

**History & Civilization - Global Governance - Tor Vergata**

# **Religion and Politics in the 20th Century**

**Jacopo Cellini (EUI), 15 April 2024**



## Jacopo Cellini

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# Biography

I hold a MA in Contemporary History (2009) from the University of Florence (Italy), and a PhD in Contemporary History (2015) from the Scuola Normale Superiore (Pisa, Italy) and K.U. Leuven (Belgium). After my doctorate, I worked at the Archives of the Scuola Normale and collaborated with the “Fondazione Michele Pellegrino” (Turin, Italy). I have worked at the Alcide De Gasperi Research Centre of the European University Institute since June 2018, first as Research Associate and since March 2023 as Research Fellow. I teach a module on Religion and Politics at Università di Tor Vergata (Rome).

My main research interests lie in the history of European integration, and the impact of religion in post-WWII European societies, with a particular focus on the political culture of European Christian Democracy. I am currently working on projects on [European banks](#) and environmental protection, the [role of social partners](#) in EC/EU policymaking, [inter-party relations](#) in the European Parliament, and on an intellectual biography of Alcide De Gasperi.

# Plan of the Lectures

## Week 1

- Lectures 1-2 (15-16 April): General introduction to the role of religion in international relation; Overview of religions in the world; Relations between religion and the State; Religion and politics: concepts and categories; Introduction to Roman Catholicism
- Lectures 3-4 (17-18 April): zoom on three case studies (from the first and second half of the century), indicative of how religion and politics may interact, and how their interaction has an impact on societies and on the international system.

## Week 2

- Seminar 1 (22 April): seminar on lectures 1-2.
- Seminar 2 (23 April): seminar on lectures 3-4.
- Final lecture (24 April): lecture on Christian roots of Europe + discussion

**Focus:** Roman Catholicism in Europe

## Goals:

- Account for the religious factor in international relations
- Investigate the relations between religion and politics from a historical perspective.

## Religion in IR theories

- 1648, Peace of Westphalia: conventional date of birth of the international system (system of sovereign States), end of religious wars. What changed:
  - Internally: principle *cuius regio, eius religio* ('the ruler determines the religion of his realm').
  - Externally: the signatories agreed to desist from attempting to change the religion of the population through war.
- Scholars of international relations, until very recently, did not care for religion in IR theory.

## Secularization (theory)

- Influence of ‘secularization theory’: the transition from the traditional society to the modern society (modernization), entails a retreat of religion from the public sphere to the private sphere, and eventually leads to its disappearance.
- Secularization (historical process): disconnection between religion and public life. This process started with the Enlightenment and the French revolution.
- Scholars have contextualized this process: typical of Western societies (which tried to give it universal meaning).
- Secularization theory failed to predict the impact of religion in the international system over the last 40 years.

# Accounting for religion in international relations

- What prompted a renewed interest for the impact of religion in international relations: rise of religious fundamentalism, especially the kind which employs terrorist violence.
- Fundamentalism:
  - in the media, the term is normally used to refer to individuals, movements and organizations judged to be: religiously committed to an ideal moral order and to a related social and political project; intolerant of those who do not share their faith and ideology; willing to impose their vision by force if necessary.
  - Findings of research on fundamentalism:
    - A. there is no ideal type of fundamentalism
    - B. we can identify fundamentalist streams in all the major world religions
    - C. there are common organizational features among fundamentalisms (hierarchical, charismatic, authoritarian, patriarchal leadership)
    - D. Fundamentalisms are also a reaction to the process of secularization (marginalization of religion)

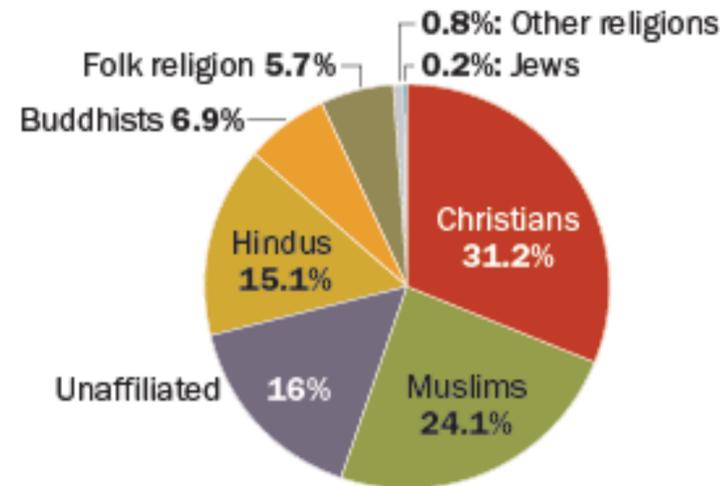
# Religions in the world

- Religion (operational definition): social and cultural phenomenon that influences aspects of politics, society, and the economy.
- Data on religions in the world: survey of the Pew Research Centre (2010, updated in 2015)
  - Global religious landscape
  - Map of prevailing beliefs

