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RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN EUROPE

ANALYSES AND PERSPECTIVES ON A COMPLEX INTERPLAY, VOLUME II

Edited by Rupert Graf Strachwitz

MAECENATA SCHRIFTEN 16

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Rupert Graf Strachwitz (Ed.)

Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe

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Maecenata Schriften

Edited by
Dr. phil. Rupert Graf Strachwitz,
Dr. sc. Eckhard Priller and
Christian Schreier

Volume 16

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Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe

Analyses and Perspectives on a Complex Interplay, Volume II

Edited by Rupert Graf Strachwitz

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Acknowledgements

This publication and the preceding 1st volume (2019) are the outcome of a research project that began in 2015 after a lengthy period of preparation and ended in 2018 with a conference held in cooperation with and on the premises of the Pontifical Gregorian University, the Gregoriana, in Rome. In vol. 1 of this publication we announced that there would be 3 volumes in all. We have since seen that we can accommodate all contributions in 2 volumes. Therefore, there will not be a 3rd volume.

The project itself and the two volumes of findings owe much to many! Invaluable guidance and assistance was received from colleagues in various European countries who consented to act as associates: Prof. Dr. Rocco D'Ambrosio, Prof. Dr. Paul Dekker, Dr. Anna Domaradzka, Prof. Dr. Johan von Essen, and Prof. Dr. Vasilios Makrides. Also, valuable help was enjoyed from two fellows of the Maecenata Institute, Prof. Dr. Frank Adloff and Prof. Dr. Eva Maria Hinterhuber, and from the Director of the Maecenata Foundation's MENA Study Centre, Prof. Dr. Udo Steinbach.

Particular thanks are due to all contributors to both volumes of findings. The chapters add particular viewpoints which will, I hope, enable readers to gain a fuller picture of a complex and varied process. Also, a large number of key personalities, both academics and practitioners in the field, were ready to be interviewed, to join discussions, to participate in conferences, and to offer their expertise in many other ways. To all of them, a sincere and heart-felt thank-you!

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Finally, the Maecenata Institute would not have been able to undertake such a venture without generous outside funding, which is gratefully acknowledged. Special mention is due to Dr. Joerg Schulte-Altedorneburg, a staunch supporter of the idea as it emerged and developed.

To provide food for thought on the issue of the relationship between religious communities and civil society in Europe will hopefully contribute to a debate which I have felt is necessary as part of the discussions both within civil society and civil society research, and within the Christian Churches and other religious communities about their role in modern society. Presenting a wide a range of by no means necessarily homogenous cases and arguments, will, I hope, fulfil this purpose, and I would be more than happy if this project were to spark off a wider and more detailed debate. Most emphatically, these publications are not intended to close, but rather to open the discussion.

Needless to say, the blame for any omittances and shortcomings is due to me – and possibly in some cases to the authors – only.

Berlin, in October 2019
Rupert Graf Strachwitz

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Jacquineau Azetsop

Introduction

Many theories have been developed to account for the *modus operandi* of civil society just as there are many approaches to religion as a social phenomenon. The civil society involvement in the larger social body can be understood from normative, analytic or public sphere perspectives. However, intellectual honesty may challenge us to mention the existence of many other theories on civil society.

Scott Paeth, a professor of religious studies at De Paul University, argues that civil society is made up of many types of institutions with which individuals freely associate.[1] Far from being a common association of civil society, religion is one of the free institutions existing in society, operating autonomously as an intermediate body, a normal association within society or even between state and civil society. Even though, the function of religion is social, its role goes beyond society to include a vision of human existence that transcends a normal human endeavour. This trans-social vision calls for an ideal way of being human and provides moral and metaphysical categories for building a better society.

David Herbert has shown that a critical inquiry into the relationship between religion and civil society across the world in the last three decades of the twentieth century shows striking results revealing that theses about secularism have been factually challenged by the return of religion in the public sphere. It is undoubtedly obvious that religions have re-entered the public space as influential discursive powers and symbolic systems apparently beyond the control of either traditional religious institutions or states. The emancipation of religion from well-known traditional institutions and its re-entry into the public sphere tend to be a mixed blessing since it carries both dangers and possible benefits for democracy and people's well-being.[2]

This ambivalent outcome can be partly explained by the fact that religion plays an important role, though complex, in a life-giving civil society by providing a space for moral debate about competing visions of society and public values. Furthermore, religious institutions and communities bring many assets to civil society that mobilize people around important social policy issues. In addition, the degrees to which religious associations participate in delivering social services in communities reflect the moral standards of society, as well as their level of awareness of social responsibility. There are numerous examples of religious groups providing social relief to people in need. These philanthropic actions are initiated by a variety of religious

1 Paeth, S.R. (2008): Exodus church and civil society: Public theology and social theory in the work of Jurgen Moltmann, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Hampshire: 131–142.
2 Herbert, D. (2003): Religion and civil society: rethinking public religion in the contemporary world. Ashgate Religion Culture and Society: 5.

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groups that often have the moral authority to question ideologies and public values which undermine human dignity and endanger social cohesion.

What is it that religion actually does for, to and with society that needs to be highlighted? Based on religion's involvement in civil society over the past three or four decades, David Herbert, a Kingston University sociologist, assigns two important roles to religion. First, religion provides society with education and/or welfare functions in places where the state is unable or unwilling to provide these services. Second, religious communities or institutions often speak up or act out against political oppression, questioning the fairness of state's political institutions and challenging the social forces when they do not work for the common good. Recently, in some parts of Africa, religious leaders and language have been used as an instrument of resistance in the face of dictators. However, religion can have a dual effect: it can either bring about social division or social integration.[3]

Beyond these two roles assigned to religion, a third one should be added to the ones identified by Herbert. Religion actually provides civil society with moral structures and values. This is not a new finding because the moral contribution of religions to social life is part of religion's social DNA. The need for morality is not alien to human beings. Religion becomes relevant, according to Berger, because of the fact that religion becomes the provider of such morals in private life.[4] However, the return of religion to the public sphere seems to have put the thesis that relegates religion to the private sphere in crisis.

Do you intend to show that religious communities can build civil society in a way that is different from other groups? If yes, why? Can this difference be viewed as the seed of contention or an opportunity? And, related to the peculiar nature of religious communities: Does religion generate networks of participation that are more lasting, complicated, complex or difficult than secular civic organizations? In which way can religious communities help the European continent face the ongoing socioeconomic, religious and political populism which seems to be gaining ground? How can religious communities contribute to the building of the European Union? Is religious plurality, and even competition, a challenge or a risk for European Union cohesion?

May this research help us improve our knowledge and provide us with tested categories that can shape our daily life in countries of the European Union where the integration of the "religious", as a social fact, raises important practical and ideological challenges.

3 Herbert, D. (2003): Religion and civil society: Rethinking public religion in the contemporary world, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Hampshire.

4 Berger, P. (2005): "Religion and global civil society". In M. Juergensmeyer (ed.), Religion in global civil society, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 11–22.

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Alejandro Crosthwaite

The Catholic Religious Community and Civil Society: Some Theological and Sociological Considerations

1 Introduction

In November, 2018, the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Pontifical Gregorian University in collaboration with the Maecenata Institute organized an international conference at the Gregorian University to discuss "whether and if so, how religious communities are moving away from being part of a system of government, and are becoming part of what is generally termed civil society, what effects this has on these communities, and what effects this may have on civil society in general."[1] These questions were analyzed within the context of the disestablishment of some national Churches (e.g., Sweden), the continual, to a greater or lesser degree, of Government-Religious Community(-ties) partnerships in other countries (e.g., England, Germany), and the diminishing place and role of religious communities in Europe mostly due to growing secularism.

The question of the place and role of religious communities in society was made murkier, it was thought by some, by statements by recent Popes, for example, that emphasized the spiritual and religious nature of the mission of the Church to the detriment, some understood or believed, of the prophetic and social nature of the Gospel or civil engagement of religious communities in the political community in general and in civil society in particular.[2] This was confronted, at the same time, again as an example, with the long tradition of Catholic social teaching that clearly teaches that "Action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of

1 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.

2 As general examples within the Catholic Church we have frequent warnings about the danger of reducing evangelization to the economic, political, social and cultural spheres, and of the dangers of the excessive politicization of the role of the Church in Pope Paul VI's 1975 Apostolic Exhortation Evangelii Nuntiandi, nn. 33–35. Priests are admonished by Pope John Paul II to leave politics to the politicians: "Remember my dear brothers that… you are not social directors, political leaders, or officials of a temporal order." This was in a 1983 homily in Nicaragua where Jesuits Fernando Cardenal headed the Sandinista's regime all-important national literacy campaign, and Fr. Miguel D'Escoto served as foreign minister, while poet-priest Ernesto Cardenal served as minister of culture. Pope Benedict XVI's first Encyclical Letter Caritas Deus Est echoes this ambivalence. While insisting on the inseparability of love and justice, the encyclical also insists that it is the task of the political community to ensure justice and that the Church "cannot and must not take upon herself the political battle to bring about the most just society possible" (n. 28).

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the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation."[3]

The question of the relationship of religious communities with civil society is a difficult one to answer because the term "religious communities" encompasses such a wide spectrum of institutions and communities with different self-understandings and perceived missions, not to mention the different degrees of "affirmative world-relatedness" among religious communities themselves as Vasilios N. Makrides pointed out in his presentation.[4] We also have to take into consideration that the term "civil society" is a "comparatively new" term with "a plethora of different descriptions [that] persist in public and political discussions."[5] All these factors make it almost impossible to give a single comprehensive answer to the question of the relationship of religious communities with civil society that would apply to all religious communities in Europe that show, to add to the complexity, "differences regarding their legal status, self-assessment, theological background, size, history, and traditions."[6]

In this paper, I limit myself to give an answer from "within" one of this religious communities, the Catholic religious community, which is the religious community I know best, and from the perspective of its official teaching. So, this paper will be more from the perspective of applied social moral theology than sociological. Hence in this paper I will try to answer the question of the relationship of the Catholic Church with civil society in particular, as well as with other players of society in general i.e., the political community, political authority, the market, and the family. These answers will come from its self-understanding as proposed and taught in her official social teaching from the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) to our days, a period in which the Church went through, to a larger or lesser extent, a process of "modernization of religious consciousness"[7] in response to "pluralism, modern sciences, positive law, and secular morality."[8] This self-understanding may or may not be applicable to other religious communities and may or may not reflect the *de facto* reality of the Catholic Church in the different European countries today.

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3 Synod of Bishops (1971): Justice in the World, Vatican City State, Vatican Polyglot Press, n. 6.

4 See Makrides, Vasilios N. (2019): Christian Communities, Civic Engagement and Civil Society in Easter and Western Europe. A Comparison. In Strachwitz: Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.

5 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.

6 Ibid.

7 Habermas, Jürgen (2013): Im Sog der Technokratie. Kleine politische Schriften XII, Berlin, Deutschland, Suhrkamp: 13.

8 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.

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2 The Nature and Mission of the Catholic Religious Community

The Church believes and teaches that God became flesh in the person of Jesus Christ to inaugurate the Reign of God on Earth.[9] The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* explains that the coming Reign of God will be a reign of love, peace, and justice.[10] Justice is defined as a virtue whereby one respects the rights of all persons, living in harmony and equity with all.[11] The Reign of God began with Christ's death and Resurrection and must be further extended by Christians until it has been brought into perfection by Jesus Christ at the end of time.[12] Catholics do this by living the way Christ lived, by thinking the way Christ thought,[13] and by promoting peace and justice.[14] This can be accomplished by discerning how the Holy Spirit (God) is calling each one to act in the concrete circumstances of one's life.[15] Christians must also pray, asking God for what is necessary to cooperate with the coming of God's Reign.[16] Jesus gathered disciples to be the seed and the beginning of God's Reign on Earth, and Jesus sent the Holy Spirit to guide them.[17] Jesus continues to call all people to come together around Him[18] and to spread the Reign of God across the entire world, giving rise to the religious community that understands itself as the People of God and the Body of Christ. [19]

In summary, in sociological terms, the nature and mission of the Church on Earth is concern not only with transcendent realities, or the *transcendental common good*, or simply the “*Summum Bonum*”, that is, God Himself,[20] but also with those purely earthly and social realities, or the *temporal common good*, which, without identifying with the Reign of God, contribute greatly to its development.[21] The Church understands the temporal common good to mean “the sum total of social

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9 See Mk 1:15.
10 U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops (1995): Catechism of the Catholic Church, Washington D.C., U.S.C.C.B., n. 2046.
11 Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 1807.
12 Catechism of the Catholic Church, nn. 782, 2816.
13 Ibid., n. 2046.
14 Ibid., n. 2820.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., n. 2632.
17 Ibid., nn. 541, 764.
18 Ibid., n. 542.
19 Ibid., n. 863.
20 Aquinas, Thomas (1948): Summa Theologiae, New York, Benziger Brothers, Ia, q.6 a.2: “Deus est summum bonum simpliciter.”
21 Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace (2005): Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, Washington, D.C.: U.S.C.C.B., n. 60.

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conditions which allow people, either as groups or as individuals, to reach their fulfilment more fully and more easily."[22] It is precisely in this self-understanding that one finds what makes the Church *distinct without separation, in union without confusion*[23] regarding civil society in particular and the political community and all its elements and relationships in general.

3 Civil Society

Civil society is understood by the Church as "the sum of *relationships* and *resources*, cultural and associative, that are relatively independent from the political sphere and the economic sector;"[24] which "is marked by a planning capacity that aims at fostering a freer and more just social life, in which the various groups of citizens can form associations, working to develop and express their preferences, in order to meet their fundamental needs and defend their legitimate interests."[25] From a sociological perspective, for the Catholic tradition, the end purpose of civil society is the *private temporal good* that allows citizens to participate and protect human dignity, with its rights and duties, within the context and for the *temporal common good* of the entire political community.

Unlike the Orthodox Church, as presented by Markides, the Catholic definition of civil society does not include the family community since: "*The priority of the family over society and over the State must be affirmed*. The family in fact, at least in its procreative function, is the condition itself for their existence. With regard to other functions that benefit each of its members, it proceeds in importance and value the functions that society and the State are called to perform. The family possesses inviolable rights and finds its legitimization in human nature and not in being recognized by the State. The family, then, does not exist for society or the State, but society and the State exist for the family."[26]

As can be seen from its definition of civil society, the Catholic tradition underlines the *relational* character of civil society instead of the *locus* or "arena" or "areas

22 Second Vatican Ecumenical Council (1966): Pastoral Constitution Gaudium et Spes, n. 26: AAS 58, p. 1046; cf. Catechism of the Catholic Church, nn. 1905–1912; John XXIII (1961): Encyclical Letter Mater et Magistra: AAS 53: 417–421; John XXIII (1963): Encyclical Letter Pacem in Terris: AAS 55: 272–273; Paul VI (1971): Apostolic Letter Octogesima Adveniens, 46: AAS 63: 433–435.
23 cf. Matt. 5: 13–14.
24 Compendium, n. 417.
25 Leo XIII (1892): Encyclical Letter Rerum Novarum: Acta Leonis XIII, 11, n. 134.
26 Compendium, n. 214. See also Holy See (1983): Charter of the Rights of the Family, Preamble, D-E, Vatican City, Vatican Polyglot Press: 6.

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of movement, action and change" of these relationships.[27] Civil society, according to the social doctrine of the Church, is not primarily for contractual and utilitarian relations, but for more deeply human relationships marked by love: even as regards its social dimension, the human being must put the spiritual element or the *transcendental common good* in the foreground.[28] The social dimension cannot be limited to political and mercantile aspects, but it is even more nourished by the relationships that originate among people because they are people. Thus, the political and economic communities must be distinguished from civil society.[29]

This distinction between civil society and the other players in society – on the theoretical level – has been an acquisition of the last centuries, to which the Church has contributed with her teachings on the whole human truth. To affirm this differentiation, it has committed itself tenaciously in confronting both the liberal-bourgeois nation-political community marked by atomistic individualism,[30] and the totalitarian nation-political community and totalizing political conceptions that tended to annihilate or absorb civil society into the political sphere;[31] the purpose of this ecclesial commitment was to safeguard human dignity, social pluralism and a better implementation of the temporal common good.[32]

The political community derives from the people who make up civil society and is essentially constituted to be at the service of it.[33] Civil society must have primacy over the political community, because it does not have its raison d'être in itself. The political community is ordered to favor the development of civil society, of the persons and associations that are part of it.[34] Human groups and societies, within which we are born and from which we receive those aids that cannot be provided by the political community, have priority, because they allow and radically influence the existence of the political community.[35]

The Church has recognized in recent decades the growing importance of civil society over political authority with regards to the temporal common good: "the future of humanity does not lie solely in the hands of great leaders, the great powers and the elites. It is fundamentally in the hands of peoples and in their ability to organize. It is in their hands, which can guide with humility and conviction this

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27 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.

28 Compendium, n. 185.

29 Cf. John Paul II (1991): Encyclical Letter Centesimus Annus, n. 49: ASS 83: 854–856.; Sollicitudo Rei Socialis, n. 15.

30 Cf. Rerum Novarum, n. 11.

31 Cf. Pius XI (1931): Encyclical Letter Quadragesimo Anno, AAS 23: 207–208.

32 Idem.

33 Compendium, n. 818.

34 Ibid., n. 418.

35 Cf. Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 1910.

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process of change."[36] Civil society is distinct from political authority and "in great measure, this is what makes [it] so valuable, since [it] express a distinct, dynamic and vital form of social participation in public life."[37] And the recognition of its growing importance is not only within the national political community but also in the international political community: "The Magisterium positively evaluates the associations that have formed in civil society in order to shape public opinion in its awareness of the various aspects of international life."[38]

So, "the Church's commitment on behalf of social pluralism aims at bringing about a more fitting attainment of the common good and democracy itself, according to the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity and justice,"[39] and continue to beckon her to collaborate and support civil society, especially by continuing its "intense and constant work of *formation*, especially of the lay faithful" in the Church's social doctrine: "It belongs to the lay person, without waiting passively for orders and directives [from the Magisterium], to take the initiative freely and to infuse a Christian spirit into the mentality, customs, laws and structures of the community in which they live."[40]

At the same time, as Rupert Graf Strachwitz explained, "Civil society is by no means inherently good."[41] This is in part because civil society seeks the private common good as stated above, "Civil society is in fact multifaceted and irregular; it does not lack ambiguities and contradictions. It is also the arena where different interests clash with one another, with the risk that the stronger will prevail over the weaker."[42] Therefore, "The State must provide an adequate legal framework for social subjects to engage freely in their different activities and it must be ready to intervene, when necessary and with respect for the principle of subsidiarity, so that the interplay between free associations and democratic life may be directed to the common good."[43]

And that which has been said of civil society applies also to the political community, political authority, the market, the family and religious communities. All are exposed to the consequences of good and evil that coexist in the human person;

36 Pope Francis, Address to the participants to the Second World Meeting of Popular Movements, Expo Feria Exhibition Centre, Santa Cruz De La Sierra (Bolivia), Thursday, 9 July 2015, n. 4.
37 Pope Francis, Address to participants in the 3rd world meeting of popular movements, Paul VI audience hall,
Saturday, 5 November 2016.
38 Compendium, n. 443.
39 Ibid., n. 417.
40 Paul VI (1967): Encyclical Letter Populorum Progressio, n. 81: AAS 59: 296–297.
41 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.
42 Compendium, n. 418.
43 Idem.

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even in their social relationships, therefore, these relationships do not always manage to be harmonious, because ineptitude and the will to prevaricate can undermine the historical expressions of one and the other.[44] Thus, we can have organizations in the political community, for example, that try to usurp the religious community's own functions or tend to take away its public role. On the other hand, we can find ecclesiastical sectors, even religious, that try to act improperly in the political sphere or to become mere social providers or NGOs. In order to avoid such possible abuses, it may be convenient to establish legal relationships to ensure harmonious cooperation and proper roles in society.[45]

4 Distinct and Without Confusion

The *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* officially establishes a *formula of balance* in the regulation of the reciprocal prerogatives and competences between the different elements, institutions, spaces, spheres, or relationships of society and the Church: "*the Church is not to be confused with the political community and is not bound to any political system*. In fact, the political community and the Church are *autonomous and independent* of each other in their own fields, and both are, even if under different titles, 'devoted to the service of the personal and social vocation of the same human beings.'"[46]

This formula of balance applies not only to the Church's relationship with the political community, which is seen by the Church as that reality inherent in humankind, that "exists to achieve an end otherwise unobtainable: the full growth of each of its members, called to cooperate steadfastly for the attainment of the common good, under the impulse of their natural inclinations towards what is true and good;"[47] but also to all its elements, institutions, relationships, spaces, spheres, and/or sectors, that is, the political authority, the market, civil society, and the family.[48] Here, Lester M. Salamon was correct, albeit for pragmatic reasons, in not in-

44 Ibid., n. 424.
45 Ibid., n. 427.
46 Ibid., n. 50. See also Cf. Gaudium et Spes, n. 76; Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 2245.
47 Ibid., n. 384. See also Cf. Gaudium et Spes, n. 74.
48 "The responsibility for attaining the common good, besides falling to individual persons, belongs also to the State, since the common good is the reason that the political authority exists. The State, in fact, must guarantee the coherency, unity and organization of the civil society of which it is an expression, in order that the common good may be attained with the contribution of every citizen. The individual person, the family or intermediate groups are not able to achieve their full development by themselves for living a truly human life. Hence the necessity of political institutions, the purpose of which is to make available to persons the necessary material, cultural, moral and spiritual goods. The goal of life in society is in fact the historically attainable common good," Com-

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cluding religious communities as part of the "third sector,"[49] although this should not add to "the reluctance of religious authorities to consider their organizations as civil society *players*" as it will be explained below.[50]

As Strachwitz has indicated in his Introduction, and Rocco D'Ambrossio has highlighted in his presentation of the historical relationship of the Catholic Church with the Italian political community, the configuration of the forms of exercise of the Church's authority has gone through several historical phases (absolutist, feudalistic, competitive, separatist, and collaborative) and has for a long time been characterized by the coexistence of a direct responsibility of the ecclesiastical authority in temporal matters.[51] This placing of ecclesiastical authority on the same level of secular authority has inevitably made it more difficult to recognize the peculiar nature of both, until historical events beginning with the French Revolution have determined a clearer demarcation and, consequently, a clearer distinction between temporal power and spiritual power.[52]

The clear division made by the II Vatican Council, and now also made its own by the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, does not depart substantially from that delimitation of ends already taught by the pre-conciliar manuals of public ecclesiastical law, but is *innovative in spirit*, for its will to recognize the full and autonomous right of the secular authority to regulate the public and private life spaces of its citizens for what is part of the concept of the temporal common good.[53] This is part of the modernization of religious consciousness that has happened in the Church leading up to the II Vatican Council.

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pendium, n. 168; Cf. Gaudium et Spes, n. 74; John Paul II (1979): Encyclical Letter Redemptor Hominis, n. 17: AAS 71: 295–300. Cf. Rerum Novarum, n. 11; Pius XII (1941): Radio Message for the fiftieth anniversary of Rerum Novarum: AAS 33: 200.

49 Salamon, Lester M., Anheier, Helmut K., List, Regina, Toepler, Stefan, Wojciech Sokolowski, S. and Associates (1999): Global Civil Society – Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector, Baltimore, MD, The Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies; Salamon, Lester M. and Wojciech Sokolowski, S. (eds.) (2004): Global Civil Society – Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector, Vol. 2, Bloomfield, CT, The Kumarian Press.

50 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.

51 Here one may also use the models theorized by H. Richard Niebuhr (1951) in his book Christ and Culture, San Francisco, CA, Harper Collins, in which he offers as paradigms for the relationship of Churches with the world as Christ against Culture, Christ of Culture, Christ above Culture, Christ and Culture in Paradox, and Christ Transforming Culture.

52 Cfr. Giannini. M. S. (1987): "Public Autonomy." Pp. 356 and ss. in Encyclopedia of Law, IV, Milan, Italy. Orig. 1987, Enciclopedia del diritto; C. Cardia, "Lay Political community." Pp. 874 and ss. In Encyclopedia of Law (1987), XLIII, Milan, Italy. Orig. Enciclopedia del diritto; P. Ciprotti, From Perfect Society to the Church Mytery. Pp. 105 and ss. in La Civiltà Cattolica, 3230, January 19, 1985.

53 Cfr. Torre, Dalla G. (1987): The External Public Right and the New Canonical Codification, Milan, Italy: 499. and ss. Orig. Il diritto pubblico esterno e la nuova codificazione canonica.

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In summary, with regard to the demarcation between the secular and spiritual spheres, the social doctrine of the Church clearly draws a line of differentiation: “The Church is organized in ways that are suitable to meet the spiritual needs of the faithful, while the different political communities, the market and civil society give rise to relationships and institutions that are at the service of everything that is part of the temporal common good. The autonomy and independence of these realities is particularly evident with regards to their ends.”[54] This applies to all the relationships of the Church with the different players of society: the political community, political authority, the market, civil society, and the family.

5 Without Separation and in Union

The Church, “being the salt of the earth and the light of the world[55], is more urgently called upon to save and renew *every* creature, that *all things* may be restored in Christ and *all peoples* may constitute one family in Him and one people of God.”[56] Out of this self-understanding arises the introductory poetic words of the Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et Spes*: “The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the people of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts. For theirs is a community composed of human beings. United in Christ, they are led by the Holy Spirit in their journey to the Reign of their Father and they have welcomed the news of salvation which is meant for every person. That is why this community realizes that it is truly linked with humankind and its history by the deepest of bonds.”[57]

From this statement rises the “continuous tensions between the inner life of the Church/believers and the engagement in the life of the outer (secular) world” mentioned by Makrides.[58] It is in the Church's self-understanding of its mission and reason for being to renew every creature, restore all things, and united all peoples, that the Church is in full alliance, union and in cooperation with both political authority and civil society as well as the political community, the market and the family. The

54 Compendium, n. 424.
55 cf. Matt. 5: 13–14.
56 II Vatican Council (1966): Decree Ad Gentes on the missionary activity of the Church, n. 1: AAS 58: 947. Italics are mine.
57 Gaudium et Spes, n.1.
58 See Makrides, Vasilios N. (2020): Christian Communities, Civic Engagement and Civil Society in Easter and Western Europe. A Comparison. In Strachwitz: Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex interplay. Vol. 2.

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Church is concerned not only for the transcendental common good of all peoples but also with the temporal good of all creatures and all things and it achieves the latter in cooperation with all the elements of the political community.

The vision of the political community as well as that of civil society proper to Catholics and the contribution of value that they bring into the different aspects of social life –education, formation, assistance in the most varied forms, attention to the poor, to the marginalized, to all the expressions of social problems, the culture of life, the appreciation of what is positive in the reality of science and technology, the specific conception and formation of institutions of social relevance, such as marriage, family, births, the same vision of public institutions – are some of the realities that strongly demand the collaboration between the political authority, necessarily conditioned and interested in the political action of its religious citizens; civil society, necessarily conditioned and interested in the defense of individual and human rights of its members; and the religious community, of which these citizens are also members.[59] Where there is no collaboration, neutrality is easily lost, and conflicts become inevitable.[60]

Political authority, civil society, the market, the family, and the religious community can demand from each other what is necessary, in order to be respected both in their essential consistency and in their significance.[61] Since they are all, by definition, positive social realities that serve the good of the human person, all those actions that hinder or prevent their service are considered as illegitimate or immoral.[62] All the elements of the political community have the right to demand from the religious community everything that contributes to the realization of the temporal common good.[63] Moreover, since the role of political authority is to guarantee the temporal common good and that of civil society to guarantee the private common good as well as the participation of all citizens in the commonwealth, it must ensure that without transforming itself into an ethical or confessional political community, it ensures the moral values necessary for the integral development of persons.[64]

For its part, the religious community asks that the political community be respectful of people's rights; therefore, it can and must denounce those political or social systems that do not guarantee these rights.[65] The religious community cannot give its endorsement to totalitarian or dictatorial political structures, to legal structures, or so-called individual rights that are clearly contrary to both the good of

59 Compendium, n. 418.
60 Ibid., n. 425; cf. Gaudium et Spes, n. 76; Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 2245.
61 Ibid., n. 167.
62 Ibid., nn. 118, 417.
63 Ibid., n. 167; cf. Mater et Magistra, n. 1; Octogesima Adveniens, n. 46; Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 1913.
64 Ibid., n. 410.
65 Ibid., n. 154.

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every person and the *whole* person, as well as the recognition of the lordship of God also upon human institutions, although it does not have a specific field of competence as regards the political and legal structure of the political community and the purely technical dimensions for the procurement, development, organization and distribution of temporal goods.[66] Nevertheless, the religious community must inculcate into the faithful the attitudes of the good citizen.[67]

In summary, a correct and fruitful relationship between the religious community, civil society, the market, the family, and political authority may be founded, ultimately, on three fundamental attitudes: acceptance of the existence of an ethical-religious framework that precedes and itself informs the political and social sphere; to acknowledge the right to religious freedom, opposed to any political, social or religious totalitarianism; to recognize the right to the political pluralism of believers, which the Code of Canon Law juridically guarantees.[68] In fact, the religious community accepts whatever form of political, juridical or social organization in which religion, morals and the fundamental rights of human beings are safeguarded.[69] As a consequence, a directly political or social role does not belong to the Magisterium; in some circumstances there may be a need for substitution, but it must be absolutely limited: situations of this kind must never be prolonged, therefore priority must always be given to a good formation of the lay faithful in the political and social spheres, in the most general project of the teaching and diffusion of the social doctrine of the Church.[70]

6 The Effects of the Church on Civil Society and Vice Versa

The Church's *first purpose* "is to be the sacrament or sign of the inner union of humanity with God"[71] as recent Popes have made clear by emphasizing the spiritual

66 Ibid., n. 191.
67 Ibid., n. 189.
68 Cf. Catholic Church, Code of Canon Law, Washington, D.C., Canon Law Society of America: "The lay Christian faithful have the right to have recognized that freedom which all citizens have in the affairs of the earthly city. When using that same freedom, however, they are to take care that their actions are imbued with the spirit of the gospel and are to heed the doctrine set forth by the magisterium of the Church. In matters of opinion, moreover, they are to avoid setting forth their own opinion as the doctrine of the Church" (can. 227).
69 John Paul II (1988): Enciclical Sollecitudo Rei Socialis, n. 41: AAS 80: 570.
70 Benedict XVI (2006): Encyclical Deus Caritas Est, n. 28: ASS 98: 238.
71 Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 775.

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and religious nature of the mission of the Church.[72] The transcendental common good of the person as well as of society is what makes the Church *distinct and without confusion* regarding civil society in particular and society as a whole.[73]

It is within this context that the words of Pope Benedict XVI in Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany, should be understood. Meeting on September 25, 2011 with about 1,500 Catholics involved in Church ministries, lay movements and civic, political or social activities, he pondered how the Church might respond to its own needs as well as the needs of the world, the transcendental common good as well as the temporal common good. "Should the Church not change?" he asked. "Must she not adapt her offices and structure to the present day in order to reach the searching and doubting people of today?" He continued explaining that change and response are needed constantly but change and responses must begin with the individuals who make up the Church. At the same time, these changes and responses must be *dictated by the Gospel*, *not the world*. In fact, to carry out her mission, the Church "will constantly set herself apart from her surroundings; she needs in a certain sense to become *unworldly*" or desecularized.[74]

In other words, in responding to "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the people of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted", the Church needs to find its own answers, its own place, its own role, *in the Gospel*, and not in technical solutions, nor in systems or models of social, political or economic organization.[75] This is not part of the mission entrusted to her by Christ: "The Church's competence comes *from the Gospel*: from the message that sets humanity free, the message proclaimed and borne witness to by the Son of God made flesh."[76] This liberating message is concretely found in the permanent principles of the Church's social doctrine that are "the expression of the whole truth about the human being known by reason and faith, are born of 'the encounter of the Gospel message and of its demands summarized in the supreme commandment of love of God and neighbor in justice with the problems emanating from the life of society'."[77]

The Christian knows that in the social doctrine of the Church, founded on the Gospel, can be found "the principles for reflection, the criteria for judgment and the directives for action which are the starting point for the promotion of an integral and

72 See footnote n. 1.
73 cf. Mt 22:15–21 and parallels.
74 Benedict XVI, Address to Catholics Engaged in the Life of the Church, Concert Hall, Freiburg im Breisgau
Sunday, 25 September 2011.
75 Compendium, n. 68. See also cf. Sollicitudo Rei Socialis, n. 41.
76 Ibid., n. 68.
77 Ibid., n. 160; Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Instruction Libertatis Conscientia, n. 72: AAS 79 (1987): 585.

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solidary humanism."[78] It is this foundation that is the special contribution of the Church to the political community, to political authority, to the market, to civil society, and to the family, "so that men and women will be enlightened by it and will be thus enabled to interpret today's reality and seek appropriate paths of action."[79]

At the same time, political, economic, and social participation cannot be improvised. Natural qualities are needed, a long and tiring training is required which calls into question the interested parties and, together, the entire Christian community. Regarding the first, says the Italian Roman Catholic priest and prominent politician Luigi Sturzo: "It is not for everyone to do politics [, for example,] but for those who are capable of it. Like any art, politics[, economics, social advocacy, etc.] also has its great craftsmen and artisans; of course there will also be the technocrats, the public chooses its own heroes even among the technocrats." [80] Wanting to reduce the number of the purely technocratic in the fields of politics, economics and social advocacy (which are the majority, especially today), all that remains is for civil society and the Church to offer the proper formation, in which both technical training *and* spiritual formation are part of an integral development of those who work in these fields and advocate for theses causes in the political community. Secularity demands the technical training and Christian inspiration the spiritual formation. It is precisely here where the Church is not only *Mater et Magistra* but also has much to learn from the world, from civil society, and not only from a technical perspective: "In view of that particular part of the truth that it may reveal, no branch of knowledge is excluded. The Church recognizes and receives everything that contributes to the understanding of the human person in the ever broader, more fluid and more complex network of its social relationships. She is aware of the fact that a profound understanding of the human person does not come from theology alone, without the contributions of many branches of knowledge to which theology itself refers."[81]

Again, however, if the Church loses its special charism and contribution to society, it simply becomes one more institution, one more association, in the political community, it can very easily become "just a fine organization, another NGO."[82] Here Pope Francis' 2014 address to the Swiss episcopal conference is of important relevance: "I encourage you to voice clearly in unison society's problems, at a time in which different people —even within the Church— are tempted to renounce the realism of the social aspect of the Gospel.[83] *The Gospel has its own original strength*

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78 Ibid., n. 327.
79 Ibid., n. 7.
80 Sturzo, Luigi (1996): The Manual of the Good Politician, edited by G. De Rosa, San Pablo, Cinisello Balsamo: 126. Orig. Il manual del buon politico.
81 Compendium, n. 78.
82 Pope Francis, Address to the Bishops of the episcopal conference of Switzerland on their "ad limina" visit, Monday, 1st December 2014.
83 cf. Evangelii Gaudium, n. 88.

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to make proposals. It is up to us to present it in its entirety, to render it accessible without clouding its beauty or weakening its attractiveness, in order to reach the people facing the difficulties of everyday life, who are searching for the meaning of their life or who have fallen away from the Church. Disillusioned or abandoned to themselves, they let themselves be tempted by arguments that deliberately deny the transcendent dimension of the human person, of life and of human relationships, particularly in the face of suffering and death. The testimony of Christians and parish communities can truly enlighten their path and support their aspiration for happiness. In this way the Church … can more clearly be herself, the Body of Christ and the People of God, and not just a fine organization, another NGO. Furthermore, it is important that relationships between the Church and the [the political community and authority] be pursued calmly. Their wealth lies in their special collaboration, as well as in the presence of Gospel values in the life of society and in civic choices. However, the specific nature of these relationships has called for reflection, which started several years ago, to preserve the diversity of functions of the civic entities and of the structures of the Catholic Church."[84]

The distinction between the mission of the religious community and that of the other elements of the political community, especially of political authority and civil society, implies that political authority and/or the sovereignty or will of the people or the "Spirit of the People" ("*volksgeist*" – Hegel) loses its "sacredness" and its claim to govern consciences; the moral foundation of politics and social life lies outside it, another community is guarantor: the religious community.[85] The power of the religious community is spiritual, so it does not impose a single political, economic, social and/or cultural solution.[86] Thus, the elements of the political community limit their own range of action, and this guarantees religious, political and social freedom.

The autonomy and independence of these realities makes itself clearly manifest especially in the order of ends as mentioned above. Members of the religious community have positive and necessary needs, derived from their religious experience. Their *goods* are of a spiritual nature, but they require a juridical dimension, since they are inserted into a historical and social reality.[87] The Word of God and the Sacraments, which generate and nurture the spiritual life, demand –to be understood, developed, enjoyed and protected – relationships and structures in a visible order, which the political community cannot in any way create or govern.[88]

84 Idem.
85 Cf. II Vatican Council (1966): Declaration Dignitatis Humanae, AAS 58: 929–946.
86 Compendium, n. 197.
87 Ibid., n. 424.
88 Idem.

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In the face of citizens who manifest positive spiritual needs – such as not to contradict the requirements of human nature, at the level of the single person or of social organization – the political authority must recognize, and civil society must defend, those who can satisfy these spiritual needs with the necessary space for action.[89] The law which is embodied in the decrees of the political authority is inherently unsuitable and therefore incapable of organizing spiritual goods from a juridical point of view.[90] The knowledge and organization of the field of positive law that Christian goods demand is the exclusive task of the religious community, because only it has the capacity to know the Christian *res*.[91] Consequently, the distinction of tasks does not imply that the Church should reduce her own action to the private and spiritual spheres. Moreover, it cannot in any case abdicate its mission to propose, guarantee and judge the ethical order of the political community; just as the political community cannot neglect the moral values that precede it and are a condition for its existence.[92]

The common autonomy of the religious community and of the political community, and all its elements, does not therefore imply a clear separation to the point that they cannot or should not have points of contact.[93] Members of the religious community that sojourns on this Earth are also, at the same time, members of a particular political community as well as the different organizations and groupings that constitute it. The religious community and the political community exist in organizational forms and use instruments not for themselves, but to be at the service of the human beings, to facilitate the realization of their rights and to offer them the opportunity and the stimulus to the more correct fulfillment of the corresponding duties.[94] Destined to the same personal subject, the religious community, political authority, the market, the family, and civil society cannot help but have points of contact.

7 The Particular Role of Lay Catholics

The Church has been called to be *in* the world but not be *of* the world.[95] In this sense one can understand Cardinal Reinhard Marx's comment that the Church is *in* civil

89 Cf. John Paul II (1980), Letter to the Heads of State Signing the Final Helsinki Act (1 September 1980), n. 4: AAS 72: 1256–1258.
90 Compendium, n. 427.
91 Gaudium et Spes, n. 76; cf. Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 2245.
92 Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 2246.
93 Compendium, nn. 425–427.
94 Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 2235.
95 Cf. John 17:11, 14–15.

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society but that is not *part* of civil society.[96] This principle respects and defends the "secularity" of temporal realities. By "secularity" is understood that the political community, political authority, the market, civil society, and the family are autonomous with respect to ecclesiastical laws.[97] However, secularity should not be confused with "secularism" that claims the autonomy of the secular realm from the moral order and divine plan and tends to restrict religion to the sphere of the purely private. In this way it violates the right to religious freedom and harms the social order.[98] An authentic secularity avoids two extremes: the attempt to transform political authority, civil society, or even worse, the market, into the arbiters of morals,[99] and the *a priori* rejection of the moral values stemming from culture, religion, etc., which people adhere to freely and which should not be dictated from the seat of power or society itself.[100]

It should also be emphasized that it is illusory and unjust to ask the believer-citizen to act in the secular realm "as if God did not exist." Every person acts on the basis of his or her cultural convictions (be they religious, philosophical, political, etc.), whether derived from religious faith or not; these are convictions, therefore, that influence the social behavior of citizens.[101] Acting in the secular realm in accord with one's own faith, if consistent with the dignity of the human person and the common good, does not mean subordinating the secular sphere to the spiritual sphere. It means that the secular order is at the service of persons and therefore ought to respect moral demands, which is simply to say that it should respect and foster the dignity of every human being as well as the common good.[102] Although, as Cardinal Marx has pointed out, "The changes in society, to do with secularization, pluralism and individualism... have made the Church lose its monopoly of endowing life with a meaning" and "Today's civil society is marked by the fact that no one institution or organization may aspire to this monopoly;" the Church, "can and must, without claiming a monopoly on truth, speak out and act, especially in the face of 'situations of deep hurt and dramatic suffering, in which values, ethics, the social sciences and faith all enter into play'."[103]

96 As related orally by Prof. Rupert Graf Strachwitz.

97 Compendium, n. 572.

98 Ibid., n. 572.

99 Cf. Octogesima Adveniens, n. 25; John Paul II (1991): Encyclical Centesimus Annus, n. 25: AAS 83: 822–823.

100 Cf. Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (2004): Doctrinal Note on Some Questions Regarding the Participation of Catholics in Political Life, n. 6: AAS 96: 366; Compendium, n. 571.

101 Dignitatis Humanae, n. 1.

102 Cf. Centesimus Annus, n. 46; Compendium, n. 569.

103 Pope Francis, Address to participants in the 3rd world meeting of popular movements, Paul VI audience hall, Sturday, 5 november 2016. Also see Pope Francis' Address to the Judges' Summit on Human Trafficking and Organized Crime, Vatican City, 3 June 2016.

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It is especially through its lay faithful that the Church, as Cardinal Marx highlighted "Like other players in civil society, she [the Church] follows her own interests within this context."[104] I would add, moreover, not only her own interests but also "for the good of all." Therefore, again, as stated above, the Church is not an institution within civil society but plays a role within this context especially through its lay faithful: "Many experiences… of great value… call people to look upon civil society as a place where it is possible to rebuild a public ethic based on solidarity, concrete cooperation and fraternal dialogue."[105] The Church repeatedly teaches that "lay people must consider it their task to improve the temporal order. While the Magisterium has the role of teaching and authoritatively interpreting the moral laws and precepts that apply in this matter, the laity have the duty of using their own initiative and taking action in this area – without waiting passively for directives and precepts from the Magisterium. They must try to infuse a Christian spirit into people's mental outlook and daily behavior, into the laws and structures of the civil community."[106] Again, to avoid any misunderstandings, the II Vatican Council clarifies by stating: "It is very important, especially where a pluralistic society prevails, that there be a correct notion of the relationship between the political community and the Church, and a clear distinction between the tasks which Christians undertake in all of these spheres of society, individually or as a group, on their own responsibility as citizens guided by the dictates of a Christian conscience, and the activities which, in union with their pastors, they carry out in the name of the Church."[107]

This mission has a common denominator in all the faithful, but everyone must live it in consonance with the vocation received: priest, religious or lay. In his Apostolic Exhortation on the vocation and mission of the laity in the Church and in the world *Christifideles Laici*, John Paul II reiterated the II Vatican Council's teaching on the laity: "But among the lay faithful this one baptismal dignity takes on *a manner of life which sets a person apart, without, however, bringing about a separation* from the ministerial priesthood or from men and women religious. The II Vatican Council has described this manner of life as the 'secular character': 'The secular character is properly and particularly that of the lay faithful' (*Lumen Gentium*, n. 31) … Certainly, *all the members* of the Church are sharers in this secular dimension but in *different ways*. In particular the sharing of the lay faithful has its own manner of realization and function, which, according to the Council, is 'properly and particularly' theirs.

104 Reinhard Marx, Message, loc. cit.: 7.

105 Compendium, n. 420.

106 Populorum Progressio, n. 81; cf. II Vatican Council (1966): Decree Apostolicam Actuositatem, nn. 7, 13, 24: AAS 58: 843–844, 849–850, 856–857; Octogesima Adveniens, n. 48; Libertatis Conscientia, n. 80; Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 2442.

107 Gaudium et Spes, n. 76.

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Such a manner is designated with the expression 'secular character'... The lay faithful, in fact, 'are *called* by God so that they, led by the spirit of the Gospel, might *contribute to the sanctification of the world, as from within like leaven*, by fulfilling their own particular duties. Thus, especially in this way of life, resplendent in faith, hope and charity they manifest Christ to others' (*Lumen Gentium*, n. 31). Thus, for the lay faithful, to be present and active in the world is not only an anthropological and sociological reality, but in a specific way, a theological and ecclesiological reality as well. In fact, in their situation in the world God manifests His plan and communicates to them their particular vocation of 'seeking the Reign of God by engaging in temporal affairs and by ordering them according to the plan of God' (*Lumen Gentium*, n. 31)."[108]

It is also necessary to underline the importance of the role that, in the evangelization of the social sector, the associations, movements and lay groups are committed to enlivening the various sectors of the temporal order in a Christian manner.[109] These elements of civil society constitute a privileged point of reference inasmuch as they work *in* civil society in accordance with their ecclesial physiognomy and, in addition, they also avail themselves of the qualified experience of their members in the social apostolate.[110]

To respond to this vocation, adequate formation and serious effort are required: "Secular duties and activities belong properly although not exclusively to the laity. Therefore, acting as citizens in the world, whether individually or socially, they will keep the laws proper to each discipline, and labor to equip themselves with a genuine expertise in their various fields. They will gladly work with those seeking the same goals. Acknowledging the demands of faith and endowed with its force, they will unhesitatingly devise new enterprises, where they are appropriate, and put them into action. The laity should also know that it is generally the function of their well-formed Christian conscience to see that the divine law is inscribed in the life of the earthly city; from priests they may look for spiritual light and nourishment. Let the laity not imagine that their pastors are always such experts, that to every problem which arises, however complicated, they can readily give them a concrete solution, or even that such is their mission. Rather, enlightened by Christian wisdom and giving close attention to the teaching authority of the Church (*Mater et Magistra*, n. 4) let the laity take on their own distinctive role."[111]

In summary, in their duty to animate temporal reality with the Christian spirit, lay people are not mere executors, but creators of social thought. Their work of in-

108 John Paul II (1989): Apostolic Exhortation Christifideles Laici, n. 15: AAS 8: 413–415.

109 Cf. Catholic Church, Code of Canon Law, Washington, D.C., Canon Law Society of America, n. 298.

110 Cf. Mater et Magistra, n. 1.

111 Ibid., n. 43, AAS 58 (1966): 1061–1064.

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terpretation and translation of the social doctrine is, in fact, enriched by the specific experience of faith and the knowledge of which they are depositaries.[112] This is very useful in updating and spreading the Christian social doctrine, which can develop its own virtue thanks to a fruitful and constant communication and unity of purpose among the various components of the People of God.

8 Conclusion

As far as the relationship between civil society and religious communities is concerned, the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* makes the affirmation of the II Vatican Council about religious freedom as a fundamental right because "the truth cannot be imposed except by virtue of its own truth."[113] Such respect for freedom, together with the affirmation of truth, constitutes the normative criterion in the relations between the Church and civil society. In this context, recognizing the affirmation of the healthy secularity of civil society, the Catholic Church also claims its own place and role in the promotion of the integral good of the human person and of society and is oriented towards building the civilization of love through different means of healthy cooperation with the diverse relationships, resources and associations of the various groups of citizens, cultural and associative, that make up civil society.

The task of the Church is that of orienting the next developments of this intense relationship between the various protagonists of civil society. And it is in this direction that the social doctrine of the Church as well as its pastoral and advocacy work in the social and through its own and other organizations of civil society and in its struggles for the sake of social justice that it shows itself attentive and farsighted, in being able to identify the most important nodes for the construction of a society tailored to the human person, such as the problems related to the worlds of information, participation of all in the decisions of the social body, especially in the economic field, and the formation of a collective consciousness that knows wisely to contemplate the needs of innovation and technological progress with the vigilance and the promotion of the weakest subjects of society. The Church represents an authoritative voice and action in the current controversy. It is a voice, however, which does not want to speak from a privileged position from on high, but which intends to interact with the stakeholders in society themselves through attitudes of attentive participation and cordial closeness to the expectations and challenges of civil society.

112 Cf. John Paul II (1989): Apostolic Exhortation Christifideles Laici, n. 15: AAS 81: 413–415.
113 Compendium, n. 421; Dignitatis Humanae, n. 1.

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Open to the future of humanity, without fear and without reticence, the place and role that the Church intends to follow, with farsightedness and determination, is to obey the voice of God who sends it *into* the world, although not *from* the world: "To these basic questions about the meaning and purpose of human life the Church responds with the proclamation of the Gospel of Christ, which liberates the dignity of the human person from changing opinions and ensures the freedom of men and women as no human law can do."[114] So the Church not only offers "service provision, advocacy, watchdog, intermediary, self-help, community building, political discourse, and self-fulfillment,"[115] it offers much more, which is what makes it a distinct institution, community, or set of relationships, from the political community, political authority, civil society, the market, or the family.

One of the merits of the Church is to have promoted the awareness of the provisional character of the responses of civil society, political authority and the market to the private and common good, insofar as they do not come from the source that animates and nourishes all civil and sociological commitments: love – which is the foundation not only of persons in their individual dimension, but also of society in its complex social articulation: "In order to make society more human, more worthy of the human person, love in social life – political, economic and cultural – must be given renewed value, becoming the constant and highest norm for all activity."[116] Only love can completely transform humanity.[117] This is the special contribution of the Church to civil society. As Karl Rahner has beautifully expressed: "If one day the sun of God really sets, if one day humanity ends up consuming the patrimony of its history as an "ideology", if the Church no longer exercised its salvific mission, apparently so useless and just as irreplaceable, that day one would touch with one's hand that even humanity has lost itself."[118]

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114 Ibid., n. 576.

115 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.

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117 Cfr. John Paul II (2001), Apostolic Letter Novo Millennio Ineunte, nn. 49–51: AAS 93: 301–304.

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Rocco D’Ambrosio

The Catholic Church and Civil Society: An Introduction

Religious communities live their experience on different levels: personal, communitarian, social and political. In their daily life they meet and deal with all the framework of society. They work in this world, but their goal is beyond history. An example for this is the Christian community, of which Jesus says “It is in the world but does not belong to this world.”[1]

Any analysis carried out on the subject of civil society – in Italy as in other countries – immediately discloses several difficulties stemming from the fact that the topic remains one of the most complex and pervasive in Western thought. It stands, in fact, at a crossroads of social, political, cultural, and economic visions. This approach is common to all countries. “Citizens today entertain very diverse and more often than not mixed identities and loyalties: to their local community, region, or nation, to Europe, or as world citizens; to their employers (“I’m a Coca-Cola man”), their clubs, their causes (“my loyalty is with the handicapped”), their movements (“I belong to all those who are fighting for a better world”), and in more cases than meets the eye, to their religious beliefs. Indeed, if forced to choose between nation and religion, many people today would put religion first, and this would apply not only to minorities and citizens on the fringes of society. The civic space has emerged as a separate, visible, forceful, albeit very heterogeneous arena of public discourse and action.”[2] So, it is quite clear that all citizens, around Europe, have mixed identities and allegiances. It is with this mix that they operate in Civil Society. In other words, in all sectors of civil society, human beings live their relationships, both from the anthropological and ethical point of view. It is absurd to think that those who make up the various organizations of civil society are different from those who make up state institutions. Human beings are what they are everywhere; what changes are the contexts and, with them, the practices, the rules, the goals, the organizational models, and the cultural, economic, religious, and ideological dynamics.

“Civil society is the sphere of relations between individuals, between groups, between social classes, that take place outside the relations of power which characterize state institutions. In other words, civil society is represented as the locus of economic, ideological, social, and religious conflicts that the state has the task of solving, mediating or suppressing; as the basis from which the questions queried by

1 Jo: 17, 11–18

2 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1.: 1 ff.

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the political system are called upon to answer; as the field of the various forms of mobilization, association, organization of the social forces that move towards the conquest of political power", writes Norberto Bobbio.[3] In Italy, there are many who fall into the trap of considering civil society a compact and homogenous reality, but it is impossible to accurately understand the topic in this way. For this reason, broad references to civil society should be avoided. As far as possible, one must identify subjects and contexts of the phrase as precisely as possible in order to avoid harmful overgeneralization and sometimes a demagogic exploitation by institutions. In the complexity of civil society religious communities are also included.

Two questions stand out spontaneously: Are Religious Communities part of civil society? Do religious communities facilitate or impede their status as civil society organizations? In order to answer such questions, in the Italian case, it is important to say that different models of relationship exist between the Catholic Church and Civil Society. However, it is necessary to offer some specific comments on the nature of the Catholic community. As in many parts of the world, the Catholic Church is a legally recognized institution in Italy. Its relationship with civil society takes place in different forms. With Jose Casanova, we can say that the role of the Church in public life varies and changes accordingly to different countries and areas of the world; this role is profoundly impacted by the "structural presence that any church accepts between state and society."[4]

With regard to the Roman Catholic Church, the following points may be made:

The Catholic community is part of civil society because the majority of its members are part of society and the majority of its activity takes place in that context.

The Catholic community is an institution, and in its degree of institutionalization it bears a closer resemblance to a complex reality like a state, rather than a smaller and simpler community. We see this expressed, for example, in debates on various types of "power" within a national or local community, which usually include references to national, parliamentary, judicial, military, and religious power.

The Catholic community, through its activities and its educational work, both supports and obstructs the growth of civil society. However, this entire reality is still developing. "In any case, the impact of religion and religiosity in Italian civil society remains clear, but its connotations are changing. Indeed, we can see on the horizon a new and wide-ranging body of a large quantitative and qualitative sociological research (previous research dates back to 1994–95) that is identifying and studying the significance of new dynamics which are taking shape."[5]

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3 Bobbio, N.; Matteucci, N.; Pasquino, G. (1990): Dizionario di Politica, TEA, Torino: 1065.
4 Casanova, J. (1994): Public Religions in the Modern World, University of Chicago Press: 70.
5 Cipriani, R. (2009): "Sociologie della società civile globale" in Riccioni, ed., Comunicazione, cultura, territorio. Contributi della sociologia contemporanea, Mimesis Edizioni, Milano-Udine: 78.

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Let me consider only the third of above mentioned aspects and outline synthetically the type of relationship that the Catholic community in Italy maintains with civil society. In general, one can say that the institutions in a national community, from the smallest to the largest (which is the state) in their relationships to civil society, adopt the following different operational models:

Absolutist: Following Hegel, the institution considers itself to be the only point of reference, while civic society is imperfect, in need of being overcome by or absorbed into its own institutional logic.

Feudalistic: The institution recognizes civil realities but seeks to insert itself into them in a relationship of cultural, economic, and practical domination.

Competitive: The institution puts itself in competition with civil society, especially in the area of social services and political representation.

Separatist: The institution sees civil realities as completely different from and foreign to its own actions, to the extent that a relationship with them is considered to be unnecessary.

Collaborative: The institution acknowledges the existence of various aspects of civil society and collaborates on specific projects and strategies.

These models have all, in various ways, marked the life of the Catholic community in Italy. The central issue is: "What we were aiming at in particular was to see whether and if so, how religious communities are moving away from being part of a system of government, and are becoming part of what is generally termed civil society, what effects this has on these communities, what effects this may have on civil society in general."[6]

The relationship between the Italian Catholic community and civil society is, in every context and at every moment of history, a complex reality. Indeed, all institutions, including the church, are complex phenomena; they can be fully understood and evaluated only through careful examination of all that makes them up. Not everyone needs to be a specialist in institutional analysis, but everyone should, for their own good, understand an institution's processes to a degree proportionate to their role in it. In the case of the Church, this becomes a duty and a necessity for all pastors and pastoral leaders. In particular, it is important to acquire the tools to help us understand what human sciences have to teach us. Drawing from them, we can equip ourselves with the basics that will allow us to make a fair assessment of the anthropological and ethical processes that most strongly mark the Church's life.

In this relationship there are important issues that must be clarified: the individual and anthropological level of the relationship; the heritage of the religious community and civil society; the choice between a "State approach" and a "non-State approach"; the rule of politics. The complexity of the modern world demands,

6 Strachwitz, Rupert (2019): Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a complex Interplay, De Gruyter, Vol 1: 6.

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on the part of pastors, educators, parents, and catechists, a degree of respect and caution in assessing the reality around us. Perhaps more than ever before, these roles demand both a great love for the people one serves and a love for learning. Calmness, patience, courage, and vision are all necessary to process and assess all that goes on inside and outside the Christian community.

Pope Francis reminds us: "It is important to interpret reality by looking it in the face. Ideological or partial interpretations are useless; they only feed illusion and disillusionment. It is important to interpret reality, but also to live this reality without fear, without fleeing, without catastrophism…. Discernment is neither blind nor improvised: it is carried out on the basis of ethical and spiritual criteria; it involves asking oneself about what is good, it entails thinking about our own values regarding man and the world, a vision of the person in all his dimensions, especially the spiritual and the transcendent; the person may never be considered human material."[7]

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Udo Steinbach

A Note on Religious Political Ideology: The Case of Islam

1 Background

Since the dramatic encounter between imperialist Europe and the Islamic world in the nineteenth century, the perception of Islam has been different between Western Non-Muslims and Muslims themselves.There have been many voices in the West that predicted the end of Islam all together or at least anticipated a dwindling role of religion in the process of political, societal and economic modernization of the Islamic world. The latter conclusion was drawn from the European experiences facing the challenges of industrialization and modernization. This perception was, by no means, shared by Muslims themselves. For the majority among them the question was not how much religion would remain in the political institutions and in society at large in the process of change and modernization. Instead, they discussed the sort of Islam that would be able to stand competition with the West; and whether Islam was compatible with the concept of modernity which lay at the roots of European superiority. Optimism prevailed at the turn of the century. After First World War, however, when Muslim elites all over the world felt deceived by European promises, and imperialist schemes continued to dominate the Muslim World, the mood changed. In 1928 the founding of the *Muslim Brotherhood* was a significant act: Instead of a synthesis of Islamic principles and Western modernity, a radical separation between them was deemed to be the way out of crisis and inferiority. "Islam" would be the solution (*al-islam huwa-l-hall*); which meant that only founding a state based on Islamic law (*shari'a*) would be a realistic way to lead the Muslim world again to grandeur and equal footing with the West.

After the Second World war, the crisis aggravated. In the perception of the overwhelming majority of Muslims, the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine was seen as being once more defeated by the West. By the beginning of the 1950, new elites, it is true, came to power in many Muslim states, particularly in the Middle East. They no longer sought for a synthesis between Islamic values and Western modernity. For them following Western ideological paradigms would solve the crisis and eventually would lead to ending the constant humiliation by the West, not least in the form of a growing political and economic strength of Israel.

The attraction of this paradigm was smashed at one blow in June 1967, when Israel attacked three neighbouring Arab-Muslim countries and defeated them within forty eight hours. The rulers of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan had been following a Western inspired concept of modernity. The desaster of June 1967 made many Muslims realize that "modernity" in the Western understanding would not be applicable to

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Muslim societies. Now, the road was open to protagonists who advocated the establishment of "Islamic orders" as radical alternatives to Western concepts of development. Since the beginning of the 1970s, radical concepts including violant changes of existing systems were put into practice. The Islamic revolution of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran succeeded in changing a pro Western political regime internally in 1978/79, and the *mudschahedeen* in Afghanistan in the 1980ies in resisting the Soviet superpower.

2 The nature of Islamic Extremism

By the end of the 1990ies, Western experts had forcast the decline of political Islam. The Soviet Union hat collapsed and the East-West-Conflict had come to an end; between Israel and the Palestinians a peace process had strarted. Obviously, the experts were wrong. The terrorist attack of 9/11 heralded a new era of Islamic extremism. The "war on terrorism" which was waged after the terror attack in 2001, not only did not bring the phenomen to a close. On the contrary, religious violance has since spread to most parts of the Islamic world, and even penetrated Muslim segments of Western societies. By 2014, a terrorist organisation called "Islamic State" managed to set up a *jihadi* state in parts of the territories of Iraq and Syria headed by a self-appointed "caliph". Waging war against everybody not being seen as a truely sunni believer, it is supported by a bunch of considerably numerous fellow travellers from many parts, even from Europe including the Western Balkan countries. So, when dealing with the movement, one has to understand, where are its roots and what were the reasons why it so "successfully" withstood the efforts of the international community to come to grips with ist. Six observations may be put forward:

1. The phenomenon of political Islam is deeply rooted in the ideological and political history not only of the Middle East and the Islamic world at large, but of Europe as well. The 20th century in Europe has been called the "century of ideologies" referring primarily to fascism, national socialism and communism. In fact, it has an equivalent in the Middle East: islamism (to frame it from a European perception). When the First World War ended, the traditional order legitimized throughout history was destroyed; new legitimizing frameworks for political orders had to be found. In Europe, nationalism and communism seemed to be most appropriate to give the people a new sense of orientation and the state its legitimacy. While "fascism" and "national socialism" (in its German perversion) appealed more to emotions and feelings referring to a vague notion such as "nation", Karl Marx had managed to give "socialism" a more scientific appearance. The way towards classless society was marked by a road map according to which one could measure, at which point a respective society would have ar-

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rived. Lenin went a step further introducing the notion of the "avantgarde"; belonging to the avantgarde meant to have the "correct consciousness". Those who belonged to it were legitimized to take action in order to transform the society into its final stage, the classless society. To use violence in order to achieve this was not only legitimate, but necessary in case resistance had to be overcome on the way. The bloody history of Marxism-Leninism from the very first day in Petrograd (1917) until the death of Stalin (1953) illustrates what it has meant.

The elites in the Middle East and beyond in the Islamic world were not radical to such an extent. Nationalism became a guiding force with respect to the new post-Ottoman order; but the German – racist – version of nationalism never attracted a great number of followers. When the *Muslim Brotherhood* was founded in 1928 (four years after the caliphate had been abolished by the Turkish Parliament) this could be understood as an indication that Islam sooner or later would be considered a resource to be instrumentalized as a core element in redefining peoples' identity and the state's legitimacy.

Two names stand out as those who, eventually, managed to transform Islam as a religion into a forceful political power: Seyyid Abu l-A'la Moudoodi (1903–1979), an Indo-Pakistani journalist and thinker and Seyyid Qutb (1906–1966) who was of a similar profession as Moudoodi. Among his numerous works, "Ma'alim fi-t-tariq" ("Milestones") is outstanding when one looks for a Muslim parallel to Lenin in terms of ideological consistency and mobilizing force. While using a completely different terminology, the way from ousting an illegitimate government and fighting a sinful (apostate) society to make it abide by the sovereignty of Allah while guided by a religious avantgarde, very much resembles the way from a bourgeois to the classless society guided by the Communist Party. The "correct counciousness" in reading historical processes is substituted by the "correct reading of Coran". This is meant to read the Coran in a way which enables the believer to change society in order to establish hakimiyyat Allah, God's sovereignty. Those who achieve this reading belong to the Islamic Avantgard, the "Party of god", hizb Allah.

Thus, Qutb succeeded in turning Islamic religion into an ideology. Unlike Lenin, however, he never experienced the revolutionary political and societal changes he had anticipated. Instead, innumerous followers "refined" Qutb's general framework into an agenda of revolutionizing their respective societies. The notion of *jihad* was at its centre, not only allowing, but making killing those, who would stand in the way of rendering societies truely "Islamic" compulsory. From the beginning, there were different interpretations of "true" Islam; this meant that the movement never was a homogenious one, but was split up into numerous groups. That was the reason why they not only fought the "infidels" within their own societies or in the West, but equally each other. Nevertheless, the stringent logic of the ideological framework provided a solid basis

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for their activities as long as the preconditions prevailed to which they could apply their “revolutionary” interpretation. On the other hand, as an agenda it was flexible enough to refer to the different realities as existed in the Middle East, North and Subsaharan Africa, Indonesia, Central Asia, the Balkans and, in recent years, even in the Muslim communities in Western Eurpoean countries.

2. In fact, over time, the phenomenon adopted a global dimension. This indicates that there is a widespread perception among numerous Muslim societies that the conditions under which they are living lack basic requirements of a societal, political and economic order in accordance with their belief. As in every society, the majority of citizens tries to come to grips with these deficiencies through peaceful channels, while a minority resorts to an ideology which *in extremis* permits militant struggle. Referring to the first observation above, Islam is being made a resource of change.

   Asked for the reason for the upsurge of violence in the Islamic world, former Iranian president Mohammed Khatami answered that it is the feeling of inferiority. Single acts of violence were perpetrated in the 1970s in Egypt by an organisazion called itself “at-takfir wa-l-higra”. Rapidly violence spread to Afghanistan and Pakistan in the 1980s, and to Algeria and Egypt in the 1990s. It could equally be observed in the Balkans during the Bosnian war and in Chechnya. After September 11th 2001, and in the course of the “war on terrorism” it spread to Southeast Asia and again to North Africa, to Subsaharan countries and Yemen on the Arabian Peninsula. Since the Arab uprising one sees it in former secular Syria and Iraq and of late in Europe. The caliphate of the “Islamic State” established in 2014, constitutes the first State being established by an *jihadist* movement, and attracting Muslim militants from many parts of the globe, including the Balkans.

   Analyzing the rootcauses of the movement presents a very complex and far from homogenous picture. Domestic as well external factors must be drawn into consideration. The uneasy feeling of Western superiority is a very strong motive. The Muslim world is perceived as being subject to the domination by outside powers which execute their domination according to their own political or economic interests. This may happen directly through the projection of military power as in Afghanistan and in Iraq. Or it may happen indirectly by instrumentalizing the ruling elites as puppets to serve the interests of outside powers. Economically, the widening gap between various social strata and widespread poverty exacerbates the feeling of living in an unjust society. Finally, double standards in policial practices seem to confirm that the West sets rules and value systems exclusively to achieve its own purposes. From the policy of Israel to the nuclear issue, there are innumerable cases which are complained about in this respect.

   Accordingly, *jihadi* action is executed in two directions: Against the West, first and foremost the USA, as being charged of masterminding the conspiracy

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against the Muslim world and against the ruling circles in many of Muslim societies as, who alledgedly have turned away from Islam. In order to restore legitimacy, true Islam has to be reinjected into the societies. As there seems to be no other way, it has to be done by force and violance. The various *jihadi* organisations differ over the priorities of the struggle. But looking back over the last decades one easily sees that the frontline is running more within Muslim societies themselves than between the West and the Muslim world. This is confirmed by the most recent examples of Syria and Iraq.

3. Misguided Western policy has been instrumental in letting militant Islamic ideology grow to its present strength, not only in the sense of applying double standards as mentioned. Again and again, the West (in its widest geographical extension) has instrumentalized Islamic militants for its own political purposes. This probably started in the context of the East-West-conflict. The case of the war in Afghanistan has been mentioned. Moreover, Saudi Arabia, a longstanding ally of the USA, has founded many sorts of Islamic political organisations officially and unofficially, and has thus contributed to radicalizing believers, misusing the mosques, spreading a radical Wahhabi interpretation of Islam, and eventually supplying them with money to arm themselves. Other Western countries have been supportive to radical Islamic organisations as well. In the late 1960s Israel supported Hamas against the PLO; after the conflict in Syria had escalated with Bashar al-Asad remaining in power, Turkey for a while colluded with Islamic militants in order to accelerate the fall of the regime in Damascus.

   On the other side, few efforts were made to resort to diplomacy and to try and engage those regarded as radicals in a political manner. Military action onesidedly prevailed. Not only has the West not been ready to talk to "terrorists" or those who are supposed to support such groups. It has missed tremendous chances to engage Islamist states and organisations in bringing about political solutions. After 9/11 Iran supported the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan to fight the Taleban; thus, they were on the same side as the USA, lending indirect support to American troups to drive the Taleban out of Kabul. To the tremendous surprise of the Iranian leadership, in January 2002, President George W. Bush in this "State of the Union" message put them on the "axis of evil". This made it impossible for President Mohammed Khatami, to continue his course of political liberalization against resistance from the hardliner fraction within the religious system of the Islamic Republic. So the ground was prepared for the takeover of a more radical President who sought legitimacy by confronting the West, all the more so since in the years to follow, Iran was dealt with exclusively in the framework of the nuclear issue.

   The second example is no less telling for the onesided agenda setting by the West with regard to dealing with "terrorist" organisations. In January 2006, elections were held to the *Palestinian National Council*, and were won clearly by

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Hamas. The way was open to establish a broad coalition government which would have had every legitimacy to resume negotiations with Israel and solve the Palestinian question on the basis of a two-states concept. Unfortunately, the international community, pressured by the conservative Israeli government under the leadership of Ariel Sharon did not recognize the result of the elections. The argument was that Hamas was a "terrorist organization" and not a political party, which could be accepted as a democratic political actor. As a result, Hamas became more radical and grabbed power in Gaza in 2007 with the consequence of a series of crises and wars since then. The West was not only blamed for disregarding the result of an election, but for monopolizing the principles of democracy to make them serve its own purposes.

As a result of Western domination over the Middle East since the end of World War I, many people in the Middle East tend to see what is happening in the framework of a conspiracy theory. Western policy has been doing a lot to keep this perception alive. The entire episode of getting rid of Saddam Husain is a telling story in this respect. The bunch of lies on which the military operation in 2003 was grounded has contributed a lot to the conviction that "Muslims" are considered pawns of Western interests in the Middle East. This noting was refueled by developments in Iraq and Syria (2014). Since the inception of the revolt in Syria, Western powers have undertaken close to nothing to make the regime in Damascus feel it means its decision to no longer consider Bashar al-Asad the legitimate ruler of the country. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed; half of the population is displaced either in Syria herself or abroad. As to the use of chemical weapons, president Obama had warned against transgressing the "red line". But when it happened in August 2013, the American president abstained from taking action; instead he let himself be manoeuvred to a side track by Russian president Putin. When, however, a few Westerners were cuelly decapitated in the "Islamic State" in front of cameras, he started to wage air strikes against the terrorist organization. People in the Middle East had good reason to again raise the question about the American (Western) agenda vis à vis what was going on in the region.

Finally, in November/December 2014, methods of brutal torture applied by the American secret service against prisoners in the framework of the "war on terrorism" were disclosed. In the eyes of many people in the Muslim world (and not only there), these crimes only confirmed what had already been made public since 2003 in the case of Abu Ghoraib prison. Credibility of the West with regard to the "values" of human rights, human dignity, *habeas corpus* etc., was thus further undermined. In the eyes of Muslims leaning toward an extremist interpretation of Islam, fighting the West (and its "proxies" in the Muslim world) meant encountering it with its own methods.

4. While the relationship between the West and large parts of the Muslim world is deeply shattered, Islamic militants remain a small minority. The overwhelming

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majority refuses Islamist ideology and militant strategies, not to mention terrorism in the name of Islam. This became dramatically obvious in the framework of the Arab uprising which started at the end of 2010/the beginning of 2011 in many places in the Arab world. At the beginning of the protests in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria and elsewhere, militant Islamic groups were completely absent. The basis of the spontaneous uprisings were rooted in civic action of the people, especially of the middle and lower classes. It was only when the process of change stagnated that Islamic militants came into the picture. Islamic political groups such as the *Muslim Brotherhood* committed many mistakes trying to take over the state and claiming legitimacy of their power after having won elections. This in turn instigated the militants to try, on their part, to take over and rule by force. In fact, brutal force in the name of enforcing *shari'a* upon the people became the only way to demonstrate "legitimacy" of the "Islamic State" over "Western" forms of governance such as constitutions, elections, pluralism and freedom of the individual.

In addition, outside interference contributed to the chaos developing anyhow. Saudi-Arabia, some of the Gulf States, and Iran supported their respective clients, some of them still in power like the Asad regime supported by Iran, or back in power. The military in Egypt was supported by Saudi-Arabia and some Gulf States. What started as power politics has to some extent adopted a confessionalist character. Thus, the Shi'a – Sunna divide has become more prominent than at any time during the 20th century. Within the Sunni branch of Islam the *Muslim Brotherhood* has an ambiguous role: While it is suppressed by Saudi-Arabia and some Gulf states, it is supported by Turkey and Qatar. Also Islamic radicals destroyed Sufi holy shrines, Christian churches, and sanctuaries of the Yazidis.

5. Nothing is more successful than success. This self-evident wisdom may also be applied to Islamic radicalism. With the Asad regime leaving parts of Syria outside the control of the state, Islamic radicals have managed to fill the gap. From Syria the movement has radiated back into Iraq. Finally, in 2014 an Islamic caliphate was established on the territorys of both countries. It was not only political military success which made the movement attractive; it managed to get access to a variety of financial sources which permitted it to buy the hardware for waging war, attracting volunteers to join the ranks of the *jihadis* and, to some extent, laying the rudimentary base for administrating its territory in a state – like way.

   In addition to its nature as a stringent ideology talked about at the beginning and to frustration over Western policy, the importance of the material aspect should not be underrated. In large parts of the Muslim world, young people are suffering from poverty, unemploymement and social marginalization. Joining *jihad*, means they earn some money while, at the same time, fighting for the valuable ideal of a State in which pure and genuine Islam may be practiced. In

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> the Western Balkans, militant *jihadi* elements became active in the context of the war in Bosnia in the 1990s. With the war in Syria and Iraq and the founding of the "Islamic State", an opportunity seems to have reopened to synthesize Islamic idealism with material needs which would not have been the case when simply sitting in economically poor places such as Bosnia, Kosowo and Albania. The "success" of the Islamic project is ensured by professionally making use of the media and the internet. From this point of view, the *jihadi* groups operate in an absolutely modern way. The intensive presence in the internet is one of the strongest incentives for the decision to join *jihad* in Syria or elsewhere. The sense of "success" is instilled into the mindset of potentially *jihadi* youngsters by applying extremely brutal sanctions when dealing with the "enemy". Decapitation made public in the internet is the most brutal, but also, the most efficient demonstration of resolve to win victory over the "enemies". The youngsters who had gone lost within their own societies have the illusion that they have found a political and spiritual "order" which will provide them with guidance.

Attempts to explain the phenomenon of Islamic radicalism in Western societies, thus have to address the societies, from which *jihadis* originate. In the West, the value system of which is dominated by a materialistic agenda. Many young people have a problem in coping with it. A feeling of being lost and frustrated prevails. Neither the political class nor the Christian churches offer an way forward. In such a situation even for non-Muslim youngsters Islam in its most basic and, for that matter, radical appearance seems to offer an alternative. Young Muslims who have a poblem being accepted in Western society, but also – *nota bene* – non-Muslims, commit themselves to the principles of a religious strand which offers them guidance. By the way, this not only applies to men, but to women as well. Having taken the decision to opt out of the society into which they have been born, they even accept the role of a bride of a man, who decides to fight for Allah, which means for the founding of an alternate, just (as grounded on relgious rules) society. Serving him the considers to be her specifically female contribution to this war.

3 What is the agenda?

Research has shown that Islamic extremism is anything but a phenomenon related to civil society. It is an ideological movement couched in religious terms that aims at subjecting entire Muslim societies under a totalitarian leadership. The multidimensional complexity of the issue makes it difficult to find an appropriate political answer. The regimes in the Islamic world and in the West have confined themselves to a reaction mostly built on security measures. *Jihadi* vielance is seen in its military dimension, which, as has been shown, does not reflect the entire complexi-

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ty. To meet the challenge and to find a way back to peacefully living together within Muslim societies and between Muslim societies and the West will be a long process which requires action on various levels.

1. As parts of the movement go violent themselves, the use of military means to confront them, is required. But military measures must be clearly defined and transparent. The use of indiscriminate strategies and measures in terms of weapon systems and targets to be hit must be avoided. E.g., in the past, the use of drones. has created as many radical new enemies as it has struck real fighters.

   Fighting by mililtary means, however, must not be seen as an exclusive task to be shouldered by Western powers. The challenge is for the people in the Islamic world. It is them who suffer most; therefore the task to defend themselves has to be accepted by the Muslim societies themselves. Western military may give a cover, support and training. But they should refrain from on the ground.
2. The elites in the West and in the Muslim world have to put their relationship on a new basis. A broad alliance of people of good will (and this is the majority in every society) has to stand together against extremism of every kind everywhere. To achieve this, the mindset has to be changed in Western societies, turning from an exclusive to an inclusive perception of the Islamic neighbourhood. This applies first and foremost to Europe. For many decades, in the West, Islam and Muslims have been seen as “the other”, as more or less alien to modern values. In the future, in Europe one has to realize that the quality of Europe’s place in the international system in the 21st century, to a large degree, depends on the quality of its relations with its Muslim neighbourhood. This implies a variety of political, economic and cultural strategies not to be discussed here. As to the Muslim societies themselves, theologians (as religion plays such an overwhelming role in individual and public life) should make greater efforts to re-interprete Islam in the light of modern civil society values and realities. From this point of view and in terms of intercultural dialogue, Shi’ite *ulama* seem to be somewhat ahead of their Sunni homologues.
3. Western policy has to give up an attitude of selective respect for international law and human rights. Examples that demonstrate its double standards abound. The scandal of the use of torture by American security forces in the context of “war on terrorism” points in this direction. Instead of working together with authoritarian regimes, who constantly violate the principles of human and civil rights in the name of “stability and security”, support for those strands in the societies that struggle for pluralism and the rule of law should be a policy priority. And the constant violations of human rights and international law by Israel an a case in point for undermining the West’s credibility, particularly vis â vis the Arab world.

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Finally, in the West – and this applies predominantly to European societies – one has to accept that society is in a process of deep changes. Islam has become part of Europe. Obviously, this reality seems to be difficult to accept to large parts of the people. The challenge of inclusion is on the political, social and cultural agenda. If Europe fails to organize a peaceful living, side by side with non-Muslim majorities and Muslim minorities, radicals and fundamentalists in the Muslim world will take every opportunity to blame "the West" of waging another crusade against Muslims and will feel justified to respond violantly. Civil society has a crucial role to play, in providing services, creating awareness, and building communities. In as much as Christian Churches see themselves as civil society acquisitions, they will be accepted by Muslims as imprtant actors, and be able to create a brotherhood of belivers in an increasingly non-believing European world.

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Alejandro Roig

The Rise in Political Power of Brazil's Evangelicals: A Case Study

1 Introduction

Until recently, Catholicism had an unquestioned reign as the popular religion of Brazil. A new Reformation, however, is rapidly unfolding over Latin America, with Brazil at its helm. Protestantism in the country has seen explosive growth over the past couple of decades and their proselytizing continues to see robust success. The current forecast predicts the so-called Evangelical population will compose over half of the Brazilian population by 2030. Such a prediction would have been inconceivable only a few years ago. With nearly as many practising members as Catholicism, the Evangelicals are not only transforming the religious fabric of the country, they are altering its political culture as well. The growing churches, most notably the Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches, are very active in television and online social media to appeal to a wider, younger audience. This approach, in addition to church services and practices tailored to their Brazilian membership has filled a need in the Brazilian religious market, allowing for this impressive growth. This exploration begins with a review of current sociological literature to properly understand the driving factors behind the growth of the Evangelical movement. Further examination will revolve around the political implications of such a fast-growing and passionate Evangelical electorate as politicians use religion as a tool to enter public office. Evangelical voters and politicians frame the political world as an extension of the very active fight between a Christian God and the Devil; their policies reflect this fact. With a theology that views the Bible as the literal, inerrant word of God, Evangelicals are prone to view policymaking with this lens and support legislation in line with their world view. Evangelicals are making themselves heard most notably as a new bloc that stands in the way of minority religious, indigenous peoples', and LGBT rights legislation. This trend challenges the orthodoxy that, within the modern world order, a country that becomes more capitalistic and more democratic, as is the case with Brazil, will fall in line with Western conceptions of civil rights. With Brazil leading Latin America, and a wave of Evangelicalism spurring up in countries throughout the region, understanding the strength and intentions of these rising political actors has wide-reaching importance.

Furthermore, as the debate as to whether religious communities belong to civil society, long since decided in the affirmative in the context of the United States of America, is reaching other parts of the world, it seems an interesting point that fairly new religious movements in Latin America seem to be going the opposite way in deliberately attempting to gain a power base within the state structure. Finally,

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Brazilian evangelical movements seem to be making their way to Europe through Portugal and Spain, so that this whole case gains particular relevance when discussing the positioning of religious communities in a European context.

2 Brazil is Changing

Brazil, the most powerful country in Latin America, is undergoing a profound political shift. Following an impressive rebound from the Global Financial Crisis, Brazil's growth has since stalled in the wake of years of corruption scandals and political turmoil. The era of the Worker's Party, in power since the early 2000s, has come to a messy end. Brazil's general election in October of 2018 has made for a major political power shift. The new political order that emerges will have profound impacts on the decisions of the country and the direction of the entire region. Pivotal to this moment is the rise of Brazil's Evangelical Christian movement, a rapidly growing and politically active religious revival that is changing Brazil's ideological fingerprint. The movement is frequently misunderstood as an importation from the Global North, more specifically the United States. In truth, the origins of the movement are diverse but have become notably Brazilian in character, a central aspect of their success. Through a history of dynamism and innovation on the part of the Evangelical churches, they have found their way into the opening religious market of the country. The movement has wider repercussions than the growth of emphatic worship and speaking in tongues. Offering ever more services and theologies to suit the needs of the Brazilian public as well as an emphasis on individual conversion, the community building power of the Evangelical churches have successfully spread a new Evangelical worldview amongst millions. This trend is bolstered by an impressive share of the entertainment, traditional and social media markets of the country. Evangelical politicians have risen to prominence on the political scene and the trend shows no sign of slowing. Understanding the growth, tactics, and goals of Evangelicals in Brazil is key to predicting the next moves of the world's fifth most populous nation.

3 Catholic fall and Evangelical rise

Under the Brazilian Constitution, ratified in 1988, religious communities are protected by a freedom of religious practice of all sorts. The Constitution guarantees protection of "places of worship and their rites," it also contains language to pre-

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vent any arm of the government from interacting with any church through subsidies, hindrance, or any alliances.[1] Churches cannot be taxed, and the State is officially isolated from any interactions with religious groups. Despite this official separation between Church and State, the Virgin Mary remains the official patroness of Brazil and the Constitution is sworn "under the protection of God," just some of many state-backed indicators of Catholicism's majority position. The Constitution makes no distinction between its treatment of Catholicism and any other religion; however, this hardly reflects its real position in public life. The Catholic Church has historically been the undisputed religious and moral authority in Brazil. Data from the first census in 1872 shows 99.7 percent of the population self-identified as Catholic.[2] Such entrenched religious dominance gave the Church political and cultural capital that it used to maintain its privileged position for decades. The hegemony of the Church, dating from the days of the Portuguese conquistadors, provided a distinctly elitist and conservative influence on the country. Some, like political scientist Daniel Levine, fault the Catholic Church for being a "lazy monopolist" during the twentieth century that focused on preserving legal and social structures that maintained its power and delaying Latin America's advance into modernization.[3] The 1950s and 1960s saw the rise of Liberation theologians throughout Latin America, the Catholic priest and theologian Leonardo Boff being one of the most prominent advocates for this theology in Brazil. This liberal theology, which highlighted Catholics' responsibility for the political liberation of the poor and the oppressed became very popular throughout Latin America but was controversial for what was perceived as the incorporation of Marxist ideology. Following the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the shift of the region towards this theology was rapid. An increase in explicit attention to the poorer citizens and to long-term charitable solutions to the problems of poverty marked this period. Tensions arose from the highest levels of the Catholic hierarchy attempting to reign in priests to the Catholic orthodoxy, and warning priests away from a stance perceived as too political.[4]

This is only one example of the difficulty that the centralized structure of the Catholic Church has had in reigning in those who are nominally Catholic but whose practice and beliefs stray significantly from the views in Rome. The popular Catholicism practiced in many rural parts of the country is known for elements that are distinctly against orthodox doctrine. In the northeast, it is common to hear praises of the miracle-performing priest Padre Cicero who was suspended by the Church in

1 "Brazil's Constitution of 1988 with Amendments through 2014," 2018: 202.

