that Turkey's parties did not develop as electoral vehicles to represent various societal interests but as clientelist networks through which government resources could be channelled to supporters. Moderate parties tended to neglect essential organisational work, concentrating instead on media appeals and image-building with the help of professional public-relations experts. The result was that local party organisations were often dominated by small groups of activists whose power came from the fact that they could control access to the senior leadership. Organisation tended to be loose, membership records were not well kept and branches only really sprang to life at election times. The point is that such parties did not fulfil the necessary role of cohesive parties and were not, as a result, conducive to democratic consolidation.

The military government tried to overhaul the party system by manipulating electoral laws. In 1983, it introduced a statute proclaiming that a 10 per cent national threshold – and even higher constituency thresholds – was necessary for parties to take seats in parliament. The hope was that this would lead to the elimination of the most intensely ideological parties, leading instead to a 'manageable' system of two or three parties. However, there continued to be a weakening of the politically moderate centre-right and centre-left, with a rise in popularity both of nationalist and religious parties. For example, in the 1995 elections, Refah, the main Islamic grouping, achieved 21.4 per cent of the vote, the ultra-nationalist NAP gained 8.2 per cent, and the Kurdish nationalist HADEP garnered 4.2 per cent. While this result 'boost[ed] the combined extremist vote share to one-third and raised the possibility that Turkish democracy [was] facing a systemic challenge',[21] it also reflected the fact that parties such as Refah put in much care and attention to grassroots organisation, a strategy which paid off in electoral successes. Ten years later, a moderate Islamic party with its roots in Refah – the AKP (Justice and Development Party) – was in power, gaining nearly 35 per cent of the vote in the July 2007 elections. In the most recent elections (2011), the AKP consolidated its hold on power still further, acquiring just under half (49.91 per cent) of all votes cast on an 85 per cent turnout.[22]

Turning to civil society, a lack of consultation by government and a resulting paucity of consensus meant that its policies often faced heavy societal resistance and remained unimplemented. Opposition was not only focused in the burgeoning numbers of political parties, but also in Turkey's relatively robust civil society. Groups within civil society, many of which were focused in the country's powerful trade union movement, tended to be characterised by a relatively high degree of organisational independence, and supported in their clashes with the state by the relatively strong and independent judiciary.

In sum, Turkey's party system has not been conducive to democratic consolidation as it became increasingly fragmented, volatile and ideologically polarised. Parties were very often the personal vehicles of senior leaders, which did not encourage the development of essential representational aspects among supporters. Those parties that did energetically seek to recruit supporters at the grassroots were often those labelled extremist parties. Civil society organisations, especially those connected to the trade union movement, served as an important focus of anti-state opposition.

International and economic factors

From the 1970s, Turkey has experienced often serious economic problems which have impacted upon political developments. Turkey enjoyed sustained economic growth during the 1960s, but it declined in the 1970s. Turkey, a non-oil producer, felt the impact of rising oil

prices that led to severe balance-of-payments problems and high price inflation. By 1975, two-thirds of export earnings were spent on buying oil products and inflation soared to over 100 per cent a year; and, in 1980, an economic austerity programme was introduced to try to deal with the problems. While this led to substantial macroeconomic improvements, including improved export performance and falling price inflation, the improvements did not last. By the late 1980s inflation had risen again to over 70 per cent a year. Encouraged by the International Monetary Fund, the government introduced new, forceful measures to try to deal with inflation. However, it remained high – around 80 per cent in the mid-1990s, before rising to about 100 per cent in 1997. To attempt to deal with the situation, the government introduced a three-year economic stabilisation programme, which cut state jobs and led to increased hardship among millions of ordinary people.

The problem for Turkish governments has been that economic problems have tended to stimulate the rise of 'extremist' parties which have called for radical solutions – such as fundamental political reforms – to deal with the situation. But radical solutions are often seen as potentially destabilising and therefore anathema to the self-appointed guardians of the status quo: the military. Whereas in the past, the armed forces would deal with perceived instability by, if necessary, taking over government for a time, increasingly this option is unavailable. This is largely because Turkey is anxious to gain membership of the European Union, an organisation open only to democracies with good human rights records. Although Turkey has been an associate member of the European Economic Community (EEC), since 1964, its relations with the EEC's successor, the European Union, have deteriorated, especially in the wake of the 1980 military coup, not only because it dissolved democracy but also because some armed forces personnel were accused of serious human rights violations.

The resumption of democracy in 1983 led to a rebuilding of Turkey's links with the EU and the Council of Europe. In 1989, the European Commission laid down a number of stringent conditions for admission, including improved human rights and clear progress towards better relations with Greece. But Turkey could not fulfil these conditions and has remained outside the EU. In 1995 Turkey and the EU signed a customs union, but the country was again passed over for membership, as it was again mid-1997 when in principle five Eastern European states were allowed to join. It seems likely that Turkey's recent military actions against rebellious Kurds had been a factor in the decision to deny it EU membership. In sum, Turkey's desire for membership may have encouraged the army not to attempt to take power since 1980, but the inability to deal with various human rights problems and the issue of the Kurds meant that it was denied its goal as an EU member.

By 2015, Turkey's continuing application for membership of the EU polarised public opinion. On the one hand, for some it threatened Turkey's sense of cultural identity, while for others the chief purpose of the country's bid for membership of the EU was to seek to drive a wedge between 'Islamic fundamentalists' and moderate Muslims by offering the latter an example of what moderation can achieve.

While in the Muslim Middle East democracy has made some progress in recent years, evidence presented in this section overall confirms Diamond's view that 'culturally and historically, this [that is, the Arab Middle East] has been the most difficult terrain in the world for political freedom and democracy'.[23] Attempts to explain why this should be the case are often linked to the political importance of: Islam; strong, centralised states, often led by personalistic leaders, bequeathed by colonialism; and strongly politicised militaries anxious to maintain the political status quo. On the other hand, we have slow, often hesitant moves towards democracy in a few regional countries, including Jordan, Kuwait and Morocco. In addition, we saw that in the case of Turkey, despite the singularity of its own political experiences, the country's

problematic experiences with democratisation suggests a conclusion of wider relevance to the Middle East region: structural factors – including politically active militaries and state intolerance of criticism – have made democratic progress difficult, while the role of Islam has been highly variable, ranging from outright hostility to overt acceptance.

Christian churches and democratisation in Sub-Saharan Africa

In the 1980s and 1990s, Sub-Saharan Africa experienced something it had not seen for decades: widespread popular calls for democratisation, part of a wider package of demands for more and better economic and human rights. There followed pro-democracy regime change in a number of African countries, including Benin, Cape Verde, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Niger, Sao Tomé, Sierra Leone and Zambia. Elsewhere, however, authoritarian rulers demonstrated ability, at least temporarily, to stay put either by winning elections (Ghana, Burkina Faso) or by simply refusing to budge (Togo, Kenya, Zaire).

By the mid-2000s, a clearer democratic picture had emerged. In 1976, only three African countries were considered by Freedom House to be free, with eighteen judged partly free and twenty-eight not free. By 2007, the number of free African countries had nearly quadrupled, to eleven. Twenty-four were judged to be partly free (an increase of 33 per cent), while fourteen were not free (50 per cent fewer).[24]

Demands for democratisation had both domestic and external roots. Domestically, demands for reform reflected an awakening – or reawakening – of an often long-dormant political voice for various civil society groups, with trade union officials, higher-education students, businesspeople, civil servants and religious – mostly Christian – figures initially leading and coordinating popular demands for reform. Professional politicians later made such demands integral parts of their programmes for election. The widespread expectation was that popular efforts would force long-entrenched, often venal governments from office. Democratically elected regimes would take power, with new leaders tackling with energy, resourcefulness and imagination pressing political, social and economic problems. Previously ignored political constituencies would be heard, human rights would be observed, including the precious freedom to criticise governments without fear of incarceration. A second factor was that Africa's democratisation was the 'road map' for political change preferred by key external actors: Western governments who provided Africa with the bulk of its foreign aid.

In sum, demands for democratisation in Sub-Saharan Africa are best explained through the interaction of domestic and international factors, with the former of most importance.

Religious figures, notably Christian leaders, added their voices to the clamour for democratic changes in the region. Leading Catholics were frequently involved in national conferences on the political way forward in a number of French-speaking countries, including Congo-Brazzaville, Togo, Mali, Niger, Gabon, Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and Chad. The outcome in Congo-Brazzaville was the democratic election of a new government, although the political situation remained tense. In Togo, Chad, Gabon and Zaire, on the other hand, such conferences did not lead, in the short term, either to new constitutions or democratically elected governments. In Zaire and Togo, led respectively by Presidents Mobutu and Eyadema, the outcome was initially stalemate, as opposition forces were too weak to unseat them. In Chad, societal Christian–Muslim polarisation meant that the political situation was volatile. In Gabon, Omar Bongo retained power for a while, despite the registration of thirteen political parties and a powerful, although unsuccessful challenge, from an opposition leader, Paul Mba-Abesole (a Catholic priest) and his movement, Le Rassemblement de Boucherons (National Society of Woodcutters). In mainly Muslim Niger and Mali, however, new political

leaders and democratically elected governments emerged. In sum, involvement of Catholic leaders in national democracy conferences reflected the fact that the Catholic Church was often one of only a few national institutions that had managed to keep a degree of corporate independence from the state. In addition, a Muslim culture in a country was not necessarily a barrier to democratisation.

Two main issues form the focus of this section of the chapter. The first is the relationship of senior religious figures to the state in Africa and the role of the former in regional countries' attempts to democratise. The second is to examine the political importance of 'popular' religions – that is, religions not legitimised by a close relationship between their leaders and those of the state, but instead with bottom-up structures rooted in grassroots concerns. The first task is to establish the nature of the links between senior religious figures and state elites in Africa, in the context of the third wave of democracy. The second is to make some preliminary observations about the political nature of popular religions in Sub-Saharan Africa and their varying relationships to democracy.

State and religion in comparative perspective in Africa

In Sub-Saharan Africa, as elsewhere, leaders of religious bodies – whether Christian or Muslim – are social products of the societies from which they come. As individuals, they may be theoretically and intellectually convinced of the benefits of democracy, understanding that concept in both structural (appropriate political institutions, including independent legislature and judiciary) and normative ('real', pluralistic, competition, worthwhile civic freedoms) terms. Yet they also have to go about their daily business in an environment characterised by state heavy handedness, the threat or expectation of military involvement in politics, shortages of economic resources, venality, corruption, and suspicion or worse between ethnic and/or religious groups. As a result, it seems plausible to surmise that their personal opinions regarding the theoretical desirability of democracy are often, and often necessarily, at least partially moulded by a pursuit of individualistic material concerns. In short, I am suggesting that many religious leaders in Sub-Saharan Africa will have both individual, as well as institutional, economic interests and concerns in terms, for example, of improving their church's 'market share', perhaps by seeking restrictions on their chief rivals.[25]

Since Africa's independence from colonial rule, church and state developed mutually supportive relationships in many regional countries. The role of Christian churches vis-à-vis government in the region, as elsewhere, is in theory a simple and clear one, well expressed in the following: 'limits of the state's sphere of action are set by the definition of 'temporal', that is, those activities of civilisation that arise in the 'earthly' city . . . The church in no way limits the state's rights. Church and state complement one another, each by working in its proper realm.'[26]

However, in practice churches in Sub-Saharan Africa often found themselves on the horns of a dilemma: to what extent should they dare to criticise authoritarian governments – even when they clearly abused power in ways that Christian morality found unacceptable? Two distinct, mutually exclusive, options presented themselves: (1) to speak out and expect to be criticised by rulers for doing so, or (2) publicly keep quiet – but seek to change government policy by persuasion behind the scenes.

There was also a third option. As the extremely cordial relations between Catholic Church leaders and the Mobutu regime in Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) illustrates, it was in both the interests of both church and state for there to be social and political stability, even if it required authoritarian rule to achieve it. The cordial relationship is well illustrated in a

1965 declaration from the then-Archbishop of Kinshasa, Joseph Malula. Addressing President Mobutu personally, he stated that 'the Church recognizes your authority, because authority comes from God. We will loyally apply the laws you establish. You can count on us in your work of restoring the peace toward which all so ardently aspire'.[27] True to Malula's word, until the early 1990s, the Catholic hierarchy in Zaire was consistently unwilling to engage the regime in direct public confrontation. It was only after an unprecedented show of public displeasure – significantly involving young priests and nuns – that the Catholic hierarchy was galvanised publicly to oppose Mobutu's authoritarian rule.

It is sometimes claimed that senior Catholic figures were bought off by material inducements, quite apart from the fact that the institutional role of the Church was believed to be supportive of almost any temporal regime, including Mobutu's authoritarian rule. As the quotation from Malula indicates, God was believed to confer absolute authority on ruling governments. Understandably, Malula was anxious to continue the good working relationship with the state, to build on the mutually supportive arrangement which had typified the colonial period. Overall, occasional differences between Catholic and colonial authorities were slight in comparison to the many issues on which church and state worked together in tandem.

More generally, for church leaders in Africa, silence in the face of poor and/or corrupt government following independence reflected a number of concerns: they themselves may have benefited materially from the status quo; many were inherently conservative and believed that governments, however bad, were exercising authority ordained by God; and, finally, such leaders often recognised that their church's corporate position in a country was in part dependent upon state acquiescence or support. In Zaire, for example, the value of cooperation with civil authorities for church leaders led them to use various modes of communication and influence in their relationship with society and the governing regime.[28] This is the idea of the 'two realms' of church and state, where the former may attempt to influence the latter by persuasion but has no other means at its disposal if it wishes to retain its privileged position. In other words, normally the church hierarchy can be no more than an interlocutor between state and society. As the trajectory of Mobutu's rule only too clearly showed, those who gain a reputation for outspoken criticism were very likely to find themselves incarcerated – or worse. Such a position may also have been related to the fact that senior Christian figures were well treated personally by Mobutu. For example, 'Cardinal Malula lived in a mansion that the President gave him [in 1974] . . . in 1978 or so the President gave a Mercedes to every bishop, Protestant or Catholic'. The result was that Catholicism, in partnership with the powerful, independent Kimbanguist Church, 'assumed some of the functions of an ideology in the service of the dominant class'.[29] A further factor – apart from concerns with stability and the fears of repercussions of openly challenging regimes – is that some Christian leaders were personally closely associated with ruling regimes, sometimes to the extent of holding political appointments. For example, in Lesotho in the early 1970s, the post-independence government of Chief Leabua Jonathan and the National Party was predominantly Catholic in support and conservative in policy, enjoying the support of South Africa's apartheid regime. The position was similar in Togo. There, the ruling party, Le Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (RPT), had a hegemonic position analogous to that of the dominant parties in Zaire and Lesotho. The Catholic Church – with about a third of Togo's people – dominated spiritually. Together, Catholic and secular elites in the RPT dominated politically and spiritually, maintaining a strong grip on society. A further example comes from Rwanda where, until 1985, the Catholic archbishop of Kigali was on the central committee of the single party, the Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement. In addition, Bishop Matale's membership of the commission for instituting

a one-party state in the 1970s in Zambia was also a clear manifestation of a close relationship between state and church.[30]

This is not to suggest that all senior Christian figures enjoyed cosy relationships with ruling regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, in Liberia the Catholic Archbishop of Monrovia, Michael Francis, was a strong and outspoken advocate of human rights and social justice. From the mid-1970s, he consistently critiqued Liberia's socio-political and moral situation, underlining what he saw as three debilitating forms of corruption: 'social corruption' ('unjust imprisonment, detention without charge or trial, inhuman and degrading prison conditions'), 'professional corruption' (when government personnel abuse their positions to make money or 'employ individuals because they are of the same family, or tribe, or are girlfriends'), and 'personal corruption' ('the all-pervasive sexual immorality of the country'). Over time, a number of Catholic priests in Liberia followed Francis's critical lead. But while he personally escaped governmental reprisals, other, more junior figures, were less fortunate, with many suffering harassment by the state's security services.[31]

Given the mutually supportive relationships between many senior church figures and states, how can we account for involvement of Christian leaders in Sub-Saharan Africa's attempts at democratisation from the 1980s and 1990s? Some analysts regard the leaders of the mainline (as distinct from the independent) churches as highly significant actors in this context. Leading Christians are said to have practically dragged unwilling, undemocratic governments towards the dreaded ballot box. Such figures are said to have led pro-democracy agitation not only because they were democrats personally (as a result of their Christianity), but also because their 'flocks' had collectively experienced diminishing benefits from non-democratic rule: poor government, bad economic policies and unworkable ideological programmes. In short, Africa's democratisation is perceived to be a result of: (1) Christian leaders' tenacity, clear-sightedness, and lack of fear of the consequences of their actions, and (2) such figures' burning sense of outrage on behalf of their followers.[32]

Proponents of the 'Christians as necessarily democrats' argument also point to interaction of international and domestic factors to explain how Christian leaders have been prominent in pro-democracy campaigns in several parts of the world. For example, Diamond notes how: 'religious institutions, especially the Catholic Church, have been prominent in the movements of a great many countries – notably, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Philippines, South Korea, Poland, Haiti, South Africa, and most recently Kenya – to oppose, denounce, frustrate and remove authoritarian regimes'.[33]

Christian institutional independence and integrity in relation to state power is an essential facet of the post-colonial African structure of power relations. Because, in the main, most expressions of the world religions tended to be identified with the main interest groups, whether ethnic or class, they were available in a diffuse form as a mediating element, relatively neutral ground, in social and political conflict. Religious institutions were therefore generally accorded respect by the political elite. This argument locates both Christian and Muslim religious institutions as interlocutors between state and society, respected bodies whose leaders' own personal desires and preferences are subsumed in their concern to disinterestedly mediate between citizens and government.

Religious *institutional* independence and integrity in relation to state power characterises Africa's post-colonial structure of power relation. Because Christian churches are rarely identified with a country's main ethnic or class interest groups, they can perform key mediating tasks, including providing relatively neutral political ground. Reflecting this, political elites often respect Christian churches and their leaders. Churches are key interlocutors between state and society, respected bodies whose leaders' own personal desires and preferences are

subsumed in their concern disinterestedly to mediate between citizens and government. The involvement of senior Christian figures in national democracy conferences in the early 1990s can be understood in this context.

An alternative argument is that religious leaders in Africa are normally class actors in partnership with secular elites to develop and perpetuate regime hegemony, implying that such figures are normally strongly supportive of the status quo. As result, it is aberrant for them to demand fundamental political changes.[34] In this view, Africa's democratic initiatives in the 1980s and early 1990s were primarily examples of what Gramsci called 'passive revolution'. The main purpose of religious leaders' mediating between factions – for example, via national democracy conferences – was primarily to settle intra-elite disputes between contenders for state power.

This hypothesis is relevant not only to Christian but also Muslim leaders in Sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, two of the seven countries that held national democracy conferences in the early 1990s, Mali and Niger, are both strongly Muslim countries (about 90 per cent Muslim in each case). Senior Muslim figures played leading roles in both countries' national democracy conferences. On the other hand, members of the *ulama* (religio-legal scholars) are typically supporters of the status quo, because it allows them to be integrally involved in the running of the affairs of Muslims in their state because of the control they can exercise via their control of the national Muslim organisations. Their partnership with state-level politicians is thus crucial.

Conclusion

Religious leaders can occupy an important role as interlocutor between their followers and the state. But to maintain positions of power and authority it is of course necessary for religious leaders to retain their followers; as a result, they need as far as possible to prevent mass defections to competitors. In recent times, however, leaders of both mainline churches and orthodox expressions of Islam in Africa have found themselves threatened by an increase in popular religiosity. While democracy and pluralism have made some progress in some Muslim countries in recent years, it is worth repeating Diamond's view stated above: 'culturally and historically' the Arab Muslim Middle East is 'the most difficult terrain in the world for political freedom and democracy'.[35] Attempts to explain why this is the case are often linked to the political importance of: Islam; strong, centralised states, often led by personalistic leaders, often bequeathed by colonialism or imperialism; and strongly politicised militaries anxious to maintain the political status quo. Yet, our brief examination of democratisation in Turkey would belie the view that democracy is impossible to achieve in a strongly Muslim country. In relation to Sub-Saharan Africa, we saw that Christian leaders have been both supporters of the status quo and, on occasion, have challenged it, for example, when pro-democracy was *de rigeur* in the region in the 1990s.

Clearly, then, Islam is not inherently anti-democratic. While some Muslims, whether in Turkey or Sub-Saharan Africa, may see liberal democracy quite differently compared to, say, some types of Christianity, not all by any means find democracy per se anathema. It is important to see the political struggles of Islamists as primarily directed against their own typically undemocratic rulers and political systems. This fits in with a key historic characteristic of politics in the Muslim world, especially in what many would see as its heartland: the Arab countries of the Middle East. Since the beginning of Islam, nearly 1,400 years ago, critics of the status quo have periodically emerged in opposition to what they perceive as unjust rule.

The goal of the 'just' in Islamic history has been to form popular consultative mechanisms (*shura*) in line with the Qur'anic idea that Muslim rulers must not only be open to

popular pressure but also seek to settle problems brought by subjects to a common satisfaction. However, the concept of *shura* should not be equated closely with the Western notion of popular sovereignty because to many Muslims – especially those we noted above as 'traditionalist Islamists' – sovereignty resides with God alone. Thus *shura* is a way of ensuring unanimity from the *ummah*, the community of Muslims, which allows for no legitimate minority position. However, 'modernist Islamists' and 'Muslim secularists' do not necessarily oppose 'Western' liberal interpretations of democracy, unless it is seen as a system that negates God's own sovereignty. It is partly for this reason that traditionalist Islamists are often conspicuous by their absence in demands for Western-style democratic changes. On the other hand, many more moderate Islamists accept the need for earthly rulers to seek a mandate from their constituency.

Notes

1 Huntington, *The Third Wave*.
2 Waylen, 'Gender and transitions', p. 157.
3 Huntington, *The Third Wave*.
4 Diamond, 'Consolidating democracies'.
5 Haynes, *Democracy in the Developing World.*
6 Gel'man, 'Post-Soviet transitions and democratization'.
7 Akbar, *The Shade of Swords*; Diamond, Plattner and Brumberg, *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*; Fuller, *The Future of Political Islam*; Noyon, *Islam, Politics and Pluralism*; Muqtedar Khan, *Islamic Democratic Discourse*; Fattah, *Democratic Values in the Muslim World.*
8 Huntington, *The Third Wave*.
9 Noyon, *Islam, Politics and Pluralism.*
10 See, for example, Ananta, Arifin and Suryadinata, *Emerging Democracy in Indonesia*; Nyman, *Democratizing Indonesia*.
11 Fuller, *The Future of Political Islam.*
12 Karl, 'The hybrid regimes of Central America', p. 79.
13 Turkey and Indonesia may well now be exceptions. See Fattah, *Democratic Values in the Muslim World*.
14 See, for example, Khan, *Islamic Democratic Discourse*; Fattah, *Democratic Values in the Muslim World.*
15 Fattah, *Democratic Values in the Muslim World*, p. 4.
16 Ibid., p. 17.
17 'Turkey received a downward trend arrow [in 2015] due to more pronounced political interference in anticorruption mechanisms and judicial processes, and greater tensions between majority Sunni Muslims and minority Alevis'. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2015/turkey#.VWhmqGfbKUk.
18 'Political parties in Turkey'. http://www.allaboutturkey.com/parti.htm.
19 Ozbudun, 'Turkey: How far from consolidation?', p. 124.
20 Ibid., p. 125.
21 Ibid., p. 125.
22 'Political parties in Turkey'. http://www.allaboutturkey.com/parti.htm.
23 Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, p. 270.
24 Freedom House 2007. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2007.
25 The argument in this section comes from Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*.
26 Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics*, p. 107.
27 Ibid.
28 Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*, p. 111.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., pp. 111–12.

31 Ibid., pp. 112–13.
32 Haynes, 'Religion and democratization in Africa'.
33 Ibid.
34 Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*.
35 Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, p. 270.

References

Akbar, M. J. (2002) *The Shade of Swords: Jihad and the Conflict between Islam and Christianity*, London and New York: Routledge.

Ananta, Aris, Nurvidya Arifin, Evi and Suryadinata, Leo (2005) *Emerging Democracy in Indonesia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Diamond, Larry (1999) *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*, Baltimore, MD and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond, Larry (2002) 'Consolidating democracies', in L. LeDuc, R. Niemi and P. Norris (eds.) *Comparing Democracies 2. New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*, London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage, pp. 210–27.

Diamond, Larry, Plattner, Marc F. and Brumberg, Daniel (eds.) (2003) *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*, Baltimore, MD and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Fattah, Moataz A. (2006) *Democratic Values in the Muslim World*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Fuller, Graham E. (2003) *The Future of Political Islam*, New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Gel'man, Victor (2003) 'Post-Soviet transitions and democratization: Towards theory building', *Democratization*, 10, 2: 87–104.

Haynes, Jeffrey (1996) *Religion and Politics in Africa*, London: Zed Books.

Haynes, Jeffrey (1998) *Religion in Global Politics*, London: Longman.

Haynes, Jeffrey (2001) *Democracy in the Developing World: Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East*, Cambridge: Polity.

Haynes, Jeffrey (2004) 'Religion and democratization in Africa', *Democratization*, 11, 4: 66–89.

Huntington, Samuel *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Karl, T. Lynne (1995) 'The hybrid regimes of Central America', *Journal of Democracy*, 6, 3: 72–86.

Khan, M. A. Muqtedar (ed.) (2006) *Islamic Democratic Discourse. Theories, debates and philosophical perspectives*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Noyon, Jennifer (2003) *Islam, Politics and Pluralism: Theory and Practice in Turkey, Jordan, Tunisia and Algeria*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Nyman, Mikaela (2006) *Democratizing Indonesia: The Challenges of Civil Society in the Era of Reformasi*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Ozbudun, E. (1996) 'Turkey: How far from consolidation?' *Journal of Democracy*, 7, 3: 123–38.

Waylen, Georgina (2003) 'Gender and transitions: What do we know?' *Democratization*, 10, 1: 157–78.

12
ORGANIZING POLITICS
Religion and political parties in comparative perspective

Payam Mohseni and Clyde Wilcox

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, USA AND GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, USA

The study of religion and political parties represents a relatively understudied subfield of research that has nevertheless recently witnessed a resurgence of scholarly interest given its increasing global significance. Initially focused on the intersection of religious cleavages and party formation in Western democracies in the mid-twentieth century,[1] the field has expanded both in terms of geographic breadth to cover the non-Western world – in part due to the spread of multi-party elections and the rise of party politics around the globe[2] – and in terms of the depth in scope of inquiry to focus beyond the subject of social cleavages to analyse the complexity and multiplicity of forms by which religion and political parties may interact. The recent victories of Islamic political parties in the Middle East as a consequence of the Arab Spring, for example, as was the case with the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in Egypt, Ennahda in Tunisia, and the Party of Justice and Development (PJD) in Morocco, underscore the growing significance of the intersection of religion and political parties in shaping the contemporary world. Especially in light of their different political manifestations despite their proclaimed adherence to the same religion, Islam, the rise to power of these parties serves to drive in the need for further research on questions of religion and political parties with regards to areas such as democratization, party platform formation, party moderation and secularization, and social constituency representation and interest articulation.

The renewed focus on religion and political parties, however, occurred much earlier as political events in the 1980s reminded social scientists of the power of religion to influence parties and social movements across different regions of the world. The Iranian revolution depicted how a religious movement could overthrow a regime once seen as the exemplar of secularization in the region and establish a modern religious and revolutionary party, the Islamic Republic Party (IRP), to rule.[3] In the United States, the rise of the Christian Right showed how religious movements can evolve along with political parties,[4] changing both in the process. The role of the Pope and the Catholic Church in supporting Solidarity in Poland demonstrated the power of religious groups to mount movements and parties that challenge non-democratic regimes. Moreover, the Church's more complex role with post-independence political parties in Poland showed that democracy does not simplify the relationships between religious institutions and parties as one may assume.[5]

Like the broader field of religion and politics, the study of religion and political parties had been stunted earlier by the secularization paradigm. Modernization and secularization theories channelled scholarly attention away from religious politics[6] and predicted that the importance of religion on politics would decline – a position that failed to explain the resurgence of religion in many political systems in the world. Although secularization has clearly occurred in many countries,[7] there has been a substantial revival of religion in many parts of the globe.[8] The impact of religion on politics has not declined but rather changed in complex ways,[9] while the separation of religion and state has paradoxically decreased with higher socio-economic development throughout the world.[10]

Yet, the study of religion and political parties, the subject of this chapter, has been a difficult area for inquiry due to the complexity of the interrelationship between the two. Although there are a number of studies of religion and parties in particular nations, there is less comparative analysis on this theme because of the complex variety of relationships in play. Consider just a few examples:

- In officially secular India, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) first came to power in the 1990s after staging a 10,000 kilometre march that sought to destroy an ancient mosque that was alleged to be built on the remains of Rama's temple.[11] And in 2014, the BJP won the majority of seats in the parliament – the first time any single party has accomplished such a feat since 1984 – propelling BJP party leader Narendra Modi to the position of Prime Minister of India.
- In the United States, known for separation of church and state, candidates of both parties make speeches from church pulpits. Today candidates from both parties speak openly of their faith and its implication for their policies.
- In Turkey, a secular state with a large Muslim majority, parties that are insufficiently secular have traditionally been banned.[12] The ruling party – the Justice and Development Party (AKP) – is mildly Islamist, but attempts to balance its rhetoric with the secular goals of many national actors. More recently, however, critics fear a creeping Islamizing agenda by the ruling party and the Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdogan.[13]
- In the Netherlands, three confessional parties once represented distinctive pillars of politics. These three parties merged in 1980 but their strength declined with secularization.[14] By 2002, a new party – the Pim Fortuyn List – that focused anger toward Muslim immigrants became for a time the largest party,[15] while the Party for Freedom, which has an anti-Islam platform, has consistently gained a strong parliamentary presence in the country, for example becoming the third-largest party in parliament following the 2010 elections.[16]
- In Japan, a secular society where citizens mix elements of Buddhism and Shinto, one faction of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) is especially open to Shinto nationalism. The internal party cleavage is symbolized by the multiple visits of former Prime Minister Koizumi to a shrine to the war dead,[17] and, following a controversial interlude, Prime Minister Abe's visit in 2013.

These cases obviously differ greatly along many dimensions, only one of which is religious denomination. Some feature religious parties, in other cases religious citizens are factions in a party, or secular citizens react to immigration by those of another faith.

In this chapter, we do not seek to offer a comprehensive theory of religion and political parties. Instead, we begin with a discussion of the various ways that religion and political parties

can intersect, and then consider three sets of cases that have provoked considerable scholarship in recent years – Christian Democratic parties in Europe, religion and parties in the United States, and Islamic parties in the Middle East.[18]

Religion and political parties: a theoretical overview

Any comparative discussion of religion and political parties is complicated because of conceptual difficulties with both terms. Religious institutions can include hierarchical bodies like the Catholic Church, which can negotiate separate agreements with political leaders in different countries,[19] and institutions in more decentralized traditions such as Sunni Islam, and evangelical Protestantism. Institutions can mean the top leadership of denominations, or specific congregations.[20]

But religion is more than institutions. Religious bodies and traditions can spawn an 'associational nexus' that support religious parties.[21] Lay activists in the Catholic Church in Europe created civil society organizations that were linked to the Church in various ways, and this in turn led to the formation of Christian Democratic parties, sometimes against the opposition of church leaders. In the US, social and political groups channel religious enthusiasm toward political parties, and in India Hindu social groups rather than religious institutions sparked the rise of the BJP. On the other hand, religious parties can also create their associational nexus, as Hezbollah has done in Lebanon.[22]

Finally, religion can provide the energy to social movements that seek to change the assumptions, values, and routines of society.[23] These social movements can spark political parties, but parties can also help to spark social movements by channelling resources. These social movements can cut across religious institutions, and they can occur without active support from religious leaders – indeed they can occur despite their strong opposition.

Political parties might appear at first to be easier to define. Scholars generally agree that parties create programmes and ideological packages that articulate societal goals, aggregate and articulate societal interests, mobilize the public, and recruit elites who stand for the party in elections to acquire offices in government.[24] But in practice, parties are more difficult to distinguish from other political groups. In many multi-party systems, minor parties form and dissolve as quickly as other political organizations,[25] while religious social movements may recruit candidates and support them within parties to try to win office.[26] In many countries, religious groups act as 'indirect parties'.[27]

Moreover, recognizing religious parties is more complex than it might initially seem. Although many political parties have standing programmes that can be analysed, increasingly parties are using these programmes as electoral vehicles to attract votes and thus using secular language to state their goals.[28] Many religious parties have secularized over time, while officially secular political parties have developed a stronger tie with religious groups.[29] In some countries such as Turkey, explicitly religious parties are barred, but some secular parties nevertheless make implicit and explicit religious appeals. And even explicitly religious parties frequently win power with non-religious appeals, including those based on class and economic policy: the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) in Algeria used economic class appeals to win votes,[30] the BJP in India won power in part by its critique of ruling party economic policies,[31] and religious parties in Israel frequently win votes through policies toward school, housing, and other issues.[32] Meanwhile secular parties may compete for the votes of religious citizens by couching their programmes in moral language, even using specifically religious language in narrowly cast communications (e.g. through mail or phone).[33]

Religious parties may vary in their support for democratic institutions and practices, and thus some may be conceived as not parties, but rather vehicles for the elimination of parties. Some Catholic parties in the inter-war period in Europe sought to end democratic governance,[34] and there is a lively debate today over whether Islamic parties will be supportive of democratic processes if or when they win power.[35]

But religious influence on parties does not end with religious parties. Sometimes religious bodies and associations stand outside the party system to pressurize all parties, trying to structure the Constitution or the political debate as a societal force, as has been the case in Poland.[36] In other cases, political parties may align with different religious groups, and/or compete for the allegiance of some religious voters, as has been the case in the United States.[37] It is because of these differences and the variety of configurations on the interplay between religion and political parties that some scholars have used the concept 'religiously oriented party' rather than a religious political party,[38] with Ozzano identifying five distinct types of religiously oriented parties: the conservative, the progressive, the nationalist, the fundamentalist, and the camp party types.[39] This classification is based on multiple factors such as party ideology, party goals, and the party's social base of support.

On the other hand, religion can also influence party systems by creating explicitly secular parties that stand in opposition to religious forces. This has been true in Southern Europe, in Turkey, and to a certain extent in the United States, as the evangelical mobilization into politics has pushed seculars to the Democratic side.[40] And many right-wing parties in Europe have adopted anti-Muslim slogans.[41] In summary, the relation between religion and political parties is complex because of the multiple ways in which religion can be analysed – doctrinally, institutionally, and socially – and the diverse configurations that can form between religion and political parties. Therefore, an analytical framework is needed in order to approach this topic more theoretically in a comparative perspective.

A framework for the study of religion and political parties

Most research on religion and political parties has centred on Western Europe, and in other Western liberal democracies. This work has frequently focused on the way that political parties develop to compete along the main social divisions, or cleavages, in a country. Lipset and Rokkan suggest that there are four main cleavages in Western societies that are sources of conflict: the centre–periphery divide, the church–state divide, the land–industry cleavage, and the divide between the capitalists and workers.[42] They argue that the class cleavage is most important and predict that class will gain in importance as other pre-modern cleavages, such as religion, disappear. Some observers have reported declining salience of religion for voting in Europe, although evidence is clearly mixed.[43]

The view of religion as one of several social cleavages remains the dominant model for political party analysis, particularly in democratic polities.[44] Yet Rosenblum argues that 'The standard thesis on party formation simply assumes that where religious cleavages are politically salient, religious-based parties will arise. This leaves the black box of party-formation unopened.'[45] The standard thesis may not be helpful in understanding the rise of the BJP in India at a time when religious cleavages were not especially high,[46] or the emergence of two parties representing Shiite religious interests (Amal and Hezbollah) in Lebanon. And it does little to help us understand the prominence of religious actors in Republican Party politics in the past twenty years in the US.

Several key factors must be considered in order to fully understand the relationship between religion and political parties.

Regime type

Although most work on religion and political parties has focused on liberal democracies for obvious reasons, religious parties also operate in secular competitive authoritarian regimes that hold elections, such as Jordan and Yemen. They exist in theocratic regimes that hold elections, such as Iran, and do not in sultanistic religious regimes, such as Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan under the Taliban. Parties may perform different tasks in non-democratic systems, but recognizing them as parties allows us to broaden our thinking about parties and religion.

Religious marketplace

Religious cleavages come from religious differences, but nations differ in the type of religious differences that might be politically relevant. Many nations (such as Shi'a Islamic Iran and Catholic Poland) have overwhelming religious majorities, but voters divide on how much direct influence religious institutions should have on politics.[47] In other countries, such as Turkey, an overwhelming majority of religious citizens share a particular faith, but there are strong anti-clerical elements in politics, and a religious–secular divide. In other countries such as Belgium and Brazil, a religious majority is challenged by a new faith, either via conversion or immigration.[48] Elsewhere, for example in India and Japan, different religious traditions may compete or cooperate.[49] And in a few countries such as the US, there are many competing religious traditions vying to define the dominant values of the society.

Religious institutional structure

Some religious institutions are in a better position to bargain with political parties than others. In particular, scholars have argued that the Catholic Church as a hierarchical (and non-democratic) institution is better situated to negotiate the realm of democratic politics than more decentralized faiths such as Protestant evangelicalism and Islam.[50] Some scholars have even portrayed the Catholic Church as a rational actor negotiating with the state, constrained by paths previously taken in national history.[51] Kalyvas argues that Islamic parties, such as the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria, are less likely to be able to integrate into a democratic polity because of the less hierarchical nature of Islamic religious institutions.[52]

The associational nexus of religion and political parties

Religious institutions generally create a host of associations that are involved in community and charitable work, that help to organize social life, and provide a supplement to religious activities. Churches, temples, and mosques sponsor schools, sports associations, prayer groups, hospitals, service organizations to the poor and elderly, and special ministries. Religious enthusiasts may create social movements with related associations that try to change societal views and policies.

It is from these lay groups that religious parties typically spring,[53] and it is from them that pressure is exerted on existing parties to adopt religiously based policies.[54] The interests of the associational nexus of religion may differ from those of official religious elites, who may oppose the formation of religious parties or the alliance with more secular parties because they will likely lose control of the religious message. By entering into the political process, religious organizations change, with some becoming 'acculturated' to democratic norms. 'By means of the associational nexus religious parties integrate political activity with social and spiritual life.

Seen as part of this web of associations with overlapping affiliations, religious parties appear more like membership groups than other parties.'[55]

Political parties can create their own associational nexus as well, frequently creating groups specifically to appeal to particular types of voters – including religious ones. There are cases in which religious parties not only establish and institutionalize an associational nexus but also instigate and lead an entire social movement, such as Hezbollah in Lebanon. It is often difficult to distinguish between associations spawned by religious organizations and activists and those created by political parties.

The nature of the party system

Party systems vary across countries, changing greatly the incentives for religious activists and political activists to interact in particular ways. Various electoral rules produce incentives for parties to form, or for interests to work with larger, catch-all parties.[56] Path-dependent trajectories of party development, and party response to minor party encroachment, can also influence the way that religion affects parties. For all of these reasons, religious institutions and activists are more likely to back established parties in some countries, creating factions which support religious agendas, and more likely to form political parties in other countries – and in some cases (e.g. Israel), multiple parties.

The stance of religious groups toward the state and government

Religious organizations vary in their stance toward the state and government. Some early Catholic parties in the inter-war period endorsed an end to democratic elections, and backed authoritarian movements in various European countries. Some Islamic parties similarly endorse Islamic states with theocratic rule.[57] History suggests that Catholic parties became viable democratic actors as a result of engagement in the political realm. Whether Islamic parties can similarly accommodate to democratic norms constitutes one of the critical debates in the field of democratization today.

Religious groups that support democratic involvement vary in their prophetic stance against government policies. In many countries, churches and other formal religious institutions are established, funded by the government – and in some cases government has some control over the content of sermons. In other cases, religious parties may define a prophetic critique of government policies when in the opposition, but change their focus when they join a majority coalition. When religious groups form or support a political party, they may lose some ability to critique the party programme. This was evident in the United States, when the Concerned Women for America, a Christian Right women's group that is generally associated with the Grand Old Party (GOP), took no position on a Republican sponsored welfare reform bill that forced poor women to get jobs and place their children in childcare, even though this went against one of the group's core principles regarding motherhood.[58]

The religious orientation of the party

As discussed earlier, the role that religion plays within a political party is multi-faceted. Some parties may be explicitly religious; others may be secular but have religiously rooted social platforms or represent the interests of a religious social constituency. Likewise, some parties may be secular and espouse positions that are critical of other religious denominations, such as anti-Islamic parties in Europe. For our purposes in this chapter, we use Ozzano's classification

of religiously oriented parties.[59] The conservative party refers to broader, catch-all parties that are influenced by religious policy agendas; the progressive party is a centre-left party and has more progressive interpretations of religious doctrine; the religious nationalist party subsumes religious values to nationalist and ethnic ideology; the fundamentalist party is a mass party that wants to organize state and society on religion and religious law; and, finally, the camp party promotes the interests of a specific religious group without propagating an all-encompassing religious ideology for state and society.

Next, we investigate three cases of religion and political parties. We begin with a discussion of Christian Democratic parties and the Catholic Church in Europe. Christian Democratic parties share elements of a common programme but they differ in many ways, in part because of the different associational networks to which they are attached. Once seen as declining because of secularization in Europe, they have enjoyed a revival in recent years. Afterwards, we also

Table 12.1 Major dimensions on religion and political parties in five sample cases, 2010

	Western Europe	*United States*	*Jordan*	*Yemen*	*Lebanon*
Party	Christian Democrats (and allies)	Republican Party (GOP); Democratic Party (D)	Islamic Action Front	Islah	Hezbollah
Regime type	Liberal democracy	Liberal democracy	Electoral authoritarian: constitutional monarchy	Electoral authoritarian: presidential republic	Consociational democracy
Party system	Mostly proportional representation	First past the post – single member district	Single non-transferable vote	First-past-the-post – single member district	Confessional distribution
Associational nexus	Broad; connected	Broad; independent	Cohesive; mixed independence	Fragmented	Hierarchical
Religious institutional structures	Hierarchical (Catholicism)	Decentralized	Decentralized	Decentralized	Formal political hierarchy; multi-centered religious hierarchy
Religious marketplace	Catholic majority with sizable secular population; some with Protestant and Muslim minorities	Diverse; Christian majority	Sunni majority	Muslim majority; Sunni–Shi'a split	Diverse; Muslim majority
Stance towards the state	Pro-state	Pro-state	Mildly anti-state	Pro-state; more recent shift to mildly anti-state	Pro-state (since 1992)
Religious orientation	Conservative	Conservative (GOP); progressive (D)	Fundamentalist	Fundamentalist	Camp

look at the US, where religious discourse in elections is increasing. Social movement organizations seek to link the political parties to groups of religious voters, and mobilize religion into parties. Finally, we examine Islamic parties in the Middle East. There popular social movements and religious parties interact in intricate ways within the context of non-liberal polities, supporting and opposing states with planned strategies.

The Catholic Church and political parties in Europe

In Western Europe, Christian Democratic parties with strong links to Catholic religious institutions and civil society are active in most countries. In Eastern Europe, the Church has played an active role in some countries in designing constitutions, but has been less willing to back particular parties. In general, Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe have been less studied than parties on the left, but in recent years a significant amount of scholarship has focused on the relationship of the Catholic Church and political parties.[60]

Western European nations with Christian Democratic parties share certain characteristics that help to structure the interaction between religion and politics. All are liberal democracies with multi-party systems, interacting with a hierarchical church which has both national and international elements. They differ somewhat in the religious marketplace – the Netherlands and Germany have substantial Protestant populations – but overall share a growing secularization and an influx of new Muslim citizens. They are all embedded in networks of associations, which differ slightly from country to country. They are supportive of the state, but their position on church–state issues varies because of varying histories and different sets of state subsidies and limitations.

The relationship between the Church and parties in Europe is theoretically interesting, for several reasons. First, because early manifestations of Catholic political parties in Europe frequently staked anti-democratic positions, their participation in the electoral process may have implications for the position of Islamic parties in regards to democracy.[61] Second, the Catholic Church is the most hierarchical religious institution in the world, capable of negotiating concordats with various governments that differ in important ways, and thus allow consideration of the Church as a single rational actor.[62] Third, distinctive paths that some countries have taken to democracy have also altered the incentives for the Church to back or oppose particular parties.[63] Finally, the existence of a family of Christian Democratic parties allows us to consider the various ways that religious and social organization can affect party politics.[64]

Christian Democratic parties in Western Europe mostly grew out of civil society organizations that were affiliated with the Catholic Church, and with some Protestant churches as well. These parties shared certain ideological tenets but not a single programme. Christian Democratic parties are generally categorized as centre-right, supportive of the welfare state, federalism, and morally conservative policies. The parties have loosely affiliated in the context of the European Union.[65]

The historical paths of these parties differed, and this has affected their relationships to the Church and to other political forces. In Germany, the Church chose to ally itself with a party that combined Catholics and Protestants, rather than with another solely Catholic party that was forming at the same time. With little remaining of the once vibrant Catholic civil society in Germany and a strong regional division of religion, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) seemed to Catholic and Protestant actors alike a better bet than separate confessional parties. In the Netherlands, separate confessional parties competed for many years, but finally merged in 1980. In Belgium, in contrast, a Christian Democratic party formed early to protect Catholic schools, but later split along linguistic lines.

The parties have developed differently because of their competition in the electoral arena. In some countries, Christian Democratic parties have been seen as the main opposition to leftist anti-clerical parties, whereas in other countries Christian Democrats have had to fend off challenges by nationalist parties of the Right. In many cases, the parties historically competed by building ties to civil society organizations. In Italy, Church leaders used available resources, including denial of sacraments, to marshal support for the Christian Democratic party,[66] but also mobilized the extensive Catholic network of organizations. In France, priests joined unions and used persuasion, and also created new social organizations that were affiliated with the Christian Democrats. The associational nexus of these parties varies – trade unions have been associated with the party in Austria but not Germany, and in Belgium and Italy the party has had official organizations that represented women, students, and farmers.

Over the past three decades, the vote share of Christian Democratic parties declined in much of Europe as the population became more secular,[67] although there is some evidence of a resurgence in recent years.[68] Electoral volatility has increased, with new social movement parties and populist parties playing an increased role.[69] Some of these new populist parties have strong anti-Muslim positions in response to immigration.

Christian Democratic parties have reacted to changed political conditions in different ways. Some have sought to co-opt support for rightist and populist parties, and staked their identity around the Christian heritage of Europe, while others have opened themselves to Muslims and other non-Christian groups and sought to attract younger voters who are not drawn to the party's religious heritage. Some have broadened their agenda to become 'catch-all' parties of the centre and centre-right, whereas others have criticized neo-liberal economic reforms that have occurred across the continent. All have sought to retain their links to civil society organizations, but in much of Europe these organizations are in decline. Yet it is too early to write off Christian Democratic parties, especially given their renewed success in national and European elections in recent years. Even the diffuse religious identities of Western Europeans may become re-politicized under the right circumstances.[70]

Although Christian Democratic parties have formed in most West European democracies, the relationship between religion and parties in the new European democracies has followed a different course. The collapse of communist governments throughout Eastern and Central Europe altered the political balance in the West, but it also created space for new party systems in the recently established democracies. Many of these new countries were heavily secular, but some retained significant Catholic populations and institutions. The Church was strongest in Poland, where it was linked to a rich array of social institutions including the Solidarity trade union. The Church provided valuable infrastructure to civil society as it resisted the communist rule, but the transition to multi-party democracy was more complicated.

The Church negotiated with political leaders over the Constitution and protections for religious institutions. Yet when the Solidarity movement split into rival factions and Poland emerged with dozens of political parties, the Church chose not to endorse a political party, including some that were explicitly Catholic in ideology. This path was perhaps different from that in Italy in the post-war period because of doctrinal shifts in the role of the Church in politics.[71] The complex and rapidly shifting partisan structure of Polish politics also made choosing a party to support problematic, but made choosing which one to oppose far easier. This became more salient as party coalitions formed on the left and right.

In other countries, the Church had a more complex task. In Slovakia, for example, issues relating to Hungarian minorities made it difficult for the Church to become involved in partisan politics, because the Hungarian Church was actively involved in nationalistic

expression. The Church has been involved with a Christian Democratic party formation, although the rapid formation and mergers of political parties has made any stable alliance problematic.

In summary, religious actors and parties have been critical in the political development of Europe, particularly in the development of democracy in the nineteenth century and in the social movements against Communism in the late twentieth century. Recent declines in religious associational life and the practical non-existence of religious social movements may have left an ideational and associational vacuum for the rise of other political actors. Espousing Christian identity, without religiosity per se, nationalism may grow to be an important social movement in many European states, thus, altering the political landscape of the continent once again. Across the Atlantic, however, religious associational life and movements remain vibrant in the United States. And while Christian Democratic parties in Europe face an uncertain future, some have argued that in the US the Republican Party is now evolving into a Christian Democratic party.[72]

Religion and political parties in the USA

In the US, it is commonly argued that the party system has changed from one where both parties had allies in differing religious traditions, to one in which Christian conservatives support Republican candidates and more secular citizens vote Democratic. Presidential candidates routinely discuss their personal faith, religious experiences, and even in some cases theology publicly, and some churches are actively involved in electoral politics, despite an official separation of church and state.

The US has an increasingly diverse religious citizenry, with a Christian majority that is divided into several blocs and into hundreds of different denominations. White evangelical Protestants constitute 18 per cent of the public, with white Catholics and white mainline Protestants constituting approximately 14 per cent. African American Protestants and Hispanic Catholics are at around 8 per cent apiece.[73] Although politicians occasionally still declare the country to be a 'Christian nation', today there are Hindu temples, Buddhist meditation centres, mosques, synagogues, and other non-Christian houses of worship in all major cities and many smaller towns.[74]

A growing portion of the population is secular, and today more than 22 per cent express no religious affiliation, making them the single largest religious group in America. Among those under 30 years of age, this figure reaches 34 per cent, compared to only 11 per cent of senior citizens. A substantial majority of Americans report attending church at least once a month; many go more than once a week. But recent research suggests a substantial social desirability effect in phone surveys that assess church attendance. One recent study showed that online surveys obtain significantly lower rates of church attendance, with 31 per cent attending weekly or more but 43 per cent attending seldom or never.

The growing numbers of unaffiliated Americans suggests the possibility that a secular majority could emerge in the Democratic Party, although many deeply religious Americans – especially African Americans and Latinos – continue to identify as Democrats.

With so many religious traditions cooperating in some areas but competing to define the dominant worldview of the citizenry, there is no single religious actor that can negotiate with the state. The Catholic Church in the US has sought to exert a unified voice on certain issues such as abortion and same-sex marriage, but American Catholics frequently disagree with Church teachings, and even the lobbying efforts of various Catholic dioceses differ in their

priorities.[75] Protestant denominations are also divided; issues of gay and lesbian rights divide the Episcopal, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches. Evangelical denominations have sought to cooperate within the framework of the National Association of Evangelicals, but they have disagreed publicly about such issues as global warming and torture.

Religious groups have long been a key part of associational life in the US, spawning a rich array of organizations that serve a variety of spiritual and secular purposes. These associations are often associated with particular religious denominations (e.g. Catholic charities), but are often ecumenical efforts by religiously motivated citizens.[76] Churches provide opportunities for their members to acquire political skills, as well as serve the community.[77]

Moreover, religion has been the impetus of many vital social movements that have worked both outside and inside the party system to make substantial changes in American public life.[78] Religion was a major source of mobilization around abolition, temperance, civil rights, and the Christian Right. It played a notable role along with other secular forces in the suffrage and labour movements. In most cases, these movements started outside of the party system, and were eventually accommodated by changes in the programmes of one or both of the major parties.[79]

The first-past-the-post system of American congressional and presidential elections has produced the same two major parties for 150 years. These political parties frequently build close networks with interest groups and social movement organizations.[80] Political elites generally seek to exploit cleavages for political gain, not by forming new political parties, but frequently by forming extra-party organizations that can mobilize voters – including many that seek to mobilize religious voters.[81] These organizations can assist factions within the party in struggles to control nominations and influence the party platform.

Religious groups primarily support the state and are often nationalistic, but they also frequently take a prophetic stance against particular policies. Religious groups lobby both national and state governments, challenge laws in Court, and otherwise contest policy in ways very similar to non-religious groups.[82]

But tax law limits the ability of religious organizations to endorse candidates, affiliate with parties, as well as to lobby government. Churches can do any of these things, but their status as tax-exempt charities may be at stake. For this reason, churches shy away from explicit endorsements of candidates, although some obey the letter but not the spirit of the law.

Religion and political parties: from denomination to direction?

In the early years of the twentieth century, Democratic leaders began to assemble a religious coalition that included a variety of different groups. Democratic Party machines in northern cities welcomed Catholic and Jewish immigrants, and the Republican Party opened itself to nativist elements who called for curbs on immigration. Franklin Roosevelt's coalition sought to incorporate African American Christians and white evangelicals. White mainline Protestants – who were advantaged in socio-economic resources – constituted the backbone of the GOP.

Yet much of the religious alignment in this period was due to non-religious issues. White evangelicals were mostly southern, and that region was solidly Democratic because of racial politics. Catholic and Jewish immigrants were disproportionately working class, and thus benefited from the pro-labour policies of the Democrats. African Americans also benefited from Roosevelt's economic policies, especially in northern cities. Religion was important in American life, but was not terribly well mobilized in politics. In 1960, John Kennedy won the presidency not by touting his Catholic faith, but by promising not to let it direct his presidency.

Post-New Deal religion and party politics

During the 1960s, African American churches served as a critical infrastructure for the Civil Rights movement. Black pastors became involved in Democratic Party politics, conducting voter registration drives, and inviting Democratic candidates into their churches.[83] Democratic Party operatives cultivated ties to the largest African American churches across the country.

In the late 1970s, Republican leaders helped conservative white fundamentalists and evangelicals build the Christian Right, which was closely linked with the Republican Party. The Christian Right helped the Republicans woo white evangelical voters with more conservative policies on abortion, education, gay rights, and other issues. Republican politicians also helped channel contributions to organizations such as the Moral Majority and later the Christian Coalition, and they in turn helped to register voters and steer them to Republican candidates.[84]

The Republicans also sought to build support among conservative Catholics, stressing the party's position on abortion and gay rights. Frequently these efforts are coordinated in political groups which receive party support, in other cases they are mounted by individual candidates. In 2004, the Bush campaign sought to mobilize religious voters directly, bypassing social movement organizations. They gathered lists of members from conservative churches, and crafted careful appeals through mail, telemarketing, and other private communications to win their votes.

Republican policymakers have sought to cement their ties to evangelicals and conservative Catholics with public rhetoric on religion – both explicit language that is accessible to all voters, and more carefully worded language that is understood by particular religious communities. In some ways, the Republican Party has evolved into a type of Christian Democratic party, with the noticeable absence of support for the welfare state.[85] Secular Americans, a rapidly growing portion of the population, have moved to the Democrats in response, as have mainline Protestants with moderate to liberal theology.[86] Journalists frequently argue that the party system is evolving into one pitting a visibly religious party against a secular party.

There is some truth to this claim, for among all three groups of white Christians, the most observant are more likely to vote for the Republicans, and the most secular to support Democrats. Yet among African Americans, among Muslims, and among certain groups of Jews, the most observant are more likely to support Democrats, and this is true among older Catholics as well. Many religious groups have agendas that intersect with both political parties, including a newly engaged group of moderate evangelicals.[87]

Moreover, the two-party system creates incentives for both parties to woo many groups of voters. Catholics and mainline Protestants are currently courted by both parties, whereas African Americans, Jews, and white evangelicals appear to have formed stable relationships with one or the other party. The growing portion of secular voters appears to be currently aligned with the Democratic Party, partially in response to the affiliation of orthodox Protestants with the GOP. But the recent change from the Christian Right to the Tea Party as the organized right of the party may signal an effort by GOP elites to appeal to secular voters on economic issues.

In conclusion, the diversity of American religion and its associational life has complicated the relationship between religious groups and the two political parties. The relationship between parties and social movement organizations is a complicated one, and political parties may compete to win the votes of religious groups. Finally, the US case shows that even in long-established democracies the relationship between parties and religion can change. We now turn our attention to Islamic parties and movements in the Middle East, where the importance of both the nature of party-movement relations and the institutional structures of the regime can be made more explicit.

Islamic parties in the Middle East

The Islamic Revolution of 1979 marked a watershed in the ideological discourse of politics throughout the Islamic world, from one of Western secularism as characterized by Kemal Ataturk to that of the religion of Islam as exemplified by Ayatollah Khomeini.[88] Since then, the relationship between Islam and parties has continued to change, primarily for two reasons. First, in the 1970s and 1980s, most Islamists were reluctant to cooperate with the state, seeking instead a broader pan-Islamic revolution.[89] Second, many regimes banned religious parties, and over time these restrictions have been relaxed in some cases. In particular, the Arab Spring did much to usher in change to party laws in many countries, at least initially, as was particularly striking in Egypt and Tunisia with the emergence of Islamic parties. Nevertheless, reversals of the liberalization experienced by many countries as a result of the Arab Spring, such as the banning of the Muslim Brotherhood and its Freedom and Justice Party following the 2014 military coup in Egypt, continue to demonstrate the difficulties facing formal religious parties in the region. In fact, the role and function of parties continue to be much more restricted than those of the other regions of the world due to the illiberalism that characterizes the region.[90] Political parties are still banned in Saudi Arabia, Libya and the smaller Persian Gulf states, are limited to de-facto secular one-party rule in Syria, and are banned in Egypt and Turkey if based on an explicit religious platform.

Scholarly analysis of political Islam has been dominated by two different conceptual approaches. The first places emphasis on discursive, behavioural and ideological analysis, essentializing and presenting Islam as antithetical to Western concepts like democracy.[91] Within this group, some further argue that Islamic values are incompatible with modernity, and predict an inevitable clash of civilizations.[92] Scholars writing in this tradition have largely ignored the role and function of religious organizations and parties.

This view has been criticized for failing to account for differences in Islamic movements and parties, and for having an ethnocentric bias.[93] Middle Eastern regimes use the 'Islamist threat' as an excuse to limit democratization and ban religious parties. Thus, '[t]he real question is not whether Islamists pose a threat, but what political agendas are served by continuing to paint Islamists as a monolithic, antidemocratic mob'.[94]

Other scholars suggest that Islamic parties may moderate their positions and accept democratic norms as they participate in the democratic process – the 'participation-moderation' thesis. In this perspective, democratization, and hence moderation, arises through the strategic interaction of key actors; and ideology and norms may be altered by democratic politics or, at least, by political inclusion in the 'rules of the game'.[95] Democratic political processes can emerge even among those who lack commitment to democratic norms, hence the phrase 'democracy without democrats'.[96] As Vali Nasr states, 'Muslim Democracy rests not on an abstract, carefully thought-out theological and ideological accommodation between Islam and democracy, but rather on a practical synthesis that is emerging in much of the Muslim world in response to the opportunities and demands created by the ballot box.'[97] As a result, 'change will in turn be the harbinger, not the follower, of more liberal Islamic thought and practice'.[98]

In practice, the ideological positions of Islamic parties and organizations cover a wide spectrum from the conservative application of Shari'a law to more liberal interpretations of religion.[99] Islamic parties may see advantages in participating in elections because 'they generally have far superior organizational support systems, principally through mosque networks, than do secular parties'.[100] Thus, the associational nexus and societal networks of Islamic religious charities, foundations, schools, hospitals and professional organizations form the support base for many, if not all, Islamic parties. Moderation, through a different but similar mechanism,

may occur by undertaking the difficulty of practical day-to-day governance – what Sheri Berman terms the 'pothole theory of democracy'.[101]

But the evidence that Islamic parties moderate when they engage in electoral competition is mixed. Recent academic debates have focused upon clarifying the conceptualization and pinpointing the precise meaning of moderation and change. A number of scholars have argued that the term 'moderation' oversimplifies the relationship between Islamic movements and democracy. Clark argues that some Islamic parties are labelled moderate because of their short-term tactical decisions, ignoring their long-term Islamic agendas.[102] Wickham suggests that the relationship between Islamic parties and democracies is complex: some parties may accept some aspects of democracy while rejecting others.[103] She also argues that the term assumes a particular direction of change – meaning toward greater liberalization and secularization – that may not be necessarily accurate, and thus demonstrates the need to unpack the concept and disaggregate the ideological and behavioural modifications of actors and institutions, such as political parties.[104] Schwedler likewise argues that '*moderate* and *radical* might be applied to *some positions* on a particular issue, but hold little analytic value as wholesale *categories* of political actors'.[105]

This leaves the inclusion-moderation hypothesis approach without a clear causal mechanism for explaining moderation – how it is that inclusion produces moderation, or whether moderation comes about via other mechanisms, such as effective repression, as Hamid and others have argued.[106] Repression or inclusion here seem to be complementary mechanisms – like a carrot and stick strategy – that produces moderation or change. And moderation, on the other hand, remains a vague and open concept, open to debate and contestation.

As a result, ideological commitments setting the boundaries of justifiable action need to be considered as an important dimension in addition to political opportunity structures and the internal group structures and organizations of parties. Comparing the Islamic Action Front (IAF) party in Jordan with the Islah party in Yemen, Schwedler argues that the IAF was successful in moderating while the Islah was not. In this instance, moderation is defined as the shift from 'a relatively closed worldview to one that is more pluralist and tolerant of alternative perspectives'.[107] In order to see the dynamics of Schwedler's argument empirically and to explain the implications of the six dimensions identified in the introduction, we will present the details of the IAF and Islah parties as they were before the Arab Spring.

Founded in 1992, the IAF is an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan. It participates in parliamentary elections, except for a boycott in 1997. Jordon used a bloc voting mechanism that shifted to a single non-transferable vote in the 1990s with a bias toward the rural regions where the Islamic constituency is weaker. Jordan's government is a constitutional monarchy currently headed by King Abdullah II, and the regime has provided room for political parties. The nation is an overwhelmingly Sunni majority country with a 6 per cent Christian minority. In addition, more than 50 per cent of Jordanians are Palestinian, and this constitutes one of the important constituencies of the IAF. The party has a mildly prophetic (anti-regime) position described by Schwedler as a 'loyal opposition', but has links to those in power, including the King. In terms of its structure and organization, the IAF is cohesive with a strong central leadership and is well established in society with clear constituents. Its associational nexus is particularly vibrant. Over time, the IAF has adopted a more democratic discourse, and has justified its cooperation with the left with arguments centred in Islam.

The Islah, or Reform, Party was established in 1990 in a secular presidential republic. It has a first-past-the-post electoral system with single-member districts. While predominantly Muslim, Yemen has a Sunni Muslim majority with a substantial Shi'ite minority. Islah is a Sunni party, and has been until recently a coalition partner of the regime. It had a priestly (pro-regime) position characterized by Schwedler as a regime 'coalition partner', but has

increasingly become oppositional and suffered a resounding defeat in local council elections at the hand of the ruling party.[108] Deeply fragmented, the Islah party rests on a constituency based on a weak coalition among diverse social actors who share some common goals. Its associational nexus is relatively weaker and more heterogeneous than that of the IAF's.

The important implications of the dimensions identified earlier become evident in Schwedler's analysis of the causal mechanism explaining IAF moderation. Regime type is important, for the uncontested monarchy of Jordan created greater political space for the IAF than the contested presidency in Yemen that limited legitimate competition. Second, the coherent and well-organized structure of the IAF allowed it greater policy-making decisions and adaptations, in contrast to the fragmented Islah party. Finally, the discourse of the IAF became more democratic in nature in contrast to the more conservative discourse of Islah, which suffered from the extremist positions of some of its candidates.[109] By refining the indicators of moderation to include ideological discourse and looking more specifically at the different dimensions of party context in a comparative perspective, Shwedler makes an important contribution to the study of religion and political parties. At the same time, however, it also raises a few concerns that would be important for future study.

Further research is needed on the form and function of the associational nexus. Schwedler encourages future studies to focus upon questions that 'might explore the dynamics of various publics and the actors who produce them, how narrative spaces shape political practices, and how sites of brokerage facilitate changes in practices as well as ideological commitments'.[110] However, scholars using social movement theory have already accomplished much work on many of these points. Analyses focus upon three elements: resource mobilization bases that exist in society, such as mosques and charities; elites who mobilize and make decisions; and ideology and framing that allows for collective action.[111] But more work needs to be done on identifying the configuration of political parties with movements and their potential effects on political processes. For example, in her studies on Islamic mobilization in Egypt, Carrie Wickham situates the Muslim Brotherhood as only one part of a larger Islamic movement in the country,[112] meaning that in elections it only receives a part of the total votes that might go to those supporting the Islamic movement. At other times, however, she uses Islamic parties and movements interchangeably.[113] The boundaries and processes that define parties and movements thus need greater focus and analysis. In sum, the degree to which an Islamic party can moderate its social constituency may be explained and predicted by the position of the party within the institutional matrix of its respective social movement and the formal and informal structural make-up of the religion itself.

The case of Hezbollah in Lebanon sheds light on the importance of these issues. Lebanon has an ethnically and religiously diverse society managed under a consociational form of democracy that broke down into civil war in 1975 to be re-established in 1990. Officially founded in 1985, Hezbollah, the Shi'a Party of God, became instrumental in the resistance to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.[114] Free from the political corruption and patronage politics of Amal, the main party reflecting the Shi'a cleavage within Lebanon, Hezbollah was supported by a growing religious constituency. Two important characteristics allow Hezbollah to serve as an intriguing case on the intersection of religion and political parties. First, the party created the majority of its own associational nexus rather than the other way around. Aided by Iran financially and logistically, the party developed its own organizations involved in the realms of education, reconstruction, health, charity and religion, thus creating a social movement directed by 'holistic and integrated networks'.[115]

As a result, changes in the discourse and agenda of Hezbollah led to broader changes in the constituency of the Shi'a movement in Lebanon, in contrast to the effects upon the Islamic

movement in Egypt or Jordan with similar changes to the Muslim Brotherhood. This was because Hezbollah managed to achieve hegemony as the definitive organizational leader of the Islamic movement and associational nexus in Lebanon. This contrasts with the Muslim Brotherhood, only a component of a larger social network comprising Egyptian and Jordanian Islamic movements. One example of this change includes Hezbollah's decision to drop its aim of establishing an Islamic Republic in Lebanon and choosing instead to participate in domestic elections.[116]

Second, more research is necessary on secularization of political parties and any links this may have with religious hierarchy. Hezbollah is also an interesting case in this regard in terms of its religious organizational structure and hierarchy. It follows the doctrine of *velayat-e faqih*, or the rule of the jurisprudent, developed by Ayatollah Khomeini and institutionalized in Iran after the revolution. The party followed Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini as the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution until 1989 and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei afterwards. In religious emulation, however, individuals chose their own *marja' al-taqlid*, or source of emulation, with many following Ayatollah Fadlallah in Lebanon. Therefore, 'political allegiance and religious emulation are two separate issues that may or may not overlap for any single person'.[117] While much more hierarchical than its Sunni counterpart, the religious structure in Shi'ism is still relatively more decentralized than the Catholic Vatican. Despite its links to Iran, Hezbollah is said to act based on its own interests and platform within the Lebanese polity without overtly taking orders from Iran's government.[118] Is it Hezbollah's greater hierarchical structure that allows it be successful in leading a social movement and making effective negotiations with other political players? Do hierarchical organizations and religious structures allow for greater democratic accommodation, as Kalyvas claims, because of the nature of the hierarchy itself, because of the configuration it develops with an associational nexus and social movement, or both? [119]

These questions are consequential to future studies of religion and political parties with regards to areas such as democratization, and may shed light on some of the experiences of the Arab Spring. For example, in his study of Mexico, Mantilla shows – counter intuitively – how political democratization and secularization are not necessarily linked causally as one may assume.[120] Rather, two different mechanisms produced secularization. The first was the institutions of the state that enabled inter-elite bargaining and negotiations, a process that weakened elite-religious sector ties in civil society that inhibited religious party formation and political activism. The second was the unified Catholic Church hierarchy nationally and transnationally that inhibited religious party formation by undercutting lay religious party actors while strengthening clerical actors and institutions instead. Scholarship can thus be advanced by analysing the more precise mechanisms that produce phenomena such as secularization – or moderation – and de-linking them from teleological theories embedded within the secularization paradigm. These are a few important issues that need to be addressed by future discussions on religion and political parties.

Conclusion

Interaction of religion and political parties takes diverse forms. In Europe, engagement of Christian Democrats in democratic processes in the nineteenth century was seen by some as a threat to democracy, but they were able to form legitimate political parties and compete within the system. The centralized role of the Catholic Church facilitated its ability to guide these parties into democratic politics. In the twentieth century, religious institutions, associations and ideology interacted to form oppositional movements opposed to Communism, particularly in Poland. Yet, the Church did not establish or support a political party, choosing instead

to further its interests from the sidelines. With the weakening of religious associational life throughout Europe, an ideological and institutional vacuum has allowed nationalist groups to form and subsume religious discourse as a form of identity politics. These changes quickly altered the landscape of parties because of the Proportional Representation (PR) systems most European states espouse.

In the US, a vast, diverse, and decentralized associational nexus results in differing religious interests and movements, such as the Christian Right and the Black Protestants. The US two-party system inhibits the formation of a coherent religious party in the face of such diversity. Instead, different religious interests and movements align and support parties in order to best maximize their own interests. Although there has been a socio-moral realignment in US party life, this does not suggest that religious mobilization will necessarily follow a similar pattern in the future. Largely independent of the parties, religious associations can forge their own paths depending on their changing interests and strategies. The Republican Party's weak ability to turn moral promises into policy results may undermine their religious associational nexus.

In the Middle East, Muslim religious social mobilization and party politics interact in much starker terms. This is because of their mainly oppositional role – in the context of authoritarian politics and the inadequate number and strength of parties that can successfully articulate societal interests. Different configurations of regime types, party politics, and mobilization constitutions alter the way in which religion and political parties interact with one another and, consequently, impact the state.

As a result of this diversity, a parsimonious study of religion and political parties can be a daunting task. We recommend that six dimensions be taken into consideration: regime type, religious marketplace, religious institutional structure, associational nexus, nature of party system, and party and religious groups' stance toward the state. Furthermore, we propose that future studies on religion and political parties undertake greater analysis on the configurations that may occur between religious movements, associational nexus, and political parties. The position of these variables toward one another, including their power relationships, and the manner in which they link to each other and help construct one another, is very important in determining the constraints and opportunities that face religious parties and their future trajectories.

Notes

1 Lipset and Rokkan, *Party Systems*.
2 This phenomenon occurred as a result of the third wave of democracy and the end of the Cold War. See Gilbert and Mohseni, 'Beyond authoritarianism'.
3 Skocpol, 'Rentier state'.
4 Wilcox and Robinson, 'The faith of George W. Bush'.
5 Byrnes, *Transnational Catholicism*.
6 Gill, 'Religion and comparative politics'; Wald and Wilcox, 'Getting religion'.
7 Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*.
8 Finke and Stark, *The Churching of America*; Stark, 'Secularization, R.I.P.'.
9 Bruce, *Politics and Religion*; Casanova, *Public Religions*.
10 Fox, 'World separation of religion'.
11 Sahu, 'Religion and politics'.
12 Özbudun, 'Party prohibition cases'.
13 Kaya, 'Islamisation of Turkey'; Yesilada and Rubin, *Islamization of Turkey*.
14 Lacardie, 'Paradise lost'.
15 Van Holsteyn and Irwin, 'Never a dull moment'.