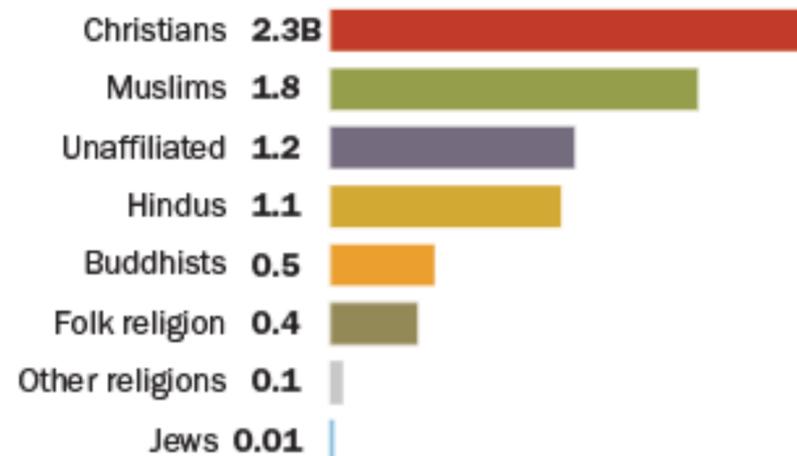
# Religions in the world

## Christians are the largest religious group in 2015

% of world population



Number of people in 2015, in billions



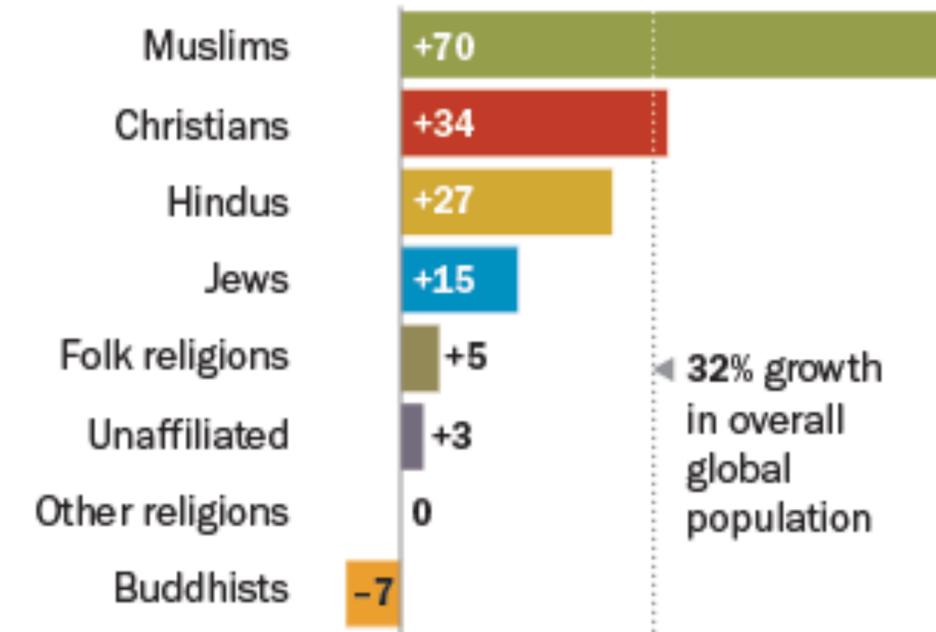
Source: Pew Research Center demographic projections. See Methodology for details.

"The Changing Global Religious Landscape"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Muslims projected to be fastest-growing major religious group

Estimated percent change in population size, 2015-2060



Source: Pew Research Center demographic projections. See Methodology for details.

"The Changing Global Religious Landscape"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Religion and the State in comparative perspective

- **Separationist regime:** the State is officially neutral in matters of religion (secular State).  
Examples? Role of the French revolution.
- **Church establishment:** a Church is recognized by law as the official Church of the nation and is supported by civil authority. System prevailing in Europe until World War II.
- **Theocracy:** government leaders are members of the clergy, and the state's legal system is based on religious law. Examples: Iran after 1979?
- Between the extremes of separationist regimes and theocracies, there are the majority of states in today's world, which favour not religion in general but one or more named particular religions.
- «The liberal democratic option, which claim that religious issues are not business of the state and should be kept off the political agenda as much as possible, has failed to attract general agreement»  
(Madeley, *Religion and the State*)

## A Clash of Civilizations?

- Debate prompted by the book by American political scientist Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon & Schuster 1996).
- Thesis: with the end of the Cold War, the struggle between the two superpowers would be replaced by a clash of civilizations. Huntington contested Francis Fukuyama's thesis about the 'end of history': the universalization of Western liberal democracy.
- Definition of civilization (Huntington): "the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of what distinguishes humans from other species". Examples: Western, Sino-Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, possibly African.
- The Iranian revolution played a pivotal role in shaping Huntington's theory, which gained popularity after 9/11, although it was critiqued by scholars.

# Reading Materials

## Required

Jeffrey Haynes (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics*. Routledge (2nd edition) 2016.

- Chapter 10: John Madeley, *Religion and the State*

## Suggested

Jeffrey Haynes, *Religion, secularization and politics. A postmodern conspectus*, in ID., *Religion, Politics and International Relations: Selected Essays*, Routledge 2011

*(all uploaded on DIDA)*

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