2 Alves, Jose Eustaquio Diniz; Cavenaghi, Suzana Marta; Barros, Luiz Felipe Walter: "A transição religiosa brasileira e o processo de difusão das filiações evangélicas no Rio de Janeiro"

3 Lopez, Lisa: "God Is Not Dead: The Decline of Catholicism in Latin America." Council on Hemispheric Affairs

4 "An Unruly Bunch." (2009): The Economist, May 14.

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the nineteenth century on charges of mystification.[5] The syncretic nature of many people's Catholic faiths, where native and Afro-Brazilian faiths fused with Catholicism to avoid persecution, further complicates the hold of the central authority over the faith of the citizens in this new age. Tensions within the Catholic Church led to ineffective mobilization, making it unable to adequately address the rising trend of Evangelical churches. Attempts to adopt popular Evangelical practices and incorporate them within Catholic contexts and sermons, like Catholic Charismatic Renewal, saw limited success in slowing the Evangelical rise.[6]

Evangelicals have seen tremendous growth in the past few decades and by monitoring the trends of the country, one expects this growth to continue.

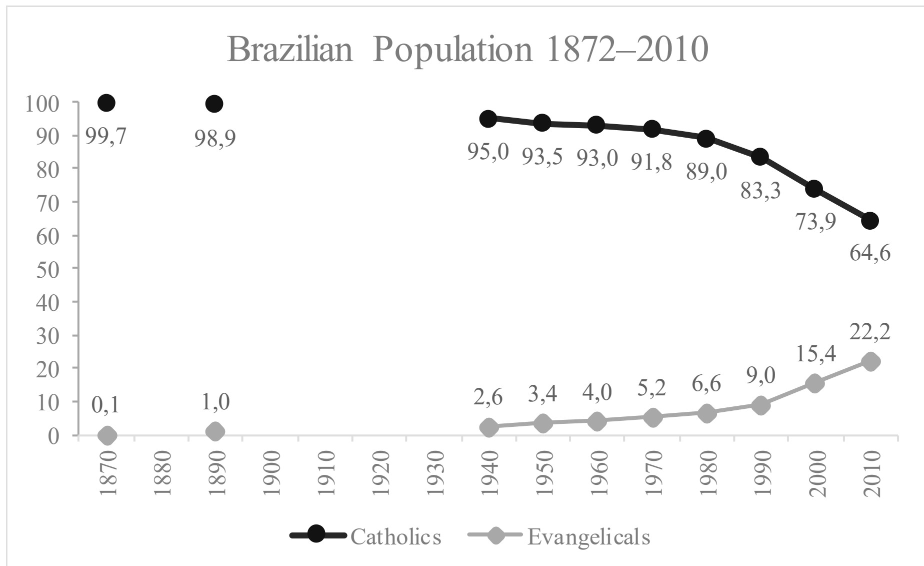

Figure 1: Percentage of Catholics and Evangelicals
Source: Brazilian Census administered by Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics

Catholicism maintained its prominence with over ninety percent of the population subscribing to it until 1980, when the fall of Catholicism in the country began to turn more marked. Evangelicals, on the other hand, were an inconsequential minority religious group that surged in popularity only recently. In their study of this religious "transition", José Eustâquio Diniz Alves et al. liken the rise of evangelicals

5 Ibid.
6 Lopez, Lisa. "God Is Not Dead: The Decline of Catholicism in Latin America." Council on Hemispheric Affairs

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to the "Diffusion of Innovations" theory from rising technology literature.[7] They view Evangelicalism as filling a need within the opening -religious marketplace of Brazil with the current upswing representing the Early Adopters, likely only to continue with an increasing pattern of growth. With the de-normalization of Catholicism and the increasing pluralism of the Brazilian religious market, Alves et al. believe that the rising acceptability of non-Catholicism allows for an even faster rate of change for the decrease of Catholicism. They uphold the state of Rio de Janeiro as a microcosm of a future Brazil, because the state has the lowest number of Catholics in the country and consequently, they believe, has seen the fastest drop of Catholicism.

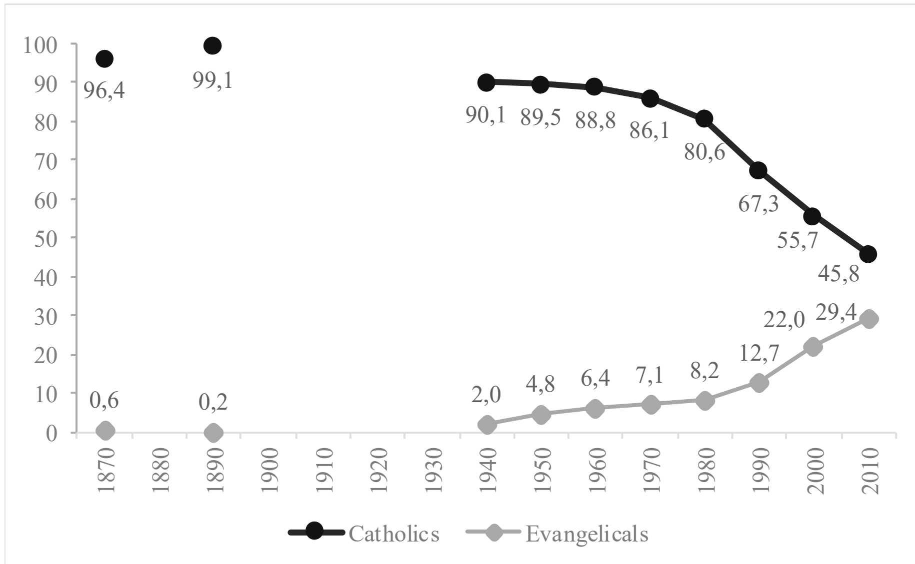

Figure 2: Catholics and Evangelicals in the Population of the State of Rio de Janeiro
Source: Brazilian Census administered by Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics

The survey indicates that, as is the trend across all twenty-seven Brazilian states, the lower the percentage of Catholics in a state, the higher the drop-out rate from Catholicism becomes. This suggests a positive feedback trend is in place and that Catholicism reduction is set only to increase in speed. The survey also examines different age groups' rates of Catholicism and has found that younger people tend to convert away from Catholicism at higher rates than older individuals; this trend has

7 Alves, Jose Eustaquio Diniz; Cavenaghi, Suzana Marta; Barros, Luiz Felipe Walter: "A transição religiosa brasileira e o processo de difusão das filiações evangélicas no Rio de Janeiro"

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become more pronounced every decade since 1970, further pointing to a positive feedback trend. Evangelical communities are particularly adept at maintaining youth membership.[8] Current predictions estimate the number of Evangelicals to reach fifty percent of the population by the year 2030.[9] The rapidly accelerating transition of Brazil's religious landscape to a pluralistic and heavily Evangelical one signals new territory in the history of this country and the region.

4 The Evangelical Movement

"Evangelical" is a broad term used in Brazil to refer to Protestants in general, but the rising tide of Evangelicalism is mostly due to a new wave of Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches that have hit a chord in the Brazilian religious imagination. Protestantism has existed in Brazil for centuries, with the introduction of Presbyterian, Lutheran, and Baptist missionaries. These denominations are called the "historical" Protestants in Brazil because their roots date much further back than the Pentecostals. These "historical" churches are growing at a much slower rate than the Pentecostals and currently make up less than a third of all Brazilian Evangelicals. Pentecostalism arrived in Brazil in 1910, shortly following the Azusa Street revival in Los Angeles, known as the birth of the global Pentecostal movement.[10] Growth remained negligible until the middle of the 20th century, with the characteristic explosive growth and growing recognition of Pentecostalism only appearing in the 1980s. Because Pentecostalism was in its infancy when it first reached Brazil it was able to grow with the habits of the Brazilian population. Its growth did not necessitate a dependence on US churches like historical churches had, and this contributed to its success.

The growth of Pentecostalism in the country can be divided into three waves, the first of which began in the earlier part of the century. The first wave of Pentecostalism saw the rise of the "Assemblies of God" and the "Christian Congregation." In this early wave, it is notable that all of these churches were founded by foreigners, a trend that shifted over time. Founded in 1911, the Assemblies of God are still among the largest Pentecostal churches in the country. Two Swedes initially created this church in Belem, in the North of the country. One of the only major Protestant groups not formed in the Rio-Sao Paulo axis, this became a defining characteristic of this denomination. Assemblies of God members from the poorer North and Northeast of the country would later move to Rio and Sao Paulo for work, laying the

8 Dores Campos Machado, Maria das. (2006): Politica e Religao: A Participacao Dos Evangelicaos Nas Eleicoes. FGV Editora.

9 Londono, Diana: "Evangelicals in Brazil." Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

10 Freston, Paul: "Pentecostalism in Brazil: A Brief History." Religion 25, no. 2.

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groundwork for the first truly national Pentecostal church. Although founded by Swedes, the church quickly came under autonomous Brazilian leadership and reflected hierarchical structures common in rural Brazil, like the apprenticeship to *caudilhos* required of new pastors. Their success has endured, with an estimated twenty-two and a half million members today throughout the country.[11]

The Christian Congregation is another large church dating back to the first wave of Pentecostalism in Brazil. It is the country's oldest Pentecostal church and one of the largest in the state of Sao Paulo. The church was founded by Italian emigrant Luigi Francescon who had received a prophecy that he must preach to the Italian world.[12] He visited Italian-American communities throughout the US, spent some time in Buenos Aires, and finally came to Sao Paulo in 1910 which had a significant Italian working class. The Congregation is defined by its rural and small-town membership, and proselytizing practices are explicitly defined to be contained to within a church or person to person contact. Mass media methods including radio, television, literature, or even open-air preaching, common in other churches, are banned by the Christian Congregation and have hampered the Church's growth past the state of Sao Paulo.[13]

The second wave of Pentecostalism, coming about in mid-20th-century Brazil, was led by the Church of the Foursquare Gospel, Brazil for Christ, and the God is Love Church. The Church of the Foursquare Gospel is a church of American origin whose early years exemplify what would become the growing nationalism that defined Brazilian Pentecostal churches. The first missionaries were ex-actors in American Western films, who traveled throughout Sao Paulo state in a "National Evangelization Crusade," performing evangelical services in circus tents.[14] Initial growth slowed due to organizational weaknesses, with the church losing pastors and membership to more "Brazilian" churches like Brazil for Christ. After importing ideas and practices from the Los Angeles-based leadership, the church underwent an import-substitution process wherein the techniques became adapted to Brazil and eventually became fully autonomous. Techniques like "calling people sinners, threatening them with hellfire, and criticizing their habits at the first opportunity," were replaced by a new emphasis on healing, both physical and psychological, says historian Julio Rosa.[15] Adjustment to the Brazilian religious market allowed for the success of this church whose Brazilian membership now amounts to over three million and is rising.[16] Despite the reputation of Pentecostal churches as conservative and

11 "AD BELEM | Igreja Evangélica Assembléia de Deus Ministério do Belém | Fone: 2796–9122."
12 Freston, Paul: "Pentecostalism in Brazil: A Brief History." Religion 25, no. 2.
13 "From Modesty to Ostentation – Pentecostalism in Brazil."
14 Freston, Paul: "Pentecostalism in Brazil: A Brief History." Religion 25, no. 2.
15 Rosa, Júlio (1978): O Evangelho Quadrangular no Brasil. 2nd edn., n/p.
16 "Brazil | The Foursquare Church."

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fundamentalist, the Foursquare Church has women pastors making up over thirty-five percent of their clergy, which even the historical churches in this notoriously *machista* country come nowhere near. Politicians from this church are typically veteran pastors with a long history within the organization. Arising around the same time, the Brazil for Christ Church was founded in 1955, the first Pentecostal church to be founded by a Brazilian and the first church to elect politicians. Arising during the tenure of revered president Juscelino Kubitschek who planned to move the country forward "fifty years in five," the church's founder Manoel de Mello broke many religious taboos in establishing Brazil for Christ. A working-class migrant from the Northeast region of the country, de Mello's religious tradition was rooted in the Assemblies of God. He later joined the new Foursquare crusade but quickly became a controversial preacher and left under criticism for charlatanism.[17] The church he founded was molded by the context of its founding, reflecting a nationalist attitude because of the contemporary trends in favor of rejection of perceived foreign domination, especially prominent in the worldly Sao Paulo region. His style and message differed from what was typical of the time, his rhetoric was strident and conveyed a combative, conquering rhetoric as opposed to a traditional Pentecostal mindset which was more defensive. As radio grew in use and popularity, the church further innovated by investing in radio shows. A priority among Pentecostals to stray from appearing "worldly" prevented them from taking advantage of what was seen as secular infrastructure, but Brazil for Christ rented cinemas and stadiums and even experimented with television programming.[18] Brazil for Christ, in the backdrop of a flourishing populist political culture in Sao Paulo, further took on Pentecostal taboos by supporting the first Pentecostal politician in 1962. Since then, internal schisms have damaged the growth of the church, but its innovations made it into a new Brazilian religious force that had never been seen. Other traditions would adopt many of its practices.

The final exemplary church to discuss which came out of the second wave is the Pentecostal God is Love Church. Its founder was David Miranda, from the culturally-distinct and rural south of the country. He was a convert from Catholicism who came to Sao Paulo to find work and founded the church in 1962 at the age of twenty-six. From the outset, the church invested heavily in radio stations, reaching over fifty to play the church's program while owning fourteen stations. Meanwhile, members are forbidden from watching any form of television, a sign of the times during which the church was established. God is Love represents another way in which the diversification of the religious market has allowed new churches to arise, to address ever increasing niches. The church attracts the very poor and those who prefer a demanding doctrine composed of an extensive list of prohibitions. These

17 Freston, Paul: "Pentecostalism in Brazil: A Brief History." Religion 25, no. 2.
18 "História." Conselho Nacional (blog).

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include strict regulations on the length and width of women's high-heeled shoes, the colour and type of men's and women's clothing, and a ban on all ball games for children over the age of seven. This highly prescriptive doctrine requires compliance at risk of suspension from membership Despite the intense commitment required, the sect has seen growth and has established practices that were adopted by the third wave of Pentecostalism. These practices, precursors of what were to become trademark aspects of Pentecostalism, included a new focus on the demonic translating into a prominence of exorcisms in the service, interviews with those inhabited by demons, and calls of "burn" to force demons out of homes.[19] Other additions that were widely adopted from God is Love is a combative outlook on other religions, specifically the popular Afro-Brazilian-influenced Spiritist movement called Umbanda. Additionally, the church innovated in the integration of uniformed lay members to help in services and the incorporation of Catholic-like elements such as the anointing of objects and people with oil and periods in the calendar year requiring special prayer.[20]

This long history of growth and innovation by Pentecostals became successively quicker, leading up to the tumultuous third wave of Brazilian Pentecostalism exemplified by outstanding success of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. This wave, occurring around the year 1980, saw the first real uptick in conversion away from Catholicism which was to define the period. In addition to the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, another church appeared during this period, the International Church of the Grace of God. A glance at their names evidences the distinct nature of this period within Brazilian history. In contrast to the nationalist fervor of the Brazil for Christ Church, the end of the military dictatorship period, which came to a close in 1985, saw a Brazilian people that were ready to open up to the world. The Universal Church was founded by Edir Macedo in 1977 and rapidly grew thanks to the adoption of techniques from other sects and continual innovation as to different types of services until it offered something for everyone, operating near continuously throughout the day. Macedo made use of the growing mass media opportunities in Brazil, which was rapidly infiltrating Brazilian life even in rural areas. Macedo bought failing television network RecordTV, which has since become the second most important television network in the country.[21] The network is known as the media wing of the Universal Church, supporting it when its leaders are embroiled in scandals or running for public office, running Evangelical programming including preachers and Bible-based telenovelas. The rise of neo-Pentecostalism was most prominent during this wave, known for their widespread use of prosperity theology. Prosperity theology is the notion that material wealth on

19 Freston, Paul: "Pentecostalism in Brazil: A Brief History." Religion 25, no. 2.
20 Ibid.
21 Antnunes, Anderson: "The Richest Pastors In Brazil."

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Earth is God's will for the faithful. Pastors encourage generous donations while preaching that their generosity will be met with good fortune, security, and prosperity. The very poor and very rich in the country are mostly Catholics, but the emerging middle-class, and their dreams about a chance of this lifestyle, have fueled the growing prosperity theology churches. The third wave also brought an explosion in saturation of the Evangelical market, with thousands of independent community churches appearing to suit the needs of their community. With the widespread Pentecostal tradition of divine revelations and next to no expectations of formal biblical training in many sects, all it takes is a self-proclaimed pastor to open up a church and members to whom their theology speaks. This goes to show how difficult it can be to pinpoint with precision any sort of unifying Evangelical entity. It is not a label with a single authority, in fact, Evangelicals are made up of many different Christian denominations. Even within the most relevant sub-section of Evangelicals in Brazil, the Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals, the aforementioned waves have produced relatively distinct communities.

Can we garner anything from the label Evangelical, especially when looking at a notion so personal as one's politics? Wouldn't the diversity of parties in Brazil lead to the disparate Evangelical identity to mean little to political outcomes? The above history demonstrates the supreme adaptability of Evangelicals that has led to their tremendous growth. Ever-expanding into the Brazilian religious marketplace with new media strategies and theological practices, their continued growth is all but assured.

5 Evangelicals in Politics

The biggest weapon that Evangelicals have at their disposal is the Evangelical voter. The Evangelical worldview is amenable to a certain type of political mobilization. One belief that defines this worldview is the widespread acceptance of territorial spirits. Evangelicals view themselves as working at an intersection of the world of good and evil, attempting to free the captives of the devil and bring them into God's good reality.[22] This dichotomy makes every action a religious one, of importance within a spiritual war; the physical world is merely an extension of the supernatural battlefield. Territorial spirits heighten the implications of this concept. Territorial spirits are demons, which are fallen angels, that have held their posts within a God-created hierarchy even though they have fallen to the evil side.[23] These malevolent

22 Birman, Patricia (2009): "Feitiçarias, Territórios e Resistências Marginais." Mana 15, no. 2, October: 321–48.
23 Ibid.

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spirits have a specific physical area of influence, a jurisdiction for which they are responsible. The size of these spaces can range from an individual or a neighborhood up to a city or an entire country. The logic of gaining or losing ground not only serves to ideologically justify further evangelization but has implications that stretch into politics. Evangelicals place enormous emphasis on individual conversion and individual communion with God. In the Brazilian context, this tends to resocialize the converted, uprooting them from a social group they formally belonged to and actively immersing individuals into full connection to their church community.[24] This re-socialization creates a new personal environment in which mystical battles are fought for groups and territory. Evangelical churches make their presence known in territory they consider theirs, influencing the actions of the state. Rio-based Anthropologist Patricia Birman observed this phenomenon as church leaders told teachers to avoid certain controversial topics, convinced public institutions to accommodate the church's schedule, have police investigate suspects recommended by the church and more as she writes:

Garbage collectors recognize the political importance of keeping the plaza clean in front of the church or the pastor's residence. They also know where garbage may accumulate without eliciting political problems for them. Electricity services also correspond to territorial limits. Thus, the state conforms to the values and demands of the local religious elite through the control of services and the mediation of exchanges between local and governmental institutions. It is not farfetched to state that government officials were "Pentecostalized" in those areas, and that . . . they recognize the religion and cultural unit in that territory as dominant and indivisible.[25]

The focus on territory is manifest not only in local state practices, it leads to larger ambitions. Evangelical pastors frequently preach that electing an Evangelical leader to political power would invite blessings from God, whereas electing a sinner would lead to penalties for the nation. Evangelical politicians most certainly use this rhetorical thread during their campaigns and while in office. In fact, the perception that all events on the physical plane are caused by either good or bad forces in the metaphysical plane, is so interwoven in Evangelical ideology that pastors will go as far to say the purpose of their institution is to gain ground for God through the gaining of political territory in order to seek blessings for the country.[26] The election of

24 Sarmet Moreira Smiderle, Carlos Gustavo, and Wania Amelia Belchior Mesquita (2016): "Political Conflict and Spiritual Battle: Intersections between Religion and Politics among Brazilian Pentecostals.", Edited by: Jennifer Scheper Hughes and Maria das Dores Campos Machado. Latin American Perspectives 43, no. 3, May: 85–103.

25 Birman, Patricia (2009): "Feitiçarias, Territórios e Resistências Marginais." Mana 15, no. 2, October: 321–48.

26 Sarmet Moreira Smiderle, Carlos Gustavo, and Wania Amelia Belchior Mesquita (2016): "Political Conflict and Spiritual Battle: Intersections between Religion and Politics among Brazilian Pentecos-

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Evangelical candidates will add territory to the side of God, in turn, reducing illnesses, natural disasters, traffic, Afro-Brazilian religious worshippers (heathens) and other such perceived manifestations of the evil fomented by the demonic. Evangelical voters are responsive to the teachings and the rhetoric. The voters care more that their candidate falls in line with their religious tradition than any other religious group.[27] This trend is more robust when isolating sects wherein participation in the Evangelical services is more emotive, which are among the currently fastest growing sects.[28] When voting for non-evangelicals, they will favor candidates who appeal to religious imagery and adopt more conservative social policies.[29]

Evangelical political and cultural might expands beyond the well-attended and frequent church services; they have a strong hold on the media landscape of Brazil. The aforementioned RecordTV, owned by Edir Macedo of the Universal Church, is one of the most prominent networks of the country. Macedo also owns two publishing houses and a widely circulated newspaper, the *Folha Universal*.[30] Additionally, radio programming in Brazil, still a very popular form of media, is dominated by Evangelical figures. Entertainment has blossomed with Evangelical representation, with sports figures expected to be very vocal about their faith. In the music industry, the past few decades have seen a tremendous rise in evangelical songs, with many record labels adopting an evangelical project.[31] These songs pervade all genres, from *samba* and *sertanejo* to rap and reggae. The Evangelicals control the airwaves through television and radio to such an extent that an NGO for media democratization has lobbied for the implementation of constitutional law designed to prevent such disproportionate representation; but their appeals have consistently been blocked by the Evangelical coalition in the Congress.[32] Their outreach to the youth has been extended by active presence in multi-media online and through social media. The biggest churches have millions of followers on Facebook and post hourly videos, pictures, reminders, and even the occasional meme. Smaller churches are even more vigorous in their social media presence, taking advantage of the Facebook Live feature and WhatsApp group chats to maintain an active community of all

tals.", Edited by: Jennifer Scheper Hughes and Maria das Dores Campos Machado. Latin American Perspectives 43, no. 3, May: 85–103.

27 Ibid.

28 Alberto Rodrigues, Guilherme, and Mario Fuks: "Grupos Sociais e Preferência Política: O Voto Evangélico No Brasil." Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais; Sao Paulo 30, no. 87 (n.d.).

29 Dores Campos Machado, Maria das (2006): Politica e Religao: A Participacao Dos Evangelicaos Nas Eleicoes. FGV Editora.

30 Oualalou, Lamia (2014): "Dramatic Religious Shift in Brazil as Evangelicals Are Rapidly Overtaking Catholics." AlterNet, November 3.

31 Ibid.

32 Freitas, Rua Rego: "Pesquisadores e jornalistas discutem a relação entre mídia, política e religião no Rio de Janeiro | Intervozes."

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ages that extends through the entire day regardless of physical location. The impact of this social media presence is particularly important for Brazilian youth, since Brazilians spend more time on social media than citizens of almost any other nationality, spending an average 3.3 hours every day on social media sites.[33] The ability to create and maintain a community that prioritizes evangelical values and allegiance has opened the door for a new era of Brazilian politics.

Evangelical politicians have wielded considerable influence for some time. After the fall of the military dictatorship thirty-two Evangelicals were elected to the National Assembly, the body also serving as the constituent assembly.[34] By 2003–2006, their number had grown to fifty-seven, so that almost thirteen percent of the Chamber of Deputies belonged to the official Evangelical caucus, making it one of the most powerful voting blocs. In Brazil's highly fragmented Congress, with many smaller parties vying for influence, having such a large, unified bloc is a rare and powerful tool. By comparison, the single largest party of the time, former President Lula's very popular Worker's Party commanded 18 percent of seats. Evangelicals also take advantage of their place within Brazil's political system to wield their votes for the most power. They do not form their own parties; the diversity of Evangelical churches means that even the if the largest church were to create a party it would probably not fare well in state-wide elections. They generally avoid joining the largest parties as well. Because of Brazil's voting system, a candidate endorsed by the church would have the votes they garnered pooled in with the larger bloc of votes of that party, meaning the influence of the politicians and church elites on the party would be diluted. Thus, Evangelical politicians tend to occupy midsize parties, where they can exercise significant power due to the relatively large amount of votes they bring in. Evangelicals are so strategic in their voting power, that they will even assign members as candidates to vote for after dividing up their congregation in the most efficient way to support the multiple candidates they run.[35] In addition to party leadership, the Evangelical caucus serves as another, some would say primary, party of an Evangelical politician. They meet regularly for prayer services and political discussions and uniformly vote as a bloc on issues deemed socially important by Evangelical pastors.

A weakness of Evangelical political power lies in their reputation for corruption scandals. Brazil's political culture, generally, is conducive to corruption, so Evangelical politicians are not seen as straying from the pack in this sense. News of kick-

33 "Top 10 Nations Where People Spend Most Time on Social Media." Gulf Business.
34 Reich, Gary, and Pedro dos Santos (2013): "The Rise (and Frequent Fall) of Evangelical Politicians: Organization, Theology, and Church Politics." Latin American Politics and Society 55, no. 4, December 1: 1–22.
35 Shah, Timothy Samuel (2004): "The Bible and the Ballot Box: Evangelicals and Democracy in the 'Global South.'" The SAIS Review of International Affairs 24, no. 2: 117.

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backs, patronage, and excessive pork-barrel spending on projects sponsored by Evangelical politicians has not led to a reduction of support from the communities that elect them. In areas where Evangelicals do not win direct power, they still control consider influence and make deals with other candidates to support Evangelical policies in exchange for an endorsement. Within congress, the Evangelicals are astute at playing politics. Support for conservative social causes come easily from rightist Catholic deputies concerned with a perceived liberalization of morals. Exchanging of favors is common, with the Agribusiness caucus voting with Evangelicals on some issues to receive support in others. The Evangelicals periodically makes news by being absent on a vote they oppose and preventing a quorum, which paralyzes the Congress from further action. The rising Evangelicals elect more Evangelical politicians, which ever increases their share of control, especially over issues they prioritize.

6 Repercussions of Evangelical Political Successes

Evangelical growth and political success means a changing tide for social legislation in the country and in the region in general. Evangelical pastors and politicians are known to be on the front lines against the movements for gay rights, abortion rights, progressive sexual and sexual orientation education in schools, and other social legislature.[36] The debates in the halls of Congress are very active. Brazilian law bans abortions in any case besides rape and or significant danger to a pregnant woman's life. Heavy penalties including up to four years of imprisonment can be served on those who carry out or receive an illegal abortion.[37] The feminist movement in Brazil is active in the fight for abortion reform but has been successfully blocked by the Evangelical caucus. While gay marriage has recently been made legal in the country, it has not been a smooth transition. Efforts to roll back that legislation are active in the country, spearheaded by the Evangelicals. Even though the largest gay pride parade in the world with over three million attendees is in Sao Paulo, the country ranks among the highest for LGBTI hate crimes in Latin America.[38] Between 1980 and 2010 over three thousand homosexuals were assassinated in hate crimes across the country, and that figure is rising at an increasing rate, especially in the country's

36 Romero, Simon (2011): "Silas Malafaia, TV Evangelist, Rises in Brazil's Culture Wars." The New York Times, November 25, sec. Americas.
37 Worrell, Marc (2018): "Brazil: Abortion Law." Women on Waves. Accessed May 25.
38 "Homophobic Hate Crimes Spreading Throughout Brazil (2010): "Amnesty International USA, October 28.

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Northeast and Southern states.[39] Effective legislation to define homophobic attacks as hate crimes and efforts to ramp up penalties and enforcement budget have been blocked by Evangelical politicians. Pastor and politician Silas Malafaia has risen to prominence in part by become a self-styled "public enemy number one of the gay movement in Brazil," appearing regularly on talk shows with gay leaders to publicly denounce antidiscrimination laws and sodomy.[40] This has long-running implications. As Evangelicals rise to power, they're not expected to stop any time soon. Further social legislation on these fronts would require extensive political capital to achieve, and unless the political payoff is significant; the issue will only be half-heartedly pursued by allies of the LGBTI and feminist communities.

As Evangelicals rise, so do threats to minority religious populations and indigenous people's rights. Evangelicals actively view other religious traditions including the historically marginalized Afro-Brazilian religions, Spiritist traditions, and even the Catholic Church with dogma-backed disdain. Even those who claim no religion, a moderately growing number in Brazil, are perceived as enemies in the divine war.[41] Evangelical politician and mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Marcelo Crivella, was seen as imposing his religious views when he pushed the city to cut funding for Carnival, the gay pride parade, and a march honoring an Afro-Brazilian deity.[42] Crivella has gone through similar scandals before, having previously blocked a gay-themed museum exhibition on claims that it promoted "bestiality" and "pedophilia."[43] Evangelical politicians fight to reduce funding for Afro-Brazilian religious events throughout the country. Evangelical churches are known for inciting violence against Afro-Brazilian temples and housing armed gang members after attacks against Afro-Brazilian religious practitioners.[44][45] After a period of relative acceptance into society, once again, Afro-Brazilian religious membership is seeing a rise in societal marginalization. Legislative efforts to protect these populations from hate crimes have been blocked. Indigenous groups, numerous in Brazil's interior, have lost important parts of their culture because of illegal entrances of missionar-

39 "Número de assassinatos de gays no país cresceu 62% desde 2007, mas tema fica fora da campanha." O Globo, October 16, 2010.
40 Romero, Simon (2011): "Silas Malafaia, TV Evangelist, Rises in Brazil's Culture Wars." The New York Times, November 25, sec. Americas.
41 "Revista Época – A Dura Vida Dos Ateus Em Um Brasil Cada Vez Mais Evangélico – Notícias Em Sociedade." Accessed May 25.
42 Faiola, Anthony, and Anna Jean Kaiser (2017): "Rio's Pentecostal Mayor Takes on the Capital of Carnival." Washington Post, December 13, sec. The Americas.
43 Ibid.
44 Souza Ivo, Alex de, and Denise Pereira da Silva (2018): "Em Nome Do Senhor Jesus: Análise Do Conflito Religioso Entre A Iurd E Os Terreiros De Candomblé." Accessed May 25.
45 "Brazilian Gangs Are Now Waging Their War in the Name of God." Accessed May 25.

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ies into indigenous territory.[46] Evangelicals call the native religious and cultural practices "Satanism" and bring in food, medicine, clothing, and other items to encourage the indigenous groups to abandon their practices.[47] Indigenous land rights are also under threat. Logging and agricultural interests have long had their eyes on extensive indigenous land holdings in the interior of the country. They have recently made controversial progress, with the help of high-ranking Evangelical politicians. The federal government has sold some of this protected land, resulting in violent clashes with the native populations.[48] The common orthodoxy in foreign affairs circles is that as a country "modernizes", becoming more democratic and capitalistic, their human and civil rights policies will follow the Western mold. The reality is, as Brazil becomes more capitalist and democratic, it is actually becoming more Evangelical. This growing acceptance of an Evangelical worldview means the future of human rights in the country is in jeopardy for those who prioritize the rights of the LGBTI community, feminists, minority religious communities and indigenous people groups.

The future of the Evangelical movement in Brazil may be of global importance. While Brazil is at the helm of the Evangelical tide, similar phenomena may be observed throughout the Latin American region. Although growth has been slower in Andean communities, much of South America, Central America, and the Caribbean has seen robust growth of Evangelical prominence and with it, political power.[49] In Venezuela, it has become a key demographic in keeping the Chavez/ Maduro regime in place, in contrast to the opposition role played by the Catholic Church.[50] In Guatemala, Evangelicals have recently seen tremendous growth, with nearly half of the population now attending Evangelical churches.[51] Their congressional politics throughout Central America are noticeably gaining influence.[52] The concern for a growing Evangelical political base see parallels across the region. Many Brazilian-based Evangelical churches have even made their way to prominence among Latino communities in the United States. The highest rungs of Brazil's politics have obvi-

46 "Brazil: Evangelical Missionaries Move into Amazon Villages – Akha.Org."
47 Love, David (2018): "Christian Missionaries Are Bribing Indigenous People with Food, Clothing If They Convert to Christianity." Atlanta Black Star, April 10.
48 "Brazil's Land War between Indigenous People and Farmers: 'We Just Need to Be Home'."
49 Burdick, John (2010): "Religion and Society in Contemporary Latin America." Latin American Politics and Society 52, no. 2: 167–76.
50 "VENEZUELA: Evangelicals Preach Chavez Message." (2000): OxResearch Daily Brief Service, Jan 28: 1.
51 Chu, Henry. (2004): "COLUMN ONE; Moved by the Spirit to Govern; in Brazil and Other Traditionally Catholic Latin American Nations, Politics has Become a Fertile Ground for Evangelical Protestants." Los Angeles Times, Jun 07.
52 Steigenga, Timothy J. (2005): "Democracia Y El Crecimiento Del Protestantismo Evangélico En Guatemala: Entendiendo La Complejidad Política De La Religión «Pentecostalizada»." América Latina, Hoy 41, Dec: 99–119.

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ously taken notice and played to the tune of this massive electorate. The highly controversial Jair Bolsonaro, labeled as a Donald Trump-like presidential candidate by Western media, has successfully cozied up to Evangelical voters with the support of strategic partnerships with pastor-politicians.[53] This religious phenomenon, highly adaptive and effective in its proselytizing, will undoubtedly have humanitarian and political consequences outside of Brazil's borders.

7 Conclusion

The end of Catholic hegemony in Latin America and Brazil is one of the most important religious, political, and cultural moments in the history of the region. Catholicism, after decades of internal tensions, demotivates difficulties in encouraging mass attendance, is perceived as a lazy and out of touch hegemon in a changing Brazil, has fallen from unquestioned dominance and remains in decline. The dramatic shift away from Catholicism and towards Evangelicalism has drawn comparisons to the Protestant Reformation.[54] In an ironic turn, however, this new Reformation's growth is due in part to a prosperity theology with several parallels to the former Catholic practice of indulgences that early Protestants so despised. Regardless, this new movement has opened up the Brazilian religious scene to innovation and has been wildly successful in crafting a message to niches of the population falling out of Catholic practice. A result of this innovation is a variety of churches and even denominations, making it impossible to identify a singular Evangelical authority on doctrine or culture. Despite the lack of unitary leadership, however, Evangelicals have made tremendous inroads into politics. Their official caucus in the Congress is one of the most consequential voting blocs, especially considering the influence of the distribution of their members throughout many mid-size parties. Their control of their voter base is compounded by political preaching during the sermon and a wide media campaign that leaks into all aspects of life in Brazil including entertainment, music, and increasingly in social media among the youth. The tendency of Evangelicals to view the physical world and its accompanying difficulties as manifestations of a supernatural war of demons against them, means that to "God's foot soldiers", every aspect of life, particularly the political, represents ground to be gained. This rising group certainly will exploit their power to preserve and enforce what they see as a moral imperative, although harmful to the rights of

53 Bailey, Sarah Pulliam (2017): A Trump-Like Politician in Brazil could Snag the Support of a Powerful Religious Group: Evangelicals. Washington: WP Company LLC d/b/a The Washington Post.
54 Sarah, P. B., (c) (2017) & The, W. P. (2017, Nov 04): Protestant Reformation Debates are Happening in Brazil.

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marginalized groups throughout the country. Evangelical preaching has touched the lives of millions in the country, giving hope and community in a time of uncertainty where it is desperately needed. The fact is, however, that this has come at the cost of human rights progress and will continue to impede that progress for the foreseeable future. This trend is not limited to Brazil but is growing throughout the Latin American region. The new Evangelical Reformation promises a fundamental shift of the political culture of Brazil and thus has implications that will be felt globally.

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David Ohlendorf, Hilke Rebenstorf

Protestant Congregations in Local Civil Societies in Germany

1 Introduction

The influence of the protestant church on the establishment and arrangement of German civil society has received extensive attention over the recent years. A typical example for the mutual interference of civil society and protestant congregations[1] is their contribution to the peaceful revolution in 1989 leading to the German reunification when churches functioned as starting points of the weekly protest marches. More recently, the civic engagement of protestant congregations attracted even a wider public attention due to their support for the growing number of refugees arriving in Germany since the summer of 2015. Besides these particular events, several authors discussed the vitalizing impact of protestant congregations for local civil society more generally, for example by emphasizing their importance as sources of social capital[2] or by highlighting their capacities for local welfare.[3]

Despite this increased interest, *empirical* studies that evaluate the impact of German protestant congregations on local civil society as well as the circumstances

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1 In German, there exists no linguistic distinction between "congregation", "parish" and "community". Usually, they are translated with the same term ("Gemeinde"). Using the term "congregation" with regard to protestant religious communities in Germany might be confusing. In fact, Christian communities in Germany and many other parts of central and northern Europe could better be described as "parishes", due to their parochial tradition. A congregational structure, however, is based on the voluntary, self-organized association of Christians in the manner of civil society organizations (Wegner 2017b:34; Hauschild 2017:298 f.). We decided to use the term congregation instead of parish in the following text, since our interest lies on the groups of believers who are actively involved within a certain parish.

2 Pickel, Gert (2015): Sozialkapital und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement evangelischer Kirchenmitglieder als gesellschaftliche und kirchliche Ressource. In Bedford-Strohm, Heinrich & Volker Jung (Eds.): Vernetze Vielfalt. Kirche angesichts von Individualisierung und Säkularisierung. Die fünfte EKD-Erhebung über Kirchenmitgliedschaft. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus: 279–301.; Traunmüller, Richard. 2008: Religion als Ressource sozialen Zusammenhalts: Eine empirische Analyse der religiösen Grundlagen sozialen Kapitals in Deutschland. SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW).

3 Böllert, Karin; Oelkers, Nina & Wolfgang Schröer (2015): Glaubensgemeinschaften und Wohlfahrtsproduktion – ein vergessener Zusammenhang in der Sozialen Arbeit. In Böllert, Karin; Oelkers, Nina & Wolfgang Schröer (Eds.): Soziale Dienste und Glaubensgemeinschaften. Ein Arbeitsmarkt für weibliche Fachkräfte. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag.;
Horstmann, Martin & Elke Neuhausen (2010): Mutig mittendrin: Gemeinwesendiakonie in Deutschland. Eine Studie des SI der EKD. SI Konkret 2, Münster: Lit.

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that facilitate or impede their civic engagement are still rare. Moreover, existing empirical research on religion and civil society faces a number of limitations. At first, most scholarly work on this topic is based on theological or historical argumentations.[4] Whereas historians were mainly interested in the role of Christian churches during the early development of civil society in the enlightened Europe, theologians mostly focused on normative or ecclesiological questions.[5] Authors discussing the mutual interference of civil societies and protestant congregations focused necessarily on a more theoretical level, due to the lack of empirical data[6]: By using existing definitions and research of both concepts as starting points, these authors analyze conceptual and historical links as well as differences between protestant congregations and civil society.

In contrast, for decades European sociologists have been strongly influenced by a rather secular perspective on religion and society and therefore largely neglected religion as a factor shaping modern civil society. Yet, at the turn of the millennium, secularization theory faced increasing criticism.[7] Several authors questioned the secularist idea, according to which the separation of state and church necessarily leads to a strict privatization of religion in modern societies. In fact, alternative theories on Religion and Modernity emerged, e.g. the notion of a "public religion" or the idea of a "de-privatizing" of religion[8], which emphasized the importance of a resurgent religion for contemporary civil society around the world.

Nevertheless, due to this long-standing neglect among European sociologists, the majority of the existing empirical studies on religion and civil society focus on

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4 Bauernkämper, Arnd & Jürgen Nautz (2009): Zivilgesellschaft und christliche Kirchen – wechselseitige Bezüge und Distanz. In Bauernkämper, Arnd & Jürgen Nautz (Ed.): Zwischen Fürsorge & Seelsorge. Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt/New York: campus: 7–24.;
Roßteutscher, Sigrid (2009): Religion, Zivilgesellschaft, Demokratie. Eine international vergleichende Studie zur Natur religiöser Märkte und der demokratischen Rolle religiöser Zivilgesellschaften. Baden Baden: Nomos.

5 From a theological perspective, the opportunities and challenges of civic engagement among protestant congregations in Germany have been widely discussed in connection with the theological concept of a "public theology" (see for example: Huber 2015; Bedford-Strohm 2012).

6 Schendel, Gunther (2017): Zivilgesellschaftliche Potentiale. Warum die Kirchen einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Zivilgesellschaft leisten (und wie sie selber davon profitieren können). eNewsletter der Stiftung Bürgergesellschaft, 06/2015.; Schramm, Steffen (2018): Ecclesia semper reformanda – wie werden wir diesem Anspruch gerecht? Gemeinde und Dekanate als zivilgesellschaftliche Akteure im Sozialraum. Deutsches Pfarrerblatt 01/2018: 14–19.; Wegner, Gerhard (2017a): Congregational Studies. An Introduction. In Latzel, Thorsten & Gerhard Wegner (Eds.): Congregational Studies Worldwide. The Future of the Parish and the Free Congregation. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt: 23–51.

7 See for example: Berger, Peter L. (1999): The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co.

8 Casanova, José (1994): Public Religions in the Modern World. Chicago: University Press.

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(protestant) congregations in the *United States*.[9] Their results, however, cannot easily be transferred to the German context because of the generally known varieties in religious field characteristics: The United States are traditionally described as a religiously vital and diverse country with a rather congregational model of religious organization that emphasizes voluntary membership and active participation.[10] According to Alexis de Tocqueville's classical analysis on democracy in America[11], it is exactly this congregationalism that makes religion an indispensable part of the liberal democratic polity and civil society in the United States. By acting as so called "intermediary institutions" religious communities help to balance the relationship between state and individual or between self-interest and public interest. On the other side of the Atlantic, in Western Europe, dramatically declining rates of church membership and attendance are key features of the temporary religious landscape. Furthermore, especially the German religious field is characterized by a high level of state regulation and a parochial and bureaucratic model of religious organization.[12] Therefore, religious congregations in Germany cannot easily be described as part of the civil society: by organizing social and charitable activities like kindergartens, youth camps, etc. or by caring for poor, sick or elderly people, protestant congregations act in many ways like civic actors.[13] However, their parochial traditions as well as the various linkages between state and church in Germany led to the assumption, that protestant congregations are still considered to be state-like institutions.[14]

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9 Putnam, Robert D. (2000): Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon & Schuster.; Verba, Sidney, Kay L. Schlozman und Henry Brady (1995). Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.;

10 Warner, R. Stephen (1994): The Place of the Congregation in the Contemporary American Religious Configuration. In Wind, James P. & James W. Lewis (Eds.): American Congregations: New Perspectives in the Study of Congregations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 54–99.; Ammerman, Nancy Tatom (2005): Pillars of Faith. American Congregations and their Partners. Berkely & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

11 Tocqueville, Alexis de (2003 [1835/1840]): Democracy in America and two Essays on America. London: Penguin.

12 Connor, Phillip & Matthias Koenig (2013): Bridges and Barriers: Religion and Immigrant occupational Attainment across Integration Contexts. International Migration Review 47(1): 13.

13 Wegner, Gerhard (2018): Kirchengemeinde und Zivilgesellschaft. In Klein, Ansgar & Olaf Zimmermann (Eds.): Impulse der Reformation. Der zivilgesellschaftliche Diskurs, Wiesbaden: Springer VS: 165–173

14 Strachwitz, Rupert Graf (2009): Das Problem der Staatsbindung bei der Zuordnung der Kirchen zur Zivilgesellschaft. In Bauernkämper, Arnd & Jürgen Nautz (Eds.): Zwischen Fürsorge & Seelsorge. Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt/New York: Campus: 331–351.; Wegner, Gerhard (2017a): Congregational Studies. An Introduction. In Latzel, Thorsten & Gerhard Wegner (Eds.): Congregational Studies Worldwide. The Future of the Parish and the Free Congregation. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt: 23–51, 167.

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Finally, research on religion and civil society to date largely ignored religious organizations, especially the local *congregations*.[15] On the one hand there are studies located at the societal macro-level, which, for example discuss the role of "the" church or of religion in general for public or political debates.[16] On the other hand studies located at the micro-level analyze the influence of individual religiosity or church membership on the distribution of social capital or on voluntary commitment.[17] Between these two poles there is virtually no empirical research on the relationship between church and civil society at the *meso-level*, i.e. the concrete civic engagement as well as the civil society networks of particular congregations in the surrounding local area. Only very few studies provide empirical data on local protestant congregations: The so called "Parish Barometer" ("Gemeindebarometer") gives first insights on civic activities and networks of a large number of protestant parishes in Germany[18]; and the fifth church membership survey of the EKD[19] includes an investigation of the complete social network of one parish in Germany using a network analysis approach.[20] Both studies, however, are much wider in scope and specific results on the relationship between church and civil society remain restricted.

As a consequence of the described limitations a number of questions remain unanswered: What precisely is the contribution of protestant congregations to local civil society in Germany? What are their civic functions in local municipalities? Are they – as in the US – an essential pillar of civil society or does European civil society perceive itself as secular which means that religious communities would be more or

15 Ammerman, Nancy Tatom (2005): Pillars of Faith. American Congregations and their Partners. Berkely & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

16 Casanova, José (1994): Public Religions in the Modern World. Chicago: University Press.; Habermas, Jürgen (2005): Religion in der Öffentlichkeit. Kognitive Voraussetzungen für den "öffentlichen Vernunftgebrauch" religiöser und säkularer Bürger. In Habermas, Jürgen (Ed.): Zwischen Naturalismus und Religion. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp: 119–154.; Davie, Grace (2000): Religion in Modern Europe: A Memory Mutates. Oxford: University Press.

17 Pickel, Gert (2015): Sozialkapital und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement evangelischer Kirchenmitglieder als gesellschaftliche und kirchliche Ressource. In Bedford-Strohm, Heinrich & Volker Jung (Eds.): Vernetze Vielfalt. Kirche angesichts von Individualisierung und Säkularisierung. Die fünfte EKD-Erhebung über Kirchenmitgliedschaft. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus: 279–301.; Traunmüller, Richard. 2008: Religion als Ressource sozialen Zusammenhalts: Eine empirische Analyse der religiösen Grundlagen sozialen Kapitals in Deutschland. SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW).

18 Rebenstorf, Hilke; Ahrens, Petra-Angela & Gerhard Wegner (2015): Potenziale vor Ort. Erstes Kirchengemeindebarometer. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.

19 EKD: Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland – Evangelical Church in Germany, the national umbrella organisation of Lutheran and Calvinist Churches.

20 Bedford-Strohm, Heinrich & Volker Jung (Eds.) (2015): Vernetzte Vielfalt. Kirche angesichts von Individualisierung und Säkularisierung. Die fünfte EKD Erhebung über Kirchenmitgliedschaft. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

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less irrelevant? And which circumstances and resources facilitate or impede the status of protestant communities as civil society organizations?

We take up these questions by presenting first results from the empirical research project “Church and Civil Society – The Contributions of Protestant congregations to local communities”. The project comprises case studies in six different protestant congregations in Germany. Using a mixed-methods approach which combines qualitative and quantitative modes of data-collection we analyzed the civic engagement of the selected congregations in the surrounding communal areas. The project is currently still running, so results in the following article are based on qualitative data from three of the six targeted congregations where data collection is already completed. A qualitative survey based on a limited number of case studies is not intended to provide representative data. On the contrary, qualitative research is a strong tool for relational analysis and for uncovering typologies. Thus, we do not aim at giving a representative analysis of protestant congregations in Germany. Instead, by studying the relationship of church and civil society in three particular congregations in-depth, we want to provide a first insight into social mechanisms between the protestant church and civil society and develop a tentative typology of functions that congregations adopt in different settings.

Our paper is organized as follows. We start with an investigation of the theoretical background by first specifying the notion of “civil society” in more detail. In a second step, we then attempt to disentangle the different ways Religion, Church and Civil Society interact with each other. After describing our data, case selection and methodological approach we will present first results from the qualitative interviews we conducted so far. By way of conclusion, we discuss limitations as well as possible theoretical implications of our study and give an outlook on further research steps.

2 Theoretical Considerations

2.1 Civil Society & Civility

Although many scientists and politicians emphasize the undisputed relevance of civil society for modern liberal democracies, there is no commonly agreed definition of this concept to date. Occasionally, the term is used in a normative sense or as political slogan rather than in a scientific or analytic way. This is even more surprising considering the long history of the term “civil society” that goes back to Aristotle: he defines it as a community that is characterized by a shared set of norms in which free citizens organize themselves to decide on public affairs. The purpose of

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civil society was to increase common wellbeing. According to Aristotle the Greek city-state (*polis*) was the prototype of a civil society.[21]

In the almost 2.500 years since Aristotle, hundreds of philosophers and political scientists attempted to specify the concept of civil society.[22] In principle at least *three* different approaches can be distinguished[23]: *First,* civil society can be defined as a societal subsystem that is distinct from other sectors notably the state and the market. This is the reason why it is often referred to as "third sector". It covers non-governmental organizations and institutions, i.e. NGO's, charities, clubs, foundations, trade unions, etc. that manifest interests and volition of citizens. A *second* approach determines civil society by using a specific logic of action: Civil Society actors – unlike state or market institutions – are not profit-oriented nor do they seek political power or follow party interests. Instead they are led by a set of "civic values" sometimes referred to as "civility", for example tolerance, non-violence and especially a focus on public welfare and common wellbeing. Furthermore, civil society actors are characterized by a high level of self-organization, self-reflection and bottom-up-structures. Finally, a *third* group of authors combines the spatial and normative reasoning of the first two approaches. According to them, civil society can be defined as a societal sector beside the market, the state and the private sphere, in which self-organizing institutions follow a certain set of civic values to take an active part in shaping society.

In conclusion, civil society is not a clearly determinable concept but an amorphous phenomenon or an ideal-typical category. Although it describes a certain societal sphere, the demarcation of this sphere is always bound to normative assumptions. These normative assumptions, however, are controversial. Opponents argue that even actors such as extremist, xenophobic or fundamentalist movements hostile to democracy are part of civil society yet don't act on the basis of civic values.

The focus on civility within the concepts of civil society seems to derive from a strong historical perspective. Although mainly philosophers are cited as witnesses for the indispensability of civic values within the concept of civil society, most contemporary scholars argue on grounds of political developments, mainly the aforementioned peaceful revolutions in Eastern Europe around 1990. It is in the context

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21 Aristoteles (2003 [1965]): Politik. Nach einer Übersetzung von Franz Susemihl, mit Einleitung, Bibliographie und zusätzlichen Anmerkungen von Wolfgang Kullmann. Reinbek: Rowohlt.; Schmidt, Jürgen (2007): Zivilgesellschaft. Bürgerschaftliches Engagement von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Texte und Kommentare. Reinbek: Rowohlt: 3944.

22 For a review see: Schmidt, Jürgen (2007): Zivilgesellschaft. Bürgerschaftliches Engagement von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Texte und Kommentare. Reinbek: Rowohlt: 39–44.

23 Gosewinkel, Dieter (2010): Zivilgesellschaft. In Europäische Geschichte online, hrsg. Vom Institut für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. URL: http://ieg-ego.eu/de/threads/hintergruende/ zivilgesellschaft (retrieving date: 15/05/2017).

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of “Civil Society and Political Theory”[24], to quote the title of a comprehensive volume of Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, that civil society became connected to democracy. This is already the case with Aristotle, who perceived the *politike koinonia* as “a unique collectivity, a unified organization with a single set of goals that were derivable from the common *ethos*”.[25] In the end it was the age of enlightenment that provided the ground for the concept of civil society as different from state and economy. An age that is closely connected to political turmoil: the declaration of Independence 1776 in North America, the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights 1789 in France, and the whole 19th century marked by revolution in many parts of Europe in striving for political participation, that is: democratization. Not always was the term civil society used to describe the mechanisms and ways of societal self-organization, which preceded these events. But it was only in the 20th century that the term civil society came into use by political philosophers like Parsons, Gramcsi, Bobbio – and en route the first controversies about the “bright” and the “dark” side of civil society, of emancipatory promises and the ideology, that ultimately only serves to stabilize the status quo in terms of power and inequality emerged.[26] Not only in the discourse of political philosophy but also in the discourse of political powers civil society was not always seen as a positive power but as a threat. Looking at South America and some southern European States it is obvious, in historical perspective, that the same civil society organizations that were praised as forces bringing democracy and human rights in the 1980s have been condemned as apologists of Russian totalitarianism one or two decades earlier.[27] Thus, the notion of what is civil, what is bright, and what is dark is less obvious than we tend to think. Like other normative evaluations, it is a matter of perspective and thus may differ accordingly from context to context as well as from observer to observer, even under the header of “common well-being”.

The question, whether a civil society organization is positive or negative with respect to common well-being or societal integration, can be determined not only by its “content” but, perhaps even better, by an analysis of the social capital generated in it. As the pioneering study by Robert Putnam has shown, social capital is the

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24 Cohen, Jean L. & Andrew Arato (1995): Civil Society and Political Theory, Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 3rd edition (first printing 1992, MIT).

25 Ibid. p 85.; However, Aristotle and other philosophers in the time before absolutism became the dominant form of political rule, did not distinguish between the spheres of society, state, and economy – thus one can doubt if it is appropriate to refer to them when looking for a definition of civil society. The same rings true for Hobbes. Later Locke and Montesquieu distinguished government from society, but still clung to the traditional hierarchy (Cohen/Arato 1995: 87 f.).

26 Cohen and Arato use around 170 pages to describe the different critical approaches from political philosophers of different schools. See Cohen/Arato 1995: 170–345.

27 O’Donnell, Guillermo; Schmitter, Philippe C.; Whitehead, Laurence (Hrsg.) (1986): Transitions from Authoritarian Rule, 4 Bände, John Hopkins University Press.

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foundation of trust, which in turn is the basis of social cohesion.[28] However, social capital can be formal or informal, it may show high or low density, it can be more inward or outward oriented, it may be bridging or bonding.[29] All of these four dimensions of social capital work together, none of their poles is either functional or dysfunctional for the common good or social cohesion. Moreover, as empirical data show, any form of social capital can be conducive or oppose social cohesion and development. High density, or strong ties, as well as bonding and inward-oriented social capital may hinder out-group contacts and thereby jeopardize mutual understanding, tolerance and the like, on the other hand it is quite often important for the social stabilization of minority groups, such as research on politics of identity shows. Informal and outward-oriented, low density (weak ties) and bridging social capital may challenge the cohesion of primary groups with all negative sides of individualization and the possible breakdown of steady social relations, but as social-network-research has proven, this type of social capital enables development and integration into bigger frameworks.[30]

In a nutshell, civility is neither a necessary condition for civil society actors nor is it reserved for them exclusively. Last but not least activities of civil society actors are also not necessarily positive in its consequences: Social groups or movements can cause societal conflicts, aggravate power asymmetries or lead to the exclusion of other groups. It is important to keep this “dark side” of civil society in mind when discussing the role of religious communities.

2.2 Religion, Congregations and Civil Society – a multifaceted relationship

The relationship of Christian Churches, local religious communities and civil society is multifaceted and ambivalent. On the one hand the initial development of modern civil society in Europe is based on liberal and secular principles especially the separation of state and church, which evolved in the course of the enlightenment. Early civil society therefore developed as a civic, bourgeois and non-sacral counterpart to the powerful alliance of Church and State that dominated medieval Europe for cen-

28 Putnam, Robert D., in collaboration with Robert Leonardi and Raffaelle Y. Nanetti (1993): Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
29 Putnam, Robert D. & Kristin A. Goss (2001): Einleitung. In Robert D. Putnam (Ed.): Gesellschaft und Gemeinsinn, Sozialkapital im internationalen Vergleich, Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung: 25–29.
30 Granovetter, Mark S. (1973): The Strength of Weak Ties. In American Journal of Sociology, 78, No. 6, 1360–1380.; Burt, Ronald S. (2004): Structural Holes and Good Ideas. American Journal of Sociology, 110, No. 2: 349–399.

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turies.[31] Thus, European philosophers of the Enlightenment such as Montesquieu or Locke described civil society as a societal sphere independent from government or monarchy where free citizens could organize and articulate their interests without state or church control.[32] In contrast to the close linkage of Religion and Civil Society in the Anglo-American world the initial notion of the German Civil Society is described as entirely secular and anti-ecclesiastical.[33]

On the other hand, Christian Churches in Germany look back on a long history of social and civic engagement: An early example is the emphasis of caring for poor or sick people in medieval Christian hospitals. During the 19th century Protestant educational institutions as well as a specific protestant ethos of education contributed to the development of a middle-class, bourgeois culture and norms of civility which were essential for the emergence of modern civil society.[34] Today about 1.1 million volunteers participate in protestant congregations in Germany[35] and make the Protestant Church an essential pillar of voluntary work and civil society. Many of these volunteers are involved in social or charitable activities, for example working with young people or senior citizens, caring for the poor or just recently helping the newly arrived refugees.

Furthermore, as several studies have demonstrated, religious communities, in particular protestant congregations, can serve as sources for social capital and by doing so can facilitate social cohesion.[36] Based on quantitative data from the German Socio-Economic-Panel (GSOEP), Richard Traunmüller has shown that a frequent church attendance among Protestants leads to a larger friendship network, increased sociability and fosters civic engagement beyond the religious communi-

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31 Roßteutscher, Sigrid (2009): Religion, Zivilgesellschaft, Demokratie. Eine international vergleichende Studie zur Natur religiöser Märkte und der demokratischen Rolle religiöser Zivilgesellschaften. Baden Baden: Nomos: 20.

32 Schmidt, Jürgen (2007): Zivilgesellschaft. Bürgerschaftliches Engagement von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Texte und Kommentare. Reinbek: Rowohlt: 79–84.

33 Kocka, Jürgen (2000): Zivilgesellschaft als historisches Projekt: Moderne europäische Geschichtsforschung in vergleichender Absicht. In Dipper, Christof, Klinkhammer, Lutz & Alexander Nützenade (Eds.): Europäische Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für Wolfgang Schieder. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot: 475–484.

34 Borutta, Manuel (2005): Religion und Zivilgesellschaft – Zur Theorie und Geschichte ihrer Beziehung. Discussion Paper SP IV 2005–404. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).

35 Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland – EKD (2016): Zahlen und Fakten zum kirchlichen Leben. Hannover

36 Traunmüller, Richard. 2008: Religion als Ressource sozialen Zusammenhalts: Eine empirische Analyse der religiösen Grundlagen sozialen Kapitals in Deutschland. SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW).; Pickel, Gert (2015): Sozialkapital und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement evangelischer Kirchenmitglieder als gesellschaftliche und kirchliche Ressource. In Bedford-Strohm, Heinrich & Volker Jung (Eds.): Vernetze Vielfalt. Kirche angesichts von Individualisierung und Säkularisierung. Die fünfte EKD-Erhebung über Kirchenmitgliedschaft. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus: 279–301.

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ty.[37] Overall, Protestant congregations function as catalysts for civic engagement in Germany by providing opportunity structures, places for encounter and social interaction or by teaching "civic skills".[38] Why precisely protestant congregations are this effective in providing social capital is not completely clear, but it is assumed that the reasons can be found in the flat hierarchies of protestant congregations.[39]

Despite these various contributions to civic engagement the compatibility of Protestant communities and local civil societies in Germany is highly controversial. Following a spatial definition of civil society it can be argued that protestant churches are neither part of the state nor are they a market institution. In fact, from the perspective of differentiation theory protestant congregations can be described as intermediary institutions similar to other civil society actors, e.g. political parties, NGOs, associations, etc..[40] Furthermore the described norms of civility that are used to define civil society match with some fundamental beliefs of Christianity, e.g. non-violence, tolerance or fostering of common wellbeing. Last but not least, protestant congregations are characterized – also similar to other civil society actors – by self-organization and voluntary participation.

Yet there are some significant differences: as *corporate bodies under public law* ("*Körperschaften des öffentlichen Rechts*") protestant (and catholic and some other) religious communities in Germany enjoy several legal privileges regarding building or tax regulations, the ability to collect church taxes, the right to teach religion as regular course in state schools or the ability to be represented in media consulting committees of public broadcasting. Due to this close connection of state and church in Germany and due to their parochial and highly bureaucratic mode of organization, Protestant communities are rather described as state institutions than as a part of civil society.

This dichotomy, however that only distinguishes between a congruent or incongruent relationship between religion, church and civil society is putting things too

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37 Traunmüller, Richard. 2008: Religion als Ressource sozialen Zusammenhalts: Eine empirische Analyse der religiösen Grundlagen sozialen Kapitals in Deutschland. SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW).

38 Horstmann, Martin & Elke Neuhausen (2010): Mutig mittendrin: Gemeinwesendiakonie in Deutschland. Eine Studie des SI der EKD. SI Konkret 2, Münster: Lit.; Verba, Sidney, Kay L. Schlozman und Henry Brady (1995). Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

39 Traunmüller, Richard. 2008: Religion als Ressource sozialen Zusammenhalts: Eine empirische Analyse der religiösen Grundlagen sozialen Kapitals in Deutschland. SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW): 20.; Ohlendorf, David & Maria Sinnemann (2017): Religiöse Motive als Antrieb zu freiwilligem Engagement? In Klein, Ansgar & Olaf Zimmermann (Hrsg.): Impulse der Reformation. Der zivilgesellschaftliche Diskurs. Wiesbaden: Springer VS: 163.

40 Borutta, Manuel (2005): Religion und Zivilgesellschaft – Zur Theorie und Geschichte ihrer Beziehung. Discussion Paper SP IV 2005–404. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB): 5.

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simple. According to John F. Youngs pioneering theoretical considerations, there is a multiplicity of conditions under which religion and notably religious institutions can "reinforce, challenge and occasionally undermine certain attributes and principles of civil society".[41] Just like civil society as such can have a "dark" or a "bright" side, the civic role of religion can at the same time be supportive or destructive – "dark" or "bright" – depending on the context and the perspective. Thus, Young distinguishes *three* major contemporary perspectives on civil society, according to three guiding political philosophies of the US: a *liberal*, a *communitarian* and a *democratic* perspective.[42] He then argues that for each of these perspectives religion can simultaneously be described as a supportive or a destructive force in civil society[43]:

2.2.1 Liberal

In liberal thinking, civil society is mainly seen as bulwark against despotism and totalitarian regimes, since civic associations can limit state power. Through their struggle for religious freedom, congregations do not only help to defend the right of religious belief and association but at the same time help to defend other basic rights that are inextricably linked with each other, e.g. freedom of association or expression. Thus, from a liberal perspective, religious freedom reflects an important bulwark against the reach of the state. Religious communities can help to defend an autonomous sphere of activity. However, Young argues that "liberal political theorists as Hume or Rousseau were suspicious of intolerant religious sects which might undermine social order".[44] Absolutist creeds can violate individual freedoms and also force the state to strengthen its control over religious institutions which finally can extend, rather than limit, the reach of the state.

2.2.2 Communitarian

From a communitarian perspective, civil society is seen as an intermediary societal sphere, in which citizens are able to assemble in self-organized groups and associations to participate in political decision making and public affairs. Religious belief

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41 Young, John F. (2007): Rapture or Rupture? Religion and Civil Society. In Marga, Irimie, Sander, Gerald & Dan Sandu (Eds.): Religion zwischen Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft. Schriften zu Mittel- und Osteuropa in der Europäischen Integration, Bd.5. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac: 11.

42 The term "democratic" might be a little bit confusing in this list since of course liberalism and communitarianism also describe types of democracy. In fact, the third guiding political philosophy that Young is referring to is republicanism.

43 For the following see: ibid.: 11–17.

44 Ibid.: 13.

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and religious institutions can help to "draw the unencumbered, atomized individual into community"[45] and therefore foster social cohesion. Furthermore, civic interaction and engagement cannot easily be promoted by the force of law but rather need moral persuasion. Religion encourages norms of responsibility and obligation and therefore complements individual rights. On the other hand, religious groups can become so called "greedy religious communities".[46] Such communities have only marginal interest in political community but instead pursue their own aims, which can undermine civil society or even lead to fragmented political systems by creating divided loyalties between state and religion.

2.2.3 Democratic

Last but not least, the democratic perspective highlights the functions that associations and social interaction play in society. In this sense, religious congregations (as well as all the other various groups which make up civil society) can serve as schools of self-government or sources of social capital. In fact, this resembles almost exactly the role of religion in civil society that Tocqueville described, when he spoke of religion as "Americas first political institution". Young concludes, that from this democratic perspective "congregations can foster social capital and trust, participation, and common identity". Yet, religious communities can only fulfill this function as schools of democracy when their beliefs and principles are congruent with democratic values. If religious beliefs and organizations differ strongly from democratic norms though, they on the contrary can be a source of contention and conflict that will weaken the capacity for self-government.

Young developed a heuristic that can be a helpful tool to analyze the role of religious communities in contemporary civil society, because it expands the common dichotomous understanding of a congruence or incongruence between religion and civil society.[47] To sum it up: Religion is not automatically part of civil society but an autonomous subsystem of society in terms of systems theory. Yet, religious communities can – under certain circumstances – act as intermediary institutions in local

45 Young, John F. (2007): Rapture or Rupture? Religion and Civil Society. In Marga, Irimie, Sander, Gerald & Dan Sandu (Eds.): Religion zwischen Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft. Schriften zu Mittel- und Osteuropa in der Europäischen Integration, Bd.5. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac: 14.
46 Ibid.
47 See also: Liedhegener, Antonius & Ines-Jacqueline Werkner (2011): Religion, Zivilgesellschaft und politisches System – ein offenes Forschungsfeld. In Liedhegener, Antonius & Ines-Jacqueline Werkner (Eds.): Religion zwischen Zivilgesellschaft und politischem System. Befunde – Positionen – Perspektiven. Wiesbaden: VS: 16.

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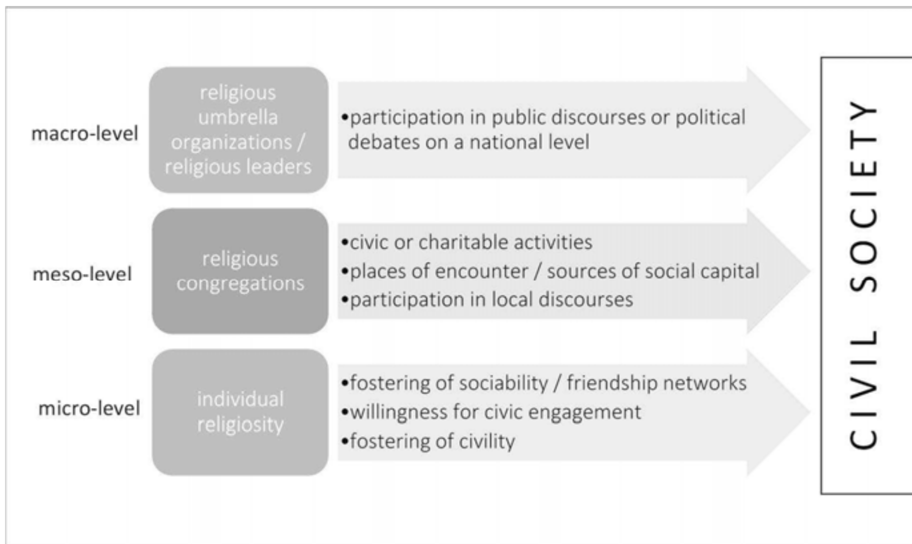
civil societies.[48] The task of empirical social sciences therefore must be to analyze these circumstances and the concrete relationships between religious communities and civil society on basis of empirical data.

Thus, to disentangle the complex interference of religion and civil society it is necessary to understand religion as a multidimensional construct which has different effects on civil society outcomes depending on the level of analysis. On the *micro-level* the focus is on individual religiosity or certain religious values that might affect the willingness for voluntary work or for participation in a civil society organization. In this regard, religiosity can act as motif for civic engagement. On the *macro-level*, however, the focus is not so much on individual religiosity but rather on religious institutions and umbrella organizations as well as popular representatives or religious leaders who participate in public discourses or political debates. Finally, between these two poles, on the *meso-level*, the units of analysis are the local religious congregations. They can contribute to local civil societies in numerous ways, for example via civic or charitable activities or by participating in communal debates.



Figur 1: Correlations between Religion and Civil Society at different levels of analysis
Source: David Ohlendorf, Hilke Rebenstorf

48 Liedhegener; Antonius (2014): Religion, Bürgergesellschaft und Pluralismus. Gesellschaftliche und politische Integration aus der Perspektive demokratischer politischer Systeme. In Arens, Edmund; Baumann, Martin; Liedhegener, Antonius; Müller, Wolfgang W. & Markus Ries (Eds.): Integration durch Religion? Geschichtliche Befunde, gesellschaftliche Analysen, rechtliche Perspektiven. Baden-Baden: Nomos: 63–84.

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Yet, the concrete civic activities of protestant congregations and their specific functions for local communities have hardly been studied so far.

3 Data and Method

Due to the described research gap regarding the civic engagement of religious communities in contemporary Germany the Institute for Social Sciences of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD)[49] started the empirical research Project "Protestant Congregations in Local Civil Societies in Germany" in 2015. The project runs for three years and comprises case studies of six different protestant congregations in Germany. Its objective is to give an insight into the existing theoretical mechanisms between the protestant congregations and the German civil society on basis of empirical data.

3.1 Case selection

The cases were selected using a slightly modified theoretical sampling strategy based on key assumptions of the "Grounded Theory", initially developed by Glaser & Strauss.[50] Thus, the selection of cases is not based on a preconceived theoretical framework but the sample is rather developed step by step during the ongoing research process. In concrete terms: first interviews are conducted according to early assumptions or hypotheses. After analyzing and coding these first interviews, new data is collected to check or extend existent theoretical categories. To overcome the tendency to choose only such cases that support the reasoning of the researcher we always look out for deviant cases that differ in relevant aspects from already developed theoretical categories and hypotheses. The collection and analysis of the data therefore alternates between one another for the purpose of generating theory by gradually developing more and more abstract theoretical assumptions and hypotheses on basis of the empirical data. Following the idea of "theoretical saturation" data collection is finished when new interviews do not lead to the discovery of new

49 Translator's note: "EKD" = "Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland". The EKD itself translates its name into English, for example on the English pages of its website, as "Evangelical Church in Germany"; but in fact "evangelisch" means "protestant" rather than "evangelical". The EKD is not "evangelical" as that term is generally understood in English. At various points in the following text we therefore have used "Protestant" rather than "Evangelical" to refer to the EKD.
50 Glaser, Barney. G., & Strauss, Anselm L (1967): The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research. New York, Aldine de Gruyter.

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theoretical categories or to the extension or adjustment of the existing hypotheses or theoretical assumptions.[51]

In practice, the process of selecting the units of research, the cases of observation, is the most challenging due to it being the most time-consuming part within the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM). Selecting one case, analyzing the data according to GTM, which means three different steps of encoding which build on one another, before selecting the next case, analyzing the same way and so on, is unfeasible most of the time in any kind of research that has a deadline. However, theoretical sampling provides a way out: although disputed.[52] We used our prior theoretical knowledge, in GTM labeled as “theoretical sensitivity”, based upon study of literature, prior research and own experiences, to select our cases of congregations by combining “targeted”, “systematic” and “random” sampling.[53]

To recruit the individual interview partners we followed the classical procedure of GTM. Due to restrictions of cost and time, we had to limit the number of congregations to six cases. To ensure that relevant social mechanisms can be discovered nonetheless, we additionally consider *three* sets of factors in case selection that we – according to the literature – expect to moderate the interference of congregations and civil society.

3.1.1 structure of settlement (urban / rural)

We assume that different structures of settlement between urban and rural areas and associated factors, e.g. different lifestyles, socio-demographic development or structural opportunities lead to different arrangement between religious communities and local civil societies.[54] In Germany, as well as in other countries all over the world, processes of modernization are accompanied by ongoing urbanization. This leads to massive changes of socio-demographic characteristics, economic opportunities and last but not least the form of local civil societies between rural and urban areas. Therefore civil society actors in rural areas are confronted with quite different opportunities or limitations than those in urban areas. We therefore expect that

51 Ibid.

52 This dispute is as old as the Grounded Theory Methodology and revolves around the question of the ratio of inductive procedures and prior theoretical knowledge, that is, hypothesis-mediated procedures in the course of the research. See, for example, Strauss & Corbin 1990: 41–47.

53 Truschkat, Inga; Kaiser, Manuela & Vera Reinartz (2005): Forschen nach Rezept? Anregungen zum praktischen Umgang mit der Grounded Theory in Qualifikationsarbeiten. In Forum: Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research, Vol. 6, No. 2, Art. 22.

54 Becker, Elke & Carolin Runkel (2010): Zivilgesellschaft in räumlichen Arenen. In Becker, Elke; Gualani, Enrico; Runkel, Carolin & Rupert Graf Strachwitz (Eds.): Stadtentwicklung, Zivilgesellschaft und bürgerschaftliches Engagement. Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius: 121–206.

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protestant congregations in urban areas take over different tasks and fulfill different civic functions than congregations in rural areas.

3.1.2 socio-demographic and economic development (growing / declining)

Depending on the socio-demographic and economic development of a social area there are different opportunity structures as well as different tasks for local civil society institutions. These factors are often connected with the described process of urbanization, yet they can also be distinct from one another. For example, rural areas in the surroundings of bigger cities are often growing whereas some cities especially in the eastern federal states of Germany are characterized by an ongoing economic downturn and processes of emigration.[55] Such trends lead to particular challenges for civil society actors which is why we assume that protestant congregations fulfill different civic functions depending on the socio-demographic or economic development of the surrounding social area.[56]

3.1.3 federal territory (east / west)

Even though Germany has been united for almost thirty years now, there are still significant differences in crucial aspects of social and religious life between federal states in the western and the eastern part of the nation. Several studies show that social cohesion as well as the willingness or possibilities to engage in the civil society are lower in East-Germany than in the western federal states.[57] This is also true for civic engagement in protestant congregations.[58] Additionally, there are huge differences between east and West-Germany in terms of religion: Church membership among the population in East-Germany is significantly lower than in West-

55 Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung – BBSR (2015): Wachsen oder Schrumpfen? BBSR-Analyse KOMPAKT 12/2015. URL: http://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/Veroeffentlichungen/AnalysenKompakt/2015/AK122015.html?nn=415476 (retrieving date: 15/05/2017).
56 Liebmann, Heike (2010): Zivilgesellschaft unter Schrumpfungsbedingungen. In Becker, Elke; Gualani, Enrico; Runkel, Carolin & Rupert Graf Strachwitz (Eds.): Stadtentwicklung, Zivilgesellschaft und bürgerschaftliches Engagement. Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius: 71–84.
57 Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend – BFSFJ (2016) (Ed.) Freiwilliges Engagement in Deutschland. Der deutsche Freiwilligensurvey 2014. Berlin.
58 Sinnemann, Maria (2017): Engagement mit Potenzial. Sonderauswertung des vierten Freiwilligensurveys für die evangelische Kirche. Hannover: SI der EKD.

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Germany.[59] For these reasons we assume that the arrangement between religious communities and civil society differs depending on the federal territory.

3.2 Operationalization

According to the theoretical assumptions from chapter two the "explanandum" of our study comprises the civic functions and activities of protestant congregations on the meso-level, i.e. their *civic engagement* in the surrounding social area. We therefore operationalized this civic engagement along three dimensions.[60]

1. The first dimension comprises all civic or charitable activities and welfare services that are provided by the congregation either for its own members or for other people in the social area (e.g. educational opportunities; work with senior citizens, etc.).
2. The second dimension describes the integration of the community into local civic networks as well as all kinds of interactions with individuals or institutions of the civil society and beyond.
3. Finally, the third dimension includes the perception of the congregation. This includes the self-awareness of the congregation on the one hand (e.g. do they understand themselves as part of the civil society) and on the other hand the perception by other civil society actors as well as by the local population.

Each dimension then describes a continuum between a more or less pronounced relevance for local civil society as the following figure illustrates:

59 Statisisches Bundesamt (2014): Zensus 2011. Bevölkerung nach Geschlecht, Alter, Staatsangehörigkeit, Familienstand und Religionszugehörigkeit. Endgültige Ergebnisse. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.

60 Here we follow an approach that was first suggested by Nagel (2015:19). Yet, Nagel distinguishes only two dimensions namely civic activities and networks. We added the perception of the congregation in the local community as a third dimension that we assume is distinct from the other two dimensions. For example, it is possible that a congregation provides many civic activities and is a central part of local civil society networks, yet it is not perceived as part of the civil society by the population.

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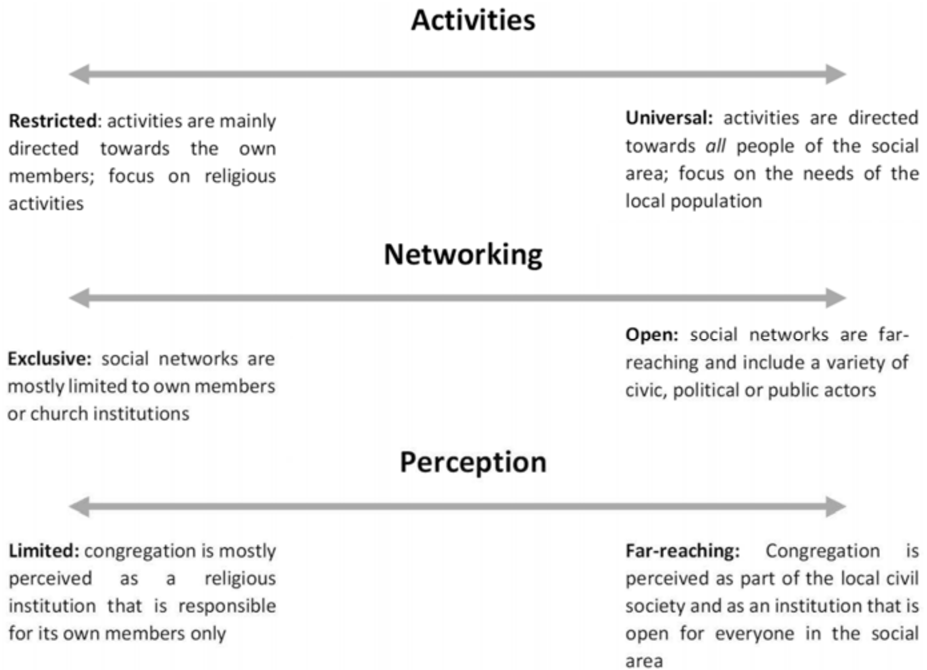

Figure 2: Three dimensions of civic relevance
Source: David Ohlendorf, Hilke Rebenstorf

3.3 Data collection

To measure the civic engagement of protestant congregations along these three different dimensions and to identify possible factors that influence this civic engagement we are using a mixed-methods-design[61] combining four different strategies of data collection:

3.3.1 Social area analysis

In each of the selected congregations we start with a description of the surrounding local social area using official statistics from churches and statistical offices. The purpose is to identify environmental conditions that might influence the civic engagement of the congregation, e.g. proportion of church members, socio-demographic characteristics among the population, vitality of the civil society, etc.

61 Flick, Uwe (2007): Triangulation. Eine Einführung. Wiesbaden: VS.

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3.3.2 Qualitative in-depths interviews with local experts

The qualitative interviews are the centerpiece of our study. We conduct semi-structured interviews with members of the congregation (pastors, church elders, deacons, volunteers, etc.) as well as with external experts from other civil society organizations or political institutions (mayor, members of clubs, associations or political parties, district manager, etc.). The interviews comprise questions regarding the subjective perception of the municipality and the religious community; the networking of the congregation as well as more general questions on the functions of the protestant church for civil society.

3.3.3 Network analysis

To measure the integration of congregations into civil society networks we are combining the qualitative interviews with "ego-centered network maps".[62] During the qualitative interview such a network map was presented to the respondent and he or she was asked to fill in his or her most important network partners in the civil society. The purpose is to better understand the scope and size of the networking of the congregation.

3.3.4 Quantitative survey

Finally we complement data collection by conducting a quantitative survey among the population of the particular social area. The purpose is to supplement the results from the qualitative interviews with a broader perspective of the population since the perception of a social area and especially of the local church can be quite different between local experts and the population. Additionally, the quantitative questionnaire also includes questions about social cohesion, voluntary commitment or religiosity of the respondents. Due to financial reasons we restrict the quantitative survey to two of the six cases.

62 Wolf, Christof (2010): Egozentrierte Netzwerke: Datenerhebung und Datenanalyse. In Stegbauer, Christian & Roger Häußling (Eds.): Handbuch Netzwerkforschung. Wiesbaden: VS

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4 First Results

In the following chapter we present first results from our study. Since the research project is still running these results should not be interpreted as definite findings but rather as a variety of first hypotheses and considerations that might change during future analysis. These very early results nevertheless can give a first impression on several significant theoretical categories and assumptions about the social mechanisms between protestant congregations and local civil societies.

4.1 The Congregations

The results are based on the qualitative data from three of the targeted six congregations where data collection is already finished. The three congregations and the surrounding social areas are as follows: [63]

4.1.1 St. John

The parish of St. John is located in a small village in West-Germany (about 3.400 inhabitants) with a rural character. Yet, since the village is not very far away from a big city it has become increasingly attractive for young families with children who work in town but want to live in the country. Due to its suburban status, the number of inhabitants increased steadily during the past years. This positive demographic development led to the exceptional situation that the number of church members at St. Johns remained constant. The interview respondents of our study described the village as a vivid place with good infrastructure, a number of clubs and associations and a wide range of cultural activities. Nevertheless, the constant inflow of new inhabitants changed the village. It is increasingly divided into two parts: on the one hand there is the traditional "core", including inhabitants who already have lived in the village for many years; and on the other hand there are the new inhabitants, most of them living in new housing areas in the outskirts of the village.