16 Vossen, 'Classifying Wilders'.
17 Toyoda and Tanaka, 'Religion and politics in Japan'.
18 Generally, the term 'Islamist' acts as a marker for those espousing a non-secular political agenda while 'Islamic' refers to a denominational category. Since the identification and labelling of parties according to this distinction is a controversial and political task, we use these labels interchangeably in this chapter.
19 Byrnes, 'The challenge of pluralism'; Manuel, Reardon and Wilcox, *The Catholic Church*.
20 Wald, Owen and Hill, 'Churches as political communities'; Wald, 'Political cohesion in churches'.
21 Rosenblum, 'Religious parties'.
22 Deeb, 'Hizballah: A primer'; Harb and Leenders, 'Know thy enemy'.
23 Wilcox, *Radical Dreams*.
24 Beyme, 'Party leadership'; Harmel and Robertson, 'Formation and success'.
25 Norris, *Radical Right*.
26 Rozell and Wilcox, *Second Coming*.
27 Duverger, *Political Parties*.
28 Budge et al., *Mapping Policy Preferences*.
29 Vassallo and Wilcox, 'Parties as carriers'.
30 Chhibber, 'State policy, rent seeking'.
31 Chhibber, 'Who voted for the BJP?'
32 Sharkansky, *The Politics of Religion*.
33 Wilcox and Robinson, 'The faith of George W. Bush'.
34 Bruce, *Politics and Religion*.
35 Jenkins, 'Muslim democrats'; Kalyvas, 'Commitment problems'.
36 Byrnes, 'The challenge of pluralism'.
37 Layman, *The Great Divide*; Wilcox and Robinson, 'Prayers, parties, and preachers'.
38 Ozzano and Cavatorta, *Religiously Oriented Parties*.
39 Ozzano, 'The many faces'.
40 Bolce and DeMaio, 'Secularists, anti-fundamentalists'.
41 Rydgren, 'Explaining the emergence'.
42 Lipset and Rokkan, *Party Systems*.
43 Dalton, 'Political cleavages'; Dogan 'Erosion of class voting'; Kotler-Berkowitz 'Religion and voting behaviour'; Norris, *Electoral Engineering*.
44 Lijphart, 'Patterns of democracy'.
45 Rosenblum, 'Religious parties', 30.
46 Chhibber, 'Who voted for the BJP?'
47 Byrnes, 'The challenge of pluralism'; Siavoshi, 'Between heaven and earth'.
48 Fetzer and Soper, *Muslims and the State*; Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar*.
49 Sahu, 'Religion and politics in India'; Toyoda and Tanaka, 'Religion and politics in Japan'.
50 Jelen and Wilcox, 'The political roles of religion'; Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy*.
51 Warner, *Confessions of an Interest Group*.
52 Kalyvas, 'Commitment problems'.
53 Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy*.
54 Wilcox and Robinson, 'Prayers, parties, and preachers'.
55 Rosenblum, 'Religious parties', 33.
56 Blais and Massicotte, 'Electoral systems'; Felsenthal, 'Proportional representation'; Norris, *Electoral Engineering*.
57 Tamadonfar, 'Islamism in contemporary Arab politics'.
58 Wilcox and Larson, *Onward Christian Soldiers?*
59 Ozzano, 'The many faces'.
60 Byrnes, *Transnational Catholicism*; Byrnes, and Katzenstein, *Religion in an Expanding Europe*; Hanley, *Christian Democracy in Europe*; Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy*; Manuel, Reardon and Wilcox, *The Catholic Church*; Van Hecke and Gerard, *Christian Democratic Parties*.

61 Kalyvas, 'Commitment problems'.
62 Warner, *Confessions of an Interest Group.*
63 Byrnes, 'The challenge of pluralism'; Casanova, *Public Religions.*
64 Dierckx, 'Christian Democracy'; Kersbergen, 'The distinctiveness of Christian Democracy'.
65 Hanley, 'The European People's Party'.
66 Warner, *Confessions of an Interest Group.*
67 Dalton, 'Political cleavages'; Luther, 'A framework'.
68 Gerard and Van Hecke, 'European Christian Democracy'.
69 Rydgren, 'Explaining the emergence'.
70 Nexon, 'Religion, European identity'.
71 Himes, 'Vatican II'.
72 Petrocik, 'Reformulating the party coalitions'.
73 Cox, Jones and Navarro-Rivera, 'I know'.
74 Eck, *A New Religious America*.
75 Larson, Madland and Wilcox, 'Religious lobbying in Virginia'.
76 Warren, *Dry Bones Rattling*.
77 Verba, Schlozman and Brady, *Voice and Equality.*
78 Mitchell, 'Religion is not a preference'.
79 Wilcox, 'Radical dreams and political realities'.
80 Berry and Wilcox, *The Interest Group Society*.
81 Leege, et al., *The Politics of Cultural Differences*; Wilcox and Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers*.
82 Brown, *Trumping Religion*; Hertzke, *Representing God in Washington*; Larson, Madland and Wilcox, 'Religious lobbying in Virginia'.
83 Harris, *Something Within*.
84 Wilcox, 'Radical dreams'.
85 Petrocik, 'Reformulating the party coalitions'.
86 Silk and Green, 'The GOP's religion problem'.
87 Wald and Calhoun-Brown, *Religion and Politics.*
88 Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear*.
89 Abootalebi, 'Islam, Islamists, and democracy'.
90 Carothers, *Confronting the Weakest Link*.
91 Gellner, 'Civil society in historical context'.
92 Huntington, 'The clash of civilizations?'; Lewis, 'The roots of Muslim rage'.
93 Sadowski, 'The New Orientalism'.
94 Schwedler, 'A paradox of democracy?'
95 O'Donnell and Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*; Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*.
96 Salamé, *Democracy Without Democrats?*
97 Nasr, 'The rise of Muslim democracy'.
98 Ibid., 26.
99 Barsalou, 'Islamists at the ballot box'.
100 Ibid., 1.
101 Berman, 'Taming extremist parties'.
102 Ibid.; Clark, 'The conditions Of Islamist moderation'.
103 Berman, 'Taming extremist parties'.
104 Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood*.
105 Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation*.
106 Hamid, *Temptations of Power*; Cavatora and Merone, 'Moderation through exclusion?'
107 Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation*, 192.
108 Longley, 'The high water mark'.
109 Ibid.
110 Schwedler, *Faith in Moderation*, 215.

111 Wiktorowicz, *The Management of Islamic Activism*; Wiktorowicz, 'Conceptualizing Islamic activism'; Wiktorowitcz, *Islamic Activism*.
112 Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam*.
113 Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood*.
114 Deeb, 'Hizballah: A primer'.
115 Harb and Leenders, 'Know thy enemy'.
116 Deeb, 'Hizballah: A primer'; Harb and Leenders, 'Know thy enemy'.
117 Deeb, 'Hizballah: A primer', 4
118 Shaery, 'Iran, the Vatican of Shi'ism?'
119 Kalyvas, 'Commitment problems'.
120 Mantilla, 'Democratization and the secularization'.

References

Abootalebi, A. R. 'Islam, Islamists, and democracy'. *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, 1999. Available at http://www.rubincenter.org/meria/1999/03/abootalebi.pdf.

Barsalou, J. 'Islamists at the ballot box: Findings from Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, and Turkey'. *USIP Special Report 144*, July 2005.

Berman, Sheri. 'Taming extremist parties: Lessons from europe'. *Journal of Democracy*, 2008: 5–18.

Berry, J. M., and Wilcox, C. *The Interest Group Society*. New York: Pearson Longman, 2007.

Blais, A., and Massicotte, L. 'Electoral systems', in *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*, edited by L. LeDuc, R.G. Niemi and P. Norris, 40–69. London: Sage Publications, 2002.

Bolce, L., and DeMaio, G. 'Secularists, anti-fundamentalists, and the new religious divide in the American electorate', in *From Pews to Polling Places: Faith and Politics in the American Religious Mosaic*, edited by in J. Matthew Wilson. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007.

Brown, S. *Trumping Religion: The New Christian Right, the Free Speech Clause, and the Courts*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Bruce, S. *Politics and Religion*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 2003.

Brumberg, D. *Reinventing Khomeini: The Struggle for Reform in Iran*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Budge, I., et al. *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments 1945–1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Byrnes, T. *Transnational Catholicism in Postcommunist Europe*. Lanhan, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.

Byrnes, T. 'The challenge of pluralism: The Catholic church in democratic Poland', in *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few, and the Many* edited by T. G. Jelen and C. Wilcox, 27–46. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Byrnes, T., and Katzenstein, P., (eds.) *Religion in an Expanding Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Carothers, T. *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in the New Democracies*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006.

Casanova, J. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Cavatora, Francesco, and Merone, Fabio. 'Moderation through exclusion? The journey of the Tunisian Ennahda from fundamentalist to conservative party', in *Religiously Oriented Parties and Democratization*, edited by Luca Ozzano and Francesco Cavatorta, 59–77. Hoboken, NJ: Taylor & Francis, 2014.

Chhibber, P. 'State policy, rent seeking, and the electoral success of a religious party in Algeria'. *Journal of Politics*, 58 (1996): 126–48.

Chhibber, P. 'Who voted for the Bharatiya Janata Party?' *British Journal of Political Science*, 27 (1997): 631–9.

Clark, Janine A. 'The conditions of Islamist moderation: Unpacking cross-ideological cooperation in Jordan'. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2006: 539–60.

Cox, Daniel, Jones, Robert and Navarro-Rivera, Juhem. 'I know what you did last Sunday: Measuring social desirability bias in self-reported religious behavior, beliefs, and identity'. *Public Religion Research Insititute*. Available at www.publicreligion.org.

Dalton, R. 'Political cleavages, issues, and electoral change', in *Comparing Democracies 2: New Challenges in the Study of Elections and Voting*, edited by L. LeDuc, R. G. Niemi and P. Norris, 189–209. London: Sage Publications, 2002.

Deeb, L. 'Hizballah: A primer'. *Middle East Report Online*, 2006. Available at http://www.merip.org/mero/mero.html.

Dierckx, G. 'Christian Democracy and its ideological rivals', in *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by D. Hanley, 15–30. London: Pinter Publishers, 1994.

Dogan, M. 'Erosion of class voting and of the religious vote in Western Europe'. *International Social Science Journal*, 146 (1995): 525–38.

Duverger, M. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963.

Eck, D. *A New Religious America: How a 'Christian Country' Has Become the World's Most Religiously Diverse Nation*. San Francisco, CA: HarperCollins, 2001.

Felsenthal, D. 'Proportional representation under three voting procedures: An Israeli study'. *Political Behavior*, 14 (1992): 159–92.

Fetzer, J., and Soper, J. Christopher. *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Finke, Roger, and Stark, Rodney. *The Churching of America, 1776–1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Fox, J. 'World separation of religion and state into the 21st century'. *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, 5 (2006): 537–69.

Gellner, E. 'Civil society in historical context'. *International Social Science Journal*, 129 (1991): 495–510.

Gerard, E., and Van Hecke, S. 'European Christian Democracy in the 1990s: Toward a comparative approach', in *Christian Democratic Parties in Europe Since the End of the Cold War*, edited by S. Van Hecke and E. Gerard, 297–318. Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2004.

Gilbert, Leah, and Mohseni, Payam. 'Beyond authoritarianism: The conceptualization of hybrid regimes'. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 46, 3 (2011): 270–97.

Gill, A. *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Gill, A. 'Religion and comparative politics'. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4 (2001): 117–38.

Hamid, Shadi. *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Hanley, D. 'The European People's Party: Toward a new party form?', in *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by D. Hanley, 185–201. London: Pinter Publishers, 1994.

Hanley, D., (ed.) *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*. London: Pinter Publishers, 1994.

Harb, M., and Leenders, R. 'Know thy enemy: Hizbullah, terrorism, and the politics of perception'. *Third World Quarterly*, 26 (2005): 173–97.

Harmel, R., and Robertson, J. 'Formation and success of new parties: A cross-national analysis'. *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, 6 (1985): 501–23.

Harris, F. *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Hertzke, A. *Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1988.

Himes, K. 'Vatican II and contemporary politics', in *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by P. Christopher Manuel, L.R. Reardon and C. Wilcox, 185–201. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007.

Huntington, S. 'The clash of civilizations?' *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (1993): 22–49.

Jelen, T. G., and Wilcox, C. 'The political roles of religion', in *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few, and the Many*, edited by T. G. Jelen and C. Wilcox, 314–24. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Jenkins, G. 'Muslim democrats in Turkey?', *Survival*, 45 (2003): 45–66.

Kalyvas, S. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Kalyvas, S. 'Commitment problems in emerging democracies: The case of religious parties'. *Comparative Politics*, 32 (2000): 379–98.

Kaya, Ayhan. 'Islamisation of Turkey under the AKP rule: Empowering family, faith and charity'. *South European Society and Politics*, 20, 1 (2014): 47–69.
Kersbergen, K. van. 'The distinctiveness of Christian Democracy', in *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, edited by D. Hanley, 31–50. London: Pinter Publishers, 1994.
Kotler-Berkowitz, L. A. 'Religion and voting behaviour in Great Britain: A reassessment'. *British Journal of Political Science*, 31 (2001): 523–54.
Lacardie, P. 'Paradise lost, paradise regained: Christian Democracy in the Netherlands', in *Christian Democratic Parties in Europe Since the End of the Cold War*, edited by S. van Hecke and E. Gerard, 159–78. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004.
Larson, C., Madland, D. and Wilcox, C. 'Religious lobbying in Virginia: How institutions can quiet prophetic voices', in *Representing God in the Statehouse: Religion and Politics in the American States*, edited by E. Cleary and A. Hertzke. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.
Layman, G. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
Leege, D. C., et al. *The Politics of Cultural Differences: Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
Lewis, B. 'The roots of Muslim rage'. *Atlantic Monthly*, 266 (1990): 47–60.
Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Democracies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.
Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Rokkan, Stein. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press, 1967.
Longley, A. 'The high water mark for Islamist politics? The case of Yemen'. *Middle East Journal*, 61 (2007): 240–60.
Luther, K. Richard. 'A framework for the comparative analysis of political parties and party systems in consociational democracy', in *Party Elites in Divided Societies*, edited by K. Richard Luther and K. Deschouwer, 3–19. London: Routledge, 1999.
Mantilla, Luis Felipe. 'Democratization and the secularization of religious parties: The case of Mexico'. *Democratization*, 2015: 1–22.
Manuel, P. Christopher, Reardon, L. R., and Wilcox, C., (eds.) *The Catholic Church and the Nation-State: Comparative Perspectives*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006.
Mitchell, J. 'Religion is not a preference'. *Journal of Politics*, 69 (2007): 349–60.
Nasr, V. 'The rise of Muslim democracy'. *Journal of Democracy*, 16 (2005): 13–27.
Nexon, D. 'Religion, European identity, and political contention in historical perspective', in *Religion in an Expanding Europe*, edited by T. A. Byrnes and P. J. Katzenstein, 256–82. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
Norris, P. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
Norris, P. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Norris, P., and Inglehart, R. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
O'Donnell, G., and Schmitter, P. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
Özbudun, Ergun. 'Party prohibition cases: Different approaches by the Turkish constitutional court and the European court of human rights'. *Democratization*, 17, 1 (2010): 125–42.
Ozzano, 'The many faces of the political God: A typology of religiously oriented parties', in *Religiously Oriented Parties and Democratization*, edited by Luca Ozzano and Francesco Cavatorta, 9–33. Hoboken, NJ: Taylor & Francis, 2014.
Ozzano, Luca, and Cavatorta, Francesco. *Religiously Oriented Parties and Democratization*. Hoboken, NJ: Taylor & Francis, 2014.
Petrocik, J. 'Reformulating the party coalitions: The "Christian Democratic" Republicans'. Presented at the *Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association*, Boston, MA: APSA, 1998.
Przeworski, A. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Rosenblum, N. L. 'Religious parties, religious political identity, and the cold shoulder of liberal democratic thought'. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, 6 (2003): 25–53.

Rozell, M. J., and Wilcox, C. *Second Coming: The New Christian Right in Virginia Politics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Rydgren, J. 'Explaining the emergence of radical right-wing populist parties: The case of Denmark'. *West European Politics*, 27 (2004): 474–502.

Sadowski, Y. 'The New Orientalism and the democracy debate'. *Middle East Report* (1993): 23.

Sahu, S. K. 'Religion and politics in India: The emergence of Hindu Nationalism and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)', in *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few, and the Many*, edited by T. G. Jelen and C. Wilcox, 243–68. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Salamé, G., (ed.) *Democracy Without Democrats?The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994.

Sayyid, B. *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islam*. London: Zed Books, 1997.

Schwedler, J. 'A paradox of democracy? Islamist participation in elections'. *Middle East Report* (1998): 25–41.

Schwedler, Jillian. *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Shaery, Roschanack. 'Iran, the Vatican of Shi'ism?' *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*, 2004. Available at http://www.merip.org/mer/mer233/iran-vatican-shiism.

Sharkansky, I. *The Politics of Religion and the Religion of Politics: Looking at Israel*. New York: Lexington Books, 2000.

Siavoshi, S. 'Between heaven and earth: The dilemma of the Islamic Republic of Iran', in *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few, and the Many*, edited by T. G. Jelen and C. Wilcox, 125–41. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Silk, M., and Green, J. C. 'The GOP's religion problem'. *Religion in the News*, 2007. Available at http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/csrpl/RINVol9No3/GOP'sReligionProblem.htm.

Skocpol, Theda. 'Rentier State And Shi'a Islam In The Iranian Revolution'. *Theory and Society*, 11, 3 (1982): 265–83.

Stark, Rodney. 'Secularization, R.I.P.' *Sociology of Religion*, 60, 3 (1993): 249–73.

Tamadonfar, M. 'Islamism in contemporary Arab politics: Lessons in authoritarianism and democratization', in *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few, and the Many*, edited by T. G. Jelen and C. Wilcox (eds.), 141–68. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Toyoda, M. A., and Tanaka, A. 'Religion and politics in Japan', in *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few, and the Many*, edited by T. G. Jelen and C. Wilcox, 269–88. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Van Hecke, S., and Gerard, E., (eds.) *Christian Democratic Parties in Europe since the End of the Cold War*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004.

Van Holsteyn, J, and Irwin, G. A. 'Never a dull moment: Pim Fortuyn and the Dutch parliamentary election of 2002'. *West European Politics*, 26 (2003): 41–66.

Vassallo, F., and Wilcox, C. 'Parties as carriers of ideas', in *Handbook of Party Politics*, edited by R. S. Katz and W. J. Crotty. London: Sage, 2005.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K. Lehman and Brady, H. E. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Von Beyme, Klaus. 'Party leadership and change in party systems: Towards a postmodern party state?' *Government and Opposition*, 31, 2 (2007): 135–59.

Vossen, Koen. 'Classifying Wilders: The ideological development of Geert Wilders and his party for freedom'. *Politics*, 31 (2011): 179–89.

Wald, K. 'Political cohesion in churches'. *Journal of Politics*, 52 (1990): 197–215.

Wald, K., and Calhoun-Brown, A. *Religion and Politics in the United States.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

Wald, K., Owen, D., and Hill, S. 'Churches as political communities'. *American Political Science Review*, 82 (1988): 521–48.

Wald, K., and Wilcox, C. 'Getting religion: Has political science rediscovered the faith factor?' *American Political Science Review*, 100 (2006): 523–9.

Warner, C. *Confessions of an Interest Group: The Catholic Church and Political Parties in Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Warren, M. *Dry Bones Rattling: Community Building to Revitalize American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Wiktorowicz, Q. *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordon*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001.

Wiktorowicz, Q. 'Conceptualizing Islamic activism'. *ISIM Newsletter*, 14 (2004) 34–5.

Wiktorowitcz, Q., (ed.) *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004.

Wilcox, C. 'Radical dreams and political realities: Religion and social movements in the United States', in *Faith-Based Radicalism: Christianity, Islam and Judaism between Constructive Activism and Destructive Fanaticism*, edited by C. Timmerman, et al., 233–54. Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2007.

Wilcox, Clyde and Larson, Carin. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*, third edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2006.

Wilcox, C., and C. Robinson, 'The faith of George W. Bush: The personal, practical, and political', in M. Rozell and G. Whitney, (eds.) *Religion and American Presidents*. New York: Palgrave/McMillan, 2007.

Wilcox, C., and Robinson, C. *Onward Christian Soldiers: The Christian Right in American Politics*, third edition. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2007.

Wilcox, C., and Robinson, C. 'Prayers, parties, and preachers: The evolving nature of political and religious mobilization', in M. Wilson (ed.) *Religion and Political Mobilization in the United States*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007.

Yesilada, Birol and Barry Rubin. (eds.) *Islamization of Turkey under the AKP Rule*. London: Routledge, 2011.

13

RELIGION AND CIVIL SOCIETY

David Herbert

KINGSTON UNIVERSITY, UK

Introduction

The term 'civil society' refers to the network of associations and organisations situated between, on the one hand, the state and political society (political associations and parties), and on the other, kinship and friendship networks. It thus includes an array of organisations, associations and networks, ranging from sports and youth clubs to charities, voluntary organisations and religious groups, newspapers and other independent media producers, social movements and single-issue lobby groups. In most understandings, civil society may be regulated but not controlled by the state, and market relations are generally excluded, though this is contested.[1] Some critics have argued that the state is so important in structuring civil society that it cannot be properly conceptualised as an autonomous sphere.[2] Civil society is generally conceived as an area of free association rather than obligation, where individuals choose to join together for a broad range of reasons.

This voluntary basis of participation in civil society has been seen as important for the role that civil society is sometimes ascribed in providing the social pre-conditions of democracy. This is because it provides a training ground for democratic deliberation and participation, and channels through which grassroots issues can be brought to public attention in the public sphere.[3] Civil society and the 'public sphere' – spaces for public debate – are sometimes conflated;[4] but as Bryant argues,[5] the public sphere may be distinguished as the communicative part of civil society, which also consists of 'association, autonomy, civility'. Just as conceptualising civil society as free from the state has been criticised as naïve, so conceptualising participation in it as voluntary is sometimes seen as problematic, because this presupposes a Western, individualised choosing subject. Hence it is unable to reflect adequately the cultural and religious diversity which may in practice support democracy.

The evidence presented here is aimed to show that the relationship between religion and civil society, and the relationship between civil society and democracy, are complex and multiply contingent. Civil society is just one factor shaping democratisation and the functioning of democracy, and religions are just one group of actors or set of cultural resources, which take, or are used to, support different stances over time. Nonetheless, it will be argued that to focus the lens of analysis on the associations, groups and organisations that comprise civil society as a site of collective action that impinges on politics, can produce

distinctive and valuable insights into the dynamics of religion and politics in contemporary societies.

Civil society is a contested concept, with arguments centred not only on its cultural assumptions, but also its scope, utility as an analytic concept, (given the normative properties associated with it), its relation to democratisation and its compatibility with various religions. In the context of religion and politics, an emphasis on religion in civil society may serve to shift debate away from preoccupations with religious institutions, hierarchies and state, and towards religion's influence in contemporary societies through non-state actors such as voluntary organisations, social movements, single-issue lobby groups and environmental pressure groups, all of which may be conceptualised as part of civil society. Some have argued that as close ties between religion and state have loosened in many Western societies, so civil society has become a significant arena for public religious action.[6]

The account that follows will introduce debates concerning the concept of civil society, distinguishing between phases in its development and proposing a distinction which allows both normative and analytic uses of the concept to continue without confusion. It will consider Poland as arguably the paradigmatic case for the revival of the term in the context of religious mobilisation in the 1980s, but where in a consolidated democracy religion in the political context has become a resource mobilised mostly by the nationalist right; its controversial application to Islam and in particular in Egypt as an influential society in the Arab world, in the light of the events of the 'Arab Spring' and its aftermath (2011); and finally the significance of changes in the media through which religious images and discourses are communicated for the changing relationship between religion and civil society.

Development of the concept

Like many political concepts, civil society has ancient Greek origins, but its modern sense derives from the Enlightenment. Since European Enlightenment thinkers were often involved in struggles for the emergence of modern progressive politics, in which religion was usually involved in defending the *ancien régime*, religion came to be associated with the legitimisation of the old order and with opposition to civil society. On the other hand, in North America, because religion and church were constitutionally separated from the formation of the new state, religion in civil society fulfilled an important role in integrating a predominantly immigrant society, and was not seen as anti-modern.

Relatively little used in academic or popular circles from the 1840s to the 1970s (for reasons considered below), in the 1980s, the term was popularised by opposition groups struggling against totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe, Latin America and South Africa, with Christian churches playing a prominent role in some cases. But it was not until the 1990s that religion in civil society began to receive substantial academic attention, heralded in 1994 by José Casanova's *Public Religions in the Modern World*.

For Casanova, a strong religion–state relationship, whereby religion directly influences state policy and the state intervenes in religious organisations, is incompatible both normatively, and in the long term empirically, with democratic forms of modernity. Therefore, civil society becomes the main locus for religious action in such societies; indeed religions are even able to 'deprivatise', that is play an increased public role, especially in protesting against injustices arguably caused by state and/or market. Casanova points to the examples of post-Vatican II Catholicism (with its embrace of human rights and democracy) in Brazil, the United States and Poland in the 1980s and early 1990s, to illustrate the vital public role that religion can play

in the civil societies of quite diverse modern states, both in helping to establish democracy in Brazil and Poland, and in supporting democratic debate in America. Drawing on Habermas' terminology of 'lifeworld' and 'system',[7] Casanova argues that in these cases religion served to defend the 'communicative spaces' of the lifeworld against the intrusions of 'the system'.

Others have developed the argument further, applying it to cases more culturally distant from the North American and Western European cultural contexts in which the civil society concept evolved.[8] Indeed, in a range of societies from the Middle East to Sub-Saharan Africa to South and South East Asia, religion has also come to prominence in spaces and organisations intermediate between kin and state, often providing social and welfare support for marginalised groups in the context of failing states, sometimes criticising states and markets for failing to meet a range of citizens' needs, from democratic participation to food, health care and sanitation. However, critics argue that religion (and some religions in particular) is unsuited to these roles – below we shall consider Ernest Gellner's claim that Islam and civil society are incompatible.

Alexander distinguishes between three uses and historical phases in the development of this concept. While the history of the concept can be traced from Aristotle's *politike koinonia* (political community) through its Roman translation *societas civilis*, to the medieval city state its modern history begins with Hobbes (1588–1679), Locke (1632–1704) and Montesquieu (1689–1755).[9] Each conceived of civil society as 'an inclusive, umbrella-like concept referring to a plethora of institutions outside the state', which Alexander designates 'Civil Society I' (CSI).[10] It was developed as an attempt to manage a sense of breakdown of the old feudal social order, understood as sanctioned by God, and to defend what the emerging middle classes saw as their civility against the unruly masses.

In respect of religion, not all CSI thinkers were hostile. Visiting America in the 1830s, de Toqueville saw the churches freed from the ties of state as a key constituent of American civil society and hence democracy. However, soon after de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1840), Karl Marx began a series of writings (1842–5) which linked civil society to capitalist domination. In Marx's understanding:

> Not only is civil society now simply a field of play of egotistical, purely private interests, but it is now treated as a superstructure, a legal and political arena produced as camouflage for the domination of commodities and the capitalist class.[11]

This marks the beginning of a second historical phase in the concept's development (CSII), a critique so influential that it both largely put the concept out of circulation for a century and set the pattern for subsequent critiques of CSI, including of its recent revival.[12]

This revival occurred first in Eastern Europe in the early 1980s, followed by its rapid worldwide dissemination to the Middle East,[13] Africa[14] and South America, where it became a powerful source of mobilisation against repressive states.[15] The idea of the spontaneous self-organisation of society also appealed in a Western context in which the limits of state intervention, especially of the welfare state, seemed to be increasingly exposed. But the difficulties of post-Communist reconstruction,[16] the limitations of Western strategies to promote civil society in developing societies and the problems of applying the concept cross-culturally,[17] together with criticisms of the CSII kind – that civil society is really a front for vested interests – have produced disillusionment with it. However, Alexander argues that as these challenges have also led to the emergence of the refined concept 'CSIII', 'more precise and more specific than the all-inclusive umbrella idea of CSI, more general and inclusive than the narrowly reductionist association of CSII',[18] proposing a definition as follows:

> Civil society should be conceived . . . as a solidary sphere in which a certain kind of universalising community comes gradually to be defined and to a certain degree enforced. To the degree that this solidary community exists, it is exhibited by 'public opinion', possesses its own cultural codes and narratives in a democratic idiom, is patterned by a set of peculiar institutions, most notably legal and journalistic ones, and is visible in historically distinctive sets of interactional practices like civility, equality, criticism, and respect. This kind of community can never exist as such; it can only exist 'to one degree or another'.[19]

This normative concept recognises the contingency of the democratising effects of empirical civil society, and overcomes the negative narrowness of CSII, pointing to the potential modes through which civil society may exercise democratising effects. However, it conflates civil society with the public sphere, and problematically locates state institutions – law – in civil society; the issue here is that the space of civil society needs legal protection, but that does not make the law part of civil society.

Alexander's definition illustrates ongoing attempts to refine the concept of civil society in response to criticisms generated by its recent widespread revival, while his delineation of three phases/uses is helpful in guiding discussion. It has also been suggested that a distinction between empirical and normative civil society is helpful to distinguish between potential/imagined and actual effects of the non-state-, non-kinship-based associations, networks and organisations commonly identified with civil society, and that this sphere of activities is worthy of closer observation and analysis, especially as a site of the activity of religious groups, who arguably have been particularly prominent in this sphere since the 1970s. In the following sections we consider some examples of civil society as a site of religious resurgence, and the consequences for the relationship between religion and politics.

Poland

According to Kumar, 'It was above all the rise of Solidarity in Poland that sparked off the enthusiasm' for civil society in Eastern Europe.[20] With its visibly Catholic symbols – for example in the distribution of holy communion to striking workers at the Gdansk shipyard by Catholic priests in 1981 – Poland was also the most visible instance of the role of religion in the revival of civil society in Eastern Europe. Symbolically, discursively and organisationally, the Catholic Church was crucial to the mobilisation of the Solidarity movement,[21] and demonstrates the politically mobilising power of religion at the heart of Europe, arguably the most secular continent on earth.[22] Since the fall of communism, however, the role of religion in civil society has been less prominent, and arguably more associated with the attempts to impose a religious order on society than the nurturing of spaces of free association and democratic deepening. Furthermore, critics argue that looking back at the historical record, Poland is highly problematic as a paradigm either of the role of civil society in modern politics or of religion in civil society.

First, there are problems with identifying Solidarity as a civil society organisation. Shortly before his death in 1984, Michel Foucault criticised the concept of civil society in relation to Poland: 'when one assimilates the powerful social movement that has just traversed that country to a revolt of civil society against state, one misunderstands the complexity and multiplicity of the confrontations'.[23]

For Foucault, the civil society label obscures the complexity of social and political relations in a particular, dualistic, kind of way: 'It's . . . never exempt from a sort of Manichaeism that

afflicts the notion of "state" with a pejorative connotation while idealizing "society" as a good, living, warm whole.'[24]

While Foucault rarely used the concept of civil society, his work is relevant to its conceptualisation. Foucault argued that much modern social and political theory misunderstands power as centralised in the state. Instead, he saw power as far more diffuse and pervasive, vested in the intellectual 'disciplines' which seek to objectify knowledge,[25] and in the 'disciplinary' practices of modern medical and welfare systems (especially asylums and prisons[26]). Seen in this way, civil society becomes less a free space for the jostling of diverse groupings giving rise to a public sphere in which a free exchange of views can occur, and more a complex network of power relations, with power being exercised not only through individuals and institutions, but through disciplinary discourses and practices.

However, if one distinguishes between empirical and normative civil society, it is possible to accept these insights without discarding the term. Empirical civil society may always be embedded in the kind of power relations Foucault describes, making its normative (democratising) functions contingent and even fragile; yet the contingency of normative civil society does not preclude its possibility. However, his more specific criticisms in the Polish case of the oversimplification of the complexity of 'confrontations' and of the valorised binary structure of civil society ('good') vs. state ('bad') require further attention.

The coalition of forces brought together under the banner of Solidarity was complex, consisting of groups with very little in common beyond opposition to the state's suppression of independent elements in society. It included labour movements, journalists and groups in the Catholic Church, and its fragmentation after 1989 testifies to its internal incoherence. If civil society is taken to imply a harmonious unity, this is indeed an oversimplification. But if these are seen as elements in an empirical civil society whose character and effects are a matter of empirical enquiry rather than presumption, then the civil society label becomes quite useful.

The strong valorisation of civil society against the state and the aim of building a parallel society to undermine the state's functional legitimacy were vital tactics of opposition to state repression. However, they became dysfunctional in a democratic state. Here, while civil society needs to retain its independence, it is not necessary for it to function as a coherent opposition, and a stance of critical engagement towards different elements within itself and towards the state becomes more appropriate. It has been argued that the conditions under which Solidarity flourished in Poland 'limit its usefulness as a general model' of civil society.[27] Instead it seems better to see Poland as a model for what civil society groups can achieve when they act together under conditions of repressive government, conditions which may now be rare in Europe, but which remain common across the world, as we shall discuss further below in relation to Egypt. Civil society, then, adopts different roles under different conditions.

But how far does the role of the Polish Catholic Church (PCC) in supporting the Solidarity movement provide a paradigm for the role of religion in civil society? As we saw above, Casanova stresses the background to Catholic action in the reforms of the Second Vatican council and its support for human rights and democracy. However, Casanova also recognises the strongly nationalistic character of the PCC, and, writing in the early 1990s, set an agenda for steps which the PCC needed to take to complete the transformation from civil society in opposition to civil society in democracy. He argued that the PCC needed to (i) stop 'competing with the state over the symbolic representation of the Polish nation', (ii) 'fully accept the principle of separation of church and state, and [hence] . . . permit public issues to be resolved through institutional democratic channels' and (iii) 'accept the principle of self-organization of an autonomous civil society . . . [rather than] promote the principle of a homogeneous Polish

Catholic community'.[28] We can use these criteria to guide discussion as to how far the PCC can properly be seen as a paradigm of religious action in civil society.

The PCC's actions since 1989, and the uses of popular Catholicism by a range of actors not officially sanctioned by the church, both need to be put in context. In the last twenty-five years democratic politics and the legal foundation of civil society have both become firmly established in Poland.

First, the Polish government has enacted some of the strongest legislation in Central-Eastern Europe to guarantee the rights of civil society organisations and support their fiscal autonomy by encouraging citizens to donate to them.[29] First, while this has led to criticisms that some of these measures have led to an 'NGOisation' of the civil society sector,[30] favouring larger established organisations over smaller, newer arrivals and stifling collective action, it is clear that the sector has become both securely established and legally protected. Second, in spite of turbulence in the political system – frequent changes of government and the fission and creation of political parties – all administrations have in practice followed similar economic policies, seen rapid economic growth (though increased disparities of wealth) and achieved full European Union (EU) and NATO membership.

However, Poland's accession to the secular-oriented EU has paradoxically been accompanied by the increasing electoral success of religiously nationalist parties, first the League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodzin), formed in 1991, and later Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprwiedliwość), who led ruling coalitions from 2005 to 2007. During this period, close relationships developed between elements in the PCC, Law and Justice ministers and the media group responsible for Radio Maryja (a right-wing Catholic radio station, created in 1991) and its related television network (created in 2003). In spite of increasing its national share of the vote in 2007 (which fell only slightly in 2011) it has been in opposition since 2007 due to the success of the rival Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska). A split in in Law and Justice in 2012 led to the formation of an even more staunchly religious nationalist party, United Poland (Soldara Polska, SP).

This situation has meant that, regarding Casanova's first question (i), while the PCC has not generally had to compete with the Polish state to represent the nation, because most governments have been more or less willing to place the church at the centre of the state's representation of the nation, this has not prevented unofficial religious groups, some quite powerful, from engaging in such competition, as we shall see further below. Concerning (ii), the PCC has been unwilling on a number of key issues to 'permit public issues to be resolved through institutional democratic channels'. First, in the immediate post-Communist period (in 1989 and 1993 respectively) on the issues of religious education (RE) in schools and restriction of Poland's previously relatively liberal abortion laws, the PCC did not seek merely to present its case in public debate and leave the outcome up to the democratic process, but rather to influence government policy by negotiating directly with ministers. In the case of RE the process bypassed the Sejm (Parliament) altogether. Subsequently, on a series of issues including homosexual marriage, further RE related issues and references to Christianity in the Polish and European constitutions, the PCC has continued to influence public policy through direct government contacts rather than by opening up debate to include the wider civil society. As contributors to a debate on the influence of the PCC in the pages of the daily newspaper *Rzeczposolita* wrote in 2003:

> If we are to be a civil society, various agreements made over the heads of society, for example the decision of the government not to hold a referendum over abortion or the 'back door introduction' of religious education into schools should again be made public.[31]

The relationship between the PCC, media and government in Poland thus raises doubts about the extent to which the PCC fully 'accept[s] the principle of self-organization of an autonomous civil society'; while there is little evidence that the PCC seeks to stifle free speech, its actions seem more consistent with 'promote[ing] the principle of a homogeneous Polish Catholic community' than actively encouraging the expression of diverse opinions, particularly where such expression might lead to a conclusion contrary to the teaching of the church.[32]

Concerning (iii), while civil society in Poland has been firmly established through legal means, meaning that the church has in practice had to accept the existence of an autonomous civil society, the PCC's actions in attempting to bypass democratic deliberation again suggest that it is more oriented to 'promote[ing] the principle of a homogeneous Polish Catholic community' than encouraging a variety of voices to influence policy debates.

When considering the influence of religion on civil society in Poland more broadly, the activities of groups beyond the official church but drawing on Catholic identity must also be considered. For some elements in Polish Catholicism, the church leadership's aim of securing a legal footing for Catholic moral dominance does not go far enough. The 1990s also saw the birth of a media empire which, across multiple platforms, pushed for an exclusivist Polish nationalism rooted in popular Catholicism, beginning with the radio station Radio Maryja, founded in 1994 and led by a Redemptorist monk, Father Tadeusz Rydzyk. By 2007 the media outlets of the Radio Maryja Group included a daily newspaper (*Nasz Dziennik*, 'Our Daily'), a TV station (TV Trwam), a private university in Toruń, a charitable foundation (Lux Veritatis), a museum and several other projects – all with a strongly nationalist-Catholic profile, often in conflict with the PCC's official position.[33]

Indeed, the media presence of religiously identified actors increased substantially during this period, with repercussions in political and social life. For example, Rydzyk actively participated in the creation of an ultra-nationalist political party, the League of Polish Families, in 1999, and later switched his allegiance to the more electorally successful Law and Justice Party. In the social field, the discourse of *Nasz Dziennik*, which has a daily circulation of approximately 200,000[34] and is the only Catholic daily newspaper, has been shown to propagate negative stereotypes of religious and other minorities, for example contributing to a shift in the use of the Polish term for 'sect' to a more pejorative connotation.[35] These negative stereotypes of internal and external 'others' both reinforce and reconfigure their circulation in popular culture, often continuing habits and practices developed under state socialism:

> The culture of prejudice, surveillance, suspicion and intolerance developed during socialism lingers with force. A deluge of anti-semitic, anti-immigrant and racist graffiti everywhere on the streets bears witness to a rise of old and new phobias about difference in this supposedly homogenous society.[36]

Nasz Dziennik draws on these currents to generate a sense of the majority as oppressed and marginalised.[37] Such defensive and suspicious attitudes towards difference are even turned inwards against ethnic Poles who seek to access fertility treatments such as *in vitro* fertilisation, considered routine in most Western societies but widely viewed in the press, on social media and even by academics at Catholic universities as 'unnatural' and connected with difficulties and illness for those conceived in this way.[38] The representations produced in this discussion are often deeply stigmatising, viewing children conceived in this way as 'monsters'.

Returning to Radio Maryja as the most successful religious broadcaster in Poland, it is important to note that this success is not limited to popularity as a source of entertainment or profit. Rather, many of its estimated one million regular listeners become actively engaged:

'Listening to the Radio [sic] is often accompanied by various other forms of activity: pilgrimages, demonstrations, petition signing, direct lobbying with [sic] local MPs etc. No other social movement in Poland can claim success of similar proportions.'[39]

Thus in Poland, the religious symbols that were used powerfully in political protest against communist rule and have come to be more widely distributed and used, attracting growing media attention, inspiring increased levels of religious activism in politics and broadening the scope and extent of claims-making by religious actors, have all been found. Indeed, all the elements of what has been described as religious 'republicisation' are present here.[40] This process has been sustained beyond the immediate transition period, partly because the church leadership was successful in negotiating a privileged place for the church and its teachings in school curricula and legislation, and partly because of private initiative often in conflict with official church teaching and guidance, exemplified in the activities of Father Rydzyk's media empire. In the political process, religious discourse and support has been important for the mobilisation of political parties, including the League of Polish Families, Law and Justice and United Poland. This has occurred in spite of steady declines in religious participation among the Polish population.

But what do these developments mean for the relationship between religion and civil society? While religion was clearly symbolically important and institutionally influential in the fall of communism, the extent to which this can be attributed to religious action in civil society is questionable, while the link between religion and civil society in the post-Communist period has become even more complex and contested. However, while there are concerns about the compatibility of religion and civil society raised by the Polish Catholic case, such concerns have been raised most acutely in relation to Islam. Yet across the Muslim world there has been a large growth in the number and activities of Islamic Private Voluntary Organisations (PVOs), exercising a range of education, health and social welfare functions, which organisationally fit the criteria of empirical civil society, being neither state nor kinship based, nor run for profit. The following sections will first examine some of the objections that have been made to the conjunction of Islam and civil society in principle, and then consider the case of Islam in Egypt, beginning with PVOs in the 1980s and 1990s, and moving on to the events of the Arab Spring and its aftermath.

Islam and civil society

Islam is the main example of a religious tradition widely considered in the West to be in tension if not outright conflict with the normative tradition of civil society,[41] perceptions deepened by the events of 11 September 2001. It is therefore more important than ever to consider the evidence for incompatibility. This section will take the form of a critique of the most fully articulated incompatibility argument to date. In his influential *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and its Rivals* the late Ernest Gellner claimed that Islam is fundamentally unsecularisable, concluding from this that Islam is also incompatible with civil society, both normatively and empirically.[42] Gellner understands secularisation as the declining social significance of religion – 'in industrial or industrializing societies religion loses much of its erstwhile hold over men and society'.[43] Where religion remains socially significant, argues Gellner, the development of individual autonomy is constrained. This in turn constrains the development of civil society because: 'Individuals, who are not able to act independently of the community of believers, cannot become the building-stones of the kind of intermediary organizations on which civil society is built'.[44]

This section challenges each stage of Gellner's argument. First, Gellner neglects the different ways in which modernity has been mediated to different regions and hence the

consequences of this for modern institutional forms and discourses, including civil society. In particular, modernity was mediated to most Muslim majority societies either through colonial imposition or through indigenous elites responding to external pressures. In either case, for many people, 'everyday life . . . kept its own laws and customs, though often rigidified by colonial intervention or "indirect rule"' so that new discourses of civil and political rights did not become woven into the fabric of everyday life.[45] Furthermore:

> The key actor [in modernisation] is . . . a modernizing part of the ruling body, trying to adapt both the state and society to external challenge and threat. Cleavage patterns tend to run both between modern and anti-modern parts of the elite and between the former and anti-modernists among the people, with the latter sometimes winning, as in Afghanistan and Iran. In this complex pattern of conflicts and alliances, . . . the meaning of popular rights is ambiguous, not seldom rejected by (large parts) of the people as anti-traditional.[46]

Under these conditions, one might anticipate ambivalent attitudes to modern discourses, including civil society; certainly this has occurred with other modern discourses such as democracy and human rights, with Muslims taking up a full range of positions on the compatibility or incompatibility of the relationship between Islam and both democracy and human rights.[47] This diversity contradicts the simplistic essentialist position that Gellner attributes to Islam – the view that Islam insists that all aspects of life should directly governed by its unchanging precepts. This contemporary diversity is underscored by the historical diversity of Muslim-majority societies, *contra* Gellner. Gellner argues that the differentiation of society necessary for a thriving civil society is constantly reined in by revivals of tribal Islam, bursting in from the nomadic periphery to 'cleanse' and reform 'corrupt' urban Islam.[48] But, as Lapidus argues:

> The Middle Eastern Islamic heritage provides not one but two basic constellations of historical society, two golden ages, two paradigms, each of which has generated its own repertoire of political institutions and political theory. The first is the society integrated in all dimensions, political, social, and moral, under the aegis of Islam. The prototype is the unification of Arabia under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century . . . The second historical paradigm is the imperial Islamic society built not on Arabian or tribal templates but on the differentiated structures of previous Islamic societies . . . Thus, despite the common statement that Islam is a total way of life defining political as well as social and family matters, most Muslim societies . . . were in fact built around separate institutions of state and religion.[49]

Furthermore, Muslim thought contains its own resources for distinguishing between religious and secular planes, in the distinction that the *ulama* (religious scholars) in classical period made between *ibadat* (religious duties) and *muamalat* (social relations). As Tariq Ramadan argues:

> Many Muslims have continued down through the ages to say formulaically, as if they were presenting evidence: 'There is no difference, for us, between public and private, religion and politics, Islam encompasses all areas.' Many orientalists have fallen into step with them, . . . But one has the right to ask whether these statements are based on sound evidence. . . . The work of categorization left by scholars through the ages is phenomenal . . . A careful reading of these works reveals that very precise modes

> of grasping the sources were set down very early. . . . In the area of religious practice (*al-ibadat*), it was determined that it was the texts that were the only ultimate reference because the revealed rites are fixed and not subject to human reason . . . In the wider area of human and social affairs, the established methodology is exactly the opposite: . . . everything is permitted except that which is explicitly forbidden in a text (or recognised as such by specialists). Thus the scope for the exercise of reason and creativity is huge.[50]

Gellner's account also neglects the central historical factors that have shaped the emergence of modern political Islam – namely the crisis in nationalist ideologies and the failure of both socialist and capitalist development models in many parts of the Muslim world.[51] In addition, it flies in the face of the fact that where Islamic groups have been permitted to enter the democratic process as legitimate political parties, they have regularly shown themselves both willing and able to follow democratic procedures:

> Beyond the Arab world, Islamists have regularly run for elections in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Turkey since the 1980s. In Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Islamic republics of the former Soviet Union, Islamists have peacefully been engaging in local and municipal politics . . . It is important to note that in three of the biggest Muslim countries (Pakistan, Bangladesh and Turkey) women have recently been elected to the top executive office in the land . . . The important thing in all these cases is that Islamic parties have accepted the rules of the democratic game and are playing it peaceably and in an orderly manner.[52]

Furthermore, other discourses dependent on strong individuation – such as human rights – have also taken firm root in many Muslim societies, such that, in spite of the ambivalence associated with them, they now form part of the terms of public debate. This is illustrated by Dwyer's conversations with intellectuals about human rights in Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt in the late 1980s, many of whom were active in human rights organisations. Tunisia, in particular, provides a good example of a reforming Islamist movement specifically seeking to articulate its vision in terms of human rights without eliding tensions between the valuing individual autonomy and of kinship bonds.[53] In his study, Dwyer shows the extent to which human rights discourse, contested and polysemous as it is, has penetrated contemporary Middle Eastern societies. As he concludes:

> Few Middle Easterners I spoke to seem ready to dismiss the idea from their cultural repertoire: they may challenge its foundations, or its provenance, or the content given it by specific groups, but the concept itself has come to constitute a symbol of great power.[54]

Thus we may conclude that Gellner essentialises connections between Islam, civil society and democratisation which are in fact contingent. Islam is not necessarily incompatible normatively or practically with structural differentiation (indeed, Muslim tradition contains resources for making distinctions between different spheres of life), and many Muslim societies in practice support both diverse civil societies and democracy, even though, and perhaps unsurprisingly given the manner of the conditions of modernisation, these discourses remain contested. Given this general situation, we turn next to consider the articulation of religion and civil society in practice in the particular case of Egypt.

Islam and civil society in Egypt

The growth of Islam in the public life of modern Muslim-majority societies is a widespread phenomenon, but Egypt may be regarded as a lead society for several reasons, and hence its discussion as a case here. Egypt has the largest Arab population of any state, is host to the most influential intellectual establishment in the Sunni Muslim world, the ancient Al-Azhar university (a complex public institution combining the functions of: 'mosque, university, state legitimisation, interpretative authority and centre of Islamic propaganda all in one'[55]), and is the cradle of the earliest and most influential modern political Islamic movement, known as Ikhwan or the Muslim Brotherhood, founded by Hasan al-Banna in 1928. Not only has this been 'arguably the strongest' Islamic movement 'in any Arab, or possibly Muslim country at the present time',[56] but also its writings and role model have been influential for political Islamic movements across the Muslim world. Furthermore, Egypt has and more non-governmental organisations (NGOs) than the rest of the Arab world put together, indicative of a diverse and complex modern society. In addition, it was a significant site in the major upheavals of the Arab Spring of 2011, when a series of popular demonstrations threatened to overthrow authoritarian regimes across the Middle East. In practice, only in Tunisia does it appear that lasting change resulting in a democratic government and a relatively free civil society has resulted; movements either failed to unseat their rulers (Bahrain), produced protracted civil war (Syria, Libya), or were reversed through military intervention (Egypt). We shall assess what role the relationship between religion and civil society seems to have played in these outcomes, centring on Egypt.

As with communist Poland, the mobilisation of religion in civil society in Egypt has occurred under conditions of authoritarian government. The Egyptian parliament under Mubarak (1981–2011) 'serve[d] as an instrument of state policy rather than a constraint upon it',[57] and whereas 'civil society . . . in its liberal conception . . . is not merely a sphere outside government but rather one endowed with a legally mandated autonomy, involving legal rights and protections backed by the law-state', such legal protection is largely absent in Egypt.[58] Through the 1990s the Mubarak regime seized control of thousands of private mosques, requiring preachers to conform to government standards.[59] It also sought closer control of Al-Azhar and increased the latter's censorship powers, thus seeking to strengthen its hold on public religion. Authoritarian control tends to produce an opposition marked by its experience of authoritarianism; yet there were signs that in spite of a repressive state some Islamic movements developed Islamic identity as a source of political mobilisation in an inclusive direction: the election of Muslim brothers to the leadership of professional associations (e.g. the pharmacists) while drawing a substantial proportion of the Coptic Christian vote was one small sign of this.[60]

In the absence of a strong independent trade union movement, and forbidden to form their own political parties, such professional associations provided a platform on which the Muslim Brotherhood was able to mobilise politically. These 'syndicates' were originally established by the government as an alternative to independent trade unions, but, as the Polish case also shows, under certain conditions such bodies can take on an independent life. Their free elections provided a rare opportunity for democracy in a context where government-run elections were widely reported to be rigged,[61] and with the restoration of an unreformed military to power under General al-Sisi, confirmed in the presidential elections of May 2014, it seems likely that this practice will return, as has the restrictive legislation of the Mubarak era in areas such as the banning of political parties based on religion (banned again), harsh sentences in the courts for regime critics such as the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), and leniency and exoneration for military leaders such as Mubarak.

Between 1984 and 1992 the Brotherhood gained control of the Egyptian Bar Association, the Engineers' Association, and the Medical Association. Initially, while they were able to gain power in these elite professional bodies, Islamists were less successful in the associations of less prestigious professions. In an Egyptian context, these include those of teachers, agronomists and vets, 'sectors characterised by low wages, poor working conditions, and low social status'.[62] It may be noted that this greater influence in the elite professions contradicts the stereotype that Islamists recruit mostly from the poorest sections of society. However, by 1997 Islamists had also won control of the agronomists and pharmacists' unions, the latter a particularly notable victory as approximately 30 per cent of pharmacists at that time were Coptic Christians.[63]

As the reliance on the Coptic vote in the pharmacists' case suggests, the Brotherhood owed its success less to a strident Islamic political identity than to achievement in delivering services to members, as one Coptic Christian commented: 'We can trust the Islamists to work for us, no matter what problems we face. This isn't a syndicate for Muslims. It's a syndicate for pharmacists.'[64]

The Brotherhood's participation also increased electoral turnout, and some commitment to pluralism was shown, for example in the decision in 1992 'not to contest 5 of the 25 seats on the Medical Association Board in 1992, to allow for other voices: they won the other 20'.[65] Islamists particularly targeted younger members, building on their high profile in most universities, and on the frustrations of graduates qualified beyond the level of work that the public sector-dominated economy was (and still is) able to offer them – hence 'accountants waiting tables . . . lawyers . . . working the fields'.[66] Hence the Islamist leadership of professional associations 'initiated projects in the areas of housing, health care, and insurance'.[67] They produced creative solutions to practical problems such as providing shared cars for lawyers with meetings all over Cairo but too poor to afford them, and loans to help people set up home and get married – huge expenses in Egypt for all but the wealthiest.[68]

Beyond the interests of their professional groups, Islamists also sought to build on traditions in these professions of a sense of social responsibility and of acting as advocates for 'the Egyptian people' (*al-sha'b*).[69] Concretely, after the 1992 earthquake volunteers from the Medical Association arrived on the scene first in many of the worst-affected areas, prompting government suspicion that the Brotherhood was attempting to create 'a state within a state',[70] a military response and further repressive measures. These included 'Law 100' (1993), which required a 50 per cent voter turnout in syndicate elections (or the government nominates the syndicate board itself), and the *hirasa* laws, which have empowered the government to take the syndicates under direct control, in spite of legal challenges.[71] However, as Abdo concludes:

> Despite these setbacks, the syndicate movement under the new Islamists has touched Egyptian society in a way few could have imagined . . . In a society bereft of democracy they proved free elections and free debate were in fact possible. In a nation crying out for moral guidance, they successfully married a vision of social justice, rooted in the Koran, with the demands and stresses of modern life. . . .
>
> The new leadership raised standards of living for union members, eased pervasive corruption and cronyism, and filled in for an incompetent state that could no longer address the concerns of the middle classes. The syndicates also demonstrated a remarkable degree of democracy, in contrast to the Mubarak regime.[72]

From the perspective of normative civil society these organisations clearly satisfied the criteria of building trust within the unions and belief in the possibility of change. They also promoted

diversity in terms of the institutional plurality of Egyptian society, and proved respectful of equal rights for the Coptic minority within the orbit of a trade union oriented to reaching out into society to improve the lot of its members. In this last respect they began to heal some of the wounds inflicted on Coptic–Muslim relations by extremist Islamists. But questions remained on the issue of free speech when it comes to offence to or subversion of religious authority; for example in 1996 after a long battle in the courts Islamist lawyers hounded literary scholar Abu Zaid into exile, accusing him of *riddah* (apostasy) for his materialist reading of the Qur'an.[73] How were these questions to be answered after the popular revolutions of 2011? The Islamist government held power so briefly no conclusive answers emerged, but as we shall see further below Muhammad Morsi's brief presidency was marked by controversy, with critics claiming he sought to impose an Islamist hegemony.[74]

The Arab Spring and the return of authoritarian rule in Egypt: the role of civil society, religion and social media

Commentators vary in their assessment of the role of civil society in the Arab Spring. Some argue that civil society organisations played no significant role at all: while some eventually participated, 'in no case did they initiate mobilisations'.[75] Others claim that the civil society played such an active role that the popular revolutions in Egypt have 'undermined the thesis that the weakness of civil society was one of the reasons why Arab countries remained authoritarian'.[76]

Partly, as with the Polish case, it depends on how civil society is defined. Beinin's argument is that not only in Egypt but across the region 'NGOs, trade unions, professional associations and political parties recognised or tolerated by the old regimes'[77] were both strongly controlled by governments, and ideologically ill equipped to support the grievances articulated by the mass protests which eventually erupted. These protests were largely against the economic impact of the neo-liberal reforms introduced by the regimes under international, especially US-led, pressure. Civil society organisations hailed by the 'Washington consensus' as well positioned to fill the gaps left by state cuts were not best placed to support anti-austerity actions. Thus in Egypt from 2004 Ahmad Nazif's 'government of businessmen' targeted the public sector, commodity subsidies and subsidised local services for cuts, triggering industrial action on a massive scale in a country with highly constrained unions; from 2004 to 2010 an estimated 2–4 million Egyptian workers took part in 2,500–3,500 strikes and other collective actions.[78] And yet: 'During a protest movement of unprecedented proportions, there were only two civil society organisations working primarily on labor issues with less than half a dozen paid staff between them'.[79]

Instead, the popular uprisings were brought about by three largely independent movements protesting about different things: (i) mass protests against hardships caused by economic reforms, linked to the predominantly locally organised labour movement; (ii) urban intellectual protests, mostly articulating political solidarity with the 'Arab Street' against the military regime's foreign policy (e.g. supporting the second Palestinian intifada and protesting against the US invasion of Iraq), but later (in 2010) calling for Mubarak not to run for re-election; and (iii), a group of educated middle class 'Facebook Youth', of which the April 6 Youth Movement (A6YM) played an important role, so-named because of its call to support workers forbidden to strike at the Malhalla textile factory on 6 April 2008 (though this group lacked direct contact with the textile workers).[80] It was protest against police brutality articulated by the 'We are all Khaled Said' Facebook page which led to the first mass demonstrations in Tahrir Square on 25 January 2011, supported by A6YM, some other youth organisations and small, recognised political parties.[81]

This fragmented opposition was to shape the subsequent failure of Egypt's brief democratic experiment its first democratically elected president, the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohamed Morsi. The lack of a coherent opposition political organisation or programme meant that Morsi did not so much 'hijack the revolution' as 'step . . . into a political vacuum'.[82] But rather than seeking to build a broad consensus to ground the fledgling democracy, critics argue that Morsi tried to create 'an Islamist hegemony', determining 'an exclusionary model of transition in Egypt', in contrast to Tunisia where an 'inclusive transition has occurred . . . as a consequence of the participation of the opposition in the transition and the decision of the Government not to impose its institutional power'.[83] Examples of Morsi's tendency to authoritarianism include the draft law on Civil Work Entities brought forward by the upper parliamentary house, the Shura Council (one third appointed by him), which would have severely restricted civil society, and was strongly criticised by international human rights bodies.[84]

What then, was the role of religion in these events? At the level of individual attitudes, one study has used World Values Survey data to examine the relationship between disapproval of authoritarian rule, regular religious practice and 'emancipatory social capital', operationalised as participation in elite-challenging actions such 'signing petitions', 'joining in boycotts' and 'attending lawful demonstrations' between 2001 and 2008.[85] Egyptians were four times as likely to have taken part in elite-challenging actions as Jordanians, and intriguingly, the relationship between religiosity and elite-challenging actions differed in the two countries: more actively religious Egyptians were more likely to take part in elite-challenging actions, whereas the reverse was the case in Jordan.[86] This finding suggests that the impact of Islam on political participation in support of democracy is highly situationally contingent: in both these countries, organisations stemming from the Muslim Brotherhood shaped the main political articulation of Islamist opposition, yet in Jordan, religious participation is associated with political quietism, in Egypt, the reverse. At the level of discourse, in Egypt it may be that the rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood and its record of supporting workers' rights through professional associations made the more religious more comfortable with assertive political action. What such studies suggest is that while it varies in its effects, the interaction between religion and civil society in the Middle East is a politically significant one, and in Egypt, one that is unlikely to be long silenced by the banning of religion-based political parties, for whom the majority voted in 2012.

Looking to the future: civil society, the public sphere and 'new' media

One feature of the appropriation of public Islam in Egypt by non-state actors has been the dissemination of Islamic discourses by electronic media, including sermons on audio-cassette, desktop publishing, the Internet and DVDs, and in the Arab Spring, by social media. Some studies have suggested caution about initial assessments attributing great influence to these media. Thus Achilov points out that while Jordan had much higher levels of Facebook participation (30 per cent), compared to Egypt's 13 per cent, and higher rates of mobile phone penetration, this did not translate into greater political activism.[87] Mabon attributes more significance to the impact of Wikileaks revelations but cautions that the impact varies by context, for while: 'Wikileaks had an undeniable impact upon Tunisia and has been described as playing an integral role within the Tunisian revolution, its impact upon Egypt is less easily ascertained'.[88]

Nonetheless, it is clear that the proliferation of new media has made censorship much more difficult for states, and created and intensified transnational circuits of communication, which can provide support and legitimacy to protesters. These developments have enabled groups to

mobilise religious counter-publics against official discourses, thus changing the relationship between religion and civil society. But it is not only where routes to democratic participation are blocked that religious imagery and discourse has become politicised through the appropriation of new media.

India is the largest functioning democracy on the planet, a complex society in which an official state secularism minimised the partisan mobilisation of religious discourses at the level of political society for several decades following independence (1947). However, the early 1990s saw the electoral breakthrough of the overtly Hindu nationalist party the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), achieving a consistent period in office from March 1998.[89] What relationship does this development have to religion in civil society? Like the Muslim Brotherhood, the BJP and related organisations are active at the grassroots, running education, training and welfare schemes. But intriguingly their electoral breakthrough occurred only after the screening of two influential Hindu epics on the newly created state national television broadcaster Doordashan in the late 1980s and early 1990s. According to some commentators these broadcasts had the unintended political consequence of creating a new political public sphere linked by a 'Hinduized visual regime', both more inclusive and more chaotic than India's linguistically and socially splintered publics had previously been:

> The introduction of a new system of representation, in this case television, set up new circuits of exchange across a split public, thereby casting the existing terms of translation, and the status of the bourgeois public sphere itself, into crisis.[90]

The BJP was able turn the crisis in the bourgeois public sphere and the presentation of an idealised past against which current circumstances could be unfavourably contrasted, to their electoral advantage. Its success also rested on other factors and an uneasy coalition, and its first spell in power ended in defeat by the Congress Party in 2005. At that stage, it looked as if their legacy was to have shifted political discourse in a nationalist direction; while beyond this short-term political impact, commentators predicted that the mass circulation of Hindu epics and their instrumental mobilisation may have enduring consequences for Indian civil society:

> Even in the absence of Hindu nationalist domination . . . we may have in India a Hinduized visual regime, evidenced for example in commodity consumption in daily life, acting as a kind of lower-order claim than national identity and continuing to have force in politics, albeit of a more dispersed, subtle and less confrontational kind, in a kind of capacitance effect whereby social energy may be accumulated and stored [like electric charge] via allegiance to such images, to be put to use at some future moment, though in ways that would be hard to predict.[91]

The BJP's landslide victory in the general election of 2014 suggests that even in electoral politics this 'charge' is far from spent.

Looking more widely, the emergence of religion circulated by new media as powerful discourse and imagery in the public spheres of modern societies is widespread in many postcolonial contexts.[92] But it is not restricted to here; for example in France, arguably one of the most secular countries in the world:

> A new socio-cultural configuration is emerging in which the religious, far from appearing in the form of a tradition resisting modernity, appears instead in the form of a tradition that prevents ultra-modernity from dissolving into a self-destructive

> critique. Increasingly, religion provides identities and offers to individuals the possibility of social integration and direction within individualistic and pluralistic societies. . . . It is equally clear, however, that the traditional distrust of religion undoubtedly continues in France.[93]

Both this mobilisation and distrust of religion are likely to intensify in response to the Charlie Hebdo massacre in January 2015.

Such developments are transforming the relationship between religion and civil society, calling into question long-established assumptions about secularisation, and creating the potential for new forms of political mobilisation and confrontation. Recent history suggests that generalisations are hard to make, but building a careful understanding of the relationship between religion and civil society and the role of various media, while being attentive to local contexts, is critical to grasping the contemporary dynamics of religion and politics in contemporary societies.

Notes

1 Gellner, *Conditions of Liberty*; Bryant, 'A further comment'.
2 Chandhoke, 'The "civil" and the "political" in civil society'.
3 Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*.
4 Kumar, 'Civil society'.
5 Bryant, 'A further comment', 498.
6 Casanova, *Public Religions*.
7 Habermas, *A Theory of Communicative Action*, Vol. 1.
8 Enyedi, 'Contested politics'; Herbert, *Religion and Civil Society*.
9 Alexander, *Real Civil Societies*.
10 Ibid., 3.
11 Ibid., 4–5.
12 Abercrombie, *Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, 429.
13 Therborn, 'Beyond civil society'.
14 Hearn, 'The "uses and abuses" of civil society in Africa'.
15 Hudick, *NGOs and Civil Society*.
16 Skapska, 'Learning to be a citizen'.
17 Hann, *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models*.
18 Alexander, *Real Civil Societies*, 6.
19 Ibid., 7.
20 Kumar, 'Civil society', 386.
21 Kubik, *The Power of Symbols*; Osa 'Creating solidarity'.
22 Bruce, *Choice and Religion*, 117.
23 Foucault, *Politics, Philosophy, Culture*, 167.
24 Ibid.,167–8.
25 Foucault, *The Order of Things*.
26 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.
27 Kumar, 'Civil society', 387
28 Casanova, *Public Religions*, 109.
29 Korolczuk, 'Promoting civil society', 949.
30 Jacobsson, 'Fragmentation', 353.
31 Burdziej, 'Voice of the disinherited', 169.
32 Casanova, *Public Religions*, 109.
33 Fras, *The Catholic Church*.
34 Burdziej, 'Voice of the disinherited', 208.

35 Starnawski, ‘Nationalist discourse’, 76.
36 Marcianak, ‘Post-socialist hybrids’, 177.
37 Starnawski, ‘Nationalist discourse’, 77.
38 Radkowska-Walkowicz, ‘The creation of “monsters”’.
39 Burdziej, ‘Voice of the disinherited’, 217–18.
40 Herbert, ‘Theorising religious republicisation in Europe’.
41 Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation*.
42 Gellner, *Conditions of Liberty*, 15.
43 Ibid.
44 Özdalga, ‘Civil society and its enemies’, 74.
45 Therborn, ‘Beyond civil society’, 50.
46 Ibid., 51.
47 Goddard, ‘Islam and democracy’; Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation.*
48 Gellner, *Conditions of Liberty*, 223.
49 Lapidus, ‘The golden age’, 14–15.
50 Ramadan, *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*, 35.
51 Ayubi, *Political Islam*.
52 Ibrahim, ‘From Taliban to Erbakan’, 41.
53 Dalacoura, *Islam, Liberalism and Human Rights*.
54 Dwyer, *Arab Voices: The Human Rights Debate in the Middle East*, 192.
55 Karam, ‘Islamist parties in the Arab world’, 158
56 Ayubi, *Political Islam*, 172.
57 Wickham, ‘Islamic mobilization’, 121.
58 Ibid., 117.
59 Abdo, *No God But God*, 66.
60 Ibid., 100.
61 Kassem, *In the Guise of Democracy*.
62 Wickham, ‘Islamic mobilization’, 128.
63 Abdo, *No God But God*, 100.
64 Ibid., 101.
65 Wickham, ‘Islamic mobilization’, 126.
66 Ibid., 122.
67 Ibid., 123.
68 Abdo, *No God But God*, 92.
69 Wickham, ‘Islamic mobilization’, 129.
70 Ibid., 130.
71 Abdo, *No God But God*, 102–5.
72 Ibid., 105.
73 Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism*, x.
74 Szmolka, ‘Exclusionary and non-consensual transitions’, 91.
75 Beinin, ‘Civil society’, 397.
76 Szmolka, ‘Exclusionary and non-consensual transitions’, 88.
77 Beinin, ‘Civil society’, 397.
78 Ibid., 399–400.
79 Ibid., 401.
80 Ibid., 402.
81 Ibid., 403.
82 Ibid.
83 Szmolka, ‘Exclusionary and non-consensual transitions’, 83.
84 Beinin, ‘Civil society’, 404.
85 Achilov, ‘Social capital, Islam, and the Arab Spring’, 278.
86 Ibid., 282.

87 Ibid., 276.
88 Mabon, 'Aiding revolution?', 1855.
89 Rajagopal, *Politics After Television*, 275, 326.
90 Ibid., 148.
91 Ibid., 283.
92 Meyer and Moors, *Religion, the Media and the Public Sphere*.
93 Willaime, 'The cultural turn in the sociology of religion in France', 375–7.

References

Abdo, E. *No God But God: Egypt and the Triumph of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Achilov, D. 'Social capital, Islam, and the Arab Spring in the Middle East'. *Journal of Civil Society*, 9: 3 (2013): 268–86.

Abercrombie, N. et al. *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, third edition. London: Penguin, 1994.

Alexander, J. (ed.) *Real Civil Societies: Dilemmas of Institutionalization*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Ayubi, N. (1991) *Political Islam*. London: Routledge.

Beinin, J. 'Civil society, NGOs and Egypt's popular uprising'. *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 113: 12 (2014): 396–416.

Bruce, S. *Choice and Religion: A Critique of Rational Choice Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Bryant, C. 'A further comment on Kumar's "civil society"'. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 45: 3 (1994): 497–99.

Burdziej, S. 'Voice of the disinherited? Religious media after the 2005 presidential and parliamentary elections in Poland'. *Eastern European Quarterly*, 42: 2 (2008): 207–21.

Casanova, J. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1994.

Chandhoke, N. 'The "civil" and the "political" in civil society'. *Democratization*, 8: 2 (2001): 1–24.

Dalacoura, K. *Islam, Liberalism and Human Rights*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1998.

Dwyer, K. *Arab Voices: The Human Rights Debate in the Middle East*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Enyedi, Z. 'The contested politics of positive neutrality in Hungary'. *West European Politics*, 26: 1 (2003): 157–76.

Foucault, M. *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings 1977–1984* (translated by A. Sheridan et al.). London: Routledge,1988.

Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (translated by A. Sheridan et al.). Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991 [1977].

Foucault, M. *The Order of Things*. London: Routledge, 1992 [1970].

Fras, M. *The Catholic Church, Religion and Politics in Post-Communist Poland: Secularisation and Republicisation 1989–2007*. PhD thesis, Open University, Milton Keynes, 2013.

Gellner, E. *The Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and its Rivals.* London: Penguin, 1994.

Goddard, H. (1999) 'Islam and democracy'. Presentation to PSA Politics and Religion Group, Lincoln Theological Institute, Sheffield, 24 February.

Habermas, J. *A Theory of Communicative Action Vol. 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Cambridge: Polity/Blackwell, 1987.

Habermas, J. *Between Facts and Norms*. Cambridge: Polity,1996.

Halliday, F. *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*. London: IB Tauris,1996.

Hann, C. (ed.) *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models*. London: Routledge,1996.

Hearn, J. (2000) 'The "uses and abuses" of civil society in Africa'. Paper presented to the Review of African Political Economy conference, University of Leeds, April.

Herbert D. *Religion and Civil Society*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Herbert D. (2014) 'Theorising religious republicisation in Europe: religion, media and public controversy in the Netherlands and Poland, 2000–2012', in K. Granholm, M. Moberg, and Sofia Sjo (eds.) *Religion, media and social change*, 54–70. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hudick, A. *NGOs and Civil Society: Democracy by Proxy?* Cambridge: Polity, 1999.

Ibrahim, S. 'From Taliban to Erbakan: The case of Islam, civil society and democracy', in E. Özdalga and S. Persson (eds.), *Civil Society and Democracy in the Muslim World*, 33–44. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1997.

Jacobsson 'Fragmentation of the collective action space: the animal rights movement in Poland'. *East European Politics*, 28: 4 (2012): 353–70.
Karam, A. 'Islamist parties in the Arab world: ambiguities, contradictions and perseverance'. *Democratization*, 4: 4 (1997) 157–74.
Kassem, M. *In the Guise of Democracy: Governance in Contemporary Egypt*. Reading: Ithaca, 1999.
Korolczuk, E. 'Promoting civil society in contemporary Poland: gendered results of institutional changes'. *Voluntas* (2014): 949–67.
Kubik, K. *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland*. Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1994.
Kumar, K. 'Civil society: an inquiry into the usefulness of an historical term'. *British Journal of Sociology*, 44: 3 (1993): 375–95.
Lapidus, I. 'The golden age: the political concepts of Islam'. *Annals of the American Academy*, 524 (1992):13–25.
Mabon, S. 'Aiding revolution? Wikileaks, communication and the "Arab Spring" in Egypt'. *Third World Quarterly*, 34: 10, (2013): 1843–57.
Marcianak, K. 'Post-Socialist hybrids'. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 12 (2009): 172–82.
Meyer, B., and Moors, A. *Religion, the Media and the Public Sphere*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006.
Osa, M. 'Creating solidarity: the religious foundations of the Polish social movement'. *East European Politics and Societies*, 11: 2 (1997): 339–65.
Özdalga, E. 'Civil society and its enemies: reflections on a debate in the light of recent developments within the Islamic student movement in Turkey', in E. Özdalga and S. Persson (eds.) *Civil Society and Democracy in the Muslim World*, 73–84. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1997.
Radkowska-Walkowicz, M. 'The creation of "monsters": the discourse of opposition to in vitro fertilization in Poland'. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 20: 40 (2012): 30–7.
Rajagopal, A. *Politics After Television: Hindu Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Public in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Ramadan, T. *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
Skapska, G. 'Learning to be a citizen: cognitive and ethical aspects of post-communist society transformation', in R. Fine (ed.) *Civil Society: Democratic Perspectives*, 145–60. London: Cass, 1997.
Starnawski, M. 'Nationalist discourse and the ultra-conservative press in contemporary Poland: a case study of *Nasz Dziennik*'. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 37: 1 (2003): 65–81.
Szmolka, I. 'Exclusionary and non-consensual transitions versus inclusive and consensual democratizations: the cases of Egypt and Tunisia'. *Arab Studies Quarterly*. 37: 1 (2015): 73–95.
Therborn, G. 'Beyond civil society: democratic experiences and their relevance to the "Middle East"', in E. Özdalga and S. Persson (eds.) *Civil Society and Democracy in the Muslim World*, 45–54. Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1997.
Tibi, B. *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.
Wickham, C. 'Islamic mobilization and political change: the Islamist trend in Egypt's political associations', in J. Stork and J. Benin (eds.) *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*, 117–35. London: I. B. Tauris, 1997.
Willaime J. 'The cultural turn in the sociology of religion in France'. *Sociology of Religion*, 65: 4, (2004): 373–89.

14

SECURITIZATION AND SECULARIZATION

The two pillars of state regulation of European Islam[1]

Jocelyne Cesari

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM, UK

European nations face a paradox: even though they seek to facilitate the socioeconomic integration of Muslims, anti-terrorism and security concerns fuel a desire to compromise liberties and restrict Islam from the public space. At the same time, this visibility of Islam in public spaces has re-opened heated discussions on the nature and content of European secularisms. State actions are critical in both the securitization and the reshaping of Islam in secular spaces. These two processes are paradoxically centripetal: the former tends to construct Islam as an exception, while the second tends to normalize Islam to include it into the state-church template specific to each country.