4.1.2 St. Mark

The parish of St. Mark is situated in a district at the periphery of one of the biggest cities in West-Germany. The district is commonly described as "middle-class" or

63 For reasons of anonymisation we changed the name of each parish to a fictitious name.

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even "prosperous". In fact, the district is characterized by a very advantageous social structure: average incomes and levels of education are high and there are almost no unemployed or poor people living in that district. Although the district is part of a big city, it is described as "rural" or as "village in the city" because there are a lot of green areas, dense social and civic networks and good neighborly relationships. In 2015 about 33 % of the population were members of the protestant church which is a little higher than the German average (27.1 % in 2015)[64]. The church of St. Mark is located in the center of the district close to the marketplace and is described as a very active and energetic but also pugnacious community. The parish has three pastors, two kindergartens, two musicians and two social workers. In recent years, the pastors and the church elders participated in several local public or political debates and the congregation is part of a wider network of civic actors, e.g. clubs, politicians, welfare organizations etc.

4.1.3 St. Matthew

St. Matthew is located in an inner-city-district, close to the downtown area of a city with roughly 750.000 inhabitants in West Germany. The district's character has been strongly shaped by early industrialization and the accompanying influx of foreign workers as well as the establishment of the university that has been founded at the beginning of the 20th century. Accordingly, the social structure is very heterogeneous: immigrants from all over the world, speaking 139 languages, representing a great variety of ways of life from unskilled labor, over qualified worker and young students to CEO in the finance business. The same applies for the autochthones German population. We find social housing as well as a neighborhood of villas. The already dense population is still increasing which reinforces the gentrification process with all known consequences. The interview partners describe the neighborhood as vivid and highly politicized, as characterized by a high degree of social cohesion despite the obvious social distances. Inhabitants are not only willing to contribute to the development of their district but also used to argue and to organize. Correspondingly, there are a lot of smaller or larger initiatives concerned with a whole lot of different issues from urban gardening to offering aid for refugees. About 19% of the population are members of the protestant church. Compared to the development of church membership in the whole city, a constant linear decline, the membership of St. Matthew is relatively stable. The parish has two pastors, two kindergartens, and two musicians who care for the three vocal and trombone choirs.

64 See for more detailed information: Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland – EKD (2016): Zahlen und Fakten zum kirchlichen Leben. Hannover.

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4.2 Motivation and motifs for civic engagement

First of all, it is noteworthy that each one of the three congregations has put the issue “civic engagement” on top of their contemporary agenda. Intensifying charitable activities and civic networking was seen as one of the central tasks in the near future. Although protestant congregation in Germany are, by church constitution, obliged to engage in charitable activities, this strong emphasis on civic engagement is remarkable considering the fact that the core activities of a religious community obviously include predominantly religious activities, e.g. offering church services, funerals, wedding or baptism ceremonies, etc. So how can we explain this *increased* interest of protestant congregations in civic and charitable activities? Based on the qualitative interviews, two main motifs have evolved:

4.2.1 The perception of secularization trends

The religious landscape in Germany as well as in many other countries in Western Europe is characterized by a persistent and ongoing trend of secularization. The main symptom of this process is the continuous and dramatic decline in church membership and attendance rates. Between the years 1990 and 2008 the Protestant Church in Germany lost about 4,9 million of its members which is a decline of 16.7 percent.[65] Although in the year 2016 there were still 22,2 million members of the Protestant Church in Germany only a small group of these are actively involved in religious life.[66] That becomes clear by taking a look at the attendance rates: On average the proportion of protestant Church members that attend service on a regular Sunday lies below five percent.[67]

Congregations are increasingly being confronted with negative consequences which are caused by these processes of secularization: poorly frequented religious events, high numbers of people who are leaving the church and increasing difficulties in recruiting new members or volunteers are common problems in many protestant congregations throughout Germany and were also described by several

65 Eicken, Joachim & Ansgar Schmitz-Veltin (2010): Die Entwicklung der Kirchenmitglieder in Deutschland. Statistische Anmerkungen zu Umfang und Ursachen des Mitgliederrückgangs in den beiden christlichen Volkskirchen. Wirtschaft und Statistik 6/2010. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt.

66 Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland – EKD (2016): Zahlen und Fakten zum kirchlichen Leben. Hannover.

67 Pollack, Detlef; Pickel, Gert & Anja Christof (2015): Kirchenbindung und Religiosität im Zeitverlauf. In Bedford-Strohm, Heinrich & Volker Jung (Eds.): Vernetzte Vielfalt. Kirche angesichts von Individualisierung und Säkularisierung. Die fünfte EKD-Erhebung über Kirchenmitgliedschaft. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus: 200.

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respondents in our study. These problems lead to a growing pressure of change and a higher willingness to innovate traditional structures. Congregations realize that they have to open their doors for people beyond their own "classic" members. One solution is to offer not only religious or spiritual activities but also to increasingly engage in charitable, cultural social or civic activities and projects.[68] In doing so, congregations attempt to become more attractive for people who have no strong affection towards church and religion but are nevertheless willing to engage or participate in certain social, cultural or civic projects that are organized by the religious community and which attempt to improve life and common wellbeing for all people in the surrounding social area. Such activities, e.g. establishing a cafeteria in the community center, arranging a town festival or a village fair or organizing a cooking evening with families were described as "bait offers" ("Lockangebote"):

> Also es gibt Leute – aber das muss man akzeptieren, dass das so ist – die mögen der Kirche nicht zu nahe kommen. Aber die niedrigschwelligen Angebote sollen sie locken doch dahin zu gehen. [...] Also irgendwas bieten, was mit Kirche nicht so direkt zu tun hat und sie erstmal ranlocken, dass sie da sind.
>
> Church elder at St. Mark

Those activities are open to everyone yet at the same time are also not too religious or spiritual in nature – at least not at first sight. Nevertheless, by offering more of such civic and charitable activities congregations hope to attract new members and volunteers. To sum it up: One motif for the new interest of religious communities in civic activities clearly lies in their attempt to find new ways of missionary work.

4.2.2 The virtue of Christian Charity

The missionary intentions of protestant churches are just one part of the story and it would be all too easy to assume the congregations are only interested in civic engagement because they egoistically intend to attract new members and volunteers. The truth is that there is actually a high degree of compatibility between norms of civility and civic activities on the one hand and the Christian commandment to love your neighbor on the other hand. Thus, the active participation in local civil society is described as an immediate consequence of individual Christian faith. A central idea in this regard is the notion of Charity – one of the core concepts of Christian belief: Caring for the poor or weak members of the community is seen as a necessary

68 See also: Wegner, Gerhard (2017a): Congregational Studies. An Introduction. In Latzel, Thorsten & Gerhard Wegner (Eds.): Congregational Studies Worldwide. The Future oft he Parish and the Free Congregation. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt: 171.

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condition to gain credibility both for the individual believer and the protestant congregation as a whole. Moreover, to be authentic as congregation this notion of charity can of course not be restricted to those who are church members or who attend religious service regularly, yet must be applied to all people regardless of their religious affiliation. The pastor of St. John described this correlation between being authentic as a Christ and civic engagement that is universal, i.e. directed towards all people around:

> Gemeinde muss etwas tun…, sie ist Teil der Welt. Glaube bezieht sich nicht auf den Sonntagmorgen und das Private, sondern ist etwas, was mich als ganzen Menschen betrifft und damit betrifft es auch mein Leben und in einer Gemeinde bedeutet das auch ihr Arbeitsleben, ihr Privatleben, ihr Wohnen, ihre Art Freizeit zu verbringen und, und, und… […] Ich kann die Leute nicht angucken, wenn ich nur den sehe, der sonntags morgens zum Gottesdienst geht, sondern auch die, die nicht kommen.
>
> Pastor at St. John

Protestant congregations take over civic and charitable activities in their social environment not just for reasons of self-interest but because they understand these tasks as core element of Christianity: the active proclamation of the gospel in word and deed. In conclusion, civic activities are not just a by-product or a temporary fashion of congregational work but an immediate and necessary consequence of Christian faith.

4.3 Four functions of protestant congregations in local civil society

One of the primary concerns of our study is to understand the contemporary role of protestant churches in local civil society. Although the tasks and activities of the analyzed congregations are manifold and diverse, the qualitative interviews we conducted so far already indicate a more general pattern. We found that there are *four* functions of civic engagement of protestant congregations. We call these functions “*compensation*”, “*integration*”, “*intervention*” and “*moderation*”.

It is important to note, however, that these functions are ideal-types, which means that in reality they are never clearly distinguishable but can be observed as hybrid forms. Furthermore, not every congregation fulfills each of these four functions at the same time. In our study each congregation focused on at least one or two of the four functions, albeit the other functions also being noticeable, yet less important. In the following we introduce these four civic functions in more detail based on the empirical material from our study.

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4.3.1 Compensation

One of the church elders at St. John described the problem of a missing local community center in the village. In the past, clubs and associations of the village could assemble at the local pub. But since a growing number of people are commuting to the near town after work or at the weekend to spend their leisure time there the pub had to close down. As a consequence at least two problems arise: first, there no longer is a place to have a beer after work, and second, there is no room to assemble for actors of the civil society. The local protestant congregation reacted to these problems (at least to the second one) and opened its own community center which now can be used by the clubs and associations or for other political or public assemblies.

This story illustrates a typical narrative we found in different forms and for several contexts: The local congregation attempts to compensate a certain deficit of the civil society (here it was the missing community center). Such “*structural holes*” of civil society can arise because certain civic or social functions are no longer fulfilled which were initially provided by other public or commercial actors. This includes public services as well as cultural or social activities. In this regard the often contested parochial structure of protestant churches in Germany seems to be an advantage: due to its comprehensive network of congregations all over the country, the protestant church is able to provide civic or charitable activities even in regions with a negative socio-demographic and economic development and hence eroding structures of civil society. The possibilities of protestant congregations to substitute vanishing civic functions are of course limited. But the church nevertheless can offer resources, rooms and capabilities that are necessary to keep a local civil society alive even if many other civic or commercial actors are already gone.

This compensating type of civic activities however is not necessarily limited to congregations in so called “*shrinking regions*”. Even in vivid civil societies we observed that congregations often attempt to match their civic activities and offers with the demand of the local population. One example is a project called “*Wohnen im Alter*” (“*living at an old age*”) that was initiated by the parish of St. John. The purpose of that activity is to train a group of volunteers who will take care of elderly people who live alone or are disabled and therefore vulnerable to social isolation and exclusion. The pastor of St. John described this project as follows:

> Es gibt das, die Sache mit Wohnen im Alter, eben eine Gruppe zu bilden, auch auszubilden, weil das ja Vorkenntnissen und Wissen bedarf, die eben sich um die Menschen kümmern, die alleine oder hilfsbedürftig oder pflegebedürftig sind. Also nicht die Pflege übernehmen, aber sie zu versorgen, mitzuhelfen, dass sie versorgt sind und dass sich jemand um sie kümmert, damit sie eben nicht alleine sind, dass sie eben auch eingebunden sind in ein soziales Netzwerk.

Pastor at St. John

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In this case, the congregation does not substitute vanishing civic activities but rather reacts to developments caused by demographic and social changes, i.e. the increasing number of elderly people in the community, the transformation of traditional family and household structures and the growing anonymity in modern societies.

Furthermore, this example illustrates that compensation does not necessarily mean that congregations have to organize all missing civic activities on their own. In case of the project "Leben im Alter" the congregation developed the concept, established networks and recruited first volunteers, yet its aim is that the project runs independently in the future. The role of the congregation in the civil society is therefore described as enabling citizens to participate in civic activities:

> Das heißt nicht, dass wir überall was anbieten müssen und präsent sein müssen,...nein... aber das heißt, dass man das mit wahrnimmt und guckt, wo gibt es eben Bedarf.
>
> Pastor at St. John

Finally, this compensating function and the resulting orientation towards the demand of the local population are associated with the two motifs for civic engagements of protestant churches we described above: On the one hand, looking for social problems in the community and therefore directing the civic engagement towards those who are in need immediately result from the idea of Christian charity. And on the other hand, the concentration on the local demand also follows strategic motifs: by offering things that are requested by citizens, the congregations also hope to attract new members.

4.3.2 Integration

The aforementioned project "Wohnen im Alter" already indicates another contribution of congregations to civil society: religious communities seem to foster social integration and social cohesion by bringing together people from different societal groups. With regard to the research literature on religion and social integration this result, however, is not very surprising. In the past, several authors have highlighted the important role of religious communities as sources of social capital and catalysts for social integration.[69] Nevertheless, our results additionally indicate that this

69 See for example: Traunmüller, Richard. 2008: Religion als Ressource sozialen Zusammenhalts: Eine empirische Analyse der religiösen Grundlagen sozialen Kapitals in Deutschland. SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW).; Pickel, Gert (2015): Sozialkapital und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement evangelischer Kirchenmitglieder als gesellschaftliche und kirchliche Ressource. In Bedford-Strohm, Heinrich & Volker Jung (Eds.): Vernetze Vielfalt. Kirche angesichts von Individualisierung und Säkularisierung. Die fünfte EKD-Erhebung über Kirchenmitgliedschaft. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus: 279–301.

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integrative function of protestant communities is not limited to members, but also has an impact on the wider civil society. That became particularly apparent during the European refugee crisis in 2015. When Germany opened its boarders to thousands of refugees and asylum seekers, most of them from Syria, Afghanistan or the Kosovo, many protestant congregations all over the country participated in the organization of integration projects.

In our study, the parish of St. Matthew in fact belongs to the initiators of such an integration project. In cooperation with an adjacent catholic community and the urban district office, the parish established a network to support newly arriving migrants during their first month of stay in Germany. By organizing language courses and welcoming parties, the protestant church played an important role in the integration of the newly arriving migrants. One of the pastors of St. Matthew considers this civic engagement with refugees as an important step towards a congregation more open to local social matters within the district:

> Das Netzwerk für Flüchtlinge, ja. Das ist eine Initiative des Stadtteilbüros und der Kirchen, oder der evangelischen und katholischen Kirche. Da gab's letztes Jahr ein Willkommensfest für Flüchtlinge, also wir haben verschiedenes auf die Beine gestellt, insbesondere auch Sprachkurse. […] Das ist zum Beispiel wo ich denke: Gut! Da sind wir noch weiter in den Stadtteil hineingegangen.
>
> Church Elder at St. Matthew

But this integrative function of protestant communities in civil society is not limited to the integration of refugees. The parish of St. John for example initiated a welcome party for all newly arriving citizens in the village. Its purpose was to provide an opportunity for locals –newly arrived and already living in the village for years – to get to know each other and to establish first social contacts. Also, the parish of St. Matthew established several multigenerational activities, e.g. the project "Himmlisch Kochen", an event where younger and elderly people cooked together on a regular basis with the aim of bringing together these two groups of different age. Even though the project does no longer exist the social networks endured:

> Wir hatten ein Mehr-Generationen-Koch-Projekt, wo acht Ältere und acht Jugendliche zusammenkamen […]. Da haben wir halt einfach uns ausgetauscht über Rezepte von damals und heute und so, haben gemeinsam auch gekocht, gegessen und ein Kochbuch erstellt aus diesen ganzen Rezepten und Geschichten, die jeder so mitgebracht hat. […] Dieses Projekt… und wir rufen immer noch mal diese Gruppe in einigen Abständen zusammen, also da hat sich eine ganz tolle Gemeinschaft ergeben einfach, die freuen sich immer wieder, wenn sie sich irgendwie sehen und Jung und Alt sind da irgendwie total gut miteinander verknüpft. Das war ein ziemlich erfolgreiches Projekt, was Spaß gemacht hat.
>
> Social Worker at St. Matthew

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As these examples illustrate, the particular strength of protestant communities in civil society lies in their ability to establish social ties, to bring people of different societal groups together, and, as a consequence, foster social integration and cohesion beyond the religious community. It is important to note, however, that this integrative effect can either be intended, e.g. if the congregation engages in projects and activities with the explicit purpose bringing people together, or it can be a rather unintended by-product of other cultural, social or civic activities, e.g. if participation or civic engagement in the community leads to the development of friendship and social networks. The latter was described by a volunteer at St. Matthew: In recent years the congregation opened a small cafeteria and a shop that sells fair-trade-products next to the church. By now, the cafeteria is completely managed by volunteers. As a consequence, today the cafeteria is not only a meeting place in the center of the urban district adjacent to the market square, but has also led to the development of friendship and social networks among participating volunteers. One of the volunteers described this "side-effect" of his voluntary commitment as follows:

> Alle Menschen, die mit dem Weltladen zu tun haben, sind mir mehr als geläufig. Da haben sich auch Freundschaften entwickelt. Es sind bestimmt 10 Leute oder mehr, die ich im Weltladen kennengelernt habe und inzwischen mit denen befreundet bin. Einfach nur die Präsenz, dann kommt man sich näher und dann plauscht man halt miteinander.
>
> Volunteer at the cafeteria of St. Matthew

4.3.3 Intervention

A third civic function is the active participation of protestant communities in current political and public debates. This public involvement is well known for religious umbrella organizations and prominent representatives of the Catholic and Protestant church in Germany, e.g. bishops or members of the council of the EKD (see for example: Könemann et al. 2015). Yet, we found that it is also an important part of the congregational civic engagement at municipal level.

In our study, this type of civic engagement becomes particularly obvious at St. Marcus: In recent years, representatives of the congregation, i.e. the pastors or church elders, have used their influence to intervene in a number of public debates. The content of these debates was not limited to church related issues, but rather comprise a wide range of topics, e.g. redesigning the marketplace, constructioning a motorway through the district, accommodating refugees, constructing a home for adolescents and school drop-outs with behavioral or psychological problems in the district, etc. In each of these cases the community raised its voice to intervene. To attract people's attention and to be perceived by other civic players in the social area, members of the congregation emphasized the importance of high "visibility", which for example should be achieved through participation in local political and

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civic bodies as well as successful networking. Thus, the congregation is part of a dense and diverse network comprising clubs, associations, charities and local politicians who assemble on a regular basis to exchange their views and experiences and to discuss important matters regarding the local city district. Our results imply that this notion of "visibility" seems to be a key feature of this intervention type, as the following quote from a volunteer at St. Marcus illustrates:

> Das heißt Kirche sichtbar machen nicht nur durch die Architektonik, sondern sichtbar machen auch durch Präsenz eines Pastors, der sich auch einmischt [...] auch in der Presse aktiv ist, in Interessengemeinschaften mitzuwirken usw. Ich denke, einer der Schwerpunkte ist wirklich, die Leute immer wieder auf die Kirche zu stoßen und dann natürlich auch durch verschiedene Aktionen, wozu eben auch politische Aktionen gehören können.
>
> Volunteer at St. Mark

Once again, this motivation to intervene results directly from the two main motifs for civic engagement in protestant communities as described above: in the light of an ongoing trend of secularization and the increasing indifference towards church and religion amongst the citizens, a high degree of visibility is essential for congregations to survive. On the other hand, raising the voice for the weak and marginalized citizens is a necessary consequence of the commandment to love your neighbor, as the pastor of St. John argues:

> Also weiterhin die, die hilfsbedürftig sind, für die sonst keiner die Stimme erhebt, da weiterhin Stimme erheben und das muss man vor Ort genauso wie in größeren Zusammenhängen. Also es reicht dann nicht, wenn dann jemand... also wenn da zum Beispiel normal Geschäft laufen würde und man sagt, alles, was wir zu sozialen Entwicklungen und Gesellschaft sagen müssen, das findet dann irgendwo auf Bischofsebene statt und sonst interessiert uns das nicht, das geht nicht. Es muss greifbar sein, so sein, dass die Menschen das verstehen, dass sie sich wahrgenommen und ernstgenommen fühlen und gesehen werden.
>
> Pastor at St. John

Last but not least, it is important to note that this intervening function of protestant communities is hotly contested, even among the own members. Some see the intervention of a representative of a religious institution in an ongoing public or political debate as a violation of the separation of Church and State. Others observe that representatives (in particular the pastors) who speak on behalf of the whole community are not necessarily authorized to do so since they are not elected democratically line in political parties. One volunteer at St. Marcus described this problem as follows:

> Es kann nicht sein, dass ein Pfarrer die Kanzel dazu missbraucht [...], um seine persönliche Meinung zu irgendeinem öffentlichen Thema, das ist ja kein kirchliches Thema, ein öffentliches Thema, den Leuten aufzudrücken. Keiner kann sich melden und sagen, ich bin anderer

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> Meinung, wie es in einer politischen Versammlung wäre. Nein. Das betrachte ich als Missbrauch und da bin ich aber wirklich konsequent dagegen. [...] Er kann doch nicht einfach seine persönliche Meinung als Meinung der Kirche auslegen.
>
> Volunteer at St. Mark

4.3.4 Moderation

The fourth and last civic function, which we called "moderation", is to some extent the counterpart to the intervening function. In this case, the congregation also participates in local discourse but instead of actively intervening, it rather attempts to moderate between different opinions of the diverging groups in the surrounding social area.

We observed this moderating function particularly within the congregation of St. Matthew. Located in a diverse and pluralist district of a big city, the community attempts to be a platform for different societal groups in the social area. Being asked what would be missing in the district if the protestant church disappeared, one of the pastors of St. Matthew answered that the district would lack this moderating and integrating force:

> Also ich glaube, [...] es würde dem Stadtteil quasi so eine Art Klammer fehlen. Ich glaube, die Gemeinde ist oft so ein Angebot, wo sich die verschiedenen Gruppierungen treffen können. Es ist gar nicht unbedingt so, dass wir versuchen durchzusetzen, was wir gut finden, sondern dass wir versuchen, eine Plattform zu bieten und zu sagen: Hier wäre eine Möglichkeit zusammenzukommen und gemeinsam zu überlegen, Kräfte bündeln.
>
> Pastor at St. Matthew

Whereas "visibility" was the key feature of the intervening function, the moderating function is characterized by the notion of "*openness*". The community wishes to be an open and hospitable place for every individual and societal group regardless of religious affiliation.[70] In concrete terms this openness is materialized in the church buildings, which are open to everyone. Rooms may be rented by clubs or associations from the district. Thus, the pastor of St. Matthew compared the congregation with an *inn* ("Herberge"):

> Das Leitbild der Herberge, Gemeinde als Herberge ist ein Leitbild, das es seit 15,20 Jahren so gibt, finde ich attraktiv, weil es heißt: Wir haben offene Türen. Wir haben hier Gäste, die selber zu Gastgebern werden. Das Leitbild spricht mich an. Und wir schauen nicht, also wir prüfen

70 There are of course limitations of this idea of openness. Thus, one pastor at St. Matthew argued that extremist or fundamentalist groups were not included.

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> nicht so sehr, ob die unserer Konfession sind, wie auch immer, sondern dass es hier einen Ort gibt, an dem sich das Leben abspielt und so.
>
> Pastor at St. Matthew

Even though this openness and the moderating function can be associated with a very hospitable congregation it might also lead to the problem of a rather passive community that waits for other groups or people to come to them. Future research should therefore analyze the correlation between communities characterized by this moderating type on the one hand and their religious vitality on the other hand.

4.4 Public perception of protestant congregations

Another purpose of our study was to analyze how protestant congregations are perceived by other actors of civil society. Our guiding question was: Are communities actually perceived as part of civil society or are they rather seen as religious congregations predominantly providing religious services? To grasp this external perspective we not only conducted interviews with members and representatives of congregations but also with key players of civil society and political parties, e.g. members and chairmen of clubs or associations, mayors, city district managers, etc. Results from these "external" interviews may be summed up as follows:

First of all, results indicate a very ambivalent attitude towards protestant congregations and their civic engagement amongst other actors of civil society. On the one hand, protestant congregations are described as somewhat "old-fashioned", inflexible and in desperate need of reform. On the other hand, respondents appreciate protestant congregations as essential partners in civil society and particularly emphasize their important role in the production of local welfare, e.g. caring for elderly citizens or providing activities for children and adolescents, or as source of social capital. One of the respondents, a pharmacist who works in a drugstore near St. Mark described himself as rather irreligious and as someone who visits the church at most once a year, on Christmas Eve. Nevertheless, he appreciated the public utility of the congregation as a place for social encounter:

> Ich denke schon, dass die Kirche ein sozial... wie soll ich sagen? Nicht einen sozialen Mittelpunkt, aber einen sozialen Treffpunkt darstellen kann. Es gibt Jugendgruppen, gab es zumindest früher in meiner Gemeinde, wo ich damals aufgewachsen bin. Es gab Jugendgruppen, dann gab es den Chor, dann gab es die Kommunions- oder die Konfirmationsgruppen, Firmungsgruppen entsprechend bei den Katholischen. Also diese Gruppen entsprechend, wo auch viel unternommen wurde. Zusammenhalt, Zugehörigkeitsgefühl in dieser Form erzeugt wurde. Also ich denke schon, dass so etwas definitiv die Aufgabe auch der Kirche ist, was sie besser leisten kann zumindest auf der sozialen Ebene als ein Sportverein.
>
> A pharmacist, working in a drugstore near St. Marcus

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Although other civic actors actually have high expectations regarding the function of protestant communities in civil society – e.g. they should help the poor, care for the elderly and raise their voices for those in need – they nevertheless are sceptical about the religious or spiritual character of these civic activities. Simply put: if protestant congregations engage in civic activities, they are expected to act like every other (secular) actor in civil society, whereas religious and spiritual activities should be directed towards their own members only. One of the main concerns of other civic actors is that the Churches abuse their civic engagement for missionary attempts. The city district manager for example criticized St. Marcus for holding religious services in a retirement home:

> Aber deshalb wünsche ich mir eigentlich, dass man sehr viel gibt, ohne gleich was zu nehmen oder einzufordern. Ich sehe das auch außerhalb der Gemeinde, ich sehe das bei vielen karitativen Institutionen so, dass man gleich wieder was nimmt. Altersheime, Zwangsandachten und solche Sachen. Da können sich die Leute gar nicht gegen wehren, sonst werden sie schlechter behandelt.
>
> City district manager

This ambivalent attitude towards civic engagement of religious communities resembles the idea of "*vicarious relig*ion" that was introduced by British sociologist Grace Davie. She describes this as "the notion of religion performed by an active minority but on behalf of a much larger number, who (implicitly at least) not only understand, but quite clearly approve of what the minority is doing".[71] According to Davie, the majority of the population feels indifferent towards religion or is even skeptical of what religious organizations are doing; nevertheless they grant religious communities a certain "public utility" and therefore approve of their religiously motivated civic engagement. The following quote may be most suitable to illustrate this attitude towards church and religion. It is from an interview with a volunteer at St. Marcus, who cites his son:

> Sonst geht es wie bei meinen Kindern: Okay, Vater, ich bleibe in der Kirche, weil die sozial sind usw., aber außer Weihnachten muss es nicht sein.
>
> A volunteer at St. Marcus

71 Davie, Grace (2006): Is Europe an Exceptional Case? The Hedgehog Review. Spring & Summer 06: 24.

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5 Conclusion & discussion

In this paper, we have tried to advance knowledge about the role and functions of protestant churches in contemporary civil society in Germany. For this purpose, we presented some preliminary results from the empirical study "Protestant Congregations in Local Civil Society in Germany", currently conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences of the EKD. It is important to note that these are very early results which should not be interpreted as definite findings, but rather as first hypotheses and considerations. Moreover, for reasons of space, only selected findings could be presented. Despite its preliminary character, the results nevertheless shed light on crucial social mechanisms between protestant communities and local civil society.

First of all, we found that there are two main motifs for civic engagement among the communities that participated in our study: On the one hand, congregations are increasingly aware of secularization trends and therefore try to find new ways to get people interested in religion. By focusing on cultural, charitable or civic activities, communities hope to become more attractive for people who are usually rather skeptical towards church activities. On the other hand, civic engagement is not just seen as a by-product or a temporary fashion, but is described as an immediate consequence of Christian faith (in particular the commandment to love your neighbor) and is therefore conceived as a necessary precondition to be authentic and credible as a Christian community.

Moreover, based on our findings we developed four ideal-types of civic functions that congregations can adopt: We called these functions "*compensation*", "*integration*", "*intervention*" and "*moderation*". Although, we found each of these four functions in all of the congregations we studied so far, each congregation seems to focus (at least implicitly) on one of these functions. Last but not least we discussed first results from the interviews with other actors of civil society beyond church context to better understand the external perception of religious communities in each social area. We argued that this external perspective resembles the idea of "vicarious religion", as suggested by Grace Davie. Therefore, most civic actors highly appreciate the "public utility" of protestant congregations and the vicarious and religiously motivated engagement of church members, as long as their civic activities are mainly secular and without missionary attempts.

Our findings evidently face have a number of limitations. At first, all congregations analyzed so far are located in West-Germany. Although we already conducted interviews in two congregations in East-Germany, results were not ready for presentation at the time we submitted this article. Due to high levels of secularization in several areas as well as due to the special relationship between religion and civil society that goes back to the role of the Christian churches in the former German Democratic Republic – East Germany (GDR), we expect quite different conditions for civic engagement among protestant communities in East-Germany. Thus, one task

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for the future will be to compare our temporary findings with those derived from the communities in East-Germany. A second limitation results from the case selection strategy. Whether a selected community is actually included in our study, strongly depends on its willingness to participate. We assume, however, that communities more actively involved in civil society were also more willing to participate than those with low levels of civic engagement. As a consequence, our study may face a selection bias, which means that more successful congregations are also more likely to be included in our study. This selection bias directly leads to a third issue: all congregations in our study act on the ground of the described norms of civility, which means we only considered the "bright" side of civil society. It is at least conceivable, however, that there are also protestant communities who engage in civic activities which are not based on the ground of contemporary civil norms, e.g. congregations who participate in islamophobic, homophobic or anti-democratic activities.[72] To include such congregations in our study would have made it necessary to apply a very different sampling strategy, which is why we have to keep this task for further research.

Despite these limitations, our paper contributes to the literature on religion and civil society by giving first insights on the concrete role protestant communities may play in local civil societiy in Germany. This is especially important since empirical research on the congregational "meso-level" is still lacking. Not surprisingly, however, a number of questions still remain unanswered. One important task for future research will be to analyze the causes and consequences of the described four civic functions. What are the conditions and factors that influence which civic function a community adopt? Also, how does the type of civic engagement influence the religious vitality or perception of a community in civil society? Does a stronger involvement in civic activities actually increase religious vitality as many representatives of the protestant church would hope? Or does it, actually accelerate the process of secularization, as communities increasingly engaged in civic or charitable activities lose their religious character? Moreover, in terms of the external-perception of protestant communities it will be necessary to analyze, on the basis of quantitative data, whether the described idea of "vicarious religion" can also be observed among the broader citizenry or whether most people feel indifferent or even hostile towards the civic engagement of the protestant Church. Answering these and further questions on the ground of empirical data will not only help to better understand the relationship between religion and civil society but can also help to improve the civic engagement of religious communities in general.

72 Yet the parochial structure of the protestant church in Germany makes it unlikely for those congregations to really exist, since their activities are supervised by the regional churches ("Landeskirchen").

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Edith Archambault

The Specificities of Relations between the State, Religious Communities and Civil Society in France

This chapter presents the relations between religious communities, civil society, and the State in France. Civil society is a third party of great importance in a country, which is widely considered internationally as being highly centralised, having a specific culture, and placing the State above business and civil society. This French culture of 'statism' may be viewed as follows: the State defines what a public good is and may conflict with the Church in this definition. The State has a kind of monopoly in providing public interest goods and services as a consequence. Therefore French citizens have an ambiguous relationship with the State: on the one hand, they dislike the high level of taxes and seek not to pay them if possible; on the other hand, French citizens consider that it is up to the government to deal with any civic, social, environmental or economic problem.[1] Self-help is not a common reflex when a new problem arises. If government crowds out civil society, it will remain small according to the theory of social origins.[2]

This chapter discusses this *a priori* view of the specificity of France in Europe, where most Western countries belong to the 'welfare partnership' characterised by high government-funded social spending, delivered partly by the central and local governments and partly through a large civil society sector. After centuries of prohibition or restriction, France's civil society sector is today of the same order of magnitude as in most West European countries, which would seem to be in contradiction with the culture of "statism". The methodology used to discuss this contradiction is a multidisciplinary approach, more than an economic point of view, because in France as elsewhere, the historical background explains the present role, scope and weight of civil society. Historical, ideological and political conflicts with the State

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1 Nearly two centuries ago, Tocqueville remarked this special relationship of the French to government: "In the end I understood that those hundred thousand Americans, frightened by the progress that drunkenness was making around them, wanted to provide their patronage to sobriety. They had acted precisely like a great lord who would dress himself very plainly in order to inspire the scorn of luxury in simple citizens. It is to be believed that if those hundred thousand men had lived in France, each of them would have addressed himself individually to the government, begging it to oversee the cabarets all over the realm". Tocqueville A.de (1835): Democracy in America, Edited and translated by Harvey C. Mansfield and Delba Winthrop Mansfield and Delba Winthrop (2000).

2 Salamon L, Sokolowski W and M. Haddock (2017): Explaining Civil Society Development, A social Origins Approach, Johns Hopkins University Press.; Salamon L. and Anheier H. (1998): "Social origins of civil society" Voluntas, vol. 9, 3.

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are at the root of the present position of the Catholic Church and other religious communities relative to civil society organisations.

The argument starts by giving a brief history of French civil society and its relationship with the State and the Church, highlighting the main similarities and differences with other European countries. Then, the landscape of French civil society and religious communities nowadays is sketched out, while their relationship with the State presented according to their components. Finally, the chapter focuses on the most conflictual part of French civil society, namely education, which has been the source of a recurrent "school war" between the Church and the State. The conclusion notes that France is now a welfare partnership country as its Rhineland neighbours, even if relationships with religious communities are less developed.

1 The Historical Background

1.1 The two common origins of European civil society in the Middle-Ages

The origins of civil society organisations in France were similar in their roots to those in other European countries. They dated back to the Middle-Ages and were based on charities and guilds, notably the former, which were run by the Church through its parishes and congregations. They provided services in the field of education, essentially to reproduce the clergy; they helped the "good poor" – neither thieves nor vagrants – by providing food and shelter for them. Parishes organised "*tables des pauvres*" at the local level, similar to modern soup kitchens and France's current *Restaurants du Coeur*, while monastic orders welcomed the poor in asylums and hospitals. Hospitals specialised in health services during the late Middle-Ages.[3] Medieval charities can be considered ancestors of our modern systems of social protection, as well as service-providing civil society organisations.

In many European countries, some cities liberated themselves from the feudal order during the Middle-Ages. Guilds in these free cities and urban areas organised and certified the work of craftsmen and therefore they are considered as ancestors of labour unions and professional associations. The guilds had a social dimension: brotherhoods that gathered workers for recreation and the celebration of holidays at church.[4] They also gave some assistance to their needy members, often the widows and orphans of deceased guild members. Therefore, brotherhoods organised a mu-

3 Mollat M.(1978): Les pauvres au Moyen-Age Hachette.

4 In many medieval churches and cathedrals, chapels adjoining the nave have stained glass or statues celebrating the patron saint of a craft which were paid for by its guild and its brotherhood.

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tual assistance within professions, which later in the 19th century developed into mutual societies.

In the most centralised and developed countries, France and England, the State replaced the feudal order earlier than elsewhere in providing external security and public order. In addition, an episodic concern for some social services occasionally appeared in France (the agency for the poor by King Louis IX – *Saint Louis* – or King François I), or in England (the Poor Laws).

1.2 The big break point in civil society: the French Revolution and after

The 1789 Revolution constituted the main difference in the historical path of France and other European countries. It abolished the two medieval pillars of civil society: on the one hand, the guilds and their social bodies, the brotherhoods, were suppressed in 1791 by the Le Chapelier Law, with the following rationale inspired by the philosopher Rousseau:

No one shall be allowed to arouse in any citizen any kind of intermediate interest and to separate him from the public weal through the medium of supposed corporate interests.[5]

On the other hand, the French Revolution fought the Catholic Church because it was in favour of the *Ancient Regime* and the monarchy. Catholicism ceased to be the State religion in France. At the same time, repressive legislation against religious minorities – Protestants and Jews –was suppressed. Congregations were expelled and the clergy had to acknowledge the Republic. Some priests did this, but others did not, especially in the western part of France, and were persecuted. A divide among the clergy arose as a result. In addition the revolutionary government needed money because of wars against European neighbours and the Catholic Church was rich. Therefore, its real estate was seized and sold to the rising social class, the bourgeoisie. Its hospitals and other charities were nationalised and taken over by public authorities. The Church also lost its tithes, a mandatory 10% tax on the income of the French, which was suppressed by the National Assembly in 1789. As the wealth of the Church had been partially devoted to the poorest part of the population under the monarchy, extreme poverty developed during this period of war between France and other European countries.

As a counterpart to the default of the Church, the republican government stated that welfare was its own responsibility, according to the utopian position of the philosopher Montesquieu: "The state has to grant every citizen a livelihood, food,

5 Rousseau J-J. (1762): Le contrat social, google books, 1995.

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convenient clothes and a healthy way of life".[6] In 1793, a Committee against Begging worked on social issues and set out these principles:

> Extreme poverty is the fault of the State…Public assistance to the poor is a sacred duty. Society owes poor citizens support and must either give them work or, if they are unable to work, secure them a livelihood.[7]

These generous principles were not followed up by implementation because of the lack of public resources. The beginnings of implementation only appeared 150 years later. In the above quote from 1793, we can see a distinction between the poor who are able to work and those who are not; this distinction is also fundamental in the British Poor Laws.

In most European countries, both medieval pillars of the civil society became secularised and modernised step-by-step without such a revolutionary break and freedom of association was the rule in many countries in Europe. However, in 1804, Napoleon's repressive Penal Code outlawed any association of more than twenty persons, whatever its purpose, unless it had government accreditation and respected restrictive conditions. Subsequent governments either tolerated or repressed civil society organisations in a permanent conflict between an omnipotent centralised State and diversified social and political trends favouring the creation of associations, mutual societies and labour movements despite their prohibition or repression.

So France established freedom of association later than its neighbours. At the end of the 19th century, finally a series of liberalising laws ended the limitations on freedom of association: labour unions were legalised in 1884, mutual societies in 1898 and all types of association were given legal recognition in the 1901 Law, which is still in force. This Law defines an association as a "convention according to which two or more individuals permanently share a common knowledge or activity with a purpose other than sharing profits."[8]

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6 Montesquieu C. de (1748): De l'esprit des lois , Paris, Flammarion 1995.

7 Quoted by Barthe M-A (1991): "Pauvreté et Etat-Providence. L'approche du Comité de mendicité" Revue Française des Affaires sociales, juillet-septembre; Ewald F. (1986): L'Etat Providence, Paris, Grasset.

8 For more details on this crucial period, see Archambault E.(1996): The Nonprofit Sector in France, Manchester University Press, Johns Hopkins Sector Series 3.; Archambault E. (2001): "Historical roots of the nonprofit sector in France" Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 130–132.

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1.3 Recurring conflicts between the State and Church that structure civil society

France has always been a Catholic country: the beginning of France as a nation is considered to date back to the conversion of Clovis, the leader of the Franks, to the Roman Catholic faith at the end of the 5th century. As the "eldest daughter of the Church", the Kingdom of France adopted Catholicism as its State religion.

However, there have been key differences in France's State-Church relationship, compared to its neighbours, and these are reflected in civil society. The relationship is more collaborative in countries where the State signed a concordat with the Holy See and similar agreements with other Christian religions. In decentralised west-European countries, an early partnership in the provision of welfare services appeared at the local level. By contrast, in France, and despite the concordat signed by Napoleon, there has been a recurring conflict between the State and the Church since the Revolution.

The causes of conflicts are many: after the restoration of the monarchy, the Church was partially compensated for the nationalisations of Revolution, which it judged to be insufficient. With the compensation it received, the Church could not afford to rebuild its previous charitable network as it had existed before. It therefore concentrated implicitly on education which has been considered its most important activity by far, allowing for the transmission of faith. Later, in the two last decades of 19th century, a long-lasting "school war" began when the Republican State decided to create compulsory, free-of-charge, secular primary and secondary schools in order to reduce greatly the influence of the Church and to spread the Republican spirit. Finally, at the end of that century, the Dreyfus affair divided France into two parties. Dreyfus was a Jewish army captain unjustly accused of being a spy. He was sentenced to banishment after a resoundingly anti-Semitic trial, and only rehabilitated many years later. Most Catholics and the army were *anti-dreyfusards* while most Republicans, Protestants and Jews were *dreyfusards* and denounced the collusion between the army, the Church and supporters of monarchy.

These conflicts in fact obscured the search for superiority on law and spirit of French society. Similar conflicts also existed in other Latin countries where the situation of the Roman Catholic Church was quasi-monopolistic. A first reconciliation occurred with the Law on the separation of Church and State in 1905, voted after a long and painful process. Article 1 of this Law stipulates that the State protects freedom of conscience and the exercise of worship. Article 2 asserts that the State neither recognises nor subsidises any form of worship. This Law also created specific organisations, called "*associations cultuelles*" (associations of worship) to manage parishes. These worship associations have a broader legal capacity than the 1901 Law associations that could neither own real estate nor receive legacies but worship associations can. In 1905, a specific legislation concerning congregations was de-

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creed, and most congregations that had previously been expelled by strongly anti-clerical governments returned to France.

Despite the 1905 settlement, recurrent conflicts between the State and Church have structured French civil society. As in many Latin countries, French civil society used to be shared between organisations of Catholic inspiration, some even obeying the directives of the Catholic hierarchy, and those of secular and republican inspiration. But this divide has now faded in France.[9]

1.4 The historical background explains why French civil society is recent

During the first part of 20th century, successive governments were indifferent to civil society organisations which grew slowly. A philanthropic employers' movement appeared in the textile industry of the North and the East of France, providing social housing and health and social services to workers and their families. This movement was inspired by social Catholicism stemming from the *Rerum novarum* encyclical. The Catholic feminist movement was also close to this source of inspiration and was at the origin of social workers emerging as a profession: in the first years of the 20th century. Some single middle-class women settled in deprived areas and created 'social houses' to provide social and legal services to the poor. They also fought for women's liberation in society and Church and they were very active during World War I as nurses. The war was a turning point for civil society with the growing importance of the Red Cross and other emergency and relief organisations.[10]

After the 2nd World War, the State provided assistance to war victims, including payments of war damages and veteran allowances. Some civil society organisations were created by persons with physical disabilities or their families, in order to demand similar support for the civil disabilities. These advocacy organisations remained small until the 1960s. A social security system began in the 1930s and was inspired by the German social security created by Bismarck's government. It was enlarged after World War II into an extended welfare state, challenging mutual societies and civil society organisations. After 1960, the State began to support civil

9 Baubérot J. (2015): Les Sept laïcités françaises, Paris MSH. Portier P. (2018): L'Etat et les religions en France: Une sociologie historique de la laïcité, Presses Universitaires de Rennes. For more details on the French legal position on Catholic Church and congregations see Castro S. "the law and the nonprofit sector". In Archambault E. (1996): The Nonprofit Sector in France, Manchester University Press, Johns Hopkins Sector Series 3. For a comparison of the legal position in European countries, see in this book Chapter… written by Tymen van der Ploeg.

10 Guerrand, R. and Rupp M. (1969): Brève histoire du service social en France Paris, Editions ouvrières.

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society organisations for the disabled, poor and elderly people or for child day care by allocating grants and third party-payments. As a result, civil society organisations mushroomed in the field of social services. For persons with physical or mental disabilities, small advocacy organisations created in the interwar period became large residential facilities to welcome and care for this population, because the State funded these residential care facilities up to 95% through third party payments. In this field, civil society organisations were – and still are – in a quasi-monopolistic position because they were the first to provide advocacy and social services.

The situation of civil society organisations is less monopolistic in social services for other people or the population at large, where the State actually supplies its own services. Social tourism (holiday camps and other facilities for workers and their families) was born when paid holidays were introduced in 1936, although the real boom came after World War II, like the popular education movements and France's Houses of Culture. These associations aimed at democratising sports and culture

Ecology, feminism, defence of human rights, the Third World and anti-racism were all issues that characterised the wave of associations created before or after 1968. The 1980s and 1990s, marked by rising unemployment, were the period of fighting against social exclusion and integration by economic activity: WISEs[11] multiplied to drive the long term unemployed to join the mainstream through work."'Without Borders" professional associations, devoted to international emergencies and development, including the famous "French Doctors", multiplied as well. After France's decentralisation Laws (1983 and 2003), which devolved power to the regions, all types of associations multiplied at the local level. Finally, demographic ageing also provoked an increase in home care services during the Millennium decade.

So in a nutshell, after centuries of suspicion, indifference or repression of civil society organisations, the French State changed its policy. Since the 1960s, a welfare partnership has appeared and it accelerated in the 1980s with the decentralisation that brought France's administrative system closer to its partners inside the European Union. Today, central and local governments fund civil society organisations because they contribute to the welfare of the population. The last 40 years have therefore been characterised in France by a real "associative boom" that has marked the evolution of creations of registered associations. From an average of 5,000 associations created each year between 1901 and 1939, 10,000 in the post-war period, 20,000 creations in the 1970s, and 50,000 in the 1980s, an average of about 70,000 associations have been created per year since 2000. This associative explosion was prompted and has been accompanied by public authorities so that now French civil society has caught up its historical lag with its European neighbours.

11 Social enterprises for work integration. Most of them are private and non-profit.

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2 French Civil Society, Religious Communities and the State Today

2.1 The position of religious communities today in France

Though France was historically the "eldest daughter" of the Catholic Church, regular religious practice is the lowest in Europe today, along with Denmark. Only 4% of Catholics now go to Church nearly every Sunday, down from 27% in 1952. Official statistics on religious affiliation of the French are rare because, for reasons of principle, the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) does not ask questions about race and religion in censuses and surveys. Private polling companies do so, but their samples are small and their results are often contradictory. Table 1 presents the results of the last official survey whose main topic was the fate of immigrant children, so that a waiver to normal data collection practices was obtained.

Table 1: Religious affiliation of the French

No religion	45%
Catholic	43%
Muslim	8%
Protestant	2%
Other (Jewish, Orthodox, Buddhist, etc.)	2%

Source: INSEE/INED 2008[12]

Since the date of this survey in 2008, the percentage of the French who say they do not belong to any religion has likely increased, while people declaring that they are Catholic by tradition or culture has probably decreased.

Islam is now the second religion in France because of the waves of North-African immigrants after WWII and from sub-Saharan immigrants more recently; most Muslims surveyed in 2008 did not attend mosque regularly, but many young people have became more religious in the last decade under the influence of radical Islam and as a result of conflicts in the Middle-East. Protestants are few in France since the 1685 *Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes;*[13] after this repressive law most French Protestants fled to Prussia or England. There are less than one million Jews, because of the Holocaust and emigration before WWII.

12 INSEE-INED (2008): Trajectories and Origins: Survey on the Diversity of the French Population INED Population Studies.

13 A repressive Act by King Louis XIV that suppressed the toleration of protestant worship.

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As a result, there is little religious diversity in France. Consequently, competition between religions in civil society organisations does not exist in France as in most European countries. The differentiation and emancipation in the secular sphere from the religious sphere began during the French Revolution and was reinforced with the 1905 Law separating Church and State. Religion is private and marginalised in the modern world, in accordance with the theory of secularisation by Habermas.[14]

2.2 Relations between the State and religions nowadays

Despite two Laws devolving power to the regions, central government in France keeps the bulk of power thanks to its presidential regime, while Parliament has less power than in many other European countries. Recently, local and regional governments seem to have lost part of their power and resources, as have political parties and labour unions as well as other intermediary entities. Jacobinism – the trend to centralisation – is indeed persistent as Rosanvallon has shown.[15] The growth of civil society can be viewed as contradicting this trend to wands centralisation and France's culture of "statism".

Since the 1905 Law on the separation of Church and State, religion has been a private concern and the principle of laity/secularism is at the root of public education and administration.[16] The French public sphere is secular, as in many modern European countries; moreover it is *laique*. Laity is more than secularism. For example, it is forbidden to exhibit a sign of religious affiliation if you work in the public sphere, whether it is an Islamic scarf, a kippa or a cross. The same is true at school for pupils.[17] These religious signs are tolerated in public spaces provided they are not ostentatious. Of course it is difficult to define how large an ostentatious religious sign is. The State is neutral: Catholicism is no longer a statutory religion but officials must not to show their faith in the public sphere.[18] Prayers in official buildings, as in Anglo-Saxon countries, or the collection of taxes for religions, as in Germany or Italy, are unthinkable in France. And of course it is impossible to sing an anthem

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14 Habermas, J. (1964): The public sphere An Encyclopedia article.; Habermas J. (2006): "Religion and the Public Sphere" European Journal of Philosophy 14.1.

15 Rosanvallon, P. (1981): La crise de l'Etat-providence, Paris, Le Seuil.; Rosanvallon P. (2006): Le modèle politique français. La société civile contre le jacobinisme de 1789 à nos jours, Paris, Le Seuil.

16 Portier, P. (2018): L'Etat et les religions en France: Une sociologie historique de la laïcité, Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

17 These religious signs are neither prohibited in private schools nor in universities

18 Officials can enter in churches or other places of worship for funerals for instance, but they do not participate overtly in services. de Gaulle, probably the only practising Catholic president, instituted the habit of a presence without communion.

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like "God save the Queen"[19] or write on our banknotes "in God we trust". In fact there are several types of interpretation of *laïcité* according to regions and values.[20] Generally, religious people are more tolerant of the expression of religious signs in the public sphere than people with no religion.

Some exceptions to the Separation Law are currently being explored by the government to help organise the recent arrival of Islam in France. Self-organisation of Muslims and of Islamic worship has been recommended by the three previous governments, following the pattern of other monotheist religions. This has not been a success because of contradictory foreign influences that raised conflicts. Imams now mainly come from Saudi Arabia, Algeria or Morocco. Some of them do not speak French and most of them are far from the mainstream culture and values in France. The State also fears dissemination through mosques and social networks of Jihadism, an ideology that was at the origin of the recent terrorist attacks in France. A bill is now on the agenda to create new teaching tracks for imams and students intending to become imams in public universities, in order to socialise them in French culture through teaching humanities. This bill also proposes a tax on *halal* meat and on travel to Saudi Arabia for *hadj*. These taxes should be rerouted to the Islamic *associations cultuelles* to be created to fund the mosques and the Islamic worship, supplementing Muslims' private donations. Currently, most mosques are funded through 1901 law associations with less legal capacity than the 1905 Law on *associations cultuelles*. But these 1901 associations are not required to publish their accounts while 1905 *associations cultuelles* are. Many mosques receive foreign funding, especially from the Middle East, and the proposed changes are a way for the government to control them.

At the time of writing (January 2019), this bill had not yet been voted and maybe it will not be. It would constitute a great change of the law symbolising the relationship between the State and religious communities in France.[21]

19 Is it more correct to sing "Before an impure blood floods our fields" in our anthem?

20 Baubérot, J. (2015): Les Sept laîcités françaises, Paris MSH.

21 Some exceptions to the 1905 Separation Law exist now, such as the fact that the annual contribution to parish costs may receive a tax deduction of 66% of the gift for the donating household, in the same way as giving to general interest associations and foundations. It is clearly a way for the State to "subsidise worship" indirectly. Another exception to Article 2 of the Separation Law is the fact that the State pays the members of religious communities to provide religious assistance and worship inside hospitals and prisons.

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2.3 French civil society today

2.3.1 Number, size and human resources of French civil society

The French non-profit sector is large and growing. In 2017, there were 1.5 million civil society organisations, operating mainly with two unequal legal statuses: about 1,500,000 associations and 2,300 foundations. Most associations are grassroots organisations run by volunteers active in the field of culture, sports and recreation mainly, but also operating in advocacy and social services. Only 157,000 associations are managed by a professional staff. About 2,000 associations have been granted the public utility label (*Reconnaissance d'utlité publique*) by the government, but many other associations operate in the public interest without having this label. Foundations are obviously a very small part of the French non-profit sector, but it has been growing quickly since a favourable law in 2003.

French civil society is a major employer, providing 8% of total full-time equivalent employment (FTE). Of course associations are by far the main employer: they hire 1,852,000 employees (1,568,000 FTE) while foundations hire 86,000 employees (78,000 FTE). Employment in civil society is higher than in the construction or transport sectors. Most civil society organisations are small-sized: more than half of them hire only one or two employees and 70% hire less than five. However, 11% hire 20 employees or more and the largest organisations may have several establishments covering many regions.[22]

Social services are by far the main field of activity by civil society in France, as in most Western Europe countries (Table 2). Civil society organisations are also the main employer with 60% of total employment in this field in which the subsidiarity principle is applied: government does not provide a service if an organisation closer to beneficiaries can provide it, but government provides the bulk of its income. By contrast, the non-profit sector provides a small percentage of health and education services (10% and 18%), because the largest share of these services is public. In the culture, sports and recreation fields, 40% of total employment is in non-profit organisations

22 INSEE-CLAP (2015): Tableaux harmonisés de l'économie sociale.; Tchernonog V. (2013): Le paysage associatif français, 2e édition, Paris, Juris-associations Dalloz.

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Table 2: Non-profit employment by activity, 31.12.2015

Activity	Employees	FTE Employees	% of total FTE salaried employment
Health	160,000	137,000	10%
Social services	960,000	781,000	60%
Culture and recreation	124,000	106,000	40%
Education, and research	350,000	319,000	18%
Other	344,000	303,000	
TOTAL	1,938,000	1,646,000	8.0%

Source: INSEE-CLAP (2015)

Besides paid employment, volunteering is a main human resource for the civil society. The official statistical system ran two specific population surveys on volunteering for or through associations, in 2002 and 2010 and recently Lionel Prouteau conducted another one with the same questionnaire in 2017. These comparable surveys show a rapid increase of volunteering in the last decades, rising from 12 million persons in 2002 up to 22 million volunteers in 2017 (43% of adult population). These 22 million volunteers worked 2.1 billion hours, equivalent to 1,275,000 jobs. This was one fifth less than paid employees, but in the same order of magnitude. Three quarters of volunteer work takes place in organisations where it is the only workforce, while one quarter is used by organisations hiring employees. In France, as in most European countries, the main destination of volunteering is the field of culture, sports and recreation (43% of volunteers' time). Then come social services (28%), advocacy organisations (16%), education and training (5%).[23]

2.3.2 Resources and the economic contribution of French non-profit sector

The income of civil society organisations employing a staff come firstly from public funding, up to 56%, while those without staff are less dependent on public money (26% of their income). Public funding comes from central government, 101 *départements,* 35,000 municipalities and the social security system. However this public funding whatever its form – grants, contracts, competitive bids – is concentrated in education, health and social services, the industries connected with the welfare state. Fees and dues generate 40% of income in these fields and more than half of total resources for other industries than the three cited above. The income of grassroots civil society organisations without staff comes firstly from fees and dues but they also receive some subsidies from local authorities. Giving (household dona-

23 Prouteau L. (2018): Le bénévolat en France en 2017. Etat des lieux et tendances; Rapport de recherche, octobre 2018.

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tions and corporate grants) is a minor but symbolic resource for both kinds of organisations, up to 5% of total resources on average, but some large charities rely mainly on donations.[24]

The average budget of civil society organisations with staff exceeds €400,000. The total output of the French non-profit sector is about €120 billion, equivalent to 3.5% of GDP. The value added by the non-profit sector exceeds that of the hotels and restaurants (2.6%) and utilities (2.5%) industries and is of the same order of magnitude as the agriculture sector and food industry combined (3.4%).

2.3.3 The welfare mix

Since the 1960s, civil society employment has grown twice as quickly as in the rest of economy. Today, the French civil society's record is high among European countries, after Netherlands, Belgium, the UK and Ireland, but ahead of Germany and other EU countries. Indeed it has caught up its historical gap.[25] All these countries belong to the welfare partnership or corporatist pattern according to social origins theory.

Table 3 shows how welfare services are provided in France today.

Table 3: The breakdown of paid employment in public services across the private, non-profit and public sectors, in 2011

Area	Non-profit	Public	For-profit	Total
Education	**19%**	76%	5%	100%
Health	**12%**	65%	23%	100%
Social services	**62%**	28%	10%	100%
Share of total employment	**7.5%**	**25.5%**	**67%**	**100%**

Source: Archambault E. (2017): "The Evolution of Public Service Provision by the Third Sector in France" *The Political Quarterly*, vol 88, N°3.

Table 3 shows the variety of the welfare mix according to the main areas of welfare policy. In terms of education, the public sector accounts for the lion's share of jobs. Most higher education is therefore public, and practically free. The presence of private companies is recent and growing. At the end of the Millennium decade, it was limited to private tutoring and "cramming" services for students preparing competi-

24 Tchernonog, V. (2013): Le paysage associatif français. Mesures et évolution, Paris, Juris-éditions et Dalloz.; Tchernonog, V. (2018): Les associations : Etat des lieux et évolutions, ADDES.
25 Salamon, L. and alii (2017): Explaining Civil Society Development, a Social Origins Approach Johns Hopkins University Press.

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tive exams to enter certain establishments, but it is now expanding in higher education. The civil society sector hires 19% of education employment. It provides schooling for one fifth of all pupils in primary and secondary schools, 90% of which are Catholic schools. These establishments operate under contract with the State and will be examined below. In higher education, aside five small Catholic universities, the non-profit sector runs most business schools, as well as most of the training for nurses and social workers. In addition, lifelong vocational learning is provided by non-profit organisations and private companies, and is financed through a special type of business tax.

The provision of health services is spread much more evenly between private companies, civil society organisations and public institutions. Public and non-profit hospitals are free of charge and paid directly by the French social security health insurance system. Private clinics are mainly funded by social security as a third party, but patients have to pay a more or less important share of care services, according the clinic's comforts, the renown of the doctors, and so on. Conversely, doctors and other professionals delivering health services outside the hospitals are paid, at least initially, by their patients; they are mainly private, self-employed professionals or they work in small standard enterprises. Yet they are highly regulated by the State and the social security system, which mainly reimburses their patients. Non-profit hospitals and other human health activities represent 11% of the total delivery of health services. They are particularly active in the fields of cancer treatment, rehabilitation for every kind of disability, as well as drug and alcohol-addiction treatment. All these specialties are labor-intensive.

Associations and foundations are the main employers in social services: they hire 62% of employees working in these activities. They even have a virtual monopoly for residential establishments and assistance at work for people with disabilities. The penetration of private companies in this field is recent and mainly concerns retirement homes and other establishments for the elderly: major hotel chains have recently started diversifying into this sector which is forecast to grow strongly. The public sector is also very present for establishments and services for the elderly, though its share is declining. Moreover, the public sector runs the majority of services looking after children under three years old in crèches. But, associative and company crèches also exist. For children aged 3 to 6, public kindergartens cater to nearly all children and become compulsory recently. Finally, social services for home help are largely provided by associations. However, since a 2005 Law which provides the elderly and disabled with vouchers (the job-service cheque, i.e. *chèque emploi service*) this near monopoly is being eroded, as private companies have entered the market significantly, cream skimming clients with high incomes.

To summarise, a powerful mixed economy has emerged in these three welfare fields, and particularly so for social services, where a strong pattern of government-civil society cooperation has emerged since the 1960s, while a kind of division of labour has been gradually established between public and private non-profit hospi-

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tals. Such partnership was more difficult to establish in education, the realm of the Catholic Church after the French Revolution.

3 Recurrent Conflicts between the State and the Church in the Field of Education

This section focuses on the part of civil society where the competition between the Church and the State was the tougher and longer, leading to open conflict on many occasions. This long-lasting conflict between the secular State and the Catholic Church during the two last centuries has been multidimensional and has concerned faith, values, influence, power, ethics, political and civic teaching, etc. Entering school is indeed for a child his/her first step into the public sphere and governing this first step was and still is a vital issue for both competitors.

3.1 "School War" between the State and the Catholic Church in 19th century

During the Revolution and the ensuing French Empire, public universities were created and Napoleon gave them the monopoly to grant national degrees, which still exists today. At the same time, an *Ecole Normale Supérieure* was also created to train teachers and professors of secondary and tertiary education. When the Monarchy was restored in 1815, the Church used its compensation for property lost during the Revolution to rebuild its school network as a priority. Some congregations came back to France and devoted their activity to education, the most famous being the Jesuits. Until the second part of the 19th century, primary and secondary schools were a quasi-monopoly of the Church and its religious orders. Working class people and peasants never went to school or only for short periods. The 1830 Guizot Law encouraged municipalities with over 500 inhabitants to create primary schools, for boys only, but this Law was only partially implemented because of a lack of public financing. Later, the 1850 Falloux Law authorised anybody to create a primary school and any qualified person to open a secondary school.[26] Private Catholic schools multiplied after this Law, especially in the Western, most religious part of France. These private schools were *de facto* intended for middle-class children whose parents could pay the rather high fees.

During the three last decades of 19th century, the Republican government desired to reduce the Church's influence because it favoured the monarchy. In 1882,

26 Public subsidies to those "free" schools had to stay below one tenth of total expenses

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Jules Ferry introduced compulsory schooling, free of charge and a secular network of public schools. He created specialised schools to train teachers to the required level of qualification, but also in Republican and anticlerical values. Public teachers were Republicans and, as rationalists, they fought superstition, often assimilated with the influence of clerics. And so the school war went on.

3.2 "School War" between State and Church and Reconciliation in 20th Century

From 1882 till the 1950s, the public school network was the only one to be financed by government with the exception of small subsidies granted to the private schools that had to cover less than 10% of their expenses according to the Falloux Law. Accordingly, parents who chose private schooling for their children denounced this situation; they argued that they paid twice for education, through their taxes for the public schools and through the fees paid to the private schools of their children. They lobbied successfully for a change in the financing of private schools despite the opposition of the left-wing parties. In 1951, the Barangé Law abolished the prohibition of subsidising private schools above 10% of their budgets. In 1959, the Debré Law established the so-called the *contrat d'association* which is still in operation and which most private non-profit schools have adopted. According to this contract, private schools have to follow the same programs as public schools.[27] In exchange, France's central government pays teachers who work in private schools but who have the same qualifications as those in public education, while municipalities pay for other costs including accommodation for primary schools, and France's regions pay for high schools. Parents therefore generally pay rather low fees (€850 per year on average).

The 1950s were indeed the beginning of a kind of partnership in the conflicting field of education. After this change, the "school war" calmed down despite some subsequent resurgences, the most important being the 1984 conflict. The then socialist government under François Mitterrand, with the agreement of the French Bishops' Conference, tabled a bill which unified public and public-subsidised private education in a "great public service of education". This bill was inspired by the Belgian and Dutch systems of education and by the situation prevailing in France for public and non-profit hospitals.[28] However Catholic schools saw this bill as a loss

27 Detailed programmes are mandatory in primary and secondary schools (not in tertiary education). Religious education can be added in private schools.

28 In the 1920s, a political compromise put an end to the long-standing conflict between the Dutch state and Catholic and Protestant churches in the field of education This compromise recognises that public and private schools of religious inspiration belong to the same public service of education and therefore have equal rights to public funding.

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of pedagogical and ideological independence. Large demonstrations with up to one million people in Paris took place and the government felt obliged to scrap its proposed reform. This revival of "school war" and some other less important events show that consensus about education in France has still not been completely reached.

3.3 The present position of private non-profit education

While the "school war" has indeed calmed down, 90% of private education is loosely Catholic inspired. According to their contract with the State, Catholic schools have to welcome pupils of any or even no religion. Attending Mass cannot be compulsory. There is also no discrimination for teachers who are public officials recruited by competition, like those in public education and paid directly by the State. Teachers cannot be dismissed because of their marital status or sexual orientation. Protestant children usually attend public schools for historical reasons and this used also to be the same for the Jewish children. But now Jewish schools are multiplying since the rise of anti-Semitism in some public schools. A few Muslim schools have also been created following the prohibition of Muslim headscarves in public schools.[29]

Catholic schools are run by OGEC (*Organismes de Gestion de l'Enseignement Catholique,* i.e. Catholic educational management organisations). OGEC associations are based on the 1901 Law, and are in charge of the legal, social, financial and real estate management of Catholic schools. They are federated at the departmental and national level and their voluntary boards must include a representative of the Catholic Church hierarchy.

In 2017, the percentages of students attending the three levels of private non-profit education, whether Catholic, of other religions or neutral was:[30]

– 13.5% in primary education
– 21.5% in secondary education
– 19% in tertiary education.

In the three educational levels, these percentages are growing slowly, more especially in tertiary education. Today, private education has better results[31] than public education while the opposite was true 30 years ago and that is the main reason for most parents to choose private schools for their children, rather than out of religious

29 Catholic schools welcome girls wearing the Muslim scarf as well.
30 Ministère de l'Education et de la recherche (2018): Repères et références statistiques 2018, http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid57096/reperes-et-references-statistiques.html
31 The Ministry of Education publishes results corrected for the bias of parents' social origin.

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considerations. Private schools are more middle-class oriented: they welcome 12% of pupils with scholarships, compared to 26% in public schools. As a result, private education is often seen as a source of inequality among the youth and France's Bishops' Conference and the federation of OGEC are currently examining ways of introducing more social diversity into the Catholic schools.

Even in its last refuge – education – the Church no longer has the power to decide. It can use the tools of soft power and influence students and teachers indirectly. However, the secularisation of this old, core area of the Church is today complete.

4 Conclusion

France has no doubt lost its specific relations between the Church and the State, as well as between civil society and the State. At the present stage in the country's welfare mix, it has been possible for two, opposing politicians to declare: "the State cannot do everything," Lionel Jospin when he was Socialist Prime Minister in 2002 (*L'Etat ne peut pas tout*); and the "State has no monopoly of the public good", declared by Jacques Chirac when he too was Prime Minister of a right-wing government in 1985 (*L'Etat n'a pas le monopole du bien public*).

In the country which is often seen as the archetype of State centralism, the mentalities are actually evolving. The vitality of civil society and the continuous growth of voluntary commitment explain a part of this change towards less State and more proximity and self-organisation. This is bringing France closer to its European neighbours.[32] The sharing of educational, health and social services between the central and local government as well as civil society organisations obviously depends on the functions that have been devolved to local government, along with the level of externalisation or subcontracting which public authorities consider to be relevant. Recourse to civil society makes it possible to stabilise or reduce public employment, which is very high in France, and increases the quality of the services thanks to volunteers' value-added. Moreover, civil society also adapts itself more easily than the public sector to diversity across France's regions and populations. For its part, the public sector guarantees universal access to services provided and the equal treatment of all users. Various types of partnership contracting between the public and non-profit sectors make it possible to combine the advantages of both, while imposing regulation on the access to services and their permanence, in exchange for partial or almost total public financing of non-profit organisations.

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32 Archambault, E. (2017): "Associations et pouvoirs publics: vers une convergence des modèles en Europe", Revue Française d'Administration Publique, n° 163.

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France is no longer "the eldest daughter of the Church" as it was for the largest part of its history. Since the Revolution in 1789 – France's first huge step towards emancipation – the secularisation of the society has proceeded. Even in education, the most conflictual part of civil society, the Catholic Church has now accepted to pass from direct management to moral inspiration. Religious communities today influence some civil society charitable organisations directly such as the *Secours Catholique*, CIMADE (Protestant), *Secours Islamique,* OSE (Jewish), but most of them are secular. However many leaders and staff of health, welfare and education organisations are inspired by social Catholicism or Protestantism. In addition, surveys show that the most important variable correlated with giving and volunteering behaviour is the intensity of religious feeling and practice, in France as in many European and American countries. Representatives of religious communities are also members of ethical committees or are consulted on bioethical issues and major changes in society. However, it is not the sign of a 'deprivatisation' of religion in France,[33] but of the desire of the State to reinforce social links.

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Elizabeth Evenden-Kenyon

Religion and Modern Politics
Understanding the Impact of the Remain and Leave Campaigns, and of Faith Demographics

1 Introduction

While commonly – and rightly – seen as the result of a shrinking adherence to formal religious communities, a redefinition of these communities as belonging to civil society may arguably also be viewed with a focus on the divide between cosmopolitan liberalism and populist nationalism. The Brexit issue in the United Kingdom presents a case of the way religious beliefs and the identification of a religious community with a nation state may become part of a political battle over these basic principles, although most people engaged in the battle do not actually embrace religious beliefs. This essay will examine the Brexit referendum as a case study in the context of this issue.

In a speech at the Bloomberg headquarters in January 2013, David Cameron, then UK Prime Minister, announced that, should his party win the next election, his government would renegotiate the UK's relationship with the European Union, and then put the decision whether to leave or remain in the EU to the people via a referendum.[1] The *United Kingdom European Union Membership Referendum* (also known as the EU Referendum) was held on 23 June 2016 in the UK and Gibraltar, in order to gauge whether or not the electorate wished to continue the UK's membership of the EU, positing a simple question to this complex issue: Leave or Remain? Whatever the overall outcome, the Conservatives declared in their 2015 Manifesto, they "would respect the decision" made.[2]

The EU referendum campaign began on 15 April 2016, with the result announced on Friday 24 June, the day after the referendum. Voter turnout was 72.2%, with 51.9% of those who voted in favour of leaving (with a standard deviation of 10.4% across UK local authority areas).[3] Under-18s were not eligible to vote; of those 18–24 year olds who voted, 74% voted to Remain in the EU.[4] What follows is an

1 See Oliver, T. (2018): Understanding Brexit. A Concise Introduction. Policy Press Bristol, chapter 3 ("The renegotiation and referendum campaign"), esp.: 52–56.

2 See: https://www.conservatives.com/manifesto2015 (last accessed 21 September 2019).

3 Becker, S. O.; Fetzer, T. and Novy, D. (2017): "Who Voted for Brexit? A comprehensive district-level analysis" in Economic Policy, 32: 601–650: 611.

4 See Hobolt, S. B. (2016): "The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent" in Journal of European Public Policy, 23: 1259–1277; Goulard, Hortense (2016): "Britain's youth voted Remain":

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assessment of the key words and images used by campaigners and mainstream media to influence voter perception of the value not only of European Union membership but also of multicultural and multi-faith life in 21st-century Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

2 The Referendum Campaigns

2.1 The case to Remain in words and pictures

David Cameron made it clear from the start that he believed the UK should remain, since it would be "stronger in" than out of the EU. The campaign group *Britain Stronger in Europe* applied successfully to the Electoral Commission for the official "Remain" designation, and so became the lead cross-party lobbying group, although other groups were involved in leading more specific, specialised campaigns, such as *Academics for Europe* and *Healthier In the EU*.[5] These specialist campaigns tended to come from professional groups – academics, lawyers, doctors – generational groups (e.g, Generation Europe, Students for Europe), and those identified by location (e.g., Irish for Europe, Cambridge for Europe). These groups focused on detailing the fiscal importance of membership of the EU to UK infrastructure and services, and to quality of life enhanced through Freedom of Movement.[6]

2.1.1 Campaigning slogans, and the juxtaposition of image and text

"Stronger In" was the central message of the Remain campaign, leading to declarations of "I'm in", which utilised the red, white and blue of the Union flag in its campaign literature.[7] The campaign sort to target younger voters and place emphasis on future generations, since polling data suggested at the time that the majority of 18–24 year olds wanted to the UK remain in Europe.[8] Considerable use was made of pronouns – I, you, your – throughout the "Stronger In" campaign literature, thereby

https://www.politico.eu/article/britains-youth-voted-remain-leave-eu-brexit-referendum-stats/ (last accessed 1 August 2019).

5 For a comprehensive list of groups during the campaign period, see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_campaign_organisations_supporting_Remain_in_the_2016_United_Kingdom_European_Union_membership_referendum

6 These groups championed use of the internet to enable voters to find like-minded activists in there area. See, for example, the Facebook "List": https://www.facebook.com/Remain-EU-groups-list-1779417269010986/ (last accessed 21 September 2019).

7 See https://www.strongerin.co.uk/ (last accessed 21 September 2019).

8 See www.lordashcroftpolls.com (last accessed 21 September 2019).

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emphasising individual choice when it came to voting. Reasons for choosing to stay "in" were at best implicit (for example, *you* have a responsibility to protect *your* family; other, eventually unused posters, reflected the same sentiment). Further reasons to remain were left to documents, booklets and drop-down website menus to be read, often of some considerable length (such as the uninspiring black and white booklet sent to all registered voter households in the UK, detailing why Cameron's government was advocating to Remain).[9]

2.1.2 Analysis – religion as a factor in the Remain campaign

The religious spectrum within the UK was not a specific theme utilised in the *Stronger In* campaign literature, although racial and cultural juxtapositions did appear in the campaign literature and posters of other groups, such *Operation Black Vote*.[10] One of their posters depicted the counterbalancing of a genteel British Indian woman in traditional garb versus an angry white man, who appears to be acting aggressively to the woman, thereby inferring that one black vote can counter that of a white racist. The implicit message is that all votes matter and that the black community has a responsibility to vote to counteract the racist elements in UK society.

Overall, the case for Remain was made through a persistent economic argument, implicit references to the fact that the Leave campaign had no concrete methodology for the brave new world they envisaged outside the European Union, and upon more provocative, specific campaign groups, such as Operation Black Vote's stark visual illustration that every vote counts.

The Remain campaign, ultimately, was well intentioned but bland. It lacked the excitement of challenging the prevailing order and offered no ambitious roadmap as to how the UK could go from strength to strength as a member state. It was a campaign based upon what James Martin aptly describes as "dull 'factual' evidence of expert opinion" from the Bank of England, the Treasury, economists and business leaders – in other words, the wealthy elite of the nation.[11] We will assess the lexical

9 HM Government, Why the Government believes that voting to remain in the European Union is the best decision for the UK, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/515068/why-the-government-believes-that-voting-to-remain-in-the-european-union-is-the-best-decision-for-the-uk.pdf (last accessed 21 September 2019).; See also the Stronger In campaign literature available for download: https://www.strongerin.co.uk/for_campaigners#ZyE4c5wVgtfWEQ6D.97 (last accessed 21 September 2019).

10 Operation Black Vote: https://www.obv.org.uk/ (last accessed 21 September 2019).

11 Martin, James (2016): "Rhetoric of excess" in EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign. Early reflections from leading UK academics (hereafter EU Ref 2016), ed. Daniel Jackson, Einar Thorsen and Dominic Wring, Bournemouth University, available online at: http://www.referendumanalysis.eu (last accessed 20 August 2019): 21. I have focused extensively on

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and visual choices made by the Leave campaign shortly, but it is worth noting that the only ancillary tactic chosen for Remain's campaign was to attack the language used by Leave. These attacks stepped too far in the hyperbolic hinterland of rational argumentation. As Martin observes,

Leave's reckless excess in opposing so-called 'ruling elites', distorting truths, and mobilising unpleasant sentiments against immigrants. Leave proponents, [the Remain campaign] claimed, were prepared to lie about how much was contributed to the EU, how ordinary people would benefit from leaving it, and how the UK could recover from the shocking effects of withdrawal on jobs and house prices. For Remain, departure would provoke a veritable economic Apocalypse… Leave's arguments were risky delusions promoted by untrustworthy characters.[12]

Suggesting a cataclysmic breakdown of our economic structure sounded an over-exaggeration to many. The Leave campaign was quick to dismiss Remain's over-played hand of doom.

2.2 The Campaigns: The case to Leave in words and pictures

Leave's response to Remain campaigners' seemingly parental advice to naive voters was astute: whatever Remain said, whatever warnings they gave: they dismissed them as "Project Fear". The counter-narrative was simple: Cameron was merely stirring up a frenzy based not on genuine fiscal concerns but because of dissent within his own government – dissent he now needed public vindication to quash.

During the campaign period, dissent on Cameron's view of the overall benefits to remaining in the EU came quickly from within his own party. Theresa May, who would later become Prime Minster after Cameron's resignation in light of the Referendum result, backed Remain but Boris Johnson, May's successor to the role and current Prime Minister as I write, weighed up the case for both Leave and Remain, and eventually rooted, along with Michael Gove, for Leave. The designated official Leave campaigning, cross-party group registered the campaign name *Vote Leave* in April 2016.[13] Other campaign groups were also launched, noticeably outnumbering those for Remain.

Grassroots Out was a campaign group formed in the fallout between members of Vote Leave and Leave.EU, and including a number of cross-party MPs notorious for controversial speech and their voting record, such as Kate Hoey (Labour), Nigel

this important publication, as it coordinated a wide range of academic responses to the EU Referendum swiftly, after the result was announced.

12 Ibid.

13 Whilst all of these groups agreed that the UK would be better of outside of Europe, they could not agree on what form any withdrawal agreement might take. See FitzGibbon, John (2016): "How the Brexit outcome has changed our understanding of referendums" in EU Ref 2016: 16–17.

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Farage (then UKIP), and George Galloway (Respect). The Labour party brought together those within Labour's ranks who wanted Brexit but this only emphasised just how divided the party members were from their MPs. Also on the left of the political spectrum were *Left Leave*, chaired by Robert Griffiths, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and supported by the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Union. The Trade Union and Socialist Coalition also campaigned for Leave, on an anti-austerity message, whereas Green Leaves challenged its party's overall Remain stance by supporting Leave, as did a small number of Liberal Democrats, under the banner *Liberal Leave*. What became clear was that no one party could claim to be 100% for or against remaining in the European Union.

2.2.1 Campaigning slogans, and the juxtaposition of image and text

Leave's campaign could not have been more different. Leave latched on to festering sentiments and unease about immigration and the UK's place on a world stage, and fed upon them. Traditional campaigning – posters, booklets, and webpages – were just part of the campaign. The Leave campaign made its fatal wound on the Remain campaign early on, with one simple message: "Take Back Control". Nothing their opposition came up with could stem it being etched into the hearts and minds of the voters they targeted.

The Public Relations specialist Greg Delaney has noted how these three simple words – Take Back Control – "resonated across the extraordinary Leave patchwork of parliamentary fundamentalists, elderly nostalgics and quasi racists as well as large sections of the discontented working poor." [14] They utilised the tried and tested KISS principle (Keep It Simple, Stupid), ensuring their message was clear and would resonate with the disenfranchised: you can stick with the status quo, with those who do little to help you, or opt for change – change in which you can play and active part, along with like-minded folk who understand the day to day struggle of people like you. Whatever Remain threw at it, nothing could dislodge its vice-like grip in public discourse. This populist discourse was designed to "mobilise the British working class against the British establishment."[15] Variants of Take Back Control, such as "Vote Leave Take Control" were projected onto iconic landmarks across the UK.

Perhaps the most enduring image of the Leave campaign was the decision to drive a red bus the length and breadth of the country, bearing the hashtag #TakeControl, the phrase "Let's take back control" but, more significantly, the claim that

14 Delayney, Greg (2016): "Leave campaign won because it followed KISS: Keep it simple stupid", 28 June, available at: http://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/leave-campaign-won-followed-kiss-keep-simple-stupid/1400313 (last accessed: 22 August 2019).
15 Berry, "Brexit: the destruction": 15.

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"We send the EU £350 million a week / let's fund our NHS instead | Vote Leave | Let's take back control". Such tactics were being utilized to reinforce the idea that the UK was being controlled by foreign powers. The campaign would then go on to link these foreign powers to mass immigration, stoking fears in some about the denigration and deterioration of the UK's way of life and national identity.

The Leave campaign went on to utilise the 'threat' of Turkey's application to join the European Union, to instil fear into those UK citizens susceptible to negative suggestions surrounding Freedom of Movement within the EU. Turkey – a *Muslim* nation – was utilised by Boris Johnson and others to strike fear into gullible voters of an influx of 'Turks' (all 76 million?) into the EU, who would, by implication, head directly for the EU to obtain UK passports.[16]

The Leave campaign dangled such challenges to the status quo if the UK did not leave, yet they never actually addressed just *how* the UK would Take Back Control on immigration, sovereignty, and its fiscal ability to support the NHS. What mattered was not the means but the essential, immediate task of getting the Leave vote over the line first. Instead of answers, the rhetoric of the Leave campaign "fed the collective memory; nationalistic fervour; the understanding of the nation in relation to the 'other'", and so pitted little England, former Empire, against those it perceived to have once been subjugated to the power of that white-ruled Empire. When Remain challenged with expert evidence to contract Leave claims, Leave campaigner and then Secretary of State for Justice, Michael Gove, repeated his mantra that "people in this country have had enough of experts."[17] Perhaps this was because experts have consistently argued succinctly and persuasively that *not* listening to experts facilitated the campaign to attack the status quo and leave the European Union.[18] Remain were out-manoeuvred.

2.2.2 Analysis – religion as a factor in the Leave campaign

In reality, both sides built up a dystopian future to sway votes: Leave with the threat of further, unbridled immigration, and Remain with their predictions of economic

16 Boris Johnson would later deny that he had used Turkey as a fear-mongering tactic when he had indeed used Turkey as a key topic. See Kentish, Benjamin (2019): "Boris Johnson says he 'didn't say anything about Turkey during Brexit campaign', despite warning about Turkey during Brexit campaign", The Independent, 18 January 2019, available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/boris-johnson-brexit-turkey-eu-referendum-vote-leave-campaign-michael-gove-a8734296.html (last accessed 21 September 2019).

17 BBC News, 25 April 2016, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGgiGtJk7MA (last accessed: 20 August 2019).

18 See Jackson, Dan; Thorsen, Einer and Wring, Dominic, (2016): "Introduction: the Brexit campaign" in EU Ref 2016: 8.

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meltdown. But it was that fear of “others” – those who were not “really” British (i.e., not Caucasian and Christian) that hit home, with a visceral punch, far more than financial projections. “Othering” refers to rhetorical strategies that seek to differentiate between one group who perceive themselves as superior to “others”, who are not like them. The technique is employed as means by which to oppress and discriminate against these “other” groups. Usually this involves differentiating by race, nation, gender, culture, religion, or a combination of all of these characteristics.

The news stories and social media posts that appear to have had the deepest impression on voters were those with a “human story” to tell, pitting “us” against “others”.[19] The persistent image of England (in particular) as a St-George-flag-waving nation white people – once only really synonymous with sports but now validated in every day life – inevitably facilitated the “othering” of those whose skin and faith did not fit that narrative. In the wake of the result of the EU Referendum, Natalie Fenton was quick to note that in “the pursuit of reassurance and solidarity in the face of economic insecurity,… for some life takes on a sinister and resentful white nationalism – us against them – a convenient xenophobic rhetoric peddled by the three white men of Johnson, Gove and Farage all too willing to feed a tabloid frenzy.”[20]

This nationalist rhetoric became widespread for all to see. Buses and vans displaying mis- and disinformation ensured a persistent presence of the Leave campaign’s central concerns over immigration and the threat to (mainly English) national identity. Petrol station forecourts, shops, our media screens and the soundwaves all reiterated the same simple mantra: immigration is bad, foreigners are bad, let’s Take Back Control… The cultural convention set in play by the UK’s media – to attack “Johnny Foreigner” on a regular basis – nestled easily in the lap of those drip-fed xenophobia and British triumphalism for decades: British, white, Christian triumphalism.[21]

The most iconic, and perhaps the most troubling of these slogans was the United Kingdom’s Independence Party (UKIP)’s “Breaking Point” poster, proudly launched by their Leader, Nigel Farage. The poster implied that the UK was overrun with foreigners (Muslims?) queuing up to gain entrance to the UK because of unbridled immigration. “The EU has failed us all”, it claimed, by keeping our borders open. In reality, this could not have been further from the truth. For one, the stream of people featured in this poster were not at the UK border: they were refugees in

19 For a general trend in reporting the other 27 EU states as different and distinct from the UK see: Wambach, Anna (2016): “They don’t understand us’: UK journalists’ challenges of reporting the EU” in EU Ref 2016: 53.