Securitization: the embodiment of Islam as an exception

The securitization paradigm encompasses the multifaceted process through which the normal rule of law is suspended in favour of exceptional measures justified by extraordinary situations that threaten the survival of the political community. As noted by Weaver and Buzan, the authors of this initial paradigm, securitization operates outside the domain of 'normal politics' because it aims to respond to an existential threat.[2] In the case of Islam, it involves political actors who comprehend Islam as an existential threat to European and American political and secular order and thereby argue for extraordinary measures to contain it. A successful securitization rests on the capacity of a securitizing actor (primarily state officials and politicians) to 'speak security'; namely, to present a certain problem as a significant menace that challenges the survival of a referent group or community, in a way that resonates with a 'significant audience'. In this regard, Islamic extremism, especially since 9/11 and 7/7, has become a key security issue across the Atlantic.

The dominant paradigm within securitization studies pays attention to the securitization of Islam through extraordinary speech acts, such as the justification for the War on Terror and the persistent conflation of Islam with political violence.[3] Our analysis however, departs from the dominant securitization approach by analyzing measures not directly related to terrorism, such

as immigration policies and administrative measures limiting Islamic practices. In other words, we focus political actions targeting Muslims within the bounds of regular political procedures. In this regard, legal constraints and the subsequent securitization of Islam reinforce the perception of Islam and Muslims as the typical 'others within the West'. Consequently, Muslims are under increased political scrutiny and control, especially those who assert their religious affiliation through dress code and engagement in public religious activities. Furthermore, the signs of these activities, such as mosques and minarets, but also dress code, Islamic education, halal meat, etc., have become highly suspect.

Chasing the imams

The expulsion of imams is a first example of this phenomenon. Their exclusion has become a pattern across Europe. Often based on dubious grounds and anti-terrorist invocations, these actions highlight the precarious status of the profession.

From 2001 to 2004, France expelled more than twenty-five imams and proposed a law that would ease the deportation process. The case of Abdelkader Bouziane perfectly illustrates the situation. After the publication of several statements in a controversial interview that seemed to condone violence against women, a Salafi imam in Vénissieux (Greater Lyon) was hastily expelled from France on April 21, 2004, on the grounds of being a major threat to the state and public security ('*nécessité impérieuse pour la sûreté de l'Etat et la sécurité publique*'). After Bouziane appealed the court's decision, he was granted the right to return to France. His good fortune did not last long as he would soon be expelled again. This time, a note by the French Intelligence Service accusing Bouziane of having issued a fatwa against American interests in Iraq was invoked in court, but no further evidence was presented to substantiate the accusation.[4] The case raised complicated questions of legal hermeneutics, as the Correctional Court eventually decided that Bouziane's controversial declarations were made in the context of a reference to the Qur'an and could not constitute an incitement to violate a person's physical integrity. Judge Fernand Schir concluded that 'the Jurisdiction has no right . . . to intrude in a domain which belongs to religious conscience'.[5]

In the Netherlands, the concern of controlling imams was channelled into providing mandatory civic training sessions for clergy personnel. At present, there is still no state-sponsored imam programme despite efforts to establish such a facility. While the admission of foreign imams to the Netherlands cannot be prevented due to principles of religious freedom and equal treatment, a mandatory civic integration programme for immigrant 'clergy' was adopted in 2002. This training programme is officially destined for all kinds of immigrant religious personnel, although it is first and foremost intended for new imams and, to a lesser extent, Hindu teachers.[6]

In the United Kingdom, the education and training of imams has been institutionalized and managed professionally since 1981.[7] The establishment of the Muslim College in London was driven by the need to employ locally educated imams to better answer contemporary tensions. Currently, there are two institutions dedicated to the training of imams: the Muslim College in London established in 1981, as mentioned above, and the Markfield Institute of Higher Education in Leicestershire, where an ambitious set of courses was established in 2000.[8] Instead of using the term 'imam' in the United Kingdom, preference is given to employing the term 'Muslim faith leader' in order to avoid working with different interpretations of the profession within Sunni and Shia Islam. Thus, other roles – chaplain, teacher, youth worker, and the like – often make up part of an imam's responsibilities.

In 2010, the Muslim Faith Leadership Training Review, which evaluates current training provisions for imams and examines how to build the capacity of Islamic seminaries, identified

crucial areas of improvement needed in the training and education of Muslim faith leaders. For example, the review pointed out that extra work needed to be accomplished with regards to the roles and perspectives of women; the integration of theological insights with practical experience in initial training; professional development; and better facilitation of relations with the government.[9]

In Germany, top security and law officials agreed to enact new computer surveillance regulations, which were feared by Muslim leaders, to pay more attention to imams than to their Christian counterparts. The framework, designed by Interior Minister Wolfgang Schüble of the centre-right Christian Democrats (CDU) and Justice Minister Brigitte Zypries of the centre-left Social Democrats (SPD), has allowed federal security officials to monitor computers in cases related to terrorism or other serious crimes. The new framework complies with a legal ruling made by the country's highest court in February 2009.[10]

The establishment of Islamic studies at universities in Germany has also been a political concern, particularly since 9/11. In 2004, the Turkish Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DTB, an extension of the Turkish Ministry of Religious Affairs) financed two chairs at Frankfurt's Goethe University. In 2005, the University of Munster established the first study course for Islamic religious teaching *(Islamkunde)* while the University of Osnabrück followed suit in 2007. In 2009, a new Islamic school was established to train Muslim clergymen in Berlin. The first of its kind in the German capital, the school has the capacity for sixty-eight students and offers six-year training courses to future imams.[11]

Most of Germany's imams grew up and received religious training outside of the country, often in Turkey. Turkey's religious affairs office regularly sends theologians to over 800 German mosques, but few come with German language skills. As such, the government established 'Imams for Integration', which is a joint initiative organized by the Goethe Institute, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), and the German association of Turkish Muslim congregations (DITIB) that also complements the efforts of the Islamic studies programmes at the aforementioned universities and schools. The programme consists of 500 hours of German language classes and 12 days of lessons on intercultural and German topics, such as the powers of the state, life in a pluralistic society, religious diversity, the educational system, migration, and community work. Overall, the four-month study programme aims to exploit imams' potential to be forces for integration and is designed to make them fluent in German culture and language.[12]

The desire to establish a German Islamic theology appears to have become a common cause for all the major political parties in Germany. Islamic theology and the education of Islamic religious teachers and imams are viewed by many as the magic formula for the integration of Muslims. But universities are not necessarily prepared for this major project. They might only succeed if competition between various academic institutions is encouraged, and if different educational models are experimented with. In this context, special attention must be paid to the promotion of young academics in the field of Islamic theology, because at present there are virtually no eligible German-speaking Islamic theologians available to take up such a cause.[13]

Restraints on Islamic practices

Convergent with our research, Jonathan Fox and Yasemin Akbaba documented the actual restriction of religious practices across eighty-six religious minorities in twenty-seven Western democracies from 1990 to 2008.[14] They identified a significant increase in discrimination against Islam in particular, especially post-9/11, which wasn't reflected in the level of intolerance against majority religions, nor against other minority religions. According to our own

research, the restrictions affect primarily mosque buildings and activities, modes of Islamic education, women's dress code, and other aspects of Islamic practices.

Mosques

It is important to note that extreme political proposals such as banning mosques cannot be legally implemented, as they would violate constitutional rights of freedom of religion and equal treatment of all citizens.

In Germany, right-wing radicals established the country's first anti-Islamic party, which launched a vehement national campaign against the building of mosques in 2005. The movement started off as 'Pro Cologne', to protest the establishment of a mosque in Cologne, and has since gained significant numbers of followers. In addition, several other groups such as the 'Pro NRW' (Pro North Rhine-Westphalia) initiated campaigns for similar purposes.[15] The group, which holds five city council seats but currently does not hold any seats in the House of Representatives, aims to create alliances with other far-right groups, such as Austria's Freedom Party (FPO), to generate larger national and international support for its cause. This initiative directly influenced the campaign of the two Swiss right-wing parties (SVP and EDU) that led to the much mediatized ban of minarets in Switzerland after the Egerkingen Committee, a group composed of leaders of both right-wing political parties, launched a referendum to ban the construction of minarets that was approved by 57.6 per cent of voters in 2009. The ban reflected a fear of Islamic fundamentalism, yet 'the Federal Council [took] the view that a ban on the construction of new minarets [was] not a feasible means of countering extremists tendencies'[16] and ultimately declared the ban illegal.

In the United Kingdom, the construction of mosques is not a political issue any more.[17] Similarly, in France, the project of devising a 'French Islam' has ironically provided impetus to a greater legitimacy of Islamic practices, including the construction of 'transparent' mosques approved by local political authorities as counterpoints to an informal 'Islam of the caves'. The construction of minarets, however legal, is usually discouraged to meet neighborhood demands.

Resistance however has not completely disappeared and surfaces in local policies of municipalities. A 2004 study commissioned by the *Fonds d'Action et de Soutien pour l'Intégration et la Lutte contre les Discriminations* (FASILD) established a typology of mayoral attitudes to the construction of visible Muslim places of worship.[18] It revealed a remarkable diversity of attitudes, which demonstrates that any explanation in terms of macro-sociological models of state-church relations is unable to seize the full complexity of the realities on the ground.

Islamic schools and Islamic education

A second major restriction on the practice of Islam across Western Europe concerns the development of Muslim schools as well as the status of Islamic education in public schools when allowed. This restriction is not grounded in any empirical evidence that Islamic schools are obstructive to integration. In the Netherlands, for instance, these reports have concluded that on the whole, Islamic schools do not obstruct immigrant integration.[19] Investigations by the Inspectorate of Education in 2005 concluded that almost all Islamic schools have an open attitude toward Dutch society and play a positive role in creating the necessary conditions for social cohesion.[20] Michael Merry and Geert Driessen, leading experts on Islamic schools in the Netherlands, write that there is a broader attempt to openly discuss the Dutch school system but Muslims are commonly seen as a threatening political presence in a way that the

other groups generally are not. Equality on paper, therefore, has not translated into equality in practice. Notwithstanding the positive reports issued by the Dutch Inspectorate of Education, Islamic schools continue to be viewed with distrust, and elections make Islamic schools easy targets for vilification, as unemployment and crime turn popular opinion against the presence of a visible minority groups. In the wake of the Theo van Gogh murder, some mosques and Islamic schools became targets either for vandalism or arson.[21]

Nevertheless, Minister of Education van der Hoeven decided in the spring of 2004 that any new Islamic school must have a school board that only comprises members of Dutch nationality. A general ban on Islamic schools would demand a change of the Dutch constitution, however, and would imply that other denominational schools would also be closed down. Consequently, a ferocious public debate emerged, initiated by Ayaan Hirsi Ali and others. As of 2006, there were 46 Islamic primary schools in the Netherlands with a potential stipulated need of 120 such schools.[22]

In most of the German states religious education is part of public schools' standard curriculum. Teachers of religion need permission from both the state and their church to practice. Islamic instructors have, however, very often been denied permission to teach Islam by regional governments due to the lack of a clear hierarchy within Muslim organizations, unlike the Protestant church. No single leader is appointed to deal with the matter, which complicates government relations. The practice of teaching Islam in German schools thus becomes very controversial.[23] While Muslim migrant organizations regard themselves as the voice of Muslims in Germany, officials state that only about 20 per cent of Muslims are actual members of these organizations. [24] A clear Muslim representative is therefore lacking.

Religious education for Muslims in Germany is thus practised very differently from other classes on religion and is often incorporated into native language courses.[25] These classes serve as a proxy for teaching Islam even if they are lawfully open to all students. Since 2000, various test projects have been launched to experiment with new possibilities for teaching religion to Muslims in the German language. While in North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria these initiatives were led by the state, in Berlin[26] and Baden-Württemberg Islamic organizations are closely involved in their development and realization. In Berlin, the Islamic Federation was authorized to teach Islam, although the decision was heavily criticized by the media in 2004 due to the 'Islamist' background of the Federation.[27] In 2003, Bremen established religious courses *(Islamkunde)* for Muslims in German under state control without the participation of Islamic organizations, mainly to counter the conservative and sometimes Islamist orientation of some of these organizations. Such initiative clearly oversteps the legitimacy of the state in religious matters even though the German concept of secularism is not based on a radical separation of church and state. But, according to the legal status of religion *(Staatskirchenrecht)*, the state's right to regulate religious communities is limited, while religious organizations are encouraged to maintain a strong public presence and to partake in various social and cultural tasks of the state. As a result, the Christian churches and the Jewish community have their own official representatives; they are entitled to membership in various bodies to which the state has delegated certain tasks such as the provision of social services. Such liberties are still not granted to Muslim organizations, as they often operate in a specific political context characterized by a tight cooperation between the state and religious communities.[28] The controversial discussions concerning the state's role in teaching religion to Muslims in German continue to this day.

In the United Kingdom, both schools that receive state funding and private Islamic schools without accreditation from the government provide religious education. There are 140 private Islamic schools, 11 of which are state funded.[29] Research by the Muslim Council of Britain

found that Muslims identified access to quality education as the issue most important to them.[30] But the majority of Muslims continue to be educated in non-Muslim state schools and many Muslim communities have expressed concern about the ability of these schools to meet their pupils' (language) needs. Many Muslim children will learn to read Arabic in order to read the Qur'an, irrespective of its availability as a curriculum option. Such classes take place in mosques but the quality of the language tuition is unregulated. From 1997 until 2010 when it left office, the Labour government extended state-funding opportunities to include minority faiths. At present, seven Muslim schools receive state funding, including Al Furqan School in Birmingham, Islamia School in London, and Feversham College in Bradford, while an additional quarter of England's independent Muslim schools would be interested in receiving monetary aid.[31] Controversy exists over the expansion of state-funded religious schools as they could potentially hurt multiculturalism and limit integration.

In France, there are currently nine Islamic schools, some of which emerged as a consequence of the 2004 law prohibiting religious signs in public schools. A growing number of Muslim parents are seeking to educate their children in confessional schools. In the 2000s, Islamic schools were opened in Aubervilliers (2001), in Lille (2003, Lycée Averroes), and in Lyon (2007, Lycée Al Kindi), joining a school established in La Réunion several decades ago. A year later, another Muslim private school was opened in the Parisian suburb of Vitry-sur-Seine (Val-de-Marne). The Lycée Averroes is under contract with the state. In addition to state-mandated courses, the schools offer classes on Arabic and Islam.

Dress code: hijab ban for students

A third field of restrictions on Islamic practices discusses hijab and niqab bans. In 2004, a law was adopted that prohibited the use of religious signs in French public schools based on the need to defend the principle of *laïcité*. Although the measure did not affect Muslims alone, its main motivation was to ban the hijab. Such a limitation is related to the redefinition of secular space, even though it was greatly influenced by the post-9/11 securitization process.

In Germany, some educators regarded the headscarf as a symbol of backwardness, women's oppression, and exclusion from society. They see it as their 'moral duty' to try to reduce the number of headscarves at their schools, as they think this will support the girls' enhanced integration in society. A Protestant secondary school in Gelsenkirchen, for instance, only allows female Muslim students to wear a headscarf on two conditions. They have to be fourteen or older (the official age of religious maturity in Germany) and are obliged to pass a test from the school council about their reasons for wearing the scarf. This way, the school's headmaster declared he wanted to find out whether the girls decided to wear the headscarf for their own reasons or whether they were forced by their families or the surrounding Muslim community. In other schools, psychological pressure is exerted on parents not to 'force' their daughters to wear this 'sign of disintegration' by suggesting they would otherwise face significant problems at school and in society.

Hijab ban for teachers

The restriction of hijab for teachers also is more closely related to secular values than security concerns even though the post-9/11 context made it more legitimate to raise such issues, as mentioned before.

Due to a decision of the German Supreme Court on July 30 2003, wearing of a headscarf cannot be a cause for dismissal yet, in many cases, it is the reason for not getting a job at all.

Teachers in particular suffer from this restriction. Fereshta Ludin is a young Muslim teacher of Afghan origin whose case stood at the centre of a debate in Baden-Württemberg in 2003 on Muslim teachers' right to dress according to Islamic principles. According to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the headscarf was at odds with basic Christian values and constitutional secularism alike. As a symbol of backward and fundamentalist Islamic attitudes, the ministry stated that the hijab opposed the principles of freedom of thought and the equality of the sexes in German society.[32]

The decision of the German Supreme Court in 2003 was followed by a still continuing, very emotional discussion among politicians, journalists, and the wider public on the reasons why some young Muslim academics maintain a strong attachment to wearing a headscarf, to what extent they are indoctrinated by extremist organizations, and how far teachers at state schools should appear 'neutral' while performing their jobs. As a consequence of this ongoing discussion, seven of the sixteen states' parliaments are preoccupied with the preparation of a 'law against specific religious symbols that threaten to disrupt the political or religious concord in schools' or a 'law against religious symbols with a demonstrative character' or a general 'law against all religious signs worn or used by teachers in state schools'.[33] On March 13 2015, the Federal Constitutional Court put an end to this ongoing discussion by declaring that to ban veils for teachers was an infringement on religious freedom.

Burqa and niqab ban

The recent increase of burqa bans is directly related to the perception of assertive Muslims as 'the enemy'. On April 26 2006, a proposal to ban the niqab in France from all 'Republican territories' was discussed at the National Assembly under the title of 'Law proposal seeking to fight against infringements to women's dignity resulting from certain religious practices' by Jacques Myard from the centre-right UMP.[34] The proposal recommends criminalizing both the practice of wearing and the encouragement to wear the niqab, as well as expelling foreigners found guilty of the offence, again based on the need to defend *laïcité*. The initiative eventually led to a complete ban of the burqa in France in 2010.

The law took effect in April 2011, and there have been varied responses to the ban, with supporters stating that 'The face is a [sic] dignity of a person. The face is your passport . . . so when you refuse me to see you, I am a victim', and covered women responding that 'under no circumstances [will I] stop wearing my veil'.[35] The ban received worldwide media coverage since it was the first measure of its sort in Europe and beyond. The international public outside of Europe mostly reacted with astonishment at the apparent infringement of human rights in (formerly) liberal Europe and openly questioned the effectiveness – as not the aggressors but the presumed victims are punished – and proportionality – very small numbers of women actually wear the burqa in Europe – of the ban.[36]

Other countries experienced similar restrictive actions. In 2010, the Belgian lower house of parliament passed a ban on the burqa as the first country in Europe, which couldn't be enforced until 2011 for lack of a legitimate government. This is remarkable due to the country's non-explicit secular character, which stands in stark contrast to France's clear stance on *laïcité*. The law was authored by Daniel Bacquelaine, who said that the 'burqa is incompatible with basic security as everyone in public must be recognizable and clashes with the principles of an emancipated society that respects the rights of all'.[37] The lower house of parliament overwhelmingly voted in favour of the law; not a single MP voted against the measure and two people abstained.[38] Both Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch called upon members to vote against the law.

In the Netherlands, when the far-right MP Geert Wilders suggested in 2005 that a ban on the burqa was necessary for 'security reasons', Minister Verdonk happily took up the suggestion and promised to investigate the matter.[39] The investigation eventually led to the approval by the Dutch cabinet of the ban in all public spaces in January 2012, which was supposed to take effect in 2013 but was not implemented. Critics have argued that the number of Muslim women actually wearing the burqa in the Netherlands is so small (ranging from a handful to around 100) that a special 'legal ban on the burqa' mainly serves political interests of politicians who want to show that they are 'tough on Islam'. In several Dutch cities, such as Amsterdam and Utrecht, policy proposals have been introduced to reduce the unemployment benefits for women wearing a burqa. Local authorities argue that by wearing it, women seriously reduce their chances of finding a job in the Netherlands. At the time of this writing, the law was not passed yet.

In Germany, the Christian Democrats (CDU) of the state of Hesse have reignited the debate on the January 2012 burqa ban. Politician Alexander Bauer led the discussion on behalf of his party, which also is inclined to impose a ban on full-face veils. People have to be willing to 'show their face' if they live in Germany, he is alleged to have said.[40] As in France, it has become a major political issue.

In the same vein, Britain has declared that it would not follow France in banning Muslim women from wearing a burqa in public as such a move would run contrary to the conventions of a 'tolerant and respectful society'. Immigration Minister Damian Green said that the move to ban women from wearing veils would be 'rather un-British', in an interview with *The Sunday Telegraph*, despite a recent opinion poll showing widespread public support for such an action. Claiming it would be 'undesirable' for Parliament to vote on a burqa ban in Britain similar to that approved in France, he said:

> We're a tolerant and mutually respectful society . . . Very few women in France actually wear the burqa. They [the French parliament] are doing it for demonstration effects. The French political culture is very different. They are an aggressively secular state. They can ban the burqa, they ban crucifixes in schools, and things like that. We have schools run explicitly by religions. I think there's absolutely no read-across to immigration policy from what the French are doing about the burqa.[41]

The Minister's comments could have dismayed the growing number of British supporters of such a ban – a 'YouGov' survey found in July 2010 that 67 per cent of respondents wanted the wearing of full-face veils to be made illegal. His comments also came after the new head of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) said that the United Kingdom was the most welcoming country in Europe for Muslims.[42]

Islamic slaughter (halal meat)

Finally, restrictions on the practice of Islam also encompass rules regarding the slaughter of halal meat. Unlike the Jewish community in Germany, the Muslim community is not generally permitted to slaughter animals according to the rules of Islam (halal). A 2002 decision of the German Supreme Court, however, allowed Muslims to receive exceptional permission for slaughter during Islamic feasts without anaesthetizing the animal. In North Rhine-Westphalia, exceptions are granted on the condition that customers are practising Muslims and bound to eating halal meat according to religious traditions.[43] Yet, this exception concerns Alawis specifically.[44]

In the Netherlands, the debate on halal slaughter methods poses significant problems as well. Despite the attempts of the Dutch Party for Animals to impose a ban on ritual killings in 2011, the Dutch Senate rejected such a law later that year.[45] Instead, the government insisted that new research be initiated to identify ways to slaughter animals that are in line with both animal rights standards and ritual procedure.[46] It agreed to such a measure after an earlier decision of the lower house outlawing ritual killing methods of animals was met with an outcry from the public, including Muslims and Jews, on the grounds that it was an infringement upon religious freedom.[47]

In France, the controversial discussion on halal meat flared up during the 2012 presidential elections, which made political fodder for left-wing detractors. President Sarkozy's decision to make the labelling of halal meat an election issue by vocally denouncing the practice in public speeches has infuriated Muslims and disappointed many who oppose far-right Front National leader Marine Le Pen's discriminatory tactics. Both leaders were accused in the press of 'whipping up an artificial controversy' in desperate attempts to appease voters. Kamel Saidi, a halal restaurant owner in his thirties, commented that '[i]t is depressing that all we are trying to do is find our place in society, and there is no recognition of this, just suspicion. Once again, it's as if the whole Muslim community is suspect.'[48]

In search of the good Muslim: how European states are reshaping Islam

One of the fundamental principles of secularity, differentiation of religion and politics, does not actually equate to the separation of church and state. If this were the case, France would be the only secular country in Europe. Rather, it refers to differentiation *and* cooperation between church and state.

The differentiation takes three main forms across Europe and the United States. The first form includes the existence of a state religion as well as the extension of rights to other religious groups, as is the case in the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries. The second form entails formal agreements of cooperation between state and religious institutions, as is the case in Belgium, Germany, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. The third form is the separation between state and religious institutions, as is the case for France and the United States.

Cooperation between state and religious institutions also is implemented in different ways: either the state provides for the teaching of religion in public schools and grants religious organizations free access to public-owned media, or it gives direct/indirect funding to religious institutions.[49] Usually, religious organizations must comply with specific state requirements in order to receive this conditional support. For example, religious groups must organize local and national representative bodies to serve as counterparts to state institutions. In countries where a denominational teaching of religion is offered in public schools, as is the case in Germany and Spain, the religious community is required to design a central religious authority that serves as an interlocutor with the state. This authority gives credentials to teachers who teach in public schools, cooperates with state agencies to train the teachers, and approves curricula. For groups with strong religious infrastructure, like the Catholic Church, such requirements are easy to fulfill. But for other groups, like Muslims, such institutions have often been built from scratch. The situation is very different in the case of American secularism, which does necessitate the same level of cooperation between the state and religious organizations. There is no need for a grand mufti or centralized religious institution to serve as interlocutor with state or national government.

Due to these particular circumstances, facilitating the cooperation between the state and Muslim groups has been a common concern of European governments and has led to the creation of Muslim representative bodies in Belgium, Spain, and France. For state agents, these bodies are aimed at reducing the gap between the political and legal status enjoyed by other religious groups and Muslims. They also are seen as a way to assuage feelings of discrimination that could potentially fuel Islamic radicalism and, ultimately, to ensure that the leadership of Muslim organizations falls into the hands of 'moderates'.[50]

As noted by many scholars from Fetzer and Soper to Laurence,[51] these representative bodies are the outcome of successive state actions to create umbrella organizations by gathering the most 'representative' Islamic organizations and facilitating elections from the Muslim population to create institutions (assembly and executive committee). Even in the United Kingdom, the MCB has gained status as a representative body, especially after the 7/7 attacks and the increasing concern on security.

Interestingly, this institutional integration of Islam within the dominant framework of European secularisms shows the willingness – even the eagerness in some cases – of major Muslim organizations to cooperate with the state. However, such cooperation is rarely presented in the public discourse as a positive sign of Muslim integration within secular cultures, and the dominant rhetoric continues to describe Islam in opposition to secularism.

At a deeper and even less explored level, the state has become an active agent in reshaping Islam by creating new Islamic institutions and leaders. Those leaders are state-appointed or bureaucratic leaders who often compete or conflict with other religious leaders who derive their authority from other sources, such as scholarly expertise or transnational networks.

The heads of the new representative bodies are increasingly supplanting the bureaucratic leaders of the countries of origin,[52] revealing a profile of leadership tailored to the specifics of European secular states. Most of them have secular backgrounds with some Islamic knowledge. For example, Mohammed Moussaoui, the current head of the CFCM in France, born in East Morocco, became a French citizen in 2008. He obtained his diploma in mathematics and physics in 1984 in Morocco, and his doctorate in mathematics in 1990 from the University of Montpellier. In Morocco he received training in theology and delivered *khotbas* (Friday sermons) for twenty years. He was elected president of the French Council of Muslim Faith (CFCM) and currently holds this position today.[53]

Şemsettin Uğurlu, president of The Executives of Belgian Muslims, is a Turkish Belgian-born Muslim with training in Islamic studies. Before becoming president he was an imam and professor of Islamic religion in Belgium. Additionally, Isabelle Praile, vice president of the organization, is a Belgian-born convert to Shi'ism with a secular background.

The main role of these bodies is to support state actions toward Islam, especially when these actions are seen as hostile to some Islamic practices. For example, Dalil Boubakeur, who in 2003 was the head of the CFCM, initially expressed disagreement with the project of a bill to ban religious signs in French public schools. However, after President Jacques Chirac's speech on December 17 2003, supporting the bill, Boubakeur changed his position and made an announcement asking Muslims to respect the law if it passed and urging them not to protest. Other members of the CFCM, on the other hand, such as vice president Fouad Alaoui (leader of UOIF, one of the major Islamic organizations in France) criticized the proposed law. In the end the CFCM's decision not to contest the 2004 headscarf ban has been cited as one reason for its relatively 'seamless-execution'.[54] Dalil Boubakeur was willing to concede that the ban might be in the best interests of the common good when he stated 'we believe Muslims must embrace a modern form of Islam in the name of the Republic'.[55]

The CFCM leadership provided the same support to the French state at the time of the debate on the ban of the niqab in 2010. Mohammad Moussaoui declared that he was 'opposed to the *full veil* and would try to convince the tiny minority of veiled women that it was not a religious obligation and was out of place in France'.[56] He also declared, 'Nobody accepts it . . . A veiled woman cannot have a normal social life.'[57] At the same time, the CFCM 'warned the government not to expect it to impose a planned ban on full-face veils for women'. They said they wouldn't impose it on their mosque-goers or be instructed to force the women to unveil. And they said that they would not 'act as agents of the state' in helping enforce the ban.[58]

In sum, these new bureaucratic leaders act as mediators between state administrations and Muslim populations. This role was particularly visible at the time of the cartoons crisis when the CFCM leaders were able to call for moderation while at the same time express their disapproval of the caricatures. Initially, Dalil Boubakeur was extremely critical of the newspaper *Le Soir*'s publication of the twelve caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad (first made notorious by the Danish daily *Jyllands-Posten*). The CFCM threatened to sue [*Le Soir*] but decided against litigation after the newspaper's owner fired the editor. In his condemnation of the publication, Dalil Boubakeur rejected the idea that Muslim objection to the publication was a sign of radicalism. 'We attach enormous importance to this image,' he said, 'and we will not allow it to be distorted. I myself oppose the extremist forms of Islam; we reject this parallel.' As a result, the reactions of French Muslims were more muted than in other European countries including the United Kingdom.[59]

At a less explicit level, these representative bodies work as political tools to 'civilize' Islam by shaping the image of the 'good Muslim'. This 'ideal' good Muslim is loyal to state institutions and values; subordinates *shari'a* to state law; refuses transnational allegiances like the Muslim brotherhood; distances himself from ethnic-national allegiances; and supports gender equality and freedom of speech. Through the state's controlling actions, 'Muslim' becomes a political category palatable to the specificity of the country's public culture. Case in point, some individual members of the German Islamic Conference present themselves by referring to categories such as secular, liberal, or conservative to address public or social issues pertaining to Islam.

According to this nomenclature approved by the German Islamic Conference, a 'secular' Muslim advocates the limitation of Islamic practices to private space and rejects Islamism. Turgut Yüksel, a sociologist and founder of the 'Initiative for secular Muslims in Hessen', is emblematic of this secular good Muslim of Germany. Similarly, Gönül Halat-Mec, a lawyer who specializes in family law with special focus on migrants, promotes the idea that religion should be a personal and private matter only and critiques religious doctrines that discriminate against women and conflict with the plural democratic societal order.[60]

The 'liberal' is different from the secular Muslim, in the sense that he or she expresses attachment to the social visibility of Islam as long as it does not conflict with liberal principles of human rights. Bernd Ridwan Bauknech, a teacher of Islamic studies at a public school, is one of those liberal Muslims whose goal is to assist Muslim students and youngsters in their integration in society without losing their Islamic identity. Sineb el Masrar, chief editor of the women and migrant magazine *Gazelle*, stands for the recognition of Muslims and their contribution to German society. Another example is Bülent Ucar, professor of Islamic religious education, who promotes mutual participation and recognition between Muslims and non-Muslims as fundamental parts of the integration process. He also advocates state support for the education of imams in Germany.[61]

The 'conservative' Muslim category includes traditional religious leaders. Abdelmalik Hibaoui, an imam and preacher, expects the Islam Conference to support the creation of Islamic theology centres at universities. Tuba Isik-Yigit, affiliated with the Center for Theology and

Cultural Sciences at the University of Paderborn, also supports the establishment of centres for theology training and provides support to veiled women.[62]

Strikingly, state involvement in the redefinition of the good Muslim persona constitutes an unprecedented breach of the rule of non-interference of political institutions with the internal function of a religious group, which is one of the foundational principles of secular legal tradition. Such intrusions have consequences for the internal organization of Islam in Europe by producing new leaders. At the same time, their influence is undermined by international and transnational religious authorities who have a more decisive appeal on Muslim groups. Interestingly, the consequences of these state initiatives have never really been discussed in public space. In fact, there is very little probability that they will be. More heated discussions have taken centre stage in European public discourse, about the ability of Muslims to disconnect religious convictions from public behaviors.

Conclusion

Securitization and secularism shed light on the rise of values-centred liberalism which pitches itself against the recognition of religious and cultural diversity. For example, British Prime Minister David Cameron declared in February 2011 at the annual Munich Security Conference of world leaders: 'Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and much more active, muscular liberalism.'[63] It is important to emphasize that, historically, political liberalism at the foundation of Western democracies is not necessarily incompatible with the recognition of pluralism. Based on the principle of toleration, the liberal state is traditionally expected to grant equality to citizens of all religious and cultural backgrounds.[64]

In contrast, the new liberal discourse sees recognition of minority rights as a threat to freedom of expression and women's rights which are apprehended as the core values of national communities. Hence, it advocates a strong cultural integration of newcomers. As a consequence it has created very significant policy shifts in countries usually characterized by multiculturalism, like the United Kingdom or the Netherlands, in favour of greater cultural homogeneity.

This 'new integrationism' is widely shared across European countries and, interestingly, promoted by former left-wing activists. Gender equality and rejection of religious authority, which were primary left-wing topics of struggle in the 1960s, have become in the present decade the legitimate markers of European identity.[65]

In these conditions, all groups and individuals are required to demonstrate conformity to these liberal values in order to become legitimate members of national communities. The good Muslims label discussed above serves this purpose. It creates a distinction that is supposedly not based on Islam as such but on the adherence of Muslims to liberal values.

This new integrationist discourse goes hand in hand with states' active policies to transform the behaviours and identities of their Muslim citizens. For example, state-led production of Muslim subjects with the correct moral identity is reflected in various policies: values tests and oaths of allegiance for would-be migrants and citizens; recruitment of good Muslims as state-sponsored role models and community leaders; formal and informal restrictions on Islamic practices seen as extremist or illiberal.

All these policies can be summed up as an attempt to civilize the enemy. Such a project is not only a speech act but translates into discreet or invisible regulations/ limitations on Muslim cultural and social practices. Interestingly, most Muslims we interviewed reveal that they are already 'civilized' and are trying to find commonality with the dominant group. Most of the time, however, they are silenced or reduced to the reification of their bodies, dress, or minarets.

Notes

1 The chapter is based on excerpts from Jocelyne Cesari, *Why the West Fears Islam: Exploration of Muslims in Liberal Democracies*, Palgrave, 2013, chapters 5 and 6, by agreement with the publisher.
2 Laustsen and Waever, *International Relations Return Exile*, 147–75.
3 Bigo, 'Security and immigration', 63–92.
4 'A Lyon, Débat Sur Les Motifs l'expulsion', *Le Monde*, July 1, 2005.
5 'Violence contre les femmes', *Le Figaro*, June 22, 2005.
6 Tijssen, *Inburgering van geestelijke bedienaren*.
7 There are currently two institutions dedicated to the training of imams, the Muslim College in London which was established in 1981, and the Markfield Institute of Higher Education in Leicestershire, with an ambitious set of courses which was established in 2000. 'Islam in the United Kingdom'.
8 Ibid.
9 Mukadam and Scott-Baumann, *Development of Muslim Leaders*, 9.
10 'Councillor shuts down committee for ex-Muslims', Expatica.
11 'Berlin Muslims to train imams at new Islamic school', *Deutsche Welle World*.
12 'New program aims to integrate Germany's foreign-trained imams', *Deutsche Welle World*.
13 'Lateral Thinkers Wanted,' *Qantara.de*, November 8, 2010, http://www.euro-islam.info/2010/09/06/islamic-theology-in-germany-poses-great-challenges-to-universities/.
14 Akbaba and Fox, 'Religious discrimination against Muslim minorities in Christian majority countries: A unique case?" 449–70.
15 Brandy and Kleinhubbert, 'Anti-Islamic party is playing with fear'.
16 Cumming-Bruce and Erlanger, 'Swiss ban building of minarets on mosques'.
17 McLoughlin, 'Mosques and public space'.
18 Frégosi, *Conditions d'exercice culte musulman en France*.
19 Internal Security Service, *democratische rechtsorde en*, 2002, https://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/aivd2004-eng.pdf.
20 Driessen and Merry, 'Islamic schools in three Western countries', 422.
21 Ibid., 427.
22 Driessen and Merry, 'Islamic schools in the Netherlands', 214–223.
23 Bauer, Kaddor, and Strobel, *Islamischer Religionsunterricht*.
24 Though the definition of Muslim is derived from country of origin and leaves out any notion of self-definition.
25 Behr, Bochinger and Klinkhammer, *Perspektiven Für Die Ausbildung*.
26 Relating to the so-called 'Bremer Klausel' (clause of Bremen), Berlin has a different law according to religious teaching at public schools. Therefore the Islamic Federation in Berlin was able to obtain the right to carry out Islamic teaching in Berlin's public schools in the year 2003.
27 Which is linked to Milli Gorus due to the 'Islamist' background of the federation (Milli Gorus, the Turkish Islamist group prior to the creation of the AKP).
28 Freedom of religion, guaranteed by article four of the German Basic Law, includes the right to believe or not to believe, to practise or not to practise one's faith in public, and to maintain religious institutions and organizations. More specifically, religious communities – as well as other ideological groups – can be recognized as corporations of public law (*Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts*) to whom the state cedes substantial parts of its sovereign rights (Art. 140 of the Basic Law in combination with Art. 137 of the Weimar Constitution).
29 For more information visit http://www.ams-uk.org/.
30 'Islam in the United Kingdom'.
31 See http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/life_and_style/education/article2409948.ece (accessed May 19 2008).
32 Cesari, 'Securitization and religious divides in Europe'.

33 An overview of the laws on dress codes at state schools show that they are more or less neutrally formulated, but in each case it becomes obvious that the legislation intends to ban only the Muslim headscarf.

- Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria (both 2004) have established a school law against specific religious symbols worn by teachers which 'threaten to disrupt the political or religious concord in schools'. Christian signs are not considered to be threatening to disturb the political or religious concord of the school.
- Hessen (2004) extended its law against specific religious symbols (except Christian signs and symbols) on all state personnel, i.e. not only teachers.
- Saarland and Lower Saxony (2004) have established a law against religious or political demonstrations that are contrary to the neutrality of the state and the religious school peace. They do not directly mention exceptions for Christian symbols, but stress the Christian-based values of education at state schools.
- In Berlin, a law against all signs of religiosity which allow to identify persons as members of a specific religious group (no exception for Christian or 'occidental' signs or symbols is mentioned) was put into power in 2005. The law includes personnel at schools, courts and police departments.
- In Bremen (2005) the school law has been changed in so far as teachers in state schools now have to refrain from making their personal faith public, either by words or with signs or symbols. As training programmess are part of the academic teacher education, the consequence is that students with headscarves are not able to complete their training. It is highly questionable if this legal restriction is in line with article 9 of the German Basic Constitutional Law (freedom of choice in education).
- North Rhine-Westphalia is actually on the way to establishing a law against specific religious symbols worn by teachers which 'threaten to disrupt the political or religious concord in schools'. Here – like in Baden-Württemberg or Bavaria – Christian signs are not considered to disturb the political or religious concord in school.
- The five 'new states' (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt, Thüringen and Brandenburg) are not preoccupied with this issue due to a still negligible part of the society being of Muslim faith.

The Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration criticizes the current legislation against teachers wearing a headscarf at German schools in her last report on migrants as anti-integrative and biased against Muslims in general, especially against Muslim women (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration*, 244). All these laws are open to the interpretative question of how far a headscarf can be identified as a demonstration of religiosity or political demonstration against the neutrality of the state.

The Ludin case demonstrates that German state authorities, much like a considerable part of the population, still tend to regard the headscarf in general as evidence of an undemocratic, theocratic, and thus dogmatic world view. Veiled teachers are suspected of imposing a backward world view on their pupils. They are considered as a potential danger for a democratic and tolerant education.

34 Proposal N° 3056.

35 Newcomb, 'France first European country to ban burqa'.

36 Official estimates put the number of women wearing the full Islamic veil in France at around 2,000; Samuel, 'Burka ban'.

37 Wielaard, 'Belgian lawmakers pass burqa ban'.

38 Waterfield, 'Belgian MPs vote to ban burqa'.

39 'Dutch toughest ban burqa,' *Times Online*, October 2005.

40 'CDU Fordert Burkaverbot in Der Öffentlichkeit'.

41 'U.K. minister opposes ban'.

42 'Britain not to ban Muslim women from wearing burqa'.
43 'Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration', 246.
44 The Alevis are classified as a specific sect within Shia Islam, separate from the dominant Sunni constituency.
45 'Dutch compromise on Jews and Muslims ritual slaughter'.
46 Gordts, 'Netherlands ritual slaughter ban canceled'.
47 Ibid.
48 Willsher, 'France's Muslims hit back at Sarkozy's policy on halal meat'.
49 Robbers, *State and Church in the European Union*.
50 Fetzer and Soper, 'Explaining and accommodation Muslim religious practices'; Laurence, *Emancipation of Europe's Muslims*.
51 Fetzer and Soper, *Muslims and the State*.
52 Bureaucratic leaders in Islam are leaders paid by or otherwise associated with the Islamic institutions of influential Muslim countries. In Europe, this influence was exerted throughout the 1960s via national associations or other secular groups. Since the 1980s, however, religious organizations have become the primary means of keeping control over expatriate Muslim populations. This influence is exerted by countries such as Algeria, Morocco, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia through associations like the World Islamic League. Paris, Madrid, Milan, Brussels, and Geneva are all home to large mosques controlled by the governments of Algeria, Morocco, or Saudi Arabia. The most recent of these is the mosque of Berlin, which opened in December 5, 2003. This mosque is run by the DITIB (Islamic Union of Turkish Religious Affairs), the religious arm of the Turkish State in Germany.
53 CFCM's official websites is http://www.embnet.be/.
54 Sebia, 'Euro-Islam'.
55 Ibid.
56 Ireland, 'French Muslim Council warns government on veil ban'.
57 Heneghan, 'French Muslim Council warns government on veil ban'.
58 The reaction to the burqa ban from other representative bodies in Europe was not as conciliatory. In Belgium, a 2009 law made the niqab or any type of face veil subject to penalties, ranging from fines to jail punishment up to seven days. 'Belgium first to ban burqa and niqab in public spaces,' *Daily News Egypt*, April 2, 2010, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Belgium+first+to+ban+burqa+and+niqab+in+public+spaces.-a0222856604. Şemsettin Uğurlu, president of the Muslim Executive of Belgium, says the ban goes against the right to freedom to practise religion in Belgium: 'We are in a democratic country and every citizen is free to act.' In the same vein, Isabelle Praile, the vice president of the Muslim Executive of Belgium, warned that the law could set a dangerous precedent. 'Today it's the full-face veil, tomorrow the veil, the day after it will be Sikh turbans and then perhaps it will be mini skirts,' she said. 'The wearing of a full-face veil is part of the individual freedoms [protected by Belgian, European and international rights laws].' Additionally, Praile stated, 'Personally, I think this law is racist and sexist, because it is again a way to stigmatize Muslims and to maintain the idea that they are dangerous, that they are some extremists or terrorists.'
59 Arnold, 'Multicultural Europe blamed for cartoon crisis'.
60 Interview with Hamideh Mohagheghi.
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 'State multiculturalism has failed'.
64 Nussbaum, *The New Religious Intolerance.*
65 Kundnani, *Spooked: How Not To Prevent Violent Extremism*.

References

'A Lyon, Débat Sur Les Motifs De L'expulsion D'Abdelkader Bouziane'. *Le Monde*, July 1 2005.

Akbaba, Yasemin, and Jonathan Fox. 'Religious discrimination against Muslim minorities in Christian majority countries: A unique case?' *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 12.4 (2011): 449–70.

Arnold, Martin. 'Multicultural Europe blamed for cartoon crisis'. *Financial Times*, February 26 2006. http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/58fa26fc-a5a3-11da-bf34-0000779e2340.html#axzz1yGPpcVxT. Accessed July 23 2012.

Bauer, Thomas, Kaddor, Lamya and Strobel, Katja (eds.) *Islamischer Religionsunterricht: Hintergründe, Probleme, Perspektiven*. Münster: Lit, 2004.

Behr, Harry Harun, Bochinger, Chistoph and Klinkhammer, Gritt. *Perspektiven Für Die Ausbildung Muslimischer Religionslehrerinnen Und Religionslehrer in Deutschland. Eine Expertise*. Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät Universität Karlsruhe, 2003.

'Belgium first to ban burqa and niqab in public spaces'. *Daily News Egypt*, April 2 2010. http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Belgium first to ban burqa and niqab in public spaces.-a0222856604. Accessed July 23 2012.

'Bericht Der Beauftragten Der Bundesregierung Für Migration, Flüchtlinge Und Integration Über Die Lage Der Ausländerinnen Und Ausländer in Deutschland'. Berlin: *Beauftragte Der Bundesregierung Für Migration, Flüchtlinge Und Integration*, 2005: 246.

'Berlin Muslims to train imams at new Islamic school | Germany | DW.DE | 17.01.2009'. *Deutsche Welle World*, January 27 2009. http://www.dw.de/berlin-muslims-to-train-imams-at-new-islamic-school/a-3937857-1. Accessed April 20 2015.

Bigo, D. 'Security and immigration: Toward a critique of the governmentality of unease'. *Alternatives* 27 (2002): 67–92.

Brandy, Andrea and Kleinhubbert, Guido. 'Anti-Islamic party is playing with fear'. Spiegel Online International, March 20 2008. http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,526225,00.html. Accessed March 20 2012.

'Britain not to ban Muslim women from wearing burqa'. Outlookindia.com, July 18 2010. http://news.outlookindia.com/item.aspx?687834. Accessed October 22 2012.

'CDU Fordert Burkaverbot in Der Öffentlichkeit'. FrankfurterRundschau, January 12, 2012. http://www.fr-online.de/rhein-main/integrationspolitik-cdu-fordert-burkaverbot-in-der-oeffentlichkeit,1472796,11437410.html. Accessed October 22 2012.

Cesari, Jocelyne. 'Securitization and religious divides in Europe'. http://www.libertysecurity.org/rubrique20.html. Accessed October 7 2015.

'Councillor shuts down committee for ex-Muslims'. Expatica, April 17 2008. http://www.expatica.com/nl/news/local_news/Councillor-shuts-down-committee-for-ex_Muslims.html. Accessed April 20 2015.

Cumming-Bruce, Nick, and Steven Erlanger. 'Swiss ban building of minarets on mosques'. *The New York Times*, November 29 2009. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/30/world/europe/30swiss.html. Accessed April 20 2015.

'De Democratische Rechtsorde En Islamitisch Onderwijs: Buitenlandse Inmenging En Anti-integratieve Tendensen'. 2002. https://www.aivd.nl/actueel/@2234/democratische/. Accessed October 22 2012.

Driessen, Geert and Michael S. Merry. 'Islamic schools in three Western countries: Policy and procedure'. *Comparative Education* 41: 4 (2005): 422–7.

Driessen, Geert and Michael S. Merry. 'Islamic schools in the Netherlands: Expansion or marginalization?' *Interchange* 37: 3 (2006): 201–23.

'Dutch compromise on Jews and Muslims ritual slaughter'. Ahlul Bayt News Agency, June 7 2012. http://abna.ir/data.asp?lang=3&Id=320472. Accessed October 22 2012.

Fetzer, Joel S. and Soper, J. 'Explaining and accommodation of Muslim religious practices in France, Britain and Germany'. Speech, Muslims in Western Europe Politics Conference, Bloomington, Indiana, September 22 2005.

Fetzer, Joel S. and Soper, J. Christopher. *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Frégosi, F. (ed.) 'Les Conditions D'exercice Du Culte Musulman En France: étude De Cas à Partir Des Lieux De Culte Et Des Carrés Musulmans'. *FASILD* 13 (2004).

Gordts, Eline. 'Netherlands ritual slaughter ban canceled, cabinet adopts new guidelines'. *The Huffington Post*. December 21 2012. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/12/21/netherlands-ritual-slaughter-ban_n_1162675.html. Accessed December 23 2012.

Heneghan, Tom. 'French Muslim council warns government on veil ban'. Reuters. June 4 2010. http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/06/04/us-france-veil-muslims-idUSTRE6532TB20100604. Accessed July 23 2012.

'Interview with Hamideh Mohagheghi'. ZDF.de. http://www.zdf.de/ZDFmediathek/beitrag/video/1613954/Erloesung-im-Islam#/beitrag/video/1613954/Erloesung-im-Islam. Accessed July 23 2012.

Ireland, Louise. 'French Muslim council warns government on veil ban'. Reuters India, June 4 2010. http://in.reuters.com/article/2010/06/04/idINIndia-49050320100604. Accessed July 22 2012.

'Islam in France'. Euro-Islam.info. http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/france/. Accessed January 31 2012.

'Islam in the United Kingdom'. Euro-Islam.info. http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/united-kingdom/. Accessed April 20 2015.

Kundnani, Arun. *Spooked: How Not To Prevent Violent Extremism*. London: Institute of Race Relations, 2009.

'Lateral thinkers wanted'. Qanatrda.de. November 8 2010. http://www.euro-islam.info/2010/09/06/islamic-theology-in-germany-poses-great-challenges-to-universities/. Accessed April 20 2015.

Laurence, Jonathan, (ed.) *The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims: The State's Role in Minority Integration*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012.

Laustsen, Carsten Bagge and Waever, Ole 'In defence of religion: sacred referents object for securitization'. *Millenium, Journal of International Studies*, 29: 3(2000): 705–39.

McLoughlin, Seán. 'Mosques and the public space: conflict and cooperation in Bradford'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31: 6 (2005): 1045–66.

Mukadam, Mohamed and Scott-Baumann, Alison. *The Training and Development of Muslim Faith Leaders*. London: Crown, 2010, 9.

'New program aims to integrate Germany's foreign-trained imams'. *Deutsche Welle World*, December 11 2009, http://www.euro-islam.info/2009/12/11/new-program-aims-to-integrate-germany%E2%80%99s-foreign-trained-imams/. Accessed October 7 2015.

Newcomb, Alyssa. 'France to become first european country to ban burqa'. ABC News, April 10 2011. http://abcnews.go.com/International/burqa-ban-effect-france/story?id=13344555#.T2ooaxHpMi0. Accessed October 22 2012.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven. *The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012.

Robbers, Gerhard. *State and Church in the European Union*. Baden-Baden: Baden-Baden, 2005.

Samuel, Henry. 'Burka ban: French women fined for wearing full-face veil.' *The Daily Telegraph*, September 20, 2011. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/8781241/Burqa-ban-French-women-fined-for-wearing-full-face-veil.html. Accessed October 22: 2012.

'State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron'. BBC News, February 5 2011. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12371994. Accessed July 27 2012.

Tijssen, Marli. *Inburgering Van Geestelijke Bedienaren: Een Handleiding Voor Gemeenten*. The Hague: Ministerie Van Binnenlandse Zaken En Koninkrijksrelaties, 2001.

'U.K. immigration minister opposes ban on face veils'. Islamtoday.net, July 20 2010. http://en.islamtoday.net/artshow-229-3722.htm. Accessed October 22 2012.

'Violence Contre Les Femmes: L'imam Bouziane Relaxé'. *Le Figaro*, June 22 2005.

Waterfield, Bruno. 'Belgian MPs vote to ban the burqa'. *The Daily Telegraph*. April 29 2010. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/belgium/7653814/Belgian-MPs-vote-to-ban-the-burqa.html. Accessed June 22 2012.

Wielaard, Robert. 'Belgian lawmakers pass burqa ban'. *The Huffington Post*. April 29 2010. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/04/30/belgian-lawmakers-pass-bu_n_558284.html. Accessed October 22 2012.

Willsher, Kim. 'France's Muslim hit back at Nicolas Sarkozy's policy on halal meat'. *The Guardian*. March 10 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/10/nicolas-sarkozy-halal-meat-france-election. Accessed June 19 2012.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

PART III

Religion and international relations

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

15

POSTSECULARISM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Luca Mavelli and Erin K. Wilson

UNIVERSITY OF KENT, UK AND GRONINGEN UNIVERSITY, THE NETHERLANDS

Introduction

Postsecularism has gained increasing relevance within and beyond international relations (IR) in recent years. Within IR, the term has been employed primarily in two different yet interconnected ways. First, postsecularism has operated descriptively to explain the return or resilience of religious traditions in modern life. This has produced two different responses. On the one hand, scholars have attempted to develop conceptual frameworks that move beyond the dominant assumptions of secularisation theory in order to explain religion's surprising persistence in late modernity. On the other hand, there have been calls for the development of new models of politics able to include religious views. Such calls represent the second and more innovative meaning attributed to postsecularism, in which it operates as a form of radical theorising and critique prompted by the idea that values such as democracy, freedom, equality, inclusion, and justice may not necessarily be best pursued within an exclusively immanent secular framework. Quite the opposite, the secular may be a site of isolation, domination, violence, and exclusion.

The thriving debate on religion in international politics originally revolved around the 'return of religion' in IR. Scholars have focused on how religion could be incorporated into existing conceptual and political frameworks by exploring its contribution to processes of modernisation, democratisation, and peace building and its wider implications for future world orders. The recent debate on postsecularism, however, has more radical connotations which encompass the idea of a paradigm shift. This is an attempt to move beyond the secular and thus the secular/religious divide, which can be considered one of the foundational dimensions of Western secular modernity. The question raised by the postsecular, then, is not just one of incorporation of the presence of religion into existing theoretical frameworks, but one of conceptual innovation to account for a transformation which invests the very structures of consciousness and power, and existing understandings of political community.

The importance of this transformation surfaces in recent writings from Jürgen Habermas, the thinker who, probably more than anyone else, has contributed to igniting the current debate on postsecularism. For Habermas, postsecularism is a 'change in consciousness' that

characterises traditionally secular societies, such as European ones.[1] This change stems from, on the one hand, the emergence of increasingly pluralistic societies, where a growing number of citizens are bearers of religious convictions, which calls for the elaboration of new frameworks of public engagement and civic coexistence; and, on the other, from the crisis of secularism and secular consciousness, characterised by a progressive fragmentation of values and an underlying incapacity to address pressing ethical and political questions (such as euthanasia or social justice) in a context of increasing neoliberal globalisation.[2] These two questions, according to Habermas, demand new sources of moral inspiration and interpretation and suggest that 'the modernization of public consciousness' can no longer be conceived solely as the secularisation of religious sensibilities, but demands a reflexive cooperative effort of both secular and religious mentalities.[3] Religion can thus act as a reservoir of moral resources for the secular domain.

The debate on postsecularism has primarily focused on the normative implications of this argument by discussing the possibility of 'a model of law and politics in which religious arguments are not excluded from political debate',[4] in order to face the challenges of pluralism, cohesion and integration in a globalised world in which secularism no longer seems, or does not always seem, to be capable of providing the framework in which democratic participation, freedom, equality, justice, and inclusion may be achieved. A second, interconnected but less studied, dimension of postsecularism concerns the underlying politics of resistance that characterises this concept. Once again Habermas seems to suggest this path when he argues that postsecularism is an attempt to rescue a 'pure practical reason' that 'can no longer be so confident in its ability to counteract a modernization spinning out of control armed solely with the insights of a theory of justice' and to oppose the disruptive forces of 'markets and administrative powers' which 'are displacing social solidarity'.[5] As Mariano Barbato points out, postsecularism for Habermas is the use of 'religious semantic potential' to oppose 'the pathologies of neoliberal modernisation and globalisation'.[6] Similarly, Paul Cloke and Justin Beaumont describe it as 'an expression of resistance to prevailing injustices under neoliberal global capitalism, and an energy and hope in something that brings more justice for all citizens'.[7]

This chapter introduces these two dimensions of the contemporary debate on postsecularism in IR. It starts by looking at Habermas' understanding of postsecularism and argues that, despite its merit and achievements, his perspective is shaped by an ultimately secular logic that reduces religion to a set of cognitive choices and a function in broader processes of social production, using it instrumentally to address the crisis of secularism by leaving the political authority of the latter fundamentally unchallenged. This, in turn, neglects religion as tradition, practice, and lived experience. These problems, we argue, rest on a disembodied and cognitive understanding of religion and, accordingly, of postsecularism. In the second section we discuss the role of emotions in shaping a contending 'embodied' understanding of postsecularism and provide an empirical illustration of this argument by exploring the 2011 Egyptian revolution. The discussion highlights how postsecularism cannot solely be conceived as a cooperative cognitive effort between secular and religious mentalities, but also as a form of resistance sustained by embodied practices. In the third section, we analyse how cognitive and embodied understandings of postsecularism need not be seen in opposition but can actually work in cooperation. This, however, also requires reconsideration of the traditional boundaries between secularism and religion, and taking into account the authority of secularism as a power/knowledge regime that shapes contemporary understanding of religiosity and practices of solidarity. To illustrate this argument, we explore contemporary discourses

surrounding migration, particularly those concerning responsibility for the deaths of migrants crossing the Mediterranean in the attempt to reach Europe and how they reproduce in a secular fashion an underlying theological argument that blames the migrants for their own deaths. We then discuss how faith-based organisations may be considered postsecular agents who resist this logic, and whose contribution encompasses *both* reasoned argumentations in the public sphere and embodied practices of solidarity towards migrants. The conclusion explores some of the implications of the arguments advanced in the chapter for future research agendas on postsecularism in IR.

Habermas' cognitive account of postsecularism

Until the mid-2000s, Habermas had overlooked the constitutive role of religion in the public sphere by endorsing a model of dialogic interaction based upon secular rationality. However, in his latest publications,[8] he has questioned the extent to which the ideal of a common human reason as the epistemic justification for the secular state can demand that citizens with religious beliefs act in the public sphere as if they were devoid of any religious conviction. The problem, he argues, is that 'many religious citizens would not be able to undertake such an artificial division within their own minds without jeopardizing their existence as pious persons'.[9] Moreover, should the secular state discourage religious persons and communities from expressing themselves politically, it would risk cutting 'itself off from key resources for the creation of meaning and identity. Secular citizens or those of other religious persuasions can under certain circumstances learn something from religious contributions'.[10] 'We should respect the 'power of articulation' of religious language and recover the 'regenerative power' it offers for a 'dwindling normative consciousness', yet 'without burning the bridges to secular languages and cultures'.[11]

To make room for religious contributions in the public sphere, Habermas suggests drawing a line between 'informal public sphere', where religious reason can flow unconstrained, and 'institutional public sphere', where only secular reason counts.[12] This separation means that for religious beliefs to have institutional representation, they must be 'translated' into secular language. *Separation* and *translation* are for Habermas essential requirements: separation to protect religious and cultural minorities; translation to allow the wider public – be it secular or of a different faith – to understand and subject religious arguments to rational scrutiny.

This understanding of postsecularism is grounded in a shift from traditional to more reflexive forms of secular and religious consciousnesses (what Habermas would call 'postconventional morality') capable of questioning their own limitations and recognising the reciprocal validity of their respective arguments. For Habermas, postsecularism is an ethos grounded in the mind: it is the outcome of a cooperative cognitive effort of secular and religious citizens, both conceived as the expression of a postconventional consciousness capable of reflecting upon itself and using religion in a way that may help us 'express our best moral intuitions without tearing down the bridges to secular languages and cultures',[13] thus keeping the boundaries of knowledge and faith firmly in place, preventing that reason may succumb to the potentially 'irrational effusion' of religious motives.[14]

Habermas' account has received two main criticisms. First, it restates the primacy of secular reason, as it requires that for religious arguments to have a space in the institutional public sphere, they be 'translated' into secular language. For Fred Dallmayr, however, the Habermasian idea that 'there is a standard [secular] public discourse whose language is readily accessible' is 'a myth of the Enlightenment'. He asks:

> Are modern rationalist texts – from Kant to Carnap, Quine, and Rawls – not exceedingly difficult texts constantly in need of interpretation and reinterpretation, and hence of translation into more accessible language? . . . Do the judgments of courts not always involve the interpretation, application, and thus practical translation of earlier legal texts, precedents, and judicial opinions? And do members of parliament not always claim to interpret, apply, and hence translate the will of the 'people'?[15]

The second main criticism concerns Habermas' instrumental notion of religion, which reduces the latter to a set of cognitive choices and a function in broader processes of social production, where religion's main (and somehow paradoxical) task is to address the crisis of instrumental secular reason.

This perspective, as Luca Mavelli has argued elsewhere,[16] is the product of a dualistic image of human nature as the unstable mixture of body and soul, which in turn supports an idea of critique and emancipation as a process of transcendence of the body. This dualistic idea of human nature finds its most systematic instantiation in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant. Kant conceived of man as 'homo duplex', that is, as a 'sensibly affected rational being' split between the 'freedom of pure intellect' ('a rational nature . . . shared with God and the angels') and the 'desires of a sensuous nature'.[17] For Kant, our bodily and sensuous nature is 'morally corrupting', as it constrains our capacity to join 'the world of pure, self-governing intelligences',[18] where all concepts have the status of universal frameworks of moral and practical action. Accordingly, Kant grounded the possibility of critique and emancipation on an impulse of self-transcendence whereby the individual rises above the bodily/phenomenal/empirical world to join the transcendental world of pure intellect.

Kant, however, deemed traditional religion as an essential component of this process of self-transcendence for two main reasons. First, religion can act as a motivational force that may elicit a moral life. As Emmet Kennedy explains, 'Kant thought it impossible to act morally if there were no sanctions to do so . . . He feared how we would be apt to act, if there were no ultimate reward or punishment. If the soul is mortal and all ends at death, man can calculate his pleasures and pains as he likes (hedonism)'.[19] Second, religion endows the secular with an understanding of critique as a process of self-transcendence where communion with God is replaced by communion with our 'higher intellect', that is, our soul. However, according to Kant, once traditional religion has motivated us to act morally and embrace a communion with our soul, it should leave the scene to 'rational religion', namely a 'universal moral faith' that, under the checks of reason, can perform its role of guardianship and source of inspiration for moral life.

Habermas' idea of postsecularism actualises Kant's notion of rational religion. Whereas for Kant traditional religion could act as a source of moral persuasion (often through the threat of eternal sanction), for Habermas it is a reservoir of moral resources. Whereas for Kant traditional religion provided a model of self-transcendence that enables the individual to grasp the universal law of morality, for Habermas it is part of the dialogic interaction between secular and religious mentalities that may enable us to 'express our best moral intuitions'. However, inasmuch as Kant considered that ultimately traditional religion should leave the scene for a universal rational form of religion, so Habermas conceives postsecularism as a domain in which secular reason has precedence and traditional religion can find a space only if translated into secular language. Finally, if Kant considered that rational religion was only possible through a process of transcendence of the senses, for Habermas the only dimension of traditional religion that may enable a postsecular public sphere concerns its cognitive moral aspects. Accordingly, Habermas focuses on religion's semantic potential and almost completely overlooks religion as a sensory and lived experience, practice, emotions, mode of subjectivation, or community

of believers. Habermas, in other words, neglects the embodied dimension of religion as the latter is conceived as something that can undermine religion's semantic potential and lead to 'irrational effusion'.

Habermas' postsecularism as an ideal of critique and resistance to the crisis and instrumental rationality of secularism thus rests on a disembodied rendering of religion. This requires a shift from traditional to postsecular forms of religious allegiances. Once properly translated into secular language – i.e., once turned postsecular – the moral intuitions of the former can be useful to address the crisis of secular reason. This account, this section has argued, rests on a Kantian process of transcendence of the body, which supports an understanding of critique, emancipation, and resistance as part of the search for universal structures to oppose to the fluctuation of our empirical, emotional, and embodied condition. In the next section we discuss how this rendering of postsecularism may curtail our capacity to conceptualise postsecular resistance in IR by looking at the 2011 Egyptian revolution.

An embodied understanding of postsecularism: the case of the 2011 Egyptian revolution

A distinctive image of the 2011 Egyptian revolution that led to the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak is that of the chanting crowds in Tahrir Square: 'self-organized plural groups working collectively "on the ground" and laying claim to the present and the future of Egypt'.[20] 'The people wants the fall of the regime' was the main slogan of the revolution. It embodied awareness of a newly found unity and a call for collective action that defeated long-established factionalisms. Indeed, a distinctive aspect of the initial (and short-lived) phase of the revolution was its cutting across the institutional, political, and psychological barriers that had long 'polarized Egypt's political terrain between more Islamically-oriented currents (most prominent among them, the Muslim Brotherhood) and secular-liberal ones'.[21] As Charles Hirschkind points out, '[c]ompeting visions of Egypt's future have long been divided along secular versus religious lines',[22] to the effect that the polarisation between secularists and Islamists has been

Figure 15.1 Joint protest of secularists and Islamists in Tahrir Square, Cairo, February 2011

a central question in Egyptian politics, with implications for 'every sphere of the political and the social realms'.[23] Accordingly, the chanting crowds in Tahrir Square, comprised as they were of secularists, Islamists, Muslim Brothers, communists, leftists, and liberals, and where Muslims and Christians prayed together without being perceived by leftists and liberals as a threat, could be described as a postsecular moment of resistance to Mubarak's regime.

The intense postsecular rapprochement that marked the initial phase of the revolution deserves attention for two main reasons. First, the secularist-Islamist polarisation in Egypt should not be understood exclusively as an expression of contending political visions, but also as an instantiation of secularism as 'an expression of the state's sovereign power'.[24] This perspective emphasises that 'secularism involves less a separation of religion and politics than the fashioning of religion as an object of continual management and intervention' to make 'religious life and sensibility' *amenable* and *useful* to the requirements of state sovereignty.[25]

Secularism thus understood is the power to define the space, forms, and meanings that religion may legitimately 'occupy in society'.[26] This is a power that the Mubarak regime constantly 'exploited over the last 30 years in order to ensure a weak opposition'.[27] The regime regularly presented itself as a moderate bank against the mounting wave of allegedly radical Islamist forces such as the Muslim Brotherhood, save for supporting ultra-conservative Islamic groups, such as the Salafists, as a counterbalancing 'Islamist alternative' and to boost its Islamic credentials. Mubarak's strategy was part of a tradition of sovereign power's management and 'use' of religion for political purposes. This includes President Nasser's decision to bring Al-Azhar University, the world centre of Islamic knowledge, under direct control of the state in order to quell the opposition of the Muslim Brothers and propagate his vision of socialism, or President Sadat's decision to amend the political parties' law by forbidding them from carrying out any activity considered against the principles of Sharia and national unity in order to curb any potential challenge to the regime.[28]

The postsecular rapprochement between secularists and Islamists in Egypt, then, was not just – as in Habermas' formulation – the encounter of secular and religious mentalities recognising the reciprocal validity of their respective arguments, but also a form of resistance against the secular power of the Mubarak regime to polarise secular and religious identities and shape understandings of Islam complacent with sovereign power. Habermas' approach is unable to grasp this dimension as it conceives of secularism and religion as worldviews, rather than mutually dependent forms of power and knowledge where the portrayal of the secular as the domain of reason and argumentation entails the construction of the religious as the domain of emotions and irrationality.

Undoubtedly, the postsecular rapprochement between secularists and Islamists in Egypt was also marked by forms of dialogic engagement of the kind conceptualised by Habermas. In particular, digital activism contributed to creating a space of convergence for secularist and Islamist bloggers, which resulted in 'practices of public reason and dialogue' and forms of 'critical engagement'[29] concerning democratic reforms and opposition to those issues that plagued the life of ordinary Egyptians such as unemployment, tyranny, corruption, and mistreatment.

However, this dialogic space of interaction was also accompanied by more *visceral, emotional, and embodied* forms of postsecularism. Marc Lynch, for instance, discusses how Muslim Brothers' blogs often presented their 'human side', with family pictures and stories of daily life, allowing them to 'form relationships with non-Brother youth, each discovering the humanity of the other'.[30] 'I wanted to show that Brothers are humans who have the same dreams [as anyone else]. We have fun. We drink [tea and coffee]. We sit at cafés. We go to movies. We demonstrate . . . and we blog for freedom', wrote 'Abd al-Mun'im Mahmoud, author of the blog 'I Am the Muslim Brotherhood'.[31] This human element resonates with the

reflections of secular blogger 'Ala' 'Abd al-Fattah, who, following his encounter with several Muslim Brothers in jail, wrote on his blog: 'They were from this new breed of Islamist that reads blogs, watches al-Jazeera, sings sha'bi (popular) songs, talks about intense love stories and chants "down with Mubarak"'.[32]

This sense of emotional commonality found a vivid manifestation in resistance to the violence of the regime through the denunciation of the brutality of its political apparatus. Under the slogan 'No more fear of the state', a growing community of secularist and Islamist bloggers, since the mid-2000s, started to post on the Internet images and videos of police abuses, showing how those being targeted were not just political opponents who supposedly threatened the regime, but ordinary people whom the regime was supposed to protect. These images were picked up by independent media and given further resonance, with the effect of triggering a national debate that forced the government press to report the news and the government to defend itself from the accusation of torture.

Some of the bloggers who posted images and videos of tortured bodies were loosely connected to the Egyptian movement for change, also known as Kefaya (*Enough!*), demanding the end of Mubarak's regime and the implementation of democratic reforms. Established in 2004, this movement brought together a vast array of Egyptian opposition forces, from Muslim Brothers to secular leftists. Several Islamist bloggers, including Muslim Brothers, also contributed to circulate documents and videos of police abuses. As journalist and blogger Hossam el-Hamalawy stated following a meeting of bloggers in 2007 to coordinate a campaign against Mubarak's police torture: 'The small audience was a microcosm of a growing rich pluralistic blogosphere. There were religious and secularists, veiled and unveiled, Copts and Muslims, leftists, liberal, Islamists and independents – all keen on ridding Egypt of its police torture epidemic'.[33] It is noteworthy that the brief résumé of the conference written by el-Hamalawy, an avowed secular socialist, appeared on the Muslim Brotherhood website, to which he is a regular contributor. This website published a number of articles, documents, images, and videos against torture, often in collaboration with other opposition movements.[34]

By making public videos and images of police abuses on ordinary people, Egyptian bloggers not only contributed to unleash a sense of moral indignation and human solidarity beyond the secularist-Islamist polarisation, but enacted a politics of resistance centred on the body. By forcing the tortured body back into the public domain, images and videos contributed to disclosing and making visible the inscriptions of power/knowledge regimes onto the body, thus turning the body from an 'inscribed surface of events'[35] at the mercy of the regime's power, into a source of resistance. Violated bodies became the metaphor of a different kind of unity, namely a postsecular unity encompassing all Egyptians and symbolised by the body of Egypt – a body 'abused, raped and beaten by the state',[36] but also capable of resisting, if only for the initial phase of the revolution and the few years running up to it, the secularist-Islamist fracture and the regime that fomented it.

A key moment of this postsecular politics of resistance centred on the tortured body was the death of Khaled Said, dubbed by the media as 'the face that launched a revolution'.[37] Khaled Said was a 28-year-old from the Egyptian coastal city of Alexandria. On 6 June 2010, he was beaten to death by two plainclothes officers who seized him in an Internet cafe. When summoned to the morgue the next day, Khaled's family members found themselves in front of a completely disfigured face. Khaled's head was lying on a pool of blood and showed several fractures; his nose was broken, some of his front teeth missing, and his jaw dislocated. Khaled's relatives managed to snap a picture of his deformed face and posted it on the Internet together with the accusation that Khaled 'was tortured to death for possessing video material that implicates members of the police in a drug deal'.[38]

The picture triggered a large outcry, with massive protests in Alexandria and Cairo at the end of June 2010, and went viral at the beginning of July, when Wael Ghonim, a young Google executive, opened a Facebook page entitled 'We are all Khaled Said', which began to attract supporters in the order of thousands.[39] According to Human Rights Watch, one of the reasons for the unprecedented wave of protests which followed the death of Khaled Said is that many people could identify with him as victims of police violence.[40] This emotional identification went beyond the sharing of a traumatic experience. As was written in the aftermath of his death, Khaled Said 'was someone's son, someone's brother, someone's friend, someone's neighbour, someone's customer, and if not for what had happened, someone's future'.[41] That is, Said was an ordinary citizen, who – to borrow the words of a female opposition blogger named Baheyya in a 2005 post – represented 'an entire subculture of invisible citizens in this country with first-hand experience of the state's ferocity'; men and women with 'scarred souls and violated bodies whose stories we don't know'.[42] On the eve of the massive protests which led to the resignation of Hosni Mubarak, the Facebook page 'We are all Khaled Said' had reached more than 80,000 supporters. It was the first, together with the April 6 Youth Movement Facebook group, to invite Egyptians to protest on 25 January (not incidentally, National Police Day) through a Facebook event page called 'The Day of the Revolution Against Torture, Poverty, Corruption and Unemployment'.[43]

Resistance to the violence of the regime, to be sure, was not the 'cause' of the revolution, but rather one of the 'catalysts' which precipitated the long list of Egyptian grievances (poverty, corruption, inequality, restriction of liberties) by bringing the confrontation with the regime onto an almost *existential* level, where the tortured body made public epitomized an ultimate form of *negation of life*. This existential dimension culminated in the 'exceptional existential moment' of the revolution which, as Hussein Ali Agrama points out, saw the protesters standing 'apart from the modern game of defining and distinguishing religion and politics', to the effect that they 'expressed every potential language of justice, secular or religious, but embraced none'.[44] The crowds in Tahrir Square where secularists and Islamists gathered together were an exceptional (and short-lived) expression of a postsecular politics of resistance that drew inspiration from both reason and emotions.

Towards a cognitive *and* embodied postsecularism: the case of faith-based organisations and migration

The Egyptian case highlights three main limits of Habermas' account. First, by neglecting the body and emotions and confining postsecularism to the instrumental use of the moral teachings of religion to cure the distortions of secularism, Habermas' approach makes it impossible to grasp the emotional dimension of postsecular resistance and the extent to which it may be linked to embodied practices. Second, by neglecting the idea that secularism may be a tool of power and knowledge that strives to shape forms of religiosity complacent with sovereign power, Habermas' approach makes it difficult to distinguish between those religious doctrines (such as Salafism in Egypt) that support sovereign power, however unjust and violent it may be, and those grassroots, heterogeneous, and more spontaneous forms of religiosity that emerged in the early stages of the Egyptian uprising as manifested in the common prayers of Muslims and Christians, in secularists guarding Muslims to ensure their security, or in Muslims guarding Coptic churches during Christian prayers. The third limit of Habermas' idea of postsecularism concerns the underlying separation between secularism and religion. If one considers Carl Schmitt's famous argument that 'all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts',[45] abandons Habermas' idea of these two spheres as worldviews, and embraces the idea that they may be political categories whereby regimes of power

and knowledge are deployed, what emerges is the possibility that the boundary separating secularism and religion may not be as 'hard' as Habermas suggests.

To illustrate this argument, we discuss how contemporary discourses surrounding migration, particularly those concerning responsibility for the deaths of migrants crossing the Mediterranean in the attempt to reach the coasts of Europe, reproduce in a secular fashion an underlying theological discourse which blames the migrants for their own deaths. Consider, for instance, the October 2014 UK Government announcement that it would no longer support search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean on the grounds that such operations are 'an unintended "pull factor", encouraging more migrants to attempt the dangerous sea crossing and thereby leading to more tragic and unnecessary deaths'.[46] The construction and distribution of responsibility that frames this argument portrays the migrants as fundamentally irresponsible as they have chosen to embark on a journey that between January and September 2014 saw 3,000 people lose their lives,[47] and over 20,000 deaths in the last twenty years.[48] This argument is made possible by deliberately neglecting the 'push factors' behind the lives packed on the precarious boats crossing the Mediterranean, namely extreme poverty, persecution, war, famines, and genocide, among others, with migrants turned into weapons by European fears of invasion and unscrupulous regimes such as Gaddafi's and the Islamic State in Libya. By ignoring these 'push factors', the UK can portray itself as a responsible actor, whose responsibility consists in letting the irresponsible migrants drown to prevent future 'unnecessary deaths'. In this account, the migrants are the only ones to blame for their own death. The UK is by no means alone in such a harsh stance, with successive Australian governments using similar logic to justify the excision of the entire Australian mainland from the migration zone for anyone arriving by boat, the current 'stop the boats' policy,[49] and the decision to leave the bodies of drowned asylum seekers in the ocean.[50] As Maley points out, such policies are not about 'saving lives' or preventing 'unnecessary deaths'. 'The real message of the new Australian [and UK] approach is a simple one: "Go and die somewhere else"'.[51]

This logic enables the construction of migrants as bare lives, namely lives that can be 'killed with impunity'.[52] They can be killed by the violence of the secular law (even though they have not yet violated any law), which has decreed the halt of search and rescue operations, and be denied compassion for their tragic destiny. This condemnation, we argue, can be understood as a form of secular theodicy or sociodicy. Theodicy concerns the problems of how to reconcile the existence of God with the presence of evil in the world, namely, 'How is it that a power which is said to be at once omnipotent and kind could have created such an irrational world of undeserved suffering, unpunished injustice and hopeless stupidity?'[53] According to Max Weber, the question of theodicy is *the* fundamental question of all religions, which they have addressed by inscribing suffering, injustice, and violence in the inscrutable God-given order of creation. However, Weber contends, with the process of secularisation and the emergence of a Man-made order theodicy does not disappear, but simply secularises.[54] Suffering, violence and inequality no longer find their meaning and justification in God, but either in the greater good (of society, the state, the economy) or as the outcome of individual (ir)responsibility.

Secular theodicies include, for instance, the liberal idea that income inequalities can be an incentive for the worst-off to improve their condition with overall benefits for society as a whole through 'the invisible hand' of the market[55] or, according to Pierre Bourdieu, neoliberalism as a whole. The latter, Bourdieu argues, 'justifies suffering on the ground that it is necessary for economic progress', and legitimates a 'racism of intelligence' which depicts the poor as 'intellectually incapable' and therefore responsible for their own condition.[56] When it comes to the drowned migrants, the underlying secular theodicy behind their double condemnation enables the projection of responsibility whereby they are considered to merely deserve their

due. In this framework, letting migrants drown becomes rational and instrumental to ensure that the social fabric will not be destroyed by the presence of 'others', that jobs will not be taken, that identities will be preserved.

This case raises two important questions in relation to Habermas' argument. First, while the justification to no longer support search and rescue operations is secular and rational, its underlying logic rests on and reproduces a theological discourse. In fact, one may argue that the justification not to save drowning migrants is not rational, but purely instrumental, as it exploits popular emotional and irrational fears of 'strangers'. And yet, from the government's perspective it may be absolutely rational to second these feelings for the purpose of preserving power. What seems certain is that at the heart of the matter there is an ultimately dehumanising logic that constructs migrants as a security issue rather than human beings in need of solidarity. Habermas' critique of a secular instrumental reason dominated by the disruptive forces of 'markets and administrative powers' which 'are displacing social solidarity' and incapable of addressing pressing ethical and political questions speaks to this case. However, the postsecular solution he advocates – drawing on the moral intuitions of faith in order to infuse values into the secular domain – rests on the problematic assumption that secularism and religion are two different and clearly demarcated worldviews. As the above discussion suggests, however, these two domains may often be indistinguishable. If this is the case, postsecularism cannot be conceived solely as the cooperative cognitive effort of secular and religious views, but should be the very attempt to question these categories whenever they are employed to justify forms of violence, oppression, and exclusion. To this end, we contend, the cognitive effort cannot be thought in isolation from emotional and embodied practices of resistance.

Grassroots actors involved in forced migration are a case in point, transcending the religious/secular divide and engaging in embodied practices of solidarity and resistance with asylum seekers and refugees. These practices have emerged largely in response to the secular theodicies described above, where asylum seekers and refugees are criminalised, cast as lawbreakers, 'queue jumpers', and potential terrorists,[57] justifying increasingly harsh policies of marginalisation and exclusion. Faith-based actors' resistance to these policies draws on traditions of sanctuary and asylum that exist across numerous religious traditions.[58] Actions range from providing housing assistance, food, education, and healthcare;[59] billeting asylum seekers with host families to build understanding;[60] visiting and praying with asylum seekers in detention centres;[61] and nonviolent protest. Grassroots actors draw on a range of resources, both 'religious' and 'secular', to critique and challenge the theodicies underlying governments' asylum policies, offering alternative moral frameworks that utilise religious and secular arguments to recast migration as a humanitarian rather than a security issue, and emphasise common bonds of shared humanity between asylum seekers and host populations.

Let us consider two recent cases exemplifying cognitive and embodied postsecular resistance to secular theodicy. Led by a group of multidenominational Christian leaders and including activists from many and no-faith traditions, Love Makes A Way (LMAW) is a protest movement in Australia, self-consciously positioned as a continuation of the nonviolent civil disobedience engaged in by Martin Luther King Jr and his followers during the US Civil Rights Movement.[62] LMAW's main goal is to raise awareness about the plight of children in detention and campaign for their release. Protesters conduct 'pray-ins' at the offices of Australian parliamentarians.[63] When asked to leave, the protesters refuse, saying they will stay until they are told when all children will be released from detention. Consequently, 138 protesters have been arrested and charged, approximately half of whom are clergy and nuns. Some have been strip searched by police. To date, however, subsequent court hearings have resulted in all charges being dismissed, or small fines.[64]

Figure 15.2 Love Makes A Way protesters march from the Perth Court House to the offices of Julie Bishop, MP, Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs at the time of writing

Following one court hearing, protesters stripped to their underwear outside the courtroom before walking to the Foreign Affairs Minister's office as an act of defiance in response to being strip searched by police. As the activists were disrobing, spokesperson Jarrod McKenna read from Matthew 5:38–44, going on to say, 'Those who thought that strip searches would be enough to stop us; well, we serve with Jesus, who was strip-searched before he went to the cross'.[65] McKenna's statement, coupled with the simultaneous act of stripping by the protesters, is a moment in which the cognitive and embodied practices of postsecular resistance can be clearly seen operating together.

A second example is the Palm Sunday 'Walk for justice for refugees'. While Palm Sunday has historically been a focal point of many left-leaning protest and resistance movements, since 2014 in Australia the marches have focused specifically on opposing the Australian government's treatment of asylum seekers. Participants range from religious leaders, lay people, activists, unionists, people of all faiths and none.[66] Protesters assemble outside landmarks in capital cities then march through central business areas. Through the physical act of gathering and walking together, disrupting traffic and carrying signs such as 'Jesus was a refugee', protesters engage in embodied acts of resistance, while at the same time, through speeches given by leading figures in business, the arts, and civil society, the cognitive form of postsecular resistance is also visible.

At the 2015 Perth gathering, acclaimed Australian author Tim Winton delivered a speech exemplifying the postsecular resistance we are describing in this chapter. Winton challenged the secular theodicy underlying government policies, offering an alternative theodicy in which the Australian government and the fear and apathy of the Australian public are responsible for the fate of asylum seekers, not the migrants themselves:

Figure 15.3 The 2015 Palm Sunday March for Justice for Refugees in Melbourne, Australia

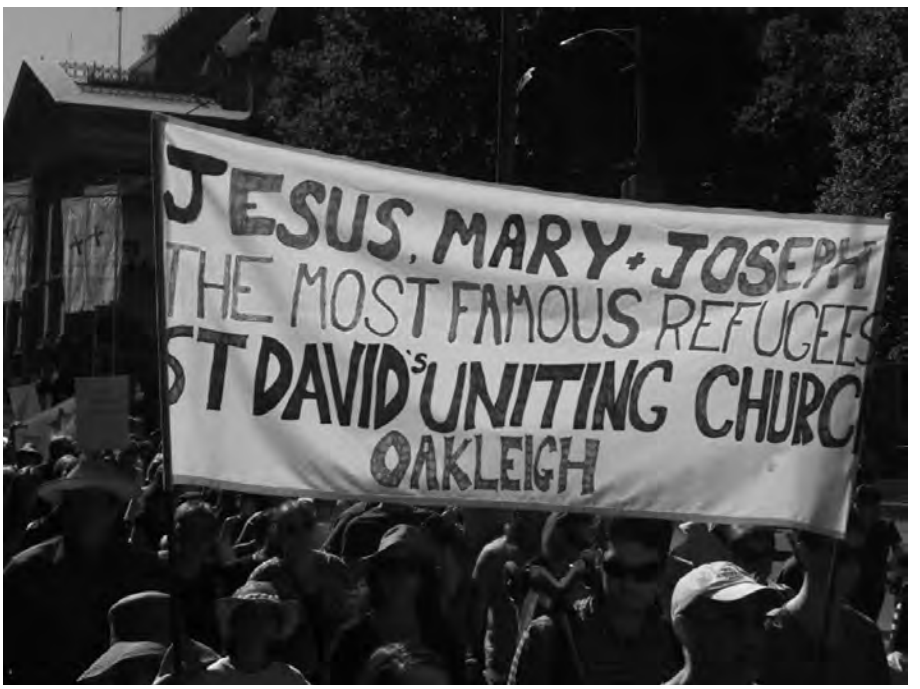


Figure 15.4 The 2015 Palm Sunday March for Justice for Refugees in Melbourne, Australia

> So great and so wild is our fear, we can no longer see them [asylum seekers] as people, as fellow humans. First, we criminalised them. Then, we turned them into faceless objects . . . for someone seeking asylum, someone arriving by boat, this special species of creature called a 'boat person' . . . Pity is forbidden. All the usual standards are overturned. Their legal right to seek asylum is denied. They're vilified as 'illegals'. And their suffering is denied. As if they're not our brothers and sisters. Yes, we hate suffering. But apparently their kind of suffering is no longer legitimate. And therefore, it's no longer our problem. Our moral and legal obligations to help them are null and void.[67]

Winton offers an alternative moral framework that draws on both secular and religious resources, including 'mateship' and 'a fair go', themes central to Australian national identity. He draws on imagery and narratives from the Christian tradition to critique dominant attitudes towards asylum seekers, while at the same time lauding secular egalitarianism as a defining characteristic of Australia:

> There's a punitive spirit abroad, something closer to Victorian England than the modern, secular, egalitarian country I love . . . In this country, a nation built upon people fleeing brutes and brutality for 200 years, we have a tradition of fairness and decency and openness of which we're rightly proud. Whether we're inspired by the Christian parable of the Good Samaritan, the universal dignity of humankind, or the sanctity of the individual, we've always thought it low and cowardly to avert our gaze from someone in trouble or need, to turn our face from them as though they did not exist . . . That's where our tradition of mateship comes from. Not from closing ranks against the outsider, but from lifting someone else up, helping them out, resisting the cowardly urge to walk by . . .
>
> Now, of course, we don't see faces. And that's no accident. The government hides them from us . . . Asylum seekers are rendered as objects, creatures, cargo, contraband, and criminals. And so, quite deliberately, the old common sense of human decency is supplanted by a new consensus . . .
>
> Jesus said: 'What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world only to lose his soul?' And I wonder: What does it profit a people to do likewise, to shun the weak and punish the oppressed, to cage children, and make criminals out of refugees? What about our soul as a people?[68]

Winton's speech, arguably, is not a call to a particular kind of secular or religious ethics, but a plea for an ethics that transcends such divisions and instead focuses on a sense of common humanity, a postsecular ethics, a plea echoed and taken up by numerous actors involved in asylum politics, within and beyond Australia.

We have argued, in this section, that the secular/religious divide underpinning much Western political practice and analysis of religion in IR must be rethought, moving away from understanding this division as a description of worldviews and instead conceiving the secular and the religious as political categories where regimes of knowledge and power are (re)produced, the line between these political categories far more blurred than Habermasian postsecularism acknowledges. The analysis of the politics of contemporary forced migration highlighted how the secular and the religious operate in this way: first, in the logic employed by state powers to exclude asylum seekers, which, following Weber, we have described as secular theodicies; and second, in the responses of grassroots actors challenging and resisting these secular theodicies.

Not only do these grassroots actors transcend the division between religious and secular, they also employ cognitive and embodied forms of postsecular resistance to challenge secular formations of power that oppress and exclude.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the emergence of postsecularism as a form of critique and resistance to dominant secular, (neo)liberal ethics in contemporary IR. Much of the recent debate around postsecularism has been catalysed by the Habermasian approach, which, as we noted, is problematic for a number of reasons. Habermasian postsecularism ultimately operates from within the prevailing secular framework and logic. This is evident, first, in its construction of religion as a primarily cognitive activity, neglecting the embodied, lived, experiential dimensions of religion. Second, Habermas neglects the power of secularism, enabling it to construct religion in narrow ways and delimit where and when religion can appropriately enter and contribute to debates within the public sphere. In essence, then, Habermasian postsecularism reinforces rather than disrupts the secular/religious divide that underpins the structures and logics giving shape to contemporary Western politics and society.

Following on from this critique, we have suggested several ways in which the debate surrounding postsecularism may be expanded to address the shortcomings of the Habermasian approach and enable further nuance and complexity in the analysis of religion in IR. The first of these is shifting the focus of the postsecular from religion as a cognitive activity to understanding it as both cognitive and embodied. The Egyptian and the asylum cases show the limits of a purely cognitive account of postsecularism. However, the necessity of a postsecular imagination capable of considering this embodied, practical, and experiential dimension of faith clashes with the cognitive understanding of religion sustained by the power/knowledge regime of Western secularism. The apprehension for any attempt at reconsidering the boundary between the secular and the religious, the rational and the emotional, is well summarised by Habermas: '[Once the] boundary between faith and knowledge becomes porous, and once religious motives force their way into philosophy under false pretences, reason loses its foothold and succumbs to irrational effusion.'

The question of the postsecular crosses paths with another surprisingly neglected area of inquiry in IR, namely the study of emotions in world politics. Although not specifically aimed at addressing this debate, this chapter nonetheless explores some of the roles that emotions played in the 2011 Egyptian revolutions and how an embodied understanding of postsecular resistance in a non-Western setting could prove a particularly insightful lens to this end. The analysis in this chapter thus suggests three potential future research avenues on the postsecular in IR.

First, although dominant, the Kantian-Habermasian perspective is not the only tradition of Western secularism. William Connolly, for instance, has pointed in the direction of a minor Western tradition centred on the thought of Baruch Spinoza, whose 'metaphysical monism' challenges the mind/body dualism, considering them as expressions of the same substance.[69] This perspective, Connolly contends, advances an idea of ethics not as the search for universal categorical imperatives, but as an embodied-spiritual cultivation of ethical dispositions, resisting 'the thin intellectualism that grips secularism – that is, the idea that thinking can be separated from its affective dimension and that exercises of the self and collective rituals merely represent or symbolize beliefs'.[70] The challenge for scholars of postsecularism in IR is thus to move beyond the Kantian-Habermasian 'cognitive' tradition of secularity by considering conceptual resources of contending secular traditions sensitive to emotions, and how these traditions may

be 'harness[ed] for radical purposes',[71] such as devising modes of subjectivity beyond the mind/body dualism or disclosing the power/knowledge inscriptions of existing secular formations.

Second, the argument advanced in this chapter invites us to look beyond the Western canon and reflect upon the postsecular question in non-Western settings. This leads to another key implication of the analysis, namely that the postsecular cannot be considered an exclusive concern of Western European societies as Habermas suggests.[72] There is no doubt that '[e]xtant conceptions of secularity, secularisation or secularism inevitably find their originary impetus in Protestant Christian settlements negotiated within European cultural spaces'.[73] Yet, it is also the case that histories of the 'Western' and 'non-Western' worlds are connected and that secularism is an important 'derivative discourse' in the Islamic world and elsewhere, where it 'acquired a familiar currency in shaping models to banish religion from politics'.[74]

Third, both the Egyptian and the asylum cases demonstrate that, contra Habermas, the secular and the religious are not distinct, separate worldviews but rather domains of knowledge and power that can be deployed to mutually constitute and reinforce one another in the service of or in resistance to sovereign power. Although the process of disciplining religion could be described as an almost universal corollary of processes of state formation, these reflections suggest the impossibility of a single, undifferentiated understanding of the postsecular for the international system and the necessity to interrogate contextual issues that underpin postsecularism, starting with an investigation of the specific forms and practices of secularism. The power of secularism of the Mubarak regime to foster expressions of religiosity complacent with sovereign power, for example, cannot be considered in isolation from a more general crisis of the Islamic tradition as marked by a progressive disconnection between dogma and conduct. Egyptian novelist Alaa Al Aswany draws a connection between the fact that in Islam 'rituals have become an end in themselves instead of a means to improve and chasten oneself', and the widespread and systematic use of torture in Egypt.[75] It is astonishing, he writes, to think that in the 'human slaughterhouses' of State Security premises 'there is always a prayer room where the torturers can perform their prayers at the appointed times . . . Those responsible for wrecking the lives of these wretches and their families are Muslims who are rarely without calluses on their foreheads from regular praying and who never feel that what they are doing makes them any less religious.'[76] The incapacity of Islam to offer resistance against this violence is a product of a 'permanent and systematic policy applied by the state' as well as of an Islam that 'has been transformed into a package of measures a Muslim has to complete without necessarily having any effect on his or her conduct of life'.[77]

Similarly, the political actors articulating and implementation of the secular theodicy we described where migrants are blamed for their own fate, constructed as objects undeserving of compassion and humanity, are often the same political actors proclaiming the importance of Christianity in their own personal lives as well as the life of the nation.[78] At the same time, activists involved in resisting the secular theodicies of governments on migration draw on both 'secular' and 'religious' cognitive and embodied modes of resistance. Both cases highlight that understanding the postsecular as a cognitive cooperation between two worldviews does not do justice to the complex ways in which the secular and the religious are entangled as domains of power and knowledge either in the service of or in resistance to the state in contemporary politics.

As we have attempted to show, the postsecular involves rethinking our understanding of subjectivity beyond the mind/body dichotomy; our understanding of the boundary between the secular and the religious as the product of multiple regimes of power and knowledge, rather than a natural divide; and our understanding of the international, in a perspective which acknowledges the European genealogy of secularity, but is also cognisant of the challenges to secular formations in the so-called 'Islamic world' and beyond. Ultimately, the postsecular offers a new

critical edge to reconsider the very categories of critique and resistance by interrogating and questioning the boundary between the secular and the religious, turning this boundary into a space in which new forms of embodied political agency and imagination may be observed.

Notes

1 Habermas, 'Notes on a Post-Secular Society'.
2 Ibid.
3 Habermas, *Between Naturalism and Religion*, 310.
4 Cooke, 'A Secular State for a Postsecular Society?', 225.
5 Habermas, *Between Naturalism and Religion*, 211, 111.
6 Barbato, 'Conceptions of the Self for Post-Secular Emancipation', 549.
7 Cloke and Beaumont, 'Geographies of Postsecular Rapprochement in the City', 32.
8 See in particular: Jürgen Habermas et al., *An Awareness of What is Missing*; Habermas, *Between Naturalism and Religion*; Habermas, 'Religion in the Public Sphere'; Habermas and Ratzinger, *Dialectics of Secularization*.
9 Habermas, 'Religion in the Public Sphere', 8.
10 Ibid., 10.
11 Habermas cited in Harrington, 'Habermas and the "Post-Secular Society"', 544.
12 Habermas, 'Religion in the Public Sphere', 9.
13 Habermas cited in Harrington, 'Habermas and the "Post-Secular Society"', 544.
14 Habermas, *Between Naturalism and Religion*, 243.
15 Dallmayr, 'Post-Secularity and (Global) Politics', 968.
16 Mavelli, *Europe's Encounter with Islam*.
17 Hunter, 'The Morals of Metaphysics', 911, 910.
18 Ibid., 912.
19 Kennedy, *Secularism and its Opponents*, 138.
20 Esmeir, 'Anti-Authoritarian Revolution'.
21 Hirschkind, 'New Media and Political Dissent in Egypt', 138–9.
22 Hirschkind, 'Beyond Secular and Religious', 50.
23 Abdelrahman, *Civil Society Exposed*, 108.
24 Agrama, 'Secularism, Sovereignty, Indeterminacy', 500.
25 Ibid., 499. See also Asad, *Formations of the Secular*; and Connolly, *Why I Am Not a Secularist*.
26 Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 210.
27 Hirschkind, 'New Media and Political Dissent in Egypt', 139.
28 Shehata, *Islamists and Secularists in Egypt*.
29 See in particular: Ibid.; and Lynch, 'Young Brothers in Cyberspace'.
30 Lynch, 'Young Brothers in Cyberspace'.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 El-Hamalawy, 'Bloggers and Rights Activists Against Torture Meeting'.
34 Azimi, 'Bloggers, Kifaya and Ikhwanweb Against Torture'.
35 Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', 87.
36 Rifaat, 'Blogging the Body', 66.
37 Ross and Cole, 'Egypt: The Face That Launched a Revolution'.
38 Al Jazeera, 'Police Killing Sparks Egypt Protest'.
39 http://www.facebook.com/ElShaheeed(Arabic version); http://www.facebook.com/elshaheeed.co.uk (English version); see also http://www.elshaheeed.co.uk/.
40 Human Rights Watch, 'Work on Him Until He Confesses', 1.
41 Ali, 'Egypt's Collision Course With History'.
42 Baheyya, 'Remember Them'.

43 Sutter, 'The faces of Egypt's "Revolution 2.0"'.
44 Agrama, 'Asecular Revolution'.
45 Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, 42.
46 Travis, 'UK Axes Support'.
47 Brian and Laczko, 'Fatal Journeys'.
48 Shenker, 'Mediterranean Migrant Deaths'.
49 Cullen, 'Bowen Defends Migration Policy Rethink'.
50 Jabour, 'Bodies of Drowned Asylum Seekers'.
51 Maley, 'Die Somewhere Else'.
52 Agamben, *Homo Sacer*.
53 Weber, 'Politics as Vocation', 122.
54 Ibid.
55 Elster, 'Snobs', 10.
56 Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance*, 35; Bourdieu, *Firing Back*, 33.
57 Abbott, 'Press Conference'.
58 Wilson, 'Much To Be Proud of, Much To Be Done'.
59 See, for example, Rabben, *Give Refuge to the Stranger*.
60 Stapleton, 'France: More Than Space to Live'.
61 Wilson, 'Theorizing Religion as Politics'.
62 Gray, 'Loving Disobedience'.
63 Wilson, 'Theorizing Religion as Politics'.
64 Gray, 'Loving Disobedience'.
65 Wahlquist, 'Christians Strip Off in Perth Court Protest'.
66 Lillebuen, 'Church-Goers, Activists Come Together'.
67 Winton, 'Start the Soul-Searching Australia'.
68 Ibid.
69 Connolly, 'Europe: A Minor Tradition', 83.
70 Ibid., 84.
71 Linklater, *The Transformation of Political Community*, 5.
72 Habermas, 'Notes on a Post-Secular Society'.
73 Pasha, 'Islam and the Postsecular', 1047.
74 Ibid., 1052.
75 Al Aswany, *On the State of Egypt*, 152.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 See for instance Cameron, 'Opening Speech'.

References

Abbott, Tony. 'Press Conference in Melbourne', 23 June 2014. http://pmtranscripts.dpmc.gov.au/release/transcript-23592. Accessed 5 October 2015.

Abdelrahman, Maha M. *Civil Society Exposed: The Politics of NGOs in Egypt.* London: I. B. Tauris.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Agrama, Hussein Ali. 'Secularism, Sovereignty, Indeterminacy: Is Egypt a Secular or a Religious State?' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, no. 3 (2010): 495–593.

Agrama, Hussein Ali. 'Asecular Revolution'. *The Immanent Frame* (11 March 2011). http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2011/03/11/asecular-revolution/. Accessed 18 October 2011.

Al Aswany, Alaa. *On the State of Egypt: What Caused the Revolution.* London: Canongate, 2011.

Al Jazeera. 'Police Killing Sparks Egypt Protest', 14 June 2010. http://english.aljazeera.net/news/middleeast/2010/06/201061415530298271.htm. Accessed 2 October 2011.

Ali, Amro. 'Egypt's Collision Course With History', ON LINE opinion, 9 July 2010. http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/print.asp?article=10663. Accessed 17 October 2011.

Asad, Talal. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Azimi, Negar. 'Bloggers, Kifaya and Ikhwanweb Against Torture', Ikhwanweb, 2 February 2007. http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=2542. Accessed 12 October 2011.

Baheyya. 'Remember Them'. Baheyya: Egypt Analysis and Whimsy, 1 June 2005. http://baheyya.blogspot.com/2005/06/remember-them.html. Accessed 12 October 2011.

Barbato, Mariano. 'Conceptions of the Self for Post-secular Emancipation: Towards a Pilgrim's Guide to Global Justice'. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39, no. 2 (2010): 547–64.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Acts of Resistance: Against the Tyranny of the Market.* New York: The New Press, 1998.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Firing Back: Against the Tyranny of the Market 2.* London: Verso, 2003.

Brian, Tara and Frank Laczko. *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2014. http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/FatalJourneys_CountingtheUncounted.pdf. Accessed 12 February 2015.

Cameron, David. 'Opening Speech, Easter Reception Downing Street', 7 April 2015. https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/easter-reception-at-downing-street-2014. Accessed 7 April 2105.

Cloke, Paul and Justin Beaumont. 'Geographies of Postsecular Rapprochement in the City'. *Progress in Human Geography* 37, no. 1 (2013): 27–51.

Connolly, William E. *Why I Am Not a Secularist.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Connolly, William E. 'Europe: A Minor Tradition'. In *Powers of the Secular Modern: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors*, edited by David Scott and Charles Hirschkind. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Cooke, Maeve. 'A Secular State for a Postsecular Society? Postmetaphysical Political Theory and the Place of Religion'. *Constellations* 14, no. 2 (2007): 224–38.

Cullen, Simon. 'Bowen Defends Migration Policy Rethink'. ABC News, 31 October 2012. http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-10-31/bowen-defends-migration-about-face/4343970. Accessed 16 May 2013.

Dallmayr, Fred. 'Post-Secularity and (Global) Politics: A Need for Radical Redefinition'. *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 5 (2012): 963–73.

El-Hamalawy, Hossam. 'Bloggers and Rights Activists Against Torture Meeting'. Ikhwanweb, 18 March 2007. http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=2118. Accessed 12 October 2011.

Elster, Jon. 'Snobs'. *London Review of Books* 3, no. 20 (1981): 10–12.

Esmeir, Samera. 'Anti-Authoritarian Revolution and Law Reform in Egypt'. *Jadaliyya*, 24 February 2011. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/714/anti-authoritarian-revolution-and-law-reform-in-eg. Accessed October 20, 2013.

Foucault, Michel. 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History'. In *The Foucault Reader* by Michel Foucault and Paul Rabinow. London: Penguin, 1991.

Gray, Stella. 'Loving disobedience'. *The Monthly*, February 2015. http://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2015/january/1422406141/stella-gray/loving-disobedience. Accessed 3 April 2015.

Habermas, Jürgen. 'Religion in the Public Sphere'. *European Journal of Philosophy* 14, no. 1 (2006): 1–25.

Habermas, Jürgen. *Between Naturalism and Religion: Philosophical Essays.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.

Habermas, Jürgen. 'Notes on a Post-Secular Society'. signandsight.com, 18 June 2008, http://www.signandsight.com/features/1714.html/. Accessed 10 January 2011.

Habermas, Jürgen and Joseph Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI). *Dialectics of Secularization: On Reason and Religion.* San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2007.

Habermas, Jürgen et al. *An Awareness of What is Missing: Faith and Reason in a Post-secular Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.

Harrington, Austin. 'Habermas and the "Post-Secular Society"'. *European Journal of Social Theory* 10, no. 4 (2007): 543–60.

Hirschkind, Charles. 'New Media and Political Dissent in Egypt'. *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* LXV, no. 1 (2010): 137–54.

Hirschkind, Charles. 'Beyond Secular and Religious: An Intellectual Genealogy of Tahrir Square'. *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 1 (2012): 49–53.

Human Rights Watch (HRW). *'Work on Him Until He Confesses': Impunity for Torture in Egypt*. New York: HRW, 2011.

Hunter, Ian. 'The Morals of Metaphysics: Kant's Groundwork as Intellectual Paideia'. *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 4 (2002): 908–29.

Jabour, Bridie. 'Bodies of Drowned Asylum Seekers To Be Left in Water by Authorities'. *The Guardian*, 10 June 2013. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/10/asylum-seekers-bodies-christmas-island. Accessed 5 March 2015.

Kennedy, Emmet. *Secularism and its Opponents from Augustine to Solzhenitsyn*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Lillebuen, Steve. 'Church-Goers, Activists Come Together for Walk for Justice for Refugees Rally'. *The Age*, 13 April 2014. http://www.theage.com.au/victoria/churchgoers-activists-come-together-for-walk-for-justice-for-refugees-rally-20140413-36l07.html. Accessed 3 April 2015.

Linklater, Andrew. *The Transformation of Political Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era*. Oxford: Polity, 1998.

Lynch, Marc. 'Young Brothers in Cyberspace'. *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*. Winter 2007, 245: http://www.merip.org/mer/mer245/young-brothers-cyberspace. Accessed 14 March 2011.

Maley, William. 'Die Somewhere Else'. *The Canberra Times*, 27 July 2013. http://www.canberratimes.com.au/comment/die-somewhere-else-20130726-2qq3s.html. Accessed 5 March 2015.

Mavelli, Luca. *Europe's Encounter with Islam: The Secular and the Postsecular*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012.

Pasha, Mustapha Kamal. 'Islam and the Postsecular'. *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 5 (2012): 1041–56.

Rabben, Linda. *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present and Future of Sanctuary*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011.

Rifaat, Yasmine. 'Blogging the Body: The Case of Egypt'. *Surfacing: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Gender in the Global South* 1, no. 1 (2008): 52–72.

Ross, Brian and Matthew Cole. 'Egypt: The Face that Launched a Revolution'. ABC News, 4 February 2011. Available at: http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/egypt-face-launched-revolution/story?id=12841488& singlePage=true. Accessed 3 October 2011.

Schmitt, Carl. *The Concept of the Political*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Shehata, Dina *Islamists and Secularists in Egypt: Opposition, Conflict & Cooperation*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Shenker, Jack. 'Mediterranean Migrant Deaths: A Litany of Largely Avoidable Loss'. *The Guardian*, 4 October 2013. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/03/mediterranean-migrant-deaths-avoidable-loss. Accessed 5 March 2015.

Stapleton, James. 'France: More than space to Live, the Welcome Project'. *Jesuit Refugee Service Europe Newsroom*, 2014. http://www.jrseurope.org/news_detail?TN=NEWS-20140620082349. Accessed 11 November 2014.

Sutter, John D. 'The Faces of Egypt's "Revolution 2.0"'. CNN, 21 February 2011. http://www.cnn.com/2011/TECH/innovation/02/21/egypt.internet.revolution/index.html. Accessed 6 October 2011.

Travis, Alan. 'UK Axes Support for Mediterranean Migrant Rescue Operation'. *The Guardian*, 28 October 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/oct/27/uk-mediterranean-migrant-rescue-plan. Accessed 5 March 2015.

Wahlquist, Calla. 'Christians Strip Off in Perth Court Protest at Detention of Asylum Seeker Children'. *The Guardian Australia*, 28 January 2015. http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/jan/28/christians-strip-off-perth-court-protest-detention-asylum-seeker-children. Accessed 20 February 2015.

Weber, Max. 'Politics as Vocation'. In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Wilson, Erin K. 'Much To Be Proud Of, Much To Be Done: Faith-Based Organizations and the Politics of asylum in Australia'. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24, no. 3 (2011): 548–64.

Wilson, Erin K. 'Theorizing Religion as Politics in Postsecular International Relations'. *Politics, Religion, Ideology* 15, no. 3 (2014): 347–65.

Winton, Tim. 'Start the Soul-Searching Australia'. *The Age*, 30 March 2015. http://www.theage.com.au/comment/tim-wintons-palm-sunday-plea-start-the-soulsearching-australia-20150329-1ma5so.touch.html. Accessed 3 April 2015.

16

INTEGRATING RELIGION INTO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

Jonathan Fox and Nukhet A. Sandal

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, ISRAEL AND OHIO UNIVERSITY, USA

Religion and international relations (IR) theory have had a unique and interesting relationship. It is arguable that modern IR has some of its roots in religious conflict in that the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which many consider the origin of the modern international system, was to a large extent motivated by the desire to end international wars fought over religion. Despite this, until around the new millennium, few IR scholars addressed religion.[1] Yet today it is becoming increasingly clear that religion is an important influence on IR theory. There is an emerging body of work that recognizes and investigates this influence.[2]

In this chapter we discuss the multiple influences of religion on IR theory. We argue that religion is a multi-faceted phenomenon which interacts with politics, society and the economy in multiple ways. This is also true of its interaction with IR theory. Any one of these influences, by itself, would be worthy of note and the sum of these influences results in a combined impact that makes it one of the most important intervening variables in IR.

In addition we discuss how one prominent IR theory, classical realism, can accommodate an understanding of these influences. This is not to argue that other prominent IR theories like neo-realism, liberalism, constructivism, the English school, and Marxism have no explanatory power. Rather, we use classical realism to demonstrate how an understanding of religion can be integrated into an existing IR theory strands.

For the purposes of this chapter, we define religion as a social and political phenomenon that influences aspects of politics, society, and the economy. Of course religion is more than this but this definition is sufficient for the purposes of this essay – to determine religion's influence in the international arena. This is because the discussion below focuses on what religion does and the nature of its influence in the specific context of IR rather than what religion is.[3]

Classical realism and religion

While classical realism is not a monolithic school of thought, most thinkers within this school of IR theory agree on some basic parameters. States are the key unit of analysis and they seek power in a competitive anarchic environment. Decision makers are rational in that they have consistent and ordered preferences which they seek to achieve in a utility-maximizing manner.

Many scholars of IR theory argue that classical realism cannot easily account for issues of culture and identity, including religion.[4]

Yet if one looks closely the "fathers" of realism did include religion in their thinking. Thucydides in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* included multiple religious references. For Machiavelli "religion was something that demanded scrupulous attention, but its importance derived from its impact on the causes of men's actions, not from its truth."[5] For example he argues that "rulers . . . should uphold the basic principles of the religion which they practice in, and, if this be done it will be easy for them to keep their commonwealth religious, and, in consequence, good and united . . . even though they be convinced it is quite fallacious."[6] Hobbes in his book *The Leviathan* recognized religion as a powerful motivational force. Yet all of these thinkers, while recognizing religion's power to create outcomes in an anarchic world, warned political leaders against basing their policies upon moral considerations including religion. Twentieth-century thinkers who are foundational to modern classical realism such as Hans Morgenthau make similar arguments.[7]

Given this, we posit that religion is not foreign to classical realism. Below we discuss several ways religion can influence IR and how classical realism can accommodate an understanding of these influences.

Legitimacy

While Classical Realism emphasized material power and interest, these concepts contain sufficient flexibility to include less tangible forms of power including legitimacy and persuasion. Along these lines, religion can lend legitimacy to governments as well as specific policies followed by governments. Legitimacy can be defined as "the normative belief by an actor that a rule or institution ought to be obeyed."[8] To convince another that your policy preference is legitimate is to convince them that you are correct, perhaps even morally correct, and that they should support your policies and the actions based on those policies, or at least not oppose them. Religion can be a potent tool in this arena.

Specifically, religion is a complex and versatile tool of persuasion. Most religions are complex with multiple traditions upon which policy makers can draw to justify different, and often contrasting, policies. For example most religious traditions can and have been used at various times to justify policies of war and violence as well as peace and reconciliation.[9] Perhaps this is why many US presidents have used religious imagery to support their foreign policies. Ronald Reagan called the USSR an "evil empire" and George W. Bush has repeatedly used religious imagery in his justification for the war in Iraq and the war on terrorism. In fact, most American presidents have relied on religious imagery to prepare the nation for war.[10] George W. Bush's view of the world is not unopposed. Numerous Muslim leaders have characterized Bush's policies as a war against all Muslims, invoking religious imagery in order to oppose these policies. In addition, there exist Christian-based challenges to Bush's policies.[11] Religion is also in many ways a double-edged sword in that those who wish to oppose a policy can generally also find legitimacy.

It is important to note that this use of religious legitimacy as a means for persuasion has at least three limits. First, religious persuasion is often limited by cultural and religious boundaries. For example, invoking Jesus is more likely to sway Christians than Muslims or Jews, much less Hindus or Buddhists. Second, not everyone will be swayed by religious arguments. In fact, some people are anti-religious and religious persuasion may make them more likely to oppose a policy. Many secularists in Israel, for example, resent the influence of religious parties on the government and are likely to oppose any policy that is perceived as religious in

origin. Finally, religious persuasion is to a great extent dependent on the credentials of the one using it. Someone who is known to be not particularly religious will have more difficulty using religious persuasion than someone with good religious credentials. For example, the Pope or the Dalai Lama will have an easier time invoking religious legitimacy to support a cause than a secular leader widely known to have engaged in immoral behavior, such as Bill Clinton.

Classical realism can encompass this view of religious legitimacy by classifying it as a form of power. While most classical realists focus on material power such as military and economic might, there is room for other forms of power. Hans Morgenthau specifically states that "Power comprises anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man. Thus power covers all social relationships which serve that end, from physical violence to the most subtle psychological ties by which one mind controls another."[12] Niebuhr similarly argues that man can "create an endless variety of types and combinations of power, from that of pure reason to that of pure physical force."[13] While classical realist thinkers rarely addressed religion as one of these psychological or social forms of power, it clearly fits into that mold.

World-views

The discussion of legitimacy and persuasion implies that in some cases religion is a tool used cynically by policy makers, among others, to advance their goals. While this certainly occurs, religion can also act as an independent motivating force. This argument is common in the comparative literature on religion. For instance Seul argues that "no other repositories of cultural meaning have historically offered so much in response to the human need to develop a secure identity. Consequently, religion often is at the core of individual and group identity."[14] Mark Juergensmeyer similarly argues that religion "provides the vision and commitment that propels an activist into scenes of violence, and it supplies the ideological glue that makes that activist's community of support cohere."[15] This argument that religion can strengthen identity and influence behavior is clearly applicable to IR theory.

This can influence IR in two ways. First, religion can influence the world-view or belief system of a policy maker. To the extent that this is true, religion has the potential to influence that policy maker's decisions. In cases of religious world-views this can lead to extreme and intractable policies because "religion deals with the constitution of being as such. Hence, one cannot be pragmatic on concerns challenging this being."[16] On the other hand, religion can also encourage peace and reconciliation.[17]

There are numerous important international incidents and trends that are clearly influenced by religious motivations. Iran's ruling clergy feels that its actions are divinely inspired and, therefore, cannot be wrong. Similarly, the motivation for the 9/11 attacks was based at least in part on a version of the extremist Wahhabi Islamic theology.[18] It also does not fit well into paradigms of IR which are based on material motivations because the Saudi elites from whom this ideology arose are to a large extent dependent upon US support, thus religious motivations provide a potential explanation for why they acted against their material interests.

It is not necessary that a policy maker's world-view be completely religious for religion to have an impact. Most people, including religious people, have complex world-views based on a number of factors including, but not limited to, their upbringing, education, friends, family, cultural heritage, political ideologies, and personal history. Religion need only be among these influences to have an impact. It is likely that that most significant influence of religious world-views on the decisions of policy makers is not in the more blatant examples like Iran and al Qaeda, but rather in the cumulative influence of religious aspects of policy makers' world-views.

The second influence of world-views on IR is the constraints placed on policy makers by widely held religious beliefs among their constituents. Even under autocratic regimes it can be unwise for policy makers to take an action that runs directly counter to some belief, moral, or value that is widely held by their constituents. For example, in the Arab–Israeli conflict, leaders from both sides need to weigh how their populations will react to any agreement. This is particularly true of agreements dealing with the disposition of holy sites like the city of Jerusalem. While there are few large-n studies which specifically focus on the religious constraints that can be placed on policy making, several studies show that religion can influence the political and cultural mediums in which policy makers act. For instance several studies show that Islam is associated with authoritarian governments.[19] There is also no shortage of studies showing that religious affiliation is associated with political attitudes.[20]

While classical realism focuses on power as a primary motive, theorists in this tradition allow for other motivations. For example Niebuhr argues that reason can become subservient to "prejudice and passion and the consequent persistence of irrational egoism."[21] Kissinger allowed that leaders might base their decisions on ideology rather than more "objective" criteria.[22] In a discussion of Communist ideology Kissinger argues that ideology "furnishes the standard of truth and ultimate success . . . provides a means for maintaining cohesion . . . [and] supplies the criteria for settling disputes."[23] Morgenthau both argues for and criticizes the power of these irrational motives:

> carrying their idols before them, the nationalistic masses of our time meet in the international arena, each group convinced that it executes the mandate of history, . . . and that it fulfills a sacred mission ordained by providence, however defined. Little do they know that they meet under an empty sky from which the gods have departed.[24]

Thus, realist thinkers allow that ideology and religion can influence foreign policy but they strongly advise against allowing this to occur.

Also, shared religious ideology can be the basis for alliances between states just as political ideologies are the basis for such alliances. For example the bipolar system that existed during the Cold War based on political ideology could be a model for a similar division of states along religious lines. This is essentially Samuel Huntington's basic argument in his Clash of Civilizations theory.[25]

Institutions

Religious institutions clearly play a role in domestic politics, where they can be potent agents of political mobilization. Classic mobilization theory[26] holds that any group which has an existing organizational infrastructure, such as religious institutions, can use that infrastructure as a basis for mobilization. This strategy for mobilization is effective because religious institutions tend to have most of the features one would want to have in order to mobilize people for political action. They have meeting places and communication networks. People who are active in religious organizations tend to develop organizational and leadership skills. Religious institutions also often have considerable economic assets and good access to the media. In some cases they are part of international networks.[27]

However, there is also a countervailing trend where religious institutions tend to be conservative and support the status quo. Comparative research shows that when religious institutions benefit from the status quo they tend to support it but when some aspect of the status quo is a

threat to these institutions or the religion they represent, they tend to support the opposition. For example, Anthony Gill shows that in Latin America the Catholic Church tends to support opposition movements in countries where they are in danger of losing their congregants to other denominations. Usually in such cases these congregants are disillusioned with the government and the Church needs to disassociate itself from the government to remain legitimate in their eyes. In cases where this challenge is not present and the Church benefits from government support it supports the government.[28]

Religious organizations are active both domestically and internationally supporting political causes.[29] For example, the World Council of Churches played a key role in supporting the various international divestment and actions which led to the fall of the Apartheid regime in South Africa.[30]

While classical realism focuses on the state as the primary actor in international politics, it is possible to expand the pool of actors to include religious institutions. This can be true of those religious institutions which are themselves international. It is also possible for religious actors and institutions to influence a government's foreign policy. For example Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer, two prominent neo-realists (a school of thought even more strict in excluding non-state actors than classical realism) acknowledge that ethnic and religious lobbies have influenced US foreign policy.[31]

Non-state religious actors and transnational religious movements

There are a number of types of non-state religious actors and transnational religious movements which clearly influence IR. We discuss several of them here.

Perhaps the most prominent type of transnational religious movement is religious fundamentalism. Both the origins and agenda of religious fundamentalism can be said to be transnational. In brief, religious fundamentalism is a reaction against modernity.[32] In fact, a major goal of fundamentalists is to protect their religious identities and traditions from modernity and secularism.[33] Ultimately many fundamentalist movements, especially Islamic ones, hope to create a worldwide religious society that knows no borders. Thus, for them, transnationalism is very much their goal.

Certainly, few of these movements feel that their ideology is limited by state borders and many of them seek to spread their movement internationally. This is accomplished through a number of strategies. First, many movements seek to take control of or at least influence state and local governments. If they manage to gain control of a state, in addition to enforcing their religious ideals locally, they use the state to spread the revolution worldwide. This places them firmly within the bounds of classical realist thought. Iran and Afghanistan under the Taliban regime are prime examples of this.

Second, they try to take over religious institutions and become the sole arbiters of religious legitimacy and authority. If they succeed this allows them to use this monopoly of religious legitimacy and authority to portray their goals as moral and correct and paint any who oppose them as evil and subversive. Third, these movements form transnational linkages with other like-minded movements worldwide. These linkages range from the informal to the formal, but clearly represent an effort to form a transnational agenda. Fourth, they make use of the media and international communications to both co-ordinate activities and spread their message worldwide.

While there are some isolated examples of fundamentalist movements taking over states, it is likely their successes in persuasion and framing public debate and influencing governments (rather than taking them over) which has the greatest influence on international politics.

Religious states like Iran and the Taliban government in Afghanistan, while having a significant impact on IR, can be effectively marginalized and countered by the international community. However, the ability of fundamentalist movements to persuade and influence world leaders and, more importantly, the constituents of these leaders of the morality and correctness of their agenda has a less measurable impact, but one that is most likely more significant. Thus, the grass-roots efforts of fundamentalists to gain converts to their ideologies will likely have the longest-lasting and most important long-term impact on IR.

Religious terror movements are another prominent set of international religious actors. While religion has always been a justification for terrorism,[34] religious terrorism is becoming the dominant form of terrorism in the world today.[35] A series of studies has shown that beginning in the 1980s, religious terror has become the most prominent form of terror and that most, but certainly not all, terrorist groups formed during and since the 1990s are Muslim groups, as well as that most terror from this period onward was perpetrated by these groups.[36] Despite the prominence of Islam in recent religious terrorism, it is important to note that both currently and historically, religious terrorism is not synonymous with Islam.

Religious terror has been prominent in a number of high-profile conflicts such as the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, the Chechen rebellion against Russia, the Iraq war, and the civil war in Algeria. Pan-Islamic terror groups like al Qaeda are responsible for high-profile attacks in the West as well as in the Islamic world. Religious terror is also present in conflicts that do not involve Muslims, such as the civil war in Sri Lanka.

This phenomenon, in its current form, is related to the growth of fundamentalism. This is true for at least three reasons. First, as noted earlier, fundamentalism is in part a reaction against modernity. Fundamentalists feel the need to alter the political status quo in order to bring the world into alignment with their ideology. Second, fundamentalist movements are often linked with national movements supporting minorities that seek some form of self-determination. Third, fundamentalists of all stripes resent the encroachment of secular values into their societies.[37]

All of these motivations require political changes in order to accomplish their goals. This, along with the tendency of fundamentalists to want to reorder the world, is a potent combination. However while most fundamentalist movements would likely prefer peaceful means to accomplish this, peaceful means are often insufficient. Since fundamentalist ideologies are generally absolutist, they are able to justify violence in order to achieve these goals. Why terrorism specifically? Because terrorism is perceived by the fundamentalist movements that use this tactic as the most effective form of violence available to them. Put differently, if these movements were able to achieve their ends peacefully or had military forces comparable to that of the United States, for example, they would not need to use terrorism. But in most cases these movements are involved in asymmetrical conflicts against state forces which have more objective military and police power than them. This leaves terrorism as one of the few options available to them.

In the few cases where Muslim fundamentalists control a state – Iran, and Afghanistan under the Taliban – their efforts to spread the Islamic revolution also include terror. This is because engaging in more traditional state warfare is dangerous to those states, especially since those who they consider their primary enemies – the West and Israel – have strong militaries. Thus, engaging in terror through various proxy groups allows them to pursue the violent path but still insulate themselves from retaliation. Though the recent hostilities between Israel and both the Hamas-led Palestinian government and Hezbollah in Lebanon show that this insulation is not complete.

Be that as it may, it is clear that this religious wave of terror has significantly influenced international politics. It has caused the formation or realignment of international alliances between states in order to fight it. It has also led to a recognition that non-state actors can be

a potent force which undermine the traditional state monopoly on the use of violence. It has also influenced the foreign policies of many states and will likely continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

While fundamentalism and terror are high-profile issues, there are other forms of international religious actors. Traditional religious institutions often try to influence foreign policy and act internationally.

While dealing with transnational entities such as religious movements, fundamentalist, terrorist, or otherwise, is likely better addressed by other schools of IR such as neoliberalism, constructivism, or the English school, there are avenues for explorations within classical realism. These movements can be seen as a challenge to the international system as a whole or even an effort to create a world government. Wolfers argues that "lack of consensus among the major nations about the desirability of a world government as well as about the kind of world government today would be more likely to lead to war than to reduce enmity."[38] On a more limited basis they can be seen as a challenge to state governments which, when successful, create religious states.

Religious states

States which are fully guided by a religious ideology are rare but almost half of the states in the world either have an official religion or give one religion prominence over all other religions without declaring that religion the official one.[39] Of course an official religion can mean different things in different states. For example both Iran and the United Kingdom both have official religions but few would argue the impact of religion on international policy is the same in these two states. Nevertheless, many governments' foreign policies are influenced to some extent by religion. In these states, all of the factors we discuss above become more relevant.

While, as we note above, classical realism clearly recommends against religious factors influencing foreign policy, classical realism does have tools to account for religious states. For example Morgenthau allows for religion to influence how a state determines its interests when he argues that "the kind of interest determining political action in a particular period of history depends upon the political and cultural context within which foreign policy is formulated."[40] Foreign policy can be seen as the consequences of elite preferences and their reaction to the external environment.[41] It is possible to include religion in these preferences and perceptions.

The ideological imperative to spread the influence of one's religion is not altogether different from the Soviet Union's policy of spreading communism, a topic discussed extensively by classical realists. In fact, Morgenthau described this imperative in decidedly religious terms:

> Today, the two main power centers in the word, Washington and Moscow, are also the centers of two antagonistic political philosophies which have a tendency to transform them into political religions. These two power centers profess and act upon two incompatible conceptions of human nature, of society, and of government, and have found it at times hard to resist the temptation to try and make the world over in the image of these conceptions.[42]

Even if one does not accept this interpretation of classical realism with ideology driving policy, it is clear that during the Cold War ideology drove alliance formation and there is no reason this could not also occur with religious ideologies.

Also, national security and national interest are ambiguous terms open to interpretation. Accordingly threats to religion can be interpreted as threats to national security or national

interest. Wolfers argues that these terms permit "everyone to label whatever policy he favors with an attractive and possibly deceptive name."[43] Lippman similarly argues that such threats can include threats to a state's "core values."[44]

Other transnational religious trends, issues, and phenomena

There are a number of additional transnational trends, issues, and phenomena which overlap with religion that are worthy of note. Many of them have ethical elements. For example, the issues of human and religious rights are increasingly becoming international issues. The issue of human rights in general has become an important element of the foreign policies of many Western states. Also, the issue of religious rights is included in a number of international treaties and documents including the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention of Genocide, the 1981 UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief; the 1950 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom, the American Convention on Human Rights, the 1969 African Charter on Human and People's Rights, and the 1990 Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam, among others.

Nevertheless, perceptions of the scope and application of these rights differ along religious lines, especially between the secular and Muslim states. One reason for this is that the modern concept of human rights developed in the West and this development was influenced in a number of ways by Christianity.[45] For example, most secular documents provide a list of specific rights[46] but the Cairo Declaration which represents the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers contains only a protection against forced conversion. In fact, the Cairo Declaration goes further in rejecting the international human rights regime by defining Islam as not only the preferred value system for the world's Muslims, but as the only acceptable value system for the entire world.[47] As human rights violations are increasingly being considered justifications for international intervention, this issue is becoming increasingly important in the international arena. Similarly, the issue of women's rights is becoming an increasing source of tension between the West and the non-West. Non-Western states, and especially Muslim states, place many restrictions on women that are incongruent with Western ideas of equality for women. Religion is often used to justify many of these restrictions.

Not all of these ethical sources of tension are inter-religious. One such issue is that of family planning. In this case the tension is between those with a more secular orientation and those with a more religious orientation as family planning, and especially abortion, is to varying degrees restricted or banned by most interpretations the Abrahamic religions. The issue of stem-cell research also has caused tensions along similar secular vs. religious lines.

Interestingly, ethical issues are not completely foreign to classical realism. Niebuhr, for example, emphasized the "ethical consequences of interdependence" arguing that it is impossible to think of a nation and its interests in a narrow manner.[48] In fact Niebuhr "defended the use of force against Nazis in terms of morality and justice."[49] Such actions can also be defined in terms of national interest as expansionist dictators who engage in human rights abuses can often become threats to the stability of the state system.

Another major international issue is holy places. The holy places for the three Abrahamic religions which are located in Israel have been an issue of contention. This includes competing territorial claims between the Jews and the Muslims, among Christians for control of Christian holy sites, and tensions between Christians and Muslims over holy sites in Nazareth. All of these disputes have led to the political involvement of a number of foreign states. Another prominent international incident regarding holy sites was when the Taliban-controlled Afghan

government decided to destroy two giant statues of Buddha in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. In addition to Buddhist governments and scholars, there was also involvement by UNESCO and even several Muslim states in the unsuccessful efforts to stop the destruction of these statues.[50] Clearly state behavior in these instances demonstrates that the safety and control of these holy places are linked to their national interest. Control of them can also be seen as a form of power, in that access to them is a commodity desired by other states.

Identity

One of religion's many facets is identity. The concept of religious identity overlaps with most of the other ways religion influences IR that we discuss earlier in this essay but it deserves to be identified and discussed separately. That IR is influenced by various identity issues is probably accepted by many IR scholars though there are no doubt many – including realists, neo-realists, and Marxists – who would dispute this notion. In short, both the extent and nature of this influence are disputed.

The debate over Samuel Huntington's[51] Clash of Civilizations theory illustrates this point well. Huntington essentially argues that the national and ethnic identities which were prominent during the Cold War are becoming less relevant, and in the post-Cold War era more macro-level identities, which he calls civilizations, will become the primary form of identity which drives international politics and the primary basis for international conflict. Huntington defines a civilization as:

> the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of what distinguishes humans from other species. It is defined by both common language, history, religion, customs, institutions and by the subjective self identification of people.[52]

This definition is essentially the same as most definitions of ethnic and national identity. The primary difference is that the identity groupings he describes are much larger. In fact, Huntington's concept of civilizations is essentially an amalgamation of more narrowly defined ethnic and national identities into a broader identity group based on more generally defined common traits. Furthermore, these amalgamations are largely along religious lines. Most of the civilizations on Huntington's list of civilizations – the Western, Sino-Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, and "possibly" African civilizations – include at least some aspect of religion in their definition and even are named after religions. Other than the African civilizations, they are largely religiously homogeneous. Thus, in essence, Huntington argues that religious identity will be the basis for IR in the post-Cold War era.[53]

This theory was among the most controversial of the late-twentieth-century IR theories. A number of criticisms emerged to counter it. However, few of these criticisms directly denied that identity in general and religious identity in particular now influence IR, sometimes significantly. In fact many argued that identity would remain important, but it would be the *national* and *ethnic* identities which were the primary forms of identity in the Cold War era – not religious identities per se – which would remain the dominant forms of identity in the post-Cold War era.[54] Thus, to the extent that religion plays a role in national and ethnic identities,[55] religious identity will play a role in international politics.

Due to the sheer volume of the debate over Huntington's theory it is impossible to fully discuss the critics of that theory in this context but a brief listing of the types of criticisms is in

order. First, many argue that the previous bases for conflict will remain the bases for conflict in the post-Cold War era. The argument that national and ethnic identities will remain important fit into this category. Second, the world is becoming more interdependent and a single world identity will form that will make all previous sub-identities irrelevant. This criticism has the distinction of being one of the few that directly argues against the relevance of religious identity. Third, many argue that Huntington ignored or missed some essential factor which makes his theory irrelevant. These factors include conflict-management techniques, population and environmental issues, the importance of military and economic power, the processes of modernization and secularization, and the desire of many in the non-West to be like the West. Fourth, many point out that Huntington's description of the facts is inaccurate or even intentionally distorted. Fifth, every quantitative study, which when combined include nearly every domestic and international conflict since World War II, consistently find that civilizational conflicts are a minority of conflicts, civilizational conflict did not increase with the end of the Cold War, and more traditional explanations for conflict have better explanatory power than civilizational factors. Sixth, some argue that Huntington himself does not believe his theory and the reason he presented it was to influence US foreign policy. Seventh, many attach Huntington's methodology for various, and often contradictory reasons. Finally, several critics note that Huntington's predictions are potentially self-fulfilling prophecies. That is, if foreign-policy makers come to believe his predictions, especially his prediction of a Muslim vs. West conflict, this will help to make those predictions come true.[56]

There is room for the concept of religious identity in classical realism. Just as religious ideology can be the basis for alliances so can religious identity. On a deeper level both Morgenthau and Niebuhr emphasized "human nature" in their thinking. Human nature includes the human desire for belonging.

Conclusions

There is a growing realization that IR theory's blind spot for religion is one of the greatest failings of that body of theory. Many like Samuel Huntington argue explicitly or implicitly that religion has returned to the international scene after having been gone for some undefined period of time. Yet, does it really make sense that religion disappeared then reappeared? Or is it more likely that religion was always present and IR scholars were blinded by their paradigms to its existence?

Certainly the influence of many of religion's individual facets waxes and wanes over time. It is also certain that the influence of religion evolves over time. The rise of religious fundamentalism is one example of this. Yet religious fundamentalism's influence on IR is a new manifestation of an old influence. The idea that religion should guide the state and the desire to spread the influence of one's religion are not new to the relations between states. In fact these influences of religion can be described as ancient. What is new in this case is the specific form of religious ideology. Thus, the content of religious ideologies may change over time, but how they interact with IR remains more constant. This is true of most of religion's influences on IR.

Religion is used to legitimate and de-legitimate actions and policies. It influences the worldviews and actions of policy makers and their constituents. Religious institutions can both mobilize their members for political action and discourage political action. Religious conflicts cross borders. And there exist a number of transnational phenomena and issues related to religion. These general patterns remain constant but their specific manifestations can vary over place and time. Put differently, the specifics of religion's influence on IR may change over time, but no matter the evolution of these specifics, the general pattern remains relatively constant.

While some would argue that we need to create entirely new theories of IR to deal with these realizations, we argue that existing theories can account for religion. We demonstrate here that classical realism, a theory many would consider to be incompatible with religion, can in fact account for many of religion's influences on the relations between states.

Notes

1 Hassner, "Religion as a Variable"; Philpott, "The Challenge of September 11." For a detailed discussion of why religion was ignored in the social sciences in general see Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics*.
2 Examples include Sandal and James, "Religion and International Relations Theory"; Snyder, *Religion and International Relations Theory*; Sandal and Fox, *Religion in IR Theory*.
3 For a discussion of how to define religion in the context of the social sciences see Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics*, 4–7.
4 Keohane and Nye, "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age"; Lapid, "Culture's Ship."
5 Preus, "Machiavelli's Functional Analysis of Religion," 173.
6 Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, 168.
7 Fox and Sandal, *Religion in IR Theory*, 31–5.
8 Hurd, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," 381.
9 Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*.
10 Kelly "With God on His Side."
11 See, for example, Laaman, *Getting on Message.* For a more general argument for religious pacifism see Kimball, *When Religion Becomes Evil*.
12 Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 8–9.
13 Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man*, 20.
14 Seul, "Ours is the Way of God," 558.
15 Juergensmeyer, "Terror Mandated by God," 17.
16 Laustsen and Waever, "In Defense of Religion," 719.
17 Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*; Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon.*
18 Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom*.
19 Fisch, "Islam and Authoritarianism"; Midlarsky, "Democracy and Islam." These studies look at statistical relationships across large numbers of states. Thus they imply that, on average, Muslim states tend to be more autocratic than non-Muslim states. This is does not mean that there are no Muslim states which are also democratic.
20 For a discussion of these studies see Beyerlain and Chaves, "The Political Activities of Religious Congregations in the US."
21 Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, xx.
22 Kissinger, "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy."
23 Ibid., 518–19.
24 Morgenthau, "Politics Among Nations," 234.
25 Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" and *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*.
26 See, for example, McCarthy and Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements"; and Tarrow, *Democracy and Disorder*.
27 Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics.*
28 Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar*; Fox "Do Religious Institutions Support Violence or the Status Quo?"
29 Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion*, 98–115.
30 Sandal, "Religious Actors"; Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics*.
31 Walt and Mearsheimer, *The Israel Lobby*.
32 For a more detailed discussion of the definition of and characteristics of fundamentalism as well as the links between fundamentalism and modernity see Almond, Appleby and Sivan, *Strong Religion*.

33 Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, 87–94.
34 Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling."
35 Rapoport, "Modern Terror."
36 Weinberg and Eubank, "Terrorism and Democracy"; Weinberg, Eubank and Pedahzur, "Characteristics of Terrorist Organizations."
37 Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War?* and "Terror Mandated by God."
38 Wolfers, "Statesmanship and Moral Choice," 187.
39 Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics*.
40 Morgenthau, "The Evil of Politics and the Ethics of Evil," 12.
41 Schweller, "Unanswered Threats," 169–70.
42 Morgenthau, "What Is the National Interest," 4.
43 Wolfers, "National Security," 481.
44 Lippman, *US Foreign Policy*, 51.
45 Martin, "The Three Monotheistic World Religions."
46 For example see the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief at http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/36/a36r055.htm.
47 Martin, "The Three Monotheistic World Religions."
48 Niebuhr, "Repeal the Neutrality Act!," 2.
49 Patterson, *Just War Thinking*, 3.
50 For a more detailed discussion of these issues see, Fox and Sandler, *Bringing Religion into International Relations*, 108–13.
51 Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" and *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*.
52 Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," 24.
53 For a more detailed discussion of the overlap between Huntington's civilizations and religious identity see Fox, *Religion, Civilization and Civil War*, 157–9.
54 See, for example, Gurr, "Peoples Against the State"; and Walt, "Building Up New Bogeymen."
55 Prominent scholars of ethnicity and nationalism generally argue that religion is often an essential element of ethnic and national identities. See, for example, Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, 3.
56 For a full review of these critiques of Huntington's theories see Fox, *Religion, Civilization and Civil War*, 161–5.

References

Almond, Gabriel, R. Scott Appleby and Emmanuel Sivan. *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalism around the World.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Appleby, R. Scott. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Beyerlein, Kraig and Mark Chaves. "The Political Activities of Religious Congregations in the US." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 42 (2), 2003: 229–46.

Fisch, M. Steven. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics*, 55 (1), 2002: 4–37.

Fox, Jonathan. "Do Religious Institutions Support Violence or the Status Quo?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 22 (2), 1999: 119–39.

Fox, Jonathan. *Religion, Civilization and Civil War: 1945 Through the New Millennium*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004, 155–74.

Fox, Jonathan. *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Fox, Jonathan and Nukhet Sandal. *Religion in International Relations Theory: Interactions and Possibilities*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Fox, Jonathan and Shmuel Sandler. *Bringing Religion into International Relations*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004,

Gill, Anthony. *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Gold, Dore. *Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003.

Gopin, Marc. *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence, and Peacemaking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Gurr, Ted R. "Peoples Against the State: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System." *International Studies Quarterly*, 38 (3), 1994 : 347–77.

Gurr, Ted R. *Minorities At Risk*. United States Institute of Peace, 1993.

Hassner, Ron "Religion as a Variable," in Michael C. Desch and Daniel Philpott (eds.) *Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research*, Mellon Initiative on Religion Across the Disciplines, Notre Dame University, 2013, 68–77.

Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, 72 (3), 1993: 22–49.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Hurd, Ian. "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics." *International Organizations*, 53 (2), 1999: 379–408.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *The New Cold War?* Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1993.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. "Terror Mandated by God." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9 (2), Summer 1997: 16–23.

Kelly, Colleen. "With God on His Side: Deconstructiong the Post 9/11 Discourse of George W. Bush." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Communication Association, Christchurch, New Zealand, 2005.

Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph Nye. "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age". *Foreign Affairs*, 77 (5), 1998: 81–94.

Kimball, Charles. *When Religion Becomes Evil*. San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins, 2002.

Kissinger, Henry. "Domestic Structure and Foreign Policy." *Daedalus*, 95 (2), 1966: 503–29.

Laaman, Peter. *Getting on Message: Challenging the Christian Right from the Heart of the Gospel*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2006.

Lapid, Yosef. "Culture's Ship: Returns and Departures in International Relations Theory," in Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil (eds.) *The Return of Culture and Identity in International Relations Theory*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996, 3–20.

Laustsen, Carsten B. and Ole Waever. "In Defense of Religion: Sacred Referent Objects for Securitization." *Millennium*, 29 (3), 2000: 705–39.

Lippman, Walter. *US Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic*. Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1943.

Machiavelli, Niccolo. *The Discourses*. Bernard Crick (ed.) (trans. Leslie J. Walker). New York: Penguin Group, 1984 [1513].

Martin, J. Paul. "The Three Monotheistic World Religions and International Human Rights." *Journal of Social Issues*, 61 (94), 2005: 827–45.

McCarthy John D. and Mayer N. Zald. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology*, 82 (6), 1976: 1217–18.

Midlarsky, Manus I. "Democracy and Islam: Implications for Civilizational Conflict and the Democratic Peace." *International Studies Quarterly*, 42 (3), 1998: 458–511.

Morgenthau, Hans J. "The Evil of Politics and the Ethics of Evil." *Ethics*, 56 (1), 1945: 1–18.

Morgenthau, Hans J. "What is the National Interest of the United States?" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 282 (1), 1952: 1–7.

Morgenthau, Hans J. *Politics Among Nations*, second edition. New York: Knopf, 1956.

Niebuhr, Reinhold. *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study of Ethics and Politics*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932.

Niebuhr, Reinhold. "Repeal the Neutrality Act!" *Christianity and Crisis*, 1, 1941.

Niebuhr, Reinhold. *Nature and Destiny of Man II*. Westminster John Knox Press, 1996.

Patterson, Eric. *Just War Thinking: Morality and Pragmatism in the Struggle Against Contemporary Threats*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.

Philpott, Daniel. "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations." *World Politics*, 55 (1), 2002: 66–95.

Preus, Samuel. "Machiavelli's Functional Analysis of Religion: Context and Object." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40 (2), 1979: 171–90.

Rapoport, David C. "Modern Terror: The Four Waves." *Current History*, 2001: 419–25.

Rapoport, David C. "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions." *American Political Science Review*, 78 (3), 1984: 658–77.

Sandal, Nukhet and Patrick James. "Religion and International Relations Theory: Towards a Mutual Understanding." *European Journal of International Relations*, 17 (1), 2011: 3–25.

Sandal, Nukhet and Jonathan Fox. *Religion in IR Theory: Interactions and Possibilities*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Sandal, Nukhet. "Religious Actors as Epistemic Communities in Conflict Transformation: The Cases of Northern Ireland and South Africa." *Review of International Studies*, 37, 2011: 929–49.

Schweller, Randall. "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing." *International Security*, 29 (2), 2004: 159–201.

Seul, Jefferey R. "'Ours is the Way of God': Religion, Identity and Intergroup Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research*, 36 (3), 1999: 553–69.

Snyder, Jack (ed.). *Religion and International Relations Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Tarrow, Sidney. *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy 1965–1975*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Thomas, Scott M. *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Walt, Stephen N. "Building Up New Bogeymen." *Foreign Policy*, 106, 1997: 177–89.

Walt, Stephen M. and John Mearsheimer. *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Policy*. Chicago: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2007.

Weinberg, Leonard B. and William L. Eubank. "Terrorism and Democracy: What Recent Events Disclose". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 10 (1), 1998: 108–18.

Weinberg, Leonard, William Eubank and Ami Pedahzur. "Characteristics of Terrorist Organizations 1910–2000." Presented at the 25th Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology in Berlin, Germany, July, 2002.

Wolfers, Arnold. "Statesmanship and Moral Choice." *World Politics*, 1 (2), 1949: 175–95.

Wolfers, Arnold. "'National Security' as an Ambiguous Symbol." *Political Science Quarterly*, 67 (4), 1952: 481–502.

17

RELIGION AND FOREIGN POLICY

Nukhet A. Sandal

OHIO UNIVERSITY, USA

The role of religion in the making and practice of foreign policy has been at the center of heated debates. We can attribute this interest to two main factors. The first is the rise in the number and prominence of religious actors in the international arena, and an increasing awareness on the part of the policy circles that religion is here to stay. In a message to State Department diplomats in Washington and overseas, the Secretary of State John Kerry said, "In every country, in every region of the world, and on nearly every issue central to US foreign policy, religious institutions and actors are among the drivers of change".[1] The second is the rise in the number of academic publications on the issue of religion and international relations that goes beyond the relationship between religion and violence. In 2002, Philpott argued "with few exceptions, international relations scholars have long assumed the absence of religion among the factors that influence states".[2] This long-term neglect has recently transformed into a vibrant research agenda. Political science scholars have written about religion and its connections to international relations theory,[3] military,[4] peacebuilding,[5] and international organizations.[6] This renewed interest in the study of religion and politics spills into the field of foreign policy as well.

Before analyzing the linkages between religion and foreign policy, we should pay attention to how we define "religion" since there is no single definition of the concept, and how we define "foreign policy". As Buzan and Little assert, International Relations thinking should shift from mutually exclusive interpretations to an interlinked set of perspectives that complement each other.[7] Religion indeed should be seen from such an inclusive perspective and the lack of one single definition should not deter the foreign policy scholars who are ready to define carefully the aspect of religion used in an academic investigation. The same religion can have different policy manifestations in different settings, therefore it is critical not to take "religion" as a monolithic concept.[8] In the study of foreign policy, religious phenomena can be investigated as an independent (as a cause), intervening (as a link between the cause and the resulting observation), and dependent variable (as the "product" of non-religious causes). Even when religion is captured as an independent variable, it is not assumed to be the single cause of any event. When it comes to defining "foreign policy", the picture is clearer, although there are still multiple ways to approach the definition. This chapter takes the traditional understanding of foreign policy as a state's strategy towards dealing with other states and international actors. However, it also recognizes that foreign policies are not just made in vacuum and

they are influenced by transnational actors, local interest groups, and the beliefs of individual policy-makers. Similarly, a state's foreign policy is not only about actions towards other states; it includes the state's strategy towards international organizations and transnational networks (including terrorist groups).

Following the conceptual directions above, we can study religion and foreign policy from multiple perspectives and at multiple levels. There are examples of theoretical approaches towards religion and foreign policy that take into account diverse linkages. Warner and Walker, for example, propose a framework of religion and foreign policy that allows multiple causal explanations that include linkages among power, interests, institutions, ideas/culture, and agents.[9] This chapter reviews the possible linkages and influences under four main headings, reflecting four analytical levels: (1) Religion's influence on individuals (individual level), (2) Domestic actors, local politics and foreign policy (sub-state level), (3) States, foreign policy and religion (state level), and (4) Transnational actors and foreign policy (international/transnational level). These categories are not mutually exclusive and there are inevitable overlaps among them. For example, it might be difficult to separate the influence of the local churches on foreign policy from the overall influence of Vatican, or World Council of Churches. Despite this overlap, these categories help us to evaluate contemporary questions of religion and foreign policy in a more systematic manner.