20 Fenton, Natalie (2016): “Brexit: inequality, the media and the democratic deficit” in EU Ref 2016: 57.

21 See Crines, Andrew S. (2016): “The rhetoric of the EU Referendum campaign” in EU Ref 2016: 61.; Parry, Katy (2016): “The toxicity of discourse: reflections on UK political culture following the EU Referendum”, idem.: 63; and Smith, Frances (2016): “Britishness and Brexit”, idem.: 64.

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Slovenia.[22] Secondly, the UK already had the ability to control its own borders. In 2004 Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair lifted the cap on immigration quotas, and no subsequent government has reintroduced it. As Andrew Geddes has lamented:

> The decision in 2004 by Tony Blair's New Labour government to allow unfettered access to the UK for citizens of the 8 central and east European EU newcomers has had monumentally important implications. Most other member states imposed transitional restrictions of up to 7 years. If Britain had done so too then it's probably safe to say that the scale of movement to Britain would have been tiny in comparison with actual numbers and Britain would still be in the EU.[23]

The "Breaking Point" poster caused uproar from a range of individuals and groups. On 16 June 2016, Dave Prentis, of the Unison union, wrote to the Metropolitan police about the poster's image and text. Prentis claimed it was a "blatant attempt to incite racial hatred", calling it "scaremongering in its most extreme and vile form."[24] As if UKIP's tactics during the campaign were not enough, other posters by Leave EU made the link between open borders and Muslims even more sinister.

Leave.EU took campaigning offline and into the world of text and WhatsApp, making official monitoring of campaign language problematic. One of the Leave. EU group's campaign posters urged likeminded individuals to text the campaign, to find out how they can "act" to protect the British people and way of life from being infiltrated by so-called Islamic extremists. It was issued just 36 hours after the mass shooting at a gay nightclub in Florida. In a tweeted version of the image, the accompanying text read: "The free movement of Kalashnikovs in Europe helps terrorists. Vote for greater security on June 23. Vote Leave."[25]

Such posters were charged with taking political argument for and against continued membership of the European Union off down a scurrilous rabbit hole of xenophobia and racism. It also offers an interesting insight into the way in which political rhetoric – in conjunction with inflammatory images – deviated from one tactic into another.

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22 Waterson, Jim (2016): "These Refugees In UKIP's Anti-EU Poster Are Actually In Slovenia", BuzzFeed, 16 June 2016, available at: https://www.buzzfeed.com/jimwaterson/these-refugees-in-ukips-anti-eu-poster-are-actually-in-slove (last accessed 1 November 2019).

23 Geddes, Andrew (2016): "The referendum and Britain's broken immigration politics" in EU Ref 2016: 18.

24 Stewart, Heather and Mason, Rowina (2019): "Nigel Farage's anti-migrant poster reported to the police", The Guardian, 16 June, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/16/nigel-farage-defends-ukip-breaking-point-poster-queue-of-migrants (last accessed 23 August 2019).

25 See Mason, Rowena (2016): "Leave.EU condemned for linking Orland attack to referendum vote" The Guardian, 13 June, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/13/ shameful-leaveeu-tweet-uk-face-orlando-style-attack?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other (last accessed 21 September 2019).

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2.3 Anti-Immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetorical strategies in the EU Referendum campaigns

Rhetoric is "the practical art of speaking and writing well in public spheres through the use of various communicative genres and the theory of eloquence" (*ars bene dicendi et scribendi*).[26] Rhetoric is not all about flowery language (*ornatus*); it should consider understandability (*perspicuitas*), grammatical correctness (*puritas*), evidence or vividness (*evidentia*), and adequacy (*aptum*), as well as non-verbal means of persuasion. Political rhetoric inevitably has a focus on persuasive language, the key areas being *logos, ethos* and *pathos*. Contemporary political rhetoric can include political education (*docere*), political control (*monere*), political justification or legitimization (*probare*), political advertising (*conciliare*), politainment (*delectare*) and, finally, political incitement (*movere*). The three crucial objectives of rhetorical persuasion are political deliberation (*logos*), ethical appeal, to convince the reader or listener of the author/speaker's credibility (*ethos*) and appeals to the emotions of readers/listeners (*pathos*).

Key campaigners, such as Johnson, Farage and Gove exploited *ethos*, each attempted, with varying degrees of success, to mould themselves into affable, "honest" individuals, who appeared to be telling us "how it is". They attempted to create a pseudo-empathy with voters – in particular, those of the baby boomer generation. This is the generation who witnessed the first immigrations from former British colonies, under the British Nationality Act (1948).[27] This predominance of privileged white male voices were pushing an anti-immigration agenda, for many, served "to normalise and legitimate openly xenophobic and occasional racist sentiments, reinforcing troubling ideas about who and who is not welcome to a diverse audience of voters."[28]

Having set the political tone of their campaign early on, posters were then used to stoke fear of continuous streams of non-white, Muslim immigrants into the UK. Such approaches utilised, in particular though not exclusively, political *probare* and *movere*. As Andrew Geddes has astutely observed, "Free movement of people is anathema to Brexit's nationalist wing with Nigel Farage as its champion" – hence his delight in launching the "Breaking Point" poster campaign. Farage, originally

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26 For a succinct introduction to political rhetoric see Reisigl, Martin (2008): "Analyzing Political Rhetoric" in Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michał Krzyżanowski. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 96–120.

27 HM Government, British Nationality Act (1948), available at: www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/11-12/56/contents (last accessed 21 September 2019).

28 Harmer, Emily (2016): "Brexit mansplained": news coverage of the EU Referendum campaign' in EU Ref 2016: 38.

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the leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP), and subsequently formed the Brexit Party in April 2019, in an attempt to ensure that Brexit actually went ahead.[29]

Remain on the other hand, appealed extensively to Millennials, who had grown up in multicultural Britain. Remain's appeals to *logos* were "designed to highlight the benefits of the status quo, whilst Leave's use of *pathos* sought to demonstrate the dangers of the EU and its ongoing threat."[30] Ultimately, it was *ethos* and *pathos* in combination by the Leave campaign that trumped Remain appeals to *logos*.

Throughout the campaigns leading up to 23 June 2016, "the EU debate bifurcated between the government's dogged economic argument about the risk of Brexit and the anti-EU camp's relentless politicization of immigration."[31] Even in late 2019, as I finalise this piece, immigration remains a "major faultline dividing liberal and nationalist versions of Brexit and the key topic under scrutiny in the political and public domains."[32] How these arguments over the benefits and alleged dangers of uncontrolled immigration reached the public domain was, of course, through the media. So we will now turn our attention to the gatekeepers of political rhetoric and campaign topics: the media.

2.4 The impact of the traditional media on voter decisions and attitudes towards immigration and "others"

The 2016 Referendum on the UK's future in or out of the Europe Union was not the first referendum on the UK's position. In 1975 the UK voted to stay in the EU. Turnout was also high (65% in 1975), and both Labour and the Conservatives were divided on the issue. In 1975, however, face-to-face confrontations between opposing campaigners on the television were the exception, rather than the norm and the authority of the spokespeople on either side was not questioned in interview or in any great measure in the national press. National broadcasters made it their goal to inform voters about how the EU worked, "pulling out" what Jay Blumler refers to as "all the cognitive stops" to ensure that voters understood how the Common Market functioned, through a series of short films and news features explaining the benefits of membership.[33] In this instance, the electorate "concluded that their collective interests aligned with what the British political establishment was telling them."[34]

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29 See https://www.thebrexitparty.org (last accessed 21 September 2019).
30 Ibid. CHECK with n. 12
31 Glencross, Andrew (2016): "The great miscalculation: David Cameron's renegotiation and the EU Referendum campaign" in EU Ref 2016: 19.
32 Ibid.
33 Blumler, Jay (2016): EEC/EU campaigning in long-term perspective, EU Ref 2016: 11.
34 Gifford, Chris (2016): "Brexit: the destruction of a collective good" in EU Ref 2016: 15.

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Fast forward to 2016 and things could not be more different. Both sides of the Leave/Remain argument were engaged in word and image game of cat and mouse. The winner here would not have encouraged more well-informed voters to vote their way; rather, the winning campaign was that which had mastered the power of images and soundbites in altering public perception. As Blumler identified, there was "a sharp contrast between the Leave campaign's proclaimed faith in British people's potential to achieve all sorts of greatness and its *operative* assumption that most people can take in only one or two simple, repeated ideas."[35] And this was Leave's master stroke.

With UK public understanding of the function of the Union and the European Commission at the lowest in the EU, the Leave campaign made a strategic decision to focus on just three areas about which the electorate were likely to have been familiar, due to regular coverage in on TV, radio and in the press: 1) immigration, 2) the UK's financial contribution to the EU budget, and 3) the democratic deficit to the UK via EU governance in certain arenas. Soundbites and visual depictions were repeated and reinforced anxieties over British identity, faith and autonomy, as well as fears over excessive immigration.

2.4.1 Newspapers

In the main, newspapers (this time, both on- and offline) did take a stance for or against remaining in the EU, with the majority advocating for Leave, as revealed in some depth by the PRIME Research analysis of Referendum coverage.[36] This study examined coverage on two sample days per week (Tuesday and Saturday), in the London editions of nine national newspapers during the first three months of the campaigning period. Of the 1558 articles examined, 41 % were in favour of leaving, and only 27 % championed remain (23 % were deemed "mixed or undecided", with 9 % adopting no position).

The Daily Express had the highest share of pro-Leave articles (75 % of all its articles, 5 % were pro-Remain); *The Daily Mail* had 61 % of its Referendum coverage promoting Leave, with only 14 % of articles saying anything positive about the EU. *The Sun, The Daily Star* and *The Telegraph* were all pro-Leave, whilst *The Guardian, The Daily Mirror, and the Financial Times* all promoted the case for Remain. *The Times* was, in the main, balanced in its coverage of both stances. Research by Des Freedman has revealed the startling imbalance of their overall impact, when num-

35 (My emphasis.) Ibid.
36 See http://www.prime-research.com/ (last accessed 21 September 2019).

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bers of readers are taken into account: 82% of circulation advantage was provided to campaigning for Leave by the British press.[37]

The same researchers reaffirm that the "emotive pull of the Leave campaign's approach, their hostility to experts and elites, and their very effective slogan of retaking control of the country" presented a "better balance" of "fear" and "hope" to voters, by emphasising national concerns over sovereignty and immigration, and offering them a seeming way out. Given that 67.9 % of over 65s were witnessing these emotive tropes repeatedly in newspapers (whereas only 29.3 % of 15–24 year olds read offline news), it is perhaps unsurprisingly that the generational swing of Baby Boomers voting for Leave and young people voting to Remain.[38]

Sebastian Payne, in the *Financial Times*, attributed the outcome to an essentially one-sided press in the UK. Payne noted astutely that, for almost a quarter of a century, London's newspaper magnates had been "fomenting Eurosceptic sentiment." Payne observes how the media operation of *Stronger In* simply could not compete with the ruthlessly orchestrated "populist message… in tabloid newspapers such as *The Sun*."[39]

During the first Referendum, Boris Johnson was a *Telegraph* correspondent based in Brussels who, after the Maastricht Treaty under John Major, joined others in propagating "Euro-myths" designing to chip away at the European Commission's credibility.[40] Having cut his teeth in this arena, Johnson would famously go on write two columns for the *Telegraph* in the lead up to the 2016 referendum: one pro Leave and one pro Remain. Eventually, he published his case for Leave, utilising his position with this newspaper to reinforce the anti-EU diatribes.[41]

Overall, as Julie Firmstone has outlined, "Leave newspapers employed compelling narratives and metaphors, combining language more familiar to descriptions of

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37 Freedman, Des (2016): "Divided Britain? We were already divided…" in EU Ref 2016: 48.

38 Levy, David; Aslan, Billur and Bironzo,Diego (2016): "The press and the Referendum campaign" in EU Ref 2016: 33. It is perhaps worth noting that recent polling of those who were below the age of 18 at the time of the EU Referendum suggests that they too would have voted, in the main, for Remain, and therefore back calls for a second referendum to accept or reject the Withdrawal Agreement brokered by Theresa May and subsequently tweaked by Boris Johnson. (https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/withdrawal-agreement-and-political-declaration, last accessed 10 November 2019); See Alexander, Inigo (2019): "Three-quarters of newly eligible voters would back remain in second poll" The Guardian, 10 March, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/09/new-young-voters-want-peoples-vote-strongly-remain-survey (last accessed 21 September 2019).

39 See Wring, Dominic (2016): "From Super-Market to Orwellian Super-State: the origins and growth of newspaper skepticism" in EU Ref 2016: 12.

40 Ibid.

41 See Craig, Jon (2016): "Boris Johnson's secret 'Remain' article revealed…", Sky News, 16 October, available at: https://news.sky.com/story/boris-johnsons-secret-remain-article-revealed-10619546 (last accessed 21 September 2019).

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war with nationalistic concerns about sovereignty and immigration", such as "This is truly a Battle for Britain" (*The Express*, 19 June 2016) and *The Sun*'s "make today our Independence Day" (23 June 2016). The observation that Leave "shouted loudest" reinforces the perception by many that the perceived as mild-mannered experts were unlikely to be heard through the crashing wave of imperialist bluster.[42] Steven Barnett takes his criticism even further: "our mainstream media failed spectacularly."[43] He cites the work of the journalist blogger Liz Gerard, who also contributed to my own research into the impact of newspaper headlines about immigration, and who warned of the likely ramifications of the endless wave of negative – and frequently false – headlines about immigration:

> Turks, Romanians, Iraquis, Syrians, Afghans, Albanians: millions of them apparently want to abandon their homelands and settle in the English countryside – and only leaving the EU will stop them. No claim was too preposterous, no figure too huge to print.[44]

Gerard's enduring image of numerous tabloid headlines, repeating the words "migrants" and "borders" lays bare the constant drip feed of xenophobia imparted to the British electorate.[45] This barrage of headlines incessantly supported the claims of the Leave campaign, urging voters to Take Back Control with their vote – a vote to Leave. It was a drip-feed of xenophobia, reaching hundreds of thousands of voters on a daily basis.

2.4.2 Television and Radio

A study of news bulletins on Channel 5, ITV and Sky News in the campaign period, undertaken at Cardiff University, reveals key data on the on-screen time afforded to campaigners. Boris Johnson acquired the lion's share of air time for Leave (8.7%), with Nigel Farage coming in second place (4.4%). For Remain, David Cameron acquired 7.2% of the available air time, with the Chancellor totally 4.1%. Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of the Labour party – who has remained notoriously ambivalent about his position on Brexit throughout the campaign (although at other points in

42 See Firmstone, Julie (2016): "Newspapers' editorial opinions during the referendum campaign" in EU Ref 2016: 36.
43 Barnett, Steven (2016): "How mainstream media failed democracy" in EU Ref 2016: 47.
44 Gerard, Liz (2016): "Regulation, regulation, regulation", 22 June, available at: https://www.subscribe.co.uk/2016/06/, cited in Barnett, "mainstream media": 47.
45 I am grateful to Liz Gerard for sharing this montage with me; See also Evenden-Kenyon, Elizabeth (2019): "The View From Here: Using Early Modern Literature as a Gateway to Exploring Media Stereotyping in Post-Referendum Britain", English: Journal of the English Association, Volume 68, Issue 261: 106–111; See also the close of Part III.

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his political career he has made it clear that he is no fan of the EU), acquired only 4.4% of the air time.

What the Cardiff study makes clear is the utter lack of scrutiny by "non-partisan sources that was most conspicuous by their absence… More independent actors – from think tanks, or academics – made up a tiny share of sources used to inform coverage."[46] As such, the burden of scrutiny fell to journalists; yet only roughly a quarter of the claims made during air time were either challenged or appropriately contextualised by journalists. In other words, 3 out of 4 claims based on statistical analysis were not subject to any meaningful scrutiny.

When journalists do not intervene to challenge the credibility of claims being made, the editorial goals of accuracy and objectivity are weakened, since due impartiality does not negate the ability – indeed, need – to challenge repeated use of mis- and disinformation. As Stephen Cushion and Justin Lewis conclude in their summation of television coverage of the campaigns: "Objectivity… was trumped by impartiality". Guy Starkey echoes this issue for radio broadcasting: "there was little attempt to evaluate the claims of either side or to point out that Remain had the support of the vast majority of economic experts."[47] Little wonder then that Michael Gove should insist that the electorate dismiss experts. Since broadcasters seldom challenged these key personalities on screen, viewers and voters were left to decide where the line between fact and fiction lay, leaving the door open to emotional manipulation via rhetorical strategies.[48]

Throughout the 2016 campaign television and radio persisted in giving air time to a handful of politicians, focusing on specific issues, rather than a broad brushstroke of pros and cons. The issue of immigration came up time and again – something which much of the national press had chipped away at since the 1970s. Negative reinforcement became the dominant strategy, reinforced with simple soundbites. The other 27 EU states – for more than 3 decades – had been presented not as collaborators in a peace and prosperity project but as in opposition to the UK's sovereignty and particular needs. As Mike Berry has observed, any TV or radio mention of EU membership was mostly delivered by "Eurosceptic Tories", ensuring that audiences were "more exposed to arguments against the EU than those in favour." Indeed, "before the campaign even began … large parts of the public had been primed by the media to be Eurosceptic." [49] The stage was already set and ready to challenge and perceived attacks upon UK sovereignty, and the wisdom of the EU's attitude to Freedom of Movement and the impact of immigration on UK culture.

46 Ibid.
47 Starkey, Guy (2016): "Regulated equivocation: the referendum on radio" in EU Ref 2016: 42.
48 Ibid.
49 Berry, Mike (2016): "Understanding the role of the mass media in the EU Referendum" in EU Ref 2016: 14.

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Television and radio channels were set an enormous challenge in covering the campaigns: to remain impartial, as David Deacon has observed: "Broadcasters had to assess whether inclusion of participants beyond the governing party risked introducing new imbalances in their coverage given the other significant parties wholly or mainly endorsed staying in the EU."[50] It is noteworthy that Deacon's research supports a key feature of the campaign – that is, that the conduct of the campaigns themselves feature as much in the media as their emphasis upon economy and migration. In fact, Deacon revealed the conduct of the Referendum was discussed more in the media that the content of their campaigns (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Most prominent issues raised in the media during the Referendum Campaign

	All Media	IN papers	OUT papers	TV news
	%	%	%	%
Referendum conduct	30.9	33.5	29.6	28.9
Economy/business	18.9	18.9	18.9	18.8
Immigration	13.2	9.9	14.8	15.6
Public opinion and citizens	8.0	8.8	5.0	11.3
Constitutional/legal	6.1	5.8	6.7	5.5
Employment	3.6	3.9	3.4	3.4
Defence/military/security	3.4	2.9	4.4	2.7
Standards/ corruption	2.4	2.1	4.2	.3
Health & health services	2.3	2.7	2.2	1.7
EU operations and activities	1.7	1.4	1.6	2.4
Housing	0.9	.7	1.1	.8
Crime/ law and order	0.9	1.1	1.2	0.0
Social security	0.8	.6	1.2	.7
Devolution in UK	0.8	.8	.3	1.5
Other foreign policy	0.7	.8	.7	.5
Taxation	0.6	.6	.7	.5
Public services	0.6	.1	1.0	.6
Agriculture	0.6	.6	.3	.9
Environment	0.5	.7	.6	0.0
Education	0.5	.4	.7	.2
All other issues	2.7	3.5	1.5	3.4

Data source: Deacon, David (2016): "The narrow agenda: how the news media covered the Referendum", full details available in *EU Ref 2016*: 35.

50 Deacon, David (2016): "The narrow agenda: how the news media covered the Referendum" in EU Ref 2016: 34.

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In late May 2016, less than a month away from the crucial vote, the House of Commons Treasury Select Committee published its report into the quality of the public debate over the UK's membership of the EU. The standard of debate in the public arena was criticised for being "poorly served by inconsistent, unqualified and, in some cases, misleading claims and counterclaims."[51] The Independent Press Standards Organisation also upheld several complaints relating to inaccuracy in reporting.[52] The BBC in particular – even before the Conservative pledge to hold a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU – came under repeated scrutiny: in particular, their perceived and actual levels of impartiality as a public broadcast service.[53]

2.4.3 Public spaces

The media tended to present both side's dystopian views of the future as equally credible, regardless of how questionable they were. The economic arguments were based on expert modelling, whereas the "breaking point" tactic utilised neither an accurate slogan or image. As indicated earlier, the £350m claim on the bus was one of the most iconic images and phrases of the entire campaign. The Liberal Democrat MP, Norman Lamb, made official inquiries as to the veracity of this claim and, in response, the UK Statistics Authority deemed it "potentially misleading".[54] Several websites popped up, assessing the claims made by both sides – such as fullfact.org – which refuted the manipulation of data that led to this spurious claim. On 27 May 2016, Andrew Dilnot from the UK Statistics Authority issued a statement, warning that the repeated use of this figure and what could be done with that money was "misleading and undermines trust in official statistics."[55]

The Remain campaign failed to launch any meaningful challenge to that "big fat lie" on the side of a bus.[56] The damage it made to their case stuck: the enduring image of the bus and its simple message was raised repeatedly as a key rationale for

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51 See Renwick, Alan; Flinders, Matthew and Jennings, Will (2016): "Calming the storm: fighting falsehoods, fig leaves and fairy tales" in EU Ref 2016: 31.
52 Ibid.
53 See, by way of example, Latham, Oliver (2013): The Centre for Policy Studies, "Bias at the Beeb?", available at: https://www.cps.org.uk/research/bias-at-the-beeb/ (last accessed 20 August 2019); Keighley, David and Jubb, Andrew (2014): "Impartiality at the BBC" Civitas, available at: www.civitas.org.uk/content/files/impartialityatthebbc.pdf (last accessed 21 September 2019).
54 Banducci, Susan and Stevens, Dan (2016): "Myth versus fact: are we living in a post-factual democracy?" in EU Ref 2016: 22.
55 Ibid.
56 Hughes, Kirsty (2016): "Neither tackling lies nor making the case: the Remain side" in EU Ref 2016: 65.

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leaving – that and immigration. Susan Banducci and Dan Stevens, shortly after the Leave vote, raised an crucial observation about the lasting impact of such campaign claims and official counter-claims: "Psychologically, there are many heuristics or biases that lead to selective engagement with information and outright resistance of facts that may run counter to one's beliefs."[57]

Those who wanted to believe that the UK wastes money on European Union membership – money that could go directly to the NHS – closed their eyes and ears to any "official" counter-claim. In essences, those who had made up their mind that membership was not good thing, "avoided processing the corrections to the misleading figure." Similar, official challenges to the Leave campaign's claims over unbridled immigration and the impact of immigration on our economy, failed to hit their mark.

Banducci and Stevens also drew the important yet cautious conclusion that "biases in the processing of information in any referendum situation it may be difficult to sway voters with facts."[58] But that is not to say that those with access to the public should not emphasise the facts or the dubious tactics of erroneous or manipulated data, as the major broadcasters has done in 1973. In 2016, the media coveted attempts to be impartial more than their position to call out mis- and disinformation to a nation of viewers and listeners.

Instead, TV, radio, the press – and social media, as we shall see shortly – preferred to present the clash of personalities with the Leave and Remain campaign groups. In a western world of prime time TV that appears to revere reality TV above informative documentaries and lengthy journalist report, perhaps there is little wonder that personalities and soundbites hit home more than off-screen realities. Little wonder then that the spin doctors flocked to the multi-generational world of social media as a further weaponised medium in their arsenal.

2.4.4 Social media and "dark" advertisements

The Leave campaign learned from both Labour and the Conservative's successes in the use of social media during the 2015 General Election campaign.[59] They were quick to target social media, in particular, its facility for targeted online advertising. This latter tactic, of course, subsequently led to the Cambridge Analytica scandal, in which the Leave campaign were seen to have used at best questionable tactics to

57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
59 See Chapter 4 of Evenden-Kenyon, Elizabeth (2019): Spinners and Losers: a guide to British political rhetoric, from the rise of print to the 2019 election (Guardian Books, forthcoming in December 2019).

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harvest data from Facebook users, to enable them to target users with negative advertising and misinformation about the EU in the final stages of campaigning.[60] Both sides accused each other of deliberately misinforming the public about what we did and did not do and receive as a member state. No single media platform sought to set out definitive, demonstrably true materials by which to make a judgment, to which voters could turn as in 1975. This referendum instead became the battleground of mis- and disinformation on an unprecedented scale, one where the most successful spin of word and image would win the day.

It could be argued that it was on social media that the most insidious political soundbites and images were utilised. The battleground for the fight for votes may have been virtual but it was nonetheless ruthless. The Leave campaign, in particular, invested considerably in social media – targeting messages and advertising at specific demographics. Social media had proven to be a useful campaigning tool during the 2015 General Election, where Labour focused on targeting young voters through Instagram, and the Conservatives harnessed Facebook.[61]

In June 2016, just before the Referendum, Facebook released a series of pro-Brexit advertisements, targeted at specific demographics. Data acquired by Leave campaigners detailed who would most likely be susceptible to online reinforcement of the type of rhetoric and images discussed above. These adverts were paid for by Vote Leave, BeLeave, and Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party. In July 2018, the Electoral Commission fined Vote Leave, the campaigner Darren Crimes from BeLeave, and Veterans for Leave, reporting them to the police for "breaking election law by co-ordinating with each other."[62] These advertisements were commissioned from the Canadian data firm AggregateIQ; their targeted at specific groups, rather than blanket coverage, ensured they were hard to track by journalists and the Electoral Commission. These advertisements were singled out as a particularly underhand tactic by Leave campaigners, with the potential to influence swing voters in particular, in a forum that ought to have ensured impartiality.

60 For a succinct timeline explaining this scandal, see: https://www.techworld.com/data/what-is-cambridge-analytica-3674029/ (last accessed 22 August 2019); and Briant, Emma L. (2021): *Propaganda Machine: Inside Cambridge Analytica and the Digital Influence*. London: Bloomsbury (forthcoming 2021).

61 Ibid.

62 Worrall, Patrick (2018): "Vote Leave's 'dark Brexit' ads", Channel 4 FactCheck, available at: https://www.channel4.com/news/factcheck/factcheck-vote-leaves-dark-brexit-ads (last accessed 21 September 2019). See Electoral Commission (2018): 'Investigation: Vote Leave Ltd, Mr Darren Grimes and Veterans for Britain, available at: https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/ who-we-are-and-what-we-do/our-enforcement-work/investigations/investigation-vote-leave-ltd-mr-darren-grimes-beleave-and-veterans-britain (last accessed 21 September 2019).

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3 Religion and voter demographics in the EU Referendum

Since the result of the 2016 Referendum was announced, a variety of research institutions have sought to understand the demographics of voters – to comprehend how we might accurately categorise the type of people who voted Remain, and those who voted to Leave. Since Leave won by a narrow margin – and because some of its campaign tactics were deemed so controversial – it is perhaps unsurprising that greater emphasis has been laid upon understanding what type of voters might have been persuaded by the rhetoric of Leave.

3.1 Voter demographics: Leave voters and their faith

In this final Part, I will focus on a research study by NatCen Social Research, *Understanding the Leave vote*, whose final report was authored by Kirby Swales, and the exit-poll research study by Greg Smith (William Temple Foundation) and Linda Woodhead (Lancaster University), which drew comparable conclusions to the NatCen data on Brexit voters within the Anglican tradition. The exit poll commissioned by Linda Woodhead for immediately after the EU Referendum revealed that, of 3242 UK adults questioned, two thirds (66%) of those who identify themselves as Anglican (Church of England) declared they had voted for Brexit.[63]

The data sources for the NatCen investigation was "a synthesis of evidence from three of the highest quality sources of data available on the EU Referendum."[64] These were studies by: British Social Attitudes, NatCen Panel Pre- and Post-Referendum Surveys, and the British Election Study Internet Panel.[65] The policy issues said to be of greatest concern to those questions detailed voter priorities as: Economy (21%), Immigration (20%), Sovereignty / EU Bureaucracy (17%), dropping to 7% for Campaign and outcome fairness, Cosmopolitanism (5%), Protection of rights (4%), EU spending / regulations / cost (3%), Other stability or uncertainty

63 Swales, Kirby (2016): Understanding the Leave vote (hereafter NatCen, Understanding Leave), NatCen Social Research, available at: natcen.ac.uk/our-research/research/understanding-the-leave-vote (last accessed 22 September 2019); Smith, Greg and Woodhead, Linda (2018): "How Anglicans tipped the Brexit vote", available at: eprints.lse.ac.uk/91614/1/Smith_How-Anglicans_Author.pdf and LSE Brexit Blog: https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2018/09/20/how-anglicans-tipped-the-brexit-vote/ (both last accessed 21 September 2019).
64 Swales, Kirby (2016): Understanding Leave: 3.
65 See www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk; www.natcen.ac.uk/probability-panel; and www.britishelectionstudy.com, respectively (all last accessed 22 September 2019).

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concern (2%), British / English identity (2%), Social identity / partisanship (2%), and 1% for EU integration / stability.[66]

A brief examination of these priorities as articulated raises a number of issues, in light of the material presented in Parts I and II above. The economy, the favoured topic of the Remain campaign, came first, although concerns over immigration came a close section. Given the relatively small margin between the Leave (52%) and Remain (48%) votes, this would, on the surface, suggest that not all voters who were most concerned about the economy were swayed by the Remain campaign.

Bureaucracy ("Take Back Control") came an unsurprising third, and the quality and fairness of the campaigns – a topic so prevalent in media coverage – was the next concern articulated by voters questioned. How voters distinguished between Cosmopolitanism, British / English identity, and Social identity is not clear but the phraseologies suggest a distinction between white and Christian, and other races and creeds as an identified factor, be it pride in multiculturalism or fears over what constitutes "British" in the time that has elapsed since the first EU Referendum in the 1970s. Respondents were allowed to free text, and it would be useful to have greater detail on specific perceptions of "others" in this context of heightened tensions in the media over the very essence of what makes a person truly "British".

In her summary of the exit-poll research, Linda Woodhead coined the term the "Anglican Effect": in essence, these findings could be interpreted to suggest that Anglicans tipped the balance towards Leave in the EU Referendum. Woodhead noted the impact newspapers such the *Daily Mail* and the *Telegraph* appear to have had on voter decisions.[67] But what it is important to note is the distinction between those who self-identified as Anglican, and those who *actually attend Church services with any regularity*. Previous research by Woodhead in 2013, inquired as to both voter intention and the frequency with which respondents attended Church.[68] These two studies have led to the hypothesis that those who attended Church regularly (at least once a month) were less in favour of Brexit than those who simply identified as "Church of England" and/or "Anglican".

During the lead up to the vote, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, declared his personal position to be in favour of Remain.[69] The Catholic Church gave

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66 Idem.: 13.

67 Smith, Greg and Woodhead, Linda (2018): "How Anglicans tipped the Brexit vote": 2.

68 Idem.

69 See Archbishop Welby's official statement on the EU Referendum 2018, available at: https://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/speaking-and-writing/speeches/archbishop-justin-welby-eu-referendum (last accessed 21 September 2019). For newspaper reporting of Welby's preference for Remain see: Press Association (2016): "Archbishop of Canterbury supports remain in EU referendum", The Guardian, 12 June, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/12/archbishop-of-canterbury-supports-remain-campaign-in-eu-referendum; and Press Association (2016): "Justin Welby will vote to remain in the EU", The Telegraph, 12 June, available at:

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no official recommendation but noted that both Cardinal Vincent Nichols and Cardinal Cormac Murphy-O'Connor were likewise in favour of Remain.[70] Churches Together in Britain and Ireland (a multi-denominational Christian Group) provided a range of online resources for voters unsure of how to vote or curious of the case for both options. Their EU Referendum sources collated the briefings of: Joint Public Issues Team (*Think Pray Vote*), Christians in Politics, the Church of England and Church of Scotland, Christians for Europe, and Christians for Britain, as well as online access to statements, papers and talks by the Catholic Church in England and Wales, Christian Aid, Evangelical Alliance, Faith in Europe, Kirby Laing Institute for Christian Ethics (KLICE), Irish Council of Churches (ICC), Salvation Army, Theos, The EU Debate and the Gospel, and The Case for Europe: building bridges in an uncertain world.[71] The ramifications of the EU Referendum on Muslim communities was discussed online also, in light of perceived "myths" being spread about EU membership and about Muslim contributions to UK society.[72] Some newspapers tried to sway the Muslim vote, such as the pro-Leave *Telegraph* and the *Guardian*, who advocated for Remain.[73]

No studies to date have provided any meaningful data or anecdotal evidence for the influence of online resources and the media on how different faith groups voted. But analysis of the British Election Study Internet Panel Study, incorporated into the Swales report, does reveal important data on the faith affiliations of voters sampled, detailed in Figure 1. Again, the caveat should be added as to questions surrounding those who regularly worship, and those who self-identify only.[74]

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https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/12/justin-welby-will-vote-to-remain-in-the-eu/ (both last accessed 22 September 2019).

70 See Catholic Truth Blog (2016): 'EU: How Should UK Catholics Vote?', available at: https://catholictruthblog.com/2016/05/12/eu-how-should-uk-catholics-vote/ (last accessed 20 August 2019).

71 Church Together in Britain and Ireland (2016): "EU Referendum Resources", available at: https://ctbi.org.uk/eu-referendum-resources/ (last accessed 22 September 2019).

72 See, by way of example, Butt, Salman (2016): "Should Muslims care about the EU referendum?", Islam21c, 25 February, available at: https://www.islam21c.com/politics/should-muslims-care-about-the-eu-referendum/ (last accessed 22 September 2019).

73 See Majeed, Naheed (2016): "Why British Muslims should vote to leave the EU", the Telegraph, 12 February, available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/eureferendum/12150386/Why-British-Muslims-should-vote-to-leave-the-EU.html (last accessed 22 September 2019); and Versi, Midaad (2016): "For British Muslims, there's only one choice on Europe: vote remain", the Guardian 29 March, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/mar/29/british-muslims-europe-remain-brexit (last accessed 23 September 2019).

74 See Clements; Ben (2017): "How religious groups voted in the 2016 referendum on Britain's EU membership", 11 May available at: www.brin.ac.uk/how-religious-groups-voted-at-the-2016-referendum-on-britains-eu-membership; and Field, Clive D. (2017): Counting Religion in Britain, April 2017, 1 May, available at: www.brin.ac.uk/counting-religion-in-britain-april-2017 (both last accessed 23 September 2019).

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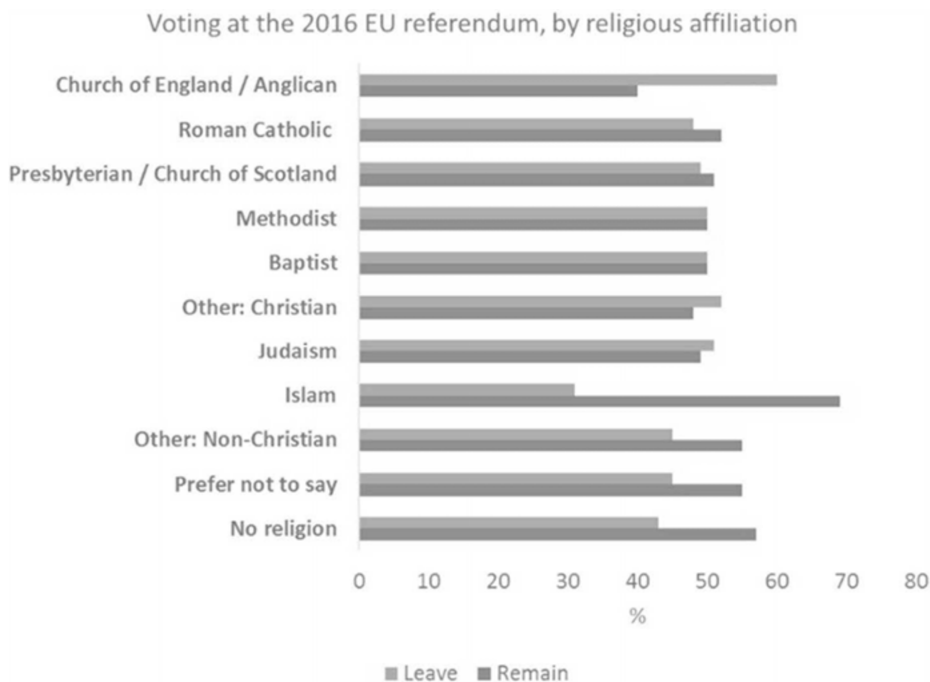

Figure 1: How religious groups voted in the 2016 referendum on Britain's EU membership (fieldwork by YouGov)
Source: Counting Religion in Britain, April 2017, available online at: http://www.brin.ac.uk/how-religious-groups-voted-at-the-2016-referendum-on-britains-eu-membership/

This study does appear to substantiate the previous reports: that, in the main, "Anglicans" voted in a majority for Leave, Catholics narrowly for Remain, and Muslims overwhelming for Remain. My on-going research examines case studies of voter rationales for the EU Referendum, as well as in the 2017 and 2019 General Elections in the UK. Such inquiry has been born of my pedagogic work with undergraduate students in the lead up to and after the EU Referendum, where a sample group examined media stories discussing faith groups in the UK, as well as the history of xenophobia, Islamophobia, and Cosmopolitanism in the UK, and so discussed the potential correlations between anti-social behaviour and attitudes and negative representations of "others" in the UK press.[75] Through a series of case studies, I aim to map the relationship between personal faith and exposure to multi media com-

75 Evenden-Kenyon, E. (2019): "The View from Here", passim.; see also Evenden-Kenyon, Elizabeth (2020): "Educating the English: the role of universities in tackling hate speech and Islamaphobia in post-EU-Referendum Britain", Europe Papers, special edition, ed. Prisca Castanya (forthcoming, 2020).

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mentaries on voter choices. This is just one way in which we can contemplate and educate those living in the UK – whether eligible to vote or not – as to the complexity angers of media information and opinion presented in our digital, civil society. Faith matters, accuracy matters, and it is only through universal access to quality education about how to navigate the media and online sources, that we can hope to move forward as a united civil society, in all its glorious diversity.

4 Conclusion

In his assessment of the utility of historical inquiry in informing public policy, Simon Szreter has noted how, by "presenting history in an accessible form in the public forum where policy is debated, historians can also provide an introduction to historical perspectives on current political problems and examples of historicist ways of thinking about causation, evidence, context and process in human affairs."[76] As indicated above, it is possible to utilise Higher Education environments to explore nation and international heritage. As I have argued elsewhere, undergraduate teaching in the Humanities can perform an important role by contributing to "the common good" – in this instance, in the formulation of a tolerant, inclusive, and truly "civil" society.[77] The "impact" of such a pedagogic approach is to facilitate today's young people in becoming active participants in deconstructing what Stephen Haseler has termed "contemporary theme-park Englishness", which is neither real nor helpful in an often-toxic post-EU-Referendum climate.[78]

Yet the UK's need for education in how to navigate media in a digital world goes beyond any undergraduate need: we need a Media Literacy Strategy in the UK that is fit for purpose. Currently, "media skills" are essentially technology-orientated within the national curriculum, and the work of several academics in the report *EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign* reveals a startling lack of knowledge in society as to how the European Union functions, *and* of the tenets of faith across the religious spectrum of the UK. It is human nature to fear what we do not understand. Education is the key to understanding and embracing "others".

What we need urgently is a way of engaging with children and older generations that helps them understand why people disseminate mis- and disinformation – be it about politics, climate change, individuals, whatever. We need to help them

76 Szreter, Simon (2011): "History and Public Policy" in Jonathan Bate (ed.), The Public Value of the Humanities. London: Bloomsbury Academic: 219–231: 219.
77 Drakeman, Donald (2016): Why We Need the Humanities. Life Science, Law and the Common Good. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, chapter 5: 109–117.
78 Haseler, Stephen (2017): England Alone: Brexit and the crisis of English identity. London: Forumpress: 169.

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pause and question who has written the piece in question, the veracity of what they are saying, what audience they are targeting, and why. In other words, we need to teach them the skills to unpack what individuals and groups are saying and doing, and what their motivations are for doing so. The same holds true for the correlation between words and images, as demonstrated in the EU Referendum campaigns.

Many of the requisite skills have been and are already taught in classrooms across the UK, when studying literature. As I have argued elsewhere, it is these skills that should be "harnessed and promoted, well beyond Shakespeare or Byron or whomever they are studying. They need to be seen as *transferable skills* – from beyond mere academic practice within the classroom, to real-world skills that can underpin everything they read and see, whatever the platform."[79] Understanding *authorial intent* and *reader response* is key to academic study but also to navigating the world beyond the classroom.

If this survey essay has revealed anything, it must surely be that we must continue to call to account campaign groups and media outlets who play upon fear and make up their "alternative facts" to expound nationalism and hate speech. Britain needs more cosmopolitanism, not less, for it is only through dialogue and international exchange that we can hope to forge an inclusive future and a truly civil society of which we can be proud.

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79 See Evenden-Kenyon, Elizabeth in Westminster Media Forum Report (2019): Tackling misinformation and disinformation online – policy options, public awareness, and developing countermeasures, 7 May: 62; available at: https://www.westminsterforumprojects.co.uk/sample/Fake_News_April19_example_pages.pdf (last accessed 30 September 2019).

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Wojciech Sadlon

Civil Cinderella: religion and civil society in Poland

1 Theoretical configuration of civil society

Many contemporary theories of civil society refer to both the classical and neoliberal traditions. According to Cohen and Arato, civil society represents a social sphere between the state (administration) and market (economy). Civil society in modern democracies is composed of organisations and civil institutions. It is also based on "pre-institutionalised" norms and rules that could also be presented in terms of social or cultural capitals. Civil society is characterised by independence, freedom, self-organisation, and mobilisation. It includes an intimate sphere (including family), associations (especially voluntary), social movements, and forms of public communication. Civil society exists in the interface between private and public, the individual and the common good. In such a perspective, civil society represents the sphere of values and freedom.[1] In their definition of civil society, Cohen and Arato refer to the liberation movements of the twentieth century that were observed in Poland.[2] According to them, the concept became popular due to its usefulness for describing the struggle against communism and military dictatorship. Paradoxically, such an understanding of civil society as "a sphere of social interaction between the economy and the state" is not applicable to Polish reality. Even supplementing it with a number of elements – such as the intimate sphere (family), the sphere of associations (mainly voluntary), social movements, and forms of public communication – does not take into account the specificity of Polish civil society in the late twentieth century. The postmodern narrative of civil society is rather a result of the ideology of communism. As Załęski argues:

Civil society became a substitute for the political society as a result of premeditated ideological work of communists during a first phase of the transformation [...]. The discourse on civil society as a freedom to associate became connected in [the] early 1990s with the neoliberal phenomenon of the third sector [...]. The neoliberal characteristics of the postmodern discourse on civil society originate from the purposes of the communist propaganda at the time of the economic transformation in Poland and the nature of the phenomenon of the third sector itself.[3]

1 Cohen, J. L., Arato, A. (1994): Civil Society and Political Theory, MIT Press, London & Cambridge: 9.
2 Ibdi.: ix.
3 Załęski, P. (2012): Neoliberalizm i społeczeństwo obywatelskie, Fundacja Nauki Polskiej, Toruń: 253–254.

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Such claims are partly repeated by Gawin, who notes that although Christian tradition influenced the idea of civil society, the latter includes not only communitarian inclinations for social bonds but also liberal individualism. After the Polish transition in 1989, the idea of civil society was transformed into such concepts as the third sector and non-profit organisations, which were not rooted in a normative ground.[4] This means that it is not enough to describe civil society in Poland in terms of institutions, i.e. the third sector approach. Civil society is composed not only of associations, organisations, and social institutions. It is also represented by moral elements such as norms or values.

Religion as well refers not only to religious institutions such as churches, congregations, small religious groups, or even sects but also to religious experience, practices, and especially moral norms, values, and rules. It implies a functionalist perspective on religion and the Durkheimian concept of "organic solidarity". Religion influences the formation of both organic solidarity and mechanical solidarity by providing, above all, authority and moral norms, methods of social control, consistency, and other forms of communication.[5] As Malinowski proposed, religion shapes individual attitudes that affect social life, such as harmony with the environment or reverence for tradition.[6] The role of religion in shaping civil society in its republican understanding corresponds with the Parsonian theory on religion as the factor that reconciles personality systems with social systems.[7]

The specific historical situation of Poland, which will be presented below, resulted in shared common religious characteristics, but these are not expressed through civil beliefs, symbols, and rituals that provide a religious dimension to the entirety of society, as proposed by Bellah in his concept of "civil religion"[8] referring to American society. Polish social life is rather conceived as the opposite of official citizenship and is highly linked with religious freedom. The role of religion in Polish society is not "civil", but it is "public" because it refers to the private–public dichotomy and expresses religious beliefs and behaviours generated by individuals as well as private associations.[9] However, in many sociological analyses of civil society, the role of religion is rather neglected. The purpose of this chapter is to fill this gap by presenting the role of religion in Polish civil society as a legendary Cinderella,

4 Gawin D. (2013): *Wielki zwrot. Ewolucja lewicy i odrodzenie idei społeczeństwa obywatelskiego 1956–1976*, Znak, Kraków: 370.

5 Durkheim, E. (1995): Elementary Forms of Religious Life, The Free Press, New York. Elementarne formy życia religijnego. System totemiczny w Australii, PWN, Warszawa 2010.

6 Malinowski, B. (1954): Magic, Science and Religion, Garden City, Doubleday, [1925].

7 Parsons, T. (1954): Essays in Sociological Theory, Free Press, New York 1954.

8 See Bellah, R. N. (1970): Beyond Belief, Harper, New York: 168.

9 Marty, M. E. (1998): Public Religion. In W. Swatos (Ed.), Encyclopedia of Religion and Society, AltaMira.

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which stayed hidden for years in the sphere of private life but is revealed in critical moments of history and affects Polish public social life.

2 Historical background of Polish Catholicism

Any explanation of the modern Polish religious landscape must begin with the sixteenth century, when the essential characteristics of Polish contemporary religiosity were outlined.

2.1 Religious and national freedom

The Reformation, inaugurated in 1517 by Martin Luther, expressed not only pure theological controversies but also social tensions such as the rise of nationalism and new social movements inspired by humanism. Poland, geographically located near the territory in which the Reformation was started, did not follow Western patterns of the new religious and social movement but forged its own path. It should also be mentioned that some ideas that were fundamental and crucial for the Reformation were known before Luther. Close to Poland, in Czech territory, Jan Hus influenced the Bohemian religious landscape at the end of fourteenth century so strongly that both the Catholic Church and bonds with Rome were weakened and the vast majority of Bohemian inhabitants belonged to the so-called Hussite movement.[10]

Paradoxically, during the Reformation, the social role of Catholicism in Poland was rather reinforced due to the fact that the impact of the Reformation was limited to higher social elites and did not involve most of their compatriots. The Reformation did not strengthen the monarchy as in Western countries, but rather was opposed not only to the Church but also to the Polish king.[11] What is more, the political system of the Kingdom of Poland was dominated by the Golden Liberty (Złota Wolność), or Nobles' Democracy. All nobles were considered to have equal legal status and enjoyed privileges and legal rights. The nobility had the right to elect kings and to control parliament. According to the Warsaw Confederation (1573), the first such document in Europe, the Golden Liberty included also religious freedom, which was granted to the nobility and free persons. Poland (at that time, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth) was a much safer and more tolerant place than Western Europe, especially during the Thirty Years' War. According to Tazbir, Poland was a

10 Václavík, D. (2010): *Náboženství a moderní česká společnost,*: Grada a.s., Praha,: 53.
11 Sobieski, W. (1926): Król czy tyran. Idee rokoszowe a różnowiercy za czasów Zygmunta Augusta, "Reformacja w Polsce" IV/13–16, pp. 2–14: 1.

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"state without stakes".[12] The level of religious persecution and conflict in Poland was much lower than in most other European countries[13]: "Polish Catholicism was marked not so much by its external militancy, as by its extreme inward piety."[14]

During the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, essential characteristics of Polish religiosity were shaped, especially Marian devotion. The Polish Jesuit Kasper Drużbicki popularised the devotion of holy slavery, which was based on total commitment to the mother of God. The popularity of this form of spirituality was confirmed by the French Catholic priest Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort, a preacher and missionary of Pope Clement XI and one of most important Catholic writers in the field of Mariology. Such Marian elements in Polish spirituality were not the only aspect of popular devotion. After the Swedish (Protestant) invasion of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, King John II Casimir Vasa "crowned" Our Lady of Częstochowa (Black Madonna) as Queen and Protector of Poland.

Some signs of religious conformity in Poland at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could be observed. Polish society began to fulfil religious practice not out of intrinsic motivation but under social pressure. A manifestation of this trend was religious literature, rich in empty, rhetorical slogans and catechism definitions. Casuistry dominated in preaching. Shaped as such, religion was superficial and external, often treated in a magical way. Beliefs in ghosts, ghouls, and the appearance of the dead were common. Churches were used not only for prayer and liturgy but also for political assemblies, and served as refuges in case of war. During that time, there was in fact a lack of leading centres of mysticism and spirituality in Poland.

Further changes in Polish religiosity were clearly marked by the partitions of Poland. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was divided up among the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, and Habsburg Austria in the process of territorial seizures. This resulted in a negative attitude towards Catholicism in both Protestant Prussia and the Orthodox Russian Empire. For example, in the Russian zone it was forbidden to celebrate the devotion to the Sacred Heart. The negative attitude of higher social classes and intellectual centres towards the Church did not correspond with popular piety. Historians have also pointed out the low intellectual level of Christianity and the low moral standards of the society at the time. In the nineteenth century, there were numerous descriptions of private Marian apparitions, including the revelation in Licheń and the

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12 Tazbir, J. (1967): Państwo bez stosów. Szkice z dziejów tolerancji w Polsce w XVI i XVII w., Wydawnictwo Iskry, Warszawa.

13 Bideleux, R., Jeffries, I. (1998): A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change, Psychology Press, Hove: 150–153.

14 Davis N. (1981): God's Playground. A History of Poland. Vol. 1, The Origins to 1795, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 132.

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only Church-approved apparition, in Gietrzwałd in 1877, when children heard the Virgin Mary speaking in Polish despite the town having been under Prussian annexation.

Strong Polish religiosity, strengthened by Marian devotion in the Counter-Reformation, found its ally in national identity in the nineteenth century. During that time, Poland was highly marked by national patriotism. In November 1830 and again in January 1863, Polish patriots started uprisings against the Russian Empire. Political repressions were widespread. The Russian government took over all church estates and funds and abolished monasteries and convents. Russian became the official language of the country. All former Polish government functionaries were deprived of their positions and replaced by Russian officials. Catholicism was strongly discriminated against, and thousands of Poles, particularly political and cultural elites, emigrated from Poland. Only in predominantly Catholic Austria did Poles not suffer from strong national and religious persecution. The political situation pushed hope for freedom deep into the fields of literature and spirituality. Dominated by Romanticism and marked by such poets as Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and Kamil Cyprian Norwid, Polish culture at that time expressed not only national and ethnic but also religious ideals. These ideals started an important process of bringing together Polish cultural elites and Catholicism. In the nineteenth century, for the first time not only clergy but also laymen were motivated by a sense of responsibility for the Catholic Church.

2.2 National identity and religion

In 1918, both Poland and the Catholic Church experienced radical changes. After the First World War, Poland regained its independence, and the Second Polish Republic was established. According to the Constitutions of 1921 and 1935 as well as the Concordat of 1925, Poland was a country with religious freedom. However, the Catholic Church was recognised as "first among equals"[15]. Although freedom of religion was guaranteed to everyone, in Article 114 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, of 17 March 1921, Roman Catholicism was recognised as "the religion of the preponderant majority of the nation" which "occupies in the state the chief position among enfranchised religions."[16] Accordingly, the Roman Catholic Church governs itself under its own laws. The relation of the state to the Church was to be determined on the basis of an agreement with the apostolic see, which would be subject to ratifica-

15 Mariański, J. (1991): Katolicy w strukturze wyznaniowej Polski. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, ISKK & GUS, Warszawa: 38.
16 Constitution of the Republic of Poland, March 17, 1921, Section V. General duties and rights of citizens, Art. 114.

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tion by the Sejm (lower house of the Polish Parliament).[17] The role of the Catholic Church in Poland at the beginning of the twentieth century was not political but rather bottom-up, not civil but civic. According to Conwey, during the 1920s, the expansion of Catholic parties across Europe was evident, with two exceptions: Poland and Ireland. Although in both these countries Catholicism was inextricably bound up with national identity, Catholicism was not represented by any political party.[18] The new political situation also opened new perspectives in religious culture. Such authors as Nobel Prize laureates Henryk Sienkiewicz and Władysław Reymont as well as Maria Rodziewiczówna, Leopold Staff, Jerzy Liebert, and Zofia Kossak-Szczucka were strongly inspired by religious ideas. Another manifestation of religious revival was the mass formation of religious associations. Faith-based civil mobilisation was aimed at solving social problems and influencing the political debate. Maximilian Kolbe began publishing a journal entitled *Knight of the Immaculate* and founded a major apostolic centre in Niepokalanów, near Warsaw. His activities, which also included a radio station, renewed Marian devotion and strongly mobilised popular Catholic religiosity. From a statistical perspective, Roman Catholicism during the Second Polish Republic was represented by 62 per cent of the Polish population of 25 million people. Twelve per cent of the population were Greek Catholic, while 11 per cent belonged to the Orthodox Church, 4 per cent to Evangelical churches. Eleven per cent were affiliated with Judaism.[19] However, in the eastern parts of the country (which today belong to Ukraine and Belarus), Catholics constituted a minority.

A drastic rupture and transition from freedom to oppression and persecution were experienced by the Polish nation in 1939. During the Second World War, churches were closed, and religious life was partially forced to escape the public sphere. The drama of the war favoured the rapid maturation of religious young people and liberating heroic behaviour. Many underground organisations referred to religious content. Catholic priests were chaplains during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, among them the future primate of Poland, Stefan Wyszynski, and Józef Stanek, who was killed by the Germans during the uprising. More than 6,000 priests (roughly one-in-six) and nuns suffered from the war and repressions[20]. Seminaries and convents were closed by the Germans. In 1999, Polish Pope John Paul II beati-

17 Ludwikowski, R., Fox, W. (1993): The begining of the constitutional era: a bicentennial comparative analysis of the first modern constitutions, Catholic University of America Press, Washington: 313–327.
18 Conway, M. (2008): Catholic Politics in Europe, 1918–1945, Routledge, New York: 23.
19 Mariański, J. (1991): Katolicy w strukturze wyznaniowej Polski. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, ISKK & GUS, Warszawa: 38.
20 Jacewicz, J., Wos, J. (1977): Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymsko-katolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945, ATK, Warszawa.

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fied 108 martyrs of the Second World War, most of whom were women religious and priests. Maximilian Kolbe was also canonised as a martyr of the Second World War.

2.3 Catholicism in the struggle against Communism

The religious demography of Poland changed dramatically after the Second World War. Due to the reconfiguration of its borders and to deportations, Poland became a religiously homogenous country in which Catholics constituted about 90 per cent of the population. What is more, in terms of economic and social conditions, Polish society was highly egalitarian during the communist era. Motivated by Marxist–Leninist ideology, the communist governments after 1945 initiated anti-religious campaigns and attempted to build an atheistic society in Poland. The Catholic Church was not allowed to take part in public life or to act officially. In 1953, the primate of Poland, Stefan Wyszyński, was arrested. Historians refer to this time as the Church of Silence.[21] However, the Church was not defeated. In 1956, the Great Novena, a preparation for the millennium of the baptism of Poland, was initiated. It involved not only spiritual but also social mobilisation, especially within parishes.[22] This new movement in Poland was reinforced by the religious revival after the Second Vatican Council.[23] However, communism limited the influence of religion on public life. According to Nowak, religion remained a private issue for Poles, a domain of personal ideology without a link to public social life, after the Second World War.[24] Nonetheless, some of the earliest systematic statistical evidence on religiosity in Poland (based on data collected by the communist regime, which should be interpreted cautiously) show that in 1960, 26 per cent of rural residents and 19 per cent of urban residents described themselves as deeply religious; 58 per cent and 56 per cent, respectively, as religious; 8 per cent and 12 per cent as non-believing but attached to a religious tradition; 6 per cent and 9 per cent as indifferent; and 1 per cent and 3 per cent as unbelievers. Forty-seven per cent of Poles claimed to attend Holy Mass regularly.[25]

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21 Żaryn, J. (2003): Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944–1989), Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa: 133–138.

22 Ibid.: 59–61.; Anusz, A. (2004): Kościół obywatelski. Formowanie społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w PRL, Akces, Warszawa.

23 Ostrowski, M. (2000): Duchowe i religijne ruchy, w: W. Zdaniewicz, T. Zembrzuski. (red.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK, Warszawa: 123–159.

24 Nowak, S. (2009): Współczesny katolicyzm polski. Spostrzeżenia i hipotezy socjologa (1987). In S. Nowak, O Polsce i Polakach. Praca rozproszone 1958–1989, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa: 291.

25 Adamczuk, L., Mariański, J., Zdaniewicz, W. (1991): Życie religijne. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, ISKK & GUS, Warszawa: 165.

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In the 1980s, Catholicism was integrated with Polish society in its moral dimension. Being socialist correlated with being Catholic as strongly as it correlated with being atheist. Being Catholic did not exclude one from being socialist (though it did exclude one from being Marxist)[26], because unlike Marxism, the socialist point of view did not directly oppose the Christian faith and referred rather to practical social issues. There was no correlation between religion and economics or social problems.[27] Religion was spread primarily in the countryand among lower classes. Data from the 1970s show a strong correlation between higher education and atheism in Poland. Only half of all pupils with well-educated parents declared themselves Catholics[28] Polish religiosity was neither social nor intellectual but folk-based and national.[29] According to Piwowarski, during the communist era, the Catholic Church in Poland had preserved its folk character, in the sense proposed by Troeltsch and Weber. Catholicism was a *Volkskirche* because of its (1) universal openness to all Poles, both believers and non-believers; (2) massive influence; (3) hierarchical structure and lack of internal communication; (4) domination of spirituality and religious experience; and (5) ritualism based on national and patriotic tradition. It was also a typical example of a national church. Catholic pastoral activity targeted the average Catholic, not only elite or social class. What is more, Polish religiosity was focused on spiritual experience, was built upon sacrifice and manifested itself in the struggle against common enemy.[30] Catholicism was preserved in families and in the common sense of national identity. This is why paradoxically anti-Church activities of the communist regime made religiosity in Poland even stronger.[31]

Despite the forceful efforts made by communists in Poland to smother Catholicism, in the 1980s, religion found its place not only in private but also in the public space. During that period, the number of baptisms surprisingly exceeded the number of births[32]. It is likely that people had been afraid to baptise their children before. Also, the rate of religious service attendance reached its height in the 1980s, with 57

26 Nowak, S. (2009): Współczesny katolicyzm polski. Spostrzeżenia i hipotezy socjologa (1987). In O Polsce i Polakach. Praca rozproszone 1958–1989, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa: 286.

27 Ibid.: 287.

28 Nowak, S. (2009): Współczesny katolicyzm polski. Spostrzeżenia i hipotezy socjologa (1987). In O Polsce i Polakach. Praca rozproszone 1958–1989, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa: 289.

29 Hall, D. (2014): Od kontrkultury do New Age? Źródła i konteksty nowej duchowości w Polsce. In E. Chabrom (ed.), Od kontrkultury do New Age. Wybrane zjawiska społeczno-kulturowe schyłku PRL i ich korzenie, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wrocław: 156.

30 Piwowarski, W. (2000): Kapłani i biskupi – kierownictwo i kościelna komunikacja, w: T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK, Warszawa: 11.

31 Piwowarski, W. (1996): Socjologia religii, KUL, Lublin: 319.

32 Adamczuk, L., Mariański, J., Zdaniewicz, W., (1991): Życie religijne. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, ISKK & GUS, Warszawa: 171.

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per cent attendance in 1982. The number of pilgrimages to the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa also increased over time. In the early 1960s, no more than 400,000 pilgrims arrived in Częstochowa per year. In the 1970s, this number exceeded 2 million visitors p.a., and in the 1980s, more than 5 million people reached Jasna Góra every year.[33] New parishes were established, and the number of Catholic priests and seminarists was also especially high in the 1980s.

This religious revival came to an end after the political transition. Since 1989, Polish religiosity has been faced with new religious movements and syncretism.[34] While the percentage of Catholics who receive Holy Communion during Holy Mass has increased (from 9 per cent during the 1980s to 17 per cent, on average, since 2000), the *dominicantes* rate (the percentage of Catholics who attend Holy Mass each Sunday) has been gradually decreasing and, in 2015, was estimated at only 40 per cent).[35] The share of Poles who do not consider themselves religious believers, in general, has also grown significantly. The percentage of those declaring themselves "uncertain but attached to religious tradition", indifferent to religion, or altogether non-believing rose from 10 per cent in 1991 to 20 per cent in 2015.[36] Mariański refers to this process as slow (creeping) secularisation.[37] According to some scholars, Catholicism in Poland is changing its functions in society.[38] Religiosity in Poland is undergoing a process of privatisation rather than secularisation.[39] As described by Frątczak and Sikorska, the process of privatisation refers to the morality emerging from Catholicism and not to the presence of religion in public debates. Mariański has noted that the transformation in Poland embraces changes in the moral and normative domain and may be considered in four different perspectives: (1) the secularisation of morality, i.e. the abandonment of the religious morality model; (2) the individualisation of morality; (3) a transformation of values and the creation of

33 Ziółkowski, M. (1991): Sanktuaria i pielgrzymki. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, ISKK & GUS, Warszawa: 229.

34 Firlit, E. et al. (2013): Pomiędzy sekularyzacją i religijnym ożywieniem. Podobieństwa i różnice w przemianach religijnych w Polsce i w Niemczech, WAM, Kraków: 5–6.

35 Sadłoń, W. (ed.) (2018): Annuarium Statisticum Ecclesiae A.D 2018, ISKK, Warsaw.

36 Jarmoch, E. (2013): Wiara i religijność. In Lucjan Adamczuk, Elzbieta Firlit, Witold Zdaniewicz (eds.), Postawy społeczno-religijne Polaków 1991–2012, Institute for Catholic Church Statistics, Warszawa: 29–57.

37 Mariański, J. (2013): Przemiany religijności w Polsce i w Niemczech — syndrom sekularyzacji czy rewitalizacji? In E. Firlit et al. (eds**.),** *Pomiędzy sekularyzacją i religijnym ożywieniem. Podobieństwa i różnice w przemianach religijnych w Polsce i w Niemczech***,** Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków.

38 Dębski, M., Balicki, J. (2007): Religia – wartości i normy. In Studium porównawcze wyników dwóch Polskich Badań Retrospektywnych 2001 i 2006. Raport syntetyczny z badania empirycznego zrealizowanego w ramach projektu badawczego: Nr 2H02B 006 25, Instytut Statystyki i Demografii, SGH, Warszawa.

39 Frątczak, E., Sikorska, I. (2009): Changing attitudes and behaviour concerning contraception and abortion in Poland, "Studia Demograficzne" 2/2009: 73–114.

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some new value system; and (4) a reorientation of moral values, which also means a moral revival.[40] Some symptoms of religious polarisation can also be traced in Poland.[41]

3 Religion and civil society in the history of Poland

Contemporary Polish civil society is the product of a long and specific history. The general description of the religious situation in Poland provides a new perspective for understanding the role of religion in Polish civil society.

3.1 Institutionalization of charitable activity

The study of the religious background of Polish civil society must begin in the Middle Ages, when charities were initiated by monasteries[42] and, since the thirteenth century, organised by parishes. In the seventeenth century, new religious congregations devoted to charitable work, such as the Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John of God, the Sisters of Charity, and the Trinitarian order, arrived in Poland. Still, in the eighteenth century, the Catholic Church and other Christian confessions were almost the only institutions conducting charitable activities. New social innovations were inspired by religious organisations at the end of that century. The first forms of social economy, which not only helped vagrants and beggars directly, but also tried to activate them through employment, were organised. During that time, the Catholic Church and the Sejm began cooperating in providing social services. A committee consisting of Church and state representatives was established in order to care for hospitals and beggars in 1774.[43] The first schools in Poland had been created by the Church even earlier, in the eleventh century. The development of cathedral schools took place during the reigns of Władysław I Herman, Bolesław III Wrymouth, and especially Casimir II the Just. Schools were also established in monasteries. In 1364, Casimir III the Great founded the Studium Generale in Cracow. Thanks to Queen Jadwiga, the pope was permitted to open the Faculty of Theology in Cracow in 1397. Since the sixteenth century, theological seminaries have been

40 Mariański J. (2011): Przemiany moralności polskich maturzystów w latach 1994–2009. Studium socjologiczne, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin.
41 Sadłoń, W. (2016): Differentiation, Polarization and Religious Change in Poland, The Religious Studies Review 4/2016: 25–42.
42 Dola, K. (1974): Opieka społeczna Kościoła. In B. Kumor. Z. Obertyński (eds.), Historia Kościoła w Polsce, vol. I, part 1, Pallotinum, Warszawa-Poznań: 169.
43 Dola, K. (1979): Opieka społeczna Kościoła. In B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński (eds.), Historia Kościoła w Polsce, vol. 2, part. 1, Pallotinum, Warszawa-Poznań: 344.

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established. At the same time, religious orders, especially the Jesuits and Piarists, have founded schools.

From the beginning, Christianity in Poland has manifested itself through social mobilisation. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the first religious guilds were formed. They were subject to the bishop's authority and had their own chapels and chaplains. Guilds sponsored grants and scholarships, issued loans, and even organised their own hospitals. In the fourteenth century, the first charitable brotherhoods were established. Brotherhoods gathered funds from their members and allocated resources to activities such as emergency assistance for the poor and building and maintaining hospitals. Piotr Skarga organised pious banks, which allocated specific contributions to the needy and gathered volunteers who visited hospitals and prisons. Pious banks granted interest-free loans and awards. In the eighteenth century, the Church attempted to create such banks in all Catholic parishes in Poland. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, brotherhoods and similar organisations were overall well developed. One of them, the Brotherhood of Saint Roch, which initially granted loans to its members, gradually began to lead charitable activities, resulting in the construction of the magnificent Saint Roch hospital in Warsaw. In 1777, the bishop of Płock, Michał Jerzy Poniatowski (the king's brother), established in his diocese a charitable brotherhood the goal of which was to create hospitals in parishes. Other brotherhoods were engaged in the creation of registries of poor people in cities. In this way, religious organisations delivered social services. Most of these initiatives were innovative and incorporated strong social capital. In the eighteenth century, about eighty types of religious fraternities existed within the territory of Poland, including confraternities of the rosary and of the scapular as well as charitable organisations. For example, in 1772, sixty-eight fraternities were operating in the Archdiocese of Lviv. Some of them numbered several thousand members.

It seems not enough to note, as Staniszkis has, that Polish civil society was affected by the dualistic formulation between state and society.[44] The role of religion, adopted in the sixteenth century, must also be outlined. Polish society was not only affected by the dualism between state and nation, which was the result of the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, but also by the powerful notion of religious freedom. As presented above, in 1573, freedom of religion was guaranteed in Poland. The idea of religious freedom was strengthened during the partition period, as Russia and Prussia were not Catholic but Protestant and Orthodox. The partitions of Poland strongly limited not only cooperation between the state and the Church but also decreased the number of Catholic charities. In the Austrian partition, the welfare system, although based on Church institutions, was actually subordinated to the state. After the partitions, especially those performed by the Kingdom of Prussia and, later, the German Empire, imposed a number of Germanisation policies and

44 Staniszkis J. (1984): Poland's Self-limiting Revolution, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

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limited the impact of the Polish educational system. Despite this, important social actions were initiated in the nineteenth century. In 1844, Jan Ficek started the temperance movement. In the 1890s, Józef Sebastian Pelczar established in Cracow the Fraternity of Our Lady, Queen of the Polish Crown and, shortly thereafter, a new religious congregation, the Sister Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. In 1906, Archbishop Józef Bilczewski recommended that children preparing for their first Communion should vow abstinence until the age of twenty. At the turn of the century, many social worker priests were active within the territory of Poland, for example, Wacław Bliziński in Lisków and Antoni Tyczyński in Albigowa.

The partitions of Poland cancelled out a number of forms of social organisations. As a consequence, in the Archdiocese of Lviv, there were only nine registered fraternities at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, new forms of organisations were manifested. Many of them were built by lay Catholics, such as the Warsaw Society for the Protection of Poor Mothers and Children (Warszawskie Towarzystwo Opieki nad Ubogimi Matkami i Ich Dziećmi) (1884), the Society for the Care of Terminally Ill (Towarzystwo Opieki nad Nieuleczalnie Chorymi) (1897), and the Christian Society for the Protection of Women (Chrześcijańskie Towarzystwo Ochrony nad Kobietami) (1902). In the second half of the nineteenth century, temperance organisations inspired significant mass movements and encouraged abstinence from the consumption of alcohol. By the end of 1845, more than 200,000 adults in Upper Silesia had declared complete abstinence from alcohol, and about 730,000 in the Diocese of Tarnów did the same in the years 1844–1846. Altogether, those who had declared abstinence constituted about 75 per cent of the adult population. Józef Wick, inspired by similar groups in Germany, introduced youth associations to Poland in 1850. In 1907, there were 126 such associations in Silesia.[45] In other parts of Poland, similar associations were founded by priests such as Zygmunt Odelgiewicz in Galicia and Zygmunt Gorazdowski, who set up the Society of Providence (Towarzystwo "Opatrzności") in Lviv. One of the first typical laymen organisations was the Union of Polish Youth (Zjednoczona Młodzież Polska), created by Archbishop of Cracow, Adam Stefan Sapieha. In 1920, the Catholic League, whose principal objective was the religious education of young people and care for their moral standards, was established. In 1928, the Polish Episcopate began creating the structures of Catholic Action. During the First World War, Adam Sapieha had inspired the creation of the Cracow Bishops Committee for War Relief. It collaborated with a number of charities and religious orders as well as with the General Committee of Relief for War Victims in Poland, which was founded in Switzerland by prominent persons such as Henryk Sienkiewicz, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, and Antoni Osuchowski.

45 Dola, K. (1979): Opieka społeczna Kościoła. In B. Kumor. Z. Obertyński (eds.), Historia Kościoła w Polsce, vol. II, part 1, Pallotinum, Warszawa-Poznań: 699–711, 704–707.

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During the interwar period, charitable and educational activity was conducted by seventy-two female religious orders. At that time, the best-developed order was an association called the Conferences of Saint Vincent de Paul. At this time, the Catholic Church started to create the structures of Caritas. The first Caritas association within the territory of Poland was established in Katowice in 1929. In 1937, Caritas structures were present in all Polish Catholic dioceses.[46] The German invasion in 1940 resulted in the deinstitutionalisation of faith-based activity. The Nazis dissolved all charities across the country and placed all their property under the administration of the newly created Central Welfare Council. In the territories annexed to the Reich, the Church was deprived of legal personality, which made it impossible to carry out any charitable activity. In the General Government, only diocesan Caritas associations at parish level were permitted.[47] The development of Catholic education was also drastically interrupted by the German invasion, as evidenced by the temporary closure of the Catholic University of Lublin, which had been established after the First World War as the first Catholic university in Central and Eastern Europe.

3.2 Religious-based social mobilization

After the Second World War, the Church could, for a short time, officially provide social services. In June 1945, a national Caritas agency was appointed. It was based in Cracow and included twenty-five diocesan Caritas associations, religious orders, and other charitable organisations. In 1946, the Caritas infrastructure in Poland included around 2,000 care facilities. However, in 1950, the communist state closed down the national Caritas agency; since then, the Church has operated only sixteen social welfare homes. Under communism, Catholic charities were primarily based on parish organisations. In the 1980s, the Catholic Church helped to distribute donations coming to Poland from abroad.[48]

After 1945, the elimination of religious elements from education also continued. The communist parliament in 1961, “in the name of secular schools” prohibited all religious schools as well as religious education. Therefore, in 1959, the Catholic Church started to create catechetical centres. In 1970s about 4,000 catechetical centres operated in parishes, 4,000 in private homes, and about 2,000 in priests’

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46 Firlit, E. (1991): Działalność charytatywna Kościoła. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, GUS & ISKK, Warszawa: 265–286.
47 Śmigiel, K. (1979): Życie i działalność Kościoła. In B. Kumor, Z. Obertyński (eds.), Historia Kościoła w Polsce vol. 2, part. 2, Pallotinum, Warszawa-Poznań: 176.
48 Firlit, E. (1991): Działalność charytatywna Kościoła. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, GUS & ISKK, Warszawa: 277–286.

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homes. Only 300 catechetical centres operated in public rooms.[49] In 1978–1979, female religious orders owned no more than eight schools.[50] Before the Second World War, associations in Poland had been ruled under the Law on Associations of 1932.[51] According to this law, "association" designated a voluntary and permanent non-profit-making organisation. There were three kinds of associations: ordinary, registered, and of higher utility. The law did not concern religious orders, and they were exempted on the basis of the Regulation of 28 January 1934 concerning associations established exclusively for the religious purposes of the Catholic Church.[52] After the Second World War, there were approximately 500,000 members of Catholic associations in Poland.[53] Among the most popular Catholic organisations were Catholic youth associations, the Sodality of our Lady, the Militia Immaculatae, the Living Rosary Association, altar boys, the Eucharistic Crusade, third orders, brotherhoods, and church choirs.

In 1945, all Catholic organisations, including Catholic Action, were entirely outlawed. In 1949, the Catholic Church started to operate only at the parish level[54], and social Catholic activity was reduced to parish structures.[55] Only a few organisations were accepted by law, resulting in a dualistic structure of religious organisations. The first segment of Catholic social activity in the Communist time involved officially recognised "Catholic associations" that operated in the public sphere and were dominated by Catholic intellectuals. A number of associations belonged to this group after 1956. They included Klub Inteligencji Katolickiej (with about 250 centres) [56], WIĘŹ, the Christian Social Association, Znak, and *Dziś i jutro*, a publication founded in 1945 by Bolesław Piasecki and transformed in 1952 into the PAX Association.[57] In 1950, the latter association annexed charitable Catholic institutions of Caritas, and in 1953, the social review *Tygodnik Powszechny* was also incorporated.[58] These public associations, representing "social Catholicism", were actively involved

49 Żurek, J. (1996): Polityka oświatowa państwa wobec Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w latach 1961–1976, manuscript, Warszawa: 7.

50 Jaroń, J. (1991): Seminaria i katolickie szkolnictwo. In L. Adamczuk, W. Zdaniewicz (eds), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1918–1990, GUS & ISKK, Warszawa: 235–250.

51 Journal of Laws (Dziennik Ustaw) Nr 94, poz. 808.

52 Journal of Laws (Dziennik Ustaw) Nr 9, poz. 72.

53 Kersten, K. (1990): Narodziny systemu władzy. Polska 1943–1948, Poznań: 189.

54 Ordon, M. (2002): Prawo o stowarzyszeniach jako instrument antykościelnej polityki władz komunistycznych w okresie Polski Ludowej – zarys problemu, "Studia z Prawa Wyznaniowego", 4/2002: 99.

55 Ostrowski, M.: Duchowe i religijne ruchy. In T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK: 124

56 Żaryn, J. (2003): Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944–1989), Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa: 85

57 Żaryn, J. (2004): Kościół w PRL, IPN, Warszawa: 46–47.

58 Żaryn, J. (2004): Kościół w PRL, IPN, Warszawa: 49.

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in social affairs, not always in accordance with the official representatives of the Catholic Church in Poland.

A second segment of Catholic social activity in the communist era could be distinguished as social activities motivated mainly by folk religiosity and operating especially within Catholic parishes in the countryside. In comparison to the Catholic associations, these were not only subordinated to the institutional Church but were also highly inspired by parish priests.[59] Parish activity was strictly linked with devotion and religiosity. Youth participated in parish life as altar boys (*ministranci*) and in girls' choirs (*scholas*). After the Second Vatican Council, another group composed of older boys were developed (*lektorzy*).[60] Parish activity also included theatre performances and music festivals. Since 1975, Catholic parishes have organised social and cultural weeks.[61] Parish pastoral ministry was especially strong in the countryside.[62] New types of small, non-formal groups were organised in parish rooms (*salki parafialne*). These involved not only religious but also social or even political engagement.[63] One of the many priests responsible for such groups was Jerzy Popiełuszko, a future martyr. According to Ostrowski, non-formal parish activity included workers' pastoral activities, cultural events, pilgrimages, and temperance movements. The last-mentioned type of activity was developed by Franciszek Blachnicki between 1957 and 1960. It was called the Temperance Crusade and was based in parishes. Until 1960, about 100,000 people were engaged in the crusade. Among a wide variety of activities, it also published a review titled *Immaculate* Mary Wins (Niepokalana zwycięża). Later, in 1979, Blachnicki initiated another temperance movement, the Crusade for the Liberation of Man, which was suppressed by the communists, who imprisoned Blachnicki.[64] In 1969, the first Sacrosong festival was organised. Prayer groups, especially rosary groups, also contributed to parish life. In many parishes, Alcoholics Anonymous meetings were introduced.[65]

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59 Piwiwarski, W. (1993): Kapłani i biskupi – kierownictwo i kościelna komunikacja. In T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK, p. 11–17; Piwowarski, W. (1993): Przemiany katolicyzmu polskiego (1978–1993), "Ład. Katolicki Tygodnik Społeczny" 42/1993: 4–5.

60 Ostrowski, M.: Duchowe i religijne ruchy. In T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK: 125.

61 Żaryn, J. (2003): Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944–1989), Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa: 110–111.

62 Kaczorowski, A. (2004): Kościół wobec wsi. Duszpasterstwo rolników. In W. J. Wysocki, Kościół i społeczeństwo wobec stanu wojennego, Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm, Warszawa: 111–124.

63 For example Pałyga, J. (2016): Życie dla wartości. O ludziach z grup nieformalnych i nie tylko, Apostolicum, Ząbki.

64 Ostrowski, M.: Duchowe i religijne ruchy, w: T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK: 129–131.

65 Ibid: 126.

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3.3 Religious and social activity in 1980s

According to Ostrowski, the history of Catholic social engagement in Poland in the twentieth century is marked by two turning points: The Second Vatican Council and the so-called spring of the early 1980s, meaning the Solidarność movement, preceded by the election of Pope John Paul II.[66] Since the Second Vatican Council, some new dynamics of Catholic social activity can be observed. Catholic organisations were developed in two directions. Some Catholic movements were imported from countries such as Spain, France, and Italy. Other new social initiatives were born in Poland. In 1971, the first Polish initiatives of the Italian-born Movimento per un Mondo Migliore (Movement for a Better World) were underway. In collaboration with Karol Wojtyla, the Focolare Movement opened in Poland in 1974, with its first centre in Cracow.[67] In 1975, the Neocatechumenal Way was installed in Lublin. Since 1977, Marriage Encounter activities have been organised in Laski, near Warsaw. Since 1978, another religious movement, Faith and Light, and, since 1983, Communione e Liberazione (Communion and Liberation) have been present in Poland.

Among movements that were born in Poland in the twentieth century, the most important is the Light-Life Movement (also known as the Oasis Movement), created by the above-mentioned Franciszek Blachnicki. Its origins go back to the 1950s, but its dynamic growth started after the Second Vatican Council. In its initial stage, the Light-Life Movement organised retreats for young people, but its principal activity focused on parishes. The main objectives of the movement were to renew Catholic parishes in Poland and to transform parish structures into dynamic communities according to the teaching of the Second Vatican Council. The Light-Life Movement cooperated with foreign movements, and not only Catholic ones, such as Campus Crusade for Christ, for example. According to Ostrowski, the Light-Life Movement gave birth to a specific Polish theology that could be called "Polish liberation theology".[68] Liberation was understood in a different way than it was in Latin America at the time. Liberation in the Light-Life Movement did not refer to political activity but implied moral and spiritual liberation from selfishness and sin.[69] With such an intention, the Light-Life Movement initiated a temperance movement as well as pro-life and pro-family activities. Despite difficulties, the Light-Life Movement devel-

66 Ibid: 124.
67 Masters, T., Uelmen, A. (2011): Focolare: Living a Spirituality of Unity in the United States, New City Press.
68 Ostrowski, M.: Duchowe i religijne ruchy. In T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK: 134.
69 Blachnicki, F. (1985): Prawda-Krzyż-Wyzwolenie. Ku polskiej teologii wyzwolenia, Carlsberg 1985.

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oped dynamically.[70] In 1979, about 30,000 people took part in Light-Life Movement retreats in Poland; in 1985, about 70,000. In 1986, there were 546 retreat centres with 892 priests and 325 women religious.[71] According to Peperkamp, the Light-Life Movement influenced youth especially by organising leisure time.[72] Lewenstein and Melchior explain that the popularity of the Light-Life Movement was due to desire for "a protective community".[73]

Another Polish-born Catholic movement is the Families of Nazareth Movement, which was established in the early 1980s. At its founding, it was a typical family movement dedicated to the formation of families, and it was most popular in large city parishes. After 1980, other Catholic associations were established in Poland. They included the Children's Crusade of The Virgin Mary, Queen of Poland (Dziecięca Krucjata Niepokalanej Królowej Polski), the Temperance Movement of Saint Maximilian Kolbe (Ruch Trzeźwości im. Św. Maksymiliana Kolbe), the Moral Renewal Brotherhood of Saint Maximilian and Saint Brother Albert (Bractwo Odnowy Moralnej św. Maksymiliana i Brata Alberta), the Catholic Association for Persons Addicted and Their Families' (Katolicie Stowarzyszenie Osób Uzależnionych i Ich Rodzinom "Filadelfia"), Catholic Temperance Association "House" (Katolickie Stowarzyszenie Trzeźwości "Dom").[74] Much more influential was the charismatic revival movement, which was initially connected with the Light-Life Movement and had been inspired by foreign Pentecostal religious movements. It started in the 1970s, and involved about fifty charismatic centres at the beginning.[75] Catholic student groups in large cities such as Cracow, Gdańsk, Poznań, and Katowice also played an important role. The number of Catholic student groups in the 1970s was approximately 3,000, and the number of students involved in these groups was roughly 700,000.[76] Student groups were, in fact, renewed after their abolishment by

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70 Nosowska, A. (2012): Oazy jako zjawisko społeczne i religijne. Rozwój ruchu i jego tożsamość, Warsaw University, Warszawa, manuscript.