Religion's influence on individuals and foreign policy

Individuals might define themselves through religion either because they believe in the ideologies a religion has in itself, or for pragmatic reasons. Joseph Kony, the leader of the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda, called himself God's spokesperson and created a political theology that is a combination of Acholi nationalism and Christianity. The motivation behind the 9/11 attacks, and the attackers' worldviews, was based at least in part on an extreme version of Wahhabi Islamic worldview. Sinhalese Buddhist nationalists in Sri Lanka, Hindu nationalists in India, and ultra-orthodox Jews in Israel believe that it is their duty to behave in line with their traditions and they have a special political mandate. Religious actors do not have to be the very decision makers who make foreign policy to have an impact. They can influence policies through public opinion and activism. Haynes addresses this dynamic when he states "If religious actors 'get the ear' of key foreign policy-makers because of their shared religious beliefs, the former may become able to influence foreign policy outcomes through the exercise of religious soft power".[10] Religious identity shapes how individuals perceive other countries and their policies as well. Ciftci and Tezcur show that religious identity at the individual level affect favorability ratings of and the projection of soft power by Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East.[11] These views might put constraints on the policy options of foreign policy decision makers even if these decision makers do not share the same views.

Religion can influence foreign policies directly through the decision makers who make them. Guner argues that "state leaders and decision makers can ascribe meanings to reality by assessing foreign policy through their religious lenses".[12] Thus religion can influence how they "identify causes of global problems, allies, enemies" as well as how they assess national interests. Many US presidents, for example, have used religious imagery to legitimize their foreign policies. Carter's conciliatory religious discourse enabled him to bring different worldviews to the table, especially within the context of the Middle East peace process. Ronald Reagan called the USSR an "evil empire". George W. Bush has repeatedly used religious imagery in his justification for the war in Iraq and the "war on terrorism". Bush's worldview and the legitimacy of his policies have been challenged numerous times, even from a Christian

perspective.[13] Albright, the US Secretary of State from 1997 to 2001, draws attention to the religious worldviews of the American presidents and how they helped create an exceptionalist American political culture.[14] Inboden highlights Eisenhower's religious framing of the Cold War, noting his famous words, "when God comes in, communism has to go".[15]

Religious individuals might also play significant roles in foreign policy and peacebuilding initiatives. The concept of faith-based diplomacy builds on the faith-based conflict resolution literature.[16] Its proponents argue that religion can facilitate reconciliation between enemies, solidarity with the poor and the overturning of unjust structures. Faith-based diplomacy focuses on emphasizing pluralism, inclusion, peacemaking through conflict resolution, social justice, forgiveness, healing collective wounds, and atonement. There are also prominent religious figures who played the role of mediator in sensitive situations. One such example is the Anglican churchman Terry Waite, who was an assistant for Anglican Communion affairs to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Waite negotiated hostage releases with post-revolutionary Iran, Libya, and Islamic Jihad.[17] Religious institutions and individuals play a crucial role in defusing crises and restoring stability.

While much of this literature focuses on grassroots efforts, faith-based diplomacy also covers state-to-state interactions.[18] In her book, *The Mighty and the Almighty*, the former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright explains how the United States has not understood the motivations of religious states well enough. At the same time, Albright counts exemplary instances of how and where faith has played a key role in successful initiatives in American diplomacy. A famous example of faith-based peacemaking was orchestrated by President Jimmy Carter at Camp David in 1978, which would not have happened if Carter had not had the ability to "understand and appeal to the deep religious convictions of President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin", Albright argues.[19]

In some contexts, religious and political actors are the same. Political leaders then have infinite access to religious discourse in both domestic and foreign policy making, and can rally their supporters more effectively. Ian Paisley, the former leader of the Democratic Unionist Party in Northern Ireland and an important party to the conflict, which spread beyond the local borders, was also the leader of the Free Presbyterian Church. For years, Paisley did not shy away from attacking the Catholic Church in the newspaper he co-founded, *The Protestant Telegraph.* The case of Paisley and the conflict in Northern Ireland is an instance of fundamental evangelicalism that has regional and international repercussions.

Domestic actors, politics, and foreign policy

Domestic actors, such as religious organizations, lobbies and local interest groups, can have an impact on foreign policy. This influence can happen through creating a strong public opinion on issues, or connecting with transnational organizations to create pressure on decision makers. Thanks to the advance of technology, religious actors also take part in global civil society, transcending the distinction between the domestic and the international.[20] Individuals who share the same religious conviction around the world come together to challenge the premises of the traditional state structure. Religious institutions connect with each other to realize their local and transnational objectives.

Local religious actors can influence national and international politics and they have access to resources. Religious organizations often have most of the organizational resources necessary for political mobilization. These resources include meeting places in which people regularly congregate. While these meetings are usually religious and social meetings, using those meetings to announce the details of a political mobilization campaign requires very little

additional effort. Religious institutions also have communication networks. Active members of religious organizations tend to develop organizational and leadership skills that can also be applied to political activities. Religious institutions also often have considerable economic assets and good access to the media. In this vein, Kalyvas argues that "religious entrepreneurs" are better able to initiate collective action and intense conflict.[21] Ozdamar and Akbaba, for example, show that religious discrimination is an important predictor of initiating and becoming involved in international crises.[22] Basedau, Pfeiffer and Vullers also find that the overlap of religious and other identities, religious groups' grievances, and religious leaders' calls for violence are factors that will likely fuel armed conflict.[23]

Local religious organizations and groups also create and consolidate religious myths in the political sphere which can also have implications for foreign policy. For example, Hindu nationalists make speeches for the liberation of Lord Ram's birthplace and the phraseology is imbued with religious imagery.[24] The Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) fierce stance led to an aggressive foreign policy and a faster development of nuclear weapons, not to mention harsher positions vis-à-vis Kashmir and Pakistan. In another example, aware of the strong Buddhist values of the society, Thaksin Shinawatra, former Prime Minister of Thailand, employed religious rhetoric and made references to an influential ascetic monk and philosopher, Buddhadasa, in his political speeches.[25] Ironically, it is argued that his downfall was partly due to the spiritually informed Buddhist public opinion, which expected him to live up to the Buddhist standards he highlighted in his speeches.[26]

Local politics and gestures can have foreign policy implications based on past traumas and experiences. The Yasukuni Shrine, dedicated to the spirits of those who died when fighting for Japan, has been at the center of political controversies since noted war criminals were also named among the spirits that are to be revered. The former Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visits to the shrine had angered the Chinese and the South Koreans as it signaled an aggressive form of Japanese nationalism that was proud of both its nationalist and Shinto heritage, even the most violent episodes. Local religious organizations, in conjunction with their transnational counterparts, might also use the soft power of religion in foreign policy and conflict resolution. Johnston and Sampson show how religious organizations have played a major role as mediators in ending conflict or facilitators of democratic change with case studies including Nicaragua, Nigeria, East Germany, the Philippines, and South Africa.[27]

Religiously inspired lobbies and interest groups might have an impact on foreign policy too. Walt and Mearsheimer, in their study of the influence of the Israeli lobby on American foreign policy, note, "interest groups can lobby elected representatives and members of the executive branch, make campaign contributions, vote in elections, try to mould public opinion" among other actions.[28] Amstutz argues that in the United States, Evangelicals translate their belief that humans were created in God's image into a core principle of American foreign policy and took action on issues ranging from global poverty to foreign policy towards Israel.[29] Similarly, Ross explores how Muslim interest groups influence the United States, Canada, and United Kingdom foreign policies.[30]

As the examples above already indicate, one can observe the increasing influence of religious actors, including religious political parties, in secular settings. In an officially secular country, Turkey, the ruling Justice and Development (AK) Party came to power due to its Islamic credentials. Although the party did not prove to be as "radical" as the secular circles expected, it challenged the conventional power politics wisdom from time to time, relying mostly on the Muslim public support. For example, in March 2003, the majority of the members of the parliament from the AK Party voted against a resolution authorizing the deployment of the forces of its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ally, the US, to Turkey

to open a northern front in a war against Iraq, a fellow Muslim-majority country. Taydas and Ozdamar report that the deputy Prime Minister of the time, Abdullatif Sener, remembers that it was especially difficult "to convince the [AK; that is, the ruling party] party's pro-Islamist deputies, who were being seriously pressured by the Islamist conservative media, intellectuals, and constituencies not to participate in the war".[31] This is a case that shows how local religious actors ranging from media to pundits can directly influence critical foreign policies.

Even nationalist groups that condone violence might have strong ties with religious institutions. Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston (EOKA), a Greek Cypriot nationalist movement that employed paramilitary activities to reach its goals, had ties with the Greek Orthodox Church.[32] Groups or establishments that are strongly affiliated with religious institutions might represent themselves as alternatives to the traditional state. Some transnational religious groups seek to take over states or territories within states, and possibly transform them into religious states, can have a considerable impact on the international politics, as we have witnessed with the ISIS expansion in the Middle East. In some states, this claim to political power is regarded as the primary security threat, coming before threats that are posed by other states.

States, foreign policy, and religion

Religion's influence on states' foreign policy is more observable in religious states. Fox, in a study of 177 states' religion policies between 1990 and 2008, demonstrates that in practice official support for a single religion is common. Forty-one (23.1 percent) have official religions and an additional forty-four (24.8 percent), while not declaring an official religion, support one religion more than others.[33] Political leaders in religious states, in an attempt to justify a course of action, might be more likely to resort to moral discourse on a state level. In a meeting on nuclear weapons with his South Korean counterpart, for example, the Israeli president at the time, Shimon Peres, called Ahmedinejad "the world's greatest corrupter of morality".[34]

Religious states are directly influenced by and also actively shape transnational religious ideologies, which we will touch upon later. As Thomas argues, Zionism is a transnational idea as is Pan-Islamism, each having its own symbols and "prophets", yet both these ideas have contributed significantly to the interest formations and power definitions of individual state actors.[35] In their foreign policy dealings, the leaders of religious states might make references to different understandings of world order, which they might perceive as natural and commonsensical. To illustrate, for Ayatollah Khomeini the 1979 revolution in Iran that transformed Iran into a religious state was only the first phase of a world Islamic Revolution. According to Khomeini, the revolution was to be spread by non-violent means because it was "self-evident" and thus did not require enforcement.[36] Religious states usually have leadership claims, which might have a direct impact on their foreign and domestic policies. For example, Saudi Arabia (Sunni) and Iran (Shi'a) regard themselves as the champions of the Islamic societies. Saudi Arabia severely restricts the religious practices of Shi'a Muslims, including bans on the imports of Shi'a religious books and audiocassettes and censorship of public speeches by Saudi clerics and scholars.[37] This religious ideological competition, in short, has significant local and transnational implications, and shapes foreign policy accordingly.

However, it would be a mistake to conclude that a religious state plays only by religious rules in foreign policy making. Religious states and groups care about how they are recognized and treated by other states. Sharp explains how the ambassador-designate of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mullah Zaeef, operated as a link between the Islamic vision of the world and Western international society.[38] He shows how the Taliban worked for international recognition as the legitimate government of Afghanistan.

Sharp also demonstrates that as an actor in this quest, Zaeef even sought American support for the Taliban's legitimacy, especially after the praise received by the group from the US due to the ban on poppy cultivation.

When analyzing the influence of religion on foreign policy, it is crucial to recognize the history of the political ideologies and power struggles that empowered religious ideologies and states. The colonial experience has had a tremendous impact on the perceptions, fears, and attitudes of the developing world. For example, Shahin asserts that "many leading [Egyptian] Islamists have explicitly declared their commitment to democracy, but they frequently distinguish between democracy as a system of values and democracy as a policy instrument".[39] Some Islamists think that "the West has betrayed the modern humane ideals in its connection with the Muslim world, and the betrayal is best exemplified by colonialism and its lingering political and economic impacts".[40] In such cases, religious ideology and foreign policy decisions might be manifestations of resistance to imperial and colonial interventions.

Religion can also be influential in the foreign policies of secular states. Nationalism, by itself, carries elements of religious ideologies. Nationalist perspectives are constantly renegotiated in the light of religious frameworks. Brubaker criticizes the understanding of nationalism as a distinctively secular phenomenon, stating that one can treat religion and nationalism as analogous phenomena; religion might help explaining the features of nationalism; religion can be part of nationalism; and there can be forms of religious nationalism.[41] Saat, for example, shows how Malay identity is refashioned towards a tolerant Islam and the unwillingness of the *ulama* to define national identity independent of religion.[42] In the Christian Orthodox world, the Serbian religious elite "developed their theological concepts on the basis of the idea that Serbian orthodoxy forms the heart of the Serbian national identity and that from a historical perspective the Serbian nation is under constant threat".[43] When national identity is influenced by religion, there will be inevitable yet subtle manifestations of this underlying religious identity in foreign policy.

Another such manifestation is the political discourse that has religious references, and the employment of religious narratives in foreign policy. Brown and Theodossopoulos illustrate how Byzantine and Orthodox narratives prevail in the worldviews of the Greeks with regard to international relations.[44] Similarly, Marsden draws attention to the "city on a hill" image (from Matthew 5:14) and "manifest destiny" that has become "deeply ingrained within the American psyche".[45] Sandal illustrates how in the minds of Turkish citizens and officials, the ideal citizen is constructed as Sunni, emphasizing the difficulties of challenging the religious narratives that are rooted in the worldviews of regular citizens, and showing the foreign policy implications of such constructions.[46] As these examples show, national and communal narratives might carry strong religious overtones; through education, upbringing and other social interactions, prevalent narratives and discourses shape worldviews. These worldviews translate into public and foreign policies. Kraus, for example, reports that many Washington-based advocacy groups use religious language to influence the public agenda.[47] Several studies have found that countries that intervene in ethnic conflicts tend to intervene primarily on behalf of minorities which belong to their religion.[48] This shows that in order for religion to be influential in foreign policy decisions, a state does not have to be religious. Existing repositories of national identity and social capital already have significant religious content.

When we look at religious narratives that shape even secular nationalisms, it is common to come across references to sacred lands. Religious and secular states alike typically have fundamental attachment to their territories, which they see as vital to their identity. The importance of holy places to the followers of a religion also makes acquiring or keeping sacred territories under one's control a matter of security. To illustrate, Israel declared Jerusalem as its capital

city despite reactions from the international community. Yet, even Israel's close allies, such as the USA, still keep their embassies in Tel Aviv, not recognizing full Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem. Palestinian leaders also declared Jerusalem as their "eternal" capital, and the status of the city is still debated. Smith argues that such covenantal ideas of election and attachment to the territory exist in a number of societies, including Armenia, Russia, Ethiopia, Northern Ireland, South Africa, India, Iran, and even in the United States, among the Protestant revivalists.[49] Akenson, in his comparative study of Israelis, Ulster-Scots, and Afrikaners, describe their cultures as "covenantal cultures" that have a deep attachment to their territories. For such communities, the defense of these sacred lands is a matter of supreme national interest.[50] The king of Saudi Arabia has the formal title of "The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques" (*Khaadiim al-Haramain al-Sharifain*), which indicates the responsibility for the protection of Mecca and Medina. Many states, even secular ones like France and Germany, have had their sacred claim to the land that shaped their national identity.[51] These attachments and understanding of sacred land shape security conceptions and foreign policies. Hassner uses the concepts of divisible and indivisible conflicts to understand conflicts over holy spaces such as the ones in Jerusalem.[52] Similarly, Svensson uses data on the primary parties' religious demands and identities as well as all intrastate conflict-dyads in the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), 1989–2003, and finds that if the sides in a conflict make demands that are explicitly anchored in a religious tradition, they will come to perceive the conflicting issues as indivisible, and the conflict will be less likely to be settled through negotiations.[53]

Many states, religious or secular, have also explored the soft power of religion or spiritual traditions. The soft power of an entity entails three resources: its culture, political values, and policy (resting on legitimacy and moral authority).[54] Chinese policy makers, among others, recognized this "soft" power of religion, and since 2004, they have begun to establish Confucius Institutes around the world intended to promote friendly relationships with other countries. Cho and Katzenstein report that Korea also caught up with China in terms of reclaiming Confucianism as an asset.[55]

The United States was late in recognizing the importance of religion in diplomacy and foreign policy, which is surprising since it is arguably the world's most powerful "modern" country with a high proportion of apparently highly religious people.[56] In particular, the increasing visibility of political Islam caught US and European foreign policy by surprise. Hurd criticizes the epistemological underpinnings of European and American foreign policy towards political Islam and she argues that "secularist epistemology produces an understanding of 'normal politics' that lends a particular coloring to the politics of Muslim-majority societies".[57] Albright also criticized the Bush administration for its lack of recognition of religion's influence in non-Christian contexts: "One of the many ironies of US policy is that the Bush administration, for all its faith-based initiatives, is far more comfortable working with secular leaders than with those Iraqis for whom religion is central. This is true even when the religious leaders are moderate in orientation and generally accepting the US goals".[58] Albright's prescription for a more successful American diplomacy requires greater understanding of other religions by the state establishment:

> In the future, no American ambassador should be assigned to a country where religious feelings are strong unless he or she has a deep understanding of the faiths commonly practiced there. Ambassadors and their representatives, wherever they are assigned, should establish relationships with local religious leaders. The State Department should hire or train a core of specialists in religion to be deployed both in Washington and in key embassies overseas.[59]

The US now has offices and institutions that facilitate religious engagement especially in foreign policy. For example, the White House has an Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships that was established in 2001. Another office, the Office of Religion and Global Affairs, advises the Secretary of State on policy matters as they relate to religion and is a "first point of entry" for those who would like to engage the State Department in Washington on matters of religion and global affairs. These institutional changes show that religion is now recognized as a significant factor in shaping international relations and foreign policy, and it is up to states to use this influence to their advantage by careful communication and engagement.

Transnational actors and foreign policy

Ideas generate material conditions, and religious ideas have indeed played a transformative role throughout political history. Religious actors usually do not recognize national borders as "natural".[60] Horowitz, in his study of the crusades and the importance of religious ideologies, maintains that "the Crusading case is the importance of new religious ideas in generating shifts in theological systems over time and the strong resistance of ingrained religious ideas to changes in material conditions – even very powerful conditions".[61] Strong religious ideologies have the power to restructure the international system and its rules. Although these ideologies are usually transnational, the manifestations can be observed at a local level too.

Evangelical Christians in the USA have significantly affected some foreign policy decision making and execution, particularly in relation to: democratization, human rights, and religious freedom.[62] Allen Hertzke states in his book, *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*, that since the mid-1990s US evangelicals have been the most important part of a new human rights movement. Similarly, Kayaoğlu traces Islamic activism and dialogue of civilizations, which was initiated by the former Iranian President Muhammad Khatami.[63] Bettiza and Dionigi follow up on this particular research area, investigating the dynamics of religious-based norms, promoted by non-Western norm-makers, within the institutional structures of the international liberal order.[64]

Transnational religious ideologies and organizations might have different manifestations and influence in different countries. Gill, for example, asks the question of why the Catholic Church supported the governments of some Latin American states but supports the opposition in others. He finds that historically in most Latin American states the Church had benefited from a religious monopoly supported by the government, undermining any interest in opposing the government in favor of social, economic, and political change.[65] In many Latin American states citizens were disillusioned with the Church support for unpopular governments. This alienation from pro-establishment churches has contributed to conversions away from Catholicism to North American-style Evangelical denominations. In such competitive settings, the Catholic Church started to support the opposition in order not to lose any congregants. Gill shows that religious institutions tend to support opposition movements when they feel their institution or religion itself is threatened, and the loss of a significant number of congregants constitutes such a risk. This support or opposition defines who rules, and has inevitable implications for foreign policy as well.

There are many other examples of religious institutions having strong influence on shaping regional politics. The Serbian Orthodox Church, which was initially disappointed at the disinterest of Slobodan Milosevic in consolidating the social and the financial status of the clergy, strongly backed Serb nationalist parties in Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina.[66] The Church is geographically located in Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Montenegro, Republic of Macedonia, and Croatia, and it has been politically active in furthering policies that have been in accordance

with Serbian interests. Its influence has been coupled with the public religious expressions of the Orthodox leaders in the Balkans. Radovan Karadic and Ratko Mladic (respectively the political and military leaders of the Bosnian Serbs) "made great play of their Orthodox faith".[67] In another case, the demise of Communism in Eastern Europe was clearly influenced by the Catholic Church, which had long been a bulwark against the Prussians, Russians, and Austro-Hungarians and, post-1960s, a defender of democracy against Communism.[68] The Polish, Lithuanian, and Ukranian Catholic Churches challenged the spread of communist ideologies, mostly subscribing to the Vatican II premises that emphasized individual freedoms.[69]

As we have indicated above, religious actors might have different understandings of community, which goes beyond national borders. The influence of such actors on foreign policy would reflect this perception of community and its interest. Shani discusses two conceptions of universality that the Western international relations theory has ignored: One is the *Umma* constructed by the Islamist discourse that is simultaneously critical of imposed elite secularism and the neofundamentalism of Salafis; the other one is *Khalsa Panth*, the Sikh transnational community of believers.[70] Barnett goes to the extent of stating that liberal cosmopolitanism itself can be regarded as a faith tradition, as belief in the divine and transcendental values does not necessarily depend on the existence of a God.[71] Similar to institutions that represent liberal cosmopolitanism, there are institutions that bring together states and individuals under a religious identity. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is one example. Established in 1969, the OIC has fifty-seven member states and it defines itself as "the collective voice of the Muslim world".

Religious networks can also play established roles due to their practices and traditions. Various religious actors have taken the view that involvement in politics is essential as part of their ethics". Religious actors can also encourage peace and reconciliation. Using the cases of South Africa and Northern Ireland, Sandal shows that religious epistemic communities, with their transnational linkages, contribute to both domestic and foreign policy changes.[72] Another prominent example of a link between religious identity and a universally recognized niche is the case of Quakers and mediation practices. Quakers, also known as The Religious Society of Friends, are known for their social activism and pacifism. Quakers believe that there is no justification for the use of arms even when someone is confronted with evil. Traditionally, this basic premise has led the Quaker organizations like American Friends Service Committee to play the role of mediators in conflicts including the Israeli-Palestinian case.[73] The Catholic Church and its relationships with its local networks directly affect "domestic political developments, intergroup conflict or alliance, and cultural and symbolic meanings".[74] In short, the interplay of transnational and local religious dynamics might influence foreign policy.

Conclusion: prescriptions for an effective foreign policy

The works mentioned under the four levels described above investigate the dynamics of religion and foreign policy. Most of these books and articles have concrete foreign policy implications. Given the centrality of religion to contemporary international affairs, practitioners cannot afford to ignore the academic studies of critical links between religious phenomena and policy.

One common recommendation of this recent body of literature is to take religion seriously. The Westphalian state system has been predominantly secular, so religion has not attracted much attention in state dealings. The Cold War dynamics did not change this trend either. However, many issues that currently occupy foreign policy agendas have religious dimensions. Farr highlights these religious issues surrounding the US, ranging from the surge of religion in

China to the changing dynamics of the Islamic world.[75] He argues that US diplomacy should "treat faith as much as it does politics or economics". Similarly, Patterson argues that religious literacy should be integrated into the "training, planning and execution of foreign policy" and he calls for "a political strategy that ranges from presidential engagement to a major investment in holistic public diplomacy".[76] Learning the principles and history of religious traditions will likely lead to more informed decisions. However, knowing is not enough by itself. It is also crucial to communicate with "the other" and to try to find common interest areas. Johnston, based on his policy world experience as the president and founder of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy, recommends deeper cultural engagement and even employing religious attachés to understand how others view the world.[77]

There are other foreign policy recommendations in the literature on religion and politics. One is embracing the religious circles in local and transnational politics that are playing constructive roles in conflicts and development. After explaining the increasing activism of the evangelicals in American foreign policy, Mead recommends that "those concerned about US foreign policy would do well to reach out" to these groups even though they are likely to focus on US exceptionalism and "care more about US foreign policy than most realists prefer".[78] It is also critical to support more inclusive public theologies rather than the violent ones. Religious texts can be helpful in that regard. Rees argues that the use of religious texts in international affairs may counter "reactionary traditionalism (the seedbed of religious fundamentalism) and traditionless individualism (the seedbed of economic exploitation)".[79] This usage is not without its challenges, however, and many terrorist groups that claim to be representing a religious tradition already do it. Criticizing the manner of the selective use of Islamic sources by ISIS and the notion that ISIS reflects the real Islam, Dagli notes that "there is a wide chasm between someone who 'laces' his conversations with religious imagery (very easy) and someone who has actually studied and understood the difficulties and nuances of an immense textual tradition (very hard)". [80]

Freedom of religion has also been a significant concern, and it is increasingly evoked by foreign policy circles of multiple countries. Miles, for example, states that the ultimate goal of American international policy on religion "must be to make all religions equally secure in every nation, thus to ensure that no national shall (or need) threaten any other nation's religion or religions".[81] Here, it becomes critical to merge local and transnational understandings of human rights. Kilinc argues that the implementation of international norms on religious freedoms depends on the existence of strong domestic actors who support the reforms due to either their material interests or normative commitments.[82] A constructive foreign policy would aim to strengthen the domestic and international actors who pay special attention to these freedoms, even if the ideologies and the goals of these actors are not in perfect alignment with narrow state interests.

Notes

1 Casey, "The Future of Religion and Diplomacy".
2 Philpott, "The Challenge of September 11".
3 Sandal and Fox, *Religion in International Relations Theory*.
4 Hassner, *Religion in the Military Worldwide*.
5 Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace*.
6 Haynes, *Faith-Based Organizations at the United Nations*.
7 Buzan and Little, "Why International Relations Has Failed".
8 Sandal, "Clash of Public Theologies?"
9 Warner and Walker, "Thinking about the Role of Religion".

10 Haynes, "Religion and Foreign Policy Making", 143.
11 Ciftci and Tezcur, "Soft Power, Religion, and Anti-Americanism".
12 Guner, "Religion and Preferences", 219.
13 Laaman, *Getting on Message*; Kimball, *When Religion Becomes Evil.*
14 Albright, *The Mighty and the Almighty*, 17.
15 Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy*, 259.
16 Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*; Abu Nimer, "Conflict Resolution, Culture, Religion"; Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon*.
17 Lloyd, "Christian Mediation in International Conflicts", 229.
18 Cox and Philpott, "Faith Based Diplomacy".
19 Albright, *The Mighty and The Almighty*, 77.
20 Bartelson, "Making Sense of Global Civil Society".
21 Kalyvas, "Commitment Problems", 393.
22 Ozdamar and Akbaba, "Religious Discrimination and International Crises".
23 Basedau, Pfeiffer and Vullers, "Bad Religion?"
24 Varshney, "Contested Meanings".
25 Phongpaichit and Baker, *A History of Thailand*, 137.
26 Kitiarsa, "In Defense of the Thai Style Democracy".
27 Johnston and Sampson, *Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft.*
28 Walt and Mearsheimer, "The Israeli Lobby", 6.
29 Amstutz, *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*.
30 Ross, "Muslim Interest Groups".
31 Taydas and Ozdamar, "A Divided Government", 229.
32 Rapoport, "Fear and Trembling", 674.
33 Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics*.
34 Sofer, "Peres Calls for Moral Sanctions".
35 Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion*, 106.
36 Hashmi, "International Society", 23.
37 Boyle and Sheen, *Freedom of Religion and Belief*; Fox, *A World Survey.*
38 Sharp, "Mullah Zaeef and Taliban Diplomacy", 486.
39 Shahin, *Political Ascent*, 70.
40 Mentak, "Islam and Modernity", 119.
41 Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism".
42 Saat, "Islamising Malayness".
43 Van Dartel, "The Nations and the Churches in Yugoslavia", 281.
44 Brown and Theodossopoulos, "The Performance of Anxiety".
45 Marsden, "Religion, Identity and American Power", 328.
46 Sandal, "Public Theologies of Human Rights".
47 Kraus, "Thou Shall Not".
48 Fox, *Religion, Civilization and Civil War*; Khosla, "Third World States as Interveners".
49 Smith, "The Sacred Dimension of Nationalism", 805.
50 Akenson, *God's Peoples*.
51 Smith, *Chosen Peoples*.
52 Hassner, *War on Sacred Grounds*.
53 Svensson, "Fighting with Faith".
54 Nye, *Soft Power*, 11.
55 Cho and Katzenstein, "In the Service of State and Nation".
56 Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*.
57 Hurd, "Political Islam and Foreign Policy".
58 Albright, *The Mighty and The Almighty*, 177.
59 Ibid., 77.
60 Mendelsohn, "Sovereignty under Attack", 55.

61 Horowitz, "Long Time Going", 192.
62 Haynes, "Evangelicals and a Human Rights Culture".
63 Kayaoğlu, "Constructing the Dialogue of Civilizations".
64 Bettiza and Dionigi, "How do Religious Norms Diffuse?"
65 Gill, *Rendering unto Caesar*.
66 Perica, *Balkan Idols*, 144.
67 Bruce, *Politics and Religion*, 50.
68 Weigel, *Final Revolution*.
69 Mojzes, *Yugoslavian Inferno*, 294.
70 Shani, "Toward a Post-Western IR".
71 Barnett, "Another Great Awakening?", 110.
72 Sandal, "Religious Actors as Epistemic Communities".
73 Gallagher, *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*.
74 Vallier, "The Roman Catholic Church", 490.
75 Farr, *World of Faith and Freedom*, 15.
76 Patterson, *Politics in a Religious World*, 105.
77 Johnston, *Religion, Terror, and Error*.
78 Mead, "God's Country".
79 Rees, "'Really Existing' Scriptures".
80 Dagli, "The Phony Islam of ISIS".
81 Miles, "Religion and American Foreign Policy".
82 Kilinc, "International Pressure, Domestic Politics".

References

Abu Nimer, M. "Conflict Resolution, Culture, Religion: Toward a Training Model of Interreligious Peacebuilding". *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no.6 (2001): 685–704.

Akenson, D. *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel and Ulster*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Albright, M. *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006.

Amstutz, M. *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Appleby, S. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Barnett, M. "Another Great Awakening?", in *Religion and International Relations Theory*, edited by Jack Snyder, 91–115. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Bartelson J. "Making Sense of Global Civil Society". *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no.3 (2006): 371–95.

Basedau, M., B. Pfeiffer and J. Vullers. "Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2014): doi: 10.1177/0022002714541853.

Bettiza, G. and F. Dionigi. "How do Religious Norms Diffuse? Institutional Translation and International Change in a Post-Secular World Society". *European Journal of International Relations* (2014): doi. 1354066114542663.

Boyle, K. and J. Sheen (eds.). *Freedom of Religion and Belief: A World Report*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Brown, K. and D. Theodossopoulos. "The Performance of Anxiety: Greek Narratives of War in Kosovo". *Anthropology Today* 16, no.1 (2002): 3–8.

Brubaker, R. "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches". *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no.1 (2012): 2–20.

Bruce, S. *Politics and Religion.* Cambridge: Polity, 2003.

Buzan B, and R. Little. "Why International Relations Has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What To Do about It". *Millennium* 30, no.1 (2001): 22–39.

Casey, S. "The Future of Religion and Diplomacy". http://www.humanrights.gov/dyn/2015/03/the-future-of-religion-and-diplomacy. Accessed March 18, 2015.

Cho, I.H. and P. Katzenstein. "In the Service of State and Nation: Religion in East Asia", in *Religion and International Relations Theory*, edited by Jack Snyder, 168–99. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Ciftci, S. and G.M. Tezcur (2015). "Soft Power, Religion, and Anti-Americanism in the Middle East". Foreign Policy Analysis, doi:10.1111/fpa.12090. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/fpa.12090/pdf.

Cox, B. and D. Philpott "Faith-Based Diplomacy: An Ancient Idea Newly Emergent". *Bradywine Review of Faith and International Affairs* 1, no. 2 (2003): 31–40.

Dagli, C. "The Phony Islam of ISIS". *The Atlantic.* http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/02/what-muslims-really-want-isis-atlantic/386156/. Accessed 20 March 2015.

Farr, T. F. *World of Faith and Freedom: Why International Religious Liberty is Vital to American National Security.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Fox, J. *Religion, Civilization and Civil War: 1945 Through the New Millennium*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2004.

Fox, J. *A World Survey of Religion and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Fox, J. *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Gallagher, N. *Quakers in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Dilemmas of NGO Humanitarian Activism.* Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2007.

Gill, A. *Rendering unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Gopin, M. *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence, and Peacemaking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Guner, S. "Religion and Preferences: A Decision-Theoretic Explanation of Turkey's New Foreign Policy". *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8, no. 3 (2012): 217–30.

Hashmi, S. H. "International Society and Its Islamic Malcontents". *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 20, no.1 (1996): 13–31.

Hassner, R. E. *War on Sacred Grounds.* London: Cornell University Press, 2009.

Hassner, R.E. (ed.). *Religion in the Military Worldwide.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Haynes, J. *Faith-Based Organizations at the United Nations.* London: Routledge, 2014.

Haynes, J. "Religion and Foreign Policy Making in the USA, India and Iran: Towards a Research Agenda". *Third World Quart*erly 29, no.1 (2008): 143–65.

Hertzke, A. *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

Horowitz, M. C. "Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading". *International Security* 34, no.2 (2009): 162–93.

Hurd, E.S. "Political Islam and Foreign Policy in Europe and the United States". *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 4 (2007): 345–67.

Inboden, W.C. *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945–1960.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Johnston, D.M. and C. Sampson. *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Johnston, D.M. *Religion, Terror, and Error: US Foreign Policy and the Challenge of Spiritual Engagement.* Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011.

Kayaoğlu, T. "Constructing the Dialogue of Civilizations in World Politics: A Case of Global Islamic Activism". *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 23, no.3 (2012): 129–47.

Kalyvas, S. "Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties". *Comparative Politics* 32, no.4 (2000): 379–98.

Khosla, D. "Third World States as Interveners in Ethnic Conflicts: Implications for Regional and International Security". *Third World Quarterly* 20, no.6 (1999): 1143–56.

Kilinc, R. "International Pressure, Domestic Politics, and the Dynamics of Religious Freedom: Evidence from Turkey". *Comparative Politics* 46, no.2 (2014): 127–45.

Kimball, C. *When Religion Becomes Evil.* San Francisco, CA: Harper Collins, 2002.

Kitiarsa, P. ''In Defense of the Thai Style Democracy", National University of Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 12 October 2006.

Kraus, R. "Thou Shall Not Take the Name of Thy God in Vain: Washington Offices' Use of Religious Language to Shape Public and Political Agendas". *Journal of Media and Religion* 8, no.2 (2009): 115–37.

Laaman, P. *Getting on Message: Challenging the Christian Right from the Heart of the Gospel*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2006.

Lloyd, R. B. "Christian Mediation in International Conflicts", in *Religion, Identity and Global Governance: Ideas, Evidence and Practice*, edited by Patrick James, 220–43. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2011.

Marsden, L. "Religion, Identity and American Power in the Age of Obama". *International Politics* 48, no.2 (2011): 326–43.

Mead, W.R. "God's Country". *Foreign Affairs* 85, no.5 (2006): 24–43.

Mendelsohn, B. "Sovereignty Under Attack: The International Society Meets the Al Qaeda Network". *Review of International Studies* 31, no.1 (2005): 45–68.

Mentak, S. "Islam and Modernity: Islamist Movements and Politics of Position". *Contemporary Islam* 3, no.2 (2009): 113–19.

Miles, J. "Religion and American Foreign Policy". *Survival* 46, no.1 (2004): 23–37.

Mojzes, P. *Yugoslavian Inferno: Ethnoreligious Warfare in the Balkans*. New York: Continuum, 1995.

Norris, P. and R. Inglehart. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Nye, J. *Soft Power*. New York: Perseus Books, 2004.

Ozdamar, O. and Y. Akbaba. "Religious Discrimination and International Crises: International Effects of Domestic Inequality". *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10, no.4 (2014): 413–30.

Patterson, E. *Politics in a Religious World: Building a Religiously Informed U.S. Foreign Policy*. New York: Continuum, 2011.

Perica, V. *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Philpott, D. "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations". *World Politics* 55, no. 1 (2002): 66–95.

Philpott, D. *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Reconciliation.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Phongpaichit, P. and C. Baker. *A History of Thailand.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Rapoport, D. C. "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions". *American Political Science Review* 78, no.3 (1984): 658–77.

Rees, J. "'Really Existing' Scriptures: On the Use of Sacred Text in International Affairs". *The Brandywine Review of Faith and International Affairs* 2, no.1 (2004): 17–26.

Ross, L.R. (2013) "Muslim Interest Groups and Foreign Policy in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom: Identity, Interests and Action". *Foreign Policy Analysis* 9, no: 3 (2013): 287–306.

Saat, N. "Islamising Malayness: Ulama Discourse and Contemporary Authority in Malaysia". *Contemporary Islam* 6, no.2 (2012): 135–53.

Sandal, N. "Religious Actors as Epistemic Communities in Conflict Transformation: The Cases of Northern Ireland and South Africa". *Review of International Studies* 7, no.3 (2011): 929–49.

Sandal, N. "Clash of Public Theologies? Rethinking the Concept of Religion in Politics". *Alternatives* 37, no.1 (2012): 66–83.

Sandal, N. "Public Theologies of Human Rights and Citizenship: The Case of Turkey's Christians". *Human Rights Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2013): 631–50.

Sandal N. and J. Fox. *Religion in International Relations Theory: Interactions and Possibilities*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Shahin, E. *Political Ascent: Contemporary Islamic Movements in North Africa.* Colorado: Westview Press, 1998.

Shani, G. "Toward a Post-Western IR: The Umma, Khalsa Panth, and Critical International Relations Theory". *International Studies Review* 10, no.4 (2008): 722–34.

Sharp, P. "Mullah Zaeef and Taliban Diplomacy: An English School Approach". *Review of International Studies* 29, no.4 (2003): 481–98.

Smith, A. "The Sacred Dimension of Nationalism". *Millennium* 29, no.3 (2000): 791–814.

Smith, A. *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Sofer, R. "Peres Calls for Moral Sanctions on Iran". *YnetNews* June 10, 2010. http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3903202,00.html.

Svensson, I. "Fighting with Faith: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no.6 (2007): 930–49.

Taydas Z. and O. Ozdamar. "A Divided Government, an Ideological Parliament and an Insecure Leader: Turkey's Indecision about Joining the Iraq War". *Social Science Quarterly* 94, no.1 (2013): 217–41.

Thomas, S. M. *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century.* New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005.

Vallier, I. "The Roman Catholic Church: A Transnational Actor". *International Organization* 25, no.3, 1971, 479–502.

Van Dartel, G. "The Nations and the Churches in Yugoslavia". *Religion, State and Society* 20, no.3 (1992): 275–88.

Varshney, A. "Contested Meanings: India's National Identity, Hindu Nationalism, and the Politics of Anxiety". *Daedalus* 122, no.3 (1993): 227–61.

Walt, S. and Mearsheimer, J. (2006) "The Israeli lobby and U.S. foreign policy". *The London Review of Books* 28, no. 6, March 23, 2006. Available at www.lrb.co.uk.

Warner, C. and S. Walker. "Thinking about the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis". *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7, no.1 (2011): 113–35.

Weigel, G. *The Final Revolution: The Resistance Church and the Collapse of Com-Monism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

18

TRANSNATIONAL RELIGIOUS ACTORS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Giorgio Shani[1]

INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY, JAPAN

This chapter focuses on the role which transnational religious actors play in international politics. Conventionally, international politics has been organized around the principle of state sovereignty since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The Peace of Westphalia 'secularized international relations by undermining religion as a mode of legitimacy'[2] and enshrined the territorially bounded sovereign state as the basic unit of international relations. Recently, however, globalization has called into question the claims of the state to unconditional sovereignty thereby creating space for the (re)emergence of transnational religious actors in global politics.

A transnational religious actor may be defined as any non-governmental actor that claims to represent a specific religious tradition which has relations with an actor in another state or with an international organization. In this chapter, the activities of transnational actors working from within two different religious traditions will be examined: Roman Catholicism and Sikhism. Using the case studies of the Roman Catholic Church and the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC)–Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) nexus, it will be argued that, despite differences in size, scale and objectives, actors operating from within these two religious traditions have attempted to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by globalization to articulate a transnational identity that, potentially, challenges the international order of territorialized nation-states dating back to the Peace of Westphalia. It is hoped that the choice of these actors will serve to refocus the debate from an excessive attention to Islam to the relationship between transnational religious actors and international relations in general. For, while it is undeniable that some transnational Islamic organizations, such as al Qaeda, pose a direct and often violent challenge to the international order, others, such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), work to further 'Islamic' interests or goals *within* it.[3] In contrast to the post-11 September 2001 (hereafter 9/11) conventional wisdom in Western policy circles, it is argued that there is nothing particularly subversive about Islam per se but that there is a fundamental contradiction between the cosmopolitan, universal ideals espoused by some monotheistic transnational religious actors and the realpolitik of the Westphalian order.

It is this tension between the *universal* and *particular* dimensions of Islamic identity which is now being played out in the contemporary Middle East and North Africa (MENA). The so-called Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (*al-sham* in Arabic) seeks a restoration of a Sunni

Islamic Caliphate[4] in the MENA region, and now controls the Iraq–Syria border. However, in so doing, it *territorializes* the transnational aspirations of the *Umma*, conflating them with the homeland or *watan*. Thus, the Islamic State – as its name suggests – can't be considered a *transnational* religious actor.

The foundational principles of the Westphalian order which, it is argued, have been legitimized by the development of the hegemonic realist paradigm of international relations (IR), will first be outlined before accounting for the 'global religious resurgence'.[5] Contemporary processes of globalization, it is argued, are central to the 'return of religion' to IR theory.[6] Their impact on transnational religious communities in general will be analysed before we examine how they have transformed the role of the Roman Catholic Church and the papacy in particular. The subsequent section will look at how globalization – and its forerunner, colonial modernity – have transformed Sikh identity by facilitating its institutionalization both in India and the 'diaspora'. This has led transnational religious actors representing Sikhism into conflict with territorialized nation-states committed to secularizing civil society. Finally, it will be argued in the conclusion that transnational religious actors have the potential to collectively constitute an embryonic *globalized* transnational civil society – an alternative both to the Westphalian international order and the secularized liberal model of global civil society.[7] According to Lipschultz, a transnational civil society is a result of the 'self-conscious constructions of networks of knowledge and action, by decentred, local actors, that cross the reified boundaries of space as though they were not there'.[8] Transnational civil society comprises groups and organizations in different states that work together to create cross-border communities that pursue common goals. According to Haynes, who differentiates the term from 'global civil society' since the latter implies a universal reach that some transnational networks do not have, the concept has three main components. First, transnational civil society encompasses non-state actors motivated by social or *political* goals rather than economic goals, as is the case with transnational corporations. Second, these actors interact with each other across state boundaries and do not necessarily promote the interests of state actors. Finally, they take a variety of forms; prominent transnational actors include 'secular' international non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace as well as those with a more explicitly religious mission.[9]

Following Haynes, it is argued that transnational religious communities, such as Christendom, the *Umma* or, as argued here, the *Khasa Panth*, may be seen as transnational civil societies.[10] However, they are implicitly *post-secular* in orientation. For Jürgen Habermas, the term 'post-secular'[11] refers to the inclusion of religious-based world-views, translated into a language accessible to all, into the public sphere so as to guarantee its neutrality.[12] Consequently, the term 'post-secular' transnational civil society refers here to a network or coalition of non-state actors representing the interests of different transnational secular or religious communities, sharing a common interest in working together to overcome the challenges posed by globalization and the Westphalian states system.

Beyond Westphalia? Globalization, transnational religious communities and international relations

The Peace of Westphalia has been described as a 'constitutive foundational myth' of modern IR.[13] Conventionally, the contemporary international order is understood to have its origins in the 1648 agreements which brought the Thirty Years War (1618–48) to an end and gave rise to a European system or society of sovereign states, which subsequently 'expanded', through imperialism and decolonization, to encompass the non-Western world and therefore form an

embryonic 'international society'.[14] The Westphalian settlement '*secularized* international relations by undermining religion as a mode of legitimacy'.[15] It achieved this through institutionalizing the principles of first, *rex est imperator in regno suo* (that 'the King rules in his own realm'), and second, *cujus regio, ejus religio* ('the ruler determines the religion of his realm'). This had the effect of dividing the political from the religious community, temporal from spiritual authority.

According to Haynes, there are 'four pillars' of the Westphalian system of IR. First, states are considered the sole legitimate actors in the international system. Second, governments do not seek to change relations between religion and politics in foreign countries. Third, religious authorities legitimately exercise few, if any, domestic temporal functions, and even fewer transnationally. Finally, religious and political power, or church and state, are separated.[16] The Westphalian world order has been 'legitimized' or 'naturalized' within the discipline of IR by the emergence of first 'realism' and later 'neo-realism' as the dominant perspective in international political theory after World War II. Although the hegemony of realism has recently been eroded by the perceived triumph of liberal values following the collapse of the Soviet Union,[17] most conventional theories of IR are anchored in the same 'realist' assumptions. First, conventional theories view the state as both the key actor in IR and the legitimate representative of the collective will of a community/nation. Second, state leaders' primary responsibility is to ensure the survival of their state in an international system characterized by *anarchy*: defined by Wendt as 'the absence of authority'.[18] Third, conventional theories of IR share the neo-realist assumption that a strict separation of domestic (intra-state) and international (inter-state) relations is possible.

Recent events show that the Westphalian international order, predicated on the territorialization of political communities and the privatization of religion, has come 'under siege' from deterritorialized faith-based communities. In much of the Islamic world, political Islam, or 'Islamism', has replaced the discredited forces of secular nationalism as the main oppositional ideology to Western cultural, political and economic hegemony.[19] Although some – primarily French scholars – consider political Islam to be a declining force in global and regional politics since the onset of contemporary processes of globalization,[20] the influence of Islamism on political movements in Islamic cultural zones[21] from the time of the Iranian revolution to the present day is undeniable and can be seen in recent regional conflicts in Afghanistan, Algeria, Bosnia, Chechnya, Indonesia, Iraq, Kashmir, Kosovo, Lebanon, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Thailand. Indeed, the violent manifestation of Islamic radicalism as exemplified by the events of 9/11 in the US have been seen by many as a vindication of Samuel Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' thesis which depicts Islam as a largely homogenous, violence-prone 'civilization' with 'bloody borders'.[22] In India, the emergence of the 'Hindu right' under the leadership of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), largely accomplished through strategic regional alliances, has challenged the previously hegemonic ideology of Nehruvian secular nationalism as espoused by the Indian National Congress (INC). India's democratic structures, rather than resulting in the demise of religious identities as predicted by India's post-colonial leaders, led instead to the emergence of a pan-Indian Hindu cultural nationalism, albeit with local variations.[23] In the light of the BJP's stunning success in the 2014 elections, it can be argued that the party has successfully 're-branded' India as a Hindu polity.

The global religious revival is not, however, confined to the global South. In the wake of the events of 9/11, Christianity has once again become an important component of Western identity. In the US, Samuel P. Huntington (in)famously argued that American identity was founded upon a common 'Anglo-Protestant' cultural heritage which (non-Protestant) immigrants were expected to adopt as their own and defend against an increasingly radicalised

Islam.[24] Social issues featured prominently in the 2004 elections which saw the incumbent, George W. Bush, re-elected for a second term with a conservative agenda including opposition to stem-cell research, same-sex marriages and the further extension of abortion rights. However, the election of Barack Obama, whose father was a Kenyan Muslim, for two consecutive terms as George W. Bush's successor brought into question the contemporary significance of the US's Anglo-Protestant heritage in an increasingly multi-ethnic and multi-cultural polity. In an increasingly culturally diverse Europe, religion has become a faultline along which contemporary conflicts over national security and multiculturalism have been fought. The presence of an increasingly assertive Muslim 'diaspora'[25] in Europe has provided opportunities for a re-politicization of Christianity, in opposition to both the secularization and perceived 'Islamization' of Europe. The result has been a rediscovery of the continent's Christian roots, even among those who have long disregarded them, and a renewed sense of European *cultural* Christianity.[26]

The 'global religious resurgence'[27] has been sustained by the processes associated with the contemporary phase of globalization. As a result of globalization, faith has 'obtained greater significance as a non-territorial touchstone of identity in today's more global world'.[28] Three developments in particular have provided a context for a religious resurgence on a global scale. In the first place, globalization – through economic restructuring programmes which necessitate reduced public expenditure – has impacted upon the relative power of the secular state, decreasing its capacity to impose its secular vision of the nation to the exclusion of other identities. Increasingly, national identities coexist and compete with other forms of collective identities on an individual level. As a result, the assertion of a national identity no longer necessitates a rejection of pre-national, *communal* identities, particularly those based on ethnicity and religion. Thus it is now possible to articulate a 'hybrid' identity.[29]

Second, globalization has decreased the salience of *territory* in the construction of individual and collective identities. Identity is no longer exclusively defined in terms of place: where one is from no longer allows us to define who one is. As Scholte points out, 'territorialism as the previously prevailing structure of social space was closely interlinked with nationalism as the previously prevailing structure of collective identity'.[30] However one of the significant consequences of contemporary globalization has been to sever the connections between the state – a coercive apparatus of governance defined in terms of its monopoly of organized violence – and the nation – an 'imagined political community',[31] to the point where 'many national projects today no longer involve an aspiration to acquire their own sovereign state'.[32] The *deterritorialization* of nationalism has created space for the reassertion of transnational religious identities. Indeed, religious identities seem particularly suited to the needs of a rapidly globalizing world since, despite the attachment to a territorially defined 'holy land' which is often the site of pilgrimage, the core tenets of most religions are in principle universal and can be embraced and practised anywhere on earth.

Finally, globalization has, through the information and communications technology (ICT) revolution in particular, facilitated the dissemination of these universal core beliefs and tenets on a global scale. Most religious organizations maintain websites to introduce non-believers to the faith and to provide spiritual guidance to the faithful. ICT has provided followers of transnational religious communities with the opportunity to communicate across the boundaries and transcend the limitations of the territorially defined national community.

While for Benedict Anderson it was the development of what he termed 'print capitalism' that made the imagination of the nation possible, it can be argued that ICTs have facilitated the (re)imagination of transnational religious communities. Print capitalism, for Anderson, refers to the creation of mechanically reproduced secular, 'print languages' capable of dissemination

through the market. These print languages laid the basis for national consciousness first in Europe then elsewhere by creating fixed, unified fields of communication below sacred language and above the spoken regional vernaculars. Books and newspapers, written in these print languages were the first mass-market commodities in capitalism, designed for consumption in the new 'domestic' market. Speakers of regional dialects within a particular territory became capable of understanding one another through articles in newspapers, journals and books, even though they might find it difficult or even impossible to comprehend each other in conversation. In the process, they became aware of the hundreds or thousands, or even millions, of people who could read their language. These fellow readers formed, for Anderson, 'the embryo of the nationally imagined community'.[33] Thus, for Anderson, 'the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of the human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community': the nation.[34]

As print capitalism helped produce the 'imagined community' of the nation, digital or 'informational' capitalism[35] has encouraged the formation of *transnational* networks involving individuals and groups sharing background and/or interests. ICTs 'offer new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds'.[36] ICT has provided the ability to communicate across boundaries, blurring the distinctions between inside and outside, the virtual (or 'imaginary') and the real. ICTs also provide transnational religious actors with an opportunity to articulate narratives which simultaneously both reinforce *and* challenge hegemonic power structures within their traditions.

In this section, it has been argued, following Scott Thomas, that we have experienced a global religious resurgence in recent years. Globalization has facilitated the re-emergence of transnational religious actors in IR by, first, eroding the capacity of the state to impose its secular vision on society; second, by decreasing the salience of territory in the construction of identities; and, finally, by facilitating the dissemination of these central beliefs and tenets of religions on a global scale. In the next section, we will examine how contemporary globalization has *empowered* both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic transnational religious actors representing two transnational religious civil societies: Catholicism and Sikhism. The choice of examples is dictated by cultural familiarity and a desire to avoid generalizing from the experience of contemporary militant political Islam, which is stigmatized as constituting a *threat* to the international order.

The Roman Catholic Church

According to Jose Casanova, 'ongoing processes of globalization offer a transnational religious regime like Catholicism, which never felt fully at home in a system of sovereign territorial nation-states, unique opportunities to expand, to adapt rapidly to the newly emerging global system, and perhaps even assume a proactive role in shaping some aspects of the new system'.[37] Indeed, as its very name suggests, *Catholicism* posits an alternative, more universal or even *global* vision of international society than that represented by the Westphalian system.

The Roman Catholic Church traces its origins to Peter, the 'rock' upon which – according to Matthew – Jesus first built His Church, and to Paul, without whom Küng asserts there would have been 'no Catholic Church'.[38] However, its historical roots lie in the 'Imperial Catholic Church' of the fourth century AD. The recognition of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine in AD 13 paved the way for the eventual conversion of the transnational Roman Empire to the message of Christ and, significantly, the hierarchicalization of the early Church of Peter and Paul along the lines of the Roman Empire. The *ecclesia catholica* incorporated many of the features of the old Roman Empire, notably its central command structure with the

Bishop of Rome at the apex, its mystification of authority, legalism, bureaucracy and intolerance of dissent. Biblical injunctions – most notably expressed in the Ten Commandments and the New Testament – prohibiting the use of force were quickly forgotten as in 'less than a century the persecuted Church had become a persecuting Church'.[39] The 'Roman' Catholic Church, however, outlived the Empire and was able to survive the various 'barbarian' invasions, the changing constellations of power in European politics, and the transition to 'modernity'. In so doing, it asserted, through its rigid, monotheistic universalism, the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal, church over state, and was able to provide the religious, political, social and cultural framework though which Europe, and subsequently the 'West', could be imagined.

The ideology of papal absolutism, however, was only completed with the doctrine of papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council (hereafter Vatican I) in 1870. Described as the 'Council of the Counter-Enlightenment',[40] the Council confirmed the Church's opposition to 'rationalism, liberalism and materialism' and asserted that when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, he possesses, 'by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, that infallibility which the divine Redeemer willed His Church to enjoy in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals.' Therefore, Vatican I declared the 'definitions' of the Pontiff to be 'irreformable'.[41]

The Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), convened almost a century after Vatican I, between 1961 and 1965, did much to reconcile the Catholic Church with modernity. In *Nostra Aetate*, the declaration on the relation of the Church to non-Christian religions passed by an overwhelming majority of Bishops at the Council and proclaimed by Pope Paul VI on 28 October 1965, the Church condemned 'as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination against men or harassment of them because of their race, colour, condition of life, or religion'.[42] This seemed to (belatedly) affirm a commitment to universal human rights which the papacy had steadfastly opposed since the French Revolution. Furthermore, in *Dignitatis Humanae* (7 December 1965), the right of individuals and communities to religious freedom was affirmed.[43] It was recognized that, although the Vatican Council believed that Roman Catholicism remained the 'one true religion', there were, in principle at least, other paths to salvation.

After Vatican II, the Church could claim to be global in at least two different ways. In the first place, it was no longer an exclusively Roman or European institution. Whereas only one-tenth of the assembled Bishops who attended Vatican I were from outside Europe, Europeans no longer formed a majority at Vatican II. This may explain their unwillingness to rubber stamp the recommendation of the *curia* and redefine the Church as the 'light of nations'. Furthermore, the use of the vernacular in the liturgy facilitated the 'indigenization' of the Church and allowed it to reach a younger and wider audience outside of its traditional European heartland. This has been reflected in the sharp increase in the number of Catholics globally – from 600 million to one billion by the mid-1990s – with a clear shift from North to South.[44] This shift has been reflected in the ordination of the first non-European Pope, Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio, who took the name Francis I, on 13 March 2013.

Furthermore, the Church's centralized hierarchy, centred on the Pontiff in Rome, allows it to articulate a coherent and consistent 'ideology' or vision of God, Man and the World, affirmed in its Constitution, *transnationally*. Since Vatican II, there has been, as both Jose Casanova and Jeff Haynes have pointed out, a 'homogenization and globalization of Catholic culture at elite level throughout the Catholic world'.[45] This process of globalization and homogenization finds expression in three directions. First, it finds expression in the ever-widening publication of papal encyclicals dealing not only with doctrinal matters but also with secular issues affecting all of humanity. According to Jose Casanova, these pronouncements have:

> consistently presented the protection of the human rights of every person as the moral foundation of a just social and political order, the substitution of dialogue and peaceful negotiation for violent confrontation as the means of resolving conflicts and just grievances between people and states, and universal human solidarity as the foundation for the construction of a just and fair national as well as international division of labour and a just and legitimate world order.[46]

The second direction in which it finds expression is in the increasingly active role of the papacy in issues dealing with IR, as can be seen in the opposition of Pope John Paul II to communism and the Iraq War and his championing of democracy in Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe in the 1980s. The Pope's encyclical of January 1991 *(Redemptoris Missio)* which stressed the Church's duty to 'relieve poverty, counter political oppression and defend human rights' may in particular be seen as a statement of the transnational *political* aspirations of the Church and its effects were felt throughout the developing world, particularly in Africa where senior Roman Catholic figures became centrally involved in the transition to democracy.[47] Finally, globalization has generally increased the public visibility of the person of the Pope 'as the high priest of a new universal civil religion of humanity as the first citizen of a global civil society'.[48]

This global civil society, however, cannot be understood as a 'liberal' global civil society. Global civil society, in a liberal sense, refers to the 'space of uncoerced human association',[49] existing in opposition to the state and a states-system representing the interests of *particular* national communities. The liberal conception of global civil society is secular in nature and assumes the existence of the 'unencumbered individual', that is, individuals unfettered by religious or cultural social norms and values. However, this vision of global civil society is at odds with the 'post-secular' vision espoused by the present Pontiff and his predecessor.

Lauded as 'the people's Pope' by *Time* magazine, who made him their 'person of the year' in 2013 following his consecration as Pope (*Time*, 11 December 2013), Pope Francis I, has attracted widespread support from Catholics and non-Catholics alike for his 'progressive' stance on sexuality. This is best exemplified by his response to a question about the existence of an alleged 'gay lobby' in the Vatican. 'If someone is gay and is searching for the Lord', the Pope answered, 'then who am I to judge him?'[50]

However, the views articulated by the Pontiff are rooted in his *faith* and as such do not represent a growing *secularization* of traditional Catholic values arising from the globalization of secular liberalism, but their *re-articulation* in a rapidly globalizing world. Indeed, the present Pontiff remains implacably opposed to abortion, same-sex marriages and the ordination of women priests. In contrast, however, to Pope Benedict's concern with contesting the hegemony of secular enlightenment universalism, the current pontificate emphasises the need to look outside of the traditional Catholic heartland of Europe and to look outward to a world in need of salvation, particularly in the global South where endemic poverty and rising inequality arguably pose a greater threat to Catholic values than same-sex marriage. The present pontificate may therefore be seen as *apostolic* rather than 'self-referential' and to favour the work of evangelization over administration.[51] This emphasis on evangelization is significantly influenced by the present Pontiff's training as a Jesuit, an order of the Catholic Church founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1540, which seeks to find 'God in all things' through active service in the community, particularly in education.[52] Recently, this has taken the form of calling for an 'ethical and economic revolution' in order to address the pernicious effects of climate change.[53]

The hegemony of the papal orthodoxy within Roman Catholicism has, however, not gone uncontested and other counter-hegemonic transnational theologies have evolved within the

Church since Vatican II. Perhaps the most influential has been liberation theology, which the present Pontiff opposes and the previous Pontiff had earlier claimed to constitute a 'fundamental threat to the faith of the Church'.[54] Liberation theology developed in Latin America in the 1970s and aimed to use a politicized reading of Christianity to further the emancipation of the Third World peoples from authoritarian governments and neo-imperialism. It was profoundly influenced by certain forms of neo-Marxism and by dependency theory in particular.[55] Although liberation theology is not as influential as it once was, it played a key role in facilitating the transition to democracy in many developing societies and it lives on through the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT): a non-denominational organization independent of the Roman Catholic Church which is committed to the reinterpretation of the gospels 'in a more meaningful way' and the promotion of 'the struggle for the liberation of Third World peoples'.[56]

In conclusion, the Roman Catholic Church may be seen a global transnational religious actor exercising a considerable degree of 'soft power'[57] which potentially challenges the Westphalian order through its assertion of the transnational nature of the Church, of the right of the Pontiff to make pronouncements on spiritual issues which are considered binding on all Catholics, and, in particular, in its affirmation of the universal dignity and rights of man. Since Vatican II, the Church has been active in the promotion of human rights, democracy and the elimination of poverty throughout the world, most notably in Communist and developing societies. This has brought it into conflict with repressive state structures which derive their legitimacy from the division of the world into territorialized, sovereign states by the Peace of Westphalia.

Sikh transnational religious actors: the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee

Whereas the Roman Catholic Church can be termed a *global* religious actor commanding the allegiances of more people than *any* nation-state other than arguably India and China, with a budget to match, the same cannot be said of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC). The SGPC controls all Sikh temples, called *gurdwaras*, in the Indian state of Punjab, where the overwhelming majority of the world's twenty-three million Sikhs live. However, since its inception in October 1920, the SGPC has been central to the articulation of a *transnational* religious identity. It has done so by institutionalizing the orthodox *Khalsa* definition of Sikh identity through the *Sikh Rehat Maryada* and providing Sikhdom with a central institutional structure within which to make pronouncements on issues concerning Sikhs globally.

The term 'Sikh' refers to the learners or disciples of the first Guru of the Sikh *Panth*, Nanak (1469–1539). Nanak developed during the course of his life a religious and social philosophy which, although deeply influenced by both Hinduism and Islam, was distinct from both. The Sikh religious tradition is centred around a reading of a holy book, the *Guru Granth Sahib*, written in a sacred script particular to the Sikhs (*gurumukhi*), in a Sikh *gurdwara*. Anybody can become a Sikh, as long as one is baptized and conforms to the established practice of the *Khalsa Rahit* (code of conduct). Baptized (*amritdhari*) Sikhs following the edicts of the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh (1666–1708), are enjoined to keep their hair, including facial hair, long (*kes*); to carry a comb (*kanga*); wear knee-length breeches (*kachh*); a steel bracelet on the right hand (*kara*); and to carry a sword or dagger (*kirpan*). Those who embody these five symbols of Sikh identity, known as *Kes-dhari* Sikhs, constitute the *Khalsa*, or 'community of the pure', while *Sahajdhari* Sikhs, 'slow-adopters', may eventually progress towards full participation in the *Khalsa*.

These five symbols of Sikh religious identity, developed in opposition to prevalent 'Hindu' cultural practices, have been institutionalized by the SGPC and serve to construct boundaries between Sikhs and other communities, making *Kes-dhari* Sikhs an easily identifiable group in both an Indian and diaspora context. According to the *Rehat Maryada*, a Sikh is defined as:

Any human being who faithfully believes in:

i. One Immortal Being;
ii. Ten Gurus, from Guru Nanak Sahib to Guru Gobind Singh Sahib;
iii. The Guru Granth Sahib;
iv. The utterances and teachings of the ten Gurus; and
v. the *baptism* bequeathed by the tenth Guru, and *who does not owe allegiance to any other religion*, is a Sikh.[58]

Although this definition is wide enough to include different Sikh sects, it firmly draws the boundaries between Sikhism and other religions. Religious boundaries between Sikhs and other religions are reinforced by Article II of the *Rehat* which states that a Sikh's life has two aspects: 'individual or personal and corporate or Panthic'.[59] While the personal life of a Sikh is devoted to meditation on *Nam* (the 'Divine Substance') and to following the Guru's teachings, the corporate life of a Sikh entails a commitment to the *panth*. A single, corporate entity which includes all Sikhs, the *panth* is envisaged as an essentially democratic and egalitarian polity, with the SGPC acting as its Parliament, its Constituent Assembly. The SGPC affords the Sikhs a forum to legislate on all issues concerning the community, and its headquarters in the *Akal Takht* inside the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar is the site of all temporal power within Sikhdom. A comparison, therefore, between the SGPC and the Vatican can be made, although the SGPC is, unlike the Vatican, an elected, representative organization open to all Sikhs. Like Roman Catholicism – and unlike Islam – Sikhism has its own spiritual leader, the *jathedar* or leader of the *Akal Takht*. Although answerable to the SGPC and possessing neither the gift of infallibility nor temporal authority of the Roman Pontiff, the *jathedar* can, however, make pronouncements on behalf of the *panth* which, although not binding, have a normative status within Sikhism.

Globalization has influenced Sikhism in two main ways: first, it has brought opportunities for migration from the Punjab; and second, improved communications, and the development of the Punjabi-language print media and, subsequently, ICTs in particular, have enabled the construction of a 'diaspora' consciousness.[60] Although migration from the Punjab to South-East Asia, East Africa and North America first took place during the colonial period, it was only after the partition of the subcontinent – and the Punjab – into two independent nation-states of India and Pakistan that large-scale migration took place. The first destination for Sikhs from West Punjab (now Pakistan) displaced by partition was India itself as they replaced Muslims from East Punjab and the capital, New Delhi, going in the opposite direction. Subsequently, labour shortages in the West caused by the adoption of a Keynesian 'full employment' economic model, combined with the underdevelopment of Indian society after two centuries of colonial rule, convinced many Sikhs from mainly agricultural backgrounds to leave their 'homeland' and settle overseas. Initially, the vast majority settled in the UK, which was more willing to accept them given the shared Anglo-Sikh colonial heritage.[61] However, particularly after the storming of the Golden Temple complex in 1984, which led to a 'national war of self-determination' in the Punjab,[62] Sikhs began to move elsewhere, with North America their preferred destination.

The growth of a sizeable Sikh 'diaspora' settled mainly in the West and numbering over a million has posed new challenges for nation-states and the maintenance of Sikh identity.

Unlike most other religious identities, Sikh identity is *embodied* and Sikhs have, therefore, found it more difficult to negotiate membership of the 'national' community while retaining the external symbols of the faith. In Britain, the 336,000-strong Sikh community has 'played a crucial role as a bridgehead community which has "pioneered" British multiculturalism' and in so doing has also 'expanded its remit to include greater public recognition of the culture and traditions of other ethnic minority communities'.[63] Although Sikhs have also consistently – and increasingly after 9/11 – faced legal challenges to the maintenance of the five symbols of Sikh identity – as well as employment, educational and legal discrimination – in North America, it is in continental Europe, and particularly France with its Jacobin traditions, that Sikhs have encountered the most difficulties.

In March 2004, the French state passed a law which bans conspicuous religious symbols and attire in public schools in order to uphold the principle of *laïcité*, which promotes the active promotion of secularism in the public sphere. Although the law does not explicitly target the Sikh community, Sikh schoolchildren are most affected by the ban since the wearing of the Five Ks is an integral part of *Kes-dhari* Sikh identity and is arguably more important to the maintenance of the Sikh faith than the cross is to Christianity, the skull-cap to Judaism or the head scarf to Islam. Consequently, many of the 5,000-strong Sikh community in France have been faced with a stark dilemma: either to cease wearing the religious symbols which are the very *embodiment* of their faith; or to face exclusion from state schools. French (and other European) Sikhs have thus been forced to choose between 'faith' and 'nation'. Despite the French government's assurance that a 'satisfactory' solution for the Sikh community in France would be sought, the ban on religious symbols in the classroom has led to the expulsion of six Sikh schoolboys.[64] Furthermore, two adult French Sikh citizens – Shingara Singh Mann and Ranjit Singh[65] – were unable to renew important documents as they declined to remove their turbans for their ID photo.

The inability of the SGPC to influence French government policy, despite the election of a Sikh, Manmohan Singh, as Indian Prime Minister, demonstrates the limits of the Committee's soft power outside the Punjab, qualifying its *transnational* aspirations. It has also created space for the emergence of *other* transnational actors representing the interests of Sikhs outside of the Sikh 'political system' centred on the *Akal Takht*. One such organization is UNITED SIKHS. Often referred to as the Sikh 'Red Cross', UNITED SIKHS aims to 'transform underprivileged and minority communities and individuals into informed and vibrant members of society through civic, educational and personal development programs, by fostering active participation in social and economic activity'.[66] Founded in 1999 by a group of Sikhs from the New York metropolitan area who banded together to assist in the 'socio-economic development of immigrant communities in Queens, New York', it now has 'chapters in America, Asia and Europe that pursue projects for the spiritual, social and economic empowerment of underprivileged and minority communities'.[67]

Specifically, the role of UNITED SIKHS has been to coordinate the litigation by 'instructing counsel and providing input on Sikh issues and definitions' (Mejindarpal Kaur, personal correspondence, 25 March 2007). Appeals were filed at the European Court of Human Rights and at the United Nations Human Rights Committee in New York with mixed results. Whereas the European Court of Human Rights rejected the case of Mann Singh, a Sikh who refused to take off his turban in order to renew his driving license, in 2008,[68] the United Nations Human Rights Committee upheld Singhara Singh's complaint that the French state had violated his right to religious freedom in 2013 in requiring him to take off his turban for his passport photograph.[69]

Despite the election of the Socialist Party leader, Francois Hollande, as French President in 2012, the French state has so far not signalled its willingness to heed the United Nations

Human Rights Committee's findings demonstrating the *limits* of soft power of religious transnational organizations such as the SGPC and UNITED SIKHS.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the global activities of religious actors has exposed the 'secular conceit'[70] of the Westphalian order which made transnational religious and cultural traditions subject to the disciplinary power of the sovereign state. Now that modern international society, based upon the separation of the 'political' from the 'religious' community and the subsequent subordination of spiritual to temporal authority, is faced with unprecedented global economic, political and social change, it has been argued that the modern secular settlement, which excludes the religious from the public sphere of politics, is unsustainable and that transnational religious actors will become increasingly more important in our 'global age'. However, as Richard Falk has pointed out, all religious traditions have two broad tendencies: the first is to be universalistic and tolerant towards others who hold different convictions and identities; the second is to be exclusivist and to insist that there exists 'only one true path to salvation, which if not taken results in failure and futility, if not evil'.[71]

It has been argued in this chapter that the Roman Catholic Church after Vatican II has indeed become more tolerant towards other religious traditions and, under the present Pontiff, has signalled a willingness to enlist other faiths in its battle against militant secularism. However, a lot more needs to be done if the Church wants to emerge as a truly *global* political actor. According to the Catholic Theologian Hans Küng, the Church needs to satisfy four conditions if it is to have a future in the third millennium: it must not turn back but 'be rooted its Christian origin and concentrated on its present tasks'; it must not be patriarchal and exclude women from Church ministries; it must not be narrowly confessional but be an 'ecumenically open' church; and, finally, it must not be 'Eurocentric and put forward any exclusivist Christian claims'.[72] One way in which it could become less Eurocentric and more global in its outlook would be to provide support for the campaign to overturn the ban on the manifestation of religious symbols in France. In so doing, the Catholic Church would not only advance the cause of religious freedom globally but could also emerge as a potentially hegemonic actor in a newly emerging globalized 'post-secular' transnational civil society.

Notes

1 The author is Director of the Rotary Peace Center, International Christian University, Tokyo, Japan and President of the Asia-Pacific Region of the International Studies Association. He wishes to thank Jeff Haynes for the invitation to contribute to the second edition.
2 Teschke, *The Myth of 1648*.
3 Haynes, 'Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics', 143–58; and Haynes, *Religious Transnational Actors*.
4 The term 'Caliphate' derives from the Arabic *Khalifa*, a term denoting a series of Islamic states that were formed following the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632. Haynes, *Religious Transnational Actors*, 27.
5 Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion*; Thomas, 'Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously'.
6 Petito and Hatzopoulos, *Religion in International Relations*.
7 Kaldor, *Global Civil Society*.
8 Lipshultz, 'Reconstructing World Politics', 390.
9 Haynes, *Religious Transnational Actors*, 7.

10 Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 45–6, 150.
11 Habermas, *Between Naturalism and Religion*.
12 Attempts to apply the post-secular to IR are still in their infancy, but recent critical scholarship in IR has cast doubt on the extent to which translation from religious into secular language is indeed possible without transforming the meaning of faith-based claims or whether the term is indeed applicable to non-Judeo-Christian cultural contexts. See Mavelli and Petito, 'The Postsecular in International Relations', 931–42; and Shani, *Religion, Identity and Human Security*.
13 Teschke, *The Myth of 1648*, 3.
14 Bull, 'The Revolt against the West'.
15 My italics. See Teschke, *The Myth of 1648*, 3.
16 Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 32.
17 Fukuyama, *The End of History*.
18 Wendt, 'Identity and Structural Change in International Politics', 52.
19 Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear*; Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics*.
20 Kepel, *Jihad*; Roy, *Globalized Islam*.
21 Pasha, 'Islam, "Soft" Orientalism and Hegemony'.
22 Huntington, 'Clash of Civilizations', 34.
23 See Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalism Movement*; Hansen and Jaffrelot, *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*; Bhatt, *Hindu Nationalism*.
24 Huntington, *Who are We?*
25 Modood, *Multicultural Politics*.
26 Jenkins, *God's Continent*.
27 Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion*; Thomas, 'Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously'.
28 Scholte, *Globalisation: A Critical Introduction*, 245.
29 Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture*.
30 Scholte, *Globalisation: A Critical Introduction*, 225.
31 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
32 Scholte, *Globalisation: A Critical Introduction*, 228.
33 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44.
34 Ibid., 46.
35 Castells, *The Information Age*, 13–21.
36 Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 3.
37 Casanova, 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal" Church', 121.
38 Küng, *The Catholic Church*, 27.
39 Ibid., 45.
40 Ibid., 168.
41 Holy See, 'The Decrees of the First Vatican Council'. 9.
42 The Holy See, *Nostra Aetate*, 5.
43 The Holy See, *Dignitatis Humanae*, 1.
44 Casanova, 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal" Church', 135; Haynes, 'Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics', 150.
45 Casanova, 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal" Church', 135; Haynes, 'Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics', 150.
46 Casanova, 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal" Church', 126.
47 Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 139.
48 Casanova, 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal" Church', 125.
49 Walzer, *Toward a Global Civil Society*, 7.
50 The Holy See, 'Press Conference of Pope Francis During the Return Flight'.
51 http://www.catholicculture.org/commentary/otn.cfm?id=1084.
52 http://jesuits.org/spirituality.
53 *The Guardian*, 13 June 2015.