71 Ostrowski, M. (2015): Duchowe i religijne ruchy. In T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK SAC: 135; Derewenda, R.: Działalność społeczna ks. Franciszka Blachnickiego, Roczniki Humanistyczne 63: 219–235.

72 Peperkamp, E. (2008): The Fertile Body Cross-Fertilization of Disciplinary Regimes: Technologies of Self in a Polish Catholic Youth Movement. In N. Dyck (ed.), Exploring Regimes of Discipline. The Dynamics og Restraint, Berghahn Books: New York, Oxford: 134.

73 Lewenstein, B., Melchior, M. (1992): Escape to the community. In J. Wedel (ed.), The unplanned society: Poland during and after communism, Columbia University Press, New York: 173–180.

74 Ostrowski, M.: Duchowe i religijne ruchy. In T. Zembrzuski, W. Zdaniewicz (eds.), Kościół i religijność Polaków 1945–1999, ISKK: 130.

75 Grabowska, M. (1989): Odnowa religijna jako wydarzenie. In M. Grabowska, T. Szawiel, Religijność społeczeństwa polskiego lat 8—tych. Od pytań filozoficznych do problemów empirycznych, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa: 276–298.

76 Żaryn, J. (2003): Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944–1989), Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa: 361

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the communists in 1945. They were restored in 1956 and strongly inspired social activism among youth. In the 1970s and 1980s, Catholic student groups organised illegal demonstrations, published and distributed underground newspapers, and introduced popular culture to churches.[77]

Catholicism was also actively involved in the Solidarność movement. Religion was a source of symbolic power and justification for specific solidarity ethics or even the spirituality of Solidarność.[78] Pope John Paul II played an important symbolic role in the movement. In 1980, for example, he was actively involved in the strike by ship builders in Gdańsk. The syndicalist movement of Solidarność was dominated by the symbolism of national and religious solidarity. One of the many requests expressed by Solidarność was the broadcasting of Catholic Masses in Polish. Polish strikers visited John Paul II in Rome in 1981. Later, in 1983 and 1987, John Paul II met Lech Wałęsa during his visits in Poland. What is more, Solidarność was influenced by many Catholic priests, such as Józef Tischner, Stanisław Jankowski, Ludwik Wiśniewski, Jan Zieja, and Edward Frankowski. It should also be mentioned that among other political engagements of the Catholic Church, in March 1980, Franciszek Blachnicki appealed to his Light-Life Movement to boycott the election and to abandon membership in communist organisations. Blachnicki also organised special programmes of evangelisation for working people. In November 1981, he initiated an association called the Independent Christian Social Service[79], which was aimed at the liberation of the Polish nation. In the 1980s, the Polish Episcopate demanded labour rights for Polish workers and actively encouraged the movement of Solidarność to represent the Polish nation. It is also significant that in 1981, the first independent Catholic press was established, and many new churches were built since then. Between 1970 and 1987, the Church passed from the "militant" to the "triumphant Church".[80] Catholicism also integrated social groups that did not refer directly to the Catholic faith but struggled for human rights and social freedom. Among these groups were the Komitet Obrony Robotników (Workers' Defence Committee), Ruch Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela (Movement for Defence of Human and Civic Rights), Ruch Młodej Polski (Young Poland Movement), and Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej (Confederation of Independent Poland). In sum, Soli-

77 Main, I. (2011): The Avant-Garde of the Catholic Church? Catholic Student Groups at the Dominican Churches in Poznan and Krakow, Poland, Social Compass 2011/58: 115–132.

78 Krzemiński, I. (2013): Solidarność. Niespełniony projekt polskiej demokracji, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk: 136–140.

79 Derewenda, R. (2015): Działalność społeczna ks. Franciszka Blachnickiego, Roczniki Humanistyczne 63/2015: 219–235.

80 Żaryn, J. (2003): Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944–1989), Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa: 293–414.

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darność to some extent represented a moral revolution that was actively supported by the Catholic Church.[81]

Kuligowski demonstrates that in the 1980s, Poland was characterised by strong cultural opposition to the communist regime; this opposition has been referred to as a counter-culture, anti-culture, or even sub-culture. The author positions spontaneous and incidental counter-communist acts and behaviours including strikes, concerts, and publications as counter-culture phenomena that do not refer to Catholic and national inspirations.[82] Researchers focus rather on non-religious elements of counter-culture movements, such as the ecological movement.[83] According to Hall, communist era counter-cultural movements in Poland after the political changes were transformed into New Age, new spirituality movements.[84] Nowak, a well-known Polish sociologist has observed a "sociological vacuum" in the Polish society of the communist time as such:

> From the point of view of people's identification and their emotional involvement, there exists a kind of sociological vacuum between the level of primary groups and that of the national community. If we wished to draw a gigantic "sociogram" based on people's bonds and identifications, the social structure of our society perceived in those terms would appear as a 'federation' of primary groups, families and circles of friends united in a national community, with rather insignificant other types of bonds between those two levels.[85]

Nowak identifies this sociological vacuum as the lack of "subjective" identification combined with no "objective" social structures. He notes that in the 1980s, the Church drew attention to the social dimension of Catholic dogma[86], became politically powerful, and reinforced the struggle of Polish workers for freedom, which resulted in an increase in identification with the Catholic Church.[87] Nowak also points out that Pope John Paul II played an important role in the reintegration of

81 Weigel, G. (2000): Świadek nadziei, Znak, Kraków: 505.
82 Kuligowski, W. (2014): Kontrkultura – kultura alternatywna: źródła, idde. In E. Chabrom (ed.), Od kontrkultury do New Age. Wybrane zjawiska społeczno-kulturowe schyłku PRL i ich korzenie, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wrocław: 15–28.
83 Gliński, P. (1996): Polscy Zieloni. Ruch społeczny w okresie przemian, IFiS PAN, Warszawa.
84 Hall, D. (2014): Od kontrkultury do New Age? Źródła i konteksty nowej duchowości w Polsce. In E. Chabrom (ed.), Od kontrkultury do New Age. Wybrane zjawiska społeczno-kulturowe schyłku PRL i ich korzenie, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, Wrocław: 151–162.
85 Nowak, S. (1979): System wartości społeczeństwa polskiego, "Studia Socjologiczne" 75/1979, pp. 155–173, translation by M. Pawlak, From Sociological Vacuum to Horror Vacui: How Stefan Nowak's Thesis Is Used in Analyses of Polish Society. "Polish Sociological Review" 1/2015: 7.
86 Nowak, S. (1987): Współczesny katolicyzm polski. Spostrzeżenia i hipotezy socjologa. In O Polsce i Polakach. Praca rozproszone 1958–1989, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2009: 293.
87 Ibid.: 294–295.

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Polish society with the Catholic Church in the 1980s.[88] Polish society was characterised by a certain kind of dualism between ideological egalitarianism and factual economic inequalities. Religion played an important role in this polarity, because Catholic identity, which was manifested in so-called solidarity with the Pope, represented a strong opposition to economic deprivation.[89] On the other hand, Nowak claims that because of the monolithic character of Polish Catholicism, the Church in Poland did not play an integrative role in society. Being Catholic did not mean being part of a social group. The Church was perceived by individuals as a private institution. Poles, as a whole, did belong to the Catholic Church – however, only in the private sphere.[90] According to Nowak, religion is not able to fill the sociological vacuum because it is individualised and privatised.[91] Nowak bases his theory of the sociological vacuum on empirical research conducted in large cities such as Warsaw and Kielce[92], which is why he underestimates the social role of Catholicism, especially in the countryside. In fact, public resistance against state constraints gave birth to the self-organisation movement, and religion played an important role in the mobilisation of the 1980s.[93] Civil activity in many spheres was inspired by intellectuals and supported by representatives of the Church such as many priests, some bishops, and also Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. There is continuity between support for civil rights and protest against an authoritarian and totalitarian state.[94]

4 Civil society and religion in contemporary Poland

The collapse of communism, despite being the result of a long historical process, for individuals it was unexpected and rapid. It was a systemic and multidimensional

88 Ibdi.: 304.
89 Dmochowska, M. (2012): Nowe wspólnoty w Polsce na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Między Platonem, Amwayem a Trollami, Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, Warszawa: 124.
90 Nowak, S. (1987): Współczesny katolicyzm polski. Spostrzeżenia i hipotezy socjologa. In O Polsce i Polakach. Praca rozproszone 1958–1989, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2009: 300–301.
91 Nowak, S. (1979): System wartości społeczeństwa polskiego, University of Warsaw Studia Socjologiczne 4(75), Warsaw: 155–173.
92 Pawlak, M. (2015): From Sociological Vacuum to Horror Vacui: How Stefan Nowak's Thesis Is Used in Analyses of Polish Society. "Polish Sociological Review" 1/2015: 14.
93 Mariański, J. (2011): Katolicyzm polski. Ciągłość i zmiana. Studium Socjologiczne, WAM. Kraków: 254.
94 Casanova, J. (1994): Public Religion in The Modern World, University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 92–113.

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change, affecting politics, economics, culture, and everyday life.[95] Most studies concerning the transition in Poland focus on economic and political issues. However, as Inglehart and Baker have shown, "economic development tends to bring pervasive cultural changes", and cultural change seems to be path dependent on economic transformation.[96] What is more, the Polish transition was motivated by the cultural rather than the economic character of social cleavages.[97] The Polish transition involves such elements as the growing role of individual and self-realisation values, personal preferences, and freedom from traditional forces of authority.[98]

4.1 Formation of free civil society

Studies on civil society in Poland after 1989 assume some kind of a historical rupture and do not imply any continuity between civil society during communism and civil society after 1989. For example, Gliński points out that the purpose of transformation was to create a new civil society that historically did not refer to organisations existing in the communist era. The author agrees that such a task is highly challenging because of the weak civil structures present in the country. Moreover, civil society must also include a moral community and, in the Polish context, has needed to be built, in fact, all over again. The construction of a "new" civil society since the 1990s has proceeded in two stages: self-education followed by foreign help.[99] What is more, Gliński identifies a kind of elite betrayal, namely a lack of interest in civil society on the part of new intellectual elites.[100] The second stage in the development of civil society was initiated in 2001, when Poland began to actively prepare for integration into the European Union. Huge amount of European funds were granted to Polish civil organisations.

The transition from communism to a democratic system as a background for multidimensional social change has been the subject of rigorous social research and analyses. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, new studies were dedicated to

95 Sztompka, P. (1996): Looking Back: The Year 1989 as a Cultural and Civilizational Break. In Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 2/1996: 115–129

96 Inglehart, R., Baker, W. (2000): Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values, "American sociological review" 1/2000: 49.

97 Ekiert, G., Kubik, J. (2001): Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland, 1989–1993, University of Michigan Press.

98 Frątczak, E., Sikorska, I. (2009): Changing attitudes and behaviour concerning contraception and abortion in Poland, Studia Demograficzne 2/2009: 78.

99 Gliński, P. (2009): Style działań organizacji pozarządowych w Polsce. Grupy interesu czy pożytku publicznego?, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa: 31.

100 Gliński, P. (2006): Style działań organizacji pozarządowych w Polsce. Grupy interesu czy pożytku publicznego?, Wyd. IFiS PAN, Warszawa: 32–33.

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social capital in Poland.[101] Religion was rarely noticed as an element of civil society: "Polish sociological research, especially surveys, neglected the role of civil activity rooted in religion and the Church, and especially the role of parishes."[102] The reason was that researchers adopted Western definitions of civil society, which excluded religious organisations. The liberal understanding of civil society underestimated the role of religion, because it focused on the economic dimension of third sector institutions. On the other hand, Church organisations were not willing to share data on social activity and were not ready to take part in civil society studies. As a result, there were no studies on parishes despite the growing interest in locality. In the research on civil society from that time, there are no publications on faith-based organisations, apart from the so-called occasional communities that emerged as ephemeral phenomena after the death of John Paul II.[103] To some extent, such reserve towards the role of religion in civil society could be explained by the political inclinations of Catholicism. Krzemiński claims that while in the 1990s Catholicism was associated with openness, at the beginning of twentieth century it became "repressive religiosity" that used morality as justification for punishment and exclusion.[104] In an analysis of Polish Catholicism and the evolution from the "Church of nation" to the new civil society in Poland cited above, Casanova concludes that religion in Poland is nowadays faced with a new democratic order and is looking for its place in civil society. He points out that civil society in Poland is bifurcated between Catholicism and liberalism).[105]

4.2 Faith-based third sector

From a legislative point of view, the current legal status of religious organisations in the Republic of Poland is defined by the Act of 17 May 1989 on the Guarantees of Freedom of Conscience and Religion[106], which was signed separately by fifteen churches and religious organisations operating in the country, and Article 25 of the

101 Gajowisk, M. Eg. (2012): Kapitał społeczny. Przypadek Polski, Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, Warszawa.
102 Gliński, P. (2010): Obywatele rodzą się (też) w Kościele, "Więź" 7/2010: 5.
103 Sokolowski, W. (2006): Civil Society and the Professions in Eastern Europe: Social Change and Organisational Innovation in Poland, Springer Science & Business Media; Dmochowska, M. (2012): Nowe wspólnoty w Polsce na przełomie XX i XXI wieku. Między Platonem, Amwayem a Trollami, Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, Warszawa: 99.
104 Krzemiński, I. (2013): Solidarność. Niespełniony projekt polskiej demokracji, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, Gdańsk: 450.
105 Casanova, J. (1994): Public Religion in The Modern World, University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 109.
106 Ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989 r. o gwarancjach wolności sumienia i wyznania, Journal of Laws 1989 nr 29 poz. 155.

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Constitution of 1997. Relations between the Polish state and religious associations "shall be based on the principle of respect for their autonomy and the mutual independence of each in its own sphere, as well as on the principle of cooperation for the individual and the common good"[107]. Religious organisations may profess and propagate religious faith and deliver humanitarian or charitable aid as well as engage in scientific and educational activity. Churches in Poland are allowed to establish organisations that are not subject to the Law on Associations. In light of the *Act* of 24 A*pril 2003* on *Public* Benefit and Volunteer Work, religious organisations are not regarded as non-governmental organisations but are only equalised in the conduct of public benefit activity: "Public benefit work may also be effected by [legal persons and organisational units] acting pursuant to provisions on relations between the State and the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland [...] [as well as by other churches], should their statutory objectives encompass public benefit work."[108].

Religious institutions and organisations such as dioceses, provinces, religious houses, and parishes, which are part of the organisational structure of churches and operate strictly confessional activities, are not included in civil society organisations. In 2015, there were 10,380 Catholic, ninety-four Old Catholic, and 330 Orthodox parishes; 983 Protestant congregations; 1,452 Bible Student movement congregations; ten Muslim mosques; forty-eight Far Eastern religious temples; and twenty-five other religious units in Poland.[109]

Apart from these confessional communities, four broad categories of faith-based organisations are included in the third sector in Poland:

1. Faith-based social institutions that acquire legal status under the applicable laws governing the relations of individual churches with the state and that operate for public benefit (e.g. Caritas Poland or Diakonia);
2. Faith-based social institutions that obtain legal status under religious legal entities (e.g. religious schools or hospices);
3. Parish-based organisations that do not hold autonomous civil legal personality but act on the basis of the internal rules of churches (e.g. various organisations operating in parishes); and associations and foundations that have been established on the basis of the relevant provisions of civil law (the Law on Associations and the Act on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work) by religious entities or in direct connection with churches.

107 The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2nd April, 1997, Capter 1 The Rebublic, Article 25, as published Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r. In Dziennik Ustaw No. 78, 1997 poz. 483.

108 Journal of Laws (2003): Nr 96 on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work, Section I General provisions, Article 3. pkt.3.

109 Central Statistical Office (2016): Statistical Yearbook of The Republic of Poland, Warsaw: 196–197.

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Altogether, there are about 1,800 faith-based social institutions (the first and second categories above) that provide public benefit. Ninety-six per cent of them are Catholic institutions. Half of them (48 per cent) have only unpaid statutory activities. Forty-four per cent of them declare payable statutory activity, whereas 8 per cent of them declare economic activity.[110] The number of Catholic Church parish-based organisations (the third category) was estimated at 61,000 in 2013, having dramatically increased from only 40,000 in 1998.[111] The vast majority of parish-based organisations were established by parish priests (52 per cent), while 29 per cent were formed by priests together with lay people. Thirteen per cent were created at the initiative of lay people only (2014).[112] The number of faith-based associations and foundations (the fourth category) is unknown.

The role of faith-based organisations in Polish civil society has been outlined by surveys concerning social work outside the household. According to the Central Statistical Office of Poland, religious organisations constitute the second largest category of voluntary work organisations in Poland. In 2016, 4 per cent of Poles declared having conducted social work in a non-religious organisation within the last four weeks. Meanwhile, 2.6 per cent declared having engaged in social work in a church, religious community, or parish-based. However, 25 per cent of all voluntary work hours in Poland are conducted in faith-based organisations. In 2015, Polish volunteers donated most of their time to organisations that provide religious activities (23 per cent).[113] Complementary data are provided in the Social Cohesion Study of 2015, which indicates that 18.2 per cent of Poles over the age of sixteen conduct social work in religious organisations or communities, and 18 per cent in non-religious ones. Participation in events organised by faith-based organisations is equal to participation in events organised by non-religious organisations and was estimated to be 21 per cent. What is more, 19.4 per cent of Poles over the age of sixteen declared passive, and 9 per cent declared active, membership in faith-based organisations. Passive and active membership in non-religious organisations were

110 Sadłoń W. (2016): Magdalena Kazanecka, Podmioty wyznaniowe prowadzące działalność o charakterze pożytku publicznego. In Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Sektor Non-Profit w 2014 r, Warszawa: 148–161.

111 Sadłoń, W. (2014): Kościelny trzeci sektor w Polsce oraz działalności charytatywna. In P. Ciecieląg i in. (red.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1991–2011, Główny Urząd Statystyczny i Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego SAC, Warszawa: p. 210.

112 Sadłoń, W., Kazanecka, M. (2016): Podmioty wyznaniowe prowadzące działalność o charakterze pożytku publicznego. In Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Sektor Non-Profit w 2014 r, Warszawa: 148–161.

113 Główny Urząd Statystyczny (2016): Wolontariat w organizacjach – 2016 r. Wstępne wyniki badania "Praca niezarobkowa poza gospodarstwem domowym", Warszawa: 2–5.

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reported as 10 per cent and 9.1 per cent, respectively.[114] However, participation in religious organisations is dominated by active participation, in contrast to the passive participation found in other types of organisations Participation in faith-based organisations is strongly associated with membership in charitable organisations. It is also characterised by a high level of persistence, which means that people who join a religious organisation are more likely to remain members than those who join other types of organisations.[115] In terms of frequency of participation, faith-based organisations could be placed between typical membership organisations such as trade unions and action-oriented organisations such as arts and educational organisations. Trade-unions are oriented towards outward activity (social influence), educational organisation are oriented to delivering services to their members. In addition, faith-based organisations are characterised by radically different frequencies of participation than other charities.

Faith-based social institutions in Poland provide various sorts of social services. The majority of faith-based social institutions are active in the fields of education (51 per cent) or social aid and health care (36 per cent). Children and adolescents are most often the beneficiaries of faith-based social institutions (47 per cent), followed by disabled people (22 per cent), retired persons (13 per cent), and finally, dependent (people who are not able to function alone, without support from other persons) and chronically ill persons.[116] Parish-based organisations, apart from their religious activity, are involved in the fields of education (31 per cent); arts and culture (23 per cent); sports, tourism, recreation, and hobbies (21 per cent); and social aid, humanitarian aid, and rescue (18 per cent). It is also worth mentioning that in Poland in 2017 560 schools conducted by different Catholic legal entities, were in operation. They are more than 58,000 students in these schools, although this constitutes no more than 1 per cent of all students in Poland[117], Catholic schools are publicly visible and influential.

Apart from these schools, the Catholic Church in Poland oversees more than 835 charitable institutions, which in turn organise more than 5,000 forms of social activity. Most of these charitable organisations represent faith-based social institutions, while some of them should be classified as associations and foundations that have

114 Główny Urząd Statystyczny (2017): Jakość życia w Polsce w 2015 r. Wyniki badań spójności społecznej, Warszawa: 148.

115 Sadłoń, W. (2013): Religijny kapitał społeczny. Kapitał społeczny a Kościół katolicki w społecznościach lokalnych w Polsce w świetle badań empirycznych, Bezkresy Wiedzy, Saarbrucken.

116 Sadłoń, W., Kazanecka, M. (2016): Podmioty wyznaniowe prowadzące działalność o charakterze pożytku publicznego. In Central Statistical Office, Sector non-profit in 2014, Warszawa: 150–154.

117 Jaroń, J. (2014): Szkolnictwo katolickie i nauka religii, w: P. Ciecieląg i in. (red.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1991–2011, Główny Urząd Statystyczny i Instytut Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego SAC, Warszawa: 232.

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been established on the basis of the relevant provisions of civil law. The majority (52 per cent) of these charitable organisations are led by female religious orders, followed by those led by male religious orders (30 per cent) and those led by dioceses (19 per cent). The number of beneficiaries of Catholic charities is estimated to be approximately 2.9 million, which, however, should not be confused with individual persons. Catholic charities employ (on a contract basis) about 33,000 workers, on average 41 per institution. The number of volunteers was estimated to be 88,000 in 2014, on average 112 per institution; the total number of volunteer hours is estimated at 2.8 million.[118] The social activity of Catholic faith-based social institutions is local. Forty per cent of Catholic social institutions operate within their neighbourhood or municipality. Not only Catholic social institutions but also parish organisations provide charitable services. Twelve per cent of Catholic parish-based organisations operate within part of their parish territory, 66 per cent across their entire individual parish. Many Catholic parish-based organisations (42 per cent) do not belong to any formal structures. Two general categories of parish-based organisations may be distinguished. The first one is composed of organisations that provide casual aid (provided by unprofessional staff and delivered when needed), such as Parish Caritas Team and School Caritas Team. The second general group of parish-based organisations is composed of organisations acting as support groups and providing psychological support within a community. The most common example of such organisations are Alcoholics Anonymous and family counselling.

4.3 New religious movements and official politics

The role of the Catholic Church in the Polish civil society is also manifested in social trust. Sztompka explains that "due to the long periods of foreign domination and oppression, the army and the Catholic Church, recognised as the embodiment and depositaries of the national struggle and as centres of national identity, have always been at the top of the list of most trusted institutions."[119] Trust in any other church is, among Poles, only about half as high. Trust in the Catholic Church in Poland in also structured. Trust in macro-structures of the Church such as the primate, the episcopate, and bishops has different dynamics than trust in local church institutions such as parish priests or parishes.

Confidence in the Catholic Church is primarily related to the perception of the role of the Church in society, not personal reference to religious values. In official documents, pro-social values, charity, and social commitment are the basic ele-

118 Sadłoń, W. (2016): *Faith-based charities in Poland in quantitative perspective*, "Studia Wesprimiensia" 17/2016: 171–185.

119 Sztompka, P. (2007): Zaufanie. Fundament społeczeństwa, Znak, Kraków: 107.

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ments of Catholic social teaching.[120] Although religion still constitutes a major source of morality in Polish society, including pro-social attitudes, its role has been clearly decreasing over the years. For example, in 2009, 62 per cent of Poles claimed that religion justified moral behaviour. However, according to the Centre for Social Opinion Research, this percentage had declined to 42 per cent by 2016. An empirical study has indicated that religious engagement reduces the level of pathology and social deviance within Polish households.[121] On the other hand, faith-based social capital in Poland is stronger in the country than in cities and should be described as bonding rather than bridging social capital. In terms of relations between religion and civil society, is should also be mentioned that the presence of general religious symbols in the public space and the teaching of religion in schools is accepted in Poland.[122]

The dynamics of the social role of Catholicism in Poland has also been manifested by new religious movements that operate within the structures of the Catholic Church. In the light of social movement theories, religious movements are a result of cultural and social changes when conventional cultural systems are decomposed.[123] New religious movements emerge especially during periods of social transformation. The dynamic growth and creation of new Catholic movements after 1989 was also matched by the decline of older movements (e.g. the Light-Life Movement)[124]. In such a perspective, the rapid growth of Pentecostal and charismatic groups in the last decades of the twentieth century can be explained.

The Polish Pentecostal movement is unique in that it operates within the official structures of the Catholic Church and refers to the so-called new evangelisation. This concept, crucial for Catholicism in the twenty-first century, was outlined for the first time by John Paul II during his visit to Poland in 1979.[125] It refers to the integration of Protestant forms of religiosity with Catholic tradition and structures.[126] New evangelisation designates a new, direct form of missionary activity addressed to individuals and groups in traditionally Christian societies. Its goal is to conduct traditional Christian missions but with added modernity, i.e. with the use of fresh

120 Sadłoń, W. (2015): Rozwój lokalny a Kościół katolicki w Polsce, “Polityka Społeczna” 1/2015: 25–29.
121 Sadłoń, W. (2014): “Bardziej ubogo ale przyzwoiciej”. Oddziaływanie religijnego kapitału społecznego w Polsce, “Zeszyty Naukowe KUL” 2014/57: 11–29.
122 Centrum Badania Opinia Społecznej (2017): Zasady moralne a religia, Nr 4/2017, Warszawa.
123 Libiszowska-Żółtkowska M. (2001): Nowe ruchy religijne w zwierciadle socjologii, Lublin.
124 Nosowska, A. (2012): Oazy jako zjawisko społeczne i religijne. Rozwój ruchu i jego tożsamość, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warszawa, manuscript.
125 Pawlina, K. (1995): Nowa ewangelizacja i jej realizacja w Polsce po 1989 roku, Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, Warszawa.
126 Weigel, G. (2013): Evangelical Catholicism: Deep Reform in the 21st-Century Church, Basic Books, New York.

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methods, inspiration, and openness.[127] In the last decades, this theological concept has become real, externalised in social religious activity and structures, namely new evangelisation "schools", which can be diocesan teams, academic centres, parish schools, and centres of religious orders. In 2003, there were no more than fifty new evangelisation schools in Poland, with a total of about one thousand people attending.[128] Nowadays, new evangelisation schools in Poland include 360 new evangelisation centres (*środowiska*), which gather about 60,000 individuals. New evangelisation expresses itself through such events as evangelisation in streets and market halls, large gatherings and worships, and major music festivals including those in Jarocin and in Kołobrzeg, as well as through door-to-door evangelisation. Since 1997, new evangelisation schools have been organising an event known as Przystanek Jezus, which takes place during the rock music festival formerly known as Pryzystanek Woodstock. In 2014 and 2015, groups of laymen organised day-long prayers at the National Stadium in Warsaw that gathered about 60,000 people. The activities of the new evangelisation movement also include grassroots religious initiatives.

Recently, the changing role of religion in civil society has been reflected in legislative reforms concerning the financing of religious social institutions and churches. Shortly after the Second World War, 78 per cent of church income came from church benefices.[129] In 1944 and 1950, the communist government took over church property as part of land reforms. Over the following years, all church publishing houses, hospitals, foundations, schools, and kindergartens were nationalised. The total number of 127,169 hectares of land and 3,437 buildings that had once belonged to the Catholic Church were taken over by the state.[130] In 1950, to compensate this loss, the Church Fund was established to cover the costs of the preservation and restoration of places of worship, medical assistance for priests, and health insurance. Since 1989, a long process of recovery of church property has been carried out. As of 2015, 62,357 hectares of land and 490 buildings once belonging to the Catholic Church still had not been returned. In 2001, a concordat committee was created to prepare for the reform of Catholic Church finances. From the beginning, Catholic bishops voted against the introduction of a church tax for Catholics as based on the German model. Hungarian regulations were offered as an example. In 2011, the secretary general of the Polish Bishops' Conference, Stanisław Budzik, declared that the Catholic Church had agreed to a 1 per cent donation scheme, which was described in the media as a revolutionary innovation. The strong presence of this topic in the

127 Szlachetka, W. (2012): Fenomen Szkół Nowej Ewangelizacji, Nomos: 63.
128 Ibid.
129 Walencik, D. (2013): Nieruchomości Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w latach 1919–2012. Regulacje prawne – nacjonalizacja – rewindykacja, Katowice: 375.
130 Ibid.: 229.

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media undoubtedly resulted from the political situation at the time, especially in connection with the elections. In March, a special commission under the leadership of Cardinal Kazimierz Nycz and Michał Boni, then-minister of administration and digitisation, was convened to prepare for the abolition of the Church Fund and the introduction of a new financing system. Reform of its financial system is truly a challenge for the Catholic Church in Poland. It implies not only the modernisation of the Catholic Church but also its changing role in civil society. In a democratic system, religion should be independent of the state, and (also) religious organisations supply public services. The question arises as to whether the new tax status of religious organisations corresponds with the character of religion in the history of Polish Catholicism and the present model of Polish religiosity.[131]

5 Conclusion

This chapter intended to demonstrate the important historical role of Catholicism in Polish society. In Poland, religion correlated with the struggle for freedom and national identity. The sense of being a Pole was rooted in some kind of a national community rather than in the civil (political) character of a state institution. The moral character of a national community was intertwined with religious values and religious identity. The role of the Catholic Church, as one of the most important institutions of civil society, originates from a more than two-century-long aspiration for liberty. Communism strengthened a split between national and civil (state) identity. Despite being banned from the public sphere, faith-based organisations continued to perform publicly and to reveal their role at critical moments of Polish history, much like a metaphorical Cinderella. The democratic breakthrough opened up a new process of organising civil society in Poland. In the late 1990s, the process of building up Polish civil society was strongly influenced by European funds and horizontal political strategies (objectives). Since 1989, strong liberal tendencies have governed strategies for developing civil society in Poland according to such ideas as autonomy, pluralism, distance from tradition, and even cultural eradication.[132]

The most important research on the third sector has not included most religious third-sector entities. Despite this fact, religion has marked its presence in Polish civil society. Nowadays, the faith-based third sector, in comparison with Catholic

131 Sadłoń W. (2016): Zwischen Volksreligiosität und Gemeinnütziger Tätigkeit. Die Aktuelle Diskussion um die Finanzierung der Kirche in Polen. In K. Abmeier (Ed.) Geld, Gott und Glaubwürdigkeit, Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag: 155–164.
132 Domaradzka, A. (2015): Civil Society in Poland. In C. Schreier (Ed.) 25 Years After. Mapping Civil Society in the Visegrád Countries. Lucius & Lucius: 109–142.

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Church structures, is less developed than in Poland before the Second World War. However, since 1989, the role of religion in civil society has been growing, activated by a powerful process of institutionalisation. Religious institutions and organisations have been providing social services and are a structural element of civil society in Poland. Yet the process of institutionalising faith-based civil society in Poland after 1989 should not be understood in opposition to the process of religious socialisation and stabilisation of religiosity. The civil institutionalisation of religion in Poland manifests rather a process of transgressing the field of institutionalised religion. However, religion is no longer the Cinderella of the Polish public sphere. Religion has gained its institutional status and official place in society. It opens up a new, previously unknown perspective for the presence of religion in Polish civil society. Will it pave the way for a Polish version of civil religion, or will it rather erode the foundations of faith-based social activism? Only time will tell.

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Anna Domaradzka

Religious Communities in the Shadow of Populist Politics

Recent scholarship suggested that populism should be seen as a political practice that has two components: mobilization and discursiveness, involving ”mobilization of ordinarily marginalized social sectors into publicly visible and contentious political action.”[1] However, because populism mobilized significant groups to participate in the political process and articulating demands, milder forms of populism can be confused with civic participation. The irony is that populism encourages majoritarianism, therefor challenging liberal democracy by virtue of political mobilization.[2]

While some underline the role of civil society in helping the public to realize the extent of populist danger to democracy, others see is as a safe zone, preserving the values of solidarity and openness. However, while examining the reasons for populist incline, we could see many more potentials for civil involvement – including actions and services that counteract the results of the economic and social instability, as well as programs addressing civic education gaps. If we agree that populism stems also from the desire to preserve the status quo, protect identities and traditional values, the role of CSOs is not obviously anti-populist. Especially in case of religious communities, while they may have a great potential in terms of creating alternatives to new populist “identity politics”, they sometimes realign or are being hijacked by those same politics. What makes the situation even more complex is the fact that religion became a key element of populist enemy-picking, as it allows to draw simple lines between “us” and “them”.

Populism in the EU is currently at its highest levels since the 1930s. As recent ECAS report points out, the average populist vote in EU Member States now stands at 24%, up from 8.5% in the year 2000.[3] The proliferation of populism and Euroscepticism is worrying as it endangers the democratic values and creates rifts within communities and societies as well as between nations. We should therefore ask ourselves what role religious communities play in the current tensions and whether they have a potential to limit the propagation of populism.

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1 Jansen, R. S. (2011): Populist mobilization: A new theoretical approach to populism. Sociological theory, 29(2): 75–96.

2 Evin, A., Gisclon, M. E. (2016): The sliding west: populism and religion as challanges to the liberal order. http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/30603/1/IPM_SlidingWest_Icler_25.07.16_BASKI_rev_ matbaa-1.pdf.

3 Lessebski, M., Kavrakova, A., Long, E., Longton, H., Weber, L. (2019): Societies outside Metropolises: the role of civil society organisations in facing populism, Brussels: European Citizen Action Service, https://ecas.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/populism-study.pdf.

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All around the globe, both mainstream politicians and right-wing populists increasingly exploit religion in political discourse. Many argue that the populist wave is fueled by fear of the complexity of the world, the new and the unknown, which recently has found a new *designatum*: the refugees and migrants of non-Christian faith. Those fears are used by nationalist and populist politicians currently assuming power in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (and beyond), who are trying to transform the fledgling liberal democracies into authoritarian states. While the populist instrumentalization of religion has become a hegemonic political framework in our region, we should discuss the role of the civic sphere and religious communities in a populist backlash.

This exploitation, is not one directional, with Churches also engaging strategically with different political actors to gain influence and access to policy process. Grzymała-Busse argues that its social context influences how and when the church chooses to present and protect its values and how allies are found within the public sphere. One of the key elements of this process, she writes, relates to the fusion between religion and nationalism that enables churches to acquire the power to influence politics.[4]

As Morieson aptly remarks, there seems to be a link between the changing position of religion in secularized European nations, and the rise of movements that stress the importance of Christian or Judeo-Christian heritage and values. This includes populist movements, who more often than not make Christian identity a central focces of their rhetoric and policies.[5] What Habermas would call the post-secular blurring of the boundary between religion and politics (sacred and secular), results in the growing importance of identity politics, focused on evoking sentiments connected to religious tradition in the political sphere.[6]

The results presented by Boeri et al. suggest that populism may be the response to a society losing its ”collective consciousness.”[7] As Durkheim[8] or Arendt[9] pointed out, when the system of solidarity between individuals breaks down, individuals are ready to support new ideas and movements that can "fill the gap". In other words, if society does not provide strong intermediate institutions (e.g. civil society struc-

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4 Grzymala-Busse, A. (2016): Weapons of the meek: How churches influence public policy. World Politics, 68(1): 1–36.

5 Morieson, N. (2017): Are contemporary populist movements hijacking religion?. Journal of Religious and Political Practice, 3(1–2): 88–95.

6 Habermas, J. (2008): "Notes on a Post-Secular Society." Sign and Sight. Accessed 18 January 2016. http://www.signandsight.com/features/1714.html

7 Boeri, M. T., Mishra, M. P., Papageorgiou, M. C., & Spilimbergo, M. A. (2018): Populism and Civil Society. International Monetary Fund.

8 Durkheim, E. (1964[1893]). The Division of Labor in Society. New York, NY: Free Press.

9 Arendt, H. (1973). The origins of totalitarianism. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

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tures), or some type of "ideological anchor" for individuals suffering from anomia, populist movements tend to gain support.

In literature, three main sources of the populist wave are being put forward: economic insecurity[10], globalization and immigration[11]and the cultural backlash[12]. The cultural backlash hypothesis argues that the rise in support for populism is mainly visible in a population that feels threatened by the introduction of new societal values. Those values typically concern family and gender roles, sexual orientation, race, religion or culture. Using the European Social Survey, Inglehart and Norris[13] argued that the cultural backlash resulted in substituting the traditional left-right cleavage, by a new "battle" between traditional and progressive values in post-modern Western societies.[14]

What is the civic sphere response to this shift? Interestingly, according to an ECAS report (2019)[15] CSOs do not recognize populism as a distinctive type of challenge. Due to the complexity of the phenomenon, there also seem to be no direct or comprehensive anti-populism initiatives. The opposite is true for the populist parties, who very clearly define liberal civil society actors as enemies. When in power, populist governments visibly target CSOs and try to suppress certain forms of civil activism causing "the shrinking civic space" in terms of lack or limited funding, negative media attention or even legal harassment and personal attacks.[16] Recent examples from Hungary, Poland and Austria illustrate how cutting or excluding the CSOs not aligned with government policies from founding is a trademark of the newly appointed populist leaders.

While studying the role of religious communities in existing cleavages we should point out to a strong link between religion and nationalism. As Halik rightly remarks, nationalism is one of the secular religions of modernity, only temporary

10 Guiso, L., Herrea, H., Morelli, M., Sonno, T. (2017): Demand and Supply of Populism. EIEF Working Paper 17/03.; Algan, Y., Beasley, E., Cohen, D., & Foucault, M. (2018). "The rise of populism and the collapse of the left-right paradigm: Lessons from the 2017 French presidential election, CEPR Discussion Paper 13103.

11 Dustmann C., Eichegreen, B., Otten, S., Sapir, A., Tabellini, G., Zoega, G. (2017): Europe's Trust Deficit. Causes and Remedies. CEPR Press.

12 e.g. Inglehart, R.F., Norris, P. (2016): Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash, HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series, RWP16-026.

13 Ibdi.

14 Boeri, M. T., Mishra, M. P., Papageorgiou, M. C., & Spilimbergo, M. A. (2018): Populism and Civil Society. International Monetary Fund.

15 Lessebski, M., Kavrakova, A., Long, E., Longton, H., Weber, L. (2019): Societies outside Metropolises: the role of civil society organisations in facing populism, Brussels: European Citizen Action Service, https://ecas.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/populism-study.pdf

16 Domaradzka, A., Kavelashvili, N., Markus, E., Sälhoff, P., & Skóra, M. (2016): A Shrinking Space for Civil Society? A Conference on Civil Society and Europe's Political Culture: Wrocław, Poland, October 2016.

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discredited due to its role in the twentieth-century armed conflicts. Halik argues that a certain type of religion (externally oriented) often connects with nationalism and becomes its source of "religious energy" channeled through rhetoric and symbolism.[17] In this way a conservative kind of "civic religion" arises, giving fuel to populist or nationalistic claims. Indeed, based on his study on religiosity and prejudice, Allport distinguished two types of religiosity: external and internal. For external religiosity, religion is a means to achieve other goals (e.g. maintaining social order and tradition), while internal religiosity is aimed at adjusting the life of a believer to the ethical and spiritual requirements of religion. External religiosity is often combined with prejudices (e.g. racial or nationalistic), while internal religiosity, on the contrary, rejects most prejudices and stereotypes.[18]

According to Halik, the successful return of ideologies represents the opposition to globalization – the growth of religious and national elements in the extreme right movements is the result of a poor identity among young generation and the unclear cultural identity of nation states.[19] This context represents new challenges and faces religious institutions with the decision whether they wish to take advantage of the temporary downturn on populism and xenophobia, or choose a course of universal solidarity.

From the other side, in the CEE region, the strong participation of the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, in the national revival movements created a strong link between civil unrest and religion. Many priests preached love for the homeland and national freedom rather than traditional piety, and their pastoral care shifted to the field of social work, education and preservation of national culture. In this way, they became part of the process that questioned traditional religiosity, replacing it with love of the nation. The idealized homeland gradually started to occupy the place of God, especially during the period of persecution, wars or sovietization of CEE countries.

We can argue, that although churches have significantly contributed to the fall of communism and the emergence of a democratic society, they have considerable difficulty in finding their place in postmodern, pluralistic society. According to Halik, one of the reasons is that many Churches have not been able to free themselves from functioning in a paradigm of the past system and live without a clearly defined enemy.[20] The fear of the Soviet Empire and communist rule was replaced by ambivalent and sometimes openly contesting attitudes towards the European Union and even some forms of social activism. This happens in church or church-affiliated media where we hear about the need to preserve the Christian character of our civilization

17 Halík, T. (2016): Religia a nacjonalizm w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej, WIĘŹ 3 (665).
18 Allport, G. W. (1950): The individual and his religion: A psychological interpretation.
19 Halík, T. (2016): Religia a nacjonalizm w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej, WIĘŹ 3 (665).
20 Ibdi.

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in the face of the Islamic invasion. Those voices barely conceal their fear and hatred towards Muslims, feminists and homosexuals. These same fears are used by politicians with a nationalist and populist attitude, currently taking power in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Their agenda is strengthened by the terrorist actions of the Islamic State, as well as Russia, which engage with anti-EU propaganda.

Importantly, when the populists refer to Christianity it is as an identity, usually with an explicit goal of excluding Islam from Europe. Moreover, Christianity is treated not as a value system, but a cultural factor, expressed through the exhibition of Christian symbols (crosses in public buildings, nativity scenes in the public squares) or the exclusion of Islamic symbols (minarets in Switzerland). This form of Christian engagement is never connected with a rise of church attendance or enrolment in seminaries. It remains a symbolic platform that serves non-religious purposes. Even in Poland, the *Law and Justice* efforts to control CSOs, media, and schools correlates with a decrease in seminaries' enrolment.

In other words, Christian identity as defended by these populists has little to do with faith: it is a polarizing cultural code, that allows to draw the line between "us" and "them" – the "muslims". As Roy points out, populists turn Christianity into "a folkloric set of tribal symbols", contrasting "European values" (like gender equality or LGBT rights) with Islam, even if the Church rejects those same values.[21] As a result, the Churches position is at best ambiguous, and remains a challenge for religious communities organized around the same values. While many clergymen reject the anti-refugee policies proposed by the populists, they cannot support the contrasting liberal agenda. Roy therefore states that due to the lack of credibility and clarity on the church side, religious symbols have been taken hostage by the populists, resulting in a "kitsch Christianity".

The analysis of the recent populist turn in Western Europe, CEE and USA shows that in addition to the usual narrative against "elites and the establishment", populist parties have made religion a central element of their campaign repertoire. The ISIS terror attacks were insistently recalled to illustrate the so-called "threat of Islamisation", and explain the need to re-establish Christian values and identity as central for survival of non-muslin civilization.

Recently Marzouki, McDonnell, and Roy have examined the ways in which populist parties have used religion to define the "good people", whose traditions are under siege from liberal elites (from above) as well as from new enemies of alien culture and faith (from below).[22] Sadly, religious identities play an important role in defining both enemy categories. Despite the fact that in most of the societies the

21 Roy, O. (2018): "A kitsch Christianity": Populists gather support while traditional religiosity declines. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/religionglobalsociety/2018/10/a-kitsch-christianity-populists-gather-support-while-traditional-religiosity-declines/

22 Marzouki, N., McDonnell, D., & Roy, O. (2016): Saving the people: How populists hijack religion.

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Church authorities can be considered part of the elites, they are rarely attacked by the populists, who prefer a strategic alliance, as long as it benefits their agenda. In the long run, however, this seems to be beneficial only to the politicians, who by depriving the religious symbols of their spiritual content and turning them into cultural symbols, detach them from religious meanings and practices. Despite the permeation of religious symbols and rituals, this leads to a deeper secularization of the public sphere. In this way, as Marzouki, McDonnell and Roy remark, religion transforms "into a purely nominal marker of identity, without any positive content", not concomitant with traditional values like charity.[23]

Evoking Christianity without charity was a characteristic populist response to the refugee crisis. Adam and Bozoki have shown how Jobbik used the 2015 refugee crisis to reinforce the ethnic nationalism among Hungarians.[24] In a similar way, Stanley notes, how the Polish Law and Justice party mix Polish nationalism with religious identity, drawing the line between "good" and the "worse sort" Poles – the first staying true to patriotic and Catholic traditions, the others trying to undermine or "pollute" them. Those "internal enemies of the state" are often accused of being sponsored by foreign powers that in the past sought to subordinate the Polish nation.[25] One of the most evident attacks of that sort concerned the Batory Foundation that was established by George Soros and a group of leaders of the Polish democratic opposition of the 1980s.

Morieson argues that the right-wing populists are part of a broader reaction to the persistence of religion throughout the world despite decades of secularization, and to the increasing recognition of the role that religion plays in national and international politics. He argues that populists' religious rhetoric should be analyzed in the light of the post-secular blurring of boundaries between the religious and the secular in secularized Western societies.[26] Populists are mixing religion and politics in a way resembling post-secularism as described by Habermas. According to Habermas, post-secularism is the result of a "change in consciousness" among secularized peoples, especially secular Europeans, who have become cognizant of the non-universality of their own religious and ideological positions.[27]

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23 https://tif.ssrc.org/2016/09/27/religion-and-populism/

24 Bozóki, A., Ádám, Z. (2016): State and faith: Right-wing populism and nationalized religion in Hungary. Intersections, 2(1).

25 Stanley, B. (2016): "Defenders of the Cross: Populist Politics and Religion in Post-Communist Poland." In Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion., edited by: Nadia Mazouki, Duncan McDonnell, and Olivier Roy, pp. 119–120. London: Hurst and Company.

26 Morieson, N. (2017): Are contemporary populist movements hijacking religion?. Journal of Religious and Political Practice, 3(1–2): 88–95.

27 Habermas, J. (2008): "Notes on a Post-Secular Society." Sign and Sight. Accessed 18 January 2016. http://www.signandsight.com/features/1714.html.

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Mavelli and Petito argue that as a result of a growing Muslim presence in Europe, Europeans are becoming aware that their secularism cannot be divorced from Europe's Christian heritage and culture and each European nation's cultural particularities.[28] Therefore, to allow for better understanding of those relations, the next section presents an analysis of the European Social Survey data concerning religiosity, political preferences and attitudes towards politicians.

1 Analysis of the European context

For the sake of the analysis, a religiosity factor (RF) was created based on the Structural Equation Modeling conducted for all the countries present in the 8th round of the European Social Survey (2016). As a result we measured the level of religiosity based on three variables: how religious the person is, how often is he/she attending religious services and how often is he/she praying outside religious services. The result of SEM analysis helped define the weights of all three variables, indicating that praying and self-reported religiosity were slightly more important indicators of religiosity than mass attendance.

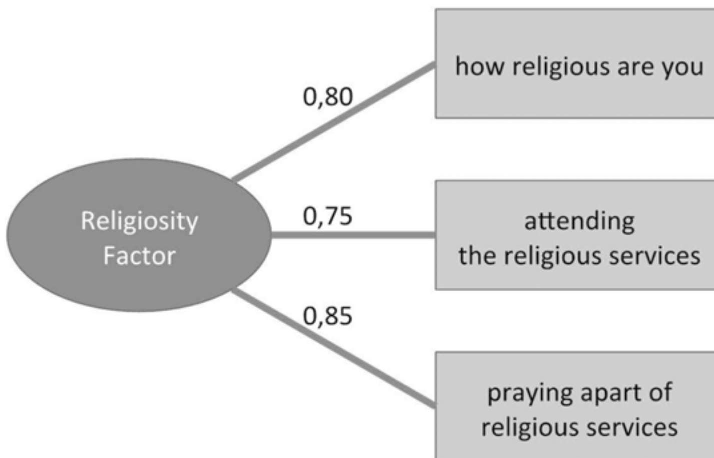

Figure 1: The structure of Religiosity Factor based on SEM model.
Source: own calculations based on ESS 2016 data for all countries.

28 Mavelli, L., Petito, F. (2014): Towards a Postsecular International Politics. In Towards a Postsecular International Politics, edited by Luca Mavelli, 1–26. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

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Using the so defined Religiosity Factor we could compare countries in terms of religiosity as well as political attitudes. While taking into account different variables concerning the level of political engagement or preferences, we discovered a strong negative correlation between trust in politicians and religiosity in the studied countries (medium Pearson R= -0.45). This reverse relation is presented on the maps below, indicating differences in terms of religiosity (map 1) and trust towards politicians (map 2). Stronger colors represent higher scores in terms of religiosity for countries like Poland, Lithuania and Italy. The lowest levels of religiosity were recorded in Sweden, Estonia and Czechia. While analyzing the level of trust in politicians, we could observe the reverse –Poland, Italy, Spain or Portugal are the lowest in the trust spectrum. Higher level of trust in politicians is traditionally recoded in Scandinavian countries, where the level of religiosity is lower than EU average.

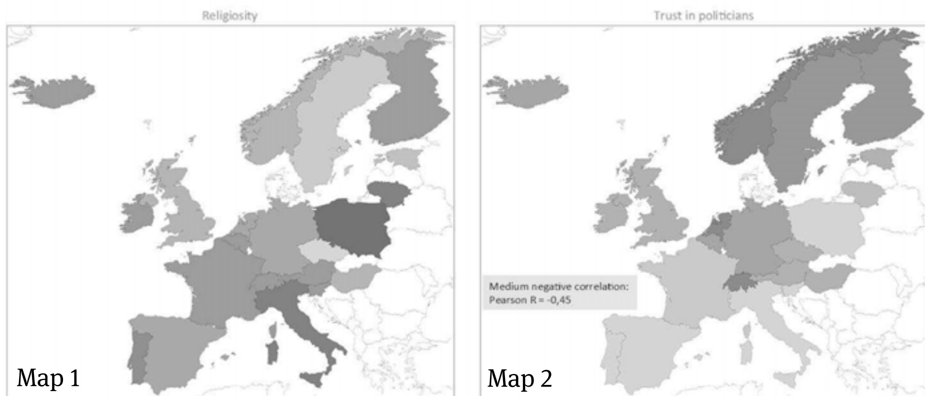

Figure 2: Religious Factor and trust in politicians in European countries.
Source: own calculations based on ESS 2016 data for all countries.

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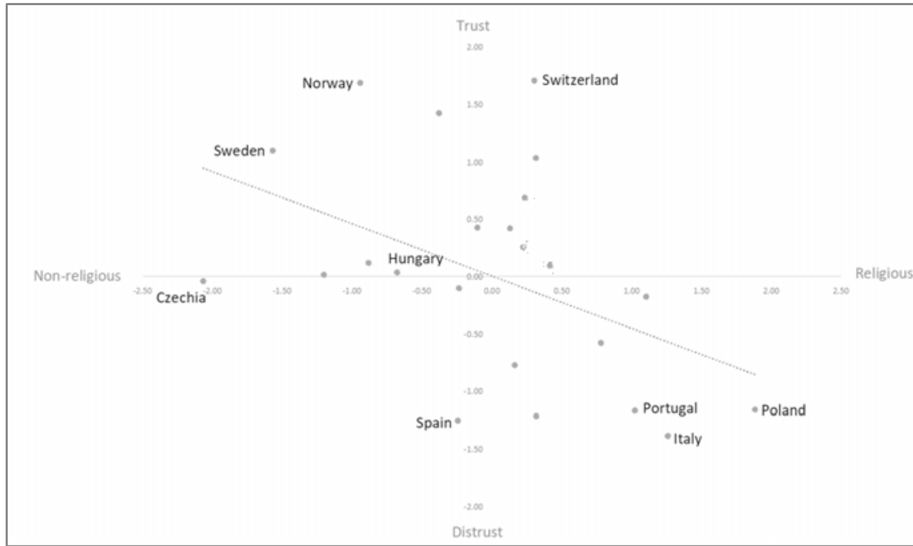

Figure 3: Religious Factor and trust in politicians in European countries.
Source: own calculations based on ESS 2016 data for all countries.

Differences between countries are even more striking when mapped on the two-dimensional spectrum. Graph 3 illustrates clusters of countries where high religiosity is accompanied by the lowest trust in politicians (Poland, Italy, Portugal), contrasted with countries where the reverse is true (Sweden, Norway).

In further analysis we discovered a very similar trend concerning trust in political parties. As the following maps illustrate, trust in political parties remains highest in Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Switzerland, while it is very low in Poland, Italy and Spain. Medium negative correlation between religiosity and trust in politicians was similar as above, with Pearson R= -0.46.

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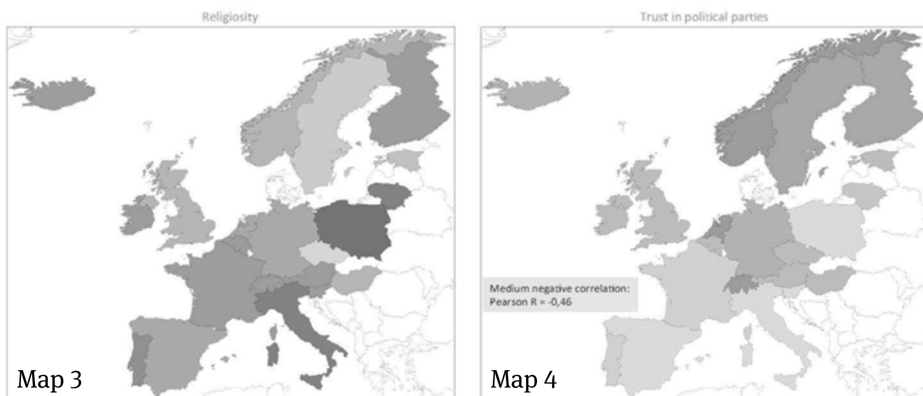

Figure 4: Religious Factor and trust in political parties in European countries.
Source: own calculations based on ESS 2016 data for all countries.

To summarize, European Social Survey data show a strong negative correlation between religiosity and trust in politicians as well as political parties. We can hypothesize that in countries where the political sphere is unstable and government institutions are less reliable, the importance of religion (and of family, as other studies suggests) stems from its role as a stabilizing social institution and a support net. On the other hand, in countries where governments and public systems are trustworthy and the welfare system is stable and reliable, religion (as well as the family structure) is less needed. However, to fully understand this correlation, further analysis would be necessary.

2 Case of Poland

Among the analyzed European countries, Poland is noted for the highest religiosity factors along with one of the lowest levels of trust in politicians. This makes it an interesting case to further analyze the relationship between religion and politics, especially in the context of the recent populist turn.

In the case of Poland, this relationship was shaped by historical upheavals in which the Catholic Church played a role as an important ideological and existential anchor for many communities. During the times of partition and loss of independence (1772–1918), Church remained an important symbol of Polish tradition and permanence of national spirit. Similarly after the Second World War, religious communities and charities supported the rebuilding of the country and integration of its society. This changed after the introduction of the Polish People Republic and the establishment of the communist rule that rejected religious symbols and tended

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to persecute the clergy. As a result, as Sadłoń explains during communism, the Church was one of the few institutions voicing opposition to the government. But because of its connection to national identity, it remained an important actor during transformation and beyond.[29]

According to some analysts, the Catholic Church emerged from the communist period not only as the highest moral authority but also as the most powerful institution in the country. Over the years of wars and loss of independence it remained as a stable part of polish society and culture, and was referred to as the only "indigenous institution" of Polish society.[30] So it was not for its "unwordly" or spiritual character, but because of its connection to national identity that religion played such an important role during the transformation period as well as during recent political developments.

Grzymała-Busse[31] suggests that the key to Church influence over policy making in Poland is institutional access, rather than mobilization on behalf of a political party or public support for the Church. As it turns out, allying with political parties is not the most effective way for churches to exercise policy influence. For example, institutional access does not rely on competitive political parties, and is feasible even in the absence of party competition (e.g. in case of communistic party monopoly). To show how unpopular rulers turn to churches to gain support, Grzymała-Busse recalls the context of communist Poland, where the Catholic Church gained considerable institutional access because politicians needed the Church's moral authority. In some situations (like danger to political survival), political parties or governments are willing to give up some of their policy-making authority in exchange for church support.

Yet moral authority is a delicate resource and depends on the subtle balance in Church engagement in politics. Since religiosity is distinct from moral authority, too much of open politicking by the church does not necessarily affect church attendance, or individual religious practices. However, the loss of moral authority due to engagement in "dirty politics", can greatly limit future gains in terms of influence over policy-making processes. Moral authority is therefore crucial in establishing access to institutions as well as sustaining policy influence of the churches. As an example, explaining the fusion between religion and nationalism, Grzymała-Busse recalls how Catholic bishops met privately with Communist leaders in 1988 to discuss a legislative proposal that would outlaw abortion. The fact that "being Polish

29 Sadłoń, W., Kazanecka, M. (2016): Podmioty wyznaniowe prowadzące działalność o charakterze pożytku publicznego. In Sektor non-profit w 2014 r., Warszawa: 148–161.
30 Szajkowski, B. (1983). Next to God. Poland: Politics and Religion and Contemporary Poland, London: Pinter.
31 Grzymała-Busse, A. (2015). Nations under God: How churches use moral authority to influence policy. Princeton University Press.

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meant being Catholic" enabled church leaders to engage secular political actors in doing the job of the Church. However, this opportunity was available only, because in the Polish social context the Church had not lost its authority.

The potential of religious communities has grown over the years. According to Catholic Church Statistical Institute data, between 1993 and 2013, the number of Catholics who are actively engaged in parish organizations grew at a very fast pace. While in 1993 only 4% of Polish Catholics were active in such organizations, the percentage had doubled by 2013. Moreover, while there were over 39,000 faith-based parish organizations with 2,1 million members in 1998, a decade later there were as many as 60,000 with 2,7 million members.[32] Furthermore, not only the percentage of Catholics participating in parish organizations (*participantes*) has been increasing since 1993[33]; other forms of religious mobilization also gained in strength. According to Szlachetka, the Movement of New Evangelization grew from 5,000 to 60,000 participants between 2003 and 2016, while the number of centres rose from 50 to 360 during those 13 years.[34]

At the same time, the role of religion in reported political attitudes has been gaining importance. European Value Survey analysis[35] shows that above all the correlation between religiosity and right-wing political preferences has been growing stronger, when comparing 2010 to 1990 and 1999. Generally, we can say that the relationship between religiosity and preferences expressed in the political sphere has been strengthened, despite the symptoms of secularization, like the decrease in religious service attendance. Statistics concerning apostasy, attitudes towards abortion and gay marriage suggest that the position of the Church in the sphere of morality has severely weakened in recent years, while at the same time its role in the political sphere remained dominant. This somewhat "unholy" alliance between representatives of the Church and right-wing parties is especially visible during election time, when local priests along with catholic media (Radio Maria or TV Trwam) openly support right wing candidates.

When analyzing the alignment between party preference and the religiosity factor, we can see that among persons supporting right-wing parties, the level of religiosity is positively correlated with electoral support. In the case of centrist parties,

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32 Sadłoń, W., Kazanecka, M. (2016): Podmioty wyznaniowe prowadzące działalność o charakterze pożytku publicznego. In Sektor non-profit w 2014 r., Warszawa: 148–161.

33 Sadłoń, W. (2014): Kościelny trzeci sektor w Polsce oraz działalność charytatywna. In P. Ciecieląg et al. (ed.), Kościół katolicki w Polsce 1991–2011. Rocznik statystyczny, Warszawa: 208–219.

34 Szlachetka, W. (2012): Fenomen Szkół Nowej Ewangelizacji, Kraków 2012; see also data from Council of New Evangelization by Polish Catholic Bishops Conference.

35 Rosta, G. (2014): Religiosität und politische Präferenzen – Polen und Deutschland. In M. Hainz (ed.), Zwischen Säkularisierung und religiöser Vitalisierung. Religiosität in Deutschland und Polen im Vergleich, Wiesbaden: 135–146.

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however, we observe a negative correlation between the level of religiosity and the tendency to vote for centrists. The graph below illustrates the differences in time between those electoral groups in terms of religiosity. The increase of religiosity among right-wing party electorate can be explained by the consolidation of right-wing and populist parties in 2014, when the Law and Justice Party merged with Solidarity Poland and Poland Together. Importantly, in Poland, the rural parties are partly supported by the right-wing electorate, and often represent traditionally more religious village communities.

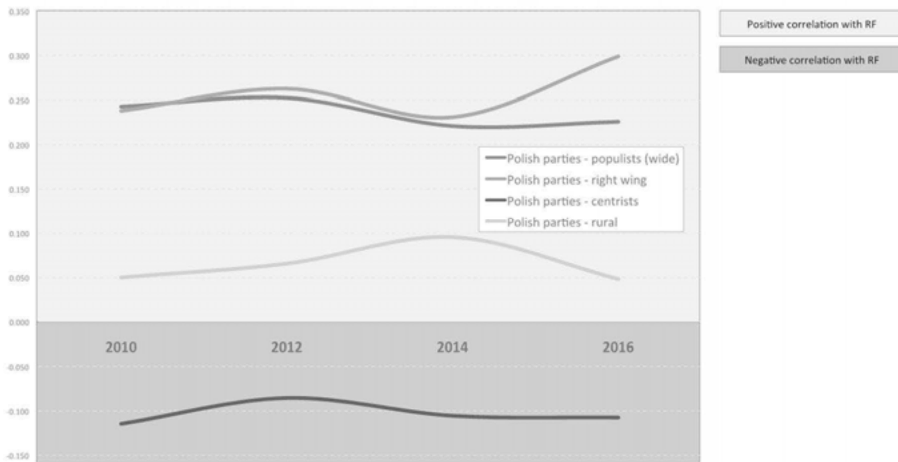

Figure 5: Correlation between religiosity factor and support of political parties in Poland 2010–2016. Source: own calculations based on ESS 2010–2016 data for Poland.

As mentioned in the first part of the chapter, the refugee crisis was one of the most important issues discussed before the elections that brought the populist government to power. It was also widely discussed in Poland, with media and right-wing politicians heavily engaged in fear-mongering directed against Islam and Poland's unpreparedness for receiving Syrian refugees. Ironically, in terms of migration, Poland remains a sending rather than a receiving country.

Applications for refugee status largely originate from citizens of countries from the post-communist bloc, especially Ukrainians and Chechens.[36] The European migration crisis remained virtually unnoticeable in Poland as regards the scale of inflow of Syrian citizens. Over the past six years, approximately 1% of applicants, or

36 Polish Office For Foreigners (2018): International protection summary 2018. https://udsc.gov.pl/podsumowanie-ochrona-miedzynarodowa-w-2018-r/.

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400 people from Syria were granted refugee status in Poland. In fact, from 1992 to 2016, only 4,875 people were granted refugee status in Poland, representing between 2% – 4% of all applicants. During this period close to 23,000 people obtained other forms of domestic or international protection. Less than half were entitled to individual integration programs in Poland long with the associated social benefits.[37] Consequently, the rest of this group is not eligible for support from the Polish state, they are not monitored, nor has any in-depth research been undertaken on the subject. It is significant that, while the number of applications for refugee status has grown systematically since 1990, it slowed sharply in 2017, due in part to Border Guard practices.[38] The ruling right-wing government argues that in Poland's current situation, the country is unable to accept refugees. This is consistent with the government's current information policy, which centers on identifying potential threats related to welcoming newcomers into the country. Usually, this is justified as taking care of citizen's security, even though refugees participating in the relocation program undergo a four-fold security check carried out by domestic and foreign special services.

Over the last 25 years, Poland has remained a country of net emigration, as the processes of the inflow of immigrants to Poland became the subject of public and political discourse in the second decade of the 21st century. This was mainly due to a sharp increase in immigration from the Ukraine to Poland due to the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict (2013/2014), along with a mass influx of refugees from Syria to Europe since 2015. The fact that the crisis coincided with the intensification of terrorist attacks in Europe meant that the discussion was very much embedded in the discourse on security. In Poland, two consecutive electoral, presidential and parliamentary campaigns overlapped with this development the subject of foreigners and maintaining state security combined resulting in growing resistance to accepting newcomers.[39]

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37 Committee on Migration Research, Polish Academy of Science (2018): Raport o stanie badań nad migracjami w Polsce po 1989 roku [Report on the state of research on migration in Poland after 1989] http://www.kbnm.pan.pl/images/Raport_o_stanie_bada%C5%84_nad_migracjami_w_Polsce_po_1989_roku.pdf

38 Committee on Migration Research, Polish Academy of Science (2018): Raport o stanie badań nad migracjami w Polsce po 1989 roku [Report on the state of research on migration in Poland after 1989] http://www.kbnm.pan.pl/images/Raport_o_stanie_bada%C5%84_nad_migracjami_w_Polsce_po_1989_roku.pdf

39 Committee on Migration Research, Polish Academy of Science (2017): UCHODŹCY W POLSCE. Sytuacja prawna, skala napływu i integracja w społeczeństwie polskim oraz rekomendacje [REFUGEES IN POLAND. The legal situation, the scale of inflow and integration in Polish society and recommendations] https://instytucja.pan.pl/images/2018/wydzialy/w1/Uchod%C5%BAcy_w_Polsce_ekspertyza_KBnM_PAN.pdf

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Attitudes towards migrants, and especially refugees from Muslim countries are therefore one of the topics that connect the political realm with a civic and religious one. As the analysis for Poland shows, it is also one of the issues directly connected to the religiosity factor. The graph below illustrates this relationship, suggesting a strong negative correlation between the level of religiosity and acceptance for foreign migrants in Poland. Negative correlation means that a higher religiosity factor is correlated with lower acceptance for immigration. The more alien the migrants are, the stronger the result – in case of migrants from poorer countries outside Europe and migrants representing different ethnic groups, the effect was visibly stronger than in the case of migrants representing the same ethnic group.

When analyzing the change over time, we can observe a strengthening of the relationship between religiosity and the rejection of migrants in 2014 – 2016 compared to 2012. This might be explained by the 2014 wave of Ukrainian migrants to Poland as a result of the Crimean crisis. However, data from 2016 are probably a result of the refugee crisis and the anti-Islam content of the election campaign in Autumn 2015.

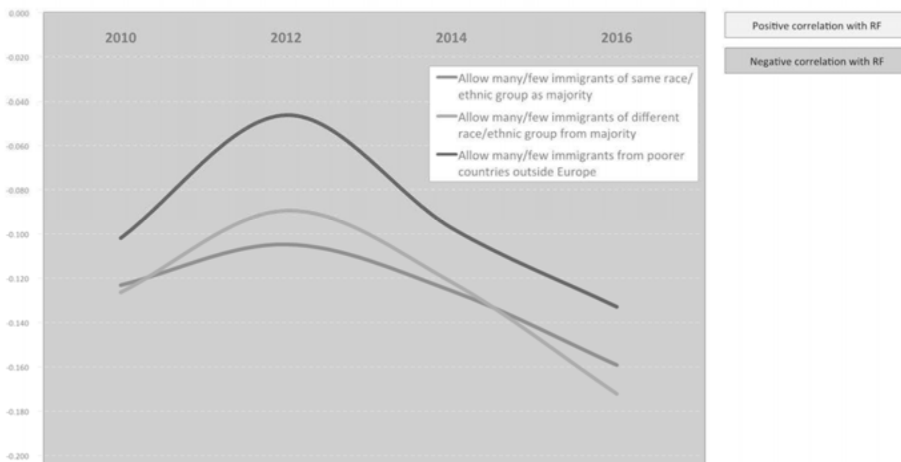

Figure 6: Correlation between religiosity and acceptance of migrants in Poland 2010–2016. Source: own calculations based on ESS 2010–2016 data for Poland.

The remaining graphs illustrate the radicalization of opinions concerning the permission for migrants to settle in Poland in recent years. While in 2010 only 3.8% rejected the idea that migrants of the same ethnic group should be allowed in to Poland, by 2016 this group increased to 10.1%.

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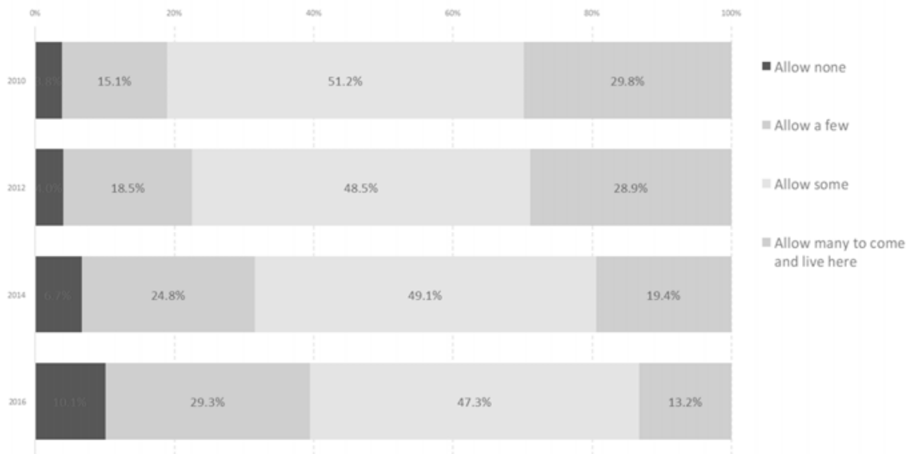

Figure 7: Allow many/few immigrants of *same ethnic group* as majority, in %.
Source: own calculations based on ESS 2010–2016 data for Poland.

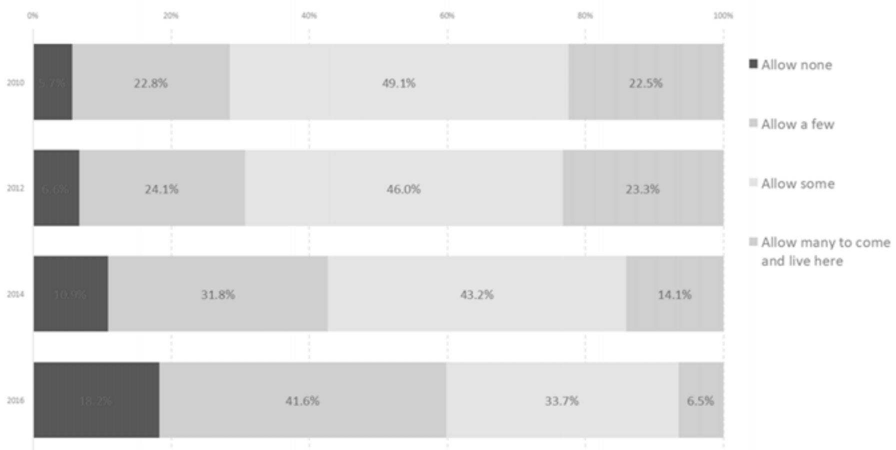

Figure 8: Allow many/few immigrants of *different race/ethnic group* from majority, in %.
Source: own calculations based on ESS 2010–2016 data for Poland.

When questioned as to the acceptance of migrants from different ethnic groups, the percentage of Poles rejecting the idea trebled between 2010 (5.7%) and 2016 (18.2%). As a result, the latest data show that around 60% of Polish society are either against migrants of differing origin or would be willing to accept only few of them. This result is confirmed by data on discrimination in Poland. Since 2010, the number of criminal cases with a racist and xenophobic basis has increased: While in 2010,

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there were 182 proceedings in such cases conducted in prosecutors' offices, in 2011 the number rose to 323, and in in 2012 to 473. According to the official data, the most frequent offenses were insults referring to ethnic or religious affiliation (206 proceedings), hate speech (128), expressing support for a fascist or totalitarian regime (117). Most frequently attacked were Jews (93 proceedings) and Roma (35).[40]

3 Conclusions

On September 5, 2015 Polish Archbishop Gądecki famously: "Every parish must be prepared for people who are persecuted and who will come here expecting a helping hand and the brotherhood they do not find anywhere else!."[41] In this proposal the chairman of the Polish Episcopate preceded Pope Francis, who on the following day demanded that "every parish, every monastery and every sanctuary in Europe should accept one family of refugees." The narrative of openness and solidarity was also present in the Common Message of the Churches in Poland on Refugees, signed on June 30, 2016 by the representatives of the Catholic Church and the Churches associated in the Polish Ecumenical Council. They recalled that "the duties of Christians in this regard arise from the revelation of God and Tradition, and (...) the task of the Churches is to raise hearts that through concrete deeds of mercy will come with the help of the suffering, those who flee from war, persecution and death."

At the same time, Church hierarchs from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, although occasionally coming out against xenophobic groups, seem to take advantage of the sympathy of the ruling, populist politicians, the same politicians who benefit from xenophobic tendencies and fear of cultural "other". The alliance with populist politicians – which is in direct opposition to the teaching of Pope Francis – is informal, but evident, especially when we analyze the photographs of religious ceremonies attended by the leadership of right-wing parties or messages in Church-affiliated media. This relation trickles down to the level of parishes and religious movements, which stand to benefit from it, as long as they follow the lines drawn by the government in power. In so doing, instead of becoming safe havens of solidarity and brotherhood, religious communities tend to uphold the status quo rather than challenging it.

40 Łętowska, E. (2014). Problem wymiaru sprawiedliwości, NIGDY WIĘCEJ, 21. Available at http://www.nigdywiecej.org/pdf/pl/pismo/21/13_Problem-wymiaru-sprawiedliwosci.pdf (accessed 1 May 2019).

41 Abp Gądecki o imigrantach: Trzeba żeby każda parafia przygotowała miejsce dla ludzi, Gazeta Prawna, 06.09.2015, https://www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/892342,abp-gadecki-o-imigrantach-trzeba-zeby-kazda-parafia-przygotowala-miejsce-dla-ludzi.html

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As previously argued[42] the potential of religious communities in Poland is one of the most undervalued resources in terms of civil society engagement. However, up to now, there seems to be no visible organized effort to channel or mobilize this potential around current issues concerning solidarity above racial, ethnic or religious divisions. The danger here is that religious communities remain engaged in the external religiosity that ignores the ethical foundations of Christianity (rejecting hatred; expressing solidarity with all those in need), creating only an ideological label devoid of content. If not linked with the core values of Christianity, religious communities risk becoming a breeding ground for extremist groups, especially if media engage in the campaign against migrants, ethnic minorities or different religions. One of the important factors creating this space for extremism also stems from the low levels of trust in politicians.

When populists claim to be only legitimate representative of people – leaving no room for civil society – religious communities are in a strategic position to challenge this notion. While strong in terms of connection to the moral authority of the Church, they could become a space of renewal and hope, providing ideological anchors for the disillusioned as well as alternative identities and voice mechanisms to overcome fear and hatred.

Now dormant grassroots religious communities would be able to push forward an alternative narrative in which religious values provide a rationale for progressive agendas on issues such as refugees, health care and the environment. This shift, from "sacred community" to a community of trust and solidarity could build a feeling of connectedness to every member of the international community, one that transcends particular commitments, narrow loyalties, and sectional interests.[43] By returning to the source of the Christian values, this kind of solidarity could easily breed within religious communities, redefining the relation between national pride and religiosity and (hopefully) dispersing the populism shadows.

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42 Domaradzka, A. (2015). State of civil society in Poland. In Ch. Schreier (ed.) Mapping Civil Society in the "Visegrád Countries". Berlin: Maecenata Institute: 109–142.

43 Alexander, J. (2006): The Civil Sphere, Oxford University Press.

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Michał Wawrzonek

Eastern Christian Religious Communities and Development of Civil Society in the Post-Soviet Space: the Ukrainian Case

Abbreviations

AUCCRO:	All-Ukrainian Council of Churches and Religious Organizations
UGCC:	Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church
UOC-KP:	Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kiev Patriarchate
UOC-MP:	Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate
USSR:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to define the potential and practical influence of the Eastern Christian churches on the development of civil society in Ukraine. The main research question is whether these religious communities are willing and able to help Ukrainian society gain the status of an autonomous subject in relation to the state. Analysis of the social activity of the Eastern Christian communities should allow this issue to be put into the broader perspective of social transformations in post-Soviet Ukraine. In particular, such an approach should permit a better understanding of the meaning of "civility" in the Ukrainian case.

2 Religion and post-Soviet social life

The notion of "secularisation" might seem to be likely panacea to all problems related to the place of religion in contemporary social life. Secularisation, as the process of eliminating the conviction that this world is determined by transcendence, undermines the foundations of traditional social structures, particularly the foundations on which the position of the church and the religious sphere was based in social life. As a consequence, according to José Casanova, the secular sphere has come to dominate "this" world and has become omnipresent.[1] In this case, religious

1 See Casanova, José (1994): Public Religions in the Modern Word, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 17–19.

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communities have to at least adapt to the new circumstances and frequently even submit to them.

In the former Soviet Union, the secular sphere was particularly expansive. There are a number of actors that contributed to the religious sphere being subordinated to the secular one and especially the Eastern Orthodox Church being changed into a symbolic and sacramental representation of natural, earthly reality. As a result of both Soviet atheisation and Western European secularisation when constructing and legitimising social reality, any reference to the transcendent has lost its original meaning. However, this is where similarities between these two processes end. Another difference was their genesis, since other mechanisms governed them, and so they were to result in different consequences as well. The secularisation of Western Europe resulted in the elimination of the eschatological justification of social reality. Soviet communism in turn became a kind of political religion and did not sever itself from eschatological patterns of legitimising the "new" social order. However, this Soviet eschatology was limited and closed within the sphere of material temporality. Figuratively speaking, atheisation in the Marxist and Leninist spirit disenchanted the heavens but at the same time bewitched earthly reality. Consequently, the Leninist version of Marxism perpetuated demand for the eschatological justification of social reality – or rather the presence of eschatological phraseology in the way of describing and method of justifying this reality.[2]

Hence, the tools that allow a more or less accurate description of the evolution of the place of religion in the Western European social sphere may not be very useful when trying to analyse post-Soviet reality. In the search for a standard concept of secularisation that is more relevant to this reality, Nonka Bogomilova's proposal is worth recalling. According to her, secularisation leads to two consequences: "erosion of the image of God as an absolute, as a transcendent reality" and "inclusion of religious faith and experience in the complex social texture of needs, passions, community identities pertaining to particular empires, states, nations, ethnic groups, civilizations, classes."[3] As a result of this process, religion does not disappear, and it does not become excluded from public space. On the contrary, it merges into it. This Bulgarian scholar illustratively states that as a result of this process, God was "divided" and became "a collaborator and participant in various human enterprises, strivings, yearnings."[4] The activities of local religious communities are very often dominated by indigenous social and cultural circumstances. As a result, these communities will lose the virtue of universality, which traditionally has char-

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2 Voegelin, Eric (1982): From Enlightenment to Revolution, Durham: Duke University Press: 242–253.

3 Bogomilova, Nonka (2009): A Philosophical Approach to the "Religion – National Mythology" Synthesis. In "Filozofija i Društvo" 3/2009: 86–87.

4 Ibid.: 87.

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acterised all the great religious systems. These local communities have been absorbed by secularity; they have not yet disappeared, but they have been secularised.

Ukraine is an excellent example of this phenomenon, because the Eastern Christian churches there provide a wealth of interesting material for analysis. Since these churches have become a sustainable element of social and political life in Ukraine, they also participate in the development of civil society. Their involvement might be regarded on three levels: the system level, the elite level, and the community level. This chapter will focus on the first two levels and will briefly introduce the third.

3 Searching for a new theoretical approach in research on civil society on Post-soviet space

One more precondition determines the prospects for the development of civil society in Ukraine: the relatively narrow space for non-political social activity. In post-totalitarian societies, many topics that apparently have little to nothing in common with politics, such as religion, culture, language, and literature, are now strongly politicised. Civility and the problem of civil society have inevitably also become political issues. Any attempts to integrate values of civil society into social customs will be perceived by the ruling class as a threat to its position in the social and political systems.

Civil society as it is most widely understood seems to be a value-laden and socioculturally conditioned phenomenon that is, historically at least, characteristically Western. Since post-communist societies in Eastern Europe have quite different paths to the present, research on their social reality (including processes of civil society development) requires a new methodological and theoretical strategy, as Jan Kubik has suggested. He describes such a strategy as “contextual holism”[5], to mean the skilful combination of theoretical paradigms regarded as universal, and those regarded as proven, while keeping in mind the nature of post-communism in Eastern European social reality.

One may observe two basic universal and proven paradigms for reconstructing civil society: the liberal and the republican. According to the classical liberal concept, civil society is “the locus of natural rights, individual freedom and independence from the state” that exists in the form of “a non-governmental sphere of free associations of individuals pursuing their own interests and goals including eco-

5 Kubik, Jan (2015): Between Contextualization and Comparison: A Thorny Relationship between East European Studies and Disciplinary “Mainstreams”. In “East European Politics and Societies and Cultures”, Vol. 29, Nr 2: 354.

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nomic goals."[6] In the liberal tradition, civil society is made to be "distinguished and separated from the state."[7]

With regard to the republican tradition, civil society would rather be described as "a sphere of practical reciprocity of free people."[8] What is important here is a close interdependence between the freedoms of the individual citizen and the freedoms of the political community. As Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves has pointed out, in a republican definition, "it was not freedom from the state, but freedom in the state."[9] Moreover, in this tradition "the status of a citizen is strongly seen in terms of civil duties, not rights."[10]

The liberal approach to the concept of civil society seems to be especially popular. According to this paradigm, civil society is "the notion of NGO [non-governmental organisation] structures, struggling for 'impact' and 'influence' on the governmental decision-making process."[11] However, as Victor Stepanenko has aptly pointed out, such an approach to civil society severely narrows the area of research.[12] In the case of such a reductionist perspective, civil society can not be regarded as an efficient "analytical concept that can offer the best understanding of the changes"[13] in the post-communist societies of Eastern Europe. Moreover, it could even be a source of some misunderstanding, which would render any relevant interpretation of social processes impossible. However, as the notion of civility related to post-communist (and especially post-Soviet) societies generally contains, as opposed to rejects, the concept of civil society as such, this should rather be a reason to seek out additional elements of civil society. Thus, it would be worth analysing more thoroughly such issues as public practices, shared civil values, social capital, and, in particular, the ethical and cultural dimensions of this capital.[14] Pietrzyk-Reeves is right in her suggestion to use "a multidimensional approach" in research on civil society. Apart from such obvious quantitative indicators as the number of members of different civil society organisations, certain other factors should be taken into account. These include "strength of the public sphere, forms and struc-

6 Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota (2015): Civil society, Democracy and Democratization, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition: 17.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota (2015): Civil society, Democracy and Democratization, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition: 17.

10 Ibid.

11 Stepanenko, Victor (2006): Civil Society in Post-Soviet Ukraine: Civic Ethos in the Framework of Corrupted Sociality? In "East European Politics and Societies and Cultures", Vol. 20, Nr 4: 575.

12 See Ibid.: 576.

13 Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota (2015): Civil society, Democracy and Democratization, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition: 146.

14 Stepanenko, Victor (2006): Civil Society in Post-Soviet Ukraine: Civic Ethos in the Framework of Corrupted Sociality? In "East European Politics and Societies and Cultures", Vol. 20, Nr 4: 576.

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tures of organizations and advocacy groups, historical tradition of associationalism, openness of society, the level of institutionalization and contentious politics."[15]

Thus, the problem of civil society and civility in countries such as Ukraine should be considered in terms of a characteristic dialectical tension among the various challenges that must be addressed, such as defining the political community in Ukraine, building and defending independence of the state, and aiming to broaden and consolidate a zone of personal and common freedoms. To some extent, this tension seems to be unavoidable; by its very nature, it is a universal element of every paradigm of civility. This stems from the fact that "it is not easy to translate rights into duties or individual liberty into political liberty."[16]

There are also some other quite important factors that should be considered while developing a meaning of civil society and that would be useful for the analysis of social life in contemporary Ukraine. These include issues such as relationships between authority and society, the question of a balance between individual rights and duties towards the community, the rationality of the state, and distinctions between the private and public spheres and between the political and economic. All these topics have already been elaborated in Western social practise. For the last twenty-five years, some ready patterns from the West have also been incorporated into the process of social and political transformation in former communist countries.

The results of this experiment have been ambiguous. Some former communist countries, like Poland, the Czech Republic, and Lithuania, indeed entered into processes of democratisation according to the Western meaning. In other cases, Western patterns were dominated by or accommodated to the post-communist (post-Soviet) legacy. As a result, an eclectic mix of different social customs has emerged. Ukraine is an example of this phenomenon.

According to a diagnosis formulated in 2000 by Marc Howard[17], Ukrainian society inherited from the Soviet regime such features as "distrust of any kind of organization", "persistence of informal connections and networks", and "an enlarged level of mass disillusionment with pseudo-democratic and quasi-market changes."[18] However, in light of this diagnosis, other questions arise. How, in such unfavoura-

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15 Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota (2015): Civil society, Democracy and Democratization, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition: 163.

16 Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota (2015): Civil society, Democracy and Democratization, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition: 28.

17 Howard, Marc (2000): Free Not to Participate: The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe. In "Studies in Public Policy", No. 325, Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Scotland.

18 Stepanenko, Victor (2006): Civil Society in Post-Soviet Ukraine: Civic Ethos in the Framework of Corrupted Sociality? In "East European Politics and Societies and Cultures", Vol. 20, Nr 4: 579–580.

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ble circumstances, were acts of civil disobedience like the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan possible? And how they should be interpreted?

Under such circumstances, every research strategy on civil society needs to include a careful "investigation of the fundamental mechanisms of collective identity formation."[19] The analysis of ideologies shared in a society could help achieve that goal, especially if we understand ideologies as a means of overcoming "the contingent and precarious character of all social reality."[20] This problem seems to be very real in Ukraine. Its social reality is determined by recurrent crises, like the Orange Revolution (2004–2005) and the Revolution of Dignity in 2013–2014 (also called Euromaidan). The impression of instability and groundlessness of social order has increased due to the military conflict with Russia and the unclear nature of relationships with territories occupied by so-called separatists.[21]

This chapter hypothesises that the crises and examples of social mobilisation seen since the Orange Revolution are not only related to the defence of state sovereignty over the last few years; they also prove a potential need for the development of civility and civil society in Ukraine. This demand clashes with the ruling post-Soviet, neopatrimonial social and political order. As a result, Ukrainians are forced to exist in a state of specific social precariousness. Ukrainian society is stuck in a characteristic grey zone between Russia and the West, between common sovereignty and dependency, and between the civil and neopatrimonial customs of social life.

Research on civil society in Eastern Europe should also be related to the exploration of the "cultural, social and attitudinal background of democratization."[22] Undoubtedly, in this case it is impossible to avoid the problem of "the legacy of a communist past."[23] However, it should be admitted that a new type of post-

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19 Zherebkin Maksym (2009): In search of a theoretical approach to the analysis of the "Colour revolutions": Transition studies and discourse theory. In "Communist and Post-Communist Studies", 42: 210.

20 Ibde.: 211.

21 Iwański, Tadeusz; Mienkiszak, Marek (2014): Pro-Russian "separatism": a tool to compel Ukraine to federalization, available on: https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2014-04-09/pro-russian-separatism-a-tool-to-compel-ukraine-to-federalisation.;
Iwański, Tadeusz; Wierzbowska-Miazga, Agata; Żochowski, Piotr (2014): The farce of the "referendum" in the Donbas, available on: https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2014-05-14/farce-referendum-donbas.;
Sadowski, Rafał; Wierzbowska-Miazga, Agata (2014): The separatists are yielding to Kyiv, available on: https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2014-07-09/separatists-are-yielding-to-kyiv.;
O'Loughlin, John; Toal, Gerard & Kolosov, Vladimir (2017): The rise and fall of "Novorossiya": examining support for a separatist geopolitical imaginary in southeast Ukraine, "Post-Soviet Affairs", 33:2: 124–144.

22 Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota (2015): Civil society, Democracy and Democratization, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition: 148.

23 Ibid.

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communist legacy has already appeared over the last twenty-five years. Although this post-communist legacy is a continuation of the previous communist heritage, it should be regarded as a separate phenomenon, as it was formed by processes actuated as a result of the decline of the totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe.

The transition paradigm appears to be an obvious tool for describing and analysing these processes. According to this paradigm, social changes in post-communist countries are intrinsically likely to lead in one direction: towards democracy. As such, post-communism should be considered a transitional stage between a totalitarian past that has already elapsed and a democratic future that has not yet arrived. Of course, nowadays in Eastern Europe we are still dealing with social and political transition, although Maksym Zherebkin is correct in that research on these processes should be liberated from teleologism and should in sist on the "'open-ended character' of democratization."[24] According to Guillermo O'Donnell, democracy is as "an open horizon" that is "constantly redirecting its citizens' gaze from a more or less unsatisfactory present towards a future of still unfulfilled possibilities."[25]

It appears that enough time has already passed to verify the real direction and sense of the social and cultural transformations that have occurred in Eastern Europe since 1990. There are two questions relating to this issue. First of all, we should consider whether the decline of the totalitarian systems was actually a result of the process of democratisation, or rather a starting point of a transformation with more than one scenario for the future. Second, the notion of democratisation should be clarified, especially in relation to such countries and societies as Ukraine. It seems that the formal implementation of proven and commonly accepted solutions from Western European political culture, such as a tripartite separation of powers or the electiveness of state offices, does not necessarily guarantee the development of a well-ordered state. Undoubtedly, they have transformed Ukrainian social reality, but patterns imported from the Western European model of democracy have changed due to the influence of the cultural, social, and attitudinal context of post-Soviet Ukraine. Thus, recognition and understanding of this background is very important.

For this purpose, it is worth recalling a post-colonial paradigm. This is because, as a matter of fact, it might be said that in the case of Ukraine after 1991, we are dealing not (only) with the third wave of democratisation but (also) with a "third

24 Zherebkin, Maksym (2009): In search of a theoretical approach to the analysis of the "Colour revolutions": Transition studies and discourse theory. In "Communist and Post-Communist Studies", 42: 208.

25 O'Donnell, Guillermo, (2007): The perpetual crises of democracy. "Journal of Democracy" 18(1): 5.

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wave of decolonization."[26] To a great extent, the specific character of Ukrainian social and political transformation results from the post-colonial mentality of both elites and the majority of society.[27] As Jan Kieniewicz has observed, the key issue in the process of overcoming country's colonial heritage is not the "structures inherited after the period of dependence" but rather the stereotypes that "constrain people" and perpetuate in them a general "acceptance of domination and their own inferiority" as well as "a servile attitude towards the dominating world."[28] Notwithstanding how we would define civil society, such a mental heritage ought to be regarded as a serious obstacle to the development of civility.

4 Specific features of the post-Soviet Ukrainian state

The concept of civil society may be an effective tool for the analysis and description of social reality in Ukraine if we are able to capture, and recognise the character of, the tension between society and the state. On the one hand, we should adopt a general rule that "a strong civil society may flourish only within a strong state."[29] In other words, a well-ordered state is a precondition for a lively civil society. According to this approach, the strength of a state stems from "the efficacy of its political institutions, rules and orders."[30] However, in the case of Ukraine, we are coping with a specific post-communist type of state. If we were to try to evaluate its rationality using criteria applicable to Western European political culture, we would arrive at false conclusions regarding the manner in which the state's institutions of power operate, as well as the nature of their relations with society. This in turn would preclude us from adequate by deconstructing of the meaning of civility in Ukraine. From a classical, Weberian point of view, the evaluation of state efficacy should be based on three basic criteria: (1) the "ability to execute resource management in such a way that conscious choices concerning strategic directions of public task accomplishment are possible", (2) the ability to achieve public goals due to "effective human and material resource management", and (3) "the ability to mobi-

26 Kuzio, Taras; Kravchuk. Robert S.; D'Anieri, Paul (eds.) (1999): State and Institution Building in Ukraine, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
27 See Carey, Henry F.; Raciborski, Rafal (2004): *Postcolonialism: A Valid Paradigm for the Former Sovietized States and Yugslavia?* In "East European Politics & Societies,"vol. 18, Nr 2: 191–235.
28 Kieniewicz Jan (2003): Wprowadzenie do historii cywilizacji Wschodu i Zachodu, Warszawa: Dialog: 354.
29 Pietrzyk-Reeves, Dorota (2015): Civil society, Democracy and Democratization, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition: 164.
30 Ibdi.

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lize a consensus of social forces on behalf of achieving public goals".[31] If we were to analyse the Ukrainian case from this point of view, we would conclude that the state in Ukraine is non-effective. Nevertheless, this supposedly weak state has survived such upheavals as the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan. Moreover, the Ukrainian state is able to survive under conditions of a military conflict with Russia. (The explanation for this phenomenon is complex, however, and will not be expanded on here.)

The challenge in evaluating how well or how poorly the Ukrainian state is ordered stems from specific features of its rationality. Apparently, it is focused on maintaining relatively centralised control over "the distribution of rents" as well as keeping control "over the bureaucratic hierarchy" and "accommodating business groups and co-opting elite networks."[32] Serhiy Kudelia has argued that since the very beginning of its independence, Ukraine has "oscillated" between a "weak and dysfunctional state dominated by non-state actors predating on state resources" and a "predominant and unconstrained state under which non-state actors tend to form client-like networks pledging loyalty in return for special privileges."[33] A more nuanced look at this claim is, however, needed. However, such conceptualization does not allow to discover a real modus operandi of the Ukrainian Post-soviet state.

First of all, it is worth noting that in the case of Ukraine, the very notion of non-state actors is cast in doubt, especially when referring to oligarchs.[34] Indeed, these agents operate outside the state's formal institutions, although they are actually dependent on access to state resources. Their close connections with the state have an ontological significance; they appear to be non-state actors, but in point of fact, they are not able to survive without the state. Therefore, an important question arises: to what extent have oligarchs been able to appropriate the state? This question relates directly to the prospects for the development of civil society. Second, the Ukrainian state does not oscillate between (in Kudelia's terms) weakness and dysfunction, on one hand, and predominance and unconstrainedness, on the other.

31 Wołek, Artur (2012): Słabe państwo, Kraków-Warszawa, Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, ISP PAN: 16.
32 Kudelia Serhiy (2012): The sources of continuity and change of Ukraine's incomplete state. In "Communist and Post-Communist Studies", 45: 418.
33 Kudelia Serhiy (2012): The sources of continuity and change of Ukraine's incomplete state. In "Communist and Post-Communist Studies", 45: 418.
34 According to Taras Kuzio (2016): "in the Ukrainian context, the primary characteristic of oligarchs 'is their penchant to become monopolists in every field where they operate: media, economy, and politics. They therefore have an intrinsically negative influence on Ukraine's quadruple transitions of democratization, marketization, state-institution building, and national integration (...). Oligarchs prevent the emergence of a level playing field in politics by blocking the entrance of genuine political parties into the political arena (...). They co-opt opposition political parties and political leaders through political corruption and finance fake candidates and parties with the sole purpose of confusing voters" (181–182).

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Actually, these are two sides of the same coin. The Ukrainian state may appear weak or incomplete in handling its citizens' welfare, safety, and rights. At the same time, it seems to be quite efficient in maintaining neopatrimonial rules of social and political life. The way of understanding the notion of civility should be adapted to this peculiar double nature of the state in Ukraine. Thus, it is worth recalling a proposition by Chris Hann[35], who suggested to not place civil society in opposition to the state and to search for a positive way of defining civility. In this context, our research should be mostly concerned with the reconstruction of "the context of ideas and activities which induce cooperation and trust in society."[36]

The state plays, or could play, an important role in such reconstruction in this issue in Ukraine, especially in the ongoing conflict with Russia. The analysis of how the Ukrainian state works in the face of conflict with Russia reveals a characteristic ambivalence. On the one hand, the state has become an important factor in consolidating a common sense of nationhood. It stimulates the process of redefining the community, its borders, and its rules. The state in Ukraine could, or even ought to, cater for the infrastructure necessary for the development of cooperation in society. In this context, support for and subordination to the state should be regarded as important elements of civility. However, at the same time, the post-Soviet state is a serious obstacle to growth in social cooperation and trust, due to its specific rationality. For these reasons, civility in Ukraine relates both to the defence of the state and to the fight against patronalistic customs and rules on which the state is based.

Questions of social trust and cooperation and the issue of the efficiency of state institutions are closely related to social capital. Social capital, according to Robert Putnam, contains "features of social organization such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions."[37] In Putnam's view, social capital is also crucial for the efficacy of formal institutions.[38] Martin Aberg has emphasised that social capital "should be seen as the quality of people being connected through reciprocal exchange relations."[39] It would seem that Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital meets the criteria related to the Western meaning of a state's efficacy. However, it is not eligible for application topost-Soviet states; therefore, we should search for a more sophisticat-

35 See for example: Hann, Chris M. (2003): Civil society: the sickness, not the cure? "Social Evolution and History" 2(2): 55–74.

36 Beyers, Jaco (2011): Religion, civil society and conflict: What is it that religion does for and to society?, "HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies", 67(3) Art. #949, 8 pages: 4.

37 Putnam, Robert D. (1993): Making democracy work. Civic traditions in modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 167.

38 Putnam, Robert D. (2000): *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* New York: Simon & Schuster.

39 Aberg, Martin (2000): Putnam's Social Capital Theory Goes East: A Case Study of Western Ukraine and L'viv. In "Europe-Asia Studies", 52:2: 297.

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ed notion of social capital that would be more relevant to social customs in Ukraine. It appears that a distinction between communitarian and non-communitarian social capital could respond to this challenge. Communitarian social capital is based on "horizontal networks of exchange relations"[40]; it encourages an increase in trust in formal institutions and could be regarded as relevant to Putnam's model. Non-communitarian social capital would in turn be a result of "particularistic and vertical exchange relations" based on clientelism.[41]

The concept of neopatrimonialism allows us to better understand core features of such relations. The neopatrimonial model of society is based on organizational convictions and practices that can be found in both authoritarianism and democracy. It encompasses several phenomena and regularities that significantly influence the ways in which a given regime functions. A few such fundamental characteristics of neopatrimonialism can be enumerated. First, it involves the personalisation of power, which results in political programmes losing significance and the figure of the leaderbeing moved to the forefront. Second, it involves a developed form of clientelism, which in the case of Ukraine is based mainly on regional, family, and material interrelations. Third, political processes are limited to the boundaries of the state, which dominates society. The role of society in the above-mentioned processes is systematically marginalised. Among other important features of neopatrimonialism is the coexistence of elements of a modern social structure built on the autonomy of various subsystems with "numerous traditional and half-traditional forms", such as, for instance, connections and interrelations of a clan nature.[42] Another important element of neopatrimonial relations is corruption as a method of practicing politics and achieving political goals.[43]

Due to the fact that the concept of neopatrimonialism is deeply rooted in Weberian thought, it is impossible to omit one more feature: the significance of bureaucracy – an issue of utmost importance, since institutional performance depends on how bureaucracy works. In Ukraine, where the neopatrimonial model of the inner organisation of the political regime is deeply rooted, a modern and consolidated state apparatus has not been created. On the contrary, the state is closer to a "mosaic of separate institutions more concerned with safeguarding their own privileges than with serving society."[44] The state apparatus in Ukraine functions accord-

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40 Aberg, Martin (2000): Putnam's Social Capital Theory Goes East: A Case Study of Western Ukraine and L'viv. In "Europe-Asia Studies", 52:2: 297.

41 Ibdi.

42 Minenkova, Nantalia (2011): Transformacja reżimu politycznego Ukrainy za czasów niepodległości. In Stanisław Sulowski, Mykoła Prymusz Natalia Minenkova, Bartłomiej Zdaniuk (eds.), Polska i Ukraina – próba analizy systemu politycznego, Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa: 84.

43 Ibdi.: 83–84

44 Zon, Hans van (2005): Neo-Patrimonialism under Leonid Kuchma. In "Problems of Post-Communism", vol. 52, no. 5: 15.

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ing to rules that have little in common with Weber's model of rational bureaucracy. Internally, it is consolidated by the principle of loyalty based on material stimuli and rewards.[45] As such, the key to being promoted or maintaining a post is not qualifications, efficiency, or constitutional rules but unconditional loyalty towards personified power.[46] Such reasoning found especially favourable conditions among the Ukrainian Soviet nomenklatura, partially because in the mid-1970's – a period that was crucial for the formation of elites in independent Ukraine – the only institution that prepared politicians to work in executive positions was the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. These preparations concerned only the "ideological hardening of students", and their goal was to form efficient "executors, not creators of politics."[47] As a result, the regime according to which Ukrainian bureaucracy functions is based on "clientelist–patronage" connections and not on "rational–legal relations within the boundaries of official systems of mutual interaction."[48]

By nature, non-communitarian social capital strengthens clientelist patterns and impedes the building of trust in formal institutions[49] because basic exchange relations proceed under informal rules and outside formal institutions. In this context, formal is synonymous with superficial. The democratic institutions and principles introduced after the collapse of the totalitarian regimes were thought to be a confirmation of the impact of democracy on the post-Soviet space. Apparently, they were destined to serve as tools to achieve common, public goals. However, institutions likely to solve common, public problems – including free democratic (formal) elections, separation of powers, local councils, political parties, the market economy, and private property – became tools to develop and consolidate the neopatrimonial model of social life. Aberg argues that, under these circumstances, "non-communitarian social capital and particularistic networks still fulfil a function in society"[50] because according to social custom, non-communitarian social capital "represents an efficient means of coping in the face of the difficulties concerned

45 Фисун, Олександр (2010): К переосмыслению постсоветской политики: неопатримонялльная интерпретация. In "Политическая концептология", no. 4: 163.
46 Fisun, Oleksander (2016): Ukrainian Constitutional Politics: Neopatrimonialism, Rent-seeking, and Regime Change. In Henry E. Hale, Robert W. Orttung (eds.): Beyond the Euromaidan: comparative perspectives on advancing reform in Ukraine, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press: 105–123.
47 Кухта Б., Теплоухова Н. (1996): Політичні еліти і лідери, Львів 1996, http://politics.ellib.org.ua/pages-877.html.
48 Фисун, Олександр (2010): К переосмыслению постсоветской политики: неопатримонялльная интерпретация. In "Политическая концептология", no. 4: 169.
49 Aberg, Martin (2000): Putnam's Social Capital Theory Goes East: A Case Study of Western Ukraine and L'viv. In "Europe-Asia Studies", 52:2: 308.
50 Ibdi.: 313.

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with transition."[51] Thus, perhaps some patterns on which this type of social capital is based might, or should, be included in the model of civility that is relevant to post-Soviet reality.

5 Eastern Christian communities and civil society: system level

The All-Ukrainian Council of Churches and Religious Organizations (AUCCRO)was created in 1996 as a collective body intended to represent Ukrainian religious communities in their relations with the state. However, virtually from the moment of its inception, the AUCCRO was used by state representatives to achieve their own political goals. It not only was exploited for the implementation of state policy in the sphere of religion; it also became part of the state's administrative resources.[52]

After 2005, the AUCCRO started to gain relative autonomy in its relationships with the state. Hence it might, at least potentially, be considered part of the institutional support system for social change towards the model of civil society, i.e. of the society which no longer incapacitated by the state. Although the authorities were still able to repeatedly ignore the AUCCRO after the Orange Revolution, they were no longer able to manipulate it as they had, even during the 2004 presidential election. This was particularly evident during the period immediately preceding the events related to Euromaidan.[53] The Revolution of Dignity confirmed the autonomy of the AUCCRO as an advocate of common social needs and expectations, its relations with state authorities having evolved from clientelism to partnership.

On 1 March 2016, the AUCCRO issued a statement on the social and political situation in Ukraine in which it presented itself as "one of the largest institutions of civil society" in the country. Addressing "politicians who represent all political orientations and groups as well as (...) state representatives of the highest level", the organisation warned them of "pursuing political ranking and getting rich" instead of "taking care of the common good of the people." Its members underlined "with considerable anxiety" that "corruption schemes that are destructive to the state's

51 Ibdi.: 312.
52 Wawrzonek Michał (2014): Religion and Politics in Ukraine: The Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches as Elements of Ukraine's Political System, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne: 182–184.
53 See more: Wawrzonek Michał, Bekus Nelly, Korzeniewska-Wiszniewska Mirella (2016): Orthodoxy Versus Post-Communism? Belarus, Serbia, Ukraine and the Russkiy Mir, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 296–302, 305–307.

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system and have destroyed state institutions under previous authorities still exist and perpetuate their deadly impact."[54]

This statement may be regarded as a reaction to the social and political situation in Ukraine at the time. According to Transparency International (2016), Ukraine remains one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Two weeks before the AUCCRO's statement, the Ukrainian Parliament appeared unable to remove then-Prime Minister Arsenii Yatseniuk, despite an obvious lack of real reforms. The fact that Yatseniuk's cabinet survived due to an informal alliance of oligarchs is highly significant; it received support from oligarchs who only a few months earlier had supported Euromaidanas well as from those who had been linked to the government of the former president, Viktor Yanukovych.[55] This political crisis showed that nothing had changed in the relationship between Ukrainian political elites and wider society. Regarding their organisation as "an integral part of civil society", AUCCRO members declared their "readiness to meet the president, cabinet, or parliamentary factions"[56] in order to find a solution to the political and social stalemate.

Indeed, President Petro Poroshenko met with the AUCCRO on 24 April 2016. It is worth noting that the president reacted to the council's invitation for dialogue relatively quickly. We are especially able to appreciate his attitude towards the AUCCRO if we take into consideration the almost two years in which the previous president had not met with the council. Although this initial meeting did not result in any essential changes concerning the approach of the Ukrainian political elites to their relationships with society, a few months later, on 18 November, another meeting between the AUCCRO and President Poroshenko took place. The head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kiev Patriarchate (UOC-KP), Patriarch Filaret (Denysenko), chastised politicians who were not "far-seeing" and who were still fighting for "places in parliament" instead of defending the country's independence.[57] The head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate (UOC-MP), Metropolitan Onufrii (Berezovsky), in turn asserted that they would "do everything" to support the "integrity of Ukraine and unity of the Ukrainian people."[58] Three days later, the chairman of the parliament, Andrii Parubii, attended a special meeting at the parliament with the AUCCRO for the twentieth anniversary of the council. Both Pres-

54 Заява ВРЦіРО щодо суспільно-політичної ситуації в Україні, (2016): available on: http://vrciro.org.ua/ua/statements/447-statement-uccro-on-social-political-situation-in-ukraine.

55 Як Порошенко та олігархи допомогли Яценюку лишитися на посаді (2016): available on: http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2016/02/17/7099360/.

56 Заява ВРЦіРО щодо суспільно-політичної ситуації в Україні,(2016): available on: http://vrciro.org.ua/ua/statements/447-statement-uccro-on-social-political-situation-in-ukraine;

57 Ваші молитви та дії єднають Україну в непрості часи, дуже цінні, available on: http://www.president.gov.ua/news/vashi-molitvi-ta-diyi-yaki-yednayut-ukrayinu-v-neprosti-chas-38782;

58 Ibdi.

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ident Poroshenko and Chairman Parubii declared their hopes for the future creation of a single, united Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Regardless of their true intentions, these events and declarations testify to the persistence of religious issues in Ukrainian political life. The celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the AUCCRO continued, with a 29 November ceremony attended inter alia by the secretary of the National Security and Defence Council, Oleksandr Turchynov, and deputies from the Ukrainian Parliament. The head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC), Major Archbishop Sviatoslav Shevchuk, emphasised in a short speech that the AUCCRO had made an important contribution to the process of development of civil society in Ukraine.[59]

On 2 April 2017, public "prayers for victory over the aggressor [Russia] and for a fair peace" were arranged under the aegis of the AUCCRO. The main messages of the events were the care of those who defend the country and a call for national unity. The prayers took place in Kiev and several other Ukrainian towns, and although they did not attract much public interest, they proved the potential ability of the AUCCRO to launch coordinated social actions around the whole of Ukraine. It is worth noting that two AUCCRO members were particularly engaged in these events: the UOC-KP and the UGCC, whose representatives appeared at all prayers for victory. The UOC-MP did not take part in these events, and none of its bishops signed the appeal announcing the public prayers. In provincial towns, clergymen were assisted by representatives of local authorities, while no state officials attended the main celebrations in Kiev. Moreover, the oration performed by the UOC-KP head, Patriarch Filaret, had little in common with real prayer and, as a matter of fact, should be regarded rather as a public expression of distrust in the Ukrainian state authorities. Above all, Filaret accused members of parliament of irresponsibility and concern only for particular groups or personal interests – in fact, repeating word for word the same speech he had given earlier that year at a meeting with President Poroshenko.[60]

Turning away from the real political background of these events for a moment, what is important is the fact that churches in Ukraine have started to openly seek direct contact with society. Previously, apart from extraordinary crisis situations such as the Orange Revolution or Euromaidan, churches in Ukraine existed above rather than with society for several reasons. It is likely that low standards of education and lack of experience in interacting with the secular world made clergymen self-conscious when coping with issues of social life. In general, their perspective on

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59 Глава УГКЦ про здобутки Всеукраїнської Ради Церков і релігійних організацій, available on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EfjSYBmKbjc.

60 *Міжцерковна молитва за Україну та перемогу над агресором*, available on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dYUOIRIr1kA&t=927s.

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social issues was narrow-minded.[61] The main agents on the Ukrainian religious stage are the Orthodox churches, whose elites have inherited the mentality of the Soviet era, when the totalitarian state scrupulously guarded its monopoly of control over all social life. Religious communities, including the Orthodox Church, were regarded as competitors and threats to this monopoly. Thus, they were destroyed and eliminated in the first stage of building the totalitarian order. After this period of mass persecutions, the remaining Orthodox Church was totally subordinated to and dependent on the state. Soviet authorities allowed its existence, provided its activities were strictly separated from any important social issues. Since the collapse of communism, religious communities, especially those related to Eastern Christianity, have gradually discovered the secular social sphere as a new arena for their activities.

Although the Soviet totalitarian regime was already extinct, some formal, administrative obstacles to the development of closer ties between society and churches still existed in all stages of social transformation in post-Soviet Ukraine including period after the Revolution of Dignity. First of all, the atteempts of the post-Soviet nomenklatura to maintain administrative control over social activities were justified by the law. Just before the decline of the Soviet Union in 1988, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union issued a decree on the procedure for organising and holding meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations in the Soviet Union. According to this law, all public meetings had to receive permission from the local administration in order to be convened. Despite the passage of time, this law was in force until September 2016. Due to these regulations, state authorities were able to accuse mass protests during the Orange Revolution and Euromaidan of being of an "illegal nature". In addition, similar limitations were implemented in 1991 in the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations. Article 21 of this law stated that "public divine services, religious rituals, ceremonies and processions" also had to obtain permission from the appropriate local authorities no later than ten days before the event.[62]

For many years, the AUCCRO demanded the removal of regulations that made churches dependent on the will of representatives of the state. For example, in June 2010, a special address on this issue was submitted to the Ukrainian Parliament. It argued that the rules of Article 21 of the aforementioned law of 1991 discriminated against "believing citizens and religious organisations."[63] Representatives of Presi-

61 See for example: Яроцький Петро (2006): Відношення українських церков і релігійних організацій до розбудови громадянського суспільства. In "Релігійна Свобода. Взаємини держави і релігійних організацій: правові та політичні аспекти", vol. 10: 114–117.

62 Закон України «Про свободу совісті та релігійні організації», available on: zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/987-12.

63 Всеукраїнська Рада Церков закликає реально забезпечити право громадян на публічні мирні зібрання, available on: http://vrciro.org.ua/ua/news/135-vseukrayinska-rada-cerkov-zaklykae-realno-zabezpechyty-pravo-gromadyan-na-publichni-myrni-zibrannya.

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dent Yanukovych's administration cited this law during Euromaidan when they tried to deter the UGCC from actively supporting protestors in Kiev.

The UGCC had assisted both the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity from their very beginnings. On 3 January 2014, in the middle of Euromaidan, the UGCC head, Major Archbishop Sviatoslav Shevchuk, received an official letter from the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, which exercised control over the legality of the activities of religious communities. First Deputy Minister Tymofiy Kokhan informed the UGCC head that his community had no legal basis for providing services and rituals on Independence Square. The official warned Sviatoslav that since the communities of his church were not respecting the rules in Article 21 of the 1991 law, they were likely to be proscribed.[64] Ten days later, Sviatoslav responded to these threats, stating that "since human rights and the rules of social morality stem from divine law and reflect on the Church's social teaching, the Church still maintains its right to present its assessment of the situation in the country" and asserting his conviction that state authorities, "especially those whose task is to serve the people's right to religious freedom", had "enough wisdom" to not prosecute the UGCC.[65] Moreover, UGCC representatives pointed out that "when there is no dialogue between power and the people, citizens have the right to turn to clergymen to receive spiritual relief."[66]

Surprisingly, three amendments to the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations were passed in January 2016, just after the publication of the warning letter from the Ministry of Culture. In all three cases, the deputy who proposed the amendment aimed to remove from Article 21 wording that might serve as an excuse for the state administration to prosecute religious communities as a whole or to discriminate against those that could be considered detrimental to the authorities. The proposals declared that the requirement for official permits for public services and rituals was contrary to the constitution. Two of these proposals were developed and submitted by deputies from the opposition in support of the Euromaidan protestors. However, it was Hanna Herman, a deputy from the party in power, the Party of Regions, who first proposed liberalisation of Article 21. She submit-

64 Мінкультури вважає порушенням закону молитви і релігійні обряди Церков на Євромайдані, available on: http://www.irs.in.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1318%3A1&catid=34%3Aua&Itemid=61&lang=uk

65 Владі має вистачити мудрості, щоб не починати гоніння церкви – глава УГКЦ, available on: http://www.unn.com.ua/uk/news/1292599-vladi-maye-vistachiti-mudrosti-schob-ne-pochinati-goninnya-tserkvi-glava-ugkts

66 Священикам не потрібен дозвіл держави, щоб молитися з вірянами – УГКЦ, available on: http://www.unn.com.ua/uk/news/1292594-svyaschenikam-ne-potriben-dozvil-derzhavi-schob-molitisya-z-viryanami-ugkts

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ted her proposal for relevant changes on 14 January 2014.[67] In the following days, two motions of opposition related to the issue were registered.[68] Apparently, a synergy started to emerge between the Ukrainian political class and society at large, which under the Revolution of Dignity was gaining features of civic action.

However, two days later, some deputies from Herman's faction brought forward a motion proposing radical restrictions on civil rights. Their goal was to legalise repressions of manifestations of disobedience to the government. The proposed amendments obviously contradicted the principles of a law-observing state. The opposition boycotted voting, and the Ukrainian Parliament voted in the new, restrictive regulations in contravention of its status and the constitution. These regulations are known in Ukraine as the "dictatorship law." The list of deputies who voted for these scandalous amendments includes the name of H. Herman.[69] Outwardly, the way in which the aforementioned Party of Regions deputy behaved might be considered contradictory; however, this issue should instead be regarded as another example of typical post-Soviet legal culture. Its main feature is using the law as a tool for manipulation and to achieve particular goals. This was a serious obstacle to the process of development of civil society.

The democratic opposition would seem to have quickly overcome the legal obstacles to fostering the activities of religious communities in public space. The leaders of Euromaidan asserted their appreciation for the significant support they had received from religious communities during the lead-up to the overthrow of President Yanukovych in February 2014. Oleksandr Turchynov, who took over as provisional head of state, met with church leaders and religious communities on 25 February 2014 and thanked them for "staying with and supporting the people at a difficult time."[70] Shortly afterwards, the AUCCRO issued a statement in which it recognised the legitimacy of the new government and denounced any action aimed at destabilising the internal situation in Ukraine and the violation of its territorial integrity.[71] However, the issue of removing regulations that were unfavourable to religious communities remained stalled for almost the next two years. None of the motions concerning this issue were processed before the end of the term of the par-

67 ВР может отменить антиконституционные ограничения публичных религиозных собраний, http://www.irs.in.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1320:1&catid=34:ua&Itemid=61&lang=ru

68 Проект Закону 3868-1, http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=49502; Проект Закону 3868-2, http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=49564;

69 Результати поіменного голосування, available on: http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/radan_gs09/ns_arh_golos?g_id=361107&n_skl=7

70 Турчинов подякував священнослужителям за підтримку народу у складний для України час, available on: http://risu.org.ua/ua/index/all_news/confessional/auccro/55484/

71 Заява ВРЦіРО за підсумками зустрічі з керівницвом Верховної Ради України. In Майдан і Церква, Филипович Л. О., Горкуша О. В. (eds.): Київ: Самміт-Книга, 2014: 625.

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liament that had been elected in 2012. Only one year after the election of the new "post-revolution" parliament did Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights Valeriya Lutkovska demand that the Constitutional Court of Ukraine review the constitutionality of Article 21.[72] The Constitutional Court took more than one year to make a decision. The evident prolixity of the proceeding on the initiatives to relieve religious communities from direct state supervision was probably a continuation of the game being played by the Ukrainian political establishment.

It is highly significant that in the Constitutional Court's ruling, not only regulations related to religious communities, covered in the law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations, were called into question. In addition to declaring Article 21 (5) of the 1991 law unconstitutional, the court also determined that the 1988 decree concerning "secular" meetings and other eventswere unconstitutional. Maksym Vasin, an expert on church–state relations in Ukraine, remarked that the Constitutional Court's decision was "historical" in its relevance not only to "gatherings of a religious character but to any public civil action."[73] Vasin has asserted that the aforementioned decision "breaks a long history of abuses and violations by several local authorities, which hung on to Soviet regulations concerning the granting or refusal of permits." This expert has also highlighted that as a result "corruption is likely to decrease, just as the possibilities to limit criticism of representatives of state power."[74]

This is a good example of a positive correlation between the development of religious communities' rights and the process of establishing a background for fostering values commonly associated with civil society. The aforementioned prayers for victory on 2 April 2017 were likely a practical consequence of the liberalisation of the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations. The AUCCRO proved its potential as an initiator and organiser of coordinated public events both in Kiev and elsewhere, on a local level; in particular, the Eastern Christian members of the council attempted to play the role of the voice of people.

The events described above proved that the AUCCRO was gaining the status of a real, autonomous agent in the structure of the Ukrainian political system after the dramatic incidents of Euromaidan. The members of the council attempted to act as representatives of society to state institutions. President Poroshenko, who meets with the Council reasonably regularly, seems to appreciate the importance of good

72 Валерія Лутковська внесла конституційне подання до КСУ щодо відповідності Конституції України частини п'ятої статті 21 Закону України «Про свободу совісті та релігійні організації», available on: http://www.ombudsman.gov.ua/ua/all-news/pr/31115-kh-valeriya-lutkovska-vnesla-konstitutsijne-podannya-do-ksu-schodo-vidpov/.

73 Що означає рішення Конституційного Суду про мирні зібрання? (2016): available on: http://mvasin.org.ua/2016/09/1312.

74 Що означає рішення Конституційного Суду про мирні зібрання? (2016): available on: http://mvasin.org.ua/2016/09/1312.

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relationships with the council, whereas Yanukovych pointedly ignored the AUCCRO. Apparently, these meetings are mostly a courtesy and are not followed by any important political decisions. Nevertheless, members of the council have at their disposal a very important asset: social trust. Public opinion surveys consistently show that "the Church" (referring to religious communities in general) enjoys (slightly) more social trust than any other institution in Ukraine – and far more social trust than the executive and legislative branches of the government. In a survey conducted in December 2016, 56.7 per cent of respondents declared their trust in the Church; 53.5 per cent indicated trust in volunteers, and 53.1 per cent in the Armed Forces of Ukraine. However, only 5.3 per cent of respondents trusted the Ukrainian Parliament, while 9.5 per cent of respondents declared their trust in the cabinet and 13.7 per cent in the president. On the flip side, only 17 per cent of respondents explicitly did not trust the Church, compared to a staggering 82.1 per cent, 72.1 per cent, and 69 per cent who reported distrust in the parliament, the cabinet, and the president, respectively.[75]

Trust levels did not change much by the end of the following year (2017) probably as a result of a lack of any real accomplishments of Euromaidan's objectives. Undoubtedly, the conflict with Russia has complicated this task. All in all, notions such as sovereignty, freedom, community, and the common good have gained a concrete form and have started to be related to real challenges. It is likely that society can deal with these issues much better than the elites currently in power in Ukraine. The upset of President Yanukovych, for one, was possible due to the mobilisation of Ukrainian society. As a result, a solid backdrop for a modern political community developed during the Revolution of Dignity and has continued to do so. However, Ukrainians have paid a high price in return. The hybrid warfare with Russia is recognised by a significant number of elites as a pretext for creating new rent-seeking schemes and for playing out old and new conflicts between oligarchic clans. It appears that this "dignity" has become an empty slogan, since the political community has yet to gain any subjectivity.

At the moment, any rational factors concerning the legitimisation of power appear to be very fragile and are likely to be underestimated by the leaders in power in Ukraine. It would seem that in post-Soviet political culture, charisma is still considered a more important tool for legitimising power. Analysis of the course of events during the crises of 2004–2005 and 2013–2014 and research on current political customs show that good or even close relations with clergymen are recognised by Ukrainian politicians as a source of charisma. This especially relates to the high regard in which representatives of the Eastern Christian communities are held.

75 Довіра соціальним інституціям, available on: http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat= reports&id=678&page=1&t=3;

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Czech theologian Tomaš Halík has pointed out that Christianity formed European people's notions about the "sacral foundation of society" in the past.[76] Like the *religio* of Ancient Rome, Christianity became "the power that integrating society". A complex of common opinions, beliefs, and values, it was perceived as the "criterion of the loyalty of the citizen towards the state, the criterion of fulfilling his duties."[77] Throughout the history of Europe, Christianity in its "external dimension," as Europe's *religio*, seems to have functioned like a unifying social system of "beliefs" on which social communities are based, according to Eric Voegelin.[78]

Attempts to include Eastern Christianity in a unifying social system of beliefs in Ukraine have been ongoing since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus, representatives of the Ukrainian political elites emphasise their adherence to the Orthodox or Greek Catholic traditions. In this way, they aim to authenticate themselves as leaders of the political community. Undoubtedly, this tradition, as well as the church institutions within it, is considered as nothing but a tool to achieve political goals. However, a more detailed analysis of the processes that take place on the borderline between the political and religious spheres in Ukraine acknowledges a slow but systematic transformation of relationships between the main agents of these spheres. This transformation could be described, from the point of view of the religious communities, as an evolution of their role from a mostly passive tool of legitimisation of power to an active advocate of the common good.

6 Eastern Christian communities and civil society: elite level

To a considerable degree, in the future, the process of transformation of relationships between church institutions, secular society and structures related to the state power will depend on how the idea of civil society is perceived by the representatives of Eastern Christian churches, especially the UGCC and the two main Orthodox churches in Ukraine, the UOC-KP and the UOC-MP. The following remarks are based on the analysis of public statements of church superiors as well as official documents related to the involvement of these churches in social life.

76 See Halík, Tomáŝ (2006): Czy dzisiejsza Europa jest niechrześcijańska i niereligijna? In Wzywany czy niewzywany Bóg się tutaj zjawi, Kraków: WAM: 24.
77 Ibdi.: 23.
78 See Voegelin, Eric (1987): The New Science of Politics. An Introduction, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press: 31.

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6.1 UOC-KP: Adaptation of the New Phraseology to the Old Patterns

The UOC-KP has formulated its position on social doctrine as far back as 2001, in a document entitled "The Church and the world at the beginning of the third millennium."[79] This document contains some remarkable statements that might be helpful for reconstructing the mental background that shapes the perception of social reality among the elites of the UOC-KP. The authors of the document analyse the current conditions under which religion operates in the public sphere and underlined the significance of "secularisation". According to them, this was a process that removed religion from social life at the end of the twentieth century. The authors also asserted that secularisation was a consequence of the '"unchristian humanism" that has determined the development of European culture since the "second half of second millennium." Religion "provided sacral justification of the social order, determined morality, motivated human activity, and gave an afflatus to society" before the expansion of that "humanism", which in turn "create[d] its own spiritual realm for the people, which resulted in atheism, revolution, mass extermination of the people, and genocide." In the light of this document, Christianity remains in ontological conflict with a society established on that "secular culture."[80]

The notion of civil society appears in this text only once. It is associated with a model of social community based on indifference to "its own history and culture" and on a "disrespectful" approach to "the great personalities who fought for national liberation and freedom." The authors of the aforementioned document are of the opinion that civil society is "a cosmopolitan", "featureless", and "lacklustre" community that lacks an identity. Its development would be supported by "the newly established religious bodies and movements." From this perspective, civil society has an unambiguously negative meaning. According to the authors of the document, the promotion of such a model of society is counter to "the interests of the Ukrainian nation." They encourage Orthodox Ukrainians to instead seek active involvement in social life with regard to "Orthodox patriotism, national consciousness" as well as the "defence of our country" and "care for the nation's welfare."[81] This set of values is presented as an alternative, and opposite, to civil society.

In light of these statements, the involvement of the UOC-KP in the Orange Revolution and in Euromaidan on the side of pro-democratic forces might come as a surprise. However, the way UOC-KP elites behaved during the crises of 2004–2005

79 Заява ВРЦіРО за підсумками зустрічі з керівницвом Верховної Ради України. In Майдан і Церква і світ, Филипович Л. О., Горкуша О. В. (eds.): Київ: Самміт-Книга, 2014;
80 Ibdi.
81 Заява ВРЦіРО за підсумками зустрічі з керівницвом Верховної Ради України. In Майдан і Церква і світ, Филипович Л. О., Горкуша О. В. (eds.): Київ: Самміт-Книга, 2014.

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and 2013–2014 can only be understood if we consider the multilevel nature of these events. The fight for democratic values such as transparency of power, honest elections, and freedom of the media were interrelated with the more basic tasks of defence of the state's independence as well as resistance against attempts to impose a different, Russian model of post-Soviet social life. Even though some officials were unlikely to have been familiar with real democratic values, they had other compelling reasons to support the pro-democratic protests. It was quite easy to associate their main goals with a notion of Orthodox (or Christian) patriotism defined in a way that is relevant to the 2001 UOC-KP document. Moreover, it would appear that the authors of this document grew up in Soviet times. Their perceptions of civil society, civility, and other notions stemming from Western European political culture were determined by various stereotypes and prejudices fostered by Soviet anti-Western propaganda.

In order to find an explanation for the way UOC-KP behaved during the Orange and Dignity Revolutions, the specific dual nature of these events should be considered. On the one hand, these events could be regarded as factors in the process of the development of a culture of civility in post-Soviet Ukrainian society. On the other hand, the aforementioned crises might be understood as typical consequences of the ruling pattern of patronal regime cycling; this notion refers to Henry Hale's concepts of patronalism and patronalistic societies. In light of these concepts, the main agents of the social, political, and economic spheres are grouped in networks. The stability of the whole political system depends on the state of balance between competing networks. This balance is preserved when these agents are able "to coordinate their political activities" around a president as "a single recognized patron."[82] It would seem that from the elite's point of view, the Orange and Dignity Revolutions were the consequences of regrouping among different networks, the results of searching for new rules of access to power. Hale has highlighted that only "direct and personal" ties based on patron–client relationships matter, since any participants in the game can "rely on courts and the rule of law."[83] The pattern of patronal regime cycling also determines a specific type of post-Soviet society, referred to by Hale as patronalistic. According to him, "patronalistic societies are those in which connections not only matter (...) but matter overwhelmingly. Such societies typically feature strong personal friendships and family ties, weak rule of law, pervasive corruption, low social capital, extensive patron–client relationships, widespread nepotism, and what sociologists would recognize as 'patrimonial' or 'neopatrimonial' forms of domination."[84] Thus, "political pluralism" as well as the development of

82 Hale Henry E. (2016): 25 Years After the USSR: What's Gone Wrong? In "Journal of Democracy", Vol. 27, Nr 3: 30.
83 Ibdi.
84 Ibdi.: 28.

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civil society is thought to be "the byproduct of a highly corrupt power struggle" among a number of "roughly equal networks."[85] Religious communities – like all other elements of social life in Ukraine – are subordinated to and dependent on these patronalistic rules. This means that the involvement of the UOC-KP in events related to the process of establishing civil society could be considered a byproduct of attempts "to avoid being on the losing side of any struggle for supreme power."[86]

When it comes to the UOC-KP, we might consider that the public announcements of its superior, Patriarch Filaret, fitted in with the perception of civil society by these Orthodox elites. This community actively supported both Ukrainian "revolutions", although it would seem that neither Filaret nor any other representative of the UOC-KP has as yet discovered, let elaborated any modern concept of synthesis between Orthodox tradition and civil society. The fears they expressed in their 2001 document on social issues are thought to be still relevant. Preliminary analysis shows that the notion of civil society does not appear in Filaret's individual public statements and interviews. The picture of a social order that can be reconstructed on the grounds of these texts contains such elements as the state, power, justice, the duties of citizens, responsibility, and national community.

Especially, in this context, it is worth recalling Filaret's address on Dignity and Freedom Day, 2016. This is a new national holiday in Ukraine that was established on 21 November 2014 by President Poroshenko in commemoration of the Orange and Dignity Revolutions. First, Filaret asserted that these revolutions were triggered by the fact that "the state's power on each level had stopped fulfilling its duties correctly." The problem was that "state power approved offenders" and "persecuted honest citizens." Patriarch Filaret severely criticised the Ukrainian political establishment. He underlined its well-known negative features, such as corruption, lack of responsibility, populism, and "caring only about its own place in power, not about the present and future of Ukraine."[87] Filaret described in an entirely typical way a desired model of democracy that should be consolidated in Ukraine; according to him, the main pillars of this model are "institutions and tradition."

Considering the content of this address, one might gain the impression that the main and most current message is covered in its second half, in which Patriarch Filaret asserted that the authorities in power in 2016 were elected in "democratic and free elections" for the "common good of our country." He warned that snap elections would bring "chaos" and that "the state's institutions would be totally

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85 Ibdi.: 30.

86 Hale Henry E. (2016): 25 Years After the USSR: What's Gone Wrong? In "Journal of Democracy", Vol. 27, Nr 3: 30.

87 *Звернення* Патріарха Київського і всієї Руси-України Філарета до вірних Київського Патріархату і всього українського народу з нагоди дня Гідності та Свободи, available on: https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/resourses/church_doc/uockp_doc/65199/.

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destroyed", insisting that despite numerous justifiable pretensions to the contrary, the authorities "should execute their plenipotentiary to the end of the legal term."[88] It appears that in light of these remarks, the anniversaries of the Orange and Dignity Revolutions were only commemorated as a pretext for attempting to maintain social obedience and to appease the anxiety caused by hopes left unfulfilled after Euromaidan. This and many other public statements made by Filaret prove his ability to more or less effectively operate in a paradigm of concrete rewards and punishments, which is a crucial challenge to the agents of Hale's concept of the patronalistic society. At the same time, notions of social reality regarding "abstract, impersonal principles such as ideological belief or categorizations"[89] either remain beyond Filaret's scope of interest or are reduced to requirements of patronalism. This also pertains to the issues of civility, civil society, and democracy.

6.2 UOC-MP: To Search for a New Approach to the Social Mission or to Wait for the "Russkiy Mir" Coming?

Understanding matters relating to civility, civil society, and democracy appears to be even more complex in the case of the UOC-MP and its elites. The older generation of the UOC-MP establishment inherited from the Soviet era the patterns of their relationships with society, which were based on two main principles: total subordination to the state and strict separation from society. Church elites who grew up under such conditions attempted to adapt previous experiences to the new, post-Soviet situation. Especially in the 1990s, the UOC-MP remained highly dependent on Moscow. It seems that solutions and decisions on social issues elaborated in Moscow were taken at face value by the Ukrainian hierarchs, who then applied the same in the Ukrainian social context, on both a conceptual and a practical level. Thus, the UOC-MP did not elaborate its own version of a social doctrine; instead, it directly adopted a relevant document proclaimed by the Moscow Patriarchate (Russian Orthodox Church) in 2000. The notion of civil society did not appear in this document.[90]

The elites of the UOC-MP were consequently more focused on remaining loyal to Moscow than dealing with the task of building and maintaining good relationships with Ukrainian society. As a result, the UOC-MP was involved in accomplishing

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88 *Звернення* Патріарха Київського і всієї Руси-України Філарета до вірних Київського Патріархату і всього українського народу з нагоди дня Гідності та Свободи, available on: https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/resourses/church_doc/uockp_doc/65199/.

89 Hale Henry E. (2016): 25 Years After the USSR: What's Gone Wrong? In "Journal of Democracy", Vol. 27, Nr 3: 28.

90 Соціальна концепція УПЦ, available on: http://orthodox.org.ua/page/sots%D1%96alna-kontsepts%D1%96ya.

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various goals of the Kremlin, regardless of how these goals were perceived in Ukrainian society. The elites of this community consequently did not notice the symptoms of essential social changes in Ukraine, which made their presence felt very explicitly during the Orange Revolution. The UOC-MP openly supported Viktor Yanukovych, the (losing) candidate of the ruling networks of oligarchs concentrated around the departing president, Leonid Kuchma, in the 2004 elections. This choice itself would not have been a problem if numerous bishops and clergymen from the UOC-MP had not legitimised self-evident electoral frauds and falsifications. The UOC-MP seriously engaged in the presidential elections, but its superiors did not notice the fact that not only a new patron was chosen in these elections; Ukrainians were also forced to choose between a patronalistic and a civil model of future social development. In 2004, the UOC-MP very openly supported the former.

The process of establishing civil society in Ukraine was interrupted soon after the Orange Revolution. The candidate who lost the 2004 elections came back to power, first as prime minister and finally as president. It seems the prospect of transforming post-Soviet Ukrainian society into something more civil were tossed aside. After being elected president in 2010, Yanukovych started to favour the UOC-MP. Nevertheless, at least some UOC-MP elites seemed to remember that maintaining ties that were too close to one patron resulted in a decrease of social capital. We can assume that the superior of the UOC-MP at the time, Metropolitan Volodymyr (Sabodan), and a circle of his close collaborators started to recognise and appreciate the increasing significance of society as a factor on which the existence of the UOC-MP indeed depends.

Probably for this reason, on 30 September 2013, Volodymyr and other heads of Ukrainian religious communities co-signed a statement “On the discussion concerning European values in Ukraine.”[91] It stressed the importance of European roots for Ukraine’s identity. In it, they stated that “our social and state life” was formed “in a relationship with Europe and its spiritual, cultural, educational, and legal tradition.”[92] The authors stressed that Ukraine was facing a “choice of further development.” At the same time, they made it clear that only one option was naturally compatible with Ukraine’s “historical roots”: it becoming an independent state entity “within the circle of free European nations.”[93]

Unlike previous events related to the Orange Revolution, clergymen of the UOC-MP were present among protestors during Euromaidan, with representatives of this community joining common public prayers on Independence Square. Of course, we

91 Звернення Церков і релігійних організацій щодо дискусії про європейські цінності в Україні, available on: http://www.irs.in.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1281%3A1&catid=50%3Azv&Itemid=78&lang=uk.

92 Ibdi.

93 Ibdi.

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should recall that even though some UOC-MP priests appeared among the protestors, either supporting them or trying to fulfil the role of peacekeepers, others blessed President Yanukovych and the troops that went to fight the activists. However, an analysis of the conduct of UOC-MP representatives before and during Euromaidan seems to confirm the words of the former spokesman of the community, Georgy Kovalenko, who summarised the events by stating that "we survived the years 2004–2005, and we formed certain conclusions" from that period.[94]

It would seem that at least some representatives of the elites of the UOC-MP gradually started to accept the notions of civility and civil society. It is worth recalling in this context an important presentation from the current superior of the UOC-MP, Metropolitan Onufrii, on 4 April 2014, at which time he chaired the AUCCRO. He evaluated the challenges related to the situation that arose after the Revolution of Dignity. First of all, Onufrii encouraged the development of "a strategic partnership of churches, civil society, and state."[95] He underlined the dual nature of the churches, which were, on one hand, autonomous and separate from state and society and, on the other hand, "the only strong institutions of civil society" in Ukraine. Metropolitan Onufrii claimed that nowadays "a broad area for cooperation between the churches and civil society" has been established in order to achieve "a new revival of the Ukrainian state." A representative of the UOC-MP concluded that "we are called to synergy between churches, civil society, and the state as three independent institutions" and stressed that "synergy means creative cooperation" instead of "a unification or absorption of one entity by another".[96]

The declarations of Metropolitan Onufrii may be evidence that at least some UCP-MP elites drew conclusions from the Orange Revolution and from Euromaidan. Above all, they already understand that it is impossible to fulfil their social mission by supporting creative relations exclusively with the state. Thus, some of the Orthodox hierarchs have started to become accustomed to the phraseology of the discourse related to civil society, but this does not mean that they understand this issue in a way that is relevant to any common notions of civility.

Nevertheless, the aforementioned speech by Metropolitan Onufrii could be considered a distinct move forward, away from the concept of society presented in the social doctrine adopted by the UOC-MP in 2000 and towards a more concrete and modern vision of social order related to the notions of civility and civil society. Oufrii's statement simply shows that some UOC-MP elites would potentially be able to cope with a different, non-patronalistic model of society. There is already a new

94 Спикер УПЦ на «Єхо Москвы» об отношении Церкви к новым властям. In Майдан і Церква, Филипович Л. О., Горкуша О. В. (eds.): Київ: Самміт-Книга, 2014.

95 Три тези головуючого у Всеукраїнській раді церков митрополита Онуфрія (УПЦ), available on: https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/resourses/church_doc/uocmp_doc/55989/;

96 Ibdi.

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generation of young potential leaders of the UOC-MP who joined the ranks of clergyman in this community after 1990, for example, Fathers Kirill Hovorun, Georgy Kovalenko, and Oleksandr Drabynko. Nevertheless, they remain excluded from the mainstream of the UOC-MP and have, to some extent, become outsiders. At the same time, there are many examples that testify to a powerful and vital faction of conservators within the UOC-MP. Its members are likely to be adherents to the patronalistic social model encouraged by the Kremlin and the Moscow Patriarchate under the notion of the "*russkiy mir*" (Russian world).

6.3 UGCC: Towards a Synthesis of Catholic Social Teaching and Challenges of the Post-Soviet Social Life

It seems that the UGCC is the Ukrainian religious community in the Eastern Christian tradition that – for various reasons – has best accommodated patterns of civil society. First of all, in contrast to the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches, the UGCC had the chance to experience the importance of civil values during the Soviet period. This community was outlawed in 1946 and remained underground until 1989. It was the largest organisation fully independent of the Soviet state and had to learn how to survive under a totalitarian atheist regime. First of all, underground clergy had to appreciate the significance of close ties to the faithful, leading to the development of a sense of community. The UGCC was able to survive this difficult period due to such virtues as the ability to self-organise, responsibility, and willingness to cooperate and sacrifice for the common good. It seems that due to the heritage of the "period of catacombs", the elites of the UGCC understand quite well their relationships with the faithful; they know they should be with them, not above them.

Second, in contrast to the Ukrainian Orthodox churches, the UGCC has never been limited by Soviet and post-Soviet spaces. UGCC structures in Ukraine cooperate closely with other parts of the church in East-Central and Western Europe, as well as in North and South America. Therefore, the UGCC is not closed within one post-Soviet, patronalistic social context. As a rule, Greek Catholic bishops are educated not only in Ukraine but also abroad, in Poland, Germany, Canada, the United States, and Italy. Thus, they obviously have many more opportunities to experience different social customs and modern ideas.

Third, the UGCC inherited from the Roman Catholic Church the requirement to shape basic doctrinal principles, rules, and theses into both abstract and formal definitions. The general *Catechism of the Catholic Church* provides a great deal of guidance on how to handle modern social processes. In 2011, the UGCC formulated its own catechism. This document contains a brief and relatively clear definition of civil society that accommodates Christian ethics: "Church is a life-giving environment for sanctifying human nature and for personal development. In Church, a human can also develop himself in his social dimension (…). A desire for sanctity

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itself opens Christians to serve fellow man and society. For that reason, Christians are creative participants in civil society."[97] The authors of the catechism further wrote: "Civil society is marked by the proclivity of its members towards internal self-organisation, openness, and autonomous activity for the common good. The Church in its social dimension is a pattern of civil society as long as it raises Christian citizens who are able to be sympathetic to the needs of a fellow man and react to them."[98]

It is worth noting that these statements not only stemmed from abstract theological reflection but also were based on practical experience. The UGCC should be considered the religious community within the Eastern Christian tradition in Ukraine that is most open to society. The sophisticated phrases of its catechism are based on broad experience gained during the catacombs period as well as, for example, through its involvement in the development of civil society in Ukraine during the Orange Revolution. The UGCC elites adopted the notion of civil society long before the publication of its catechism. A former superior of the UGCC, Major Archbishop Lubomyr (Husar), had already in 2003 written about civil society as a type of community in which "everyone can develop themselves while still preserving the common good."[99]

So, to what extent are Eastern Christian church elites able to play the role of promoters of civil society? It is not easy to answer this question. The UGCC appears to be the most credible adherent to civil society on the elite level. Of course, this does not mean that the UGCC is wholly independent of the patronalistic patterns and rules of post-Soviet social life. Certainly, the leaders of the two main Orthodox Churches in Ukraine (the UOC-MP and the UOC-KP) tend more towards clientelistic behaviour. Some of them have attempted to take part in public discourse related to the issue of civil society; however, in many cases, they have seemingly learned only the basic phraseology related to civility. They use it as a kind of contemporary newspeak that should be mastered so as not to be excluded from the shifting neopatrimonial schemes.

97 Катехизм Української Греко-Католицької Церкви «Христос – наша пасха» (2012): Львів: Свічадо: 279.
98 Катехизм Української Греко-Католицької Церкви «Христос – наша пасха» (2012): Львів: Свічадо: 279.
99 Гузар Любомир (2008): Проповідь блаженного Любомира під час Божественної Літургії на празник Юрія Побідоносця. In Соціально зорієнтовані документи Української греко-католицької церкви (1989–2008), Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету: 588.

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7 Eastern Christian communities and civil society: community level

Obviously, the impact of the Eastern Christian churches and the religious sphere in general on the process of implementing civil values in social customs in Ukraine should also be evaluated from a community perspective.

It is important to consider community not only in terms of organized civil society but also in terms of the attitudes, perceptions, and affiliations of individuals, any of which may predispose them (or not) to participating in or joining a 'community'. Moreover, these attitudes and perceptions, to some extent determine rules which constitute communities.

However, this issue is highly complex and demands both a broader and a more detailed examination, so the analysis here is limited to some brief remarks, mostly based on surveys recently conducted by one of the most influential non-governmental think tanks in Ukraine: the Razumkov Centre.

According to the data[100], the percentage of Ukrainians who believe that the social activity of the Churches in Ukraine[101] have a positive impact on the development of a "democratic society" has increased, from 46 per cent in 2000 to 56 per cent in 2016. It would also appear that in terms of perception, after the collapse of USSR religion has returned as "one of the elements of political life". Moreover, 46 per cent of respondents are convinced of positive consequences stemming from the religious communities' involvement in social life. In general, though the majority of Ukrainians (56%) expect the Churches not to intervene in relationships between "people and the state power", 23 per cent of respondents would like the religious communities to criticise abuses of state power.

The results of the Razumkov Centre's surveys further show that trust in Churches and religion and perceptions of their social role differ depending on region. More than 82 per cent of respondents in Western Ukraine trust the Churches, compared to only about 50 per cent in Central, Eastern, and Southern Ukraine, roughly similar to the percentage of those who explicitly mistrust religious communities. (The Donbas region, in Eastern Ukraine, is an exception; there, the percentage of those who distrust the Churches (45 per cent) is slightly higher than those who trust religious institutions (40 per cent). In Western Ukraine, the majority (74 per cent) are con-

100 See Релігія, церква, суспільство і держава: два роки після Майдану (2016): Київ;
Data was taken from the survey of Razumkov Center from 2016. There were 2018 people at the age up of 18 interviewed in all regions of Ukraine except for the annexed Crimea and parts of the Ukrainian territory occupied by so called "separatists".

101 Authors of the survey use a notion "Tserkva" (Церква) witch literally means "Church". However, in a given context this category refers to "religious institutions" or "Churches in Ukraine" (in general)

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vinced of the positive role of Churches in social life. In Eastern and Southern Ukraine, only 33 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively, agree with this statement. Here, it is worth to calling attention to the fact that over 78 per cent of respondents in Western Ukraine, but only 17 per cent in Eastern and 35 per cent in Southern Ukraine, received religious education at home. The data from the surveys also show that the custom of supporting Churches financially is more widely accommodated in Western Ukraine than in the other regions.

The number of religious believers is continuously increasing in all regions of the country. The number of declared believers has increased since 2000 till 2016 in the Western Ukraine from 87.9% to 91%, in the Center from 54.7 % to 74.5%, in the Eastern Region from 48.1% to 55.6% and in Southern regions from 48.8% to 65.7%. Nevertheless, there are still those who declare that they do not belong to any religious community. On a national basis, one-third of those who declare themselves as being Orthodox appear to not be associated with any church. This phenomenon is especially widespread in Eastern (24.3% of respondents associated with Orthodoxy) and Southern (37.5% of respondents associated with Orthodoxy)[102] Ukraine, where, it would seem, many such not-belonging believers declare themselves as being simply Orthodox, meaning that they do not identify with any of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches.

Overall, the data seem to indicate quite favourable prerequisites for the churches' attempts to affect social customs in Western Ukraine. In other regions, especially in Eastern and Southern Ukraine, the ability of religious communities to shape social reality seems to be more limited. More generally, the establishment any further development of civil society in Ukraine is determined by certain important factors that will be returned to shortly hereafter.

8 Conclusion

The potential role and practical involvement of the Eastern Christian churches in the process of civil society development in Ukraine can be evaluated in several different ways. At the system level, the Eastern Christian churches have some important, real assets – relatively close relationships with society, quite well-developed organisational structures, trust capital, and symbolic capital – that are important for the identities of individuals and of the Ukrainian social community as a whole. For these reasons, the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches may provide the infrastructure necessary to develop civil society in Ukraine.

102 For the Western region this indicator amounted 5.2%.

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The problem seems to be more complicated on the elite level. Church leaders have very often become entangled in neopatrimonial networks. They are able to cope quite efficiently with various agents of the political system on informal terms and can therefore play the role of advocates of society, who very often have to deal with the hostile state. At the same time, the Eastern Christian and especially Orthodox churches lack the intellectual base and personal experience necessary to develop social teachings related to the issue of civility under the post-Soviet social reality. Thus, it is possible that the notions of civil society and civility in Ukraine may acquire slightly different meanings in comparison with their standard definitions in Western political culture. Of course, the question of how far the semantic boundaries of these notions can be expanded arises. This is an interesting and disputable issue, but resolving this problem is not the aim of this chapter. It should rather be considered an invitation to a further discussion.

When looking at the community level, Eastern Christian churches in Ukraine seem to have at their disposal some resources that could be useful in fostering values of civil society. However, this is only a hypothesis, which needs to be verified. Furthermore, in research on the prospects for the process of civil society development in Ukraine, particular attention should be paid to the issue of overcoming Soviet mental heritage and to progress in terms of building a sense of cultural, social, and political sovereignty from post-Soviet Russia.

These are both considerable challenges, especially for the UOC-MP. Its main structures were inherited directly from the Soviet past, as were many of its elites. Further democratisation of Ukraine and deeper accommodation of the principles of civil society in social customs would seriously change the geopolitics of the post-Soviet space. These developments would essentially be obstacles to the ambitious Russian aims to reconsolidate a large part of the former Soviet Union around Moscow. Thus, the UOC-MP might be regarded as a tool of Russian soft power in Ukraine. The social credibility of the UOC-MP will decrease as long as there are people in its ranks who are either hostile or openly indifferent and unsympathetic to the independence and subjectivity of the Ukrainian community. In this context, the migration of basic religious communities (parishes) from the UOC-MP to the UOC-KP is very symptomatic; over sixty such cases have taken place in 2014–2015.[103] These events mayindicate that the UOC-MP is consequently losing social capital as well as believers and infrastructure.

From the perspective of the media, the decisions of local communities to change denomination stems as a rule from the grassroots initiatives of believers. It would seem that in many cases these events could be considered examples of civil activism and evidence of an ability to self-organise. However, this is, again, merely a hypoth-

103 Від УПЦ (МП) до УПЦ КП: інтерактивна карта переходів, available on: https://risu.org.ua/ua/index/exclusive/review/61901/.

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esis. An especially important question is whether and to what degree this process of migration was, or might be, influenced by local authorities and existing networks of patronalistic dependencies. Indeed, each individual transfer of a parish from one Orthodox denomination to another needs to be thoroughly examined. Even the most careful scrutiny of press releases, official statements, and other documents does not provide empirical material sufficient to comprehensively explain these events. A thorough explanation might be possible if the informal rules that determine the relationships between local religious and state (administrative) structures were revealed. Deeper research involving participant observation may provide more reliable answers related to the reasons and important circumstances of these transfers.

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Vasilios N. Makrides

Christian Communities, Civil Society and Civic Engagement in East and West: Convergences and Divergences

1 Introduction

It is well-known that the notion of civil society does not only have a specific background and history, but has also undergone quite a conceptual development over the last centuries depending on various socio-political contexts, local articulations and specificities. This also concerns the role of religion in the building of a future civil society and the potential challenges connected with it.[1] The differences between the West European and the American (US) forms of civil society are, for instance, a case in point.[2] Yet, talking specifically about the civic engagement of Christian actors and communities is not like talking about other forms of social engagement and action, which, after all, may be historically observed throughout the history of Christianity in numerous forms and in different settings. Christians were quite active from the very beginning in philanthropic and welfare activities not only towards their co-religionists, but also towards non-Christians. Such systematic activities are considered, among other factors, to have played a crucial role in the explosive and successful expansion of the new religion within the dominant pagan environment, given that they enhanced significantly the attractiveness of the new religion for potential converts.[3] After the political recognition of Christianity and its further institutionalization from the 4th century onwards, such and many other so-

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1 From the rich bibliography on the topic, see Strachwitz, Rupert Graf, *et al.*, eds. (2002): Kirche zwischen Staat und Zivilgesellschaft. Berlin: Maecenata Verlag; Borutta, Manuel (2005): Religion und Zivilgesellschaft – Zur Theorie und Geschichte ihrer Beziehung. (Discussion Paper SP IV 2005–404). Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB); Liedhegener, Antonius / Werkner, Ines-Jacqueline, eds. (2009): Religion zwischen Zivilgesellschaft und politischem System. Befunde – Positionen – Perspektiven. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; Roßteutscher, Sigrid (2009): Religion, Zivilgesellschaft, Demokratie. Eine international vergleichende Studie zur Natur religiöser Märkte und der demokratischen Rolle religiöser Zivilgesellschaften. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft; Bauerkämper, Arnd / Nautz, Jürgen, eds. (2009a): Zwischen Fürsorge und Seelsorge. Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus; De Hart, Joop / Dekker, Paul / Hartman, Loek, eds. (2013): Religion and Civil Society in Europe. Dordrecht: Springer.

2 Norris, Pippa (2013): 'Does Praying Together Mean Staying Together? Religion and Civic Engagement in Europe and the United States'. In J. De Hart / P. Dekker / L. Hartman (eds.), Religion and Civil Society in Europe. Dordrecht: Springer: 285–306.

3 Stark, Rodney (1997): The Rise of Christianity. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP: 73–94, 147–162.

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cial activities of Christian actors, both official and unofficial, can be observed at numerous levels. However, there have been early enough divergent trajectories in Eastern Orthodox and Western Latin Christianity due to differing socio-political circumstances. The political engagement of the church in the Latin West and the concomitant ambitions of the Popes in Rome due to their competition with various political leaders are a case in point. It becomes then clear from the outset that the social presence and activism unquestionably belong to a common Christian heritage, yet for a plethora of reasons their concrete articulations and repercussions varied considerably in East and West. These differences can be detected, analyzed and explained through a systematic comparative analysis of both historical branches of Christendom across history.

More specifically, the issues of civil society and civic engagement, especially those concerning the related involvement of Christian actors and communities, also exhibit various specificities, which point again to such differences between East and West. This is because they first emerged, were conceptualized and were further articulated within the context of West European modernity, whose socio-political significance was in many respects paradigmatic for the rest of the world. This manifests itself in a series of state independent, autonomous forms of social organization, presence and action, as well as in related plural networks, all evident in the public sphere. In addition, and in a broader sense, civil society is associated with processes of civilization and democratization through the free and voluntary social engagement of citizens. Initially, it was about an attempt to break away from the absolute power and control of political, religious and other authorities, to pluralize and liberalize society, and to foster its receptivity and potential for further democratic developments. More recently, civil society was conceived as the "third societal sector", clearly distinct from the goals and interests of the political government, the financial elites and other established authorities, which were not necessarily considered as always reflecting the interests and the will of the citizens. Hence, such authorities had to be counter-balanced by other societal actors through individual or collective initiatives, who would thereby contribute to the further pluralization, democratization and liberalization of the public scene. The rise, rapid proliferation and global significance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), supported by private initiatives and supranational institutions, is clear evidence of such a civil society spirit in recent decades. Civic engagement, either as individual or group activity, thus addresses issues of public concern in both political and non-political actions. Ultimately, civil society is not defined statically, but is understood more flexibly and dynamically as a complex and multidimensional web of multiple operations and interactions of different civic actors within a given context. In contemporary terms, civic engagement is predominantly connected with democratization processes, the protection of individual human rights, the support of minorities of all kinds and their better societal integration, the promotion of a liberal ethos and tolerance, peaceful and reasonable acceptance of difference, and the ideal of multiculturalism.

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Given this particular genealogy of modern civic engagement, it goes without saying that this was also closely related to Western Christianity, even if initially in ambiguous and even conflictual ways. In other words, the relationship between the promoters of a civil society and the Christian Churches in Western Europe was not historically a smooth one. It was particularly the Roman Catholic Church and its powerful establishment that were considered as the exact opposite of a civil society and as a serious hindrance to its realization.[4] After all, the entire project of West European modernity went hand in hand with a serious questioning of the authority and the privileges of this Christian institution and led to significant and even radical changes in its social status over the long run. In general, the Western promoters of a civil society did not consider the Western Churches and generally religions as pertinent factors for its development and dissemination. This also included the Protestants to some degree, though these were generally regarded as more eligible than Roman Catholics to adapt to the prerequisites of a civil society and to modernity at large. However, the above difficulties relate more to Western Christian institutions and not to specific Western Christian communities or individual actors, who exhibited at times an impressive civic engagement, even at the expense of or in disagreement with their church institution respectively. Despite these difficulties, Western Churches and Christians did gradually develop various ways to be more actively engaged in civic matters and managed to exhibit a varied civic engagement. In the course of this evolution, Western Christian institutions and actors, particularly after the Second World War, gradually overcame their previous social marginalization and privatization and took on a more important civic role, as they could also participate in the construction of civil society.[5] The reasons for this change are quite manifold. For example, they are related to the crisis of Western secularity and the emergence of a post-secular age, in which religions are called to play a significant role, albeit a different one than in the past.[6] In Western Europe specifically, this had also to do with the crisis of the welfare state, the decline of traditional values and norms, the weakening of conventional social integration systems, and the increasing social segmentation. The document "Wort zur wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Lage in Deutschland" of 1997, issued jointly by the heads of the Roman Catholic and the Protestant (Evangelical) Church in Germany, on topics of social welfare, justice and economy was such an appeal to Western Christians to play a more active role in

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4 Große Kracht, Herman-Josef (1997): Kirche in ziviler Gesellschaft. Studien zur Konfliktgeschichte katholischer Kirche und demokratischer Öffentlichkeit. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.

5 Albrecht, Christian / Reiner, Anselm, eds. (2015): Teilnehmende Zeitgenossenschaft. Studien zum Protestantismus in den ethischen Debatten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949–1989. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

6 Habermas, Jürgen (2006): 'Religion in the Public Sphere', European Journal of Philosophy, 14: 1–25.

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shaping the future civil society.[7] The same holds true for the Encyclical Letter "Centesimus Annus" by Pope John Paul II, which, among other things, clearly exposed the church's view on civil society.[8]

The main question arising in this context is what happens with the other historical branch of Christianity in Eastern and South Eastern Europe, namely the Orthodox one, and its various diasporic communities across the globe, mostly in Western settings. Does Orthodoxy exhibit the same readiness today to contribute to the formation of a civil society? Or does it show certain particularities in this regard? In order to answer these questions, it is first necessary to make a broader comparison between East and West in terms of the social presence of the church, and then proceed to an analysis of a specific case that may illustrate the existing differences between Orthodox and Western Christianity in terms of civil society and civic engagement. Before launching into the main subject, it should be noticed that there have been intense discussions in recent decades, especially after the collapse of the former Eastern Bloc (1989–1991), about the relationship between civil society and Orthodox Christianity, both at the macro- and the micro-level. This radical socio-political change was coupled with a strong desire not only to find a new meaning, but also to establish democracy and civil society after decades of totalitarianism.[9] Further, churches in post-socialist countries, including the predominantly Orthodox ones, were deemed able to move in a civil society direction.[10] There have been also specific proposals on what a future civil society of Orthodox provenance would look like and how it could be constituted.[11] However, it was also a highly controversial issue, as the answer to a possible link between Orthodox Christianity and civil society was in many cases negative, combined with gloomy prognoses about the democ-

7 Wort (1997): Zur wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Lage in Deutschland. Diskussionsgrundlage für den Konsultationsprozeß über ein gemeinsames Wort der Kirchen, Kirchenamt der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland / Sekretariat der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz (eds.).

8 John Paul II, Pope (1991): 'Centesimus Annus'.

9 Hann, Chris, and the "Civil Religion" Group, eds. (2006): The Postsocialist Religious Question: Faith and Power in Central Asia and East-Central Europe. Berlin: LIT.

10 Hann, Chris (2003): 'Zivilreligion: Modell der Toleranz und Ökumene?', Ost-West-Gegeninformationen, 15/4: 3–9.

11 With regard to post-Soviet Russia, see Kharkhordin, Oleg (1998): 'Civil Society and Orthodox Christianity', Europe-Asia Studies, 50: 949–968; Van der Zweerde, Evert (1999): ''Civil Society' and 'Orthodox Christianity' in Russia: A Double Test-Case', Religion, State & Society, 27: 23–45; Stoeckl, Kristina (2009): 'Staatskirche und Diaspora. Die zwei Erscheinungsformen von Zivilgesellschaft in der russischen Orthodoxie'. In A. Bauerkämper / J. Nautz (eds.), Zwischen Fürsorge und Seelsorge. Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt/New York: Campus: 237–258. From a critical standpoint, see Teper, Juri (2017): 'How Civic is Russia's New Civil Religion and How Religious is the Church?'. In E. Lewin / E. Bick / D. Naor (eds.), Comparative Perspectives on Civil Religion, Nationalism, and Political Influence. Hershey PA: Information Science Reference (IGI Global): 125–155.

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ratization opportunities in predominantly Orthodox post-communist countries. All this renders the entire topic not only extremely interesting, but also worth examining from a comparative perspective.

2 Christian Social Presence: An East-West Comparison

As already briefly mentioned, there is a common Christian heritage concerning charity work and welfare activities of all kinds, and this is evidenced throughout the long tradition of Christian philanthropy.[12] This issue and other related ones should be placed within the broader context of the Christian presence and role in society at large. Exactly on this point, we may locate various major and minor differences between Eastern and Western Christianity in their long historical development and articulation, which will be succinctly presented in this section. Needless to say, this issue also pertains to civil society and civic engagement in relation to Christianity, an area in which such differences are again clearly discernible. It should be always borne in mind that we are talking here solely about historically shaped differences between these churches and their multiple repercussions. Yet, all this should never lead to an essentialization of the East-West divide in absolute terms.

In order to better capture these East-West differences, it is necessary to look back at history and the socio-political circumstances and challenges that articulated the social presence of these churches and shaped their social profile respectively. This goes back, first, to the Christianized Roman Empire and its socio-political evolvement during late antiquity, especially after the definitive separation between the Eastern and the Western part of the empire in 395 and the end of the latter in 476. These developments had an immediate impact upon the social position and the role of the church there and its connection to political power. In the Latin West, the church had shown signs of resilient independence from political control and other related constraints early enough. Because of its strong authority, power and influence, the Papal See in Rome acquired a self-understanding of religious and general superiority and thus was not ready to succumb to any political or other pressure. It was a model of church-state relations that emphasized the fundamental autonomy of the church; consider, for example, the ideas and policies of some influential Latin Church figures, such as Ambrosius of Milan, Augustine of Hippo in his *De civitate Dei*, written between 413 and 426, and Pope Gelasius I with the so-called *Doctrina*

12 The same holds true for other religions, as well. See Ilchman, Warren F. / Katz, Stanley N. / Queen II, Edward L., eds. (1998): Philanthropy in the World's Traditions. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana UP.

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Gelasiana, namely his letter to the Byzantine Emperor Anastasios I in 494. There Gelasius I clearly distinguished between the two powers ("two swords"), the spiritual and the temporal, while distinctly pleading for the independence of the church from earthly politics and making a case for the church's inherent supremacy due to its divine origin and nature. The political end of the Western Roman Empire in 476 not only precipitated these developments, but allowed the church to acquire its own political power (cf. the foundation of the Papal State in 754 due to an alliance with the Franks), combined with its enhanced universal claims for world dominance. It was the beginning of a long period of intense debates, tensions and conflicts between the popes and the political leaders throughout the Middle Ages in the West over power, authority and supremacy (cf. the investiture controversy). In this framework, the popes drafted occasional alliances with political leaders, yet they strove simultaneously to keep always their independence intact. It is exactly out of this spirit and status of autonomy that the church here felt a more urgent need to deal independently with various non-religious, worldly issues and to articulate related effective strategies. This did not only concern the political domain, by also society at large, which the church aspired to control and shape according to its own criteria and objectives. This particular situation did not only strengthen the church's social presence as an autonomous actor with its own specific social agenda. It also created a climate of world-relatedness in the sense of active world-affirming and world-controlling attitudes, which became a constant characteristic of the Roman Catholic involvement in worldly affairs across history.

It was exactly this particular constellation that was basically absent in the Orthodox East, which consequently followed another course of development. This is principally due to the specific church-state relations here, which implied a certain delineation and regulation of the affairs of the church, which thereby could never become an autonomous political or social actor. Aside from their tensions, problems and conflicts, church and state remained basically together throughout the long history of the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire. Within this frame of reference, church and state had distinct responsibilities and areas of action, despite their common divine origin, unity, cooperation, reciprocity and complementarity. It is not coincidental that the Byzantine Church never raised any political claims, because this was not possible in the prevailing "symphony model" of the East. In addition, social issues were never considered as the immediate responsibility of the church, but as that of the state. According to the sixth Novella of Emperor Justinian I (527–565) in 535, explaining the God-ordained symphony between *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, the church had to deal with the divine things, whereas the state was entrusted with the diligent care of the earthly, human affairs. Both were considered as stemming from the one and the same source, i.e. God, and both were meant to serve

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human life and beings in the best way.[13] In the Byzantine political philosophy, this special church-state relationship was also portrayed as analogous to the one between the soul and the body in the human organism. In reality, however, the Byzantine model of church-state relations came much closer to a form of Caesaropapism. Importantly enough, this model left a long-lasting legacy in the Orthodox East with various local expressions and modifications, such as in Tsarist Russia.[14] In the present day, this legacy survives *mutatis mutandis* in many predominantly Orthodox countries in Eastern and South Eastern Europe, although the political systems of these countries have been largely influenced by Western secular modernity. Yet, the latter has never managed to fully neutralize the traditional Orthodox ideal of a closeness between church and state.[15] This explains why today in such Orthodox countries we encounter various mixed situations involving the crafting of a new form of church-state symphony in the sense of a privileged partnership that represents neither the Western secular model nor the Byzantine tradition of church-state regulation. This situation was aptly described as "symphonic secularism"[16], an expression pointing to the aforementioned Orthodox ambiguities; or as "asymmetric symphonia"[17], thus pointing to the stronger role of the modern sovereign state in decision-making, which by definition is superior to the church and which can regulate the religious affairs within its territory by its own will and power.

It was in this broader context that the church could proclaim its own social message and develop its own activities, yet all this was regarded as complementary to the related activities of the state. In other words, the church in the East could never become a fully autonomous actor in society, for it had to maintain its cooperation with the state and the traditional "division of labor" between them intact. By contrast, no symphony was possible in the Latin West because of the lack of a central and permanent imperial authority in Rome. This Eastern model left its imprint until today in predominantly Orthodox contexts, given that the churches there view themselves as (official) partners of the state in the provision of social welfare. In this context, the church assists the state in addressing such issues, but does not make them its priority. The church also generally avoids to undertake political responsibilities on a permanent basis. Thus, when Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus became

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13 Barker, Ernest, ed. (1957): Social and Political Thought in Byzantium: From Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 76.

14 Uspenskii, Boris A. (1998): Царь и патриарх: Харизма власти в России. Византийская модель и ее русское переосмысление. Moskva: Yazyki russkoi kul'tury.

15 Leuştean, Lucian N. (2011): 'The Concept of Symphonia in Contemporary European Orthodoxy', International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church, 11: 188–202.

16 Ghodsee, Kristen (2009): 'Symphonic Secularism: Eastern Orthodoxy, Ethnic Identity and Religious Freedoms in Contemporary Bulgaria', Anthropology of East Europe Review, 27: 227–252.

17 Anderson, John (2007): 'Putin and the Russian Orthodox Church: Asymmetric Symphonia?', Journal of International Affairs, 61: 185–201.

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the first President of the new founded Republic (1959) and remained in this position until his death (1977), this unusual situation triggered serious reactions among various Orthodox circles as an uncanonical action. No doubt, there was a period in the history of Orthodox Christianity when the church acquired a greater and exclusive responsibility over social issues. This took place under Ottoman rule in South Eastern Europe (15th–early 20th c.). At that time, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the only institution surviving the fall of Byzantium, had become part of the Ottoman administration and was entrusted with the non-religious affairs of the entire Orthodox Millet. This was a significant extension of its jurisdiction to the non-religious realm (e.g., law, education, finances), a fact that rendered the church a crucial parameter for the lives of the Orthodox subjects, despite various early secularizing reactions from the 18th century onwards. Yet, this broader role of the church at that time was seen as an exception from the rule, not as the normative and permanent situation. Within the provisions of the modern nation-state, the church was again limited primarily to its religious responsibilities, whereas the worldly affairs were mainly undertaken by political, social and other secular actors. Hence, the traditional "division of labor" between church and state resurfaced again, albeit in a modern form. Further, exceptions aside, the usual subservience of the Orthodox Churches to the state and their strong nationalization did not enable them to develop an autonomous and critical stance on social and other issues, but usually led them to legitimize state decisions and policies.