54 Ratzinger, 'Preliminary Notes on Liberation Theology', 2.
55 See Frank, *The Development of Underdevelopment*.
56 http://eatwot.org/.
57 'Soft power' is defined by Joseph Nye as the 'ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments' (Nye, *Soft Power*, 12). See Haynes, *Religious Transnational Actors*, for its application to the analysis of religious transnational actors in international relations.
58 Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, *The Sikh Rehat Maryada*, 1.
59 Ibid.
60 See Axel, *The Nation's Tortured Body*; Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora*; and Shani, *Sikh Nationalism and Identity*.
61 Singh and Tatla, *Sikhs in Britain*.
62 Pettigrew, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*; and Singh, *Ethnic Conflict in India*.
63 Singh and Tatla, *Sikhs in Britain*, 210.
64 Jasvir Singh, Bikramjit Singh and Ranjit Singh were expelled in 2004. They were joined in 2005 by Gurinder Singh and by Jasmeet Singh in 2006. Maha Singh has, furthermore, not been admitted in any school since 2006 on account of his turban (Mejindarpal Kaur, personal correspondence, 25 March 2007).
65 Shingara Singh Mann was unable to renew his driver's licence and passport as he would not take off his turban for a photo ID, and Ranjit Singh, a 69-year-old political refugee, was refused a resident card in 2002 for a similar reason (Mejindarpal Kaur, personal correspondence, 25 March 2007).
66 http://unitedsikhs.org/mission.php.
67 http://unitedsikhs.org/about.php.
68 http://echrblog.blogspot.jp/2008/11/sikh-turban-case-inadmissible.html.
69 http://unitedsikhs.org/PressReleases/PRSRLS-08-10-2013-00.html.
70 Connolly, *Why I Am Not a Secularist*, 19–47.
71 Falk, 'A Worldwide Religious Resurgence in an Era of Globalization', 184.
72 Küng, *The Catholic Church*, 213.

References

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: The Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

Axel, Brian K. *The Nation's Tortured Body: Violence, Representation, and the Formation of a Sikh "Diaspora"*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001.

Bhatt, Chetan. *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.

Bull, Hedley. "The Revolt against the West". In *The Expansion of International Society*, edited by Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, 357–69. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Casanova, Jose. 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal' Church"'. In *Transnational Religion and Fading States*, edited by Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and James Piscatori, 121–43. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997.

Castells, Manuel. *The Information Age*, vol.1: *The Network Society*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

Connolly, William E. *Why I Am Not a Secularist*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Falk, Richard A. 'A Worldwide Religious Resurgence in an Era of Globalization'. In *Religion and International Relations: The Return from Exile*, edited by Fabio Petito and Pavlos Hatzopoulos, 181–208. New York and Houndmills: Palgrave, 2003.

Frank, Andre Gunder. *The Development of Underdevelopment*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Fukuyama, F. *The End of History and the Last Man*. London: Penguin, 1992.

Habermas, Jürgen. *Between Naturalism and Religion*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.

Hansen, Thomas Blom and Christophe Jaffrelot (eds.). *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Haynes, Jeff. 'Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics'. *Third World Quarterly*, 22, no.1 (2001): 143–58.
Haynes, Jeff. *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007.
Haynes, Jeff. *Religious Transnational Actors and Soft Power*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2012.
Held, David and Anthony McGrew. 'The Great Globalization Debate'. In *The Global Transformations Reader*, edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew, 1–50. Cambridge: Polity, 2000.
Held, David and Anthony McGrew. 'Introduction: Globalization at Risk?' In *Globalization Theory*, edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew, 1–45. Cambridge: Polity, 2007.
Holy See, The (1870). 'The Decrees of the First Vatican Council'. Online. Available http://www.dailycatholic.org/history/20ecume3.htm#Chapter%204.%20On%20the%20infallible%20teaching%20authority%20of%20the%20Roman%20pontiff (accessed 20 March 2007).
Holy See, The. *Nostra Aetate*. Online. Available http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html (accessed 20 March 2007), 1965a.
Holy See, The. *Dignitatis Humanae*. Online. Available http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651207_dignitatis-humanae_en.html (accessed 20 March 2007), 1965b.
Holy See, The. 'Apostolic Journey to Rio De Janeiro on the occasion of the XXVIII World Youth Day: Press Conference of Pope Francis During the Return Flight'. Online. Available https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130728_gmg-conferenza-stampa.html (accessed 20 April 2015), 2013.
Huntington, S. P. 'The clash of civilization', *Foreign Affairs*, 72, summer (1993): 22–49.
Huntington, Samuel P. *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004.
Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics, from 1925 to the 1990s*. London: Hurst and Company, 1996.
Jenkins, Peter. *God's Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe's Religious Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Jurgensmeyer, Mark. *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.
Kaldor, Mary. *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War*. Cambridge: Polity, 2003.
Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.
Küng, Hans. *The Catholic Church*, trans. J. Bowden. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2001.
Lipschultz, Ronnie. 'Recontructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 21, no. 3 (1992): 389–420.
Mandaville, Peter. *Transnational Muslim Politics*. London: Routledge, 2001.
Mavelli, Luca and Fabio Petito 'The Postsecular in International Relations: An Overview'. *Review of International Studies*, 38, Special Issue (2012): 931–42.
Modood, Tariq. *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
Nye, Joseph. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics.* Washington, DC: Public Affairs.
Pasha, Mustapha Kamal. 'Islam, "Soft" Orientalism and Hegemony: A Gramscian Rereading'. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 8, no. 4 (2005): 543–558.
Petito, Fabio and Pavlos Hatzopoulos (eds.) *Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile*, New York: Palgrave, 2003.
Pettigrew, Joyce. *The Sikhs of the Punjab: Unheard Voices of the State and Guerrilla Violence (Politics in Contemporary Asia)*. London: Zed Books, 1995.
Pieterse, J.N. *Globalization and Culture*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.
Ratzinger, Cardinal Joseph (1984) 'Preliminary Notes on Liberation Theology', online. http://www.christendom-awake.org/pages/ratzinger/liberationtheol.htm (accessed: 25 June 2007).
Roy, Olivier *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
Sayyid, Bobby S. *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*. London: Zed Books, 1997.
Scholte, Jan. Arte. *Globalisation: A Critical Introduction.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
Shani, Giorgio. 'Beyond Khalistan: Sikh Diasporic Identity and Critical International Theory'. *Sikh Formations*: *Religion, Culture, Theory*, 1, no. 1 (2005): 57–74.
Shani, Giorgio. *Sikh Nationalism and Identity in a Global Age*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007a.

Shani, Giorgio. 'Provincialising Critical Theory: Islam, Sikhism and International Relations'. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 20, no. 3, 417–434, 2007b.

Shani, Giorgio. *Religion, Identity and Human Security*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) *The Sikh Rehat Maryada*, Amritsar: SGPC Publications, 1994.

Singh, Gurharpal. *Ethnic Conflict in India: A Case Study of the Punjab*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Singh, Gurharpal and Darshan Singh Tatla. *Sikhs in Britain: The Making of a Community*. London: Zed Books, 2006.

Tatla, Darshan Singh. *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood*. London: UCL Press, 1999.

Teschke, Benno. *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations*. London: Verso, 2003.

Thomas, Scott M. *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Thomas, Scott M. 'Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously: The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Society'. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 29, no. 3 (2005): 815–84.

Walzer, Michael. *Toward a Global Civil Society*. Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1995.

Wendt, Alexander. 'Identity and Structural Change in International Politics'. In *The Return of Culture and Identity in International Relations Theory*, edited by Yosef Lapid and Friedrich Kratochwil. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995.

19

RELIGIONS IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

David Wessels

SOPHIA UNIVERSITY, JAPAN

Introduction and overview

Religions are found wherever and whenever people inhabit our world. In the globalizing world of the twenty-first century, these religions naturally are intertwined with the diverse political trends of our age.[1] From time immemorial, this has been the mark of civilizations, empires, nations, the modern state, indeed of the human condition as such. Among the challenges of global politics, issues of order, governance, and multiculturalism in a world of diverse economic and social realities are never far from religions. As cultures meet, religions act and interact within core areas, along adjoining borders, and in far-flung diasporas. The encounter between religion and globalization is a crucial feature of our world. In the globalizing transformation that is occurring, religion is basic for the understanding of many of today's outstanding political issues: democratization, emancipation, terrorism, fundamentalisms. Calls for tolerance and reconciliation amid a rise in the prominence of public religion are heard within states and nations, in civil society and transnational relations, in traditional diplomacy and new global fora. Overarching aspects of international relations such as sovereignty and the structure of the international system have been intertwined with religions throughout history up to the present. Likewise, religions are molded by their political surroundings, locally and globally.

This intersection of religion and politics in a globalizing world is the core of much human activity and a key to understanding global dynamics. It is not a new intersection, for many constitutive ideas and patterns are related to elements that can be traced back over decades, centuries, or even millennia. The character and range of civilizations, empires, and political (or international) orders whose institutions date back to the dawn of human history vary according to time and place. Early human civilizations, great empires, ancient Greek city-states, evolving international orders, and modern globalization reflect both political and religious conditions of their time and place. In our own day, new interactions and possibilities for this mutual relationship are emerging.[2]

Unfortunately, the tendency of many approaches to the subject has been to reduce religion to politics or vice versa: the question simply becomes the direction of influence (of religion on politics or vice versa) in an explanatory model. Instead of just asking how religions affect politics or politics affects religions, practitioners and analysts need to reconsider both together in their mutual relations as fundamental features of the lives of individual persons and whole

communities that converge and diverge in many ways without just adding one or another variable to an already overcrowded political theory. Religions can be sources of conflicts, but also of meaning and human capacity. Politics can bring people together or tear them apart. Religion is not some kind of ideological view of politics; global politics is not some kind of rival for the hearts of the religious faithful. Media images of international conflicts and extremist violence, juxtaposed with religious claims by the perpetrators of those actions, are merely a conflation of human dramas rather than a considered perception of how politics and religion mingle. In a globalizing world, religions converge with politics in the human person, the public square, and the world as a whole.

One shorthand for the understanding of global politics may be found in the way political leaders describe that world or prescribe for it. For example, in November 1990 in Paris, leaders of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) formulated what they called the Charter of Paris for a New Europe,[3] a document which sought to give direction to the changing political and economic realities of Europe at that time of monumental transition when tensions between the military blocs had eased and prospects for a more peaceful future based on common values looked good. Among the Charter's principal points were the emphases on democracy, human rights, and economic liberty (market economics) as European, if not global, standards for the conduct of public life in the aftermath of the changes symbolized by the year 1989. After decades of mutual threats, implacable opposition in ideological convictions, and rivalries and conflicts that extended to all corners of the globe, the participants in the CSCE began to envision and discourse about something new. Among the themes of the 1990 CSCE meeting, for example, democracy can be contrasted with various forms of authoritarianism and totalitarianism; human rights can be identified with evolving norms based on the key understanding of the dignity of the human person; and free markets demonstrably differ from command-style political-economic systems.

Today's condition has been described by different analysts by terms such as modernity, a new international order, a new world order, or globalization. Not only the CSCE, but other social and political movements offer approaches to contemporary political, economic, social, and cultural realities. These are all aspects of the globalizing world with which particular religions interact. Politics in this globalizing world includes the practices and discourses that have affected the course of international relations in the late-twentieth into the twenty-first centuries, although it is clearly not limited to such a brief time span.

The struggles for democratic freedoms and human rights that continue in our world and even anti-globalization movements such as the Occupy movement that have arisen in many places show that global politics remains a contested sphere of thought and action. I will not try to examine all of these cases and issues here. Rather, I will focus on particular religions as a correlative concept that can shed new light on the dynamics of our globalizing world. I will offer a basic stance on religion and politics together that can provide a more integrated understanding of global politics and particular religions than examining either concept alone could yield.

I also wish to call attention to the term "particular religions." Some might consider the term a pleonasm: of course, all religions are particular. Especially in the context of long-term trends in global politics, the overlap between the spheres of politics and religion in customs, symbols, and even social or hierarchical groups, has been seen throughout the world. Insofar as "religion" is regarded as a Westphalian invention[4] that differentiates the religious from the secular sphere of human activity, religion is assigned to a merely private role, while politics encompasses the public sphere. But many see the present as a post-secular and a post-Westphalian moment, an opportunity to recognize that religions have spread widely across the globe for

millennia. Some religions have aspirations toward or self-understandings as universal faiths for all people and peoples; and all manifest particular features of language, rituals, and other expressions in diverse lands.

To relate particular religions to global politics need not mean that religions have a limited geographical scope while today's politics is worldwide. On the one hand, religions are specific in terms of teachings, rituals, even communities. On the other hand, as the well-known American politician Tip O'Neill was wont to say, "all politics is local," too. Likewise, in global studies today, scholars struggle to identify new concepts and have offered neologisms in phrases like "glocalization" and "think globally, act locally." This attention to the global and the local is found in the study of both religions and politics. Past and present world civilizations and contemporary global dynamics provide abundant evidence that particular religions demonstrate a capacity to spread over the face of the globe, forming inclusive groups of believers that overcome barriers of language, ethnicity, and life styles. Similarly, the standard focus on international politics is expanding to a global viewpoint.

What these preliminary remarks suggest is that religions in our globalizing world have points of both convergence and divergence with politics. As the world is buffeted by events such as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and the turmoil ensuing after the Arab Spring from 2011, the complementarity of global politics and particular religions becomes apparent. Can we approach this complementarity by analyzing religions in a globalizing world with an integrated theory that includes or bridges two spheres that have often been intentionally separated?

Numerous scholars have urged a renewal of attention to religions in international relations and global politics.[5] One point frequently mentioned is the tendency to regard religion as a relevant subject merely because of its association with violent events in the world. After the Cold War, ethnic conflicts in many parts of the world have had a religious tinge. While each conflict has had unique elements, attention has been drawn to common aspects of a religious character.[6] The dramatic terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, became associated with religious images: the terrorists themselves imagined their motives and behavior as religiously inspired; afterwards, governments, scholars, and the general public have tried to understand religions better to deal with the issues raised by terrorism. While questions of conflict and violence certainly need to be addressed, my purpose in this chapter is to offer a broader view of particular religions in a globalizing world.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, Samuel Huntington's thesis on the clash of civilizations (with religious overtones) has been widely discussed.[7] Indeed, there is a long history of associating civilizations with religions.[8] Recent scholarship in international relations has revived discussion of civilizations[9] and international orders[10] in the global transformation[11] that is changing world politics. I would argue that the links between religions and broad political congeries like civilizations, empires, and international systems are diverse, and need not be understood as confrontational or prone to violence.

Among the approaches to a re-evaluation of the relationship between religion and international politics are the following. The work of Scott M. Thomas offers a normative perspective particularly influenced by the rich philosophical insights of Alasdair MacIntyre and Rene Girard. He also identifies the diverse settings throughout the world in which religious roots offer a useful foundation for empirical analysis.[12] Eric O. Hanson offers a new paradigm that sees international relations as the set of overlapping political, economic, military, and communication systems. Within that paradigm, political and religious perspectives take on powerful independent significance, and lead to a rich appreciation of the various settings of interaction between religion and politics worldwide.[13] Jeff Haynes takes a more comparative perspective

as he shows the vigor of the religion–politics dialectic in regions, countries, and religions all over the globe.[14] R. Scott Appleby illustrates the "ambivalence of the sacred" for both violence and reconciliation.[15] Elizabeth Hurd[16] identifies the settlements made between religions and polities throughout history, especially in the light of so-called "secularism."[17]

The familiar language of social science usually poses questions about the direction of influence or causation. Does politics coerce religion, or does religion manipulate politics in diverse settings? In subtler ways, do politicians (cynically or otherwise) use the language and symbols of religion to achieve their political agenda? Do people of religion (benevolently or malevolently) cross a border between their legitimate concerns and the arena of politics? Of course, to state these issues is to differentiate the spheres of politics and religion in an analytical way that would be unfamiliar to many people and peoples, past and present, in historic civilizations or the contemporary world. It is also to seek explanations for the behavior of people in their motives, intentions, and goals.

Especially when this kind of analysis draws attention to murky realms of exploitation or violence, to conflict rather than cooperation, it exposes the uncomfortable reality that both politics and religion may fail in achieving the high values that they propose. Politics may be said to have concern for the common good or public goods, but may in fact be perverted to negative purposes like racial prejudice, exclusionary practices, even genocide. Religions, too, may assert lofty ideals of human dignity but end up pursuing their own exclusive advantages against others. This crucible of imperfection has been well expressed in R. Scott Appleby's apt phrase concerning religion: "the ambivalence of the sacred."[18] It could also be applied to the political world as a kind of "ambivalence of the commonwealth." While both religions and politics often proclaim good will and peace, people acting in the name of one or the other frequently achieve only strife and suffering.

Both religion and politics have had to grapple with problems for which there is no clear dividing line between the two, such as moral issues. The issues vary according to time, place, culture, and so on, but commonly include such contested questions as the following: war, use of force, social justice, death penalty, abortion, marriage, biotechnology, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom to convert from one religion to another. In contemporary polities and global politics, these matters all have ethical and legal dimensions that cannot be separated and to which political institutions address themselves. Likewise, religions stake claims to both their competence and their responsibility in treating these cases. It is not surprising when persons purporting to speak either for political or for religious communities deal with these issues or disagree about them. A few examples follow.

In the long history of global politics, concepts of the just war have been used for centuries to address the many moral and legal problems surrounding the use of military force and combat. The formulation and use of just war concepts offer strong evidence that the realms of religion and politics should and can be treated together. The lives of individual persons and whole communities are at stake in the conduct of war, and so it is to be expected that such "ultimate" questions blur any analytical boundaries that might be suggested for separating religion and politics. The way in which these moral criteria have established the basis for the international law of war demonstrates the intimate link between (religiously based) ethical thought and (politically based) positive law.[19] Similar criteria are used in the recent development of the concept of the responsibility to protect.[20] Likewise, the difficult moral and legal questions surrounding the freedom of religion illustrate how religions and politics are intertwined; tolerance as a "global standard" is a specific way in which this has taken concrete form.[21] More generally, religious thought and institutions have played an important role in the background to and emergence of international human rights.[22]

For decades if not centuries, sociologists have been examining a "traditional-modern" distinction in the structures of societies. Without going into that discussion in any detail, it is noteworthy that a widespread assumption in this approach has been that modern societies were experiencing "secularization." That is to say, as the patterns of traditional societies gave way to the modern, religions or religious patterns that had been crucial to the character of those societies would change, in many cases to be replaced by secular or non-religious patterns. For some, it meant particularly the privatization of religion, with individual piety replacing group or external expressions of religious identity. Much has been written about the evidence found throughout the world in recent decades that falsifies such assumptions or hypotheses. Peter Berger is a prominent advocate of a reversal in the academic forum to a new concept of "desecularization."[23] This empirical hypothesis is of great significance for this present study of global politics and particular religions because it draws attention to societal aspects of religion prominent today.[24] Religions are not some kind of second cousin to a hegemonic political or social theory, much less an epiphenomenon to underlying economic trends. Religions with a public expression are central to an understanding of politics, locally and globally, today as always.

Another sociological approach with an historical element is associated with the theme of globalization. If classical studies of modern societies discovered secularizing trends in nation-states, recent evaluations of trends perceive globalization or globalizing tendencies that are rooted in religion.[25] As observer-participants people today experience and reflect upon what amounts to elements of a global culture. This reflexive consciousness both enables and restricts people at a global level.[26] The inclusive or holistic character of this global identity has a religious quality with a variety of expressions. Public religion, a theme to which I will return later in this chapter, is a vigorous expression of this globalization.[27]

On the one hand, these social trends have led to speculation about the possibility of some sort of religious convergence, meta-religion (for example, based on environmentalism), or supra-religious ethic[28] that would provide a basis for people to co-exist in a global world. On the other hand, identifying the *modus operandi* of various religions by the vocabulary of contemporary international relations, these religions can be seen to have a "global" or "transnational" character, as Juergensmeyer states:

> In these traditions [Islam, Christianity, Buddhism], the very core of their faith includes the notion that their religion is greater than any local group and cannot be confined to the cultural boundaries of any particular region. These are religious traditions with universal pretensions and global ambitions. . . . These are transnational religions, religions of expansion. But they also have geographic and cultural roots.[29]

Religions that encounter today's globalization engage this phenomenon with the resources that they have always had and with the challenges that are implied by the global scope of today's social boundaries. Robertson even suggests that some "anti-globalism" grows out of opposition to "secular humanism."[30] The religious rhetoric of extremist groups like al Qaeda and the Islamic State would support this view.

Another approach to the modern encounter between religion and the human and social sciences is exemplified in the vocabulary of "spirituality." This reflects several trends in contemporary religiosity. For example, on balance this language emphasizes spiritual experience over institutional forms. To some extent, Hanson's category of "meditative experience" captures this point.[31] A more thorough attempt to integrate the perspective of spirituality with the findings of modern psychology and epistemology is that of Daniel Helminiak, who offers a critique of any spirituality that rests on logical contradictions or on propositions that are not based on

true understanding.[32] While noting this dimension of interiority or immanence in religious experience, I will focus in this chapter on the social and public aspects of global politics and particular religions.

Cases: problems and issues

I will now begin a discussion of some of the more substantive problems and issues that link global politics and particular religions. At the risk of conflating different things into a single package or of disappointing analysts who are looking for unidirectional influences, I will try to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the political and the religious realms. I have no pretensions of offering a complete survey of the field, but I will try to cover some of the prominent empirical and normative questions that have arisen in recent decades.

Building on the Peace of Augsburg's 1555 formula of *cujus regio ejus religio*, the Westphalian settlement of 1648, taken at face value, seems to enshrine an ideal-type of international political system of independent sovereign states. This formula seems to suggest that states will form along confessional religious lines, or at least that adherence to or deviations from religious confessions are not a matter for co-religionists in other states or for those who follow other religions elsewhere. Of course, that ideal-type was not realized in practice.[33] Furthermore, the system actually fostered some elements of secularism.[34] In any case, the international order based on states that gradually emerged has different religious foundations from earlier orders such as Christendom or the Chinese Middle Kingdom.[35] Moral, religious, political, and legal arguments have since highlighted the value of toleration of religious beliefs[36] within states as a primary basis for the legitimacy of those polities, although there are wide differences in the political and social levels of religious tolerance in states throughout the world.[37]

Religions constantly developed over the intervening centuries, as well.[38] However incomplete or imperfect these movements may be, ecumenism within Christianity since the twentieth century and religious dialogues—at least among representatives of major world religions—since the Chicago Parliament of World Religions in 1893 have suggested a softer encounter among religionists than a hard shell reinforced by state boundaries. Of course, the religious bodies in question never conformed entirely to the straitjackets of political exclusivity suggested by the Augsburg norm. And migrations in the modern and contemporary world make patently absurd any notion that religions could be or would be confined territorially.

All religions grow and spread by forms of witness, acceptance, and conversion. Formal and informal missionary thrusts are a characteristic of the major globe-spanning religious movements. Religious thought and practice have disseminated through many media of communication, for example the printed pamphlets and books of the Reformation and the radio, television, and digital media of recent decades. Perennial adaptations and indigenization of universally oriented religions are not new in themselves; but today it needs to be emphasized that these religious thrusts constitute the stuff of modern globalization as much as the working of a market system, the structures of nation-states, or the use of technology.

Specifically for this study of particular religions in a globalizing world, it is noteworthy that state sovereignty as a basis for the structure of the international system is under strain today from the forces of globalization. The growth of a global community that encompasses many inter-governmental and non-governmental institutions is a prominent fact of recent history.[39] New kinds of networks are spanning the globe, directly and indirectly transforming the way international politics is conducted.[40] In particular, norms of human rights raise direct challenges to the most cherished norms of state sovereignty.[41] Religions are especially important in this transformation; in the words of Daniel Philpott, "Religious freedom embodies the moral

challenge of an international system that is beginning to move past Westphalia."[42] Religion has never been comfortable with sovereign borders, and particular religions follow dynamic paths that disregard those borders even as they are affected by many specific political conditions that they encounter locally and globally.

Diplomacy is a traditional institution of international politics that shows evidence of being affected by religions. Of course the unique position of the Holy See (the Vatican) in contemporary diplomatic practice is evident from both the large number of states (178 as of March 2015) with which it maintains day-to-day diplomatic relations and from the symbolism surrounding papal visits with political overtones (e.g., papal addresses at the United Nations, Pope John Paul II's visits to Poland, and Pope Francis's address to the United States Congress in 2015). This influence extends to pastoral travels to various regions, the visits of heads of state to the Vatican, and rites such as the funeral of Pope John Paul II. Faith-based diplomacy[43] has attracted attention as both a necessary ingredient of state-to-state practice[44] and a privileged form of track-two diplomatic efforts.[45]

More broadly religionists have taken prominent roles in social and political reconciliation efforts throughout the globe, within national societies, and across national divides. Prominent examples include the peace and reconciliation encounters between Israelis and Palestinians, between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, among racial groups in South Africa, and in Central America, and numerous other dialogues and truth commissions. The Vatican's role in brokering a breakthrough in relations between the United States and Cuba in 2015 is a prominent example. One survey of the role of religion in global politics illustrates the broad range of interactions found today.[46]

A great variety is evident in the patterns linking religions and democracy.[47] One neuralgic point is the vexing problem of societies with exclusionary religious extremists. The word fundamentalism has been associated with such extremist movements frequently, but not always with beneficial results for intellectual clarity or social harmony.[48] The core of the problem is how freely a political-religious ideology that takes power through democratic processes of majority politics may impose its will on the wider society and polity. The normative question here can be resolved by attention to human rights, particularly those related to religious freedom and toleration. But empirically the procedural democratic principle of majority rule has been in tension with such principles of rights, as in countries like Algeria, Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and India. In a country like Afghanistan, with an Islamic identity and a history of foreign intervention, the question of imposing democratic political norms is even more complex.

In a comprehensive document like the Charter of Paris, the norm of democracy was balanced with an affirmation of substantive human rights norms that blend with liberal democracy. But the workings of democratic politics, and especially electoral politics, in countries as diverse as Indonesia, Pakistan, Nigeria, Israel, and Russia show the fragility of societal and religious security where religious tolerance fails. The Pew Research Center has been charting trends in social hostilities involving religion and government restrictions on religion for many years. In its 2015 report based on 2013 data, they reported that there were very high levels of both social hostilities and government restrictions in 27 percent of the 198 countries and territories surveyed.[49] The fact that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations affirms religious freedom and that most national constitutions and laws acknowledge the same would seem to be the basis for consensual global politics on this matter. But religious freedom is actually violated by political authorities in many places, often with severe persecutions.[50] The tension of the principle of religious freedom with democracy and with the actual social and religious conditions in various places is not necessarily a problem of religious doctrine or legal status, but of political and economic conditions and popular beliefs.

This brings the discussion back to the issue of public religion that I introduced above. Explicitly religious symbols and values have become more prominent in international and domestic politics even as global politics has emerged as a reality. For example, France's *laicité*, Turkey's political developments, and India's secular constitution co-exist uneasily with contemporary desecularization and identity politics on a broad scale. Whether or when men should wear a fez cap, women a *chador* veil, or children a crucifix in school have become public issues that are not merely social in a narrow sense of that word but political in a wide sense. Issues such as the imposition of *sharia* law or the representation and expression of religion by various forms of public displays have stirred deep emotions globally. While the expressions of religious sentiment are specific to various religions, these issues are no less problems for particular religions than they are for global politics. The particular religions are faced with the question of what they need to do to express themselves and to relate to others in a globalizing world. That is, the religions themselves face questions of self-identity as well as questions of their relationship to politics.

This raises the question of the self-definition of various religions and the degree of uniformity or unity found in them. I would suggest four elements for a working definition of religion: creed (the profession of faith, including doctrine), morality (the ethical dimension of faith in lived behavior), worship (expressing the believer's notice of and relation to the divine or transcendent), community (the human solidarity involved in a common faith). Clearly, all religions show a range of practices on all four of these dimensions, both diachronically and synchronically, and from esoteric to popular forms. Cultures of diverse regions influence the public expressions of all of the more universal religions, an issue that today is often referred to as indigenization. But even religions that are relatively localized in their spread necessarily face similar boundary questions.

What political analysts call public policy also overlaps with religions, with each influencing the other. Everything from public holidays to legal codes, from family life to public associations, bears the imprint of this overlap. If "modern" societies show a greater differentiation of religion and politics than "traditional" ones, neither fits an ideal-type of division suggested by a term like "separation of church and state." One could speak of religion and politics as integral parts of a brocade fabric, or of the degree of autonomy experienced by religious or political institutions relative to each other. The ascendancy of theories of functionalism (and the differentiation that is said to accompany them) has obscured dimensions of organic unity between politics and religion.

Historically, there has been constant adjustment in various parts of the world in the processes and results of interactions between religions and politics. As Don Baker suggests: "In traditional East Asia, there was no word for religion as a separate and distinct sphere of life."[51] When this region was faced with new realities in the late nineteenth century, the Chinese character translation for religion (宗教) that was coined in Japan became the standard for the East Asian region. The Japanese government then claimed that a legitimate religion "had to have a doctrinal and scriptural base, had to be limited (i.e., sectarian) rather than all-encompassing in its membership, and had to extend beyond the boundaries of one nation."[52] The effort to define "religion" in public policy illustrates the complexities and dangers involved in differentiating the religious and political spheres.

Public policy today faces the challenge of allowing mobilized believers to express themselves freely while respecting others' freedoms. This tension is different from the conflicts in societies or in global encounters that are essentially about land, wealth, knowledge, and so on. These tensions or conflicts are accompanied by behaviors ranging from cooperation to force, violence, or military confrontation. Due to customs, prejudices, or patterns of exploitation,

such conflicts are sometimes regarded as religious, and may actually be reinforced by religious communities, while they may be essentially different. For example, intra-religion problems associated with the Hindu caste system, interpretations of Islam, or disparate Christian churches often have historical and social roots that are not merely religious. Similarly, inter-religion problems, for example about sovereignty over Jerusalem or about autonomy or devolution in various regions, may revolve around land, resources, and so on. The policies adopted to deal with such problems must acknowledge religious values and safeguard other human and community values, as well.

This brings our discussion to questions of what those common values might be or how they might be expressed in a common language of religion and politics. These are questions of discourse, narrative, and practice. Some effects of technology in a globalizing world have been toward the atomizing of individuals. Globalization seems to have a universalizing or homogenizing effect on cultures, with impact on everything from language and aesthetics to foods and building materials. But simultaneously, many religions have engaged globalization with renewed awareness of their own particular public character. Rather than seeing particular religions and global politics as somehow veering toward a clash or going off on unrelated tangents, I will try to examine them together in a unified stance of convergence and divergence.

From cases to theory: convergence and divergence

A coherent, unified stance on religion and politics has several aspects. The verbal and other physical behaviors of those engaged in religion and/or politics are the first aspect. People discourse about moral norms for societies, engage in religious observances, participate in elections, choose public policies, and so on. While some analysts speak of several "identities" of people, I think that it is more accurate to speak of persons with their potentialities, limitations, and capacities. They are enabled by those personal and cultural capacities—and their religious and political commitments—to say and do whatever their concrete actions are. Categories like "Buddhist" or "liberal democrat" or "capitalist" or whatever ultimately capture only part of what these persons are.

The specific aspect of discourse is central to this study. This refers to both the discourse(s) of the people whom we regard as "speaking" politics and religion and the discourse and the narratives that we select to talk about them. We all use words to bundle our actions; and, of course, our words are themselves significant and meaningful human actions. We may not like it when Osama bin Laden uses the language of jihad to characterize suicide and terrorism or the Islamic State group expresses its political ambitions with the word caliphate, but we don't ignore it. Justifications for armed intervention or drone strikes may not convince us, but we evaluate them by our religious and political standards. Especially in a "scientific" discourse, we try to specify, for example, what "just war" or "legitimate defense" might mean, and use such categories for empirical or normative analysis.

Our theories, then, aim to be relevant to what people are actually doing and saying, and to have a meaning that clarifies rather than distorts those actions and words. A theory that is supposed to elucidate politics or religions takes on the task of synthesizing religions and politics as never before. In what follows, I will offer some directions for a framework in which to understand both. The questions that I am posing include this fundamental aspect of theory construction. Can religion and politics be viewed together after we make all the distinctions that articulate their special characteristics? Does the reality of public religion require a new theoretical discourse about politics? Has global politics changed the way religions are lived or

self-consciously perceived? What are the elements of a framework for an integrated theory of politics and religions in today's globalizing world?

I will begin with a discussion of some of the convergent aspects of religion and politics: common humanity; particular and universal; symbols and rituals; authority. Obviously, my explanation requires a certain level of abstraction and analogous thinking. However, I will not try to make an argument for a specific theory of knowledge or philosophy of science, which would distract from the immediate task.

To note that we share a common humanity that is a basis for convergent thinking about politics and religion may not seem such a remarkable statement, but it has important implications for the current inquiry. This is not a biologist's claim about the common characteristics of the human genome or Aristotle's recognition that politics and ethics are foundational human actions. In fact, there have been quite different understandings of what it means to be human among the various religions and political ideologies. Observing how people actually conduct politics or carry out religious practices gives us pause, as well. There is a great deal of exclusion that takes place in the name of politics and religion: drawing territorial boundaries; designating legal entitlements for certain groups; imagining political or religious communities; legitimizing religious participation. The claim of common humanity affirms that all humans share the basis for religious and political commitment and inclusion.

The claim of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948) is that there is an "inherent dignity" in all humans, and that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Philosophers have discussed this claim and similar assertions of what our common humanity implies. It is an invitation to the reader to recognize in himself or herself, and in others, that human dignity is our common heritage. This simple statement is a useful starting point for our search for convergence between global politics and particular religions.

In political thought this affirmation of human dignity is most often associated with the foundations of human rights. A similar line of development is found from the historical arguments of Bartolomé de Las Casas regarding the native populations of the New World in the sixteenth century, through the claims for civil and political rights in Europe in succeeding centuries, and assertions of freedom of religion and conscience that became ever more specific. More recently the concept of human dignity penetrates political discourse on toleration, basic human needs, and human security. Despite ambiguities and divergence, religiously inspired reflection on these foundations helped to advance international human rights from the 1940s through the 1960s.[53] Religion and politics mix in both the theoretical foundation and the real-world applications of these principles.

A second convergence between global politics and particular religions is their relationship to the particular and the universal. These are relative terms that both point out a tension within the political and religious spheres and make a bridge between these different spheres of human activity. For example, in the study of international relations, the neologism "glocalization" (introduced above) attempts to specify empirical politics today as an interpenetration of the global (universal) and local (particular) spheres. Empirical religions, too, contain a living tension between their universal aspirations and the particular expressions in cultures and communities that have become more prominent today. For example, Joseph Ratzinger (later Pope Benedict XVI) points to the "European" (particular) cultural features of Christianity within a dynamism of transcendence via cultural encounters (universal) that continues today.[54] Co-religionists historically maintained contacts and shared traditions, but the transformation of technologies of transport and communication in recent decades have made ideas like "world-church" or "networked diaspora" far more concrete to them today. Cultural and political forces

impact religious bodies in such a way that they allow or even require religions to both express themselves in local forms and forge global identities.

In the practical world of politics, the universality of political claims is regularly limited by boundaries of cities, states, or other group units; and so politics becomes particular. But whenever the political group asserts its legitimacy vis-à-vis individuals, it is staking a claim to a certain universality (this becomes mixed up with the modern European system's concepts of internal and external sovereignty). The political imagination can conjure up Stoic notions of cosmopolis, Kantian ideas of a world federation of states, Wallerstein's world-economy, a world state, or a global community as it stretches toward inclusiveness. Religious terminology has favored words like body, mother, home, or temple as analogues or metaphors of religious connectedness.

For both religions and political units there is a constant dialectic between their universal ideals and the particular ways that they are put into practice. I see this as a convergent axis for a theory that integrates these two spheres. For example, when we consider contemporary religion and politics, features of what has been called "religious nationalism"[55] become clearer by a critical application of this theoretical insight. Nationalism is a universal abstraction that is epitomized in numerous specific nation-based ideologies. When a nationalism is synergized with a religion, the combination is both powerful and potentially disruptive of the tension between the particular and the universal.

Symbols and rituals are a third kind of convergence between religion and politics. Some theologies lay great stress on the symbolic character of religion in general, and the external symbols and rituals of specific religions are among the prominent ways that observers differentiate them.[56] Less attention is given to analysis of political symbols and rituals, even though they are significant characteristics of political life.[57] The history of Confucian rites in East Asia is a powerful case of how important and how ambiguous these rituals have been.[58] As explained above, this region did not even have an overarching term for "religion" until its nineteenth-century encounter with the West, but was full of symbolic rituals that overlapped any distinction between religions and politics. Flags, anthems, parades, political rallies, and so on are general examples from the political world, while social and political titles, military uniforms, medals, ribbons, and so on are usually restricted to special persons or groups within the polity.

The mixture of the two kinds of symbols and rituals is found in religious ceremonies surrounding the inauguration of persons in political offices throughout the world, as well as the crowning of monarchs, even the *daijōsai* at the accession of the Japanese *Tennō* (emperor). Perhaps the most extreme cases of this mixture have been in "religions of public life" (Hanson's term), or what might otherwise be called quasi-religions or religious ideologies. Imperial Rome and Confucian China stand as historical examples, while Nazism, Soviet Communism, Chinese Maoism, and the *juche* ideology of North Korea's Kim Il Sung are more recent cases. These illustrate how polities are held together and mobilized by careful manipulation of (quasi-)religious public symbols and rituals.

Political leaders or institutions will use existing religious symbols for their own purposes in many instances, from crusade and jihad to aggregating political parties and using soft-sell propaganda of all sorts to promote social, political, and economic policies. Symbols and rituals are crucial at a broad level of politics. Grand public buildings and monuments, displays of civic unity, observance of political traditions are all the stuff of politics as much as voting or legislating policies. It is useful, therefore, to analyze both global politics and particular religions from this perspective of symbols and rituals.

Of course, religions are commonly associated with the liturgies that they perform. These external signs of worship express the beliefs of religious adherents and contribute to the identity

of the religious community. This public, social character of the religions not infrequently overlaps with political roles. For example, the use of places of worship as locations of sanctuary and refuge for individuals and groups is found in many parts of the world. Churches, mosques, and other houses of liturgical worship have been used to reinforce and to resist political ideas. Even the Russian punk collective called Pussy Riot chose the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow to protest the Putin regime in 2012.[59]

This leads to a final point of convergence that I will consider: authority in its dimensions of persuasion and teaching. Both politics and religion are characterized by authority; without it the former degenerates into coercive force and the latter into autarchic or autonomous spiritual behavior. In fact, the two spheres have similar modes in their primary way of exercising authority, which I will call persuasion and teaching.

Legal and political theorists note that sanctions are an ultimate tool of positive political-legal systems, and that the coercive implementation of sanctions is claimed as legitimate. As the issues and norms become broader and more fundamental, however, these systems operate largely as processes of persuasion. By enhancing public understanding of conditions for effective and beneficial action, political leaders and legal norms establish the basis for long-term, widespread conformity with authoritative decisions.

Authority in religion has a similar manner of proceeding by persuasive teaching. Many kinds of religious authority are invoked—sacred texts, community traditions, pronouncements of individuals in hierarchical or charismatic roles, divine revelation, and so on—and taught to the faithful. This teaching needs to persuade if it is to be observed. And when it does persuade it establishes effective identities and patterns of behavior even for broad civilizations.

While noting the way that global politics and particular religions converge on these dimensions of common humanity, the particular and universal, symbols and rituals, and authority, I will also discuss some aspects in which they tend to diverge. Two aspects that seem particularly noteworthy are the standards that they follow and the matter of rule enforcement. By standard I do not mean some technical measure of uniformity (as is sometimes called "global standards") but an existential criterion of personal and interpersonal meaning. The standard for global politics is legitimacy, while the standard for particular religions is their orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

Governments, states, international organizations and agencies, and so on require legitimacy to sustain themselves with a meaningful and acceptable identity. Legitimacy is a difficult political concept to define, but it is a kind of litmus test for any political actor or system. It is perhaps best understood by its absence: without legitimacy, politics does not function smoothly and the mark of authority (analyzed above) is lost.

Religions have a somewhat different existential criterion for their unity and continuity, which I will call orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Religions ordinarily have a great range of symbols, teachings, traditions, and so on from which they draw. But the phenomenon of fundamentalisms demonstrates that this range is tested by changing circumstances inside and outside the religion in question. Orthodoxy and orthopraxy establish boundaries for words and actions in these religions. If political illegitimacy implies a certain failure of the political unit in question, the unorthodox word or unacceptable practice of a given religious unit is rather a sign of a different identity and meaning and may eventuate in a new religion.

Another point of divergence concerns the matter of rule enforcement. A substantial degree of rule enforcement is characteristic of the polity. Actual polities have ranged from totalitarian governments to failed states, and they operate in contexts from political correctness to libertarian attitudes. Institutions and instruments of enforcement include police, administrative agencies, courts, and so on. Ultimately this may involve physical coercion, but the main point

here is that the enforcement is carried out to achieve the polity's own purposes or to maintain its very existence.

In the case of religions, the particular religious community may be a multi-ethnic or global body, or it may be characterized by particular language, territory, or other externals. In any case, rules enforce the behavior and boundaries of the community. Challenges may arise within the community traditions, as from fundamentalisms, schisms, and heresies; developments occur that transform some important features of the religion. The community is the locus of the particular religion, and it ultimately resolves issues of otherwise ambiguous boundaries and identities by a form of rule enforcement.

As we consider the points of convergence and divergence between particular religions and global politics, I would like to return briefly to issues related to categories like civilization, empires, and international order that I introduced at the beginning of this chapter. These categories are not easily bounded by geography, history, or even concept,[60] and thus help us to expand our horizons especially on politics, which are often bounded by the familiar modern state. I have used the terms "globalizing world" and "global politics" here to similarly expand a viewpoint that can be integrated into a related understanding of particular religions. Not only have religions suffused civilizations and empires, they need not be a source of civilizational divide leading to military clashes but rather a basis for capacity-building and fruitful encounters.[61]

Conclusions and prospects

In this chapter, I have offered a framework for understanding religions in a globalizing world.[62] I have focused on the correspondences or mutual characteristics of global politics and particular religions, rather than examining one as a variable in a theory about the other. While my framework offers the foundation for a unified stance toward these two spheres, establishing a comprehensive theory will require continuing efforts.

I offer a summary of my argument in the form of the following Table 19.1. It presents a schematic framework for an integrated theory of global politics and particular religions, and suggests a basic stance for empirical and normative research in an era of public religion and global governance. Under the "Convergence" section of the Chart, the wavy line in the left-hand portion suggests the overlapping, convergent aspects between politics and religion. While the vocabulary used to specify these realms ordinarily differs, many commonalties abound. In the "Divergence" section, the straight line in the right-hand portion suggests that the two spheres do constitute different spheres of being and action even as they share common features.

Table 19.1 Global politics and particular religions: convergence and divergence

	CONVERGENCE				*DIVERGENCE*	
	Common humanity	*Particular and universal*	*Symbols and rituals*	*Authority*	*Standard*	*Rule enforcement*
Global politics	Human rights	Glocalization	Rites	Persuasion	Legitimacy	Polity
Particular religions	Inherent dignity	World Church	Liturgy	Teaching	Orthodoxy and orthopraxy	Community

With reference to international politics in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, some have suggested the appearance of a "new medievalism." With the structures of the Cold War crumbling and the emergence of new actors and movements in a range of international issues, this concept helped to illuminate the diversity of power centers and issue areas today by means of an historical analogy. A parallel idea relating more to the sociological literature could be used to suggest the links between religion and politics today. Perhaps concepts like "new traditionalism" or "new cohesion" could be used. The failures of classical modernization theory to understand religions adequately might be compared to the inability of international relations scholars to anticipate the end of the Cold War. Religion has a public character that these concepts illuminate. The *traditions* of religion constitute their enduring character even as they encounter a new globalizing dynamic. Politics and religion exhibit areas of overlap and convergence that remind us of conditions in historical cases in which *cohesion* was the norm prior to an analytical differentiation of the two spheres.

Indeed, among the concepts put forward recently to examine the kind of overlapping spheres that I have described, the term *public religion* has been particularly useful. While this phrase by itself may not give full weight to the dynamics of global politics, it has been elaborated within the context of the globalizing world that I have discussed. But the concept of public religion can be expanded beyond the field of the sociology of religion or even beyond sociology. I have tried to inform the term with a broader meaning by my discussion of areas of convergence and divergence between global politics and particular religions. Their converging aspects are common humanity, the particular and the universal, symbols and rituals, and authority. The divergent aspects discussed here are standard and rule enforcement.

The concepts and framework offered here address some of these limitations of familiar comparative and international theories of the modern world. But I would not describe them as a "postmodernism," either. They do not reduce politics and religion to thought-games or functions, but they attend to the stories or discourses in religion and politics as congruent aspects of human activity and identity. Both are essentially human rather than artificial constructs. Cultural particularities and communitarian features abound. And yet this view of human beings is not restricted by the narrow features of jingoistic nationalisms, extremist exclusivities, or fanatic sectarianisms.

It is inevitable that there will be extensive discussion of institutions that embody the values and ideas of people and their times. I have tried to present this framework for an integrated theory of global politics and particular religions in such a way as to include institutions, both religious and political, but also to note the significance of personal human consciousness and identity. The concepts and values that help to open religious and political venues alike are those of tolerance and religious freedom. It goes without saying that our world has not entered a paradise or nirvana of perfect tolerance and freedom.

Attention to the long view of history provided by civilizations and international orders may help us understand today's transformations. The study of religions in a globalizing world can enlighten the human road for today and tomorrow.

Notes

1 This chapter is a revised version of the present author's chapter in the first edition of the *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics* (see Wessels, "Religion and Globalization").
2 Sandal and Fox, *Religion in International Relations*.
3 Lawson and Bertucci, *Encyclopedia of Human Rights*, 202–7.
4 Thomas, *Global Resurgence of Religion*.

5 As this *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics* shows, attention to the need to study religion in political science has grown in recent years, a phenomenon that I will not discuss at length here. Some relevant treatment of the question may be found in Philpott, 2002; "The Challenge of September 11"; and Sandal and Fox, *Religion in International Relations Theory*.
6 Juergensmeyer, *Global Religions*; "Religion: Politics, Power, Symbolism."
7 Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*.
8 Braudel, *History of Civilizations*; Quigley, *The Evolution of Civilizations*; McNeill, *World History*; Dawson, *Religion and Culture*.
9 Gong, *Standard of 'Civilization'*; Suzuki, *Civilization and Empire*; Katzenstein, *Civilizations in World Politics*; Bettiza, "Civilizational Analysis."
10 Philipps, *War, Religion, and Empire*.
11 Buzan and Lawson, *Global Transformation*.
12 Thomas, *Global Resurgence of Religion*.
13 Hanson, *Religion and Politics*.
14 Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics*.
15 Appleby, *Ambivalence of the Sacred*.
16 Hurd, *Politics of Secularism*.
17 My paper, "Religion and International Politics," summarizes some of the models of interaction between religion and politics (Wessels, "Religion in International Politics").
18 Appleby, *Ambivalence of the Sacred*.
19 Van der Vyver and Witte, *Legal Perspectives*; Witte and Van der Vyver, *Religious Perspectives*.
20 International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *Responsibility to Protect*.
21 "Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief," United Nations General Assembly Resolution 36/55 (25 November 1981); "Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance," United Nations General Assembly Resolution 48/128 (14 February 1994).
22 Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children*; Moyn, *Last Utopia*.
23 Berger, *Desecularization of the World*.
24 "Postsecularism" is addressed in this volume by Luca Mavelli in Chapter 15.
25 Jenkins, *Next Christendom*.
26 Robertson, *Globalization*.
27 Casanova, *Public Religions*; Tsushiro, *Light and Shade*.
28 See, for example, Kung and Kuschel, *Global Ethic*.
29 Juergensmeyer, *New Cold War?*, p. 7.
30 Robertson, *Globalization*, p. 80.
31 Hanson, *Religion and Politics*.
32 Helmeniak, *Religion and Human Sciences*.
33 Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*.
34 Hurd, "Political Authority of Secularism"; Hurd, *Politics of Secularism*.
35 Philipps, *War, Religion, and Empire*.
36 Zagorin, *Idea of Religious Toleration*.
37 Pew Research Center, "Latest Trends."
38 Juergensmeyer, *Global Religions*.
39 Iriye, *Global Community*.
40 Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*.
41 Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty*; Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink, *Power of Human Rights*; Carlson and Owens, *Religion and International Politics*; Moyn, *Last Utopia*.
42 Philpott, "Religious Freedom," p. 997.
43 Johnston and Sampson, *Religion, the Missing Dimension*; Johnston, *Faith-Based Diplomacy*.
44 Albright and Woodward, *Mighty and Almighty*.
45 Appleby's book examines several cases of religiously based efforts by third parties in mediating conflicts (Appleby, *Ambivalence of the Sacred*); the Community of Sant'Egidio's achievements are introduced in Leymarie, "Supporters of Peace."

46 Toft, Philpott, and Shah, *God's Century*.
47 Diamond, Plattner, and Costopoulos, *World Religions and Democracy*.
48 Almond, Appleby, and Sivan, *Strong Religion*; Marty and Appleby, *Fundmentalism Project*.
49 Pew Research Center, "Latest Trends."
50 Philpott, "Religious Freedom."
51 Baker, "World Religions," p. 146.
52 Ibid., p. 157.
53 Moyn, *The Last Utopia*.
54 Ratzinger, *Truth and Tolerance*, pp. 85ff., 183ff.
55 Juergensmeyer, *New Cold War*.
56 Dillistone, *Power of Symbols*.
57 Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*.
58 De Bary, *Asian Values*.
59 Jager, "Pussy Riot's Punk Prayer."
60 Jackson, "How to Think."
61 Puchala, *Theory and History*, 133–42; Wessels, "Capacities for Global Politics."
62 While introducing some material here on civilizations and related themes in this chapter, my main focus has been on particular religions in today's globalizing world. Also, related to a discussion of civilizations, international orders, globalization, and so on, at the intersection of politics, religions, society, and history, modernity has been identified as a moniker for the contemporary political or social order (see Eisenstadt, *Comparative Civilizations*). Not wanting to expand the present study beyond its already broad range or to challenge the formidable task of differentiating or defining all of these terms, I have limited my terminology to the working definitions of global politics and particular religions.

References

Albright, Madeleine Korbel, and William Woodward. *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs*. First edition. New York: HarperCollins, 2006.

Almond, Gabriel A., R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan. *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Appleby, R. Scott. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000.

Baker, Don. "World Religions and National States: Competing Claims in East Asia," in *Transnational Religion and Fading States*, edited by S. H. Rudolph and J. Piscatori. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

Berger, Peter L. *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Washington, DC, Grand Rapids, MI: Ethics and Public Policy Center; W.B. Eerdmans, 1999.

Bettiza, Gregorio. "Civilizational Analysis in International Relations: Mapping the Field and Advancing a 'Civilizational Politics' Line of Research," *International Studies Review* 16, no. 1 (2014): 1–28.

Braudel, Fernand. *A History of Civilizations*. New York: Penguin Books, 1993 [1987].

Buzan, Barry, and George Lawson. *The Global Transformation: History, Modernity and the Making of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Carlson, John D., and Erik C. Owens, eds. *Religion and International Politics*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2003.

Casanova, José. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Dawson, Christopher. *Religion and Culture*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013 [1948].

De Bary, Wm. Theodore. *Asian Values and Human Rights: A Confucian Communitarian Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

"Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief." United Nations General Assembly Resolution 36/55 of 25 November 1981.

Diamond Larry, Marc F. Plattner, and J. Philip Costopoulos, eds. *World Religions and Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Dillistone, F. W. *The Power of Symbols in Religion and Culture*. New York: Crossroad, 1986.

Eisenstadt, S.N. *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities*. Parts I and II. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2003.
"Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance." United Nations General Assembly Resolution 48/128 of 14 February 1994.
Gong, Gerrit W. *The Standard of 'Civilization' in International Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
Hanson, Eric O. *Religion and Politics in the International System Today*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
Haynes, Jeffrey. *Religion in Global Politics*. London and New York: Longman, 1998.
Haynes, Jeffrey, ed. *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics*. London: Routledge, 2009.
Helminiak, Daniel A. *Religion and the Human Sciences: An Approach via Spirituality*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998.
Hertzke, Allen D. *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.
Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. "The Political Authority of Secularism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 10, no. 2 (2004): 235–62.
Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). *The Responsibility to Protect*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001.
Iriye, Akira. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.
Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus. "How to Think about Civilizations," in *Civilizations in World Politics: Plural and Pluralist Perspectives*, edited by Peter Katzenstein. London: Routledge, 2010.
Jager, Colin. "Pussy Riot's Punk Prayer," in *The Immanent Frame*, 18 September 2012. http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2012/09/18/pussy-riots-punk-prayer/.
Jenkins, Philip. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
Johnston, Douglas. *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Johnston, Douglas, and Cynthia Sampson. *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Global Religions: An Introduction*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Juergensmeyer, Mark. *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.
Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. *Civilizations in World Politics: Plural and Pluralist Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 2010.
Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998.
Kertzer, David I. *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.
Krasner, Stephen D. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
Küng, Hans, and Karl-Josef Kuschel. *A Global Ethic: The Declaration of the Parliament of the World's Religions*. New York: Continuum, 1993.
Lawson, Edward, and Mary Lou Bertucci. *Encyclopedia of Human Rights*. Second edition. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis, 1996.
Leymarie, Philippe. 2000. "Heiwa wo yooritsu suru sei-Ejidio no hitobito," ("Supporters of Peace: The Sant'Egidio Community") In *Sekai*, December 2000: 59–67. (In Japanese, translation of "Les batisseurs de paix de Sant'Egidio," *Le Monde diplomatique*, September 2000.)
Marty, Martin, and R. Scott Appleby, eds. *The Fundamentalism Project* (six volumes). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990s.
McNeill, William H. *A World History*. Fourth edition. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Moyn, Samuel. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.

Petito, Fabio, and Pavlos Hatzopoulos. *Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Pew Research Center. "Latest Trends in Religious Restrictions and Hostilities," report of 26 February 2015. www.pewresearch.org.

Phillips, Andrew. *War, Religion and Empire: The Transformation of International Orders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Philpott, Daniel. "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations," *World Politics* 55 (October 2002): 66–95.

Philpott, Daniel. "Religious Freedom and the Undoing of the Westphalian State," *Michigan Journal of International Law* 25 (2003–4): 981–98.

Philpott, Daniel. *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Puchala, Donald J. *Theory and History in International Relations*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Quigley, Carroll. *The Evolution of Civilizations*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1979 [1961].

Ratzinger, Joseph (Pope Benedict XVI). *Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions*, translated by Henry Taylor. San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2004.

"Religion: Politics, Power, and Symbolism." Special edition of *The Journal of International Affairs* 50, no.1 (1996).

Risse, Thomas, Stephen Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Robertson, Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage, 1992.

Sandal, Nukhet A., and Jonathan Fox. *Religion in International Relations Theory: Interactions and Possibilities*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Suzuki, Shogo. *Civilization and Empire: China and Japan's Encounter with European International Society*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Thomas, Scott. *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: the Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Toft, Monica Duffy, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah. *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2011.

Tsushiro, Hirofumi. *'Kookyoo Shuukyoo' no Hikari to Kage* (original in Japanese; the title may be translated into English as: *The Light and Shade of 'Public Religion*'). Tokyo: Shunjusha, 2005.

Van der Vyver, J. D., and John Witte. *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Legal Perspectives*. The Hague, Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1996.

Wessels, David. "Capacities for Global Politics: Cultures and Public Religions in the Pacific Rim," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Foreign Studies, Sophia University* 40 (2006): 123–50.

Wessels, David. "Religion and Globalization," in *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics*, edited by Jeffrey Haynes. London: Routledge, 2009.

Wessels, David. "Religion in International Politics," paper presented at the International Political Science Association Conference on "International Political Science: New Theoretical and Regional Perspectives," Montreal, Canada, 30 April–2 May 2008. http://paperroom.ipsa.org/papers/paper_4073.pdf.

Witte, John, and J.D. Van der Vyver. *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Religious Perspectives*. The Hague, Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff, 1996.

Zagorin, Perez. *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

PART IV

Religion, security and development

This Page is Intentionally Left Blank

20

RELIGION, POLITICS AND GENDER

Kristin Aune and Line Nyhagen

UNIVERSITY OF COVENTRY, UK AND
LOUGHBOROUGH UNIVERSITY, UK

Introduction

Gender is at the heart of religion and politics, yet marginalized within religion and politics as separate academic fields as well as within studies that bring these two fields together. Indeed, gender is rarely mentioned in major books on religion and politics (see, for instance, the Routledge series 'Studies in Religion and Politics' and the Palgrave Macmillan series 'Culture and Religion in International Relations'). The field of religion and politics thus mirrors other fields of study when it comes to the relative marginalization of gender. When gender *is* examined, it is via studies that focus explicitly and often exclusively on the role of gender in religion and politics, such as the edited volume by Bayes and Tohidi, which analyses 'the politics of women's rights in Catholic and Muslim contexts',[1] along with more recent edited volumes by Cady and Fessenden[2] and Reilly and Scriver[3] which both address the religion-secularism-gender equality nexus in different contexts. Other works, including those by Scott,[4] and Rosenberger and Sauer,[5] discuss a single topic such as the politicization of the Muslim headscarf.

New and shifting configurations of gender, religion and politics require us to examine how nation states as well as international and global governance structures (e.g., the European Union; the Organization of Islamic Cooperation; the United Nations) deal with gender equality issues that are highly contested (e.g., abortion, contraception, divorce, prostitution, forced marriage, female genital mutilation, honour killings); how national, international and global government institutions relate to religious stakeholders and actors (e.g., the Catholic Church); how faith-based and secular voluntary organizations mobilize in relation to gender equality issues; how religious communities deal with gender equality and women's rights issues, and how religious women and men perform and negotiate gender relations in their everyday lives. Highlighting the stable and shifting relationships between religion, politics and gender, this chapter focuses on the relationship between religion, politics and gender at global, national and local levels.

From a feminist point of view, politics is not simply about states, governance and the electorate, but also about communities, civil society groups, families and intimate aspects of individuals' 'lived citizenship'.[6] A feminist notion of politics points to the artificial and often imposed distinction between 'the public' and 'the private' spheres as untenable, as politics are

intertwined with our everyday lives as economic, social, gendered, racial and ethnic, sexual and intimate, religious or secular citizens. Moreover, while status, rights and duties are central aspects of lived citizenship, so are our identities, our sense of belonging, our caring for each other, and our participation in a multitude of social contexts.[7] Politics intersect with gender and religion at all of these levels and also with other forms of difference and inequality such as class, 'race' and ethnicity, and sexuality. Women's political activism that addresses inequalities, discrimination and marginalization is at times primarily based on the mobilization of gender, while at other times it is based on a mixed mobilization of gender together with 'race' and ethnicity, sexuality or religion. Furthermore, gender-based political activism may be anti-religious, indifferent to religion, or pro-religion, while religiously based political activism may support conservative or progressive forms of gender relations. The following three sections of this chapter address the issues of religion, secularization and gender politics; multiculturalism, feminism and religion; and women and religious activism.

Religion, secularization and gender politics

The secularization thesis, as forwarded by classical thinkers[8] and by contemporary theorists,[9] predicted that modernization would inevitably lead to secularization. The separation of the church and state, the increasing influence of scientific explanations of human life, a loss of significance of religion in the public sphere, the emergence of religious pluralism in contexts previously dominated by one religion, and the notion that religion is only a private matter for the individual, were pointed to as evidence for the diminished importance of religion and the growth of secular thought and practice. Today, however, the secularization thesis in its strong form[10] has largely been rejected, as modernity continues to be characterized by religion alongside secularism. Moreover, we are witnessing a 'global resurgence of religion',[11] with relatively high and also increasing levels of religious belief and practice in the world regions of Latin-America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Middle East.[12] In the global context, Europe appears as an exception,[13] as it is more secular than other world regions. However, internal differences within Europe give evidence to the continued importance of religious belief and practice[14] as well as the increasing influence of secularism.[15] The increasing visibility of religion in Europe has led scholars to acknowledge that religious citizens should be able to legitimately voice their political views in the public sphere and have a say in policy processes.[16] Moreover, cash-strapped European governments are turning to faith-based organizations to deliver more public welfare services.[17] While women do a large share of the voluntary work performed by contemporary faith-based organizations, we know very little about the political, cultural and emotional significance of their work, as gender is also marginalized in studies of such organizations.[18]

The 'post-secular' term 'recognizes the relevance of religion and of religious ideas in informing civic discourse',[19] but this shift in thinking about the legitimacy of religion in the public sphere has also been critiqued by those who see the political influence of religion as detrimental to gender equality and women's rights. Jeffreys, for example, argues that because 'religions are usually discriminatory with respect to gender and sexuality',[20] they should not be included in government consultations and awarded contracts for public service delivery. There are several problems with such a universal rejection of religion's role in the public sphere. First, it generalizes across all religions and all historical, political and socio-economic contexts, thus overlooking instances where religion plays a progressive role in relation to gender politics. Many religious women's groups and feminists work in different ways to change religions from within, supporting gender equality both within and outside their own religious

communities. The spectrum ranges from those seeking reform, such as Evangelical Christian feminists[21] and conservative Muslim reformist feminists,[22] to those seeking radical upheaval, such as the *Women-Church* movement[23] which seeks to dismantle religious institutions, and the *Goddess* movement which honours the Divine Feminine.[24] Research has also found that women in gender-conservative religious contexts are able to circumvent patriarchal gender relations by carving out their own female spaces of autonomy and support.[25] Second, the view that religion is always in opposition to women's rights is also problematic because it privileges gender as a lens through which inequality is studied. Giving primacy to gender and refusing an intersectional lens on inequality has been forcefully critiqued by Black and post-colonial feminists.[26] While 'race' and ethnicity, class and religion are also linked to different forms of inequality, they, like gender, are also intertwined with people's identities and sense of self. For some, their religious faith and belonging to a religious community is simply more important than formal gender equality.[27] This poses a particular challenge for liberal feminists and others who insist on equal rights and opportunities for women and men.[28]

Confounding the issue of religion and gender is the fact that women are consistently found to be more religious than men, whether measured via belief, membership or attendance.[29] However, because studies of women and men's religiosity are often confined to Christianity in Western contexts, it has been argued that a general conclusion that women are more religious than men is unwarranted.[30] Moreover, the measurement of individuals' religious beliefs and practice via quantitative surveys with pre-defined questions and answer categories (which inform most studies on religion and secularization) can only give a limited view of people's everyday religious beliefs and practices. While quantitative studies are needed to support the claim that women tend to believe in God and participate in organized religion more than men, measures such as belief, membership and attendance are insufficient in understanding religion outside of institutional contexts. The perspective of 'lived religion', proposed by Hall, Orsi, Ammerman, McGuire and Neitz,[31] recognizes that everyday forms of religion are mostly lived outside organized religious groups. Lived religion is practised in the 'private' realms of households, families and friends, but also in 'public' realms of work, sport, travel and politics broadly conceived.[32] Gender practices and normative perceptions about women and men's roles are highly salient for religion as lived.[33]

The relationship between gender and secularization is a relatively new theme of scholarly investigation. The sexual revolution of the 1960s, women's and feminist movements of the 1970s and 80s, and women's increasing participation in the labour market, have been identified as factors explaining women's defection from Christian churches in the West.[34] There are very few studies of gender and secularization within Islam and other religions.[35] The fact that Muslim women are not required to pray at the mosque demonstrates the difficulty in using membership and attendance as indicators of religiosity (and secularity). Moreover, Hussain has argued that, rather than becoming less religious, Muslim women who participate in the public sphere, as well as Muslims in Britain more generally, are becoming *more* religious.[36]

While modernity has been associated (wrongly) with *inevitable* secularization and (rightly) with increasing gender equality, the relationship between religion and gender equality is also receiving scholarly attention. In their study of 'Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World', based on data from the World Values Survey and the European Values Survey, Inglehart and Norris mapped attitudes to gender equality by religion and nation and found that post-industrial countries show much stronger support for gender equality than agrarian societies.[37] The post-industrial nations with highest support for gender equality are those in which Christianity and Judaism are the predominant religions, while the agrarian societies with the least support for gender equality are predominantly Muslim. Industrial societies (mid-way

between post-industrial and agrarian countries) most committed to gender equality are those with Catholic and Hindu majorities. Inglehart and Norris conclude that religion has a negative effect on gender equality, and highlight Islam as a particular impediment to gender equality.[38] Their work suggests that the best way to bring about gender equality politically is via secular democracies. However, as Scott has argued, secularism is not a guarantee for gender equality.[39] The relationship between religion, secularism and gender equality has to be studied in specific contexts. Understanding of what constitutes 'gender equality' varies in different settings including religious communities, and gender equality may clash with the right to religious freedom.[40] While some scholars argue that gender equality should always trump religious freedom,[41] we assert that such a generalization is at best a result of ignorance and at worst a result of a particular Western, liberal or radical prejudice against religion more broadly and against religious women in particular.

Contrary to Inglehart and Norris's claim that Islam is 'the worst offender' in terms of its negative effect on gender equality in the world's nations, Seguino and Lovinsky, and Seguino, have found that 'no one religion stands out as consistently more gender inequitable in its effects than all the others'.[42] Instead, their study, which analysed World Values Survey data, found that 'dominant religions – and not exclusively Islam – *have varying effects on gender attitudes and outcomes, some positive, some negative*'.[43] However, 'the intensity of religious belief and the frequency of religious participation', measured as how important religion is in an individual's life (intensity), whether the individual belongs to a religious denomination, and how often he or she attends religious services (participation), was found to be 'consistently negatively correlated with gender attitudes and outcomes'.[44] Religious devotion, membership and collective worship were thus indicators of more conservative views on gender. Regular religious attendance is, however, not a feature of Buddhism,[45] and only Muslim men are required to attend the mosque. These variations illustrate the inherent Christian bias of large-scale surveys such as those used by Seguino and by Inglehart and Norris.

Recent in-depth quantitative and qualitative case studies of the relationship between the state, religion and gender equality reveal more nuanced findings. The project 'Religion, Politics and Gender Equality', initiated by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in 2007, sought precisely to ask how religion and politics are intertwined in specific contexts, and what the consequences are for gender equality.[46] A main finding was that fights for women's rights and equality are bound up with wider battles for justice and equality relating to class, nationalism, religion, 'race' and ethnicity within a global context of inequality, thus lending support for intersectional analyses.[47] Case studies were conducted in eleven countries selected on the basis of variation in religion and type of relationship between politics and religion.[48] These studies revealed a complex intertwining of religious politics with gender politics, where it could not be determined *prima facie* that religious interests would endorse conservative gender politics or that secular interests would support progressive gender politics. For example, Bernstein and Jakobsen found that an unexpected alliance of conservative Christians and secular feminists in the United States had a decisive impact on the US government's lack of attention to sex workers' rights and its political framing of all types of prostitution as 'modern slavery'.[49] However, many of the case studies showed religious stakeholders to have a negative impact on women's rights and gender equality, including in Poland, where the Catholic Church exerts a strong influence on governmental policies that restrict women's access to contraception and to abortion.[50] Similarly, the Catholic Church in Chile was found to have a powerful political influence on conservative policies relating to divorce and abortion, as well as representing 'fierce opposition to the democratization of gender and intergenerational relations in the family'[51] (for other examples of religion as a conservative

force in gender politics, see Drezgić on the influence of the Orthodox church in Serbia; Hasan on the influence of Hindu nationalism and gender conservatism in India; Pereira and Ibrahim on the affinity between views of the Christian and Muslim religious right in Nigeria on women's sexuality as 'immoral').[52] These examples illustrate that even if both the state and religious stakeholders accept the rule of law and democratic rules,[53] the laws and policies they implement or support may be detrimental to women's rights and gender equality,[54] including women's individual right to control their own bodies. Neither a secular nor a religious state *guarantees* gender equality.[55]

An issue of growing concern is that of fundamentalist religious movements which often propagate patriarchal systems of governance and gender relations. Such movements exist within Christianity, Islam, Judaism and other religions,[56] but Islamist forms of fundamentalism are receiving increased attention due to their global incitement of hatred and acts of violence. In this regard, the recruitment of young women, some of whom are born in Europe, to terrorist organizations such as *Islamic State* in Iraq and Syria, which do not accept the rule of parliamentary democracy, demonstrates that women are not immune to propaganda that incites terror and violence while proclaiming to be rooted in religious fervour. Increasing socio-economic inequalities, rooted in post-colonial, global economic forces, together with political-cultural marginalization and individual dispositions, create the basis for such recruitment.[57] Although many religious fundamentalist movements are detrimental to gender equality and women's rights, some women may also achieve a sense of empowerment within them, as respected leaders and teachers of women or as wives and mothers (e.g., British women who have joined ISIS as leaders of other women; women in the Indian Hindu nationalist movement).[58] We return to the issue of religious women's agency in the section on women and religious activism.

Multiculturalism, feminism and religion

Much of the best-known scholarship on gender and religion has taken place in post-industrial societies that have become more religiously diverse as a result of migration and globalization. How states accommodate religious pluralism is an issue that also has ramifications for gender equality. Governments have the power to aid or restrict both religious freedom and gender equality. From a gender- and religious-equality perspective, states must recognize and give space to religions at group and individual level as well as supporting measures to further women's rights, within and outside religion. This is a complex task, especially when some religious groups do not support gender equality, which requires negotiations (and imperfect settlements) between religions, women and states.

Multiculturalism has been one approach, adopted from the 1970s in countries such as Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and Sweden. Aiming to support and celebrate ethnic and religious diversity, states sought to accommodate the requests of ethnic and religious groups to be enabled to preserve their cultural differences, including their language, customs and religious practices, and to pass these on to their children. But how advantageous is this situation for women? Some, notably Okin[59] in her essay 'Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?', hit back at multiculturalism for disadvantaging women, since the control of women's sexuality through various 'cultural practices' (such as female genital mutilation, polygamy, forced marriage, unequal inheritance laws or forbidding contraception) was harming their interests. Women's individual rights should not be subordinated to the rights of the cultural or religious group to which they belong, Okin argued.

Confronted with the problem of cultural practices that disadvantage women, there are, Prins and Saharso argue,[60] four possible approaches for liberal multiculturalism. 'Principle-driven'

liberalism considers liberal views universally relevant, so if a practice evidently limits women's capabilities or is not autonomously chosen by the woman, it should be prohibited; this is Nussbaum's[61] approach. The 'democratic approach'[62] requires societies to debate the merits and demerits and reach a compromise, ensuring the voices of those most affected (i.e. women from the cultural group) are heard, and accepting that democratic deliberation may not conclude in a way that suits everyone. The 'institutional approach'[63] recommends dividing the areas the state and the group has sway over by incorporating joint governance systems; for instance, some aspects of family law could be dealt with by the group and other aspects by the state, but both systems would relate to, and have to negotiate with, the other. Finally, the 'contextualist approach', exemplified by Phillips,[64] argues that cultural groups are not homogenous entities but are comprised of diverse individuals with different views; like the democratic model, this approach requires deliberation, based on a detailed investigation of each specific case rather than on hegemonic liberal assumptions.

But these versions of liberal multiculturalism are rejected by some (feminists and others) who, more pessimistic about the state's ability to achieve gender or racial justice, argue that more radical societal restructuring is necessary, of an anti-capitalist, anti-racist, anti-patriarchal kind.[65] These critics also believe that multiculturalism homogenizes women in groups instead of accounting for their diverse class or ethnic locations, and leads to legitimacy being given to cultural group leaders who are most often men and who do not represent women's interests.[66] Often political secularists, these critics support the political project of separating religion from the state.

However, critics of multiculturalism do not account adequately, Prins and Saharso argue,[67] for the fact that some women choose to participate in practices that appear to be harmful to them (e.g. polygamous marriages or submitting to discriminatory religious legal systems). Although these choices are often conditioned in the family and therefore not always *purely* choices, some women choose to make them nonetheless. Prins and Saharso conclude that the best options for societies debating how to deal with harmful cultural practices is the 'contextualist approach' of Phillips[68] and the views of Benhabib,[69] a critical multiculturalist who points out the diversity within cultural groups but advocates, like Phillips, deliberation between diverse constituents.

There is another problem with secularist anti-multiculturalism arguments, for they often advocate the exclusion of religion from the public sphere.[70] France, notably, upholds *laïcité* (secularism), meaning that although it grants legal recognition and limited tax exemption to some religious associations, it will not fund religious bodies, and public schools do not deliver religious education. In 2004 the French government brought in a 'visible religious symbol' ban in public schools and in 2011 it banned the 'face veil' in public, with negative consequences for Muslim women who do veil; Belgium followed suit.[71] France's prohibition of veils in public-sector workplaces has meant that women who feel compelled to veil can no longer work in the public sector, and hundreds of women have been fined for flouting the ban. When women who veil have brought discrimination cases to the European Court of Human Rights, the Court has by and large supported the rulings of the country that made them. For instance, the 2014 judgement in the SAS v. France case upheld the face veil ban, stating that it did not violate the European Convention on Human Rights. The court concluded that 'respect for the minimum requirements of life in society' legitimized France's ban.[72] The hostility to veiling evident in France's legislation appears to have had repercussions in the form of Islamophobic attacks; 80 per cent of anti-Muslim attacks in France are against Muslim women.[73] The number of such attacks rose sharply in the wake of the 2015 murder by Islamic extremists of the Charlie Hebdo cartoonists. Few European nations go as far as France, but some advocate restricting public

funding to religious groups, for instance denying funds to faith-based welfare or education services, prohibiting the wearing of religious symbols in public spaces, or forbidding 'religious arguments' in political debates.[74]

Secularism and secularity are slippery concepts.[75] Globally, and in Europe, a range of relationships between religion(s) and state(s) exists, from establishment of religion (where a religion is aligned with, and privileged by, the state) to strict legal, administrative and political separation or secularism, and everything in between, as Bader[76] outlines.[77] Secularism exists in different forms and in 'hard' or 'soft' versions. French secularism shades into anti-religion, while the Indian state keeps a 'principled distance' from religious institutions but supports and respects religious diversity.[78] Soft secularism allows religious organizations and individuals a voice in the public realm and emphasizes neutrality (not prioritizing any voices). Hard secularism wishes to minimize the presence of religious voices; it is anti-religious, not just non-religious. Feminist secularism exists in both 'hard' and 'soft' forms.

Some feminist activists are 'hard secularists' who not only tend to advocate separation between religion and state but also participate in organized anti-religion activism. The AHA Foundation, an organization founded by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, the controversial politician and author now working for a right-wing North American think tank, is one example. Having suffered female genital mutilation as a child in Somalia she escaped to the Netherlands and was granted asylum, partly on grounds of having escaped a forced marriage. She became an atheist and spoke out against Islam and the treatment of women in Muslim societies, leading to death threats, especially after her collaboration on the 2004 film *Submission* with Theo van Gogh, who was himself killed by an Islamic extremist. The Dutch government enabled her to live in hiding. On moving to the United States of America she set up the non-profit AHA Foundation in 2007, which tries to counter the impact of political Islam on women's rights and fight against religiously justified forms of violence against women. She has written several books including the autobiography *Infidel: My Life*[79] and *Heretic*,[80] which argues that a Muslim reformation is needed.

FEMEN is another controversial anti-religion feminist group. It originated in Ukraine, and with the aim to protest against sex tourism it has gathered recruits across Europe and staged protests around religious and parliamentary buildings since 2008. FEMEN's leader, Inna Shevchenko, was granted asylum in France in 2013. More defiant than the group Pussy Riot in their opposition not just to certain religious institutions but also to religion per se, FEMEN are outspoken critics of religion which they consider a manifestation of patriarchy. FEMEN have spoken out against an alleged 'Islamisation' of Europe, disrupting religious events in Germany, Sweden, Ukraine, France and Belgium. These actions include linking up in 2012 with Egyptian blogger Aliaa Magda Elmahdy to stage a naked protest against Egypt's planned constitution. Elmahdy had scrawled 'Sharia is not a constitution' on her body and she stood with FEMEN activists who held slogans 'Religion is slavery' and 'No religion'.

Anti-religious activism contests sexuality conservatism as well as gender conservatism. Despite growing support for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) causes among progressive religious groups, many religious groups continue to oppose homosexuality, transgender and gay marriage, and this has in turn provoked anti-religious activism. Homo-nationalism is a key example of this. Jasbir Puar identifies a post-9/11 'global gay Islamophobia'[81] and writes about the way LGBT activists in the West are uniting against discrimination and hatred and in the process demonizing alleged homophobic Muslim nations, as well as stereotyping Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims as potential terrorists. In doing so they are buttressing Western (especially American) colonialist anti-terror policies and practices in the Middle East while ignoring the voices of queer Muslim activists.

Women and religious activism

Examination of anti-religion activism in the furtherance of gender or sexuality equality brings us to women, gender and religious activism more broadly. The study of gender, religion and political activism is a relatively new field, notwithstanding scholarship on (secular) feminist activism. Smith suggests reasons for the neglect of religion in social movement scholarship.[82] The rise of social movement scholarship in the 1960s and 1970s coincided with the popularity of secularization theory, so scholars assumed religion was dying. Sociology was dominated (in the 1940s–1970s) by structural-functionalism that saw religion as both reinforcing social integration and harmony *and* becoming compartmentalized and privatized, linked to secularization. Academia was fragmented, so different fields – such as political science, religious studies and gender studies – rarely collaborated. Emphasizing social movements' political-rational and organized nature, scholars excluded religion from analysis, considering it the epitome of irrationality. Moreover, 'religion did not seem to play an important role in many of the actual social movements' being studied, for instance the women's or student movements (the civil rights movement was an exception); 'If anything', Smith remarks, 'religion appeared to be a conservative force, resisting these movements.'[83] Smith tries to persuade politics scholars to recognize religious activism as important and distinctive because it is grounded in meaning systems that are based on the supernatural. 'Religion is characterized by sacred transcendence',[84] he argues. This both sanctifies the status quo – for instance explaining poverty as God's will – and perceives a reality transcending and challenging the mundane world, which can prompt disruptive activism by religions.

Although Smith rightfully calls for social movement scholars to be attentive to religious activism, his work ignores gender, but since the 1990s scholars working from other perspectives have examined gendered and religion-based activism. Existing studies are mostly qualitative, spanning the religions, but includes a particular focus on Muslim women, reflecting the twenty-first century expansion of Islam research. This body of work addresses how religion acts as a conservative force, inhibiting women's rights, and as a progressive one, a resource for women's work for social change.[85]

Generally speaking, studies on gender, religion and activism raise four questions: First, w*hat is the focus of the activism*? Is it to achieve gender equality in religion, social justice in society, or to improve the representation of religious women in society? Or is it focused on reinforcing gender conservatism? This engenders a related second question: *is religion and gender activism feminist*? Some feminist scholars find it difficult to see conservative activism (e.g. activism that reinforces women's domesticity or aims to establish a religious state which limits women's options) as 'proper' activism. This provokes questions about the extent to which conservative activism counts as 'real' female agency. Why would women choose to support movements that seem contrary to their own interests? Here, the issues raised earlier about gender-conservative and/or fundamentalist religious movements resurface. When women join movements advocating gender traditionalism, are they 'bargaining with patriarchy',[86] enacting a limited form of agency which does not challenge traditional gendered structures? The assumption behind these questions is that agency must equate resistance against patriarchy; without resistance (to patriarchy and gender traditionalism) there is no activism, and women are simply suffering from 'false consciousness'. Mahmood's work on women in the Egyptian mosque movement contests this assumption,[87] and just as she locates agency within religious piety, other scholars are beginning to argue that women's conservative religious activism *is* nevertheless legitimate activism, even if some scholars find it objectionable. Scholars therefore debate activists' relationship to feminism: do activists see themselves as feminists, and should they? Are they enacting a form of sisterhood or oppressing other women?

Third, as gender scholars now consider the intersections of gender with class, 'race' or ethnicity, sexuality, disability and nation, they ask *how far is this activism intersectional*? Fourth, *how does religion and spirituality*[88] *shape activism*? For instance, does religion aid activism through endorsing or divinely sanctioning a human rights framework, through inspiring emotions of love or joy, through practices that create a new world or through adherence to or reinterpretation of religious law or theology? This is a complex question that reflects different understandings of what religion is (is it action, belief, emotion or lived experience?).

Examining case studies enables us to witness these debates and to see the move since the 1990s towards a broader approach to religion and gender activism, notably to see conservative activism *as* activism. In 1998 Jeffrey and Basu published *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia*,[89] an edited volume examining women's involvement in Hindu nationalist campaigns, especially Hindu nationalists' 1992 destruction of a mosque built by a Muslim emperor in a town in northern India which was said to have been built on ruins of the birthplace of the deity Ram. The Hindu nationalist movement used gendered imagery of women as wives and mothers and mobilized women, several as leaders in the movement, in demonstrations and election campaigns against Muslims. Jeffrey and Basu are uncomfortable with the gender-conservative and nationalist focus of this activism, and question whether it should be considered as activism. They ask why more women were involved in this movement than in feminist movements, and note that women's agency can strengthen gender segregation, upholding the traditional family. Some women may be empowered but at the cost of disempowering many others: 'appealing to women as mothers might facilitate their mobilization across community (and class) lines . . . Legitimate power embodied in motherhood can frame women's activism. But devotion to duty, self-sacrifice, and ennobling activism on others' behalf cannot easily mesh with feminist activism and demanding women's rights'.[90] They also observe that within conservative movements like this, women can exercise resistance in small ways, such as sabotaging their husbands' meals behind their backs, but they find it difficult to see this as 'acceptable' activism. Women *can* be seen as agents, they conclude, and they gesture towards viewing this agency positively, but nevertheless consider it limited: 'the question is not whether women are victims or agents', they argue, 'but, rather, what sorts of agents women can be despite their subordination'.[91] What of the explicit use of religious imagery, as the Hindu nationalists use when they appeal to women via the goddesses Kali and Durga or by female energy (Shakti)? Such usage should not be ignored by feminists, but it divides women into Hindu v. non-Hindu and should not be used as a basis to unite them, Jeffrey and Basu argue. This may be agency, but it is not feminist agency, they believe, pointing out that the women did not see themselves as feminists. They caution scholars not to be positive about this movement or see elements of female resistance as manifestations of feminist agency, since agency must be used with other women in order to challenge 'systemic gender inequalities'.[92]

Recently, scholars have become more willing to accept a wider variety of activism as legitimately feminist. Rinaldo provides a case study of Indonesian Muslim women activists working within women's NGOs.[93] Their focus is on reforming the law to improve women's rights, particularly reproductive rights (abortion and female genital mutilation) and women's ability to exercise choice over clothing. Their method is engaging in public interpretation of religious texts, emphasizing the importance of bringing religious texts into conversation with the social context and women's experience. Rinaldo's enquiry concerns their agency. She argues that through activism they are expressing 'pious critical agency'. This concept forges a middle way between Mahmood's 'compliant agency' which sees women's subjectivities as formed in relation to dominant Islamic discourses, and liberal feminist instrumental agency. As for whether the

pious critical activism challenges traditional gendered structures, the answer is yes, but within an Islamic context; the women are not advocating political secularism. They combine feminism and Islam, and Rinaldo argues that religious piety and feminism can intersect or overlap. For Rinaldo, religion shapes their activism in positive ways, providing a source of authority for their activism and giving them inspiration. Here she contrasts with Jeffrey and Basu, and she asserts that scholars should recognize that religion *can* support a critique of gender inequality.

Zion-Waldoks's study of the 'Politics of Devoted Resistance' of Orthodox Agunah Activists in Israel also accepts religious women's activism as legitimate.[94] Zion-Waldoks interviewed thirty-three activists working to reform laws and practices surrounding divorce for women whose husbands refuse to grant them a *get*, or divorce decree. The women had been inspired by the 'Torah learning revolution' where, since the 1990s, women had gained new higher standing through education in Jewish law. This had empowered them to challenge legal and religious authorities in the public sphere through educational campaigns, legislation and through influencing the appointment of Rabinnic court judges. Like Rinaldo, Zion-Waldoks steers a path between the liberal feminist version of agency as autonomy and resistance to gender conservatism, and Mahmood's[95] version of agency as subjectification through religious conservatism. Both models, Zion-Waldoks argues, emphasize the individual female agent. Instead, she emphasizes the relational nature of agency, endorsing Rinaldo's interpretation but adding that agency is 'action within relationship'. Agunah activists are expressing 'devoted resistance', Zion-Waldoks argues; resistance through and aided by religion. Religion enables the women's activism; they are devoted to religious structures and want Jewish law through the state-authorized Rabbinic courts to shape their lives. She categorizes these 'devoted resisters' into four types: modest politicians, reluctant activists, religious reformers and visionaries. They are challenging traditionally gendered structures in supporting women to divorce, but within a conservative family-focused context; the activists are devoted wives and mothers and embraced modesty codes in their dress. Some called themselves feminists, others did not. As a way forward, she urges scholars not to ask whether religious women have agency, but instead to look at 'the range of agentive capacities women may employ'.[96]

Most religion, gender and activism studies, such as these, are not fully intersectional as they focus on middle-class women. Doetsch-Kidder's *Social Change and Intersectional Activism: The Spirit of Social Movement*,[97] however, moves beyond gender. It presents oral histories of twenty-five queer, feminist and/or transgender activists (not only women) working at the intersection of 'race', class, gender, sexuality, disability and nation. She does not question whether this activism *is* activism, as her focus is on how attention to spirit informs their activism. She uses 'spirituality' interchangeably with 'metaphysics' to refer to 'practices, experiences, and ideas through which people seek to connect with nature, larger communities, their bodies, or an internal sense of wisdom, values, or principles.[98] Her ideas come from various sources, but Doetsch-Kidder foregrounds the works of multiracial feminists and Buddhist teachers. The activists' spiritually inspired activism shows itself in the following ways: activists express 'loving criticism' of injustice, they have a strong faith in human dignity, and their work brings them profound joy. She 'argue[s] for the centrality of spirit to struggles for social change'.[99] Prickett's work on women negotiating space in an African American mosque in Chicago is similarly intersectional.[100]

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the religious politics of gender is significant all over the world, from global to national to local contexts. As religious pluralism increases,

governmental institutions need to engage even more in debates about religious diversity, religious freedom and sexual and gender equality. The chapter has also shown that the relationship between religion, politics and gender is not uniform and static, but variable, negotiated, challenged and contested. Any generalizations are hard to make, and scholars must pay attention to specific historical, political, social-economic and cultural contexts in order to understand the array of different constellations between conservative and progressive forms of religion, politics and gender. At the center of analyses must be religious women themselves and how they understand and experience their own positioning. Gender inequality is one of the most important challenges facing humankind, and both secular and religious women's voices must be heard.

Notes

1 Bayes and Tohidi, *Globalization, Gender and Religion*.
2 Cady and Fessenden, *Religion, the Secular*.
3 Reilly and Scriver, *Religion, Gender*.
4 Scott, *The Politics of the Veil*.
5 Rosenberger and Sauer, *Politics, Religion and Gender*.
6 Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, 3.
7 Ibid.; Lister et al., *Gendering Citizenship*; Yuval-Davis, 'The Multi-Layered Citizen' and 'Belonging and the Politics of Belonging'; Siim, *The Challenge of Recognizing*; Halsaa, Roseneil and Sümer, *Remaking Citizenship*.
8 E.g., Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*; Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms*.
9 E.g., Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society*; Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*; Luckmann, *The Invisible Religion*; Bruce, *God is Dead* and *Secularization*.
10 See Mellor and Schilling, *Sociology of the Sacred*.
11 Berger, *The Desecularization*.
12 Davie, *Europe: The Exceptional Case*; see also Berger, Davie and Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe?*
13 Davie, *The Sociology of Religion*.
14 Casanova, *Public Religions*; Davie, *Europe: The Exceptional Case*.
15 E.g., in the United Kingdom; see Davie, *Religion in Britain*.
16 E.g., Habermas, *Notes on a Postsecular*; Casanova, *Religion, Politics*.
17 Dinham and Jackson, 'Religion, Welfare and Education'; Bäckström and Davie, *Welfare and Religion*.
18 See, however, Mubarak, *Women's Inter Faith Initiatives*; O'Neill, 'Religion and Women'; and 'Religion, Political Participation'; Nyhagen, *Conceptualizing Lived Religious Citizenship*.
19 Dillon, 'Can Post-Secular Society', 142.
20 Jeffreys, 'Desecularisation and Sexual Equality', 364.
21 Cochran, *Evangelical Feminism*.
22 Moghadam, 'Islamic Feminism'.
23 Hunt, 'Women-Church'.
24 Salomonsen, *Enchanted Feminism*.
25 See Davidman, *Tradition in a Rootless World*; Griffith, *God's Daughters*; Brasher, *Godly Women*; Manning, *God Gave Us the Right*.
26 Carby, '*White Woman Listen!*'; Crenshaw, 'Demarginalizing the Intersection'.
27 See Stuart, 'The Right to Freedom'; Nyhagen, *Conceptualizing Lived Religious Citizenship*.
28 See Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad*; Loenen and Goldsmith, *Religious Pluralism*; Phillips, *Gender and Culture*.
29 Aune, Sharma and Vincett, *Women and Religion*; Trzbieatowska and Bruce, *Why Are Women*?
30 Loewenthal, MacLeod and Cinnirella, 'Are Women More Religious?'

31 Hall, *Lived Religion in America*; Orsi, 'Everyday Miracles' and 'Is the Study of Lived Religion'; Ammerman, *Everyday Religion*; McGuire, *Lived Religion*; Neitz, 'Lived Religion'.
32 See Neitz, 'Lived Religion'.
33 See Aune, 'Feminist Spirituality'.
34 Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*; Woodhead, 'Gendering Secularization Theory'; Trzebiatowska and Bruce, *Why Are Women?*
35 See, however, Aune, Sharma and Vincett, *Women and Religion.*
36 Hussain, 'Counting Women with Faith'.
37 Inglehart and Norris, *Rising Tide.*
38 Ibid., 68.
39 Scott, *Sexularism*; see also Reilly and Scriver, *Religion, Gender*; Cady and Fessenden, *Religion, the Secular*.
40 See Loenen and Goldschmidt, *Religious Pluralism.*
41 E.g., Jeffreys, 'Desecularisation and Sexual Equality'.
42 Seguino and Lovinsky, *The Impact of Religiosity*, 41; and Seguino, 'Help or Hindrance?', 1317.
43 Seguino, 'Help or Hindrance?', 1317; our emphasis.
44 Ibid., 1317.
45 Ibid., 1310.
46 UNRISD, *Project Reference* Document, 12.
47 Razavi and Jenichen, 'The Unhappy Marriage', 845.
48 Ibid., 834.
49 Bernstein and Jakobsen, 'Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence'.
50 Heinen and Portet, 'Reproductive Rights in Poland'.
51 Guzmán, Seibert and Staab, 'Democracy in the Country', 973.
52 Drezgić, 'Religion, Politics and Gender'; Hasan, 'Gender, Religion and Democratic Politics'; Pereira and Ibrahim, 'On the Bodies of Women'.
53 Casanova, *Religion, Politics*.
54 Phillips, 'Religion: Ally, Threat'.
55 Scott, *Sexularism.*
56 See Antoun, *Understanding Fundamentalism*.
57 Tohidi and Bayes, 'Women Redefining Modernity', 39–42; Hawley, *Fundamentalism and Gender*.
58 Bacchetta, *Gender in the Hindu Nation*.
59 Okin, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*?
60 Prins and Saharso, 'Multiculturalism and Identity'.
61 Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice*.
62 E.g., Deveaux, 'A Deliberative Approach'.
63 E.g., Shachar, *Multicultural Jurisdictions*.
64 Phillips, *Multiculturalism Without Culture*.
65 Berlant and Warner, 'Introduction to Critical Multiculturalism'; Patel 'Multi-Faithism and the Gender Question'.
66 Yuval-Davis, 'Fundamentalism, Multiculturalism and Women'.
67 Prins and Saharso, 'Multiculturalism and Identity'.
68 Phillips, *Multiculturalism Without Culture*.
69 Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture*.
70 See, e.g., Jeffreys, 'Desecularisation'.
71 Brems et al., *The Experiences of Face Veil Wearers*.
72 Berry, 'SAS v France'.
73 Draper, '80% of Anti-Muslim'.
74 See Patel, 'Multi-Faithism and the Gender Question' on the United Kingdom; Badinter, *Fausse Route* on France; see also analyses in Habermas, 'Religion in the Public Sphere'; Reilly, 'Rethinking the Interplay'; Toldy, 'Secularist Dreams'; and Woodhead, 'Liberal Religion'.

75 Jakobsen and Pellegrini, *Secularisms*.
76 Bader, 'Religious Diversity'.
77 See also Fox, *A World Survey of Religion and the State* and *An Introduction to Religion and Politics* for detailed overviews of the relationship between states and religion.
78 Bhargava, 'States, Religious Diversity'.
79 Hirsi Ali, *Infidel*.
80 Hirsi Ali, *Heretic*.
81 Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 8.
82 Smith, *Disruptive Religion*.
83 Ibid., 4.
84 Ibid., 6.
85 See, e.g., Bradley 'Religion as a Bridge'; Hammer, *More than a Prayer*.
86 Kandiyoti, 'Bargaining with Patriarchy'.
87 Mahmood, *Politics of Piety*.
88 The terms 'religion' and 'spirituality' are sometimes used interchangeably.
89 Jeffrey and Basu, *Appropriating Gender*.
90 Ibid., 223.
91 Ibid., 223.
92 Ibid., 222. See Nyhagen Predelli, 'Recognising Place', for a critique of narrow definitions of women's activism.
93 Rinaldo, 'Pious and Critical'.
94 Zion-Waldoks, 'Politics of Devoted Resistance'.
95 Mahmood, *Politics of Piety*.
96 Zion-Waldoks, 'Politics of Devoted Resistance', 93.
97 Doetsch-Kidder, *Social Change and Intersectional Activism*.
98 Ibid., 5.
99 Ibid.. 4.
100 Prickett, 'Negotiating Gendered Religious Space'.

References

Ammerman, N. T., ed. *Everyday Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Antoun, R. T. *Understanding Fundamentalism: Christian, Islamic and Jewish Movements.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008.

Aune, K. 'Feminist Spirituality as Lived Religion: How UK Feminists Forge Religio-Spiritual Lives'. *Gender & Society* 29, no. 1 (2015): 122–45.

Aune, K., S. Sharma, and G. Vincett, eds. *Women and Religion in the West: Challenging Secularization.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Bacchetta, P. *Gender in the Hindu Nation.* New Delhi: Women Unlimited, 2004.

Bäckström, A., and G. Davie, eds. *Welfare and Religion in 21st Century Europe*, Vol. 1. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Bader, V. 'Religious Diversity and Democratic Institutional Pluralism'. *Political Theory* 31, no. 2 (2003): 265–94.

Badinter, E. *Fausse Route – Réflexions sur 30 années de féminisme*. Paris: Jacob, 2003.

Bayes, J., and N. Tohidi, eds. *Globalization, Gender and Religion.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Benhabib, S. *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Berger, P. *The Sacred Canopy. Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion.* New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1967.

Berger, P., G. Davie and E. Fokas. *Religious America, Secular Europe? A Theme and Variations.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Berger, P. L. 'The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview'. In *The Desecularization of the World. Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, edited by P. L. Berger, 1–18. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1999.

Berlant, L., and M. Warner. 'Introduction to Critical Multiculturalism'. In *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*, edited by D. T. Goldberg, 107–13. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

Bernstein, E. and J. R. Jakobsen. 'Sex, Secularism and Religious Influence in US Politics'. *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 1023–39.

Berry, S. 'SAS v France: Does Anything Remain of the Right to Manifest Religion?' Blog of the European Journal of International Law, July 2, 2014. http://www.ejiltalk.org/sas-v-france-does-anything-remain-of-the-right-to-manifest-religion/. Accessed April 20, 2015.

Bhargava, R. 'States, Religious Diversity, and the Crisis of Secularism'. Open Democracy, March 22, 2011. https://www.opendemocracy.net/rajeev-bhargava/states-religious-diversity-and-crisis-of-secularism-0. Accessed June 30, 2014.

Bradley, T. 'Religion as a Bridge between Theory and Practice in Work on Violence against Women in Rajasthan'. *Journal of Gender Studies* 19, no. 4 (2010): 361–75.

Brasher, B. *Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998.

Brems, E. et al., eds. *The Experiences of Face Veil Wearers in Europe and the Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Brown, C. *The Death of Christian Britain*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Bruce, S. *God is Dead. Secularization in the West.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Bruce, S. *Secularization: In Defense of an Unfashionable Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Cady, L. E. and T. Fessenden, eds. *Religion, the Secular, and the Politics of Sexual Difference*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

Carby, H. 'White Woman Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood'. In *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in 70s Britain*, edited by Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 212–35. London: Routledge, 1982.

Casanova, J. *Public Religions in the Modern World.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Casanova, J. 'Religion, Politics and Gender Equality: Public Religions Revisited'. In *A Debate on the Public Role of Religion and its Social and Gender Implications*, edited by J. Casanova and A. Phillips, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Gender and Development Programme Paper No. 5, September 2009.

Cochran, P.D.H. *Evangelical Feminism: A History*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

Crenshaw, K. 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics'. *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139–67.

Davidman, L. *Tradition in a Rootless World: Women Turn to Orthodox Judaism.* Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1993.

Davie, G. *Europe: The Exceptional Case: Parameters of Faith in the Modern World.* London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2002.

Davie, G. *The Sociology of Religion.* London: Sage, 2007.

Davie, G. *Religion in Britain: A Persistent Paradox.* Second edition. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

Deveaux, M. 'A Deliberative Approach to Conflicts of Culture'. In *Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights and Diversity*, edited by A. Eisenberg and J. Spinner-Halev, 340–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Dillon, M. 'Can Post-Secular Society Tolerate Religious Differences?' *Sociology of Religion* 71, no. 2 (2010): 139–56.

Dinham, A. and R. Jackson. 'Religion, Welfare and Education'. In *Religion and Change in Modern Britain*, edited by L. Woodhead and R. Catto, 272–94. London: Routledge, 2012.

Doetsch-Kidder, S. *Social Change and Intersectional Activism: The Spirit of Social Movement.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Draper, L. '80% of Anti-Muslim Attacks in France Against Women, Says Report'. February 17, 2015. http://www.newsweek.com/80-anti-muslim-attacks-france-against-women-says-report-307389. Accessed April 20, 2015.

Drezgić, R. 'Religion, Politics and Gender in the Context of Nation-State Formation: The Case of Serbia'. *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 955–70.

Durkheim, E. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1915.

Fox, J. *A World Survey of Religion and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Fox, J. *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice.* London: Routledge, 2013.

Griffith, R. M. *God's Daughters: Evangelical Women and the Power of Submission.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997.
Guzmán, V., U. Seibert and S. Staab. 'Democracy in the Country but not in the Home? Religion, Politics and Women's Rights in Chile'. *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 971–88.
Habermas J. 'Religion in the Public Sphere'. *European Journal of Philosophy* 14, no. 1 (2006): 1–25.
Habermas, J. 'Notes on a Postsecular Society'. *New Perspectives Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2008): 17–29.
Hall, D. A., ed. *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
Halsaa, B., S. Roseneil, and S. Sümer, eds. *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Women's Movements, Gender and Diversity.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
Hammer, J. *More than a Prayer: American Muslim Women, Religious Authority, and Activism.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2012.
Hasan, Z. 'Gender, Religion and Democratic Politics in India'. *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 939–54.
Hawley, J. S., ed. *Fundamentalism and Gender.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
Heinen, J. and S. Portet. 'Reproductive Rights in Poland: When Politicians Fear the Wrath of the Church'. *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 1007–21.
Hirsi Ali, A. *Infidel*. New York: Free Press, 2007.
Hirsi Ali, A. *Heretic: Why Islam Needs a Reformation Now*. New York: Harper, 2015.
Hunt, M. E. 'Women-Church: Feminist Concept, Religious Commitment, Women's Movement'. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 25, no. 1 (2009): 85–98.
Hussain, S. 'Counting Women with Faith: What Quantitative Data can Reveal about Muslim Women in "Secular" Britain'. In *Women and Religion in the West: Challenging Secularization*, edited by K. Aune, S. Sharma and G. Vincett, 165–82. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
Inglehart, R. and P. Norris. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
Jakobsen, J. R., and A. Pellegrini, eds. *Secularisms*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
Jeffrey, P., and A. Basu, eds. *Appropriating Gender: Women's Activism and Politicized Religion in South Asia*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
Jeffreys, S. 'Desecularisation and Sexual Equality'. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 13, no. 3 (2011): 364–82.
Kandiyoti, D. 'Bargaining with Patriarchy'. *Gender and Society* 2, no. 3 (1988): 274–90.
Lister, R. *Citizenship. Feminist Perspectives.* Second edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
Lister, R., et al. *Gendering Citizenship in Western Europe: New Challenges for Citizenship Research in a Cross-National Context.* Bristol: Policy Press, 2007.
Loenen M. L. P. and J. E. Goldsmith, eds. *Religious Pluralism and Human Rights in Europe: Where to Draw the Line?* Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2007.
Loewenthal, K. M., A. K. Macleod and M. Cinnirella. 'Are Women More Religious Than Men? Gender Differences in Religious Activity Among Different Religious Groups in the UK'. *Personality and Individual Differences* 32 (2002): 133–9.
Luckmann, T. *The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society.* London: Macmillan, 1967.
Mahmood, S. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
Manning, C. *God Gave Us the Right: Conservative Catholic, Evangelical Protestant, and Orthodox Jewish Women Grapple with Feminism.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999.
McGuire, M. B. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
Mellor, P.A. and C. Shilling. *Sociology of the Sacred: Religion, Embodiment and Social Change.* London: Sage, 2014.
Moghadam, V. M. 'Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents: Toward a Resolution of the Debate'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27, no. 4 (2002): 1135–71.
Mubarak, F. *Women's Inter Faith Initiatives in the UK: A Survey*. London: The Interfaith Network of the United Kingdom, 2006.
Neitz, M. J. 'Lived Religion: Signposts of Where We Have Been and Where We Can Go From Here'. In *Religion, Spirituality and Everyday Practice*, edited by G. Giordan and W. H. Swatos Jr., 45–55. New York: Springer, 2011.
Nussbaum, M. C. *Sex and Social Justice.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Nyhagen, L. 'Conceptualizing Lived Religious Citizenship: A Case-Study of Christian and Muslim Women in Norway and the United Kingdom'. *Citizenship Studies* 19, no. 6–7 (2015): forthcoming.

Nyhagen Predelli, L. 'Recognising Place, Space and Nation in Researching Women's Movements: FEMCIT'. *Women's Studies International Forum* 35 (2012): 141–3.

Okin, S. M. *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

O'Neill, B. 'Religion and Women: Canadian Women's Religious Volunteering: Compassion, Connections and Comparisons.' In *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics*, edited by J. Haynes, 366–84. New York: Routledge, 2009.

O'Neill, B. 'Religion, Political Participation and Civic Engagement: Women's Experiences'. In *Faith in the Public Realm: Controversies, Policies and Practices*, edited by A. Dinham, R. Furbey and V. Lowndes, 123–42. Bristol: Policy Press, 2009.

Orsi. R. 'Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion'. In *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, edited by D. A. Hall, 3–21. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Orsi, R. 'Is the Study of Lived Religion Irrelevant to the World We Live In?' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42, no. 2 (2003): 169–74.

Patel, P. 'Multi-Faithism and the Gender Question: Implications of Government Policy on the Struggle for Equality and Rights for Minority Women in the UK'. In *Moving in the Shadows: Violence in the Lives of Minority Women and Children*, edited by Y. Rehman, L. Kelly and H. Siddiqui, 41–58. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.

Pereira, C. and J. Ibrahim (2010). 'On the Bodies of Women: The Common Ground Between Islam and Christianity in Nigeria'. *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 921–37.

Phillips, A. *Multiculturalism without Culture.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Phillips, A. 'Religion: Ally, Threat or Just Religion?' In *A Debate on the Public Role of Religion and its Social and Gender Implications*, edited by J. Casanova and A. Phillips, 39–58. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Gender and Development Programme Paper No. 5, September 2009.

Phillips, A. *Gender & Culture.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.

Prickett, P. J. 'Negotiating Gendered Religious Space: The Particularities of Patriarchy in an African American Mosque'. *Gender & Society* 29, no. 1 (2015): 51–72

Prins, B. and S. Saharso. 'Multiculturalism and Identity'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, edited by G. Waylen, et al., 781–802. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Puar, J. K. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007

Razavi, S. and A. Jenichen. 'The Unhappy Marriage of Religion and Politics: Problems and Pitfalls for Gender Equality'. *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 833–50.

Reilly, N. 'Rethinking the Interplay of Feminism and Secularism in a Neo-Secular Age'. *Feminist Review* 97 (2011): 5–31.

Reilly, N., and S. Scriver, eds. *Religion, Gender, and the Public Sphere.* New York: Routledge, 2013.

Rinaldo, R. 'Pious and critical: Muslim Women Activists and the Question of Agency'. *Gender & Society* 28, no. 6 (2014): 824–46.

Rosenberger, S., and B. Sauer, eds. *Politics, Religion and Gender: Framing and Regulating the Veil.* London: Routledge, 2012.

Salomonsen, J. *Enchanted Feminism: The Reclaiming Witches of San Francisco.* London: Routledge, 2002.

Scott, J. W. *The Politics of the Veil.* Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Scott, J. W. 'Sexularism'. Ursula Hirschmann Annual Lecture on Gender and Europe. Florence, Italy: European University Institute and Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, 2009.

Seguino, S. 'Help or Hindrance? Religion's Impact on Gender Inequality in Attitudes and Outcomes'. *World Development* 39, no. 8 (2010): 1308–21.

Seguino, S. and J. Lovinsky. *The Impact of Religiosity on Gender Attitudes and Outcomes.* Geneva: UNRISD, 2009.

Shachar, A. *Multicultural Jurisdictions: Cultural Differences and Women's Rights.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Siim, B. 'The Challenge of Recognizing Diversity from the Perspective of Gender Equality: Dilemmas in Danish Citizenship'. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 10, no. 4 (2007): 491–511.

Smith, C., ed. *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social-Movement Activism.* New York: Routledge, 1996.

Stuart, A. 'The Right to Freedom of Religion: Equal Right or Male Right?' In *Religion, Gender, and the Public Sphere*, edited by N. Reilly and S. Scriver, 180–94. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Tohidi, N. and J. H. Bayes. 'Women Redefining Modernity and Religion in the Globalized Context'. In *Globalization, Gender and Religion: The Politics of Women's Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts*, edited by J. H. Bayes and N. Tohidi, 17–60. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Toldy, T. M. '"Secularist Dreams" and "Women's Rights": Notes on an "Ambiguous Relationship"', *RCCS Annual Review* 3 (2011), translated by Karen Bennett. http://rccsar.revues.org/302. Accessed 2 July 2014.

Trzebiatowska, M., and S. Bruce. *Why Are Women More Religious Than Men?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

UNRISD (2007). *Project Reference Document: Religion, Politics and Gender Equality.* United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Geneva: UNRISD.

Weber, M. *The Sociology of Religion.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1922.

Wilson, B. *Religion in Secular Society.* London: C. A. Watts & Co., 1966

Woodhead, L. 'Gendering Secularization Theory'. *Social Compass* 55, no. 2 (2008): 187–93.

Woodhead, L. 'Liberal Religion and Illiberal Secularism'. In *Religion in a Liberal State*, edited by G. D'Costa, et al., 93–116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Yuval-Davis, N. 'Fundamentalism, Multiculturalism and Women in Britain'. In *'Race', Culture and Difference*, edited by J. Donald and A. Rattansi, 278–92. London: Sage, 1992.

Yuval-Davis, N. 'The 'Multi-Layered Citizen'. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1, no. 1 (1999): 119–136.

Yuval-Davis, N. 'Belonging and the Politics of Belonging'. *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 3 (2006): 197–214.

Zion-Waldoks, T. 'Politics of Devoted Resistance: Agency, Feminism, and Religion among Orthodox Agunah Activists in Israel'. *Gender & Society* 29, no. 1 (2015): 73–97.

21

FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Jeffrey Haynes

LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY, UK

Faith-based organisations (FBOs)[1] are now widely seen as important actors in development in the developing world. Such awareness has gradually grown over time. There was no one single event to galvanise increased awareness; there was no '9/11 moment' in relation to faith's role in development, analogous to the impact of the murderous attack on 11 September 2001, by a transnational religious extremist organisation – al Qaeda – against the world's most conventionally powerful country, the USA. This event catapulted 'Islamist extremism' into the full glare of global publicity and has set the stage ever since for an overall understanding of 'religion in international relations'.[2]

On the other hand, today's rise to increased development prominence of FBOs did not come *sui generis*. During the 1990s, it became clear that faith was achieving increased prominence in relation to development issues, consequential to three linked but conceptually distinct developments: widespread religious resurgence; impact of deepening globalisation; and popular concern with development shortfalls in many developing countries.[3] The collective impact was that these developments made it impossible to ignore faith's influence on development in many parts of the developing world. This is not, however, to suggest or imply that awareness of faith's impact on development makes it easy to understand or simple to analyse.

To understand the issue it is important to note two generic kinds of FBOs: (1) transnational FBOs, and (2) FBOs active in one country. Both can impact significantly on development issues and outcomes, in relation both to policy formation and execution. In relation to the first category, various transnational FBOs, including Christian, Islamic and inter-faith groups, bring religious concerns into development discourses in a number of ways; many are related to poverty alleviation, widely seen as the *sine qua non* for a wider, more generic, boost to development. The second category comprises FBOs mainly from four faith traditions: Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Despite their differences, what they have in common is a desire to help deliver better development outcomes, with a focus on domestic not transnational or international concerns.

Because of its potentially vast subject matter, it is not possible in this brief chapter to examine each and every area where faith has an impact on development in the developing world. For the same reason, the chapter does not attempt to look at all developing regions of the world in detail. Instead, we are concerned with relatively brief, yet hopefully sufficiently substantive, analyses of: (1) how and with what effects FBOs interact with various secular development

agencies, notably the World Bank, and (2) the problems and prospects of FBO-state engagement on development in developing countries.

The first section of the chapter briefly examines changing approaches to development over the last fifty years. The second section focuses on general links between FBOs and development. The third section briefly examines the World Bank's engagement with FBOs from the late 1990s, with emphasis on the period of the presidency of James Wolfensohn (1995–2005), during which the Bank paid sustained interest to the notion of working more closely with selected FBOs in order to try to galvanise and improve development outcomes. The final section focuses on the problems and prospects of FBOs helping to deliver better development in the developing world.

Changing strategies to achieve improved development

The ideological power of economic neo-liberalism was at its zenith in 1989–91 when the Cold War came to an end and the Eastern European communist bloc spectacularly and swiftly collapsed. The swift disintegration of Europe's communist governing systems not only appeared to offer clear evidence of the superior power of capitalism and liberal democracy over communism, but also provided pro-market forces with ideological momentum. The then-dominant neo-liberal development strategy – the so called 'Washington consensus' – reflected the ideological pre-eminence of 'rolling back the state', to be replaced by various forms of private provider. Chief among these entities were the key, Washington, DC-based, opinion leaders, including: 'the IMF and the World Bank, independent think-tanks, the US government policy community, investment bankers, and so on'.[4] Critics of the Washington consensus ideology argued its studiously 'pro-market' approach to development gave insufficient emphasis not only to the essential developmental role of *government*, as the *only* institution consistently with power and authority to alter prevailing socio-economic realities through application of appropriate policies and programmes, but also to that of relevant *non-state actors* – both secular and faith-based – which might also be influential in delivering development goals, such as poverty alleviation and provision of primary-level education.[5]

The new focus on non-state development actors reflected the abject failure of the key, one size fits all, post-World War II development strategy: top down and state-dominated. That is, after half a century of applied development policies and programmes, and a quarter century of neo-liberal economic policies, over a billion people in the developing world still live on less than one US dollar a day. Over two billion people – a third of the global population – do not have access to potable clean water. Hundreds of millions of individuals, especially women and the poor, lack even basic health care and/or educational opportunities. In short, at the end of the twentieth century, the developmental picture in many developing countries was still very gloomy, with rising global poverty and polarising inequality.

The last half of the twentieth century saw three stages of thinking about development in the developing world. First, during the 1950s and 1960s, when dozens of culturally, politically, and economically disparate post-colonial countries emerged, mainly in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, the West's chosen strategy to achieve development was primarily via the application of appropriate levels of state-directed development aid. Second, during the 1970s, substantial oil price increases both underlined and hastened developmental polarisation, with some richer developed countries – such as South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore – managing to cope better than their poorer counterparts in Africa and elsewhere. Such countries found their international debts fast rising at this time. The West's contemporary development vision was on a 'basic needs' strategy, where, it was envisaged, development goals would be achieved via

a strategy to ensure that *all* people had access to necessary 'basics', including: clean water, basic health care, and at least primary education. This strategy generally failed, however, for two main reasons: first, the developmental issue became subsumed into the wider Cold War ideological division, with government-disbursed development funds not necessarily going to the most 'developmentally deserving' countries – but often instead to allies of the key aid-providing countries; and, second, because of the frequent unwillingness of ruling elites and their supporters in many developing countries to facilitate the necessary financial transfers upon which the successful delivery of basic-needs strategy fundamentally hinged.[6]

The third phase followed in the 1980s. Developmental polarisation in the developing world led to renewed Western attempts to encourage poorer developing countries to reform their economic policies in order to try to stimulate increased economic growth and development. Western governments, including those of the USA, Britain and (West) Germany, and international development agencies, including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), appeared to believe that in the developing world, 'unacceptable' levels of state meddling, incompetence and poor policies fatally undermined achievement of development goals. The proposed solution was to try to 'roll back' the state, believing that states had often 'tried to do too much', expending much effort and money but achieving little. Instead, private entrepreneurs would, it was envisaged, provide new injections of dynamism, energy and funding to seek solutions to development shortfalls, which would usefully augment the state's developmental role. To pursue this strategy, Western financial assistance was focused on 'structural adjustment programmes' (SAPs) in dozens of developing countries. According to Barber Conable, World Bank president between 1986 and 1991, SAPs reflected the belief that 'market forces and economic efficiency were the best way to achieve the kind of growth which is the best antidote to poverty'.[7]

Conable's statement reflected the then-current intellectual predominance of neo-liberalism in relation to development thinking. Neo-liberalism was an economic and political philosophy that ideologically underpinned the pro-market and monetarist ideas of various contemporaneous governments, including those of Britain's Margaret Thatcher (1979–90), Germany's Helmut Kohl (1982–98) and, in the USA, the administrations of Ronald Reagan (1981–89) and George H. W. Bush (1989–93). A core belief of neo-liberalism was that to achieve desirable development outcomes, the state's role must be significantly diminished. The second, overlapping, stage required the freeing of the entrepreneurial drive of non-state providers, 'liberated' from state control to apply their energies to economic growth strategies. Under pressure from the governments of the USA, Germany and Britain, working closely with key international financial institutions (IFIs) – especially, the World Bank and the IMF – developing-country governments presiding over pronounced development shortfalls were ordered to enact suitable and appropriate neo-liberal policies. Outcomes, however, were on the whole disappointing in terms of reducing developmental inequalities.[8]

Faith-based organisations and development

Eventually, decades of failed development strategies helped to stimulate a new look at development and how to achieve it in the developing world. Led by the United Nations (UN), there was much new activity from the 1990s to try to address widespread development shortfalls in the developing world. Led by the UN, the international community set itself the challenge of a third-millennium 'onslaught' on poverty and human deprivation, with efforts focused on the developing world, especially Africa, where human deprivation and poverty were most pronounced. The aim of the Millennium Declaration was to diminish significantly human

deprivation and poverty.[9] In September 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were announced, with a deadline of 2015 to achieve desired outcomes. The MDGs featured eight key objectives:

- eradicate extreme poverty and hunger;
- achieve universal primary education;
- promote gender equality and empower women;
- reduce child mortality;
- improve maternal health;
- combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases;
- ensure environmental sustainability; and
- develop a global partnership for development.[10]

What was novel about this strategy was not that there were clear goals and a proposed time-frame to achieve them. What was new was that the MDGs were drawn up in the assumption that to attain desired development outcomes across the developing world it was necessary for state and non-state actors – both secular *and* faith-based – to work together.[11] At the start of the twenty-first century, the world's most influential and money-rich developmental agency, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, universally known as the World Bank, accepted the need for a significantly different developmental emphasis. The Bank noted in its *World Development Report 2000/2001* that adjustments were necessary at both global and national levels. While the Bank did not specifically mention FBOs in its 2000/2001 report there was a clear inference to its recommendations: to achieve improved developmental outcomes it was necessary to employ all currently under-used human resources, including those potentially available from FBOs.

This was a novel turn of events, an ideological *volte face* which few had anticipated. This is because, as Lunn notes, 'religion, spirituality and faith have suffered from long-term and systematic neglect in development theory, policy making and practice, although there has been a noticeable turnover in the past 10 years'.[12] This is a pointer to the fact that in recent years – in the context of the end of the Cold War, deepening globalisation, 9/11 and assorted global financial crises – there was much speculation about how developmental outcomes in the countries of the developing world are affected by multiple global changes. What do these changes mean for chances of improved peace, prosperity, and justice – in short, for prospects of enhanced development – in the developing world?

It was once widely assumed that nations would invariably secularise as they modernised. It was believed that associated loss of religious faith and secularisation would dovetail with the idea that technological development and the application of science to overcome perennial social problems of poverty, environmental degradation, hunger and disease would result in long-term human progress. However, it is plausible to surmise that lack of success in this regard was one of the factors behind the recent increased focus on the developmental role of religion in the developing world.

Over the last two or three decades religion has had significant impact upon development outcomes in many parts of the developing world.[13] As a result, earlier confidence that the growth and spread of urbanisation, education, economic development, scientific rationality and social mobility would combine to diminish significantly the socio-political position of religion was misplaced. Two broad trends can be noted. First, religion is frequently used politically – often as a vehicle of opposition or as an ideology of community self-interest. Threats emanating either from powerful, outsider groups or from unwelcome symptoms of modernisation

(breakdown of moral behaviour, over-liberalisation in education and social habits) serve to galvanise such groups. Second, failure of governments successfully to achieve development goals encouraged some FBOs to develop a faith-based ideology of solidarity and development. Examples include Basic Christian Communities found in Latin America and elsewhere in the developing world, and various Islamic development entities, such as Islamic Relief.

There is now a growing literature on FBOs in the developing world.[14] Many such FBOs seek to help deliver improved human development. Some provide social services for those whom national or local governments cannot or will not assist, while others are more concerned with human rights, gender issues, democracy and governance.[15] In short, today FBOs are active in many parts of the developing world, seeking to achieve improved development outcomes. For example, some service-orientated FBOs in both the Middle East and Africa enjoy annual budgets that in some cases can exceed that of the relevant state agencies officially tasked to deliver social welfare, while procedures for accessing their direct assistance and welfare services are often more efficient and straightforward than those provided by the state in the public sector.[16]

Post-Cold War globalisation is a key factor in the rise of FBOs in many parts of the developing world. This is because globalisation impacts everywhere on local communities both for better and for worse. On the one hand, there is the increased economic range and clout of transnational corporations (TNCs) that can provide a wider array of consumer goods than before, albeit often at steep prices. On the other hand, there is the widespread perception that TNCs are taking economic power from both governments and citizens, reducing their efforts to control their own fates.[17] Globalisation also provided a new context for the advent of development-orientated FBOs, whose efforts in this respect were often galvanised by a perception that it helps polarise development outcomes. Many FBOs were keen to help ameliorate the consequential social and human rights imbalances perceived as a major downside of economic globalisation. Studies have linked new religious fundamentalisms and associated support for anti-globalisation activities, including anti-World Trade Organisation protests and North/South economic justice efforts.[18] Overall, this underlines that religious and faith responses to globalisation now often include a stress on social interests that go way beyond the confines of what Christians might call 'church life'.

Alkire emphasises that in relation to both social development and the linked issue of human rights, ideas of desirable outcomes expressed by FBOs may well differ significantly from those advanced by secular economic development models, for example, those advanced by the IMF and the World Bank.[19] This is because from a generally faith-based perspective secular development programmes and policies appear to be 'one-eyed giants' which 'analyse, prescribe and act *as if* man could live by bread alone, *as if* human destiny could be stripped to its material dimensions alone'.[20]

Individual faith perspectives also note rather similar objections to secular developmental programmes and policies. For example, writing from an Islamic viewpoint, Seyyed Hussein Nasr focuses on the link between modernisation and development, and emphasises how important it is for them to be concerned with religion. For him, development without such a concern will fatally distract Muslims from what is their true – that is, religious – nature and, as a result, seriously undermine their chances of living appropriately.[21]

Another example comes from Roman Catholic social teachings, which have articulated a faith-based view of development. This emphasises the contributions of 'spiritual disciplines and of ethical action to a person's "vocation to human fulfilment", addressed alongside contributions made by markets, public policy, and poverty reduction'.[22] Another articulation of concern about the goals and purpose of human development from a Roman Catholic perspective is found in a radical approach, liberation theology, which emerged in Latin America in the 1960s.

Liberation theology emphasises what it regards as the links between structural underdevelopment and political and social injustices. In response comes the demand for increased popular engagement of Roman Catholics with political and economic institutions in order to try to gain better development outcomes. A Peruvian priest, Gustavo Gutierrez, famously articulated liberation theology in his 1973 book, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*. In addition, representatives of other religious faiths, including Judaism and Buddhism, also advance similar kinds of development interpretations to that of Gutierrez, collectively underlining that the world faiths work from rather similar positions in relation to many social development issues. Moreover, distinct liberation theologies have also been articulated by some other world faiths. Various popular books have explicated similar people-centred, faith-based, development perspectives.[23]

In sum, religion and (secular) development have not always been in harmonious relationships. This is not, however, that surprising when we note that traditionally (secular) development strategies have been designed and devised by (secular) Western donors to try to improve the lives of people in the developing world who are very likely to be religious. As Mesbahuddin notes, 'attempts have been made in the recent past to restore some of that imbalance by incorporating cultural issues and religious values into the international development policy network, but hostilities remain'.[24] Yet, two problems remain: first, development policies and practices continue to be articulated within a neo-liberal framework which necessarily curtails the input from other ideological viewpoints, including those associated with faith. Second, within developing countries there are often divisions between faith communities and as a result it is difficult to develop a faith-focused development model that is inclusive and does not serve to reinforce divisions.

The World Bank, FBOs and development

By the early 2000s, the World Bank appeared to accept the need for a significantly different developmental emphasis, if the MDGs were to be achieved by 2015. The Bank's *World Development Report 2000/2001* noted that 'adjustments' would be necessary at both global and national levels to achieve developmental improvements in the developing world. The report claimed that MDG goals, including the promotion of opportunity, were inherently linked to increases in overall economic growth, as were patterns and quality of growth. The Bank believed that: (1) market 'adjustments' were central to achieving expanded opportunities for poor people in the developing world, and (2) 'adjustments' were also urgently needed in relation to local institutional and structural conditions which combined to undermine chances of improved development.[25]

The 2000/2001 report also emphasised another concern: the importance of improving governance in many developing countries. This would involve both 'choice and implementation of public actions that are responsive to the needs of poor people [who] *depend on the interaction of political, social, and other institutional processes*' (emphasis added). The Bank claimed that more needed to be done to encourage involvement of non-state actors to boost chances of achieving improved development outcomes, especially in the world's poorest, most under-developed countries (which are often those with the highest proportions of religious believers).

The report also contended that improved development outcomes would be linked to (1) 'active collaboration among poor people, the middle class [sic], and other groups in society', and (2) wider changes in style and outcomes relating to governance. These changes were necessary, the report averred, to make public administration, legal institutions, and public

service delivery more efficient and accountable to and for *all* citizens – rather than primarily serving the interests of a privileged few with best access to the 'levers of power'.[26] Finally, the report claimed that to deliver enhanced participation in development required the inclusion of ordinary people and their representative organisations in decision-making structures and processes at various levels, from local to national. The report did not specifically mention FBOs. Yet, anyone reading it would gain a clear inference from its recommendations: to achieve the MDGs in just fifteen years would require utilisation of *all* currently under-used human resources, including, where appropriate, those linked to FBOs.

In the late 1990s, the putative importance of FBOs to achieve improved development was explicitly noted by the then president of the World Bank, James D. Wolfensohn. For him,

> [t]his is a powerful idea – to tap the strengths of religions as development actors. Consider economics, finance and administration as disciplines that are deeply ethical at the core . . . they are about poverty reduction and employment creation. A vision without a task is boring. A task without a vision is awfully frustrating. A vision with a task can change the world.[27]

James Wolfensohn was president of the World Bank for a decade, from 1995 to 2005. He was personally instrumental in establishing the notable World Bank-led initiatives to work with FBOs during his presidency. They were: (1) structured engagement of the Bank on development issues with the World Council of Churches (WCC),[28] (2) the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD)[29] and (3) Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics (DDVE).[30] Two of the World Bank initiatives – the WFDD and DDVE – were established in 1998, while the dialogue with the WCC began a few years later, in 2002.[31]

Wolfensohn and the then-Archbishop of Canterbury and head of the global Anglican Church, George Carey, jointly hosted a meeting in Canterbury, England, in October 2002. The get-together focused on a range of human development issues and the role of faith in potentially ameliorating development shortfalls. The gathering brought together an impressive group of faith leaders, secular development organisations, and individuals from the private sector, including the worlds of entertainment and philanthropy. Discussions and presentations at the meeting focused on key issues identified in the MDGs, including: poverty, HIV/AIDS, gender, conflict, and social justice. In addition, participants spoke on and discussed various dimensions of and developmental ramifications of globalisation, including its differential impact on rich and poor countries. It was noted that poverty, HIV/AIDS, conflict, gender concerns, international trade and global politics bind all the world's countries and peoples into a global community, emphasising the urgency of shared responsibility and partnership. This sense of oneness highlighted the urgency of developing shared responsibility and partnership to deal with collective problems facing humanity. The overall conclusion was that more must be done to progress from well-meaning expressions of solidarity in the face of shared problems to creation and realisation of practical plans involving collaboration between the worlds of faith and development in order to confront major development shortfalls and concerns.[32] In sum, shared development concerns – especially poverty alleviation and improved human development more generally in the developing world – encouraged expansion of links between FBOs and the World Bank in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Katherine Marshall was Wolfensohn's right-hand woman in these initiatives, at the time a senior World Bank official who headed the DDVE.[33] According to Marshall, the Bank did not believe 'that religion and socio-economic development belong to different spheres and are best cast in separate roles – even separate dramas'.[34] Her observation was based on recognition that

around the world many FBOs and secular development agencies have similar key concerns, including: how to improve (1) the lot of materially poor people, (2) the societal position of those suffering from social exclusion and (3) unfulfilled human potential in the context of glaring developmental polarisation within and between countries. In other words, while faith has often in the past been understood as 'otherworldly' and 'world-denying', Marshall noted much agreement both in the World Bank and within other secular development agencies that increased cooperation with FBOs can usefully contribute to the achievement of developmental goals, not least because issues of right and wrong and social and economic justice are central to the teachings of the world religions.[35] During Wolfensohn's presidency, the Bank's commitment to bringing faith into the pursuit of development in the developing world led to a major initiative, 'Shaping the Agenda – Faith and Development', which centred on three main areas of dialogue:

- building bridges – stronger, bolder partnerships;
- exploring a more 'comprehensive', 'holistic' and 'integrated' vision of development; and
- transforming dialogue into practice and action.[36]

In addition to these World Bank initiatives, other secular development agencies linked to the UN were also active contemporaneously in developing dialogue with FBOs. Both the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the IMF developed institutionalised links with the WCC. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), an affiliate of the World Bank, began an initiative entitled 'Social Capital, Ethics, and Development' and 'approached religious leaders to try to win the backing of their moral authority . . . for its campaign in Latin America against corruption'.[37] The United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) also built links with various faith leaders, including Muslim imams in Africa and Bangladesh.[38] In addition, the UNFPA collaborated positively with faith leaders in Africa and, via a dialogue characterised by sensitivity and respect, began educational programmes and programmes for female empowerment. Overall, as Tyndale notes, such collaborations became possible when both sides – i.e. secular development agencies and faith-based leaders and organisations – were ready to acknowledge that they did not have the whole answer to all development questions and realised that working together might lead to improved outcomes.[39]

In sum, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, various secular development agencies – including the World Bank, IMF, ILO and the UNFPA – sought to engage with FBOs to pursue improved development, especially for the poorest people, including females, in several parts of the developing world. This followed collective realisation that secular and faith entities often shared similar development concerns, especially commitment to poverty alleviation as a crucial first stage in improved development outcomes and better human rights. Common ground linked them to a growing consensus that underpinned both the 2000 Millennium Declaration and the MDGs.

FBOs and the state: strategy for improved development

Strategies and objectives stated in the 2000/2001 *World Development Report* were, at the time, central to the World Bank's two-pronged strategy for improved development outcomes in the poorest developing countries: (1) investing in and empowering people, and (2) improved climate for domestic and external financial investments in developing countries. The clear focus in the 2000/2001 report on communities and their importance in achieving improved development outcomes was welcome, not least because it served to emphasise more generally

that development outcomes, ultimately, can only be measured in the extent to which they affect poor people's quality of life and the ways in which such people can influence output via collective efforts.

In the increased emphasis on the importance of harnessing community involvement to achieve better development outcomes, it is obvious that faith could be a factor. Faith could potentially play an important role in two main ways in community engagement with development:

- *Bottom-up influence on policy makers and consequential policy formation*. This could potentially occur by engendering and/or influencing policy makers' values and outlooks, in turn affecting formulation of specific development policies.
- *Bringing together or dividing communities along faith lines*. This could either improve or worsen political conflicts centring on access to development and associated goods.

This should not be taken to imply that relations between governments, secular development agencies and FBOs were, from this time, necessarily unproblematic. At the UN level, however, there was growing realisation within a number of the specialist agencies that:

- FBOs are an important part of civil society whose involvement in policies and programmes can potentially help achieve increased tolerance, social cohesion and understanding, all of vital importance to achieve development outcomes.
- FBOs can have a key role in providing education and achieving local and global justice, gender equality and action for non-violent resolutions to conflict, a *sine qua non* for development to take place.
- The highlighting of faiths' common values can help promote and develop religious/cultural understanding in many societies in the developing world.

On the other hand, not everyone agrees that FBOs can be productive forces to help improve people's lives, including development outcomes. For some, faith is *inherently* divisive, leading to inter-community complications and strife. In such a view, serving humanity is most likely to be delivered through a focus on secular vehicles of social and economic development. Problems in these regards surfaced during recent World Bank-led initiatives to build a bigger role for FBOs in development in the developing world. In recent years assorted multilateral development banks and other official development institutions have actively sought, through various means, to engage in dialogue with a broad range of civil society institutions, including FBOs. Yet results were decidedly patchy and now questions are increasingly asked about what is the best way forward in relation to the roles of FBOs in development policy and programmes in the developing world.[40] In sum, FBOs face particular challenges not only in integrating their perspectives into the general state-civil society dialogue but also into the strategies and operations of development policy and programmes.

This point can be illustrated by identifying problems which surfaced when trying to institutionalise relations between, on the one hand, governments, the World Bank and IMF, and, on the other, assorted FBOs in relation to a joint World Bank/IMF initiative known as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), introduced formally in 1999 in the build-up to the Millennium Declaration. The PRSP was a government-led approach to guide growth and poverty reduction within explicit strategic frameworks tailored for each client country. The purpose of a PRSP was to outline a comprehensive strategy to encourage growth and reduce poverty in a named developing country, in order to collect together different actors' priorities

and analyses – collectively working under the general rubric of 'development' – with the intention of increasing chances of complementarity and coherence. In pursuit of this goal, various forms of consultation with prominent figures and organisations were held in each country with a PRSP. The consultations sought to come up with agreed growth and development strategies that were deemed to be 'economically rational', while aiming to ensure that the policies and programmes that resulted were compatible with what a country's government and citizens regarded as developmentally appropriate and sustainable. Once consultation was concluded, a PRSP would be finalised. Following that, the World Bank and IMF would assess its strengths as the basis for the country to receive loans and credits. Note that this means that the parameters of each PRSP was bound by what the World Bank and IMF believed was appropriate in relation to development policy and programmes.[41]

Civil society's participation was seen as both essential and central to PRSP design and implementation. Some FBOs were recognised as potentially important components in the process of PRSP formulation. On the other hand, there was no coordinated strategy to engage FBOs in PRSP processes, nor wide-ranging discussions to ascertain their views or evaluate experiences. The reason for this omission was that PRSP processes were primarily designed and led by governments and in many cases they did not actively seek FBOs' views, despite the fact that in each country adopting a PRSP, selected FBOs were expected to be part of the overall consultation and participation process.[42] Problems of interaction between FBOs and governments were widely noted. For example, in 2000, an initiative to institutionalise FBOs' involvement in development strategy, set in train by James Wolfensohn in 1998, faced serious collective opposition from the World Bank's Executive Directors, that is, the 184 member countries' representatives. The Executive Directors raised fundamental objections to the Bank's faith dialogue that resulted in less effort being applied by the Bank, including reductions in institutionalised engagement with FBOs.[43]

Fundamental objections raised by Bank member states regarding an enhanced role for FBOs in development dialogues significantly inhibited development of the WFDD – eventually leading to it being hived off from the World Bank, becoming an independent development non-governmental organisation, based at Georgetown University, Washington, DC, under the leadership of erstwhile senior Bank official Katherine Marshall. This is, however, not to imply that if a government chooses to engage with an FBO or FBOs in a specific country, then the World Bank and other secular development organisations would refuse to get involved. In addition, where FBOs were already important elements in civil society forums, as in Zambia, then a continuation of their involvement was appropriate. Nevertheless, many questions remained concerning dialogue – as distinct from partnership involving joined action – beyond the country level. There were three key issues:

- disquiet about the nature and direction of development when FBOs are involved;
- apprehension about differences between secular and faith-based visions of development; and
- no consensus within the World Bank on whether systematic or institutionalised dialogue with selected FBOs is desirable.

The problem of consistent engagement between governments, secular development agencies – like the World Bank – and FBOs was highlighted during the already-mentioned World Faiths Development Dialogue-organised four-day meeting in Canterbury, England, held in July 2002. Under the direction of Wolfensohn and Carey, the meeting brought together individuals from fifteen developing countries where PRSP consultations had already taken place, including

participants from various faiths. Michael Taylor, then director of the WFDD, led the consultation. World Bank representatives were among the observers; the IMF was invited to participate but no representative was present. The meeting's main purpose was to gain an understanding of whether FBOs involved in framing PRSPs believed their voice had sufficiently been taken into account.[44]

Several faith participants not only emphasised that poverty is a complex phenomenon but also stressed that many people regard the importance of freedom and a satisfying life as a higher priority than simple gains in income or improvements in social indicators.[45] For example, according to a Sri Lankan at the meeting, aspirations of Buddhist Sri Lankans differ from those of people living in countries tightly focused on economic growth, commenting that: 'The middle path, path to the human liberation in Buddhism, guides people for a simple, happy and content life.'[46] In addition, two African participants highlighted that in popular perceptions of relative importance, opportunities in life can rival wealth acquisition in terms of popular priorities. A Tanzanian underlined the significance of rights in alleviating poverty, especially social wellbeing, as well as those related to security, justice, freedom, peace and law and order. In relation to Zambia, it was claimed that opposition parties were weak; consequently, 'only the [Catholic] church speaks out'. In addition, Catholic social teaching was said to serve as a source of inspiration for many Zambians, with its focus on human dignity particularly important in contrast to the government view that 'economic growth equals development' *tout court*. The Zambian participant also stressed that 'if growth does not benefit the human being, then it is not development at all'.[47]

Conclusion

Why do many FBOs now have a higher profile in relation to development issues compared to a few decades ago? This chapter has sought to argue that one important reason is that, after half a century, secular development policies and programmes had led to disappointing outcomes in many parts of the developing world. One result was that not only FBOs but also many ordinary people in the developing world regarded it as entirely correct that religion should be an influential voice in development strategies. Yet, governments still tended to regard FBOs' involvement in development policies and programmes with apprehension or suspicion, a perception often linked to what they see as problematic involvement of religions more generally in secular – political, social and economic – issues.

Second, there were marked differences in perceptions of poverty and development between FBOs, on the one hand, and government and (secular) international development agencies, on the other. That is, while governments and (secular) international development agencies privilege economic growth as a fundamental component of 'development', FBOs may prioritise a range of ways of understanding the notions of poverty reduction and development. The key practical question is *how* and *in what ways* might secular development agencies and governments constructively integrate faith perspectives into poverty reduction strategies? Or, to put it another way, *how* and *in what ways* can FBOs constructively influence governmental and secular development agencies' perspectives on poverty reduction strategies and by extension development? It is apparent, however, that this is going to be a difficult issue to resolve – not least because FBOs may well not view poverty reduction as *the* central question in the creation of more fulfilling, sustainable lifestyles. Instead, FBOs may consider it of greater importance to achieve wider spiritual and religious goals.

Third, while often paying lip service to the involvement of FBOs in development, many governments and secular development agencies either lack ability or are simply not interested

in integrating alternative – including faith – perspectives into poverty reduction strategies. Over the years, this issue has often strained relationships and undermined confidence between governments and FBOs, with secular development agencies' own biases adding a layer of complexity; and this has curtailed vigorous and constructive debate about poverty and how to reduce it.

Notes

1 At a minimum, a faith-based organisation must be connected with an organised faith community. According to Scott in *Exploring the Funding Relationships*, these connections occur when a faith-based organisation 'is based on a particular ideology and draws staff, volunteers, or leadership from a particular religious group'. Other characteristics that qualify an organisation as 'faith-based' include: religiously orientated mission statements, support from a religious organisation, or being founded by a religious institution (Wuthnow, *Linkages*). In *Religion-Sponsored Social Service Providers*, Castelli and McCarthy divide faith-based groups into three categories: 1) congregations; 2) national networks; and 3) freestanding religious organisations. Note, however, that there are problems with these definitions and in 'Faith and humanitarianism' Ferris contends that the 'variety of faith-based actors makes generalizations difficult'. She questions the utility of the term, suggesting that differences between faith-based actors are often greater than those between secular and faith-based organisations.
2 Haynes, *Faith-based Organizations at the United Nations*.
3 Haynes, *Religion and Development: Conflict or Cooperation?* and *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion.*
4 Thomas and Reader, 'Development and inequality', 79.
5 Taylor, 'Globalization and development'.
6 See, Haynes, *Palgrave Advances in Development* and *Religion and Development*; Shaw, 'The global political economy'.
7 Conable quoted in Thomas and Reader, 'Development and inequality', 79.
8 Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*.
9 The full Millennium Declaration can be read at http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm.
10 The MDGs are listed at http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/.
11 See Lunn, 'The role of religion, spirituality and faith in development'; ter Haar, *Religion and Development.*
12 Lunn, 'The role of religion, spirituality and faith in development', 937.
13 See Haynes, *Religion and Development*; Lunn, 'The role of religion, spirituality and faith in development'; Mesbahuddin, 'Religion in development'.
14 See, inter alia, Alkire, 'Religion and development'; Holenstein, 'Role and significance of religion and spirituality'; Haynes, *Religion and Development*; Marshall, 'Religious faith and development'; Rees, 'The Dynamics of religion in international relations'; ter Haar, *Religion and Development*.
15 ter Haar, *Religion and Development*.
16 See Ellis and ter Haar, *The Worlds of Power*; ter Haar, *Religion and Development*.
17 Haynes, *Palgrave Advances in Development Studies*.
18 See, for example, Beyer, *Religions in Global Society*.
19 Alkire, 'Religion and development'.
20 Ibid.
21 Nasr, *Man and Nature*, *Islam and the Plight*, and *Religion and the Order of Nature*.
22 Alkire, 'Religion and development'.
23 These include: Bernardo Klicksberg's *Social Justice: A Jewish Perspective*; and from a Buddhist perspective, Sulak Sivaraksa's *Seeds of Peace*.
24 Mesbahuddin, 'Religion in development'.
25 World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001*.
26 Ibid., 7.

27 http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/ORGANIZATION/EXTPRESIDENT2007/EXTPASTPRESIDENTS/PRESIDENTEXTERNAL/0,,contentMDK:20091872~pagePK:139877~piPK:199692~theSitePK:227585,00.html.
28 The World Council of Churches (WCC), founded in Amsterdam in 1948, is a 350-member international, interdenominational organisation bringing together most major Protestant, Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Christian churches. WCC headquarters are in Geneva.
29 According to the WFDD website, 'The World Faiths Development Dialogue was set up in 1998 as an initiative of James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, and Lord Carey, then Archbishop of Canterbury. Its aim is to facilitate a dialogue on poverty and development among people from different religions and between them and the international development institutions. The focus is on the relationship between faith and development and how this is expressed, both in considering decisions about development policy and in action with impoverished communities all over the world.' (https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/wfdd/about).
30 The DDVE is a small unit at the World Bank whose purpose is to contribute to analytical work, capacity development and dialogue on issues related to values and ethics. Founded in 2000, DDVE has traditionally served as the World Bank's focal point on the intersection of faith and development. In addition, the unit carries a number of projects related to prominent development issues, such as the current economic crisis in Africa, with a focus on the difficult distributional trade-offs faced by various development actors in dealing with these issues.(http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/PARTNERS/EXTDEVDIALOGUE/0,,contentMDK:21966758~menuPK:5554943~pagePK:64192523~piPK:64192458~theSitePK:537298,00.html).
31 'The WCC-IMF-WB high-level encounter'.
32 Marshall and Keough, *Mind, Heart and Soul.*
33 Marshall served as senior advisor for the World Bank on issues of faith and development. Her long career with the World Bank (1971–2006) involved a wide range of leadership assignments, many focused on Africa. From 2000 to 2006 her mandate covered ethics, values and faith in development work, as counsellor to the World Bank's then president, James Wolfensohn.
34 Marshall, 'Religious faith and development'.
35 Marshall, 'Faith and development'.
36 Ibid.
37 Tyndale, 'Religions and the Millennium Development Goals', 2.
38 'Married adolescents ignored in global agenda, says UNFPA'.
39 Tyndale, 'Religions and the Millennium Development Goals', 6.
40 See, for example, Marshall, 'Religious faith and development'.
41 Levinsohn, 'The World Bank's poverty reduction strategy paper approach'.
42 World Faiths Development Dialogue, 'Seminar proposal: Faith leaders and global economics'.
43 Marshall, 'Religious faith and development'.
44 World Faiths Development Dialogue 'Seminar proposal: Faith leaders and global economics'.
45 Marshall and Keough, *Mind, Heart and Soul.*
46 See Tyndale, 'Religions and the Millennium Development Goals'; also see Marshall, 'Looking beyond growth'.
47 Tyndale, 'Religions and the Millennium Development Goals'.

References

Alkire, S. (2006) 'Religion and development', in D Clark (ed.), *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 502–9.

Beyer, P. (2006) *Religions in Global Society*, London: Routledge.

Castelli, J. and J. McCarthy (1997) 'Religion-sponsored social service providers: The not-so independent sector', New York: Aspen Institute Non-profit Sector Research Fund.

Ellis, S. and G. ter Haar (2004) *The Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, London: Hurst.

Ferris, E. (2011) 'Faith and humanitarianism: It's complicated', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 606–25.
Gutierrez, G. (1973) *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, New York: Orbis Books.
Haynes, J. (ed.) (2005) *Palgrave Advances in Development Studies*, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Haynes, J. (2007a) *Religion and Development: Conflict or Cooperation?* Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Haynes, J. (2007b) *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, London: Pearson.
Haynes, J. (2014) *Faith-based Organizations at the United Nations*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
Holenstein, A.-M. (2005) 'Role and significance of religion and spirituality in development co-operation: A reflection and working paper'. (Translated from German by Wendy Tyndale.) Bern: Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation, March.
Bernardo Klicksberg (2003) *Social Justice: A Jewish Perspective*, New York: Gefen Publishing House.
Levinsohn, J. (2003) 'The World Bank's poverty reduction strategy paper approach: Good marketing or good policy', G-24 Discussion Paper Series, New York: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Available at http://unctad.org/en/Docs/gdsmdpbg2420032_en.pdf. Last accessed 23 June 2015.
Lunn, J. (2009) 'The role of religion, spirituality and faith in development: a critical theory approach', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 5, pp. 937–51.
'Married adolescents ignored in global agenda, says UNFPA' (2004). Press Release, 4 June.
Marshall, K. (2005a) 'Religious faith and development: Rethinking development debates', Religious NGOs and International Development Conference, Oslo, Norway, 7 April 2005.
Marshall, K. (2005b) 'Faith and development: Rethinking development debates', World Bank paper, June, Washington, DC: World Bank.
Marshall, K. (2009) 'Faith and development leaders meeting. Faith-inspired networks and organizations: Their contributions to development programs and policies. A meeting organized by the Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics at the World Bank, the UK Department for International Development, and the World Faiths Development Dialogue, Accra, Ghana, 1–3 July 2009. Concluding remarks by Ms. Katherine Marshall, Executive Director, World Faiths Development Dialogue.'
Marshall, K. (2011) 'Looking beyond growth', *Dharma World: For Living Buddhism and Interfaith Dialogue*, no. 38, pp. 4–6.
Marshall, K. and L. Keough (2004) *Mind, Heart and Soul in the Fight against Poverty*, Washington, DC: World Bank.
Mesbahuddin, T. (2010) 'Religion in development. An Islamic model emerging in Bangladesh', *Journal of South Asian Development*, vol. 5 no. 2, pp. 221–41.
Nasr, S. H. (1967; revised edition 1997) *Man and Nature: The Spiritual Crisis of Modern Man*, Chicago, IL: Kazi Publications.
Nasr, S. H. (1975) *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man*, London: Longman.
Nasr, S. H. (1996) *Religion and the Order of Nature*, New York: Oxford University Press.
Rees, J. (2009) 'The Dynamics of Religion in International Relations'. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, Australia.
Scott, J. (2003) *Exploring the Funding Relationships Between Community Foundations and Faith-Based Social Service Providers*, New York: The Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy/The Rockefeller Institute of Government/State University of New York.
Shaw, T. (2005) 'The global political economy', in J. Haynes (ed.) *Palgrave Advances in Development Studies*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 249–67.
Sivaraksa, Sulak (1993) *Seeds of Peace: A Buddhist Vision for Renewing Society*, Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press.
Stiglitz, J. (2006) *Making Globalization Work: The Next Steps to Global Justice*, London: Allen Lane.
Taylor, I (2005) 'Globalization and development', in J. Haynes (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in Development Studies*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 268–87.
ter Haar, G. (ed.) (2011) *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World*, London: Hurst.
Thomas, C. and M. Reader (2001) 'Development and inequality', in B. White, R. Little and M. Smith (eds.), *Issues in World Politics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 74–92
Tyndale, W. (2004) 'Religions and the Millennium Development Goals: Whose agenda?' Paper prepared for the 'Religion and Development Conference', The Hague, the Netherlands, 3 November.