This particular situation led to a rather weak and limited affirmative world-relatedness among the Orthodox and created a stronger predilection for other- and outerworldly orientations by putting more emphasis on world-escapist and world-negating attitudes.[18] The perspective on the world *sub specie aeternitatis* is certainly a common Christian heritage and is found in both East and West, yet again with significant differences. The Roman Catholic Church is undoubtedly such an other-worldly institution, which, however, at the same time exhibits strong worldly elements and ambitions. The Orthodox Churches, on the other hand, have historically shown more often a neglect of history and a withdrawal from society and did not interfere very actively in worldly affairs with the intention to influence and potentially change them. Hence, there were continuous tensions between the inner life of the church and the engagement for the life of the outer (secular) world. Finding the right balance between history and eschatology was never an easy task for all Chris-

18 Savramis, Demosthenes (1963): 'Max Webers Beitrag zum besseren Verständnis der ostkirchlichen 'außerweltlichen' Askese', Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie (Sonderheft), 7: 334–358; Savramis, Demosthenes (1980): 'Orthodoxe Soziallehre und innerweltliche Askese', Ökumenische Rundschau, 29: 275–291.

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tian Churches, and usually one tendency predominated over the other.[19] This situation bears various implications for the issue under consideration here. For instance, there was always an interest in social matters and problems on the part of the Orthodox Churches, yet these issues were for the most part examined beyond the confines of this transient life and with a view to eternity. In other words, the final overcoming of social problems and the definitive abolition of injustices were considered to be solely eschatologically possible, not by means of thorough and painstaking social programs of thought and action in this world. Human means were never considered sufficient enough to solve social problems and replace divine action. Solutions were thus usually transposed beyond the end of history and this world. It is not accidental that in Byzantium we lack the social revolutionary spirit and the related movements observed in the Latin West. Social order, no matter how unfair and unjust, was thought to have been basically ordained by God. No doubt, there was enough social criticism, also on the part of the church, but there were no real revolutionary movements, which could overthrow and change the existing social order.[20]

Another characteristic example of these differences can be detected by looking at the monastic traditions in East and West. Christian monasticism was initially a highly otherworldly movement that had flourished in the dessert and negated the world, as well as urban culture and society. *Mutatis mutandis,* this particular tradition remained vivid in the Orthodox East until today, in which the salvation of the soul is connected in a mystical union with God through consistent ascetic life, the purification of the soul, and the complete liberation from earthly desires and concerns. Historically, however, all this implied a rather passive attitude towards the world.[21] A typical example of such a case is the monastic community on the Holy Mountain Athos. In the Latin West, by contrast, there has been a crucial transformation of monasticism from the High Middle Ages onwards with the internal differentiation of various distinct monastic orders, which undertook specific functions within the world and exercised tremendous social influences through their huge transregional and transnational networks. This social and worldly activism of West-

19 Meyendorff, John (1979): 'The Christian Gospel and Social Responsibility: The Eastern Orthodox Tradition in History'. In F. F. Church / T. George (eds.), Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History: Essays Presented to George Huntston Williams on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday. Leiden: Brill: 118–130.

20 Ševčenko, Ihor (1960): 'Alexios Makrembolites and his 'Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor'', Зборник радова Византолошког института, 6: 187–228.

21 Savramis, Demosthenes (1962): Zur Soziologie des byzantinischen Mönchtums. Leiden: Brill; Savramis, Demosthenes (1989): 'Die kultursoziologische Bedeutung des byzantinischen Mönchtums', Orthodoxes Forum, 3: 57–64.

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ern monks has been always criticized by the Orthodox as deviating from the early Christian ideals of monasticism.[22]

Such practical East-West differences are also mirrored in the theological realm, as well. Western theology has been strongly influenced by the Augustinian tradition on the original sin, the fall, and the necessary way to redemption.[23] This reflected a rather negative anthropology emphasizing the catalytic, detrimental consequences of the original sin for humans, the world and society. Such an Augustinian theology was mostly developed in the context of combatting Pelagianism in the West, which advocated a strongly optimistic and positive anthropology placing emphasis on the human potential, action and achievements. From this Augustinian perspective on justification, the social activities of the church and its extensive preoccupation with the world were regarded as part of a practical redemptive exercise that could help alleviate the material consequences of the original sin. The wholesale social engagement of the church and its concomitant drive for universal domination were interpreted as a way to restore the fallen creation. In this context, the salvation of the soul, as well as human and cosmic redemption were connected to the realization of a first "Kingdom of God" on earth through the church's social activism. Such ideas were further and radically developed within the emerging Protestantism, which in the frame of the budding early modernity led to an even greater connection between religious beliefs and worldly activities (e.g., scientific, economic, cultural).[24] All this contrasts with the different understanding of salvation and justification in the Orthodox East and its more balanced anthropology, in which the synergy between humans and God on the way to salvation predominates. In the Orthodox case, the final goal to reach deification and the true vision of God can only be achieved through contemplation, ascetic life, hesychastic experience, mysticism, as well as an overcoming of human senses and worldly concerns. In turn, such an orientation may lead to a preference for the "passive" instead of the "active" values in life, an emphasis on the improvement of the inner self, and a clearly other- and outerworldly salvation ideal.

But what was the situation after the Reformation and the advent of the modern age? In fact, the aforementioned differences between East and West became deeper, more radical and more significant. First, an even greater tendency towards an affirmative world-relatedness can be witnessed within Protestantism, which meant a

22 Gnoth, Klaus (1990): Antwort vom Athos. Die Bedeutung des heutigen griechisch-orthodoxen Mönchtums für Kirche und Gesellschaft nach der Schrift des Athosmönchs Theoklitos Dionysiatis «Metaxy ouranou kai gēs» (Zwischen Himmel und Erde). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
23 Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Johannes (2011): 'Jenseits des Heiligen Augustinus: Vom Sündenverständnis der Ostkirche'. In A. Middelbeck-Varwick (ed.), "So lauert die Sünde vor der Tür" (Gen 4, 17). Nachdenken über das Phänomen der Fehlbarkeit. Frankfurt am Main/Berlin: Peter Lang: 43–71.
24 Harrison, Peter (2009): The Fall of Man and the Foundations of Science. Cambridge: Cambridge UP; Harrison, Peter (2016): 'Science, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism', Isis, 107: 587–591.

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serious breakthrough in the Western religious, social and cultural development as a whole. It is no mere chance that in the long run Protestantism became a catalyst for sweeping societal changes and concomitant secularization, albeit inadvertently.[25] Its world-relatedness was thus often transformed into a worldliness in the sense of secularization – a development mostly criticized by the Orthodox. This was largely due to the stronger preoccupation of the Protestants with the immanent, immediate and tangible significance and impact of the Christian message, not with its other-worldly aspects. This also explains the strong Protestant critique of traditional monasticism, which was thought to be socially useless. It is thus not by chance that the initial meaning of the term "secularization" pertained to confiscations of monastic property at that time. In addition, the Protestant Churches themselves did not raise political claims and were easily adapted to the modern Westphalian pattern of church-state separation. Yet, they always remained particularly focused on worldly affairs, political, social or otherwise, and this led them finally to develop an acute social consciousness and a concomitant prevailing social activism. Interestingly, this relates to the close connection between Protestantism and the rise of modernity, which was masterfully outlined in the well-known research paradigms of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch.[26]

All this went hand in hand with the ontological upgrading and the greater valorization of this world that characterized the entire modern era at the expense of otherworldly orientations, a comprehensive change that put a serious challenge to Western Christianity (especially to Roman Catholicism). This was intrinsically connected to the rise of secularism and massive anticlerical social movements and ideologies demanding the withdrawal of Christianity from the public sphere in Western Europe. All this reached a climax after the French Revolution and in the 19th century due to the rapid industrialization and the acute problems of the working classes. Nevertheless, this also led to the counter-reactions of the Western Churches, which were thereby forced to adapt themselves to the new exigencies and to articulate anew their social presence and profile – of course, each one in a different way. It is out of this long conflictual interaction that the modern crafting of a Roman Catholic

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25 Gregory, Brad S. (2012): The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

26 Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm (2003): 'Distanz aus Nähe. Einige Anmerkungen zum 'Weber-Paradigma' in Perspektiven der neueren Troeltsch-Forschung'. In G. Albert *et al.* (eds.), Das Weber-Paradigma: Studien zur Weiterentwicklung von Max Webers. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 234–251; Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm / Schluchter, Wolfgang, eds. (2005): Asketischer Protestantismus und der Geist des modernen Kapitalismus. Max Weber und Ernst Troeltsch. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Merz-Benz, Peter-Ulrich (2018): 'Protestantismus und 'moderne Welt': Die Protestantismusthesen von Max Weber und Ernst Troeltsch aus heutiger Sicht'. In P. Opitz (ed.), 500 Jahre Reformation: Rückblicke und Ausblicke aus interdisziplinärer Perspektive. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg: 223–243.

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social doctrine and of a Protestant social ethic took place in a more systematic way. Challenged by modernity and discredited to a large degree by secular social movements and modern ideologies, these churches tried to respond more persuasively and effectively to the "Social Question" from the 19th century onwards (cf. the long tradition of Papal social encyclicals and documents starting from *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 by Pope Leo XIII). Despite much bigger problems, the Roman Catholic Church managed to make a further breakthrough in the wake of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) and basically accepted the legitimacy of modernity (e.g., the modern human rights).[27] Nowadays, both churches are often effectively integrated in the social provision system of West European states with a huge societal impact und significance, whereas they remain productive in many related areas (e.g., in developing an influential social and political theology).[28]

These developments were met on the Orthodox side mostly with reservation, negativity and rejection. One basic reason for this can be found in the lingering Orthodox anti-Westernism, which had always viewed the West and its products, both religious and otherwise, suspiciously and negatively. The West represented a fallen place out of which solely dangers for the Orthodox world had originated.[29] Aside from this, the Western Christian world-relatedness, social activism and systematic social thinking were mostly criticized as a deviation from and a secularization of the authentic Christian tradition. The Kingdom of God cannot be realized – the Orthodox position maintains – on earth as a mundane construct, but is only possible eschatologically; otherwise, the danger of secularizing the church is imminent. From such a perspective, the church never really felt the need to formulate its

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27 Uertz, Rudolf (2005): Vom Gottesrecht zum Menschenrecht. Das katholische Staatsdenken in Deutschland von der Französischen Revolution bis zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil (1789–1965). Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.

28 Pollack, Detlef (2002): 'Kirche zwischen Staat und Zivilgesellschaft: Überlegungen zum gesamtgesellschaftlichen Ort der Kirchen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland'. In R. Graf Strachwitz *et al.* (eds.), Kirche zwischen Staat und Zivilgesellschaft. Berlin: Maecenata Verlag: 22–41; Gabriel, Karl / Große Kracht, Hermann-Josef (2004): 'The Catholic Church and its Third Sector Organizations. Remarks on Historical and Present Challenges of the Church and Ecclesiastical Welfare Production in the Context of Modern Civil Society'. In A. Zimmer / E. Priller (eds.), Future of Civil Society: Making Central European Nonprofit-Organizations Work. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften: 199–216; Pickel, Gert (2015): 'Sozialkapital und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement evangelischer Kirchenmitglieder als gesellschaftliche und kirchliche Ressource'. In H. Bedford-Strohm / V. Jung (eds.): Vernetze Vielfalt. Kirche angesichts von Individualisierung und Säkularisierung. Die fünfte EKD-Erhebung über Kirchenmitgliedschaft. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus: 279–301.

29 Bremer, Thomas (2012): 'Der "Westen" als Feindbild im theologisch-philosophischen Diskurs der Orthodoxie', Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO), Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG) (ed.), Mainz, 2012-03-19.

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own distinctive social teaching in a more systematic way.[30] Solely the Russian Orthodox Church in 2000 published an official lengthy document (Основы социальной концепции = Bases of the Social Concept), presenting its normative views on a variety of social issues, which was undoubtedly an unprecedented event within the Orthodox world in general.[31] It is worth mentioning, though, that this document has not been discussed at an official level by the other Orthodox Churches so far. All in all, social issues do not seem to be at the top of the church agenda, but there have been related debates in recent Orthodox history; for example, between the "Paris School" (S. Bulgakov) and the "Neopatristic School" (G. Florovsky) in the context of the Russian Orthodox diaspora in the West during the 20th century.[32] Lately, this was again the case with the Panorthodox Council of 2016 in Crete.[33] Quite important in this context is the fact that the Orthodox world for various reasons has had until now a very limited and fragmented encounter with Western modernity. Consequently, it was never challenged by it in a serious way and was never forced to adapt its policies to the new socio-political exigencies. It has still, for example, problems accepting the legitimacy of a secular sphere in society. The fruitful and constructive encounter between Orthodoxy and (Western) modernity is thus still pending.[34]

The implications of these East-West differences are far-reaching. For instance, in the West, the Roman Catholic Church became a prime target of criticism and of orchestrated attacks in the sharpest possible form, both as an institution and as an ally of the Old Regime, in specific constellations – so during the French Revolution and later on. These anticlerical assaults were meant to discredit it and to limit its multifaceted social influence and power. In the East, however, despite social critique against the church, the latter never became the prime and main target of such attacks. The blame was normally put on the state, the government or the political

30 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2013): 'Why does the Orthodox Church Lack Systematic Social Teaching?', Skepsis. A Journal for Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Research, 23: 281–312.

31 Agadjanian, Alexander (2003a): 'Breakthrough to Modernity, Apologia for Traditionalism: The Russian Orthodox View of Society and Culture in Comparative Perspective', Religion, State & Society, 31: 327–346; Agadjanian, Alexander (2003b): 'The Social Vision of Russian Orthodoxy: Balancing between Identity and Relevance'. In J. Sutton / W. van den Bercken (eds.), Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Europe. Leuven: Peeters, 2003: 163–182; Wasmuth, Jennifer (2004): 'Sozialethik in der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche der Gegenwart', Evangelische Theologie, 64: 37–51.

32 Gerogiorgakis, Stamatios (2012): 'Modern and Traditional Tendencies in the Religious Thought of the Russian and Greek Diaspora from the 1920s to the 1960s', Religion, State & Society, 40: 336–348.

33 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2017): 'Zwischen Tradition und Erneuerung. Das Panorthodoxe Konzil 2016 angesichts der modernen Welt', Catholica, 71: 18–32.

34 Buss, Andreas (2003): The Russian Orthodox Tradition and Modernity. Leiden: Brill; Makrides, Vasilios N. (2012a): 'Orthodox Christianity, Modernity and Postmodernity: Overview, Analysis and Assessment', Religion, State & Society, 40: 248–285.

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parties, which were supposed to deal with and solve social problems in the first place. Precisely because the church was never an autonomous actor in this domain and was not compelled to take decisions or action by itself, it became solely a secondary target of criticism in this context and suffered only collateral damages from various social revolts. A case in point is the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia. The Russian Orthodox Church was treated inimically by the Bolsheviks as an integral part of the Tsarist regime and the old socio-political order, yet it was not their main and sole target. This is evident in the weak anticlericalism in imperial Russia just before the October Revolution.[35]

The above short outline does not signify that the Orthodox East altogether lacks a social consciousness whatsoever, or that it is exclusively otherworldly oriented. In fact, this is anything but true.[36] There is a long tradition of Greek Patristic thought (e.g., Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom) criticizing the social injustices of their era quite sharply.[37] In addition, the philanthropic and welfare activities of early Christians are well-known, and these were also continued in numerous forms in the Byzantine East[38] and later under Ottoman rule[39]. The same applies to other predominantly Orthodox realms[40], both in history and at present (e.g., Russia,[41] Greece[42], Serbia[43]). Many Orthodox monasteries also deployed numerous worldly activities

35 Freeze, Gregory L. (1983): 'A Case of Stunted Anticlericalism: Clergy and Society in Imperial Russia', European History Quarterly, 13: 177–200.

36 Naletova Inna (2009): 'Other-Worldly Europe? Religion and the Church in the Orthodox Area of Eastern Europe', Religion, State & Society, 37: 375–402.

37 Constantelos, Demetrios J. (1967): 'Social Consciousness in the Greek Orthodox Church', The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, 12: 306–339.

38 Constantelos, Demetrios J. (1968): Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP.

39 Constantelos, Demetrios J. (1992): Poverty, Society, and Philanthropy in the Late Medieval Greek World. New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas.

40 Scott, Anthony, ed. (2003): Good and Faithful Servant: Stewardship in the Orthodox Church. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press; Pereira, Matthew J., ed. (2010): Philanthropy and Social Compassion in Eastern Orthodox Tradition. New York: Theotokos Press.

41 Caldwell, Melissa L. (2004): Not by Bread Alone: Social Support in the New Russia, Berkeley: University of California Press; Caldwell, Melissa L. (2010): 'The Russian Orthodox Church, the Provision of Social Welfare, and Changing Ethics of Benevolence'. In C. Hann / H. Goltz (eds.), Eastern Christians in Anthropological Perspective. Berkeley: University of California Press: 329–350.

42 Fokas, Effie (2010): 'Religion and Welfare in Greece: A New, or Renewed, Role for the Church?'. In V. Roudometof / V. N. Makrides (eds.), Orthodox Christianity in 21th Century Greece: The Role of Religion in Culture, Ethnicity and Politics. Farnham: Ashgate: 175–192.

43 Vukašinović, Vladimir (2010): 'Die theologischen Quellen und Geschichte der karitativen Tätigkeit der Serbischen Orthodoxen Kirche im Laufe der Jahrhunderte', Philotheos. International Journal for Philosophy and Theology, 10: 337–359.

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(e.g., in Cyprus[44]). Further, it is highly interesting to witness how the monastic community of the Holy Mountain Athos has changed in many respects during the last decades, especially as far as its greater openness to the outer world is concerned.[45] There is also plenty of evidence that the contemporary Orthodox Churches, communities and individual actors are more ready to enter into a greater dialogue with their Western Christian counterparts with regard to social issues broadly (including those pertaining to civil society) and explore the possibilities for a more ecumenical social vision in the future.[46] No doubt, there is an Orthodox tradition of world-relatedness, yet it is different from the one developed within Western Christianity. Various studies still point to the existence of such differences between the Christian East and West at numerous levels; for example, concerning the welfare activities of the respective churches[47] and issues of civil society and civic engagement.[48] However, these divergences should not be considered as essential and systemic, but rather as contingent and relative. As already explained, they are mostly due to the divergent socio-historical circumstances in East and West and thus should not be considered as ontological. The latter is a mistaken argument, often formulated by some Orthodox thinkers, who have developed in this framework a strong anti-Western theological discourse.[49]

44 Roudometof, Victor / Michael, Michalis N. (2010): 'Economic Functions of Monasticism in Cyprus: The Case of the Kykkos Monastery', Religions (MDPI), 1/1: 54–77.

45 Fajfer, Łukasz (2013): Modernisierung im orthodox-christlichen Kontext. Der Heilige Berg Athos und die Herausforderungen der Modernisierungsprozesse seit 1988. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

46 Gabriel, Ingeborg / Papaderos, Alexandros K. / Körtner, Ulrich H. J., eds. (2006): Perspektiven ökumenischer Sozialethik. Der Auftrag der Kirchen im größeren Europa. 2nd edition. Ostfildern: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag; Gabriel, Ingeborg / Gassner, Franz, eds. (2007): Solidarität und Gerechtigkeit. Ökumenische Perspektiven. Ostfildern: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag; Gabriel, Ingeborg (2011): 'Zur Bedeutung der Sozialethik für die Ökumene. Ein Plädoyer', Una Sancta, 66: 170–179.

47 Fokas, Effie / Molokotos-Liederman, Lina (2004): 'Welfare, Church and Gender in Greece'. In N. Edgardh Beckman (ed.), Welfare, Church and Gender in Eight European Countries. Uppsala: Institute for Diaconal and Social Studies: 288–338; Petmesidou, Maria / Polyzoidis, Perikles (2013): 'Religion und Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit in Griechenland'. In H. R. Reuter / K. Gabriel (eds.), Religion und Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit in Europa. Konstellationen – Kulturen – Konflikte. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck: 177–214.

48 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2009): 'Zivilgesellschaft, orthodoxe Kirchen, orthodoxe Kulturen: Entwicklungen, Besonderheiten und Probleme'. In A. Bauerkämper / J. Nautz (eds.), Zwischen Fürsorge und Seelsorge. Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus: 215–236.

49 Mantzaridis, Georg (1982): Soziologie des Christentums. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot: 121–123, 154–155; Yannaras, Christos (1984): The Freedom of Morality. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press; Hierotheos (Vlachos), Metropolitan of Nafpaktos (1998): The Mind of the Orthodox Church. Levadia: Birth of the Theotokos Monastery. See also Wittig, Andreas (1986): 'Das Defizit einer orthodoxen Soziallehre', Ostkirchliche Studien, 35: 44–46.

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3 Christianity and Civic Engagement in East and West: The Issue of Democratization

A pertinent way to examine the relations between Orthodox Christianity and civic engagement in comparison to Western Christianity is to look specifically at some cases, which may help us to further clarify the above elaborations on the East-West differences in this domain. Such a good example for comparison is the issue of democratization, a quite recent and important one, especially after the fall of the former Eastern Bloc. The hotly debated question in this context concerned the transition from communist totalitarianism to democratic governance, a process considered difficult and uncertain due to various assumed impediments. Among them, the predominant Orthodox Christian tradition in some countries was regarded (and also criticized) as an obstacle for a future liberal democracy. This is the case with the notorious geopolitical theory of Samuel P. Huntington about the coming "clash of civilizations" after the end of the Cold War.[50] Generally, in his view, Orthodox countries "*seem much less likely to develop stable democratic political systems*".[51] This is due to many reasons, such as the centuries-old imperial past of the Orthodox world, the Patristic theological legitimation of monarchy, the very close church-state-nation relations or the still conflictual encounter of Orthodoxy with modernity. As a matter of fact, nowadays one may hear numerous Orthodox critical voices against the waves of liberalism sweeping across Western societies and the problems they present for the Orthodox believers, especially for those living in Western settings.[52] All this has triggered a large number of debates from different scholarly perspectives over the last three decades. Orthodoxy, because of its particular historical characteristics and theological trajectories, was not considered able to foster a sustainable degree of liberal democratic developments and structures in the modern sense.[53] Furthermore, other scholars warned against the danger of essentializing Orthodox Christianity as an immutable religious system that is allegedly intrinsically against changes and incompatible with modern developments. In fact, there is plenty of evidence showing the contrary and demanding a more nuanced

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50 Huntington, Samuel (1996): The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. New York: Simon & Schuster: 139–144, 157–163.

51 Huntington, Samuel (1993): 'The Clash of Civilizations?', Foreign Affairs, 72: 30–31.

52 Cf. Hopko, Thomas (1999): 'Orthodoxy in Post-Modern Pluralistic Societies', The Ecumenical Review, 51: 364.

53 Azkoul, Michael (1984): Sacred Monarchy and the Modern Secular State. Montreal: Monastery Press; Pollis, Adamantia (1993): 'Eastern Orthodoxy and Human Rights', Human Rights Quarterly, 15: 339–356; Ramet, Sabrina P. (2008): 'Redefining the Boundaries of Human Rights: The Case of Eastern Europe', Human Rights Review, 9: 1–13.

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approach to the topic.[54] As expected, such debates often transcended the narrow scholarly domain and were reproduced, often uncritically, by the media or other individual actors. For example, the developments in Putin's Russia were considered in many respects as undemocratic, intolerant and illiberal, whereas some analysts also postulated their intrinsic link to the conservatism of the Orthodox tradition. A typical example of such a case is a tweet of the ex-foreign minister of Sweden, Carl Bildt, on 24 March 2014, about the connection of Putin's anti-Western and anti-decadent line with the deeply conservative ideas stemming from the Orthodox background of the country.[55]

My intention here is neither to replicate the arguments of both sides nor to pass a final judgement about who is right and who is wrong. No doubt, there are certain particularities in the Orthodox tradition due to socio-historical reasons that appear to pose hindrances to democratic developments, especially in the modern broad liberal sense.[56] The anti-liberal discourse of the post-Soviet Russian Orthodox Church is a case in point, as it keeps a critical distance towards the liberalization

54 Harakas, Stanley (1976): 'Orthodox Church-State Theory and American Democracy', The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, 21: 399–421; Novik, Veniamin (1997): 'Democracy: a Question of Self-Limitation', Religion, State & Society, 25: 189–198; [Novik], Veniamin (1999): Православие. Христианство. Демократия. St. Petersburg: Aleteiya; Prodromou, Elizabeth H. (1994): 'Toward an Understanding of Eastern Orthodoxy and Democracy Building in the Post-Cold War Balkans', Mediterranean Quarterly, 5/2: 115–138; Prodromou, Elizabeth H. (1996): 'Paradigms, Power, and Identity: Rediscovering Orthodoxy and Regionalizing Europe', European Journal of Political Research, 30: 125–154; Prodromou, Elizabeth H. (1998): 'Democratization and Religious Transformation in Greece: An Underappreciated Theoretical and Empirical Primer'. In P. Kitromilides / Th. Veremis (eds.), The Orthodox Church in a Changing World. Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies/ELIAMEP: 99–153; Prodromou, Elizabeth H. (2004): 'Christianity and Democracy. The Ambivalent Orthodox', Journal of Democracy, 15: 62–75; Kharkhordin (1998): loc. cit.; Van der Zweerde (1999): loc. cit.; Gvosdev, Nikolas K. (2000): Emperors and Elections: Reconciling the Orthodox Tradition with Modern Politics. Huntington, NY: Troitsa Books; Papanikolaou, Aristotle (2003): 'Byzantium, Orthodoxy, and Democracy', Journal of the American Academy of Religion, 71: 75–98; Bigović, Radovan (2013): The Orthodox Church in the 21st Century. Belgrade: Foundation Konrad Adenauer / Christian Cultural Center; Wood, Nathaniel Kyle (2017): Deifying Democracy: Liberalism and the Politics of Theosis. Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, New York City; See also various contributions in Marsh, Christopher / Gvosdev, Nikolas K., eds. (2002): Civil Society and the Search for Justice in Russia. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

55 Bildt, Carl (2014): URL: https://twitter.com/carlbildt/statuses/448069450437513216 (All websites cited were last accessed in September 2019).

56 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2001): 'Orthodoxes Christentum, Pluralismus, Zivilgesellschaft'. In A. Gotzmann *et al.* (eds.), Pluralismus in der europäischen Religionsgeschichte, Marburg: diagonal-Verlag: 66–73; Makrides, Vasilios N. (2003): 'Ost- und Südosteuropa: Orthodoxes Christentum und Demokratie – inkompatible Größen?', Ost-West-Gegeninformationen, 15/4: 16–22. See also Šljivić, Dragan (2017): Between *Vox populi* and *Vox Dei*: The Orthodox Church and Embedding Democracy in Bulgaria and Serbia (2007–2012). Dr. Phil. Dissertation, University of Erfurt, Germany.

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waves sweeping across the Western world (e.g., regarding sexual morals).[57] However, to claim a fundamental incompatibility between Orthodoxy and democracy is highly problematic. This is because in such a case one has to clearly define the specific frame of reference. For example, on the formal level, the Orthodox Churches of today do not question the democratic regimes of their respective countries, whereas they coexist and cooperate with them without problems. On the content level, however, one may locate some Orthodox voices and preferences for a supposedly ideal government (e.g., a monarchy) or a pre-modern socio-political condition, which is deemed qualitatively better in religious terms than the modern secular one. Yet, such visions are hardly realizable within the modern state provisions, a fact that even the Orthodox Churches themselves often acknowledge. Seen in this way, it is about a highly complex matter that requires a differentiated approach.[58]

Usually, actions, initiatives and projects for democratization (in the broad sense of the word) belong to civic engagement of both collective entities and individual actors in a given context. For this reason, this particular issue is quite appropriate for a comparison between Orthodox and Western Christianity. A pertinent case study concerns the specific relationship of these Christian Churches with the communist regimes in Eastern, East Central and South Eastern Europe.[59] The era of communist regimes is particularly illuminating, for it can reveal some of the key features of the respective Christian Churches. In the former communist countries, there was namely a large variety of Christian traditions and establishments: Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant (Evangelical or Reformed). Due to local circumstances these traditions took on various forms (as majority or minority churches), which also included certain special cases, such as the existence of a large number of Eastern Catholics (Uniates) in some countries. One may thus put forward the following questions: How exactly were the main Christian Churches treated by the respective communist regimes? More specifically, were they treated in the same, in similar or in completely different ways? Further, what were the attitudes of these Christian Churches towards the communist regimes, which were basically inimically disposed towards them in various forms and with different repercussions? My focus here will be on the issues of church-state relations and the church opposition to the state, which bear directly on the potential civic engagement of these churches. Exactly on

57 Agadjanian, Alexander (2010): 'Liberal Individual and Christian Culture: Russian Orthodox Teaching on Human Rights in Social Theory Perspective', Religion, State & Society, 38: 97–113; Willems, Joachim (2010): 'Wie liberal ist die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche?', G2W. Ökumenisches Forum für Glaube, Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West, 38/1: 15–19.

58 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2012b): 'Sind politische Voraussetzungen und Rahmenbedingungen für die Orthodoxen Kirchen absolut notwendig?', Religion – Staat – Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für Glaubensformen und Weltanschauungen / Journal for the Study of Beliefs and Worldviews, 13/1: 53–79.

59 Kunter, Katharina / Schjørring, Jens Holger, eds. (2007): Die Kirchen und das Erbe des Kommunismus. Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag.

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this point, the related differences between Orthodox and Western Churches will become more conspicuous.

Were church-state relations in historically predominant Orthodox contexts (e.g., Soviet Union, Romania, Bulgaria) more or less the same as those existing in majoritarian Roman Catholic (e.g., Poland) or Protestant (e.g., the German Democratic Republic/GDR) milieus? No doubt, the respective communist regimes basically had an overall anti-religious agenda in mind, yet in practice they followed different policies on religions and were ready to make compromises for pragmatic reasons, based on their own interests and goals, as well as the overall circumstances. Aside from this, it is important to bear in mind some conspicuous differences that have a lot to do with the historical background of these churches respectively, especially as far as their attitudes towards political power are concerned.

A crucial point relates to the aforementioned differences in church-state relations in Europe following the Christianization of the Roman Empire. On the one hand, there was the Byzantine (East Roman) Empire with the prevailing, God-ordained church-state symphony. In this context, it is crucial to examine the willingness and the potential of the church to act as an opposition *force* and even to overthrow a government for several reasons (e.g., on the grounds that a government is going against the will of God and the right Christian faith). This is a point closely related to the communist period, as well. Historically speaking, caesaropapistic attitudes predominated in the Orthodox East, yet the church (not only the official hierarchy, but also the monastics and the believers) was often in a position to oppose certain state decisions that were considered detrimental to the Orthodox faith. This happened, for example, during the iconoclastic controversies (8th–9th c.) and in the numerous imperial attempts to unite the churches in East and West after the "Great Schism" of 1054. However, it is also true that the Orthodox Churches throughout their long history usually acted as legitimizing and stabilizing factors for their respective political establishments. This was another consequence of the aforementioned model of church-state relations with its fundamental twofold symphonic character. Accordingly, neither the church nor the state could exist separately and autonomously, for they had always to be bound together.

The question is, however, what happens if the political regime turns against the perceived will of God or exhibits an inimical face towards the church and the right Christian faith? Should the church still support it or at least tolerate it as a temporary stage in the course of human history? After all, it is a key Christian belief that nothing happens in the world accidentally and that God allows all things to happen for a reason. Without doubt, many different options have circulated in the Orthodox world, yet one strong tendency has generally been that of acceptance, toleration and conditional support of any political power. The issue here primarily concerns the usual submissiveness of the Orthodox Churches to the state and to political control. Basically, they usually appear ready to accommodate themselves to the state in a pragmatic way, to obey it, to avoid resistance or revolt, and to find a *mo-*

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dus vivendi of coexistence that is beneficial for both sides. This may even happen with an oppressive regime or a principally atheist state, which was in fact the case with communism. The Orthodox have usually interpreted well-known and related Biblical passages (Rom. 13: 1–3; 1 Peter 2: 13–16) as supporting and legitimizing this kind of submissiveness. The main argument is as follows: If any power is ordained by God, then whoever resists it, is guilty of resisting the ordinance of God and will be eventually damned. This passive attitude is also related to the preservation of the inner human freedom proclaimed by Christianity, which is considered far more important than (and cannot be influenced by) external factors, including political force, coercion and control whatsoever.

No doubt, the above and other related Biblical passages reflect specific Christian attitudes towards the Roman political authorities, which also included cases of disobedience towards the state (cf. the numerous Christian martyrs). Still, the point is how this early Christian tradition has been interpreted later on, especially once Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in 380. In the East, the Byzantine Empire managed to preserve a central imperial structure and a concomitant political ideology over its long history, which were closely connected with the church. In this context, the church could not be characterized as a revolutionary force or at least as a force that would pose constant challenges to the imperial power. After all, such an attitude was hardly an option for many Orthodox and other Oriental Christians in the Near East, who fell quickly under Islamic rule (from the 7th century onwards) and had to develop various survival strategies as minority religions. However, there is plenty of evidence that the mainstream Orthodox Churches followed the tradition of submissiveness. Even when they found themselves under foreign rule – such as in Russia under Mongol rule[60] and in the Balkans under Ottoman rule –, they usually articulated moralistic explanations bent on rationalizing or even legitimizing such developments. The Patriarchate of Constantinople and other Orthodox circles, for example, promoted the idea of the "voluntary slavery" to the Ottomans and presented their rule as being ordained by God. It was namely God – so the argument went – who had allowed the Ottomans to subjugate the Orthodox in the first place in order to save the latter from a union with the "heretics" of Latin Christendom. Thereby God wanted to preserve the authentic Orthodox faith intact and safe from a Latin takeover. The "tolerance" of the Ottomans towards their subjugated religious communities, which was based on their Millet system, was also regarded as more beneficial for the Orthodox and their religious faith than the liber-

60 Klein, Wassilios (2005): 'Tatarenjoch – Татарское иго'? Beobachtungen zur Wahrnehmung des Islam im eurasischen Raum (Erfurter Vorträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 4). Erfurt: Universität Erfurt.

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al anticlerical and atheistic postulates of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[61]

If we take now a quick look at the Western Latin model of church-state relations, we can observe the previously mentioned different development, namely the Roman Catholic Church keeping its autonomy from any external political control while at the same time acquiring political power and gradually creating its own related structures. The emergence of Protestantism did not entail any fundamental changes to this long tradition and further supported the autonomy of the church (cf. Martin Luther's doctrine of the "two reigns/kingdoms", the spiritual and the worldly) while paving the way for the modern separation between church and state. Thus, the need for the church's freedom from any external political constraints remained always non-negotiable in the Western Christian tradition. Furthermore, because of its fundamental autonomy, the church was in principle neither obedient nor submissive to any desire of the state, and consequently always maintained the possibility of becoming a source of reaction and opposition to political regimes. After all, various scholars have connected the emergence of the Reformation with the intensification of the social revolutionary potential, the radicalization of politics and the concomitant change of established social orders. English Puritanism as the earliest form of political radicalism is a case in point.[62]

Turning now to our main topic – namely the role of the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches under communism –, we can still trace various vestiges of the influence of the previous two models of church-state relations. No doubt, we cannot draw a strict separation line between these churches. There was always a mixture of differing attitudes and stances towards the respective regimes, ranging from instrumentalization, cooperation and collaboration on the one hand, all the way to resistance, systematic opposition and reaction (including cases of martyrdom), on the other hand. All these churches faced repressive measures of different sorts with varying frequency and developed concrete strategies of survival, co-existence or even opposition to the respective communist regimes. We can easily locate various individual dissidents or dissident groups in all of these churches, yet the point is to examine what unique and denomination-oriented tendencies predominated in every specific constellation of church-state entanglements.

Starting with the Orthodox case, we realize that in communist countries with a predominantly Orthodox population, the respective churches were usually eager to

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61 Ohme, Heinz (2011): "'Gottes Zügel für das Abendland' – 'Gottes Gesandter zu unserer Rettung': Das Osmanische Reich in der Sicht des Ökumenischen Patriarchen im Kampf gegen Aufklärung und Freiheitspropaganda am Vorabend der griechischen Revolution", Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 122: 82–99.

62 Walzer, Michael (1968): The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics. New York: Atheneum.

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find ways to accommodate themselves to the respective states, even if the latter were run by atheist actors and ideologues. The classic example here is the so-called "Sergianism" (Сергианство) in the Soviet Union. This doctrine involved the church's recognition of the Soviet regime through a declaration of loyalty, issued by the Patriarchal *locum tenens* Sergii Stragorodskii in 1927 in the wake of Patriarch of Moscow Tikhon's deposition, who had refused to succumb to the communist plans of controlling the church.[63] In fact, the acceptance of the communist regime went even further, as is evident in the case of the "Renovationist Church Movement" (Обновленчество).[64] This movement not only collaborated with the communists, but also legitimized their rule theologically, in an attempt to effect a particular modernization of the church on the basis of the new socio-political and ideological order. However, many Orthodox – notably, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) – criticized these bold steps, characterizing them as a capitulation to an anti-Christian regime and as a loss of the church's prophetic spirit and function in the world.[65] In addition, the well-known writer and dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn (1918–2008) sent in 1972 a famous "Lenten Letter" to Patriarch of Moscow Pimen criticizing the submission of the church to and its instrumentalization by the communists, which had resulted in the loss of the church's critical and prophetic voice in society.[66] Undoubtedly, there was also opposition to the communist regime from different sides, both at the official and at the grass-root level (e.g., the activities of the priests Gleb P. Yakunin and Dmitri Dudko). There have also been Orthodox clerics in the Soviet Union, who had fought for religious freedom and became known as human rights activists, such as Father Pavel Adel'geim from Pskov and Father Veniamin Novik from St. Petersburg.[67] Yet, these were rather isolated cases, since the church mostly followed a policy of accommodation with the communist regime and developed its own profile accordingly. In general, the communists kept the church always under control and used it for their own purposes – in spite of the

63 Shukman, Ann (2006): "Metropolitan Sergi Stragorodsky: The Case of the Representative Individual", Religion, State & Society, 34: 51–61.
64 Roslof, Edward E. (2002): Red Priests: Renovationism, Russian Orthodoxy, and Revolution, 1905–1946. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana UP.
65 Seide, Georg (2001): Die Russische Orthodoxe Kirche im Ausland unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Diözese. München: Kloster des Hl. Hiob von Počaev.
66 Solzhenitsyn, Alexander (1972): A Lenten Letter to Pimen Patriarch of All Russia. Translated by Keith Armes. Minneapolis, MN: Burgess Publishing Company.
67 Brüning, Alfons (2016a): "Orthodoxie, Christentum, Demokratie: Orthodoxe Priester als Menschenrechtsaktivisten". In V.N. Makrides / J. Wasmuth / S. Kube (eds.), Christentum und Menschenrechte in Europa. Perspektiven und Debatten in Ost und West. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang: 103–120.

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systematic anti-religious propaganda, discrimination and even active persecution.[68] This happened even during the Stalin era after World War II, despite this leader's previous severe persecution of the church in the 1930s.[69] Undoubtedly, the church did not have enough options at that time and was unavoidably forced to seek and make compromises that were deemed necessary under the circumstances. But such an attitude was fully in line with the Orthodox, centuries-old tradition of non-resistance to political power.

In addition, we should not forget that, despite great differences, there were some interesting correlations and overlappings between the communist ideology and the Orthodox tradition. For example, the anti-Westernism of the communists coincided in many respects with the traditional anti-Westernism of the Orthodox world, a fact that contributed to bringing the two of them closer. In 1948, for example, the Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church was outlawed in the Soviet Union and Romania, given that it was considered as a Western "Trojan Horse" in the Orthodox East. This was a development that especially pleased the Orthodox side, since it acquired a great deal of the confiscated Uniate Church property for its own use. It was only after the fall of communism that this development was reversed leading to significant levels of inter-religious strife in the respective regions.[70] It becomes then clear that within this context the church was rather satisfied with the established state of affairs and thus showed no real interest in opposing, undermining or ultimately overthrowing the communist regime.

This history of collaboration explains why the Orthodox Churches under communism have not been considered as major contributors to the collapse of communism and as vehicles towards democratization[71] – in clear contrast to the Western Latin Churches. Moreover, the Orthodox Churches have often been criticized for collaborating with the communist regimes so closely that they were fully permeated and controlled by them.[72] The post-communist period was subsequently regarded as

68 Peris, Daniel (1998): Storming the Heavens: The Soviet League of the Militant Godless. Ithaca: Cornell UP; Froese, Paul (2010): The Plot to Kill God: Findings from the Soviet Experiment in Secularization. Berkeley: University of California Press.

69 Roccucci, Adriano (2011): Stalin e il patriarca. Torino: Einaudi; Kalkandjieva, Daniela (2015): The Russian Orthodox Church, 1917–1948: From Decline to Resurrection. London/New York: Routledge.

70 Mahieu, Stéphanie / Naumescu, Vlad, eds. (2008): Churches In-between: Greek Catholic Churches in Postsocialist Europe. Berlin: LIT; Köllner, Tobias (2017): Über die Rückgabe von Eigentum an die Russisch-Orthodoxe Kirche und die Konstruktion einer 'authentischen' Landschaft (Erfurter Vorträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 16). Erfurt: Universität Erfurt.

71 Regarding Serbia/Yugoslavia, see Popović Obradović, Olga (2005): "The Church, the Nation, the State – The Serbian Orthodox Church and Transition in Serbia". In D. Vujadinović *et al.* (eds.), Between Authoritarianism and Democracy: Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia. Vol. II. Civil Society and Political Culture. Belgrade: Foundation Konrad Adenauer: 145–161.

72 Leuștean, Lucian N. (1995): Orthodoxy and the Cold War: Religion and Political Power in Romania, 1947–65. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

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a period of purging and regeneration from such false political identifications and alliances. Within this context, it is not fortuitous that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church has been severely challenged since the early 1990s by a long-standing internal schism with severe repercussions. Initially, this trouble started through accusations pertaining to the extreme submissiveness of the church leadership to the communist regime, which led to the formation of an alternative church hierarchy and synod.[73] In post-communist times, there have been thus various Orthodox voices against the previous church submissiveness to political power. It is thus worth mentioning that in the Russian Orthodox document of 2000 "Bases of the Social Concept" (III. 5; IV. 9), one can find explicit references to the necessary opposition of the church to any regime taking on an anti-Christian path. In such cases, the church – so the argument goes – may employ a variety of options in order to influence state decisions. Such options include calling the people to support the church and to develop a non-violent civil resistance towards the state.[74] This change of orientation is probably due to a sense of guilt because of the institutional servility of the church to the state under communism. It is still thus an interesting case in Orthodox history in the sense that the church calls in question its previous wholesale loyalty to the state. At the same time, it is fascinating to watch the renewed closeness between church and state in post-communist Russia, which can be also understood in the light of the previously mentioned Orthodox heritage. Such closeness entails not only several privileges for the Orthodox Church vis-à-vis other churches and religions, but also a state-regulated religious establishment.[75]

In general, there have been several voices within the Orthodox world, both in the past and at present, that have advocated a greater separation of church and state and the church's liberation from the alleged permanently beneficial support of the state. The Russian religious philosopher Sergei Bulgakov (1871–1944) made such demands, reflecting on the situation under communist rule.[76] In post-communist times, the aforementioned priest Veniamin Novik has also suggested similar posi-

73 Kalkandjieva, Daniela (2014): "The Bulgarian Orthodox Church". In L. N. Leustean (ed.), Eastern Christianity in the Twenty-First Century. London/New York: Routledge: 114–139.

74 Naletova, Inna (2001): "Symphony Re-considered: The Orthodox Church in Russia on Relations with Modern Society", Österreichisches Archiv für Recht und Religion, 48: 99–115.

75 Agadjanian, Alexander (2014): Turns of Faith, Search for Meaning: Orthodox Christianity and Post-Soviet Experience (Erfurter Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 8). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang; Ponomariov, Alexander (2017): The Visible Religion: The Russian Orthodox Church and her Relations with State and Society in Post-Soviet Canon Law (1992–2015) (Erfurter Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 14). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

76 Bulgakov, Sergei (2004): Die Orthodoxie. Die Lehre der orthodoxen Kirche. 2nd edition. Trier: Paulinus: 237–246.

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tions on the basis of various theological arguments.[77] In a long document of 64 pages, published anonymously in 2008 by a group of Russian Orthodox clerics, the close connection between church and state in post-communist times was also criticized as problematic for the church and for its true mission in the world.[78] Yet, the situation in real church politics is a quite different one, for it depends on other complex and interrelated parameters, as well as on pragmatic decisions. In 1991, Patriarch of Moscow Aleksii II publicly apologized for the previously strong collaboration of the church with the communist state. At the same time, the church leadership is keen in finding useful explanations that may alleviate this sense of guilt. For example, one can observe a tendency to evaluate “Sergianism” as a tactical and necessary step for the church in the context of its survival policy under a highly anti-religious regime. Be that as it may, although the Orthodox Church is *stricto sensu* not a “state church” in Russia today, it is still privileged to a great degree with respect to the state. It also keeps a special relationship with the state and remains a public national and international factor of the utmost importance (e.g., in foreign policy as a “soft power”).[79]

Now, if we turn our attention to the Western Christian Churches under communism, we can observe a quite different situation, which has been informed by the long Latin tradition of keeping the church autonomous and free from any political control or intervention. No doubt, there were cases of collaboration between these churches and the respective communist regimes, which became the objects of investigation in the subsequent period. Yet, generally speaking, these churches and many groups within them managed to create their own niches of opposition and resistance and kept on undermining the foundations of the communist regimes. This was, for example, the case with the Protestant Churches in the GDR[80] and the Catholic Church in Poland[81]. These have been namely considered as instrumental in

77 [Novik] (1999): loc. cit.: 152–159.

78 Dokument (2009): “Nicht länger verschweigen und verdrängen!”, G2W. Ökumenisches Forum für Glaube, Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West, 37/4: 18–21.

79 Blitt, Robert C. (2011): “Russia’s Orthodox Foreign Policy: The Growing Influence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Shaping Russia’s Policies Abroad”, University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Law, 33/2: 363–460; See also Knox, Zoe (2003): “The Symphonic Ideal: The Moscow Patriarchate’s Post-Soviet Leadership”, Europe-Asia Studies, 55: 575–596; Stricker, Gerd (2011): “Orthodoxe Kirche und russischer Staat”, G2W. Ökumenisches Forum für Glaube, Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West, 39/1: 20–23.

80 Kaiser, Gert / Frie, Ewald, eds. (1996): Christen, Staat und Gesellschaft in der DDR. Frankfurt am Main: Campus; Kunter, Katharina (2006a): Erfüllte Hoffnungen und zerbrochene Träume. Evangelische Kirchen in Deutschland im Spannungsfeld von Demokratie und Sozialismus (1980–1993). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

81 Bernhard, Michael (1993): The Origins of Democratization in Poland. New York: Columbia UP; Borowik, Irena (2004): “Religion and Civil Society in Poland in the Process of Democratic Transfor-

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keeping alive the opposition to the respective regimes and, more importantly, in leading to their eventual collapse – of course, in collaboration and interaction with various other opposition actors and forces.[82] More specifically, these churches were able to contribute to the development of a civil society and of oppositional spaces within the totalitarian socio-political order. They also provided a symbolic resource to oppose or subvert communism and preserved ties to the international order and to global Christianity. Finally, they functioned as an intellectual force and as a space in which opposition thinking and identities were continuously construed.[83] The particular Lutheran tradition about the "two kingdoms" is considered to have played a cardinal role in this development.[84] For example, the role of Christian Führer (1943–2014) is quite fascinating in this regard. Beginning in 1982, this German pastor organized the "peace prayers" in the St. Nicholas Church (*Nikolaikirche*) in Leipzig in protest against the communist regime. In 1989, he was also strongly involved in the peaceful demonstrations against the same regime.[85] Even the minority Catholic Church in the GDR has been considered as an oppositional factor against the regime.[86] In the Czech Republic, one of the least religious countries in the world today, churches also played a significant role in political transformation and democratization.[87] We should finally mention that the Ecumenical Movement also provided a platform for supporting Christians under communism and for exerting opposition to the respective regimes during the Cold War.[88]

mations". In D. Marinović Jerolimov *et al.* (eds.), Religion and Patterns of Social Transformation. Zagreb: Institute for Social Research: 125–139.

82 Cf. Michel, Patrick (1991): Politics and Religion in Eastern Europe. Cambridge: Polity; Życinski, Jósef (1992): "The Role of Religious and Intellectual Elements in Overcoming Marxism in Poland", Studies in Soviet Thought, 43: 139–157.

83 Herbert, David (1999): "Christianity, Democratisation and Secularisation in Central and Eastern Europe", Religion, State & Society, 27: 281–282.

84 Krusche, Günter (1994): "The Church Between Accommodation and Refusal: The Significance of the Lutheran Doctrine of the 'Two Kingdoms' for the Churches of the GDR", Religion, State & Society, 22: 324–332.

85 Führer, Christian (2008): Und wir sind dabei gewesen. Die Revolution, die aus der Kirche kam. Berlin: Ullstein.

86 Schneider, Maria-Luise / Herrmann, Alfred, eds. (2010): 20 Jahre Mauerfall. Katholische Kirche und Friedliche Revolution – Lernschritte und Bewährungsproben. Eine Dokumentation. Berlin/Paderborn: Katholische Akademie in Berlin e.V./Bonifatius Werk; Pilvousek, Josef (2014): Katholische Kirche in der DDR. Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Mitteldeutschlands. Münster: Aschendorff.

87 Kunter, Katharina (2006b): "Zurück nach Europa. Die Kirchen als politischer und gesellschaftlicher Faktor im demokratischen Transformationsprozess Tschechiens", Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte, 19: 145–158.

88 Garstecki, Joachim, ed. (2007): Die Ökumene und der Widerstand gegen die Diktaturen. Nationalsozialismus und Kommunismus als Herausforderung an die Kirchen. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer; Filo, Július, ed. (2012): Christian World Community and the Cold War. International Research Con-

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As we have already seen, such consistent and key roles of opposition have never been attributed to the Orthodox Churches under communism. We may more clearly discern the respective patterns of Orthodox behavior in numerous local variations if we take a look at some related informative publications. One such volume is devoted to the various Orthodox Churches and their diverse policies during the Cold War, whereas another one to the situation of these churches in post-communist times.[89] By contrast, we may also consult another collective volume on the role of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism (in the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia) and of Orthodox Christianity (in the Soviet Union) under communism. The latter publication refers, among other things, to the contribution of the Christian Churches to the political change of 1989 and to the concomitant democratization process.[90] No doubt, this transition process was much broader and was not limited to religious factors alone.[91] However, precisely in this context the aforementioned differences between Orthodox and Western Christianity vis-à-vis political power become again quite obvious and are also explained by reference to the long Christian past. Another interesting comparison between the Catholic Church in Poland and the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria vividly reveals the significant differences inherent not only in their respective attitudes to the communist regimes, but also in their willingness to resist them by enabling various forms of opposition.[92]

The above material about the role of the church in democratization processes is indicative of the existing differences between Orthodox and Western Christians in terms of their civic engagement respectively, which are largely due to their different socio-historical backgrounds and their religio-cultural idiosyncrasies. These differences are not meant to be historical barriers that hermetically separate these churches, but rather to explain their specific trajectories and the paths they have chosen across history. The scope here is not to prove the superiority or the advantages of one Christian Church over the other, or even to "orientalize/balkanize"

ference in Bratislava on 5–8 September 2011. Bratislava: Evangelical Theological Faculty of the Comenius University.

89 Leustean, Lucian N., ed. (2010): Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945–91. London/New York: Routledge; Leustean, Lucian N., ed. (2014): Eastern Christianity in the Twenty-First Century. London/New York: Routledge.

90 Veen, Hans-Joachim / März, Peter / Schlichting, Franz-Josef, eds. (2009): Kirche und Revolution. Das Christentum in Ostmitteleuropa vor und nach 1989. Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau.

91 Pridham, Geoffrey / Vanhanen, Tatu, eds. (1994): Democratization in Eastern Europe. Domestic and International Perspectives. London/New York: Routledge; Linz, Juan J. / Stepan, Alfred (1996): Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP; Kümmel, Gerhard (1998): "Democratization in Eastern Europe. The Interaction of Internal and External Factors: An Attempt at Systematization", East European Quarterly, 32: 243–267.

92 Ramet, Sabrina P. (1998): Nihil Obstat: Religion, Politics, and Social Change in East-Central Europe and Russia. Durham, NC: Duke UP: 275–307.

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Orthodox Christianity, which has often happened in modern Western scholarship.[93] We cannot also speak of an "exceptionalism" in the Orthodox case.[94] More importantly, the traditional opposition of Western Churches to political power and control should not be generalized and overestimated, especially if one considers their attitudes towards National Socialism and Fascism in the course of the 20th century.[95] Certainly, there are always exceptions to every generalization or rule, yet the question is what predominates and remains more influential in a given setting. Interestingly enough, comparative statistical data drawn from former communist countries often show various convergences beyond confessional borders. Even so, some historically formed idiosyncrasies and specificities of each religious culture can still be discerned and traced; consider, for example, the greater trust in the social engagement of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in distinction to that attributed to the Orthodox Churches.[96] This can be explained by reference to the history of the social engagement of these churches respectively, which exhibits considerable differences, as explained above.[97] Therefore, the various backgrounds of these churches must be always taken into consideration in the evaluation of particular developments. To give another example: The differences between the more secular Czechs and the more devout Slovaks today cannot be explained without considering the historical relationship between religion and nationalism in both regions.[98] In a similar way, despite the ongoing processes of European integration and homogenization (e.g., in terms of legislation under the influence of the European Court of Human Rights), one can still discern the influence of specific "patterns of behavior" today that draw on the Orthodox past; for instance, patterns of church-

93 Hann, Chris (2011): Eastern Christianity and Western Social Theory (Erfurter Vorträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 10). Erfurt: University of Erfurt.

94 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2010): "Orthodox Eastern and South Eastern Europe: Exception or Special Case?". In W. Eberhard / Chr. Lübke (eds.), The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag: 189–203.

95 Hockenos, Matthew D. (2004): A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana UP; Gruber, Hubert (2006): Katholische Kirche und Nationalsozialismus 1930–1945. Ein Bericht in Quellen. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh; Feldman, Matthew/ Turda, Marius / Georgescu, Tudor, eds. (2013): Clerical Fascism in Interwar Europe. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

96 Tomka, Miklós (2010): "Religiosity, Confessionalism and Social Identity in Eastern and Central Europe". In W. Eberhard / Chr. Lübke (eds.), The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag: 187.

97 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2008): "Die soziale Verantwortung in der Sicht der Orthodoxen Kirche". In A. Rauscher *et al.* (ed.), Handbuch der Katholischen Soziallehre, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot: 249–254; Makrides (2013): loc. cit.

98 Froese, Paul (2005): "Secular Czechs and Devout Slovaks: Explaining Religious Differences", Review of Religious Research, 46: 269–283.

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state relations in predominantly Orthodox milieus within the contemporary European Union.[99]

Unsurprisingly, there are many other examples beyond the issue of democratization that may point to these and similar differences between East and West. One central issue here concerns the endorsement and support of modern human rights as part of civic engagement, in which the Orthodox Churches have in recent years shown a heightened interest,[100] also evident in the official document of the Russian Orthodox Church of 2008 on human dignity, freedom and rights (Основы учения Русской Православной Церкви о достоинстве, свободе и правах человека) that has generated considerable inter-Christian discussions and debates.[101] This document reflects a more ambivalent attitude towards and a critical distancing from modern human rights, whereas other Orthodox positions on this issue range from a conciliatory approval of such rights and their pragmatic acceptance (often combined with a critique of Orthodox anti-modernism) up to their fundamental negation and rejection. The Orthodox unease with modern human rights can be chiefly explained by reference to the problematic relations of the Orthodox world with (Western) modernity. In any event, the positive Orthodox evaluations of modern human rights[102] do not represent a majority in the Orthodox world, and the various problems resulting from this situation still continue to exist.[103]

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99 Flere, Sergej / Đorđević, Dragoljub / Kirbiš, Andrej (2014): "Six Cases Making a Pattern: Special Problems Arising in Countries with an Orthodox Tradition", Journal of Church and State, 56: 553–573.

100 Brüning, Alfons / Van der Zweerde, Evert, eds. (2012): Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights. Leuven: Peeters; Makrides, Vasilios N. / Wasmuth, Jennifer / Kube, Stefan, eds. (2016): Christentum und Menschenrechte in Europa. Perspektiven und Debatten in Ost und West (Erfurter Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 11). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang; Diamantopoulou, Elisabeth-Alexandra / Christians, Louis-Léon, eds. (2018): Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights in Europe: A Dialogue Between Theological Paradigms and Socio-Legal Pragmatics. Brussels: Peter Lang.

101 Agadjanian, Alexander (2008): Russian Orthodox Vision of Human Rights: Recent Documents and their Significance (Erfurter Vorträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 7), Erfurt: University of Erfurt; Stoeckl, Kristina (2014): The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights. London/New York: Routledge.

102 Delikonstantis, Konstantinos (2007): "Die Menschenrechte im Kontext der Orthodoxen Theologie", Ökumenische Rundschau, 56: 19–35.

103 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2012c): "Die Menschenrechte aus orthodox-christlicher Sicht: Evaluierung, Positionen und Reaktionen". In M. Delgado / V. Leppin / D. Neuhold (eds.), Schwierige Toleranz. Der Umgang mit Andersdenkenden und Andersgläubigen in der Christentumsgeschichte, Fribourg/Stuttgart: Academic Press/W. Kohlhammer Verlag: 293–320; Brüning, Alfons (2013): "Different Humans and Different Rights? On Human Dignity from Western and Eastern Orthodox Perspectives", Studies in Interreligious Dialogue, 23: 150–175; Brüning, Alfons (2016b): "Orthodox Theology in Dialogue with Human Rights: Some Considerations on Current Themes, Problems, and Perspectives", Exchange, 45: 382–398.

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Nonetheless, here again one may observe considerable differences between Orthodox and Western Christianity. Despite initial problems and condemnations of modern human rights (e.g., by the Popes Pius VI. in 1791 and Pius IX. in 1864), the Roman Catholic Church made a breakthrough at the Second Vatican Council with the documents *Pacem in terris* in 1963 and *Dignitatis humanae* in 1965, leading to the fundamental acceptance of such rights. This has been unabatedly continued since then – consider the related speech of Pope Benedict XVI in 2008 at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization[104], as well as the broad civic engagement of the current Pope Francis I.[105] The Protestant Churches, on the other hand, had much earlier shown a stronger readiness for accepting these rights in the context of the emphasis put on the freedom of the individual believer. Not accidentally, the jurist Georg Jellinek (1851–1911) had opined back in 1895 that the modern human rights concept owes a lot to the spirit of the Reformation.[106] In both cases, hence, all this has led to a strong related civic engagement with far-reaching repercussions, which cannot be attested in this form with regard to the Orthodox world. We should also not forget that the Orthodox support of human rights by the Russian Orthodox side is conditional, fragmentary and selective with a clear preference for the "harmless" ones, especially inasmuch as it renders human rights dependent on Christian concepts of morality and sin. Such a position, however, has been criticized as a blatant distortion of the very idea of modern human rights. This notwithstanding, there also exist other Orthodox, more positive attitudes towards modern human rights, such as the one formulated by the Patriarch of Constantinople Bartholomew I,[107] who, by the way, has systematically exhibited a strong civic engagement (e.g., ecological, interreligious, peace-oriented) on a global scale.[108]

104 Benedict XVI, Pope (2008): "Meeting with the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. Address of his Holiness Benedict XVI, New York, Friday, 18 April 2008".

105 D'Ambrosio, Rocco (2016): Ce la farà Francesco? La sfida della riforma ecclesiale. Molfetta (BA): Edizioni la Meridiana; Zulehner, Paul / Halik, Tomasz, eds. (2018): Rückenwind für den Papst. Warum wir Pro Pope Francis sind. Darmstadt: WBG Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

106 Joas, Hans (2003): "Max Weber und die Entstehung der Menschenrechte. Eine Studie über kulturelle Innovation". In G. Albert *et al.* (eds.), Das Weber-Paradigma: Studien zur Weiterentwicklung von Max Webers Forschungsparadigma. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 252–270.

107 Bartholomaios I, Ökumenischer Patriarch (2017): "Orthodoxie und Menschenrechte", Evangelische Verantwortung, 9/10: 3–8.

108 Chryssavgis John, ed. (2010): In the World, Yet Not of the World: Social and Global Initiatives of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew. New York: Fordham UP; Chryssavgis, John, ed. (2011): On Earth as in Heaven: Ecological Vision and Initiatives of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew. New York: Fordham UP.

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4 Conclusion

The preceding remarks should not be interpreted to mean that there is an unbridgeable gap between Orthodox and Western Christian cultures in Europe as far as civil society and civic engagement are concerned.[109] Although Orthodox cultures have their own background and their particular characteristics, mixed or even idiosyncratic forms of civil society could not be ruled out in this context. As Gellner generally pointed out, civil society may have to operate under different conditions in the future than those that had originally produced it.[110] It may also be possible that in many respects Orthodox Churches and actors become civic activists without formally subscribing to a concept of a civil society. The same can generally be argued for the non-religious field. The example of Greece is plausible at this point: It seemed that at a formal level civil society was weak in this country. This became evident during the period of Archbishop Christodoulos (1998–2008), who was controversial in many respects.[111] However, at the informal level, there were very strong enclaves of civic engagement that were not immediately apparent and identifiable.[112] During the deep economic crisis since 2009, the latter became stronger and more influential in society at large.[113] This means that the localization of civil society aspects must always be carried out in a differentiated and flexible way.

As with many other cases, the concept of civil society has undergone a significant, yet inevitable development over the last two centuries, followed by an increased popularization in current public debates. As already explained above, the particularities of Orthodox cultures in terms of civil society and civic engagement are mostly due to their specific socio-historical background and related developments, hence they are contingent. In most respects, they are also thoroughly expectable and understandable. For instance, the Orthodox cultures cannot be compared with the Western ones, which have had more appropriate conditions for developing various forms of civic engagement since the late Middle Ages (e.g., due

109 I argued against this elsewhere too. See Makrides (2001): loc. cit. and Makrides (2003): loc. cit.
110 Gellner, Ernst (1995): Bedingungen der Freiheit. Die Zivilgesellschaft und ihre Rivalen. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta: 223.
111 Danopoulos, Constantine P. (2004): "Religion, Civil Society, and Democracy in Orthodox Greece", Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans, 6: 41–55; Oulis, Dimitris / Makris, Gerasimos / Roussos, Sotiris (2010): "The Orthodox Church of Greece: Policies and Challenges under Archbishop Christodoulos of Athens (1998–2008)", International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church, 10: 192–210.
112 Sotiropoulos, Dimitri A. (2004): Formal Weakness and Informal Strength: Civil Society in Contemporary Greece (Discussion Paper No 16, The Hellenic Observatory/The European Institute, LSE, London).
113 Sotiropoulos, Dimitri A. / Bourikos, Dimitris (2014): "Economic Crisis, Social Solidarity and the Voluntary Sector in Greece", Journal of Power, Politics & Governance, 2: 33–53.

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to greater societal pluralism, competition and conflicts, the stronger individualization process, the systematic demand for rights).[114] On the other hand, Orthodox cultures are far from static and monolithic, as they are constantly evolving and changing, albeit mostly according to their own rules and criteria. It should not be forgotten, however, that a perfect realization of a civil society is a far-off ideal from which even Western societies still remain aloof. Nor can one claim that the Western Churches are already fully and easily integrated into civil society, because there are still various points of friction and conflict between them.[115] The case of the Roman Catholic Church in post-communist Poland is quite relevant here, as it presents several conservative characteristics vis-à-vis other local Catholicisms in Europe, which seem to be more tuned to the modern exigencies. This can be partly explained by the fact that Polish Catholicism under communism was less influenced by the innovative spirit unleashed by the Second Vatican Council.[116] Such an East-West divide in Europe with regard to civil society issues beyond strict confessional borders and related to the heritage of the "Iron Curtain" has been also supported by recent statistical surveys.[117]

What is important, though, is that many Orthodox Churches, communities and individual actors try to articulate a new Orthodox social presence and a related new discourse putting more emphasis on civic engagement. Various theological schemes (e.g., the "liturgy after the liturgy") have been deployed stressing the need to move beyond the exclusive concentration on the liturgical service to God, the sacramental life and the inner spiritual improvement in order to reach out to the world.[118] A more balanced, inward-outward movement in a rotation between the inner church life

114 Putnam, Robert D. (in collaboration with Robert Leonardi and Raffaelle Y. Nanetti) (1993): Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP.

115 Bauerkämper, Arnd / Nautz, Jürgen (2009b): "Zivilgesellschaft und christliche Kirchen – wechselseitige Bezüge und Distanz". In A. Bauerkämper / J. Nautz (eds.), Zwischen Fürsorge und Seelsorge. Christliche Kirchen in den europäischen Zivilgesellschaften seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt/New York: Campus: 7–24.

116 Porter-Szűcs, Brian (2011): Faith and Fatherland: Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland. Oxford: Oxford UP; Mechtenberg, Theo (2011): Polens katholische Kirche zwischen Tradition und Moderne. Dresden: Neisse Verlag.

117 Diamant, Jeff / Gardner, Scott (2018): "In EU, there's an East-West divide over religious minorities, gay marriage, national identity", Pew Research Center: Religion & Public Life, 29 October.

118 Bria, Ion (1996): The Liturgy after the Liturgy: Mission and Witness from an Orthodox Perspective. Geneva: World Council of Churches; Vantsos, Miltiadis / Kiroudi, Marina (2007): "An Orthodox View of Philanthropy and Church Diaconia", Christian Bioethics, 13: 251–268; Molokotos-Liederman, Lina (2010): "Religion as a Solution to Social Problems: A Christian Orthodox Approach". In T. Hjelm (ed.), Religion and Social Problems. New York: Routledge: 82–97; Vassiliadis, Petros (2017): "The Social Dimension of the Orthodox Liturgy: From Biblical Dynamism to a Doxological Liturgism", RES – Review of Ecumenical Studies Sibiu, 9: 132–153.

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and an enhanced and active social relevance is deemed absolutely necessary.[119] This is often combined with critiques against past and predominant world-denying and world-escapist attitudes within Orthodoxy. The luminary example of Bishop Ireneos Galanakis (1911–2013) on the island of Crete is a clear case of such a broad civic engagement by an Orthodox prelate.[120] The Ukrainian Church involvement in the protest activities during the "Euromaidan" (2013–2014) in Kiev in favor of democratization is a further example of such increased Orthodox civic actions as a response to the demands of society. In this context, the church played a crucial role in developing and empowering Ukrainian civil society.[121] There are also various local and international Orthodox charity organizations and NGOs providing humanitarian support of all kinds.[122] During the economic crisis in Greece, the church has also emerged as a major civic actor providing multi-faceted support to the needy people.[123] The same holds true for the exacerbation of the refugee crisis in Greece since 2015.[124] All this makes clear that Orthodox Christianity, despite its strong attachment

119 See various interesting articles in Jillions, John A., ed. (2018): Inward Being and Outward Identity: The Orthodox Churches in the21st Century. Basel: MDPI AG. See also Prodromou, Elizabeth H. / Symeonides, Nathanael (2016): "Orthodox Christianity and Humanitarianism: An Introduction to Thought and Practice, Past and Present", The Review of Faith & International Affairs, 14: 1–8.

120 Dimanopoulou, Pandora (2019): "From Church Diplomacy to Civil Society Activism: The Case of Bishop Irineos Galanakis in the Framework of Greek-German Relations during the Cold War". In R. Graf Strachwitz (ed.), Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a Complex Interplay. Volume I. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg: 15–40.

121 Hovorun, Cyril (2014): "Die Kirche auf dem Maidan", Transit. Europäische Revue, 45: 153–163; Hovorun, Cyril (2015): "Churches in the Ukrainian Public Square", Toronto Journal of Theology, 31: 3–14; Krawchuk, Andrii / Bremer, Thomas, eds. (2016): Churches in the Ukrainian Crisis. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

122 Kostić, Slaviša (2005): "Orthodox Responses to the Social Problem", Philotheos. International Journal for Philosophy and Theology, 5: 413–415; Molokotos-Liederman, Lina (2007): "Le rôle des ONG humanitaires orthodoxes dans l'action sociale et le développement international: le cas des organisations orthodoxes". In B. Duriez / F. Mabille / K. Rousselet (eds.), Les ONG confessionelles: Religions et action internationale. Paris: L'Harmattan: 139–151.

123 Makris Gerasimos / Bekridakis, Dimitris (2013): "The Greek Orthodox Church and the Economic Crisis since 2009", International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church, 13: 111–132; Molokotos-Liederman, Lina (2019): "L'Église orthodoxe de Grèce face à la crise économique", Archives de sciences sociales des religions, 185: 45–64; Kessareas, Efstathios (2019): "The Orthodox Church of Greece and Civic Activism in the Context of the Financial Crisis". In R. Graf Strachwitz (ed.), Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe: Analyses and Perspectives on a Complex Interplay. Volume I. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg: 61–118.

124 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2018): "Die Finanz- und Flüchtlingskrise als Chance für die griechische Kirche", Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West, 46/1: 24–27; Makris, Gerasimos / Meichanetsidis, Vasilios (2018): "The Church of Greece in Critical Times: Reflections through Philanthropy", Journal of Contemporary Religion, 33: 247–260.

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to tradition, is not a monolithic, stagnating system, but one that constantly changes and adapts itself.[125]

On another bent, we are also witnessing the formation of a new internationally oriented and based generation of Orthodox clerics, theologians and intellectuals (including some converts) who operate to a large degree outside the historical Orthodox heartlands. This includes mostly persons that are eager to proceed to the creation of a new and fresh image of Orthodoxy that views its tradition both creatively and critically and strives to address the many challenges of today. This is typical of Orthodox diasporic communities, which often develop a profile different from their mother churches.[126] A clear evidence of this ongoing process is the foundation of the "International Orthodox Theological Association" (IOTA) in 2017, which attempts to bring under its auspices all these novel trends from all over the world and contribute to a fundamental renewal of Orthodox Christianity. Its inaugural meeting took place in Iasi (Romania) in January 2019 and promised to be an event that will mark a new era in the interdisciplinary reflection and research on Orthodoxy.[127] Another development is the Orthodox Christian Studies Center at Fordham University (New York City), which has initiated a number of remarkable activities over the past years including a blog on "Public Orthodoxy. Bridging the Ecclesial, the Academic, and the Political" and a specific "Journal of Orthodox Christian Studies".[128] We are thus observing another facet of an emerging "global Orthodoxy", which aspires to play an important role in the future within the wider Orthodox world by transcending local and national boundaries. During this process, this young generation of international Orthodox actors has entered into dialogue, exchange and collaboration with various broad-minded circles in the historically Orthodox countries and cultures, who are also exhibiting a more or less similar progressive, open and reformist attitude (e.g., the Volos Academy for Theological Studies, founded in 2000[129]). These are also working towards an Orthodox Christianity that can combine tradition, development, reform and change in a fruitful and constructive way.[130] It is characteristic that in all these new Orthodox milieus the issues of civil society and the Orthodox civic engagement have acquired a promi-

125 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2012d): "Orthodox Christianity, Change, Innovation: Contradictions in Terms?". In T. S. Willert / L. Molokotos-Liederman (eds.), Innovation in the Orthodox Christian Tradition? The Question of Change in Greek Orthodox Thought and Practice. Farnham: Ashgate: 19–50.

126 Hämmerli, Maria / Mayer, Jean-François, eds. (2014): Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation. Farnham: Ashgate.

127 URL: https://iota-web.org/

128 URL: https://www.fordham.edu/info/23001/orthodox_christian_studies_center

129 URL: https://acadimia.org/en/

130 Willert, Trine Stauning (2014): New Voices in Greek Orthodox Thought: Untying the Bond between Nation and Religion. Farnham: Ashgate.

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nent place as topics of systematic reflection, self-critique and creative design for future changes. In addition, many other cardinal facets of modernity, such as secularization, liberalism and human rights, are also evaluated in such contexts in another, more positive light.[131]

Despite these promising signs, it would be amiss to overlook the subtle or bigger differences between East and West on this issue, which the present chapter has attempted to illustrate. It has been already correctly argued that of Roman Catholicism, Protestantism and Orthodox Christianity, "*the third is the least sympathetic to the fundamental principle on which civil society is based, that is, the principle of free individuality*".[132] Hence, such differences do exist and need to be appropriately analyzed and evaluated. The continuous spread and associated conceptual expansion of a civil society may involve the risk that the concept itself will ultimately be useless in both analytical and practical terms. As with other widely and inflationarily used terminology, the concept of a civil society should not be defined and outlined according to the principle of "anything goes". There are certain conditions that must be explicitly or implicitly present in any form of civil society. Without their existence, a "real" civil society would not be possible. Because of their particular socio-historical development, therefore, Orthodox Churches and cultures still exhibit certain characteristics that diverge from the postulates of a civil society and need related adjustment.

More specifically, in the particular case of Greece during the recent economic crisis, the church did become a civic activist in many respects. Yet, according to Kessareas, there was a strong preference of the higher clergy for a spiritual and not an anti-systemic outlet of popular indignation. This phenomenon has been interpreted in connection with the church's traditional role as an ally of the state, the interests of its leadership, and its hierarchical and bureaucratic structure. Civic activism, especially when it takes a confrontational and tumultuous form, is delegitimized by the Orthodox – Kessareas argues – as a "Protestant alteration" of the alleged ontological essence of Orthodoxy, grounded in selfless, charitable brotherly love. Nevertheless, it is welcomed when it aims at the preservation of the existing church-state relations and the church's prominent place in society. The church-state conflict regarding the exclusion of religious affiliation from the state identity cards

131 Papanikolaou, Aristotle (2012): The Mystical as Political: Democracy and Non-Radical Orthodoxy. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press; Džalto, Davor, *et al.* (2016): "Orthodoxy, Human Rights and Secularization", Public Orthodoxy, 5 April; Ladouceur, Paul (2017): "Can Orthodox Support Human Rights? The Divine Image, the Person, and Human Rights", Public Orthodoxy, 1 November; Kalaitzidis, Pantelis (2018): "Individual versus Collective Rights: The Theological Foundation of Human Rights: An Eastern Orthodox View". In E.-A. Diamantopoulou / L.-L. Christians (eds.), Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights in Europe: A Dialogue Between Theological Paradigms and Socio-Legal Pragmatics. Brussels: Peter Lang: 273–296.
132 Van der Zweerde (1999): loc. cit.: 41.

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of Greek citizens in 2000[133] is a prime example of such a form of Orthodox activism. All in all, in Greece (and possibly in other current Orthodox contexts), the resilient institutional ties between the church and the state, the strong anti-activist ethos of Orthodoxy, and the interests of the church leadership still create barriers in developing religious activism beyond issues of strictly Orthodox concern.[134]

It thus remains to be seen to what extent future internal changes, developments and adaptation processes within Orthodox Churches and cultures could lead to greater agreement with broader civil society ideas and visions. It is obvious that the Orthodox world of today is more or less on a turning point. But if we ponder on the very long time the Catholics needed to come to terms in their own way with modernity, all Orthodox problems and eventual difficulties with this topic should be regarded as quite normal, understandable and expectable. It is no coincidence that nowadays there are often references to a "global civil religion"[135] or explicitly to religious actors (such as Pope John Paul II) that have operated or still operate within a global civil society.[136] Martin has opined that the "future success" of Christianity depends on its effective role in the growing global civil society, a development that was pioneered by Protestants, but was also significantly supported by Roman Catholics after the Second Vatican Council.[137] On the contrary, exceptions aside, the Orthodox do not seem, at least up to the present day, to play a very significant role in this process of involvement in global civil society. In some cases, including that of the post-Soviet Russian Orthodox Church, they even appear to follow another path in favor of their assumed religious authenticity, exclusivity and superiority for the defense of "traditional values" and for crafting a broader interreligious conservative and anti-modernist alliance.[138] Be this as it may, it is difficult to accurately predict

133 Makrides, Vasilios N. (2005): "Between Normality and Tension: Assessing Church-State Relations in Greece in the Light of the Identity (Cards) Crisis". In V. N. Makrides (ed.), Religion, Staat und Konfliktkon- stellationen im orthodoxen Ost- und Südosteuropa. Vergleichende Perspektiven (Erfurter Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Orthodoxen Christentums, 1). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang: 137–178.

134 Kessareas (2019): loc.cit.

135 Davie, Grace (2001): "Global Civil Religion: A European Perspective", Sociology of Religion, 62: 455–473.

136 Casanova, José (1997): "Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a 'Universal Church'". In S. Hoeber Rudolph / J. Piscatori (eds.), Transnational Religion and Fading States. Boulder, CO: Westview Press: 121–143.

137 Martin, David (2011): The Future of Christianity: Reflections on Violence and Democracy, Religion and Secularization. Aldershot: Ashgate.

138 Curanović, Alicja (2015): The Guardians of Traditional Values: Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church in the Quest for Status. Washington, DC: Transatlantic Academy; Stoeckl, Kristina (2016a): "Postsecular Conflicts and the Global Struggle for Traditional Values (lecture)", State, Religion and Church, 2/3: 102–116; Stoeckl, Kristina (2016b): "The Russian Orthodox Church as Moral Norm Entrepreneur", Religion, State & Society, 44: 132–151; Uzlaner, Dmitry (2017): "Perverse

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the future course of the Orthodox world. Yet, given the multiple challenges of today's global environment, a greater civic engagement at various levels on the part of Orthodox Churches and actors, regardless of its specific forms and concrete articulations, will, in all probability, be inevitable.

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Debora Tonelli

The Socio-political Role of the Hermeneutics of Sacred Texts: the example of the Decalogue

1 Introduction

This paper[1] will discuss the way religious practice and personal religiosity promotes (or impedes) civic engagement. Religion, with its system of practices and beliefs, is capable of elaborating a social and political critique that in turn can engender new ways of thinking and put such critiques into practice.

To argue my thesis, I will focus on the socio-political role of the hermeneutics of sacred texts.

An interpretation of sacred texts may have an effect on society via

1. the narrative (for example, the liberation of the Hebrews from slavery in Egypt used to promote social revolution); and
2. the power of religious images to effect a transformation of values that promote social change. While seeking to explain a particular text, the interpretation of sacred texts also explains an actual situation by means of such a text.

To show all this, I will focus my discussion on the socio-political role of the hermeneutics[2] of a particular biblical text: the Decalogue, literally the "Ten Words",[3] better known as the "Ten Commandments", in the version of Ex 20:1–17. I will focus my argument on two aspects: 1) the role of a narrative context for the understanding of the text and 2) the role of the hermeneutics of the Decalogue in making such text a protagonist in the transformation of social values. This means that the Decalogue has been able to answer questions and needs that have arisen in different periods. Since it is not possible, in fact, to offer an "objective" interpretation of this text (as of any text), each interpretation responds – in fact – to the needs of those who interpret it rather than unveil the intentions of the authors of the texts.[4] However, one cannot claim that the reader is authorized to interpret the text in any way whatever:

1 I would like to thank Maecenata Instituet for involving me in the conference *Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe*. My special thanks to Prof. Rocco D'Ambrosio. I would like also to thank Prof. René Micallef s.j. for his comments and suggestions on my paper.

2 As I'll underlie in this paper, it is not only the text in itself, but also his interpretation to influence believers and not-believers, giving them a meaningful horizon, to legitimate or not social practices, ethics and rules of law.

3 As we will see, the hebrew word used to indicate the God's proclamation is *debarîm* "words".

4 There are extreme cases, see: Lefebure, L.; Tonelli, D. (2018): *African American and Dalit Interpretations of the Bible: A Way of Socio-Political Innovation*, in "Annali di Studi Religiosi", 19: 73–93.

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the best interpretation is that which not only gives life to the text but is able to grasp its strategies ”which express the interactive dynamic characteristic of every communicative interchange. A text, therefore, provokes, stimulates … in sum: “acts” (*prâgma* in Greek means *action*).”[5] On one side, every interpretation is, so to speak, a product of the interpreter’s of own time. On the other side, it means that what is given by Scripture is not as self-evident as religious fundamentalism would have us believe: different reading approaches (theological, historical, pastoral, philological etc.), the words and their correlations, the context, the audience, all this contributes to the meaning of the text and its interpretation, but none of which can claim to exhaust its meaning. It will be useful to keep in mind the complex horizon within which the hermeneutics of the sacred text develops.[6]

In fact, Michael Walzer has showed in Exodus and Revolution[7], that textual interpretation can play an important social role, contributing to a profound change in the thinking of a social group, even to the point of altering its very organization. This is possible because biblical interpretation contributes to the interpretation of actual reality and to the construction of a new image of the world such as is desired by the readers, as well as suggesting means to achieve it.

Another example of the influence of biblical narrative is discussed by William Spohn[8], who focuses his analysis on the ethical issues and implications. Starting by the parable of Good Samaritan, he clarifies the role of the “analogical imagination”[9] in the understanding of Jesus’ command to “go and do likewise” today and its transformation of what Scripture calls the “heart”, that is, the personal centre of convictions, emotions, and commitments. Christ is the normative paradigm for Christian moral life, and the Gospel is a spiritual reference that shapes our moral perception and our attitude towards our world, while forming contemporary Christian identity.

Both examples indicate that biblical hermeneutics contribute to the understanding of actuality and to the construction of a new image of the world, judged better than others, and able to suggest tools to realize it. In contemporary Europe, the

5 See Grilli, M. L. (2013): *“ispirazione” della Scrittura in chiave comunicativa*. In P. Dubosky-J. P. Sonet (edd), *Ogni Scrittura è ispirata. Nuove prospettive sull’ispirazione biblica*, Roma-Cinisello Balsamo (MI): 228.

6 I dealt with all this in my work: *Il Decalogo. Uno sguardo retrospettivo*, Dehoniane, Bologna 2010 (german translation: *Der Dekalog. Eine retrospektive Betrachtung*, Stuttgart 2017).

7 Walzer, M. (1985): *Exodus and Revolution*, NY. H. G. Gadamer; P. Ricoeur; McIntyre;

8 Spohn, W. (2003): *Go and Do Likewise*, NY.

9 “’Analogical stands in contrast to *univocal* and *equivocal*. Univocal terms are mere repetitions; there is no need for imagination where the terms are completely similar. Equivocal terms are utterly unrelated, leaving no room for imagination since they are completely dissimilar. Analogical thinking discovers similarity within difference by recognizing a common pattern within diversity. Analogical reflection does not abstract from the diversity, but relishes the uniqueness and variety of particular details, like washing feet and shining shoes.” in ibid.: 55–56.