'The WCC-IMF-WB high-level encounter' (2004) 'Synthesis of discussions and summary of agreements, 22 October 2004, Ecumenical Centre, Geneva, Switzerland'. Available at http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-programmes/public-witness-addressing-power-affirming-peace/poverty-wealth-and-ecology/trade/wcc-imf-wb-high-level-encounter.html. Last accessed 18 August 2011.

World Bank (2001) *World Development Report 2000/2001*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

World Faiths Development Dialogue (2003) 'Seminar proposal: Faith leaders and global economics'. Photocopy.

Wuthnow, R. (2000) *Linkages Between Religious Congregations and Nonprofit Service Organizations*. Washington, DC: Nonprofit Sector Research Fund. The Aspen Institute. Working Paper Series.

22

RELIGIOUS TERRORISM IN GLOBAL POLITICS

Mark Juergensmeyer

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA, USA

The rise of the so-called "Islamic State" (ISIS) in the Middle East, the appearance of The Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda, attacks by Buddhist extremists on minorities in Myanmar and Sri Lanka—these and many other acts of violence related to religion give the impression that the twenty-first century is the age of religious terrorism. Such acts have appeared through the centuries and in every religious tradition, though have been seen with increasing frequency in the last decades of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first. The reasons for this increase are matters of scholarly and public discussion. Samuel Huntington has posited that a "clash of civilizations" might be replacing the ideological confrontation of the Cold War as the new form of geopolitical struggle.[1] Benjamin Barber regards globalization as a primary factor leading to the centrifugal forces of tribalism and the centripetal spread of superficial consumer culture, two trends characterized as "jihad versus McWorld."[2] My own analyses also identify the forces of globalization as critical, forces that undermine the world-wide supremacy of the idea of the secular nation-state and the notion of secular nationalism as its ideological basis, and offer religious nationalism and transnational politics as an alternative.[3]

Religious terrorism around the world

Radical political movements with religion as part of their identity and ideology have emerged to challenge the secular state in every part of the world, in every major religious tradition. There are some areas of intensity, however. In Latin America, for instance, there are relatively few instances of religious-related extremist movements in recent decades. The Middle East and South Asia tend to have more instances of religious-related violence than elsewhere. Why this is the case is the subject of debate. Some critics of religion have identified Islam as a more violent religious tradition than Christianity, though other observers point out that the violence is specific to those geographic regions where American and European culture and political power is being rejected, and hence point to political rather than religious reasons. Within the United States there have been far more acts of terrorism and extreme violence related to Christianity than Islam, though the impact of the attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001, overshadows most other acts of terrorism within the United States in recent years and gives the appearance of Muslim rather than Christian groups

in the US as a greater threat. The following overview of extreme violence related to different religious traditions demonstrates that religious-related terrorism is a global phenomenon.

Christianity

The tradition of Christianity has had an ambivalent relationship with violence. The proclamations of the New Testament affirm nonviolence, and the early Christians were pacifists. But after Christianity became associated with Roman imperial rule in the fourth century, its religious authority was used to buttress political power—and also to challenge it, by giving religious legitimacy to the protests of political rebels.[4]

In the second half of the twentieth century, violence became a method of defending Christianity in communities, sometimes in internecine warfare. During the decades of the "troubles" of Northern Ireland, Roman Catholic activists identifying with the Irish state were pitted against Protestants who wanted to continue the region's relationship with the United Kingdom. Though the struggle was essentially a political contest between ethnic groups, religious leaders and images were involved on both sides of the dispute.[5]

In the United States, a number of groups protesting against multiculturalism and the secular state arose in the 1990s, continuing into the twenty-first century. Some of these were related to the Calvinist Christian Reconstruction movement and others to the racist Christian Identity movements.[6] Members of the movement were involved in bombing abortion clinics and in shootouts with the US government, including the standoff at Ruby Ridge in 1992. Timothy McVeigh, who was convicted and executed for his role in bombing the Oklahoma City Federal Building in 1995—the largest act of terrorism on American soil prior to the September 2001 attack—was motivated by a religious ideology designed by the White Supremacist novelist William Pierce, an ideology he called "cosmotheism." Like many Christian Identity activists, McVeigh expected that his act of terrorism would initiate a widespread racial struggle and the advent of a guerilla war, hoping to liberate the United States from what he regarded as its anti-Christian secular despotism. Another militant who had ties to the Christian Identity movement, Eric Robert Rudolph, was convicted of a bombing attack on Olympic Village in Atlanta in 1996. Rudolph hid out in the Appalachian Mountains for years until his arrest in 2003. The election of Barack Obama as president of the US in 2008 was the occasion of a new burst of Christian militancy. In 2010, the FBI uncovered the preparation for a full-scale military assault on the US government by the Michigan-based Hutaree group. Though their name was invented, its followers claimed that it meant "Christian warriors."

In Europe, Christian activists opposed to multiculturalism and the acceptance of Muslim immigrants have been involved in a series of violent acts. One of the most dramatic was the mass killing conducted by Anders Breivik in Norway in July 2011. After exploding a bomb in downtown Oslo he went to an island in a nearby lake where young people associated with a liberal political party were encamped and systematically shot them with automatic weapons. Over seventy were killed. Breivik's manifesto proclaimed his intentions to deter Norwegian politicians from following a path of multiculturalism that would, in his mind, allow Islamic civilization to dominate Northern Europe.[7] And in Africa, a movement called "The Lord's Resistance Army," led by Joseph Kony, terrorized villagers in Uganda, claiming to protect Christian culture.[8]

Judaism

Since they constitute a minority religious community in most parts of the world, Jews have traditionally shied away from political activism. In Israel, however, an extreme form of Jewish

nationalism has developed that has a violent side. One of the leading exponents of this kind of violent Judaism was Rabbi Meir Kahane, who immigrated to Israel from the United States in 1971 and founded the Kach (Thus) Party dedicated to the creation of an Israeli nation based on Torah (biblical law) rather than secular principles. Kahane advocated a catastrophic form of Messianic Zionism that urged confrontation with Arabs, secular Jews and others perceived to be enemies of a Jewish religious state. Although Kahane was assassinated in New York City in 1990 by Muslims associated with the Egyptian al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, his movement continued to advocate violent encounters.[9]

One of his followers, Dr. Baruch Goldstein, overcome with shame that Jews had been humiliated by Muslim hecklers near the settlement of Kiryat Arba at the edge of the West Bank city of Hebron, entered a mosque at the Shrine of the Cave of the Patriarchs where he massacred Muslims during their prayers in a savage incident Hebron in 1994. Yigal Amir, propelled by ideas similar to Kahane's and angered by the peace accords that brought Israel close to a concession with the Palestinian authority that would cede much of the West Bank to Palestine, assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. Supporters of this extreme Israeli Messianic nationalism resist any concession of territory to Palestinians and continue to be at the forefront of support for expanding Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory on the West Bank.

Islam

Like most religious traditions, the teachings of Islam praise nonviolence, and the very name of the tradition means "peace." Again, like most religious traditions, the teachings of Islam justify the use of military force in limited cases, primarily for defensive purposes. Terrorism or any killing of noncombatants is not approved by the Qur'an or by any mainstream Muslim authority. Despite this prohibition, however, some activist groups at the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first have regarded terrorism as an instrument of protest and a tool in seizing political power that they assert is legitimized by Muslim teachings.[10]

Some of these activists refer to the political writings of Pakistan's Maulana Abu al-Ala Mawdudi, who founded the Jamaat-i-Islami (Islamic Association) in 1941, and Egypt's Hassan al-Banna, who established the Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood) in 1928. These thinkers regarded Western imperialism as the enemy of Islamic society and called for an overthrow of Western influences, by force if necessary, in order to establish a political order based on Islamic law. They have been the forefathers of a host of radical Muslim-related movements in Northern Africa, the Middle East, and South and Southeast Asia.

In Egypt, radical groups have exploited these Muslim political ideologies for political purposes. Extreme factions related to the Muslim Brotherhood have led to acts of violence within Egypt, including attacks on tourist boats on the Nile River and tourist groups at Luxor, as well as targeting political leaders. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat was assassinated by members of a Muslim Brotherhood offshoot, al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, in 1981. In nearby Gaza and the West Bank of Palestine, these Egyptian groups influenced a growing Muslim movement of Palestinian nationalism that eventually rivaled the secular Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). This Muslim movement was founded by Sheik Ahmed Yassin and other religious activists in 1987 and was named Hamas, an acronym for the phrase, Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya, "Islamic Resistance Movement"; the word *hamas* means "zeal."

In the 1980s, Muslim activists from around the world joined the Mujahidin struggle against the Soviet-supported government in Afghanistan. There, activists from Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and elsewhere intermingled and created alliances. The Afghan struggle became a crucible in

which a transnational jihadi collaboration was forged. From it emerged the al Qaeda movement led by Osama bin Laden. The global jihadi movement was, however, a complex network of groups and leaders that allowed it to spread widely and adopt a variety of tactics. Its targets were usually secular political leaders and centers of American and European economic and military power, indicating that the primary concern of its leaders was Western political domination. An expatriate Pakistani activist, Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, and his nephew, Ramsi Youssef, plotted a series of terrorist attacks, including the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, and the more successful September 11, 2001 attack on the Pentagon and the twin towers that turned the tallest buildings in New York City to a cloud of dust and killed over 3,000.[11]

In Afghanistan, a conservative political regime, the Taliban, allowed bin Laden to base his operations there. As a result, the Afghan regime became targeted by the United States military following the 9/11 attacks. After it was toppled, the occupation of the country by US military created an extreme backlash both in Afghanistan and in neighboring Pakistan, where its own version of the Taliban attacked the Pakistani government as well as US military and political entities.[12]

A similar anti-American extremist movement emerged in Iraq after the US-led ouster of Saddam Hussein in 2003, where religion became a factor in resurgent nationalist movements among both Shi'a and Sunni activists. Some of them, including the Jordanian-born militant Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, had ties to the al Qaeda. Zarqawi was notorious for his savage anti-Shiite attacks and for decapitating Western and indigenous victims in gruesome displays aired on video over the Internet. After he was killed by US forces, one of his successors was Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who led a new movement in 2014 that solidified extremist groups in eastern Syria and western Iraq. In a remarkable blitzkrieg, it occupied major sections of territory, including Iraq's second largest city, Mosul, and several strategic oil fields. He named his newly seized territory "the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham" (al-Sham refers to greater Syria, also called the Levant, so the acronym could be either ISIS or ISIL). Later he changed the name simply to "the Islamic State." Like Zarqawi before him, al-Baghdadi essentially ruled by terror, using public decapitations and burning his captives alive as a way of intimidating his followers and threatening his rivals and enemies.[13]

Elsewhere in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia—home of the largest Muslim countries in the world—relatively few acts of violent are related to Islam. Among the exceptions have been attacks in Delhi, Mumbai, and Jakarta by small militant cells. The virulence associated with a large movement of Muslim separatism in the southern islands of the Philippines was muted by a peace agreement signed in 2014. In Africa, acts of violence have been associated with a group known as Al Qaeda in the Mahgreb, and with a Nigerian group, Boko Haram, whose name implies that Western-style book learning is forbidden. The group has savagely attacked Christian villages and schools, killing male students and abducting young women. Though the group claims to be defending Islam, it also lays claim to tribal-based power in the northern region of the country.[14]

Hinduism and Sikhism

The Indic traditions, including Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism, have a reputation for honoring nonviolence and subscribing to peace. Yet images of warfare are part of their legendary past. The Hindu epics the *Mahabharta* and *Ramayana* are all about battle, and Sikh history celebrates the struggles against Moghul rulers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the martyrdom of several of its founding gurus. These legendary and historical battles of the past have been inspirations for militant Hindu and Sikh activists in recent years.[15]

In 1992, a Hindu mob assaulted an old mosque in the North Indian town of Ayodhya on the site of what was reputed to be the birthplace of the Hindu God Rama, rendering it to dust. In riots between Muslims and Hindus that followed this event over two thousand people were killed. This momentum of Hindu activism brought the Hindu-leaning Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to a series of successful victories in state-level elections, and in 1998 it was able to establish a coalition national government that ruled India until 2004, when the Congress Party again regained control. In the 2014 elections, the BJP, led by Narendra Modi, returned to power. Behind many of the clashes between religious communities in India the central issue at stake has been the very idea of a multicultural state—whether India will be dominated by one tradition or incorporate a diversity of cultures. In other cases the very unity of India has been challenged: in these incidents religion has been fused with political separatism. The independence struggle in Kashmir is one example of religious separatism in India in which terrorism has played a role. The militant campaign to create a separate nation, Khalistan, for Sikhs in the Punjab region of North India is another where terrorism was an instrument of warcraft.

Though Sikhism is related to Hindu culture, Sikhs have emerged as a separate religious community in the five hundred years since it was founded by Guru Nanak and a series of nine other gurus who followed in his lineage in northern India. When Pakistan was created out of British India to be a separate country for Muslims, many Sikhs thought that there should be a similar state in the Punjab for Sikhs. In the 1980s, a movement for Sikh separatism led by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale was aimed at creating a new nation that would privilege the Sikh community and honor its principles and traditions. Members of the movement became engaged in acts of terrorism, including hijacking airplanes and attacking busloads of Hindu pilgrims. Bhindranwale was killed in the Indian army's assault on the Sikhs' Golden Temple in 1984, and thousands of Sikhs perished in the ensuing riots against the Sikh community.[16]

Buddhism

Like Hinduism, the Buddhist tradition is regarded as nonviolent and not political. Yet Buddhist societies have had their share of religious violence, and in some cases Buddhism has been a vehicle for political power and rebellion.[17] In Sri Lanka, Buddhist monks were at the forefront of Sri Lanka's independence movement in 1948, and in 1953 an influential pamphlet, *The Revolt in the Temple*, began a religious critique of secular nationalism and the claim that "Buddhism had been betrayed." The demand for a Buddhist state resurfaced in the 1980s in part in response to the government's attempts to appease the Tamil separatist movement of Hindus and Christians in the northern region of the island nation.[18] In a series of assaults scores of secular political leaders were killed or injured, and one of Sri Lanka's Prime Ministers was assassinated by a Buddhist monk. In the twenty-first century cadres of radical Buddhist monks continued their protests against the secular government. A Buddhist group, Bodu Bala Sena, singled out the small Muslim community in Sri Lanka as somehow threatening to Sinhalese Buddhism. In 2013, activist Buddhist monks led Sinhalese mobs in attacks on Muslim shops and mosques.

In Myanmar, the small Muslim minority is also the target of the wrath of angry Buddhists. The fiery monk Wirathu is said to have stirred up crowds of Buddhists in 2012, inciting them to attack Muslim shops, mosques, and individuals in Mandalay and elsewhere in the country. Over 200 people were killed and thousands displaced. He was also instrumental in founding the "969 Movement"—a number referring to precepts of the Buddha—aimed at purifying the country of alien cultural elements, primarily Muslim.

In Japan, the Buddhist-related Aum Shinrikyo movement was implicated in a nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subways in 1995. The movement was one of Japan's new religious movements and based its teachings on an eclectic pastiche of ideas from Buddhism to Hinduism and millenarian Christianity.[19] The prophetic teachings of the movement warned its followers about what was imagined to be an impending apocalyptical war, a third world war, in which poisonous gas and other weapons of mass destruction would be unleashed. The leader of the movement, Shoko Asahara, was tried and sentenced to death in 2004 for encouraging an elite corps of his own religious movement to use sarin gas in an attack on the Tokyo subways in an effort to show that Asahara's dark prophecies were being fulfilled. By 2015 the execution had yet to be carried out.

The global rise of religious terrorism

Why have these violent movements related to religion arisen at this moment in late modernity? A plethora of studies have emerged to explain the resurgence of religion in public life. Monica Toft, Daniel Philpott and Timothy Shah survey the global rise of religious politics and extremism in *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*.[20] Jeffrey Haynes examines the emergence of transnational religious activists in *Religious Transnational Actors and Soft Power*.[21] Isak Svensson has confronted the challenge of how to bring religiously involved violent struggles to a close in *Ending Holy Wars: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars*.[22] My own books, including *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* and *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State*, try to make sense of the religious dimensions of public violence both as a political creation of the post-Cold World War and as an ideological challenge to the secular state.[23] In these books and essays on the topic, I elaborate on the idea that religion may not be the problem—it does not cause violence—but it is problematic. It is problematic in two ways. One is the way that religious identities and ideologies have become aspects of a global rebellion against the European Enlightenment notion of a secular state, beginning in the last decades of the twentieth century. The other is the way that certain features of religious actions and images—such as the performance of religious ritual and the awesome notion of cosmic war—are appropriated by violent actors seeking to justify their savage attempts at power and cloak them in religious garb. Let me elaborate on both of these points.

The rise of anti-secularism

In recent years there has been considerable discussion in American and European scholarly circles about the concepts of religion and secularism, how they emerged in modern history as opposing social ideologies. A task force of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York convened a multi-year project on "rethinking secularism," involving theorists of secularism such as Talal Asad and Charles Taylor, as well as the president of the SSRC, Craig Calhoun, and myself.[24] It concluded that secularism is itself *something*—not just the absence of religion, but also a world view laden with value assumptions about the nature of the self and its relationship to society. This means that the idea of secular society itself can be a challenge to traditional religious world views. The two are sometimes seen as competitive.

In fact, the competition between secularism and religion was integral to the creation of these concepts. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, when the terms came into common use, secularism was thought to be an ideology of order that would replace religion as the central force in organizing society. Instead of religion informing public values and ideals,

rational thought would be the only true measure of the worth of social goals. For this reason in France, England, the United States, and elsewhere in the Western world the role of religion was restricted to the rites and beliefs of churches, which were consequently relegated to the margins of public life. They were to be enjoyed on Sunday and forgotten for the rest of the week.

This marginalization of religion never worked perfectly in the West. Religious societies embracing religious values in public life cropped up in small religious communities such as the New Harmony colony in nineteenth-century Indiana and the Mormon community that expanded in Utah and spread throughout the western United States and now across the seas. Elsewhere in the world, the secularization that came with European colonialization was never completely integrated. In these regions, communities of people have increasingly turned towards traditional religion to find a resource for thinking about the moral basis for social and political order when secular politics seems to have lost its moral bearings. This appears to be a global phenomenon: religion enters politics when the old secular politics seems corrupt or insufficient, and there is what I have described elsewhere as "a loss of faith in secular nationalism."[25]

When the secular nation-state has been weakened through challenges over who (or what group) should control or dominate it, or been made obsolete through the transnational forces of globalization, it is not surprising that religious identities and ideologies should rise up to be a part of the challenges to the old status quo. This global rebellion is not caused by religion.[26] But because the Western framework of secular nationalism is what is being contested, the attacks against it take on a religious hue.

Extreme secularization can in fact provoke violence in the name of religion. Many activist groups related to religion—from the Christian militia in the United States to al Qaeda in the Middle East—claim that they are simply trying to defend religion from the forces of secularization. In these cases, secularism is imagined to be an ideology bent on the destruction of religion. It is thought to be not a neutral thing, but rather the hostile enemy of religious communities. Inadvertently, then, the promotion of secularism as a tolerant and moderating element in multicultural societies is sometimes perceived as an attempt to destroy religious faith.[27] The controversies in Denmark and France over the publication of cartoons of the Prophet Mohammad have pitted the secular principle of free speech against religious sensitivities. This clash of cultures is a contemporary inheritance of the dichotomy between secularism and religion that has been a pattern of thinking since the time of the European Enlightenment, and that has led to the politicization of religion in recent challenges to the secular state.

Religious justifications for violence

At the same time that religion has been a part of the vehicle for challenging secular authority, certain aspects of religious tradition and practice make it useful for political activists. There are elements of religious language, ideas, ritual, and symbols that are ripe for adoption by those eager to challenge the authority of the state. One of the reasons for this is that religious traditions often embrace positions of absolutism; they contain a repository of symbols of "ultimate concern," as the theologian Paul Tillich put it.[28] This means that a reliance on religiously inspired law can trump secular law, since it refers to a higher order of morality. Martin Luther King, Jr., famously challenged the unjust racist laws of the United States in his "Letter from Birmingham Jail." Religious ideas also have the ability to sanction the taking of human life—though usually in rare cases, such as the defense of the culture or society of a religious community. In these cases, religious codes challenge the monopoly on morally sanctioned violence that is, according to Max Weber, the basis of state power. Without the state's ability to threaten

to kill, for reasons of military protection, policing, and punishment, anarchy would ensue. Thus any act of religion-related violence is revolutionary, in that it challenges the state's monopoly on the use of force.

But in addition to the ideas that sanction violence in religious texts and sacred law, violent actors are excited by the powerful and enduring images of religiously related warfare that exist in virtually every religious tradition. This is the notion that I have called "cosmic war." Though every violent conflict and every military encounter contain a certain moral hubris about who is right and who is wrong, and such clashes tend to absolutize the evil of the opponent, cosmic war is an imagined contest of virtually metaphysical proportions. It is the idea or image of an ultimate encounter that is found in every religious tradition: a grand struggle between opposing elements of the human condition, between good and evil, right and wrong, order and disorder, religion and irreligion.

The idea of cosmic war is different from the idea of holy war, which usually refers to a battle between worldly forces—two nations, perhaps—in which one side or the other thinks that religious values are at stake and that God is on their side. Cosmic war is a grander notion, one that need not be realized on a mortal plane; it is the metaphysical battle that occurs on a transcendental level. And yet it can be imagined to be taking place in an actual conflict on the mundane level of the real world. What is striking about the positions taken by violent activists who justify their actions through religion is that they invariably see themselves as soldiers in a dramatic, cosmic war. In my own interviews with activists in every religious tradition, as well as in case studies undertaken by other scholars, the image of cosmic warfare is pervasive.[29] Though they are perceived by the broader world to be terrorists, they do not think of themselves this way. They regard themselves as soldiers who have taken defensive actions in a great struggle. When questioned about the nature of the struggle they usually deny that it is only about political power and social control, but elevate the conflict to the cosmic level, a battle between good and evil, and right and wrong, but not about competing political forces—even when, from the observer's perspective, the combat appears to be all about earthly power and social dominance.

Seeing a worldly struggle as part of a cosmic war can give several benefits to those activists engaged in it. First of all, it allows them to see the enemy not just as a political opponent, but also as an agent of evil, an arm of the devil. During the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Ayatollah Khomeini described President Jimmy Carter as a "great Satan"; and during the troubles in Northern Ireland, Rev. Ian Paisley, a Protestant Unionist leader, talked about the Pope as an antichrist, using images of evil from the biblical book of Revelation. Imagining one's enemy in satanic terms allows one to dismiss anything that they say as devious or irrelevant. There is no point, after all, in negotiating with an agent of Satan. The only thing one can do is to fight it and destroy it. Moreover, one has the moral license to carry out acts of unspeakable violence because the enemies are, after all, subhuman. They are not really human because they are part of the cosmic satanic army. Thus the image of cosmic war provides the ethical basis for extreme violence.

The image of cosmic war can also enable an activist to persist in the struggle against seemingly insurmountable odds, and for what may seem to be a hopelessly long period of time. A cosmic war is, after all, waged on a metaphysical plane as well as on an earthly one, where the usual odds and ordinary time are transcended. When I had the opportunity of discussing with the Hamas leader, Dr. Abdul Azis Rantisi, about the strategy of using suicide terrorist attacks against an overwhelming Israeli military that was impervious to such a strategy, Dr. Rantisi appeared undeterred. I pointed out that his Palestinian movement could not win with such methods, and he responded by concurring that perhaps in his lifetime, or his children's

lifetime, they would not prevail. Ultimately, however, he said they would succeed since the struggle in which they were engaged was God's war, not theirs alone.[30] If one believes that the struggle in which one is involved is a cosmic war, then it can persist beyond mortal time lines or earthly limitations.

When acts of violence are conducted as a part of an imagined cosmic war they may appear to someone outside the movement as terrorism. To those within the movement, however, they are salvos within a cosmic war. In most cases, the perpetrators use these acts of violence not to achieve territory or conquer their opponents but to bring their imagined war into reality, to act out the imagined war so that all can see it. Hence they are performances of warfare, symbolic acts of violence meant to jar all who view it—even at a distance through television or the Internet—into an acceptance of the reality of their imagined cosmic war.

For this reason, religious-related acts of violence are calculated performances. Often the violence is exaggerated, done for dramatic effect. Suicide attacks, car bombs, public beheadings, and other extreme acts are carried out in such a manner as to be both vivid and horrifying. Targets are often chosen because they are familiar and secure—such as shopping malls, marketplaces, and centers of mass transit. On many occasions the events are timed to insure that the maximum number of people are gathered at the target sites—such as New York City's World Trade Center, US embassies in Africa, the Oklahoma federal building, the Tokyo subway system, Tel Aviv shopping centers. The explosive devices used are often aimed at wounding people rather than damaging buildings. Nails have been embedded in the bombs of Hamas suicide bombers, for instance, to increase their maiming capability. The Buddhist perpetrators of Tokyo's sarin gas attack considered adding a floral scent to the deadly odors they were about to unleash to encourage more people to inhale it.

Such instances of exaggerated violence are constructed events: they are mind-numbing, mesmerizing theater. At center stage are the acts themselves—stunning, abnormal, and outrageous murders carried out in a way that graphically displays the awful power of violence—set within grand scenarios of conflict and proclamation. The spectacular assaults of 9/11 were not only tragic acts of violence; they were also spectacular theater. In speaking of terrorism as "performance," however, I am not suggesting that such acts are undertaken lightly or capriciously. Rather, like religious ritual or street theater, they are dramas designed to have an impact on the several audiences that they affect. Those who witness the violence—even at a distance, via the news media—are therefore a part of what occurs. Moreover, like other forms of public ritual, the symbolic significance of such events is multifaceted; they mean different things to different observers. This suggests that it is possible to analyze comparatively the performance of acts of religious terrorism. There is already a growing literature of studies based on the notion that civic acts and cultural performances are closely related.[31] The controversial parades undertaken each year by the Protestant Orangemen in Catholic neighborhoods of Northern Ireland, for instance, have been studied not only as political statements but also as cultural performances.[32] They are a form of public ritual.

Public ritual has traditionally been the province of religion, and this is one of the reasons that performance violence comes so naturally to activists from a religious background. In a collection of essays on the connection between religion and terrorism published some years ago, one of the editors, David C. Rapoport, observed that the two topics fit together not only because there is a violent streak in the history of religion, but also because terrorist acts have a symbolic side and in that sense mimic religious rites.[33] The victims of terrorism are targeted not because they are threatening to the perpetrators, he said, but because they are "symbols, tools, animals or corrupt beings" that tie into "a special picture of the world, a specific consciousness" that the activist possesses. The street theater of performance violence forces those who

witness it directly or indirectly into that "consciousness," the alternative view of the world that the perpetrators possess.[34] When we who observe these acts take them seriously—when we are disgusted and repelled by them, and begin to distrust the peacefulness of the world around us—the purposes of this theater are achieved.

These cases of terrorism and extreme violence conducted by activists in the name of religion in recent decades show a mixture of themes, motives, and expectations. Most of them are related to political power and the defense of religious communities perceived to be in danger. Yet in virtually all of these cases ideas, images, practices, social identities, and organizational networks related to religion have played a role, in some of them a significant role, even though religion does not cause violence—few activists are motivated by religious beliefs alone. Yet when religious ideas, images, and identities are embraced in a conflict situation they often make matters worse. The practice of ritual performance when applied to violent encounter can turn killing into a dramatic and gruesome spectacle. The notion of cosmic war can provide an exhilarating image of the world caught up in cosmic struggle, elevating ordinary competition into the high proscenium of sacred drama. And the transcendent timelines of a cosmic struggle can permit fighters to soldier on despite rational calculations about the futility of their efforts. Thus religion may not be the problem that causes people to turn to violence in social struggles, but its role in such encounters can often be deeply problematic.

Notes

1 Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations.*
2 Barber, *Jihad vs. McWorld*
3 Juergensmeyer, *Global Rebellion.*
4 For the history of violence and Christianity see Armstrong, *Fields of Blood*; Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror*; and Fine, *Political Violence in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*.
5 Dillon, *God and the Gun*; Dunlop, *A Precarious Belonging*.
6 For the Christian Reconstruction movement, see Ingersoll, *Building God's Kingdom and* for Christian Identity, see Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*.
7 Bangstad, *Anders Breivik and the Rise of Islamophobia*.
8 Cline, *The Lord's Resistance Army.*
9 On Kahane, see Kotler, *Heil Kahane* and Mergui and Simonnot, *Israel's Ayatollahs*. On Jewish extremism in Israel in general, see Lustick, *For the Land and the Lord and* Nasr, *Arab and Israeli Terrorism*; and two books by Sprinzak, *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right* and *Brother against Brother*.
10 For the rise of militant Islam in the late twentieth century see Jansen, *The Neglected Duty*; Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*; Hiro, *Holy Wars*; Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza*.
11 Gerges, *The Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda.*
12 Rashid, *Taliban*.
13 Weiss and Hassan, *ISIS*.
14 Comolli, *Boko Haram.*
15 See Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds*, van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism*, and Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life*.
16 Mahmood, *Fighting for Faith and Nation* and Nayar and Singh, *Tragedy of Punjab.*
17 Jerryson and Juergensmeyer, *Buddhist Warfare*.
18 Tambiah, *Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy, Buddhism Betrayed and Leveling Crowds.*
19 Murakami, *Underground.*
20 Toft, Philpott and Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*.

21 Haynes, *Religious Transnational Actors and Soft Power*.
22 Svensson, *Ending Holy Wars.*
23 Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God* and *Global Rebellion.*
24 Calhoun, Juergensmeyer and VanAntwerpen, *Rethinking Secularism*.
25 Juergensmeyer, *Global Rebellion*, p. 10.
26 Juergensmeyer, *Global Rebellion.*
27 Asad, *On Suicide Bombing.*
28 Tillich, *Dynamics of Faith*, p. 4.
29 Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God.*
30 Author's interview with Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, a leader of Hamas, in Khan Yunis, Gaza, on March 1, 1998, quoted in Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, p. 165.
31 See, for example, Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*; and Fisher, *The Politics of Cultural Performance*.
32 Jarman, *Material Conflicts.*
33 Rapoport, "Introduction," to Rapoport and Alexander, *The Morality of Terrorism.*
34 Ibid., p. xiii.

References

Abu-Amr, Ziad *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994.
Armstrong, Karen. *Fields of Blood: Religion and the History of Violence.* New York: Knopf, 2014.
Asad, Talal. *On Suicide Bombing.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
Bangstad, Sindre. *Anders Breivik and the Rise of Islamophobia*. London: Zed, 2014.
Barber, Benjamin. *Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism's Challenge to Democracy.* New York: Ballentine Books, 1996.
Barkun, Michael. *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Buc, Philippe. *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence, and the West.* Philadelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
Calhoun, Craig, Mark Juergensmeyer and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, eds. *Rethinking Secularism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Cline, Lawrence E. *The Lord's Resistance Army*. New York: Praeger, 2013.
Comolli, Virginia. *Boko Haram: Nigeria's Islamist Insurgency*. London: Hurst, 2015.
Dillon, Martin. *God and the Gun: The Church and Irish Terrorism*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
Dunlop, John. *A Precarious Belonging: Presbyterians and the Conflict in Ireland*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1995.
Fine, Jonathan. *Political Violence in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam: From Holy War to Modern Terror*. London: Routledge, 2015.
Fisher, Humphrey. *The Politics of Cultural Performance*. Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1996.
Gerges, Fawaz. *The Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda*. New York: Oxford, 2014.
Haynes, Jeffrey. *Religious Transnational Actors and Soft Power*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012.
Hiro, Dilip. *Holy Wars: The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism.* New York: Routledge, 1989.
Huntington, Samuel. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.
Ingersoll, Julie. *Building God's Kingdom: Inside the World of Christian Reconstruction.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
Jarman, Neil. *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland.* Oxford: Berg, 1997.
Jansen, Johannes J. G. *The Neglected Duty: The Creed of Sadat's Assassins and Islamic Resurgence in the Middle East*. New York: Macmillan, 1986.
Jerryson, Michael and Mark Juergensmeyer, eds. *Buddhist Warfare.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003.

Juergensmeyer, Mark and Margo Kitts. *The Princeton Readings in Religion and Violence.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Juergensmeyer, Mark, Margo Kitts and Michael Jerryson, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Kepel, Gilles. *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh*. Berkeley, CA and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1986.

Kotler, Yair. *Heil Kahane*. New York: Adama Books, 1986.

Lustick, Ian S. *For the Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1989.

Mahmood, Cynthia Keppley. *Fighting for Faith and Nation: Dialogues with Sikh Militants*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Mergui, Raphael and Philippe Simonnot. *Israel's Ayatollahs: Meir Kahane and the Far Right in Israel*. London: Saqi Books, 1987. (Originally published as *Meir Kahane: Le rabbin qui fait peur aux juifs*. Lausanne: Editions Pierre-Marcel Favre, 1985.)

Murakami, Haruki. *Underground: The Tokyo Gas Attack and the Japanese Psyche*. New York: Vintage Books, 2001.

Nasr, Kameel B. *Arab and Israeli Terrorism: The Causes and Effects of Political Violence.* Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1997.

Nayar, Kuldip and Khushwant Singh. *Tragedy of Punjab: Operation Bluestar and After*. New Delhi: Vision Books, 1984.

Rapoport, David C. and Yonah Alexander, eds. *The Morality of Terrorism: Religious and Secular Justifications.* New York: Pergamon Press, 1982.

Rashid, Ahmad. *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, second edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

Sprinzak, Ehud. *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Sprinzak, Ehud. *Brother against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assasination*. New York: Free Press, 1999.

Svensson, Isak. *Ending Holy Wars: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2013.

Tambiah, Stanley. *Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Tambiah, Stanley. *Buddhism Betrayed: Religion, Politics, and Violence in Sri Lanka*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Tambiah, Stanley. *Levelling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997.

Tillich, Paul. *Dynamics of Faith*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

Toft, Monica, Daniel Philpott and Timothy Shah. *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics.* New York: Norton, 2011.

van der Veer, Peter. *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994.

Varshney, Ashutosh. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

Weiss, Michael and Hassan Hassan. *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*. New York: Regan Arts, 2015.

23

THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS PEACEBUILDING

Paul Ilo

LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY, UK

Introduction

Peacebuilding sets out to do three cardinal things: *to resolve conflicts that already exist*, *to find ways to prevent new ones in the future* and *to manage what cannot be fully resolved*.[1] To achieve these goals, Ramsbotham *et al.*[2] contend that peacebuilding must be:

- *Multilevel*: Analysis and resolution must embrace all layers of conflict: interpersonal, intra-personal, inter-group (families, neighbourhoods, affiliations), international, regional and global, and the complex interplays between them.
- *Multidisciplinary*: In order to learn how to address complex conflict systems adequately, peacebuilding must draw on many disciplines, including: development studies, politics, international relations, strategic studies, and individual and social psychology.
- *Analytic and normative*: The foundation of the study of conflict must involve a systematic analysis and interpretation of the 'statistics of deadly quarrels', but this must be combined from the outset with the normative aim of learning how better thereby to transform actually or potentially violent conflict into non-violent actions of social, political and other forms of change.
- *Theoretical and practical*: Peacebuilding must be constituted by a constant mutual interplay between theory and practice. Only when theoretical understanding and practical experience of what works and what does not work are connected can properly informed experience develop.

Beyond these generic goals of peacebuilding, there are also several specialised forms of peacebuilding and conflict resolution, including: religious peacebuilding, international peacebuilding and youth peacebuilding. In addition, there are various dimensions of peacebuilding efforts, such as: peacekeeping, trauma counselling, gender empowerment and youth education. This chapter outlines the rise of a specialised form of peacebuilding called religious peacebuilding and explains its rise due to a number of reasons. These perspectives are presented here for two main reasons – first, because they are becoming increasingly used and, second, because many religious leaders now engage more with peacebuilding issues and associated frameworks of conflict resolution.

'Secular' peacebuilding

To understand what religious peacebuilding entails, it is important to understand what its 'non-religious' or 'secular' counterpart is and how it operates. The term 'peacebuilding' first emerged in the 1970s in the works of Johan Galtung, who called for the creation of peacebuilding structures in order to aid sustainable peace by addressing the 'root causes' of violent conflict and supporting local capacities for conflict resolution and peace management. From that time, the generic term peacebuilding has expanded to cover multi-dimensional spheres and assignments ranging from the disarming of warring factions to the reconstruction of political, judicial, economic and civil society organisations.[3]

For Boutros Boutros Ghali, then the United Nations Secretary General, peacebuilding described 'actions to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict'.[4] In 1995, the term was broadened to include any substantive preventive work seeking to avert the outbreak of violent conflict.[5] Some of the techniques used for peacebuilding are mediation, community dialogue, negotiation, sensitisation and awareness workshops, counselling and gender empowerment, among others. However, my analysis in this study is informed by the comprehensive and normative definition of peacebuilding provided by Spence.[6] She defined peacebuilding as:

> those activities and processes that focus on the root causes of . . . conflict, rather than just the effects; support the rebuilding and rehabilitation of all sectors of the . . . society; encourage and support interaction between all sectors of society in order to repair damaged relations and start the process of restoring dignity and trust; recognize the specifics of each . . . conflict situation; encourage and support the participation of indigenous resources in the design, implementation and sustainment of activities and processes; and promote processes that will endure (over time).

This definition suggests that 'secular' peacebuilding (otherwise called peacebuilding or non-religious peacebuilding) usually occurs in a political context, and is affected by processes and practices within that very context. Stefan Wolff [7] asserts that at the heart of peacebuilding is, along with other actors, 'the state and its relationship to peace'. This suggests that the success or failure of peacebuilding will often depend on crucial institutional choices, including how to incorporate a range of different actors in to peacebuilding efforts.

Agents of peacebuilding

Generally at the heart of peacebuilding is the idea of 'meeting needs and building trust' through the help of various actors and peacebuilders. Several actors contribute to peacebuilding. These include:

- *Humanitarian and development agencies*: They may be in a country before, during and after the conflict. There are several humanitarian and development agencies with strong focus on peacebuilding, including: inter alia, the Tony Blair Faith Foundation, World Vision and Islamic Relief. Active on the ground, as the conflict draws to an end, such actors can lay important foundations for the peacebuilding process (by helping to provide, through their mediation between warring factions, early peace dividends).

- *Peacekeeping operations*: They may play a significant role as early peacebuilders. The mandates of multi-dimensional operations include disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR), security sector reform (SSR) and support to electoral processes.
- *Special political missions (SPMs)*: SPMs include integrated peacebuilding missions given the mandate to cover a wide range of peacebuilding tasks by states and/or agencies of international organisations.[8]

Transformation and ripeness in peacebuilding

As stated by Ramsbotham *et al.*, it is essential that agents of peacebuilding/peacebuilders intervene at the right time. The right time in peacebuilding is also known as 'ripeness'. Haass defines ripeness as the 'prerequisites for diplomatic progress, that is, particular circumstances . . . conducive for negotiated solution or even progress'.[9] Ripeness occurs when transformations in relationships or conflicts happen and thus make the situation likely to result in successful peacebuilding. The following transformations are essential for successful peacebuilding:

Context transformation

Ramsbotham *et al.* also note that in the contexts of social, international, or regional issues, 'local conflicts may not be resolvable at the local level without changes'. Typically, context transformation involves significant – and significantly ameliorative – changes in the local, regional, or international contexts. For instance, transformation in a region could mean a series of successful peacebuilding works in that region. The transformation could lead more generally to more successful peacebuilding works in that region.

Issue transformation

Issue transformation appears when actors in a conflict 'change their positions, or when issues lose salience or new ones arise'.[10] For instance, the contemporaneous civil conflict in Burundi was transformed by the 1994 genocide in neighbouring Rwanda. The whole Great Lakes region was outraged and devastated by the huge number of deaths that ocurred in Rwanda in a matter of days. Having seen the evil that conflict could cause, the actors in the civil conflict in Burundi were humbled and agreed to work togather so what had occurred in Rwanda could bot happen in Burundi. Vayrynen asserts that 'issue transformation'[11] also happens through events that alter 'the trend of the conflicts'. In Burundi, the constant relocation of Burundians to neighbouring states like Rwanda, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo helped to calm down the protagonists and encouraged them to understand the importance of embracing peace.

Personal and group transformation

This is the integral part of the transformation. This occurs when the 'former guerilla leader becomes the unifying leader, offering reconciliation'.[12] At that point, it is important that someone intervenes to bring the warring factions to the bargaining table as they are more likely to listen to each other and cooperate during this phase. For example, in July 1996, a coup was organised by the Tutsis in Burundi which placed aTutsi, Major Buyoya, in the presidency. However, when Buyoya came into power, he announced a partnership between the government

and the Hutu-dominated National Assembly. That singular act transformed the conflict as it signaled to the Hutus that the Tutsis were willing to form a partnership with them. However, these transformations occurred because the Tutsis and Hutus saw a 'low level and decreasing probability of attaining conflict goals through violent struggle'. This is a major pre-condition for negotiations[13] – 'peace and peacefulness'.[14]

It has been argued that for peacebuilding to be successful, it must involve *a wide range of actors*, to 'support the participation of indigenous resources' and must be 'localised – owned by the people'.[15] Many scholars have stated the importance of localising peacebuilding. Gizelis and Kosek[16] argue that the 'extent of local participation exerts a strong effect on the prospects for successful peacebuilding and reconstruction efforts'. In addition to this, it has also been argued that lack of willingness of the peacebuilders to pay significant costs usually lead to half-baked efforts at peacebuilding. These factors underlie the fact that for peacebuilding to be successful there must be a commitment on the part of the agents of peacebuilding, an active participation of locals and a strong trust in the peacebuilders.

Religious leaders become involved in peacebuilding for various reasons. However, they may share three characteristics. They are usually (1) committed to a belief in peace as a result of their religious doctrines; (2) fundamentally connected to local communities, often trusted and respected by many; and (3) potential agents of change and peace in their local communities. For these reasons, it is likely that religious leaders will be called upon by several individuals and organisations to take part in peacebuilding efforts. This has birthed a specialised form of peacebuilding known as religious peacebuilding.

Religious peacebuilding

Over the years, several organisations and individuals have advocated for governments to begin to take more seriously the social and political role of religion, including in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. As a result, many now pursue engagement with religious leaders and institutions as part of a government's work to promote security, nation-building, peace, and international development. The adoption in the USA of the International Religious Freedom Act in 1998, which created the Office of International Religious Freedom within the Department of State, was one response to this call. The US government's response, through a more sophisticated and concerted effort to understand and engage religion, has accelerated in recent years. This was especially the case after the traumatic events of September 11, 2001, spurred by former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's *The Mighty and the Almighty*,[17] which called for increased diplomatic engagement with the religious sector. In 2009, the Obama administration initiated an exercise across government agencies and bureaus to determine how, why and when religious actors and communities were being engaged to advance peacebuilding. These efforts alongside several others have given birth to and strengthened the brand of peacebuilding called religious peacebuilding.[18]

Having said that, what then is religious peacebuilding, how did it emerge and is it something different qualitatively from secular peacebuilding?

Religious peacebuilding can be defined as 'actions taken by people acting with an expressed religious mandate (individuals or representatives of organisations) to constructively and non-violently prevent, reduce or transform inter-group conflict'.[19] Religious peacebuilding is centred on efforts of religious actors in peacebuilding. Such efforts may include but not be limited to dialogue, negotiation and mediation, and peace messages, among others. Religious peacebuilding s used in conflict situations where religion is the main identifier of difference as well as in other conflict situations. As Appleby states:

> Religious actors build peace when they act religiously, that is, when they draw on the deep wells of their traditions, and extract from those depths the spiritual instincts and moral imperatives for recognizing and embracing the humanity of the other; and, when they employ the distinctive ritual and symbolic and psychological resources of religion for transforming the dream of a common humanity into a tangible, felt reality. They exhibit greater capacity for peace when they form alliances and spend the social capital they have gained through years and decades of confidence-building service to the local community.[20]

Gordon Smith and Harold Coward in their wide-ranging and interdisciplinary set of essays entitled *Religion and Peacebuilding* have attempted to take seriously Scott Appleby's claims. They seek to demonstrate, through an examination of the 'spiritual resources' of seven religious traditions and five case studies, the ways that religion contributes to both peace and violence. They describe religious peacebuilding as 'the range of activities performed by religious actors and institutions for the purpose of resolving and transforming deadly conflict, with the goal of building social relations and political institutions characterized by an ethos of tolerance and nonviolence'.[21]

As highlighted above by Neufeldt,[22] and Smith and Coward,[23] the key focus of religious peacebuilding is to 'prevent', 'reduce', 'transform', or 'resolve' inter-group conflicts. These concerns also suggest that religious peacebuilding is carried out by religious peacebuilders – religious leaders such as Muslim clerics, pastors, bishops, monks, etc. It is their involvement in this type of peacebuilding that makes it religious peacebuilding. In fact, religious peacebuilding cannot be done without religious peacebuilders. Religious peacebuilders are religious leaders or representatives of faith-based organisations that attempt to help resolve inter-group conflicts and build peace.[24] They are likely to carry out successful peacebuilding work when they: (1) have an international or transnational reach; (2) consistently emphasise peace and avoidance of the use of force in resolving conflict; and (3) have good relations between different religions in a conflict situation, as this will be the key to a positive input from them.[25]

Religious peacebuilding is becoming prominent in different parts of the world. Several religious traditions now venture into peacebuilding. For example, The International Network of Engaged Buddhists, founded by Thai lay Buddhist leader Sulak Sivaraksa, was inspired by the non-violent peace work of Thich Nhat Hanh, Maha Ghosananda and the Dalai Lama; and they have since ventured into many peacebuilding works. Other examples include the Buddhist Peace Fellowship, the American Jewish World Service, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, the Mennonite Central Committee, Hindu organisations influenced by Gandhian principles, such as the Brahma Kumaris, the Ramakrishna Mission and the Quaker Church's American Friends Service Committee.[26]

Recent events suggest that religious peacebuilding will continue to be relevant in the future. The post-Arab Spring unrest in the Middle East and North Africa, for example, in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain, reflects ongoing opportunities and challenges for the religious peacebuilders, while many scholars are now interested in why and how religion can be a force for good and at the same time drive violence.[27] Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), agencies in countries like the USA, and international organisations – that once held religious issues at a distance or depicted religion largely as a harbinger of violence – now engage religious actors and organisations as partners in peacebuilding.[28] As a result, a regular engagement with the relationship between religion and conflict has birthed a 'concomitant booming of religious peacebuilding'.[29]

Religious peacebuilding is now becoming increasingly classified as a form of intervention in conflict-ridden situations. Many religious actors, including religious NGOs, are active in peacebuilding. They include: the World Conference on Religion and Peace, World Vision, the Catholic Relief Services, the American Jewish World Service, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Sant'Egidio and the All Africa Conference of Churches. In addition, there are active interfaith networks, such as: Interfaith Mediation Centre (Nigeria), Nigeria Inter-Religious Council and Uganda's Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative.

In the past few years, religious peacebuilding efforts have been widely funded, lauded and applauded by international organisations, governments and policy makers in, inter alia, Mozambique, Sudan, Nigeria, Uganda, Cambodia, Haiti and several countries in the Balkans.[30] However, different countries where religious peacebuilding occurs, like the ones stated above, have unique challenges and needs, thus the shape and structure of the peacebuilding is largely affected by the context of operation. In the same vein, the nature and type of religious leaders (as religious peacebuilders) can vary from place to place, but what they all have in common is recourse to faith for peacebuilding.

As religious conflicts gain prominence through the outbreak of several religious conflicts in different parts of the world, Religious Peacebuilders offer in many contexts a glimpse of hope. This is because they offer activities that are diverse but generally supportive of conflict resolution and the building of peace, ranging from high-level mediation to training and peacebuilding-through-development at the grassroots.[31] In addition, they may offer 'emotional and spiritual support to conflict-affected communities'; offer effective mobilisation for 'communities and others for peace';[32] and provide a conduit in pursuit of 'reconciliation, dialogue, and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration'.[33]

The rise of religious peacebuilding

In the past, religious peacebuilding was not as prominent as it is today. The rise of religious peacebuilding is traceable to the impact of three factors: (1) the Iranian Revolution; (2) the contributions of religious leaders to national and international development; and (3) trust and respect for religious leaders. Let us look at each factor next.

The Iranian Revolution

Appleby[34] traces the importance of religious leaders and the emergence of religious peacebuilding to the 1980s, in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution of 1979, a period which also coincided with the emergence of the third wave of democracy. The Iranian revolution refers to events involving the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Pahlavi, who was supported by the United States, and the eventual dislocation of his regime and replacement with an Islamist government. The post-revolution government was headed by Grand Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of the revolution, and strongly supported by many Islamic leaders.[35] The victory of the Grand Ayatollah was seen as a strong message and appeared as the 'victory of religious leaders' as it proclaimed their names because they were heavily involved in the revolution.

The months of strikes and demonstrations that convulsed Iran in 1978–9 reached a dramatic culmination in the first eleven days of February 1979, when an epic tide of revolutionary fervour brought the return to Iran from exile of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and overthrew the hitherto powerful regime of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. In the following weeks, the victorious leaders of the popular wave formed a new regime, the Islamic Republic of Iran; this was proclaimed on the April 1 and its constitution ratified in a national referendum on December 2,

1979. In consolidating power, as in executing their enemies, *the religious priests (the mullahs)* and their political allies did not waste time.[36]

To capture effectively what happened during the revolution, three key factors are itemised next. First, a large number of opposition forces, including Islamic leaders, came together to overthrow a dictatorial regime, proclaiming long-standing social grievances while also fuelling nationalist sentiment against a state and ruler seen as too compliant with foreign interests, especially the 'God-less' government of the USA. The coalition mobilised under Ayatollah Khomeini's leadership ranged from liberals and Marxists to conservative and religious forces: in effect a 'classic populist alliance'. Second, the revolution had the quality that distinguishes mere *coups d'etat* or rebellions from major revolutions: namely, it was not just political 'in the sense of changing the political elite and the constitution or legitimating system of the country'[37] but had huge and ongoing economic and social consequences. Iran today has a new social order and a new set of social values because of it. Third, this was a revolution that was well organised, through a network of mosque and local committees – yet had no revolutionary party.

Above all, the Islamic revolutionaries of 1979 did what all revolutionaries do – 'namely overthrow an oppressive government, seize power for themselves and their allies, crush not only their opponents but all dissidents within the regime, and then impose a new and even more exacting' regime.[38] Overall, the Iranian revolution featured a situation where religious leaders were for the first time principally and actually involved in the social re-engineering process, nation-building and correctional procedures. It showed the world that religious leaders can come out of the 'box' of places of worship to take part in nation-building and contribute to other 'good' causes.

Appleby asserts that prior to 1979; there was 'secular myopia'[39] – a kind of blindness to the importance of religious leaders and the positive role they could play in nation-building and peacebuilding. He posits that from 1980 onwards, following the revolution in Iran, the role of religious actors generally gained more prominence, while many questioned the validity of the claim that to modernise is to secularise. This shift and awareness happened in part because there was renewed awareness of the social and political importance of many religious leaders and what they represent; while many people expressed trust in such people, respecting their opinions and utterances, including the virtues of peace over conflict.

Prior to the 1980s, religious leaders were not given the kind of voice and attention they have today. The roles and leadership of religious actors were 'restricted' to places of worship and excluded from the 'secular' parlance. This exclusion is most often expressed as 'privatisation', a situation where religious leaders are meant to deal with 'private affairs' with little direct relevance in the 'public sphere'.[40] It was basically 'treaties and the state' which belonged to the 'public sphere' – that formed the centre stage in world politics.

However, after the involvement of religious actors in the Iranian revolution, religious leaders emerged in many contexts to occupy important places in the 'public sphere', including in the context and content of peacebuilding, to lead to a new nomenclature: religious peacebuilding. Some scholars describe this rise of religious actors in peacebuilding as a key component of a wider 'religious resurgence',[41] involving 'desecularisation'[42] and leading to a general era of 'post-secularisation'.[43]

The contributions of religious leaders/groups to national and international development

The rise of religious peacebuilding is also traceable to the facts that religious actors in different parts of the world have made positive contributions to human development, for instance,

Maha Ghosananda (Cambodia), Thich Nhat Han (Vietnam), Desmond Tutu (South Africa), Archbishop John Onaiyekan (Nigeria), among others. Religious leaders who are the main actors in religious peacebuilding are generally regarded as agents of social change and messengers of peace.

Sant'Egidio is a notable example of a religious group active in religious peacebuilding. Sant'Egidio is an international Catholic NGO that takes part in efforts at peacebuilding in several conflicts in many parts of the world. Founded in Italy in 1968, it has since grown to include over 50,000 members in 70 countries. Haynes states that Sant'Egidio is a church-based public lay association, formally recognised by the Catholic Church but with an autonomous statute. This means that its membership is 'lay' – that is, not professionally religious – although its adherents have a clear religious persuasion, which is an important part of its negotiation activities.[44] Appleby explains that Sant'Egidio started its activities with humanitarian actions, charity and development cooperation uppermost in its thinking, concerns moulded by spirituality and shared principles, including communicating the gospel, prayer, solidarity with the poor and dialogue with other religions.[45] However, despite its strong religious orientation, Sant'Egidio's peacebuilding projects and efforts have focused more on 'non-religious' conflicts than on 'religious' conflicts, and more on the international level than on the national or local level.

In addition, in Nigeria James Wuye, a Christian priest, and Muhammed Ashafa, a Muslim cleric, founded the Interfaith Mediation Centre, a charity to foster Christian–Muslim dialogue. It was the result of the combined efforts of these two former enemies – a Christian pastor and Muslim cleric, both esteemed members of their religious communities. But, rather than continuing their personal conflict, instead, 'they embraced non-violence, reconciliation and the advocacy of peaceful relations between their communities, and sought to encourage others to join them in this goal'.[46] Today, they jointly head the Interfaith Mediation Centre and have been invited by the Nigerian government several times to intervene in local conflicts. Their works have also been recognised internationally by agencies such as the United States Institute of Peace.

Trust and respect for religious leaders

Many scholars believe that since religious peacebuilding is usually done by religious actors and leaders who are largely respected by their followers and the community as a whole, it offers wider prospects for successful peacebuilding projects. For example, during the Juba talks for peace in northern Uganda, especially when the two parties finally came back to the table to talk in 2006, the religious leaders played a role in advising and observing the talks. As trusted individuals, religious leaders in Uganda have been called upon by the leadership of the rebel group The Lord's Resistance Army numerous times to clarify certain issues pertaining to the agreements over the last two years. While recent talks have been wracked with challenges which have prevented the signing of the final agreement, it has largely been seen by the representative Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative as a success – for it has led to a period of relative peace in the whole of northern Uganda.[47] This situation depicts that the trust reposed in religious leaders can help to make a huge difference in the outcomes of peacebuilding efforts they take part in.

The sociological assumption supporting this is that religious actors may have a high level of 'believability' within the society and/or religious organisations that can provide ready-made networks to encourage attitudinal shifts, in the same manner that some of them are supposedly available for the recruitment of radical violent warriors.[48]

The trust people repose in religious leaders is therefore often greater than the trust they repose in the other types of leader (including political leaders). This is because religious actors

may be considered as role models who typically practise what they preach. Moreover, the rise of religious peacebuilding can also be considered as linked to increasing distrust in government in many countries. The rise of religious peacebuilding can also be seen more generally as reflecting increased prominence of many religious leaders. Finally, the rise of religious leaders suggests that they have what many other secular leaders lack: respect, trust, charisma and strong belief in their capacities. This situation can be aptly described as a situation where there is strong belief in the authority of religious leaders and declining belief in the authority of the state.

Religious leaders and peacebuilding: opportunities

There are many other ways in which religious leaders and faith-based organisations contribute to peacebuilding, including by conducting training on peace, directly mediating between parties in conflict, engaging in conflict prevention, promoting human rights and democratic governance, and organising post-conflict reconciliation.[49] Other potential roles for religious peacebuilders have been identified as negotiators, facilitators, mediators, advocates, observers, educators and 'prophets' or 'heralds' acting as an early warning mechanism for conflict, among others.[50]

Basically, religious leaders can contribute positively at all stages and levels of conflict and peacebuilding processes through a wide range of resources that they possess.[51] These resources can include: scriptural and theological resources; inner spiritual inspiration and transformation; religious ritual; empowerment and equality; the use of established networks and hierarchies for enhancing advocacy, the mobilisation of practical and financial resources for supporting reconciliation and peacebuilding work.[52]

In 1997, Professor John Paul Lederach offered an insightful analysis on the opportunities embedded in religious peacebuilding. Famous for his work on reconciliation, consociationalism and religious peacebuilding, Lederach writes about the opportunities and potential role of leaders and actors in peacebuilding processes. Lederach's triangle with three levels of leadership – grassroots leadership at the bottom, middle-range leadership in the middle and top leadership at the apex of the pyramid, is very useful in understanding the opportunities embedded in the contributions of religious leaders and actors in peacebuilding.[53]

Lederach posits that these three levels of leaders have different roles in peacebuilding. In religious peacebuilding, these levels of leadership exist and each level features opportunities and prospects for peace. He concludes that religious leaders are well positioned to embark upon successful peacebuilding projects. As potential change agents, religious leaders are well positioned for successful peacebuilding projects – they are respected; they are trusted; they are regarded as agents of social change; they are regarded as role models and the doctrines of most religions supports peacebuilding. For instance, Christians believe in the principle of 'following peace with all men' and Islam preaches the concept of 'Salam' which means, simply, peace. Therefore, the major thing that religious peacebuilding has going for it is the trust that people have in religious leaders. Governments have seen that religious actors can play a role that they cannot easily or consistently play. The resultant effect is that they now invite religious leaders to take part in peacebuilding efforts orchestrated by them.

Future development: religious peacebuilding

Peacebuilding and in turn religious peacebuilding have become well known among practitioners, professionals and researchers in international development and other fields, featuring sustained cooperation. Many universities and institutions now offer programmes and schemes

on peace and conflict studies. In addition, a number of reports, essays, books, conferences and programmes have been offered during the last two decades. To conclude, I would like to offer some recommendations for the future of religious peacebuilding.

Going forward, religious leaders and actors in peacebuilding should aim to conduct more peacebuilding works through inter-religious networks. This would hopefully encourage wider participation and success. According to the Centre for International Studies and Research, the main element that should be in most religious peacebuilding initiatives is this inter-religious make-up. Inter-religious networks are networks of people from different religions. Typically, they come together to work together for interrelated goals: peace and human development. Inter-religious networks offer a platform for 'Inter-religious Dialogue for Peacebuilding', an integral part of religious peacebuilding. Inter-religious Dialogue for Peacebuilding is a significant approach that places the practice of dialogue at the heart of peacebuilding. It nurtures the (re)building of trust relations and enhances social cohesion. It heightens awareness about how to improve human interactions, both locally and globally, by recognising the importance of integrating religious identities into inter-group dialogue. Such dialogues can be a useful and important way of preventing conflict by strengthening relationships between communities in order to decrease the potential for communal divides to become fault lines of violence. When conflict breaks out between the communities, 'such dialogues can help build bridges to resolve the conflict before it breaks into violence'.[54] Inter-religious networks are active in a few countries such as Uganda, Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Ghana.

In addition, as stated earlier, scholars like Lederach and Appleby have recognised the quality of 'localising' religious peacebuilding in relation to specific political contexts. With respect to other indicators of success, several peacebuilding efforts tend to leave local actors feeling marginalised and inactive in peacebuilding endeavours.[55] Religious leaders should note this and devise a means to actively involve locals when intervening in conflicts.

In addition, the field of peacebuilding should pay more attention to case studies and not just theoretical arguments. Case studies can be 'selective'. The selective case study may focus on a particular issue or aspect of behaviour with the objective of refining knowledge in a particular area, to provide a better understanding of causal processes. The selective case study may lead to questions about 'how' and 'why' issues or behaviour conspired to produce the resulting outcomes. This leads into explanatory evaluation.[56]

Case studies can also be exploratory. A more rigorous application of the explanatory case study may try to isolate selected social factors or processes within the real-life context to provide a test of the existing explanations. The explanatory case study approach could be used to test the 'how' and 'why' questions.[57] These perspectives could be very useful for the progress of religious peacebuilding. Case studies could also help to proffer more situations and solutions to similar contexts. In sum, case studies are essential for religious peacebuilding because they tell a story, focus on people, demonstrate success or failure and teach lessons.

Notes

1 Bercovitch, Kremenyuk and Zartman, 'Introduction: The Nature of Conflict and Conflict Resolution'.
2 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 8.
3 United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, 'Peacebuilding and the United Nations'.
4 Ibid., 5.
5 Ibid., 26.
6 Spence, 'Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace? Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference Proceedings'.

7 Wolff, 'One Challenge or Two? Peacebuilding and State building in Post-Secession Sudan'.
8 United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, 'Peacebuilding and the United Nations'.
9 Haass, *Conflicts Unending: The United States and Regional Disputes*.
10 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 176.
11 Vayrynen, 'To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts', 4.
12 Ibid.
13 Stephens, 'Acceptance of Mediation Initiatives: A Preliminary Framework', 5.
14 Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 66, 176–7.
15 Ibid.
16 Gizelis and Kosek, 'Why Humanitarian Interventions Succeed or Fail', 363–83; see also Mueller, 'The Banality of Ethnic War', 42–70.
17 Albright, *The Mighty and the Almighty*.
18 Hayward, 'Religion and Peacebuilding: Reflections on Current Challenges and Future Prospects'.
19 Neufeldt, 'Interfaith Dialogue: Assessing Theories of Change', 346.
20 Comments by R. Scott Appleby at 'Religion and Peacemaking: Reflections on Current Challenges and Future Prospects', USIP Public event, Washington, DC, November 9, 2011.
21 Smith and Coward, *Religion and Peacebuilding*, 5.
22 Neufeldt, 'Interfaith Dialogue: Assessing Theories of Change', 346.
23 Smith and Coward, *Religion and Peacebuilding*, 5.
24 Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation*; Appleby, 'Building Sustainable Peace: The Roles of Local and Transnational Religious Actors'; Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence and Peacemaking*; Gopin, 'World Religions, Violence, and Myths of Peace in International Relations'.
25 Appleby, 'Building Sustainable Peace: The Roles of Local and Transnational Religious Actors', 1–2.
26 Hayward, 'Religion and Peacebuilding: Reflections on Current Challenges and Future Prospects'.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Omer, 'Religious Peacebuilding: The Exotic, the Good, and the Theatrical', 5.
30 Smock, 'Faith-Based NGOs and International Peacebuilding'; Otim, 'The Role of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative in Uganda's Peacebuilding'.
31 Haynes, 'Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building: The Role of Religion in Mozambique, Nigeria and Cambodia'.
32 Smock, 'Faith-Based NGOs and International Peacebuilding'.
33 Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer, *Faith-Based Peace-Building: Mapping and Analysis of Christian, Muslim and Multi-Faith Actors*, ix.
34 Appleby, 'Religious Peacebuilding'.
35 Goodarzi, 'Syria and Iran: Alliance Cooperation in a Changing Environment'.
36 Halliday, 'Iran's Revolution in Global history'.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Appleby, 'Religious Peacebuilding'.
40 Beyer, *Religion in the Context of Globalization*, 10.
41 Antoun and Hegland, Religious Resurgence: *Contemporary Cases in Islam, Christianity and Judaism*; Sahliyeh, *Religious Resurgence and Politics in in the Contemporary World*; Zeidan, *The Resurgence of Religion*: *A Comparative Study of Selected Themes in Christian and Islamic Fundamentalist Discourses*; Westerlund, *Questioning the Secular State: The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics*.
42 Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*.
43 Habermas, *An Awareness of What is Missing: Faith and Reason in a Post-Secular Age*.
44 Haynes, 'Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building: The Role of Religion in Mozambique, Nigeria and Cambodia', 52–75.

45 Appleby, 'Building Sustainable Peace: The Roles of Local and Transnational Religious Actors', 10.
46 Haynes, 'Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building: The Role of Religion in Mozambique, Nigeria and Cambodia', 52–75.
47 Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative. Also see Khadiagala, 'The Role of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) in Peace Building in Northern Uganda'.
48 Omer, 'Religious Peacebuilding: The Exotic, the Good, and the Theatrical'.
49 Ibid.
50 Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation*, 211–13; Sampson, Religion and Peacebuilding'.
51 Hertog, *The Complex Reality of Religious Peacebuilding*.
52 Johnston and Sampson, *Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft*; Gopin, 'World Religions, Violence, and Myths of Peace in International Relations', 35–56; Smith and Coward, *Religion and Peacebuilding*; Little, *Peacemakers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution*; Abu-Nimer, *Peace-building by, between, and beyond Muslims and Evangelical Christians*; Hertog, *The Complex Reality of Religious Peacebuilding*; Omer, 'Religious Peacebuilding: The Exotic, the Good, and the Theatrical'.
53 Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, 39.
54 Smock, Hayward, and Huda, 'Religion and Peacebuilding'.
55 Senehi, Ryan and Byrne, 'Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Transformation'.
56 Hakim, *Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research*, 61–5.
57 Schell, 'The Value of the Case Study as a Research Strategy'.

References

Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. *Peace-building by, between, and beyond Muslims and Evangelical Christians*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010.

Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) 'Juba Peace Talks'. Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (2008). http://www.arlpi.org/juba-peace-talks.

Albright, Madeleine. *The Mighty and the Almighty*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2007.

Antoun, Richard and Hegland, Mary. *Religious Resurgence: Contemporary Cases in Islam, Christianity and Judaism.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987.

Appleby, Scott. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Appleby, Scott. 'Building Sustainable Peace: The Roles of Local and Transnational Religious Actors'. Paper presented at the Conference on New Religious Pluralism in World Politics, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, March 2006.

Appleby, Scott. 'Religious Peacebuilding'. University of California (2014). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uf51nK2El0I.

Bercovitch, Jacob and Kadayifci-Orellana, Ayse. 'Religion and Mediation: The Role of Faith-Based Actors in International Conflict Resolution'. *International Negotiation* 14 (2009): 175–204.

Bercovitch, Jacob; Kremenyuk, Victor and Zartman, William (Eds.) 'Introduction: The Nature of Conflict and Conflict Resolution'. In *The Sage Handbook on Conflict Resolution.* London: Sage, 2008.

Berger, Peter (ed.) *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999.

Beyer, Peter. *Religion in the Context of Globalization.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.

Bouta, Tsjeard; Kadayifci-Orellana, Ayse and Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. *Faith-Based Peace-Building: Mapping and Analysis of Christian, Muslim and Multi-Faith Actors*. The Hague, Netherlands: Institute of International Relations, 2005.

Gizelis, Theodora-Ismene and Kosek, Kristin. 'Why Humanitarian Interventions Succeed or Fail The Role of Local Participation'. *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 40, no. 4 (2005): 363–83.

Goodarzi, Jubin. 'Syria and Iran: Alliance Cooperation in a Changing Environment'. *Ortadoğu Etütleri* 4 no. 2 (2013): 31–54. http://www.orsam.org.tr/en/enUploads/Article/Files/201331_makale2.pdf.

Gopin, Marc. *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religions, Violence and Peacemaking*. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Gopin, Marc. 'World Religions, Violence, and Myths of Peace in International Relations'. In Haar, Gerrie and Busutill, James (eds.) *Bridge or Barrier. Religion, Violence and Visions for Peace.* Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Haass, Richard. *Conflicts Unending: The United States and Regional Disputes.* Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.

Habermas, Jurgen. *An Awareness of What is Missing: Faith and Reason in a Post-Secular Age.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010.

Hakim, Catherine. *Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1987.

Halliday, Fred. 'Iran's Revolution in Global History'. *Open Democracy* (2009). https://www.opendemocracy.net/article/iran-s-revolution-in-global-history.

Haynes, Jeffrey. 'Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building: The Role of Religion in Mozambique, Nigeria and Cambodia'. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 47, no. 1 (2009): 52–75.

Hayward, Susan. 'Religion and Peacebuilding: Reflections on Current Challenges and Future Prospects'. United States Institute of Peace, (2012). http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR313.pdf.

Hertog, Katrien. *The Complex Reality of Religious Peacebuilding*. Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010.

Johnston, Douglas and Sampson, Cynthia. *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft.* London: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Khadiagala, Gilbert. 'The Role of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) in Peace Building in Northern Uganda'. *Management Systems International,* (2001): 1–24. https://www.academia.edu/3497262/The_Role_of_the_Acholi_Religious_Leaders_Peace_Initiative_ARLPI_in_Peace_Building_in_Northern_Uganda.

Lederach, John. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.

Little, David (ed.) *Peacemakers in Action: Profiles of Religion in Conflict Resolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Mueller, John. 'The Banality of Ethnic War'. *International Security*, no. 25 (2000): 42–70. http://politicalscience.osu.edu/faculty/jmueller//is2000.pdf.

Neufeldt, Reina. 'Interfaith Dialogue: Assessing Theories of Change'. *Peace & Change* 36, no. 3 (2011): 344–72.

Omer, Atalia. 'Religious Peacebuilding: The Exotic, the Good, and the Theatrical'. *Practical Matters*, no. 5 (2012). http://practicalmattersjournal.org/issue/5/centerpieces/religious-peacebuilding.

Otim, Patrick. 'The Role of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative in Uganda's Peacebuilding'. *Beyond Intractability* (2009). http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/otim-role.

Rambotham, Oliver, Woodhouse, Tom and Miall, Hugh. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.

Sahliyeh Emile (ed.) *Religious Resurgence and Politics in in the Contemporary World.* Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1990.

Sampson, Cynthia. 'Religion and Peacebuilding'. In Zartman, William (ed.) *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007.

Schell, Charles. (1992) 'The Value of the Case Study as a Research Strategy'. *Manchester Business School* (2009). http://www.finance-mba.com/Case%20Method.pdf.

Senehi, Jessica; Ryan, Stephen and Byrne Sean. 'Peacebuilding, Reconciliation and Transformation: Voices from Canada-EU Conflict Resolution Student Exchange Consortium'. *Peace and Conflict Studies* 17, no.1 (2010).

Smith, Gordon and Coward, Harold. *Religion and Peacebuilding.* New York: State University of New York Press, 2004.

Smock, David. 'Faith-Based NGOs and International Peacebuilding'. *United States Institute of Peace* (2001). http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr76.pdf.

Smock, David, Hayward, Susan and Huda, Q. 'Religion and Peacebuilding'. *Global Peace-building Center* (2014). http://www.buildingpeace.org/think-global-conflict/issues/religion-and-peacebuilding.

Spence, Rebecca. 'Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace?' In Evans-Kent, Bronwyn and Bleiker, Roland (eds.) *Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference Proceedings*. St Lucia: University of Queensland, 2001.

Stephens, John. 'Acceptance of Mediation Initiatives: A Preliminary Framework'. In Mitchell, Christopher and Webb, Kevin (eds.) *New Approaches to International Mediation*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.

United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office. 'Peacebuilding and the United Nations'. *United Nations* (2015). http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/pbun.shtml.

Väyrynen, Raimo. 'To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts'. In Väyrynen Raimo (ed.) *New Directions in Conflict Theory: Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation*. London: Sage, 1991.

Westerlund, David (ed.) *Questioning the Secular State: The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics.* New York: St Martin's Press, 1996.

Wolff, Stefan. 'One Challenge or Two? Peacebuilding and State building in Post-Secession Sudan'. *School of Oriental and African Studies* (2012). http://www.soas.ac.uk/cas/events/cas-events-reviews/file73237.pdf.

Zeidan, David. *The Resurgence of Religion: A Comparative Study of Selected Themes in Christian and Islamic Fundamentalist Discourses*. Leiden: Brill Academic, 2003.

INDEX