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hermeneutics of textual traditions is also an important tool to counter religious violence and fundamentalist interpretations of sacred texts. As we will see, it is not only the narrative content of the sacred texts that authorizes a line of interpretation, but also the interaction among text and readers who attribute a meaning to the text shaped by the perceived needs in their situation which can be sometimes extraneous to the sacred text. At the same time, the text shapes and alters the reader's projection, because it is only plastic to a certain degree: "the encounter with a text – explains Grilli – (any text: from the biblical to the literary work, to the sketch, …) constitutes a communicative event or, better still, a dia-logic event."[10] As such, both, the text and its readers, are transformed by this encounter: "communication is not something which one does *to* the other, but a process which one does *with* the other."[11] In order to be able to understand the message of a text, therefore, we must not stop with the information which it furnishes but track down the background of meanings which it is staging. The letter of the text is, thus, in the service of the web of meanings which it expresses, but on its own it is not able to unveil them: to understand them, it is necessary that the reader goes beyond it and understands the strategy which it is constructing.

2 Preliminary Remarks and Underlying Assumptions

Both religion and politics have among their perspectives the construction of an "order", which is both *the organization of public space*, that provides a description of the cosmos, and a *horizon designed for human action*. Over the centuries, the tension between religious and public authority, such as between religious practice and political government, has produced various interpretations of how this order should be interpreted and how relationships between religion and politics should be construed. The Decalogue is, in a certain sense, a bridge between two areas and the demonstration of their mutual interdependence. In fact, this text has helped to shape both religious practices and individual faith on the one hand, and forms of civil coexistence on the other, offering principles, which allow the construction of a system of societal norms. The Decalogue is, in this sense, an exemplary text, given the contribution it has made to the construction of social values and modern ethics, influencing law, legal codes and philosophical and social reflection on political systems.

10 Grilli, M. L. (2013): *"ispirazione" della Scrittura in chiave comunicativa*. In P. Dubosky-J. P. Sonet (edd), *Ogni Scrittura è ispirata. Nuove prospettive sull'ispirazione biblica*, Roma-Cinisello Balsamo (MI): 224.

11 Ibid.: 226.; See also: Juergensmayer, M. (2000): *Terrorism in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence,* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

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My argument will be divided in four steps. The first step concerns the narrative power of the text; the second step concerns some of the stages of the history of its political and juridical interpretation; a third moment will be dedicated to the role of the Decalogue in the birth of modern juridical science and in the change of the moral paradigm in the age of Counter-Reformation. In the final part I will formulate conclusive reflections on the capacity of biblical hermeneutics to promote (or impede) civic engagement.

3 The Text and the literary context: the narrative.

The biblical corpus contains two versions of the Decalogue: in Ex 20, 1–17 and in Dt 5, 6–21. In the book of Exodus, this text is proclaimed immediately after the flight from Egypt and follows the course of events. The contemporaneousness of flight and proclamation contributes to placing a certain emphasis on the content of the Decalogue. The version contained in Deuteronomy, however, is inserted in the memory of those facts and offers a retrospective look at what has already been narrated.[12] For this reason, due to narrative force of the Exodus and its ability to involve the reader, I'll focus on this version. Before starting, I prefer to make available the text, to facilitate the clarification of some textual data.[13]

Then God spoke all these words (*debarîm*)[14]:

2 I am the Lord your God, who brought you out[15] of the land[16] of Egypt, out of the house of slavery; **3** you shall have no other gods before[a] me.
4 You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.
5 You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a

12 Here I will not discuss which of the two versions is the original one, because this did not influence subsequent interpretations.
13 What follows is my translation, which is the outcome of the exegetical analysis discussed in my book in *Il Decalogo. Uno sguardo retrospettivo*, Bologna 2010, 64–102 (German translation *Der Dekalog. Eine retrospektive Betrachtung*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, Stuttgart 2017).
14 Literally "word", but the meaning of *dabar* emerges here from: its relation with *mizwah* "commandments" (v 6), from the narrative context; from the God's authority; from his audience. See ivi, 99–100 and Barr, J. (1961): *Semantics of Biblical Language*, Oxford.
15 Cfr Gn 15, 7.
16 The word *'erez* (Es 20, 4 e Dt 5,8) means "earth", "land", also "nation". Further on, instead, *'adamah* «soil» is used. This word is also in Gn 2, 7; 3, 19. For the meaning and the using of both words, cfr Brown – Driver – Briggs – Gesenius (1979): *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Massachussetts.; Lisowsky, G. S. (1993): *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament*, Stuttgart.

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jealous God[17], punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me, **6** but showing steadfast love to the thousandth generation[b] of those who love me and keep my commandments (*mizwah*).
7 You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not acquit anyone who misuses his name.
8 Remember[18] the sabbath day, and keep it holy. **9** Six days you shall labor and do all your work. **10** But the seventh day is a sabbath to the Lord your God; you shall not do any work – you, your son or your daughter, your male or female slave, your livestock, or the alien resident in your towns. **11** For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but rested the seventh day[19]; therefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and consecrated it.
12 Honor[20] your father and your mother[21] , so that your days may be long in the land that the Lord your God is giving you.
13 You shall not murder.[22][c]
14 You shall not commit adultery.[23]

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17 *el qanna* for his translation cfr Brongers, H. A. (1963): *Der Eifer des Herrn Zebaoth*. In «VT» 13, 1963: 269.

18 Dt uses *samôr* «observe», instead of *zakôr* «remind you» and adds «as Yhwh your God commands you».

19 The motivation in Dt 5, 15 is different: "Remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the Lord your God brought you out from there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore the Lord your God commanded you to keep the sabbath day."

20 The root is *kbd*, translated with «glorify» if referred to God (1Sam 2, 29; Is 24, 15; 25, 3; 43, 23; Mi 1, 6; Sal 22, 24 ecc.). The using of this verb makes a double analogy between God and the parents: on one side, it refers to a religious respect towards them; on the other side, as generators of life, they are assimilable to God the creator. Cfr Bovati, P. (1994): *Il Libro del Deuteronomio (1–11)*, Roma: 70.

21 Dt 5, 16 adds: "as the Lord your God commanded you" and, after the wish of long life, l'espressione "e ti vada bene".

22 The verb *rāsāh* is rarely used and, in general, indicates a violent action, often linked to a blood revenge, that causes the death of the victim. To make clear the meaning of this verb, it would be useful to paraphrase the v 13 con "You will not be burdened by the crime of blood." Unlike the most common verbs (*harag, hemit*), used to indicate the killing of enemy in battle or that of the sentenced to death (by judicial scent or by divine will), *rāsāh* generally designates the killing of a personal and unarmed opponent. Cfr Bovati, P. (1994): *Ristabilire la giustizia*; Id., *Il libro del Deuteronomio (1–11)*, Roma; Braulik, G. (1987): *Das testament des Mose. Das Buch Deuteronomium*, Stuttgart.; Schmidt, W.H., Delkurt, H., Graupner, A. (1993): *Die Zehn Gebote im Rahmen alttestamentlicher Ethik*, Darmastad.

23 In Dt 5, 18–21 the commandments are co-ordinated by the conjunction «and», thus forming a homogeneous section. The verb *na' ap* "to committ adultery", can have as a subject both man and woman and is distinguished from other verbs of similar meaning, as *škb* "to lie with" and *znh* "to prostitute." Some scholars have observed that in the Jewish conception man commits adultery only in relation to the marriage of others, while the woman alone in relation to her own, cfr Spiegel, S., Andrew, M. E. (1967) *The Ten Commandaments in Recent Research*, SBT 2, 2, 1967. The punishment of adultery is death (cfr. Dt 22, 22), while in the case of the seduction of a virgin it is required that the

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15 You shall not steal.[24]
16 You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.[25]
17 You shall not covet[26] your neighbor's house; you shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or male or female slave, or ox, or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor.

It is not possible here to do a deep exegetical analysis. The translation with the verbs to the future (and not to the imperative) is grammatically correct and has the advantage of making more evident the meaning of the sequence of vetites in relation to the literary context in which the Decalogue is placed: "you'll not steal, because you will not need to steal, you will not commit adultery, you will not utter false testimony … because God has already given you the most important thing, freedom". The "words" are based on the history of salvation.

The contemporary prejudice that generally accompanies the Decalogue, as indeed all the narratives contained in the sacred texts, consists in believing that, since it is a biblical text and because it is a reference point for the Christian catechism, its

man marries her or that he compensates her with a sum of money (cfr. Es 22, 15; Dt 22, 28). In the context of the ancient Middle-East, the protection of marriage and monogamy are rather late conquests. The code of the last Mesopotamian ruler of the Lagaš dynasty, Urukagina (XXIV sec. a. C.), introduces capital punishment in the case of adultery, but in the same passage we are informed that in the past women were allowed to have two men.

24 The verb *gānab* (lett. "to steal a person") originally referred to the abduction, later it extended to the goods, but the meaning remained that of "depriving of freedom", according to the hypothesis of Alt. This prohibition is closely related to v 17, parallel to Ex 21, 16 (and Dt 24, 7) "he who abducts a man and sells it, if he is still in his hands, will be put to death." Cfr Alt, A. (1934) *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts,* in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, München 1953: 278–332. Garcia Lopez, F.: *Le Decalogue*: 52; Scanu, M. P. (2000): *Non rubare? Es 20, 15=Dt 5, 19*, in «PSV» 42: 31–47. For a study of the Semitic terms related to *gnb* cfr Khnopff, L. (1958): *Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch.* In «VT» 8, 1958: 169.

25 The Hebrew expression is *lō taʿăneh berēʿăkā ʿed šeqer «* a lying witness » (Dt 5, 20: *welō' taʿăneh berēʿăkā 'ēd šāw* « twitness to the deception »). The verbs used to express the indictment are *ʿnh* e *ngd* (*Hi*): and appear in texts of a legal nature. The falsity could be referred to the witness or to the word pronounced in court (false accusation): in the versions of the Decalogue two variants of the latter case appear. The Jewish judicial system required a plurality of witnesses to make an accusation probable for analysis. This served to protect the individual who, because of false accusations, risked marginalization and, consequently, life. The story of Nabot in 1Re 21 is an example of the consequences of false testimony. The term *reaʿ* "next, neighbor" means the citizen with full rights in the covenant community. Cfr. Bovati, P.: *Ristabilire la giustizia*: 244–245; Klopfenstein, M. A. (1964): *Die Lüge nach dem Alten Testament. Ihr Begriff, ihre Bedeutung und ihre Beurteilung*, Zürich-Frankfurt/M: 18–21; Hossenfelf, F. L.: *Der Dekalog*: 75–76.

26 "To desire" (*nehmād*) is the same verb used in Gn 3, 5–6, when humanity wishes to become like gods. Herrmann believes that the verb hmd expresses both the feeling and the action that derives from this feeling, cfr Herrmann, J. (1967): *The Conclusion of the Decalogue (Ex 20, 17; Dt 5,21).* In «CBQ» 29: 543ss.

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understanding must be relegated to the religious sphere and that in no way it is relevant to the literary, philosophical or political. In this way the Decalogue is deprived of its cultural historical dimension and, thus packaged as uniquely the "word of God", it is separated from the world of humans. However, the Book of Exodus in which it is contained has remained alive in human history, shaping political, moral and juridical thought. At the end of their escape from Egypt, we witness a twofold transformation of a group of slaves into a people, religious and political, made possible by the new conscience that the Israelites have laboriously acquired thanks to the saving action of God and the trust they place in Him. It is at the end of this process that the "Ten Words" are proclaimed. Reading this text outside its narrative context could make it look like a simple religious creed. Reading it at the end of the experience of the escape from Egypt, however, allows it to stands as the first charter establishing the true social and political order of Israel, in which anthropology and religion they play a leading role. The escape from Egypt is first and foremost a political action, it is the rejection of slavery and submission to a foreign sovereign. The "Ten Words" are the outcome of this revolution and, at the same time, the beginning of a new phase: the creation of a people and its criteria for organization and action. From this perspective, the Decalogue is the starting point for the building of a new public space. To be sure, it is us, modern readers, who need to clarify that the new Yahwist cult also determines a new form of *political* organization. The biblical authors did not distinguish between political space and religious space. In fact the Decalogue is included in a Yahwist framework.

From the literary point of view, Ex 19, 24 and Ex 20, 18 are in evident continuity, while the Decalogue seems to have been incorporated at a later time. This indicates that this collocation was intentional. The fact that God's interlocutor is Israel, for example, can be deduced from what happened in the previous chapter and from the adjective "yours" with which God relates to Israel, and hence, the content of Ex 20:1–17 is in continuity with the foregoing narrative, that is, with the stipulation of the alliance. Moreover, the language used in the Decalogue, in spite of the subsequent interpretative traditions, is not juridical[27] and rather resembles that of a foregoing account. In fact, the first verse, "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, from the house of slavery … ."[28] when read in continuity with Ex 19:10–25, summarize the historical story of Exodus: the verb in the *indicative* mood distinguishes this sentence (Ex 20:1) from the successive ones (Ex 20:2f), conjugated

27 In fact, if we literally read Ex 20:1: "God said all these words (*debarîm*), saying". The only legal word *mizotaj* is in v 7. For an analysis of the biblical legal language in the Decalogue, I would like to refer to mine *Note al lessico giuridico del Decalogo*, in *Materiali per una storia del pensiero giuridico*, 1, 2008: 3–32.
28 For the political-juridical implication of hebrew grammar in the Decalogue, see: *Der Dekalog. Eine retrospektive Betrachtung*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, Stuttgart 2017: 80–107.

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in the imperfect "aspect", that is to say, the future.[29] The text projects into the future the community that receives it: if, until then, the alternative had been between anarchy and tyranny, between slavery and subjection, now law and freedom coincide. Accepting the "Ten Words" means expressing a judgment on the past and planning a different future. At the end of a journey of liberation as the keystone of Israel's process of religious and political self-awareness, it would be an internal contradiction to want to read the Decalogue as a new form of compulsion, of slavery. The text certainly has a normative value, which comes from the story narrated in the preceding chapters, but it is not a list of prohibitions and impositions. The *memory* of the experience of liberation transform these words into criteria that guarantee the preservation of freedom within a space of relationships.[30]

The main theme of the Decalogue is freedom and the text indicates the tools to preserve it. The criteria emphasized are: fidelity to the liberating God, equality between the members of the people before God, and social order based on respect for one's neighbour in all the forms in which such proximity presents itself. The Decalogue does not dwell on what must be done, but on what allows or prevents the preservation of freedom. The common space is regulated by inviting all to act in accordance with these criteria and not, at this stage – by imposing strict rules of behaviour.

4 The political and juridical interpretation of Decalogue: some stages

Analysing this text *a posteriori*, our reflection is certainly influenced by centuries of development of a legal system and codes, as – rather – a way to take a critical view of that text, to transform it into a resource, precisely by virtue of the role it has exercised in the history of law. We can therefore include the Decalogue not only in the history of biblical interpretation but also in the broader history of law, particularly that between the birth of canon law and the advent of modern legal science. Throughout this history, the Decalogue has performed different functions, that is, it has been able to respond to the challenges of different eras.

29 In the biblical Hebrew, the Perfect verb form expressed the idea of the verb as a completed action expresses the completed action. This is often used in the past tense. The Imperfect portrays the verb as an incomplete action along with the process by which it came about, either as an event that has not begun, an event that has begun but is still in the process, or a habitual or cyclic action that is on an ongoing repetition. The Imperfect can also express modal or conditional verbs, as well as commands in the Jussive and Cohortative moods.

30 Cf Crüsemann, F. (1983): *Die Bewharung der Freiheit. Das Thema des Dekalogs in sozialgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, München.

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The biblical authors inserted the Decalogue in the Pentateuch, a collection that served as an archive from which to draw models and principles of behaviour. Those who exercised power used this archive to identify criteria for judgment and similar cases to those that had to be resolved. It is not, however, a casual collection of narratives and *nomoi*, but a conscious literary complex, through which Israel preserved and handed over stories and laws considered fundamental for the people and capable of responding to the problems raised by the contemporary situation of those who contributed to their establishment.[31] The Pentateuch served to maintain the social order and to coagulate in a common conscience a people that had neither a territory nor a king. From this perspective, the Decalogue performs it the function well: the figure of the king is replaced by the liberating God, while the possession of the earth is replaced by the law. The question that the Penateteuch, and above all, the Decalogue seeks to answer is whether Israel can survive as a free people and, therefore, as a nation among others, despite not having a visible king or territory of its own, and the answer is yes. The God who gives the law is the king, who gives the land, to live in which, Israel must act in accordance with what was established in the Covenant. The conformity of individuals to the divine will is not blind obedience, but a way for them to recognize themselves as members of that chosen people, members who live the experience of liberating Israel with their God. Membership in Israel is in fact established by the bonds of blood and behaviours, that is, the ability to engage in the relationship with YHWH.

The Pentateuch, like similar codes of law in the Ancient Near East, served as a reference work for many centuries, as well as the first legislative collections written in the Middle Ages (*decreta, canones, constitutiones*). Until the modern age, the law consisted of collections of judgments or decrees already promulgated and the solutions of the new cases were obtained by analogy from the previous ones.[32] Gradually, legal codes were transformed from the result of experience to the principle of action. This was possible thanks to profound social and economic changes, which stimulated the radical rethinking of legal categories. From the early centuries of

31 Lohfink hypothesized that originally the laws passed down in the Pentateuch were autonomous and that they were united to have a new non-state legal foundation. To succeed in this, the law is traced directly to the will of God. There are three characteristics of this law, particularly in the book of law: law is conceived as a contract with divinity; it is a criticism of the state; it is inseparable from ethics. The last two features also explain the attention that the decalogue has for the family and the neighbors: protecting society is not the sovereign, nor the state, but each member of the community. The author identifies the limit of biblical law, in the absence of coercive elements, in the call to ethics. Cfr Lohfink N. (1999): *Im Schatten deiner Flügel*, Freiburg. B.

32 Cf the Common Law Cf Wormald, P. (1999): *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I, Oxford. For analogy, taxonomy, expansive interpretation, case analysis cf Jonsen, A. R., Toulmin, S. (1988): *The Abuse of Casuistry. A History of Moral Reasoning*, Berkley – Los Angeles – London.

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Christianity, the legal collections contained codes from different eras, because it was generally believed that what is more ancient is better and holds greater authority.[33] The old and the new coexisted. For this reason it was not uncommon to find laws drawn directly from the biblical text.[34] Some authors compared Mosaic rights with Roman law and others even tried to prove the biblical origin of the latter.[35] Among the most significant texts for this phase and for the history of subsequent law, appears *Justinian's Corpus Juris Civilis* (528–533),[36] in which the word "code" no longer indicates only an editorial form but also its legal content.[37] It is in this context that we must interpret the choice made by Alfred Great[38] (849–899) King of the Saxons of the West/England, to place the Decalogue in the preamble of the laws he had promulgated. In this way, King Alfred tried to reaffirm the enduring value of the Law of Moses which he also linked to a summary of the Acts of the Apostles.

During the 11th and 12th centuries, important social and economic changes made the life of political communities more complex, and consequently they perceived the practice of customary law as insufficient, being excessively adherent to local life. Medieval feudal communities needed a strong political power to succeed and prosper, because each was economically interdependent on the others. In this period "jus" expressed the natural order of things[39] while "norms" were the result of customs or *mores*.[40] The feudal lord's activity consisted in placing order in the customary patrimony coming from life itself, but did not create the *ius*:[41] it was reality

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33 Cf Grossi, P. (1995) *L'ordine giuridico medievale*, Roma-Bari: 157.

34 Cf Calasso, F. (1954): *Medioevo nel diritto*, Milano: 161–179.

35 The reference is to *Collatio Mosaicarum et Romanorum legem*, an *operetta* of the Late Empire in which the anonymous author seeks similarities between Roman and biblical law, cf Volterra E. (ed.) (1930): *Collatio Mosaicarum*, Roma. For the reconstruction of this period in the history of law, cf Volterra E. (1999): *Diritto romano e diritti orientali*, Bologna.

36 Giustiniano, *Iustiniani Augusti Digesta*. Per la fortuna del Codice di Giustiniano, cf Orestano, R. (1973): *Introduzione allo studio del diritto romano*, Bologna (3): 60–131.

37 Cordero F. (1985): *Riti e sapienza del diritto*, Roma-Bari: 167. Originally, in Latin "codex" meant a way of binding books make of calfskin (= vellum, parchment), paper or papyrus, rather than rolling them. By extension, it also referred to the bound book itself. Then it came to refer to its contents. Eventually, "codex" (and its vernacular cognates) came to refer to the contents of a compendium of laws. Finally (especially in Continental Law), it came to mean an organized system of laws.

38 Wormald, P. (1999): *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I, Oxford: 416– 429.

39 "Naturale ergo ius ab exordio rationalis creaturae incipiens, ut supra dictum est, manet immobile", Graziano (1879): *Decretum magisteri Gratiani*, c. III, D. VI, Lipsia: 11.

40 *Mos*, the custom, was an expression of popular consciousness, which was immediately translated into custom. On the other hand, if it was mediated by writing, it became law. All the *ius humano*, therefore, had is origin in the *consuetudo*.

41 Originally the meaning of *ius* was linked to the will or divine power. It's difficult to know its development, undoubtely in the secular direction, or why it is an opposing of *fas*, the "divine right". *Ius* maintained the meaning of "power" and "will" and designated both nomos and the "right to

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that generated validity, not vice versa. The *scientia iuris* was essentially *interpretatio*,[42] that is, a juridical order that lives and slowly develops in history. The Latin *iurisdictio*, which indicated the scope of law, consisted in "saying *ius*"[43] and was the highest manifestation of the order of things in nature.

In this social and cultural context, law was not addressed to individuals taken in their singularity, but to the network of relationships mentioned earlier. Later, when the social structure became more complex, there was a need for order, a legal order. It is in this context that the process of formation of modern law begins, in which the *Dictatus Papae*[44] (1074–1075) of Gregory VII obtained enormous importance. Through it came the idea of a political order that claimed to be an objective reading of the reality that public life was based on proclaimed and recognized principles.[45]

I can not elaborate on the dynamics that led to the birth of modern juridical science starting from ecclesiastical law,[46] instead, I would like to focus my exposition on the role of the Decalogue in this process.

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act", while its derivatives expressed conformity to the *ius*, ie the positive norm. Cf Benveniste, E. (1969): *Le vocabolario des institutions indo-européennes*, 2 voll., Paris.

42 The etymology of the word *interpretatio* is not known, but the word has always indicated someone who performs a mediation of events, speeches, texts and will and was able to give an explanation or to translate from one language to another. In Medieval Age, *interpretatio* of *princeps* was a general expression of the *consuetudo,* while that of judge had to do with case under dispute. Cf Crescenzi, V. (1992): *Problemi dell'"interpretation"*. In "Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo", 98: 271–322; Ernout, A., Meillet, A. (1959): *Dictionnaire etymologyque de la langue latine*, Paris.

43 From a continental perspective, here "ius" is "right", that is "diritto". This translation is understandable by a modern and roman idea of legal codex. The medieval word "directum" (in Italian "diritto") indicate a direction: "the quality that the action of directing confers on the object on which it is carried out, supports the quality of being *direct*" Cesarini-Sforza, W. (1930): *"Ius" e "directum". Note sull'origine storica dell'idea di diritto*, Bologna. In the modern age, *directum* doesn't derive from a divine source, but from a "conformity to an ideal of justice" whose highest expression is will of God. Cf Costa, P. (1969): *Iurisdictio. Semantica del potere politico nella pubblicistica medievale*, Milano.

44 The *Dictatus Papae* is a compilation of 27 statements. His purpose was to curb the emperor's power. The *Dictatus Papae* strengthened the prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff and limited the occasions for corruption of the clergy.

45 Cf Prodi, P. (1992): *Il sovrano Pontefice*, Bologna: 127–163.

46 For medieval sources of law and their development, see Calasso, F. (1954): *Medioevo del Diritto*, Milano. I investigate the birth of modern legal science in *Il Decalogo. Uno sguardo retrospettivo*, Bologna 2010: 135–158.

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5 The Role of the Decalogue in the Development of Western Law

One cannot deny that in most countries, the Decalogue has deeply contributed to the political, juridical, ethical, social development of civil society as we know it.

Starting with Augustine, the Decalogue had a certain fortune as normative groundwork for a public ethical discourse, but until the 13th century, that is, the age of Scholastic Theology, and even more until the Reformation and the Council of Trent, its importance was obscured by a virtue ethics paradigm cantered on the Capital Vices (the "Seven Deadly Sins"). In fact, the sacrament of penance was based on the pattern of the sins. In the Age of Reformation more emphasis was given to offenses against God and the Decalogue was a valid alternative to the Capital Vices and its use revolutionized ethics.[47]

One particular doctrine, coming from William of Ockham (1285–1347), marked an important stage in the growth of importance of the Decalogue, especially through Jean Gerson.[48] In the years of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, the Decalogue is welcomed by Protestants and Catholics as an educational tool, especially in catechesis.[49] This has also the era in which the Decalogue turns into the Ten Commandments, that is its connotation of "commandments" or "precept" changes, becoming ever more positivistic, exceptionless, blind to context and circumstances, impersonal, deprived of a parallel system of privileges, dispensations, and the exercise of *epikeia*.[50] In the wake of the evolution of ecclesiastical law and of civil law in

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47 Cf Bossy, J. (1985): *The Christianity in the West. 1400–1700*, Oxford.; Id., *Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into ten Commandments*, in Leiters, E. (ed.) (1988): *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: 214–238.

48 Gerson J. (1960–1973): *Euvres complètes*, 10 voll., Paris.

49 Cf the *Catechismo romano del Concilio di Trento*, Part III and the Luther's first catechism (1529), followed by those of the Genevan tradition: *Formulare d'inscurire le enfants en la Chrétienté* by Calvin (1541) and the *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563). The word "catechism" was originally an exorcism that precedes baptism. Later it became the series of teachings that followed it. From the beginning the catechism was linked to religious education in the parish and family environment and consisted in learning by heart the obligations assumed at the time of baptism. Both in the Reformed Church and in the Catholic Church the catechism was formed by the prayers, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, with the aim of teaching obedience to God.

50 ἐπιείκεια is a philosophical and juridical concept, linked to the concept of "equity". *Epikeia* states the possibility that the individual invoking a higher law acts against the letter of an imperfect positive law, in a concrete situation. Following Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas includes *epikeia* among virtues: Human law is imperfect and admits of exceptions because, by its very nature, human law is based on the ordinary course of changing circumstances (*ut in pluribus*). Cf *Summa theologiae* 2a2ae, 120.1 ad 2. Cf Hamel, E.: "La vertu d'épikie". In Sciences Ecclésiastiques, 13, 1961: 35–56; A. Rodriguez Luno, "La virtù dell'epicheia. Teoria, storia e applicazione (II). Dal cursus theologicus dei Salmanticenses fino ai nostri giorni". In *Acta Philosophica*, vol.7 (1998),fasc.1: 65–88.

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modern legal science, the words spoken by God on Sinai are no longer the result of a path of liberation but, extrapolated from their narrative context, they are transformed into rules to remember.

The Decalogue was also a key text to renew the Christian ethics in the age of the Reformation and of the Counter Reformation. John Calvin (1509–1564), in his attempt to build the perfect town, asked the citizens of Geneva to observe its contents.[51] His thesis is that the law promulgated by God is in force forever.

On the Catholic side, biblical sources could not be renounced, but they were filtered by the decrees promulgated by the Council of Trent (1545–1563)[52], also adopted by the Republic of Venice, by the Duke of Savoy and King Philip II of Spain. The Decalogue thus constituted an important point of reference for the Christian ethics of these years, both on the Catholic and the Protestant side, and in fact it gradually replaced the logic of the Seven Deadly Sins which had been typical of the Middle Ages. If, in fact, between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the doctrine of the Seven Sins was dominant in the practice of the sacrament of penance, then the Decalogue became the only instrument to know what God wanted or forbade. It was then in the years of the Counter-Reformation that the Decalogue was transformed into a normative system and adopted for the education of children by both Lutherans and Catholics (in the latter case, through the Tridentine catechism). In the same years, the Decalogue also had a political translation: Jean Bodin elaborated his *république* as a polity united by morally imperative legislation, and governed by a single and undisputed sovereign.[53]

The Decalogue was an important reference point for the development of Catholic and Protestant ethics. Of course, religious ethics had to shape civil life through its value system. In a society in continuous economic growth and characterized by profound social transformations, the need for an organized and clear legal system arose. For this reason, the law – especially in continental Europe – to have binding force, became a coherent system devoid of internal contradictions. The law no longer had to read reality, but to direct it and, in a sense, precede it. As we saw, the legal collections were no longer instruments for consultation but were transformed into normative systems. There is an analogy between cosmic order and political organization, but the latter is transformed into "convention." Social, political, economic changes, along with religious wars, favoured the search for sources of law other than religious tradition. The juridical norm is no longer the result of all the experiences of the community, but something rational that precedes and directs the possi-

51 Cf www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/institutes.iv.ix.html

52 The influence of the Tridentine on the genesis of modern continental law is very complex, cf Prodi, P. (1973): *Note sul problema della genesi del diritto*, della Chiesa post tridentina dell'età moderna, in "Legge e Vangelo", Queriniana, Brescia.

53 Bodin, J. (1576): *Six Livres de la République*, Paris.

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bility of experiencing: in some way, there is no experience which is not already laden with theory. Law is therefore based not on reality but on founding principles. *Iurisdictio* becomes "jurisdiction", i.e., the "creation of law". Law is no longer the key (even if coercive) interpretation of the natural world, but an *instrumentum regnis* subordinated to the political and separate from the social. Modern law advances a claim to rationality with the claim to direct reality according to its rules. At the same time, it is something artificial and risks being valid only for those who have elaborated it. The claim of rationality and social control by law is facilitated by the inability of religion to create social cohesion. Spinoza is in this sense an exemplary figure: it is no longer faith, individual and community, to provide the basis of social structure, but reason.[54]

Beyond the evolution of law, it is important to note here that the new moral normative conception was projected on the Decalogue and on the whole Pentateuch. During the modern age, in fact, the normative function of the Decalogue and of the various juridical collections contained in the Pentateuch was underlined. At the same time, the narrative context of the Decalogue became secondary, that is, the fact that it – like the other juridical collections of the Pentateuch – were part of a precise historical situation and the result of a journey of liberation accomplished together with God. According to the hierarchy of the principles of right, the Decalogue was to be understood as static divine law, thus contradicting the same vitality within the biblical text. Historical memory became a normative text placed outside of time (I focused on the contents of the biblical law, but I left out the causes and the modalities of its establishment, making it vulnerable to many misunderstandings). In short: modern law interprets the Decalogue from its own categories, functions and purposes.[55]

In the course of its formation process, canon and secular law had preserved the contents of biblical sources, but sometimes it has bent its meaning to its own needs, leaving aside the path that has allowed its formation. For the Decalogue, this often meant being understood unilaterally in terms of a deontological ethics: it has become a list of norms, of imperatives, to the detriment of the original dynamism. To the extent that it was considered an orientating criterion, a trace of human action, it was characterized by a certain dynamism, that is, by the fact that the reader could use it to evaluate his actions and identify the best solution. When Ex 20, 1–17 is interpreted as a list of norms, it is no longer an instrument of freedom, but of compulsion. It can become a limit.[56]

54 Spinoza, B.: *Tractatus Theologico Politico*...cap. XX.
55 This is also a product of the interpreter's of own time.
56 Of course, all depends on the conception of freedom and on the role of defined norms, but regarding the Decalogue, its narrative-historical background its understanding.

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Despite, or perhaps thanks to these transformations of law, the Decalogue is among the best-known and most important biblical texts in the history of law, although not necessarily the best-known in its richness. This is because every age has been able to rediscover it and interpret it starting from its own needs. However, a more in-depth study of the text tells us that its widespread ubiquitous presence does not correspond to true knowledge. The whole pericope proceeds from the self-presentation of the liberating God and this means that what follows should not be evaluated as "right" or "wrong" but accepted as something that is part of the history of salvation. The adhesion of the people is not based on the distinction between "interiority" and "exteriority" nor is it the result of a moral judgment. The reception of the *debarîm* as a binding law is based on the recognition of the fact that v 2 correctly interprets the history of Israel as a history of salvation. V 2 is not the first commandment, as modern deontological law would like. Israel accepts *debarîm* not only because it judges them "just" but also because it recognizes them as "true". The motivational criterion is not ethical judgment, but historical truthfulness. For this reason, unlike the rational conception of law, the criterion is not "reason", but memory which, like that, has a universalizing function.

6 Conclusion

My paper discussed a specific issue: the way religious practice and personal religiosity promotes (or impedes) civic engagement. I argued my answer by analysing the Decalogue from two perspectives: 1) the role of narrative context for the understanding of the text and 2) the role of the hermeneutics of Decalogue to make it a protagonist in the transformation of social values. In the course of this investigation I observed several aspects: 1) the importance of the narrative context in understanding the meaning of the text; 2) the fortune of Ex 20, 1–17 in the history of religious ethics that, up to the modern age, has influenced the social structure of many societies (there was, in fact, no distinction between religious ethics and secular ethics and, indeed, the religious one gave unity to civil society); 3) the importance of the Decalogue in the history of law; 4) the influence of the birth of modern juridical science in the interpretation of the Decalogue and, therefore, of its function. Being a text able to offer criteria from which to deduce social norms or, in the modern age, to be intertextually read as a list of positive commandments, it has greatly influenced the way of being in many communities of believers and in civil society at large.

The interpretation of a religious tradition begins in the oral proclamation and transmission of religious traditions and continues when those traditions are handed over in the form of a sacred text. As I showed, what is given by scripture is not as self-evident as religious fundamentalism would have us believe, since the meaning of the text is given both by the elements that compose it (words, context etc.) and by

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the interaction with the reader. The narrative context places the Decalogue at the end of the Exodus from Egypt, as if it were a report of what happened there and the summary of what has been learned. In this case the normativity of the text directly appeals to the history of salvation and is based on it that it plans the future. As we saw, for some centuries the Decalogue remains secondary to other biblical texts, since Christian ethics was centered on the logic of the Seven Sins. With the change to a new ethical paradigm, focussed on obedience to God, the Decalogue became the protagonist of a true ethical and social revolution. The fact that it is structured as a list, facilitated its memorization and allowed it to be included in the catechisms that swarm in the age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. This is a particularly lively and complex age, full of religious struggles, social and political changes, where modern legal science was born. In this tumultuous period of changes, the reasons for which the Decalogue provided norms of religious, ethical and civil behaviour changed continuously. The text provided the basis for the creation of that common knowledge which gives life, form and organization of civil life, to the point of becoming its presupposition and criterion for socio-political and moral action. Therefore, the Decalogue is an exemplary text for its contribution to the moral quality of civic engagement.

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Frank Adloff

Durkheim, Mauss, and Shils: The Sacred of Civil Society

The question of the relationship between religion and civil society can be put in two ways. On the one hand, one may analyse whether and to what extent religious actors (churches, religious groups, denominations, etc.) enter the arena of civil society, engage in it, and regard themselves as part of civil society. On the other hand, the relationship between religion and civil society may also be understood in a broader sense by highlighting the central specific feature of religion – namely the reference to the sacred – and asking how the relationship between civil society and the sacred is presented. Émile Durkheim maintained that there is no society without the sacred. This paper will examine to what extent the concept of civil society can be associated with a sociological analysis of the sacred or, more specifically, with processes of sacralisation.[1] To this end, I, start with a discussion of Durkheim's concept of the sacred, briefly depict Marcel Mauss's theory of the gift and will then examine how Edward Shils took up the concept of the sacred to incorporate it into his theory of civility and civil society.

1 Durkheim: The Sacred of Society

Émile Durkheim established sociology in France, laid the methodological foundation of the field, and developed a specific perspective of modern society. His lead question was: How do modern societies – primarily characterized by social differentiation, markets, and processes of individuation – have to look in order to enable both social order and individual freedom and join them to each other? And what can sociology contribute to such a project as the development of an individualistic morality?

The historical background to this question is the deep social crisis that France went through at that time. According to Durkheim in the decades after the French Revolution, the values of liberty, equality, and fraternity could no longer find a secure home in France. The political circumstances with changing regimes were too unstable. Within 70 years, the Third Republic experienced 108 cabinets with a total of 561 ministers; on average, the cabinets remained in office for 8 months. Moreover, there existed the social problem, urbanization and differentiation processes, as well as an education system under the strong influence of the conservative Catholic

1 cf. Joas, Hans (2017): Die Macht des Heiligen. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

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Church. At the time, France was determined by the conflict between clerics and anti-clericals, and Durkheim wanted to push back the influence of the Catholic Church. He saw himself as a passionate supporter of the Republic and wanted to defend and deepen it.[2]

In his dissertation *The Division of Labour in Society*, published in 1893, Durkheim[3] began with a fundamental difference between earlier, archaic societies and modern societies: in the former, a mechanical solidarity was produced, which relied on individuals participating in a collective consciousness or collective conscience that allowed little room for individual deviations. In modern societies, the influence of the collective consciousness on people diminished; individuality evolved. Modern organic solidarity is based on the diversity of the people and their dependency on one another. The social division of labour causes professional specialization which in turn increases people's dependency on each other. The individual members of society can no longer be integrated through a unified collective consciousness. Instead, the division of labour itself becomes the source of an indirect solidarity. Durkheim stresses that this form of solidarity and reciprocity is not merely about tolerance based on self-interest. He emphasizes that a contract alone does not suffice against utilitarian approaches: normative, non-contractual elements come first. That means that the observance of contracts cannot be based solely on rational calculations. Namely, for one of the parties to a contract, it will always be more rational not to comply with contracts if the penalty cannot be enforced or is too costly. Thus a normative and non-contractual obligation is required for compliance with contracts.

For Durkheim, however, there is no automatism in the rise in the division of labour to successful organic solidarity. Durkheim identifies three anomalous forms of failure of labour division: the anomic division of labour (no rules of the exchange exist); the forced division of labour (the asymmetry and injustice of rules due to power differentials), and the poor intra-organizational division of labour. In contrast to Karl Marx, for Durkheim, the biggest problem of modern societies is not exploitation in the form of forced division of labour, but anomie – i.e., a lack of rules, which might make division of labour a source of solidarity.

Because it remained unclear who the social representatives of organic solidarity were, Durkheim wrote a foreword to the second edition of *The Division of Labour*, which emphasized the roles of professional groups that form an intermediate level between the state and the individual. In this way, Durkheim outlined the image of a civil society – he calls it political society – on the basis of cooperative mergers. He

2 cf. Lukes, Steven (1972): Émile Durkheim: His Life and Work. New York: Harper & Row.
3 Durkheim, Émile (1984 [1893]): The Division of Labour in Society. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

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thus shifted intermediary associations to the centre of socially inclusive morality without explaining this more precisely in his work.

The book *On Suicide*[4] continued the analysis of the state of modern society. Here, Durkheim pointed out that in Judeo-Christian societies, the individual himself has become sacred, which is the reason for the prohibition of suicide. The "Cult of Man" forbids infringing upon human dignity – and thus also suicide: While in pre-modern societies the collective was idealized, according to Durkheim today we experience an idealization of the individual. For Durkheim this moral individualism is in certain circumstances the only residual tie to the integration of modern societies. Thus he perceived in modern society remainders of a collective consciousness – calling them, however, collective representations that extend to a common belief in the value of the individual and thus constitute a social bond a bond that he does not consider particularly strong.

Given the moral crisis of his time, Durkheim recommended to the French Third Republic to strengthen the formation of groups, so that individuals may experience a more binding solidarity. The cult of the individual should find its institutional embedding and protection in corporatist – or as I would prefer to say, civic – coalitions: Durkheim suggests that functional integration through reciprocity and cultural integration through value-based commitments should meet here.

How could the collective ideal of moral individualism evolve? His presumption is: Values and ideals have religious roots. Thus, we come to Durkheim's last major book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912).[5] Durkheim's late work represents the ambitious undertaking of clarifying the social origin of religion, and conceiving a sociology of knowledge. To this end, Durkheim considers the simplest religion in his judgment – namely, the totemism of the Australian aborigines. Totemism exhibits all the features of religion in general, in an easy to analyse form, specifically, communal rites and beliefs as well as the separation of the sacred from the profane. For him, looking at Australia is tantamount to looking at the past, also of Western societies; here exists in its original form, what is hidden in modern societies by opaque complexities.

Durkheim develops the circular argument that the worship of the sacred is a social, thus collective matter, and that the sacred reverts to the collective function of worship: *religion equals society*.[6] The group worships itself in totemism, but symbolizes and externalizes this worship in the form of a totem. The social pressure of society conveys to people the idea that there are morally effective forces outside of

4 Durkheim, Émile (2006 [1897]): On Suicide. London: Penguin.
5 Durkheim, Émile (2008 [1912]): The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
6 Durkheim, Émile (2008 [1912]): The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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themselves, on which they depend. However, this power is not only an external authority, but supports, strengthens, energizes, and stimulates the individual. This is particularly the case when a congregation of people is able to generate collective excitement and emotion. In such moments, collective ecstasy drives in people an external, moral strength the pictorial expression of which is the totem or a God that represents society. In the centre of this collective feeling of strength, solidarity, and euphoria there are rites, based on the synchronization of movements, sounds, and symbols, through which the individual communicates with the sacred as a collective ideal.

Durkheim believes he is able to show that in the modern era there can be an inner-worldly substitute for religious beliefs and rites. He advocates the notion that moral individualism, the belief in human rights and human dignity, may be a commonly shared collective ideal.[7] It remains unclear in Durkheim's late work, however, in which extraordinary, collective-ecstatic experiences the new belief in human rights and dignity should be rooted. This poses a problem: what is commonly shared in the modern era is "thin," because there exists only a small degree of collective consciousness and at the same time a high level of individuality.

Durkheim may be regarded as a typical representative of classical social theory, which assumes that values, norms, and interests are constitutive of social cooperation. Either it is claimed from a utilitarian point of view (such as in the form of rational choice theories) that the convergence of each individual interest can lead to cooperation under certain conditions. Or it is believed, as Durkheim does, that it requires an antecedent, commonly shared background that enables cooperation. This background consists of norms, values, and common knowledge bases. Talcott Parsons may be regarded as the last great theoreticist of classical social theory, when he emphasizes that action uncertainties (double contingency between ego and alter ego) can only be curbed by shared values and standards.[8] Normative guarantees should ensure the integration of society. This common set of values and norms is commonly called "culture". According to this Durkheimian view, if cooperation is not achieved, we are dealing with too little common culture.

Post-classical social theories assume, however, that there is a theoretical and practical alternative to the classic dichotomy of values and norms versus self-interest. They are interested in non-normative and non-utilitarian explanations of human cooperation. In the course of interaction and communication, cooperation and social order are capable of being formed and strengthened without there being

7 cf. Joas, Hans (2013): The Sacredness of the Person: A New Genealogy of Human Rights. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
8 Parsons, Talcott (1968 [1937]): The Structure of Social Action. New York: Free Press.

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normative and cultural guarantees for this under late modern conditions.[9] Evidence of such a post-classical social theory can be found in the sociology and anthropology of Marcel Mauss, Durkheim's nephew and student, who traces back cooperation to the triad of giving, accepting, and reciprocating. In my view, he represents early on a third, post-classical paradigm beyond the dichotomy of rationality and normative action; instead, he moves the concepts of interaction, symbolic mediation, need for interpretation, trust, and reciprocity into the centre of his social theory.

2 Mauss: Gifts beyond Durkheim

Marcel Mauss broke with some of Durkheim's holistic premises and tried to give an answer to the questions here formulated. In his 1925 essay "The Gift", he continues the theme of Durkheim's book, published 30 years earlier, on the social division of labour.[10] He rejects the assumption that exchange, and thus contracts, are at the origin of society, as well as the complementary notion that archaic societies formed altruistic communities. Instead, – like Durkheim previously – he asks about the non-contractual elements of exchange. All human institutions are based on the difference and unity of individuals and society, freedom and obligation, self-interest and community spirit[11], not only in premodern, but also in modern societies – instance.g. on the basis of familiar or amicable exchange, in cooperatives, even in labour relations and state social security systems. He does not simply want to open a difference between premodern societies, based on the gift, and modern societies, based on the contract and market.

In the development of his work – particularly in the post-WWI-war period after Durkheim's death – Mauss increasingly diverged from a religious theory of society ("religion equals society"), and instead aimed at a symbol theory of society.[12] This shift – from the religious to the symbolic and to a cross-disciplinary integration of biology, psychology, and sociology[13] – may be construed as a comprehensive paradigm change in Mauss' understanding of society. For Alain Caillé, a dramatic break with Durkheim becomes opponent: Durkheim believed everything could be ex-

9 cf. Wenzel, Harald (2001): Die Abenteuer der Kommunikation. Echtzeitmassenmedien und der Handlungsraum der Hochmoderne. Weilerswist: Velbrück.

10 Mauss, Marcel (1990 [1925]): The Gift. New York/London: Norton.

11 Hart, Keith (2007): "Marcel Mauss: In Pursuit of the Whole. A Review Essay". Comparative Studies in Society and History 49, No. 2: 481.

12 cf. Tarot, Camille (1999): De Durkheim à Mauss, l'invention du symbolique. Sociologie et science de religions. Paris: La Découverte.

13 cf. Adloff, Frank (2016): Gifts of Cooperation, Mauss and Pragmatism. London: Routledge.

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plained by its religious roots; Mauss, however, thought that everything has to be related to the world of symbols.[14]

The symbolic not only combines social with individual consciousness, Mauss also points out that the symbolic is related to the physiological through ritual. This connection is most blatantly seen, if the "life instinct" in humans is dependent on social, supra-individual factors. He worked this out in his article *« Effets physiques chez l'individu de l'idée de mort suggérée par la collectivité (Australie, Nouvelle-Zélande) »* of 1926.[15] According to Mauss, in the civilizations of New Zealand and Australia, individuals who believe they are sinful abandon themselves to death and then die, often with no visible injuries, and this sometimes even at a pre-specified time. The awareness of having to die depends on having broken with the community and violating collective feelings. Based on these observations, Mauss shows that in humans, the physical, the mental, and the socio-moral are directly linked to each other.

In comparison to Durkheim, Mauss distances himself from the explanation of a single institution, namely religion, as the sole explanation of all that is important in society. Mauss' interest shifts towards studying social constellations. In particular, his concept of *mana*, which is developed in the text about magic, shows clear differences to Durkheim's concept of the sacred. "It is really mana that gives things and people value, not only magical religious values, but social value as well. An individual's social status depends directly on the strength of his mana (…)."[16] The concept of mana is like that of the sacred of collective origin, but is, for Mauss, the more general term. It represents a category of collective thought and traces back to affective, collective conditions, without being the same as a feeling – it is "power, par excellence."[17] For Mauss[18], there are no genuine religious feelings, as he repeats and rather explicitly emphasizes in his review of William James' *The Varieties of Religious Experience*: There is no religious feeling just as little as there is a technological or economic feeling. Only through intentional content, thus what it is directed to in the world, can a feeling become a genuine, religiously oriented feeling. Mana is about "complex feelings," about representation, techniques and affective conditions that exhibit cognitive classifications and a strong evaluative aspect. Consequently, collective feelings cannot be traced back to the random encounter of erratic

14 Caillé, Alain (2008): Anthropologie der Gabe. Frankfurt/New York: Campus.

15 see Mauss, Marcel (1966 [1926]): «Effet physique chez l'individu de l'idée de mort suggérée par la collectivité (Australie, Nouvelle Zélande). Communication présentée à la société de psychologie ». In Marcel Mauss: Sociologie et anthropologie. Paris: PUF: 312–30.

16 Mauss, Marcel (1972 [1904] with Henri Hubert): A General Theory of Magic, London: Routledge:134.

17 ibid.: 137.

18 Mauss, Marcel (1904): «Sur le livre de William James et quelques autres études portant sur les mêmes thèmes ». L'Année sociologique 7, pp. 204–12.

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feelings – for this, a group needs common symbols that conceptually and intentionally refer to something. In its representation, mana may be present in such a focussed way that the designated forces are considered sacred: they represent the religion *stricto sensu*, in contrast to the less focused, which form the religion *lato sensu*.[19]

The symbolic is not identical to the social: the symbolic is neither just the representation of the social, nor is it a derivative of the social.[20] Both dimensions refer to each other: the symbolic makes the social possible and vice versa. The power of sociality has always to be seen as a symbolically represented power: *"A ce point, on peut voir que la notion de force est effectivement la résultante d'un processus de premier symbolisation."*[21] The mana that the magician, for example, is able to acquire, is thus neither a purely social power – beyond any symbolization – nor is it merely symbolic in the sense of a "symbolic zero value". For Durkheim words were mere letters, behind which lay the social power of society. For Mauss, symbols are necessary entities – without symbols no group is able to exist, and without symbols no consciousness would come into existence. Hence, words or symbols not only represent the social, they are necessary; meanings are themselves something powerful and unifying.

By bringing together symbolic meaning and collective forces in the concept of mana, Mauss accomplishes a special theoretical synthesis. On the one hand, he anticipates the ideas developed by Saussure and others, that linguistic meaning can only be thought of as a network of oppositional character constellations. At the same time, this network is not "flat," some representations outrank others; they stand out as carriers of affective valuation, of mana or as the sacred. Two schools of thought are thereby united[22]: values in the sociological sense as concepts concerning what is desirable and good, are joined with the linguistic value concept, which deals with differences that make a significant difference. Finally, the extent of the divergence between Durkheim and Mauss also becomes clear, when one takes into account the statements of both on moral questions: while for Durkheim, religious thought and experience represent an important source of value ideals and social change as a consequence of social coexistence, for Mauss, the horizontal principle of giving, accepting, and reciprocating is the central element of social cohesion. His view of premodern societies also differs from Durkheim's: collective consciousness fades into the background, with respect to the possibility of internal differentiation

19 Mauss, Marcel (2007 [1947]): Manual of Ethnography. New York: Berghahn: 162.

20 Karsenti, Bruno (1996): Le symbolisme, de Durkheim à Mauss. Revue européenne des sciences sociales XXXIV, No. 105: 102.

21 ibid.: 103

22 cf. Graeber, David (2001): Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams. Hampshire: Palgrave: 1 ff.

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in early forms of society.[23] Even exchange and market are universal phenomena, so that Mauss corrects the Durkheimian image of mechanical solidarity for societies without a state.

Mauss was not only a researcher and intellectual, he was also very active politically. Mauss was involved in the cooperative movement and sought alternatives to both the pure market society and state-centered socialism and Bolshevism. He promoted new economic alternatives in the form of syndicalism, cooperatives or other mutual support. After the First World War – thus at the time of the preparation of his most important essays – he published in magazines such as La Vie Socialiste, Action cooperative and Populaire. So it seems – viewed in this light – the term "gift" is just another word for socialism.[24] Mauss wanted to re-establish a modern gift discourse. Gift relationships were certainly not foreign to European societies, however they increasingly disappeared from view in the course of the 19th century. Capitalism and modern statehood did not seem suitable for the concept of giving, accepting, and reciprocating. Thus, the theme of the gift did not return until the beginning of the 20th century, by way of cultural and geographical detours: "Unable to recognize their ongoing gift practices in their own societies … , European overseas travellers, above all some of the founders of modern anthropology, recovered the idea of gift exchange at the colonial margins."[25] In particular, Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Richard Thurnwald delivered first-hand ethnological material, which Mauss synthesized in his theory of the gift. He read their ethnological studies not as exotic reports from distant and foreign cultures, but as local characteristics of a universal phenomenon. For him, the practices depicted of giving and reciprocating, in fact showed an art of association that was increasingly lost to Europeans – resulting in the international crisis of civilization, the First World War.

What counted primarily for Mauss politically was the search for a third way between an economic liberalism on the one hand, and Bolshevism or state socialism on the other hand. His version of socialism and cooperativeness allowed for strong intermediary groups and institutions (which Durkheim had indeed already called for in his liberal vision of integration through professional groups). Speaking in today's terminology, Mauss is concerned with a vibrant and active civil society, which in turn calls upon the solidarity principle of gift relationships.[26]

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23 Hart, Keith (2007): "Marcel Mauss: In Pursuit of the Whole. A Review Essay". Comparative Studies in Society and History 49, No. 2: 478.
24 cf. Liebersohn, Harry (2011): The Return of the Gift. European History of a Global Idea, New York: Cambridge University Press.
25 Ibid.: 7.
26 cf. Adloff, Frank (2018): Politik der Gabe. Für ein anderes Zusammenleben. Hamburg: Edition Nautilus.

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3 Shils: Civility and Civil Society

Despite all their differences, what the important approaches of, e.g., Tocqueville, Gramsci, Habermas and Putnam have in common, is that they localise civil society in a certain sphere of action formed by clubs and associations. This definition still prevails in current debates over civil society, which is usually understood as constituting an independent sphere of society that can be distinguished from the family, the state and the economy.[27] On the other hand, there is an interaction-oriented and more normative definition of civil society that refers to a republican perspective from which particular motives and modes of actions are preferable. Civility and public or civic spirit are distinguished here as "virtuous" and seen as the nucleus of civil society.[28]

Civility – as a mode of acting and thinking – forms a background consensus, an implicit agreement that dissent is possible and tolerable: "Civility is based on recognition of difference and diversity."[29] As a rather "cool" concept (citizens do not necessarily like each other), civility differs from the warmth of community or of religious and national belonging. As Edward Shils[30] points out, in a liberal democratic society which is at the same time a civil society, there is enough civility for "struggle" and special interest politics to be kept within certain limits through an orientation towards the common good. For Shils, civility – with negative reference to Carl Schmitt – is the opposite of a splitting of society into friend and enemy (as in the Weimar Republic where many civil society organisations were fighting against each other[31]). It is the institutional, cognitive and normative answer to pluralism and individualism, i.e. to the unavoidable facts of modernity.

Particular institutional complexes are a necessary precondition for the existence of a civil society – e.g. representative government, competing political parties, regular elections, a secret ballot, universal suffrage, an independent judiciary, a free press, the freedom of association, independent educational institutions, private property and the freedom of contract – but these complexes are not sufficient conditions; there must also be public civility. Seen historically, civility goes back to the principle of religious freedom, which was established in the West. A caesaropapism was never able to prevail here, and the necessity to accept religious pluralism in-

27 cf. Adloff, Frank (2017): "Civil Society." The Sage Handbook of Political Sociology, edited by William Outhwaite and Stephen P. Turner, London: Sage: 398–412.
28 Shils, E.A. (1997). The Virtue of Civility. Selected Essays. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
29 Hall, John A. 2013. The Importance of Being Civil. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 22.
30 Shils, E.A. (1997). The Virtue of Civility. Selected Essays. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
31 cf. Berman, Sheri 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic". World Politics, Vol. 49.3: 401–29.

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creasingly became a positive value – consider, for example, the Westphalian settlement of 1648, and later, the First Amendment to the US Constitution.

The sector model of civil society which has dominated research for some twenty years has also been challenged by Lichterman and Eliasoph.[32] It no longer seems appropriate to measure civil society solely as a space with (supposedly) clear-cut borders, for instance by collecting data on volunteer work, the social capital of certain demographic groups or public funding of clubs and associations. Once one goes beyond the sector model, the research focus will shift, and new forms of civic action come into view. For example, there are civil practices in the field of economy – and non-civil practices in some associations and NGOs. The sector model equates the normative dignity of civil action and the empirical realities of a not-for-profit sector, and thus tends to portray civil society as the epitome of public spirit and public good. What is easily overlooked in this view is how state, economy and civil society interdepend, how each of these sectors is also informed by the logics of action of the other two.

American sociologist Edward Shils'[33] brought together Émile Durkheim's idea that every society regards something as sacred with Max Weber's concept of the charismatic; he proposed the thesis that one may find things, persons or institutions in all societies to which charismatic or sacred qualities are attributed[34]: "The attachment to the sacred cannot be evaded in any society. All societies regard as sacred certain standards of judgment, certain rules of conduct and thought, and certain arrangements of action. They vary only in the intensity and self-consciousness of their acknowledgment, the scope which they allow to the sacred, and the extent of participation in them."[35] These institutions and symbols have a societally stabilizing function, because they express the bond to particular commonly shared values; they constitute the centre of a society. These central and value-bound institutions – be they sacred or charged with charisma – are generally esteemed, supported and acknowledged. In this way, Shils frees Weber's concept of individual charisma on the one hand from its extraordinary, disruptive and transformative character, while on the other hand he also ascribed charisma to roles, institutions and symbols, and not only to persons: "Where institutions, roles, persons, norms, or symbols are perceived or believed to be connected or infused with these charismatic powers, we say that they are perceived as charismatic."[36]

32 Lichterman, Paul/ Nina Eliasoph (2014): "Civic Action." American Journal of Sociology, vol. 120 no. 3: 798–863.
33 Shils, Edward A. (1972). The Constitution of Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
34 cf. Turner, Stephen (2003). "Charisma Reconsidered." Journal of Classical Sociology 3: 1, 5–26.
35 Shils, Edward A. (1958). "Tradition and Liberty: Antinomy and Interdependence." Ethics 68: 3, 153–165, 156.
36 Shils, Edward A. (1972). The Constitution of Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 110.

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The simple concentration of power in an institution stimulates the ascription of charisma, but this alone is not sufficient; there must also be a connection to a transcendent realm of values, for instance through a connection with the value of justice: "the justice of the Supreme Court is the link between the transcendent order and the earthly order."[37] The sacred elements of a society's centre are endowed with esteem and deference. The most respected professions are those which stand nearest the society's centre, i.e. the society's elites. Solidified positions of deference also form the basis for social stratification processes: speaking Weberian, one could say that various corporative ranks are conferred with charisma – and thereby also deference – of varying intensity.

For Shils, only through being bound to a charismatic centre and the values to be found there can a modern, democratic and pluralistic society be integrated, for the tendency towards irresolvable conflicts of ideology and interest are inherent in such a society. A notable work in this context is his investigation – presented in 1953 together with Michael Young – of the coronation ceremony of Queen Elisabeth II. Traditions, rituals, and ceremonies thus constitute for Shils a societally integrating cement. For Shils, there is no dichotomy of tradition and modernity; traditions are also to be found in modern societies. Whenever sacred or charismatic qualities are ascribed to them, social facts are clothed with the aura of tradition. Thus tradition and sacredness do not die in modernity; at the most they are sublimated. The appropriation and continuation of traditions are carried out principally by elites. Their positions of power and authority are ascribed with sacredness and in this way are able to keep traditions alive.

In this context, Shils also introduces the concept pair of "centre" and "periphery", which he construes not geographically or economically, but culture-sociologically. Each society has a centre, which is defined through central values and notions of belief: "the center, or the central zone, is a phenomenon of the realm of values and beliefs. It is the center of the order of symbols, of values and beliefs, which govern the society. It is the center because it is the ultimate and irreducible; and it is felt to be such by many who cannot give explicit articulation to its irreducibility. The central zone partakes of the nature of the sacred. In this sense, every society has an "official" religion, even when that society or its exponents and interpreters conceive of it, more or less correctly, as a secular, pluralistic, and tolerant society."[38] This value centre is constituted and reproduced by elites; it thereby radiates into more remote "regions" – i.e. outwards into the periphery – thereby losing potency: "A society's social, governmental, military, religious and cultural leaders

37 ibid.: 134

38 Shils, Edward A. (1972). The Constitution of Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 93.

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cluster at the centre; followers, indifferent or alienated citizens, and disloyal dissidents are dispersed, or concentrate, at the periphery."[39]

Thus, unlike many social scientists of his time, Shils does not regard modern society as an anonymous mass society. Society is not something constituted by individuals atomized by self-interest, but is instead held together by "an infinity of personal attachments, moral obligations in concrete contexts, professional and creative pride, individual ambition, primordial affinities and a civil sense which is low in many, high in some, and moderate in most persons."[40]

Shils' entire approach – and in particular his writings on civil society and civility – can be interpreted as a defense of liberal democracy. Seen in contrast to Carl Schmitt, Shils' position is clear: as is well known, in the text "The Concept of the Political", Schmitt levels the critique that liberalism has transformed the political concept of struggle as well as the distinction between friend and enemy into the concept of (parliamentary) discussion. For Schmitt, liberalism is distinguished by the depoliticization and neutralization of societal spheres such as the market, religion, law, science, and culture. The liberal politics of discussion hold that these neutralized zones should not be sources of conflict; instead they should be withdrawn from the discussion. Indeed, according to Schmitt, such politics quickly become undemocratic whenever they refuse to make these neutralizations and demarcations objects of democratic politics.

In defense of liberalism, Shils introduces the concept of civility into this debate. Civility excludes particular content from the political discussion – content which is thus depoliticized and neutralized. Shils sees the necessity that limits are drawn around politics rooted in liberalism: he considers a discussion without such limits to be destructive.[41] While for Habermas the problem of liberal democracy consists in the fact that not all possible issues are discursively fluidized, and thus that particular areas of the economy, technology, science, etc. are not made into objects of discursive confrontation, Shils reveals himself to be a defender of this liberal bearing. Civility presupposes that fundamental societal institutions and rules are consensually accepted and also that not everything is sucked into the maelstrom of political conflict: "the political system of freedom must, for the most part, be accepted by its members, at any particular moment, as given. It must be the product of a free acceptance in which a belief in the sacredness of the order as a whole is latent. The intrinsic and autonomous value of the other man, of the other party, and of the institutions within which they meet, be they the parliamentary body or the university or

39 Bulmer, Martin (1996). "Edward Shils as a Sociologist." Minerva 34: 14.
40 Shils, Edward A. (1957). "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory." The British Journal of Sociology 8: 2, 130–145, 131.
41 cf. Turner, Stephen (1999). "The Significance of Shils." Sociological Theory 17: 2, 125–145.

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the system of industrial negotiations, must be accepted as given."[42] Thus, for Shils, a free society also has to rely on traditions, in which this connection to sacredness is preserved and reproduced.

A liberal civil society embodies enough civility for "struggle" and special interest politics to be kept within certain limits through an orientation towards the common good. Thus a civil society can also not be based primarily on primordial ties; members of the society must see each other as fellow citizens and not as fellow kinsmen.[43] The members of a civil society may belong to quite different social spheres, but they regard each other reciprocally as fellow citizens and relate to the centre of the society as a whole. Civility – or civic spirit – is the typical way of thinking and acting in a civil society, which expresses itself in the binding of individuals to the society as a whole. The central institutions – sacred and charged with charisma – are esteemed and supported, and members of the society recognize that they have to consider the whole society and the common good in their actions. A liberal democracy depends on this consideration, and can only survive if it is maintained, such is Shils' conviction.

Not every part of the society needs necessarily to be equally civil. According to Shils, the centre should possess a higher level of civility than the periphery: "A civil society is imperiled if there is a low degree of civility within and between its centers. [...] Incivility within the centers and among them breeds incivility in the citizenry (...)."[44] Particular institutional complexes are a necessary precondition for the existence of a civil society – e.g. representative government, competing political parties, regular elections, a secret ballot, universal suffrage, an independent judiciary, a free press, the freedom of association, independent educational institutions, private property and the freedom of contract – but these complexes are not sufficient conditions; there must also be a public civility. These institutional complexes also require that society is differentiated functionally, in other words that autonomous institutions and spheres of action exist which are clearly distinct from families, clans, and the state. More explicitly, in Shils' own words, "the pluralism of civil society is twofold. Its pluralism comprises the partially autonomous spheres of economy, religion, culture, intellectual activity, political activity, etc., vis-à-vis each other. [...] The pluralism of civil society also comprises within each sphere a multiplicity of many partially autonomous corporations and institutions; the economic sphere comprises many industries and many business firms; the religious sphere comprises many churches and sects; the intellectual sphere comprises many universities, independent newspapers, periodicals and broadcasting corporations; the political sphere

42 Shils, Edward A. (1958). "Tradition and Liberty: Antinomy and Interdependence." Ethics 68: 3, 153–165, 157.
43 Shils, E.A. (1997). The Virtue of Civility. Selected Essays. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund:71.
44 ibid.: 86.

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many independent political parties. There are many independent voluntary philanthropic and civic associations, etc..”[45] The institutional autonomy of different spheres of action is a *conditio sine qua non* for the existence of a modern civil society. These are undergirded by “supporting institutions” – e.g. voluntary associations and coalitions which exercise the civil rights of association, assembly and representation or competition.

The sociological question which then arises with regard to civility is in which institutions or sections of the population civility is more strongly anchored.[46] Universities, for example, are institutions which should be oriented towards the truth alone, and professors should thus stand outside the political conflicts of the day. Churches, straddling worldly and otherworldly aspects, can all the same become important actors in civil society. The upper classes can display both a tendency towards the acceptance of responsibility and an orientation towards the common good as well as an at times harsh incivility and irresponsibility. The working class and the lower middle class serve, according to Shils, mostly as the bulwarks of a civil society, as they rarely actively incite revolution or subvert civic order.

Civility is for Shils a bearing towards the society as a whole: “civility is an appreciation of or attachment to the institutions which constitute civil society. It is an attitude of attachment to the whole society, to all its strata and sections. It is an attitude of concern for the good of the entire society.”[47] The actions of a particular person are to be characterized as civil when his individual consciousness has “been partly superseded by his collective self-consciousness, the society as a whole and the institution of civil society being the referents of his collective self-consciousness.“[48] This also implies that the dignity of others is honored equally – that one treats others with respect and regard, no matter what position they might hold. Political adversaries are consequently also regarded as members of the same political community, which is to go beyond courtesy and good manners. Civility is thus for Shils a necessary condition of peace: “without such civility, a pluralistic society can degenerate into a war of each against all.”[49] Here Shils refers, for the sake of example, to the conflicts in the Weimar Republic and in the Russian Czardom at the end of the First World War. Whether political adversaries can actually agree on a common good is not the crucial matter here; their reciprocal recognition as members of an “inclusive collectivity” is much more important.

45 Shils, E.A. (1997). The Virtue of Civility. Selected Essays. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund: 330.
46 cf. Pye, L.W. (1999). “Civility, Social Capital, and Civil Society: Three Powerful Concepts for Explaining Asia.” Journal of Interdisciplinary History 29: 4, 763–782.
47 Shils, E.A. (1997). The Virtue of Civility. Selected Essays. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund: 335.
48 ibid.
49 ibid.: 341.

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4 Conclusions

As mentioned above, in most debates over civil society these days, a sphere-oriented definition of civil society is postulated. Thereby, civil society is understood as an independent sphere of society, which can be distinguished from the family, the state and the economy. Shils' particular contribution to the civil society debate is to propose a combination of sphere-oriented and interaction-oriented definitions of civil society. However, this is not to say that he simply combines these two perspectives. The sphere of civil society is for him not limited to the voluntary, self-organized sector of nonprofit organizations and associations. The autonomy of functionally differentiated spheres of action is for him the fundamental institutional precondition for civil society. But only through a civil bearing – which means more than just "good manners" – can a civil society come to fruition. For Shils, civility in a civil society means an orientation towards a sacred centre of society; it is a matter of the realization of the ideals of a politics which is directed towards public compromise and understanding, agrees to nonviolence, acknowledges plurality and differences, and is oriented towards the common good.

One of the few social scientists who have followed Shils in his fundamental considerations of the normative concept of civil society is the sociologist Jeffrey Alexander. He gave Shils' concept a discourse-analytic turn: civil society possesses for him certain cultural codes and narratives. In Alexander's understanding – following Shils'– it is a matter here of a genuine cultural-symbolic sphere, a sphere of collective consciousness. This is structured according to the dichotomy of pure/impure and sacred/profane. This cultural grid lies at the foundation of every culture: "just as there is no developed religion that does not divide the world into the saved and the damned, there is no civil discourse that does not conceptualize the world into those who deserve inclusion and those who do not."[50] A society consequently classifies according to dichotomous codes what it considers to be "good" civil society and what is excluded as "impure", "contaminated" or "uncivil". In contrast to Shils' approach, Jeffrey Alexander's research program primarily amounts to a discourse-analytical reconstruction of what counts as civil or uncivil in a society. He points out that Durkheim's model of social integration rituals, which is followed by Shils, fits well with premodern societies, in which the elements of rituals are closely merged. In modern societies, it must be expected that a demerger occurs; rituals are contingent, questioned, and can fail. Hence, Alexander[51] also no longer speaks of rituals, but of more or less successful performances. Apparently in their theoretical models,

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50 Alexander, Jeffrey (1998). "Citizen and Enemy as Symbolic Classification." In Jeffrey Alexander: Real Civil Societies. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage: 98.

51 Alexander, Jeffrey C. (2004): "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance Between Ritual and Strategy". Sociological Theory 24, No. 4: 527–73.

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Durkheim and Shils always have to assume something common, which is the basis of cooperation, something that comes first, namely collectively shared norms and values. But how is cooperation possible when there are hardly any pre-established shared values and norms? For example, in situations of intra- and inter-societal foreignness and multiculturalism, when a common basis for action must first be established? Durkheim can not suggest an answer to this, and also Shils assumes too strongly that there must be a consensus on values. Shils' model of a sacred social centre can neither adequately capture the plurality of values in contemporary societies nor adequately interpret the conflicts arising from these conflicts. In civil society people may sacralise the rights of the individual, the collectivity of a nation, nature, ideas like economic wealth and growth etc. Mauss's theory of gift offers an alternative view here. The gift can create relationships that cannot yet rely on a consensus of values. It can create values and norms.

In my view, civil society is a societal action sphere, in which the principle of the gift appears very clearly. Civil society is not only based on the sacralisation of various entities but on the logic of the gift and the reciprocities it evokes. In particular, the principle of voluntary association is supported by the gift. Associations are arranged horizontally and aim at the principle of non-hierarchical self-government. In this way, a common world is created. If civil society succeeds in the free play of the gift, a communality is created that is not based on Durkheim's strong bonds, but is more committed to his principle of the division of labour. Civic political action is not compatible with the notion of homogeneous collectives, but with the concept of agonal challenges in the form of gifts aimed at willingness to cooperate, without requiring homogeneous collectives.

The logic of the gift is particularly important to the civic association. If several people establish an organization and "pool" their resources (time, money, ideas) for a purpose other than profit, this is based on gifts that mutually level off. This form of solidarity – which is based on a reciprocal pattern of giving and responding – is of enormous importance for civic self-organization. Civil society associations are constituted neither through hierarchy (such as governmental organizations), nor through market returns and money-mediated exchange. The logic of civil society is based on the third principle of simultaneous voluntariness and commitment, spontaneity and binding. In civil society, impersonal relationships are tested and settled on the basis of the gift. This has also been the special accomplishment of clubs and societies since the 19th century. The principle of the gift is placed on the same level with that of hierarchy (state) and that of exchange (market economy), by which civil society can be established as the sphere of public associations.[52]

52 cf. Caillé, Alain (2015): La sociologie malgré tout. Autres fragments d'une sociologie générale. Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, Chapter 15.

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As a conclusion to the above, one could draft a very brief definition of civil society: civil society *values* the *social relations* between *citizens*, because it means the sacralised public space, where citizens assemble and act in a solidary or confrontational manner. They network horizontally, act in solidarity, and organize themselves, or they relate – with approval or in opposition – to the space of the political and consider themselves the author of the laws. They act in this public space not as family members, bureaucrats, or bourgeoisie, but in the role of the *citoyen*. Nevertheless, civil society actors can of course follow completely different values and ascribe a sacredness to completely different things (collectives as well as individuals, technology as well as nature, military as well as violence). Civility in a strict normative sense exists when one can start from a balanced set of sacred and shared basic values – Shils' centre of society: The principle of the gift materializes in such a functioning civil society and at the same time affirms the values of a) the individual, the singular, and the different, b) the common (but not homogeneous), and c) the mediating principle of egalitarian reciprocity.[53] These principles do not have to conflict with each other, so that they can increase reciprocally.

In fact, a functioning civil society shares the attachment to a sacred centre, but this is more abstract and broader than Durkheim and Shils could have imagined. Conflicts over fundamental political choices must be allowed. If, on the other hand, the possibility space of the political is closed, it is concealed that the public space can also be characterized to a high degree by strong political differences and diverging options. According to Chantal Mouffe[54] and other critics of post-democracy, the space of the political must be kept open for strongly diverging ideas. Clear political alternatives must be articulable and also electable. For a harmonious understanding of politics and the common good misunderstands the meaning of the political, leads to a restriction of the scope of political possibilities, generally excludes the interests and values and socially disadvantaged groups, and increasingly triggers political apathy among them. The common good necessarily also includes the conflictual and pluralistic confrontation about what is to be considered sacred in a society. However, such a project of conflictual confrontation over the sacred centre of society runs the risk of promoting divisions and conflicts within it. Obviously, there must be boundaries here in the form of mutual recognition as political opponents (and not as enemies). But without a broadening of the spectrum of possible political positions, the passion for political questions also dwindles. For this reason, the revitalization of a value attachment to the common good also includes the rehabilitation of political passions.

53 cf. Rosanvallon, Pierre (2013): The Society of Equals. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
54 Mouffe, Chantal (2013): Agonistics: Thinking The World Politically. London/New York: Verso.

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Rupert Graf Strachwitz

Whither Religious Communities? Are They or Are They Not Part of a Political System – and if They Are, What Part of It Do They Belong to?

1 Introduction

> There seems to be a historically new correlation between, on the one hand, the modern state and the modern secular public sphere [...] and, on the other, the continuity of churches and traditional religions. Both are challenged to develop a new relationship without the old battles and hostilities of earlier times. As a result, there are two fundamental problems to be solved at present: a) how religions define their relationship to modern secular states and civil societies, and b) how these modern societies behave in the face of continuing or even growing public religions and their political attitudes.[1]

The research project "Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe" aimed at tackling the first of these problems. It built i.a. on preliminary answers given in the course of a conference held in Berlin in 2002, in the course of which Hans Joachim Meyer had declared: "It is of growing importance for the Churches to see themselves als part of a national and transnational civil society und to act accordingly."[2] In attempting to define the new relationship at European level and in a European comparative approach, it was quickly obvious that this was not a uniform process. What was surprising was that in the course of three years of intense research (2015–2018), the project shifted somewhat from a sheer analysis to an exercise in participating observation. It became very clear that the Churches are on their way to reassess their position in society, albeit having arrived at different stages.

In the context of a study that aimed at investigating, whether and to what extent religion is part of the state or part of civil society, the definition of religion as an organisation is relevant. While the answer may touch on theological issues, the thrust is one of political theory. In 21st century Europe, it seems that a paradigm of 1,700 years has disintegrated, and that older answers to the question of where Christian Churches and other religious communities belong in the context of a political

1 Gabriel, Karl; Grosse Kracht, Hermann-Josef (2004): The Catholic Church and its Third Sector Organizations. In Annette Zimmer, Eckhard Priller (eds.): Future of Civil Society. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag fuer Sozialwissenschaften: 199.

2 Meyer, Hans Joachim (2002): Die Kirchen als Teil der Zivilgesellschaft. In Rupert Graf Strachwitz, Frank Adloff, Susanna Schmidt, Maria-Luise Schneider (eds.): Kirche zwischen Staat und Zivilgesellschaft. Berlin: Maecenata (Arbeitshefte des Maecenata Instituts no. 9): 63 (my translation). At the time Meyer was Minister for Science and Research of the State of Saxony. He later became President of the Central Council of German Catholics (the umbrella organization of the Catholic laity).

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order thus need to be revisited[3]. The Christian Church – understood here to mean an institution governed by a common belief –, was part of the overall European political system, since the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great had ordered it to become so in the 4th century AD. It was he who convened the 1st Ecumenical Council, held in Nicaea in 325, and his successors convened the next six. To this day, Queen Elizabeth II is the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and until quite recently, many national constitutions contained provisions for an established State Church. Yet, this alliance is crumbling fast, and has been formally dissolved in most of Europe over the past 100 years or so.[4]

European reality today is not only marked by a rapidly diminishing adherence of citizens to any religious community, and indeed a near-majority who would not subscribe to any quest for the transcendent. There is also a much clearer division between matters temporal and spiritual, and there is general consensus that governments may not interfere either in citizens' religious convictions, or in Church governance. Furthermore, religious pluralism – to include Islam – is a generally accepted feature in 21st century Europe. Tolerance of and respect for differing beliefs within the same local, regional, national, and European community is seen to be of essence to preserve peace, and has become a hallmark of "Western" liberal, open society – a complete reversal of "*un roi, une loi, une foi*", as proclaimed by the French King Louis XIV[5]. On the other hand, unlike in the French Revolution and in Socialist countries after 1917, the liberal secular state does not oppose religion, on the contrary. It considers making decisions based on religious beliefs to be legitimate, while not being part of the mandate accorded to democratically elected political leaders. In short, religion, while very much part of society, is not part of the state. For the modern state, this entails losing not only what was formerly a powerful governance tool, but also the important legitimizing argument of a religious necessity for its existence. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that a secular state does not necessarily entail a reduction in its citizens' religious convictions. The United States of America is a strong case in point. More recently, philosophers and

3 Juergen Habermas has considerably elaborated this argument in his latest publication (2019): Auch eine Geschichte der Philosophie. 2 vols. Vol 1: Die okzidentale Konstellation von Glauben und Wissen; vol. 2: Vernünftige Freiheit – Spuren des Diskurses über Glauben und Wissen. Berlin: Suhrkamp. In particular, see: vol. 1, 136–175

4 For the relationship between Islamic religious communities and the state see: Tilman Nagel (1981): *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft im Islam: Geschichte der politischen Ordnungsvorstellungen der Muslime*. 2 vols. Vol. 1: *Von den Anfängen bis ins 13. Jahrhundert* ; Vol. 2: *Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*. Zürich: Artemis.

5 Un roi, une loi, une foi – one King, one law, one creed was the essence of King Louis XIV. Edict of Fontainebleau, issued on 21 October, 1685 that abolished freedom of religion and was in fact a big step backwards from Bodin's then 100 year-old theory of a state not based on religious convictions.

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political scientists have begun to talk about a "religious turn", to mean that religion is reentering academic discourse and the public sphere[6].

Clearly, and despite dwindling membership, the Christian Churches, and increasingly Islam, remain a force to be reckoned with in European society. They continue to have an outreach to millions of members; more often than not they are well established and wealthy institutions with a long tradition and with strong vested interests, which they vigourously defend. Many continue to have close ties to the state and to individual political leaders. In general, they are respected for the spirit and quality of essential social services they offer to the needy. In many countries, faith-based charities play an important role in the public welfare system, and civic engagement driven by religious convictions is highly appreciated. Their contribution to society is tangible, and their distinct approach is recognized.

But where is the religious communities' place in society? Few people today would adopt the formula used by Pope John Paul II.: "The Church is sacred society."[7] They would refute the implication that this puts the Church beyond criticism and discussion, and agree that notwithstaning its essential mission, religious communities as organisations may be and need to be scrutinized as such. Given the modern societal concept that defines civil society as the third big arena beside the state and the market, this could be the one that Churches and other religious communities belong to[8]. The purpose of this paper, and of the research project of which it is a part, is to take a closer look at this hypothesis, based on the historical experience of a close alignment with the state.

Admittedly, studying anything to do with religion presents the researcher with a number of difficulties. Not only is it challenging to separate academic quest from personal belief; researchers will also be confronted with a wealth of literature, the authors of which have faced the same problem, or have deliberately presented their findings against a strong normative backdrop. More often than not, histories and analyses of religious communities are spelt out by dedicated theologians, who find it neither possible nor indeed desirable to shed theological arguments in favour of a rigorous empirical methodology, while in order to be acceptable to modern man (and indeed woman), religion and theology need to be intellectually satisfying. In all denominations, teaching has regularly missed out on this important aspect. On the other hand, even when not deliberately entering into polemics, the study of religion may well reflect the researcher's scepticism. Furthermore, religion is an ambiguous term. It may refer to a fundamental quest for the final issues of life, the

6 See i.a.: Hent de Vries, H. (1999): Philosophy and the Turn to Religion. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

7 Pope John Paul II.'s answer to Ralf Dahrendorf's question: "Is the Church part of civil society?" (related to me by R.D.)

8 See: Strachwitz, Adloff, Schmidt, Schneider (eds.): loc. cit.

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search for the terms of a life after death, of transcendent realities, of God; or it may be a metaphysical generalization for a number of values as laid down in the Decalogue[9] and similar basic documents in most other "religions". Religion is also commonly used to define an organisation, such as a Jewish community, the Christian Church, the Roman Catholic Church or other Christian denominations, and likewise Islam as a whole, or individual Shi'ite or Sunni communities.

Finally, it is not surprising that an issue of such magnitude and diversity is not taken on by those concerned on the basis of academic evidence or theory alone. Evidently, reassessing the position of a religious community within a complex overall paradigm shift requires time and reflection and happens at differing speeds.

Many religious leaders find it difficult to adapt their concepts to changing frameworks, and to make the distinction between religion, church, and religious community. Reinhard Cardinal Marx, a prominent Roman Catholic Church leader, who confirmed that he recognized the Catholic Church as a major civil society player, added: "The Vatican bureaucracy, steeped in preserving traditions and ideas, probably sees things very differently, and neither the present Pope nor anybody else has so far been able to fundamentally change their attitudes and the institutional framework. This traditional mindset presents a major challenge to the Catholic Church today."[10] To this mindset, it would be unacceptable to argue, as Max Weber did, that secularization of public life was inherent in the development of Christian dogma in the direction of a seemingly more rational and anti-mythical and anti-magical approach[11]. In the 17th century, with Lutheran, Calvinist, and a host of non-conformist communities thriving all over Europe, for some "Church was set against state, religion against politics"[12]. For them, one particularly disconcerting feature is that there exists the phenomenon of "belonging without believing" as much as the opposite "believing without belonging"[13].

Given the supreme importance of religion in its most general sense for the self-perception of human beings, all this is readily understandable, but does not make it easier to either defend positions held by Church leaders or challenge them in attempting to assess religious communities' fundamental shift within the structure of society. Necessarily, discussing these issues entails a normative component. Therefore, in this paper, normative arguments cannot and will not be avoided.

9 The Ten Commandments, as laid down in the Hebrew Bible (Exodus 20:1–17 and Deutoronomy 5:4–21)

10 Reinhard Cardinal Marx, Archbishop of Munich and Freising and Chairman of the German Conference of Catholic Bishops, in an interview by the author conducted on 10th November, 2018.

11 Weber, Max (1920): Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionssoziologie I, Tuebingen: 94 f.

12 Hill, Christopher (1969): Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England. London: Panther: 483

13 Dreier, Horst (2018): Staat ohne Gott – Religion in der saekularen Moderne. Muenchen: Beck: 49 (quotes in English in the German text)

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2 History

When Alexander, King of Maecedonia, to be styled by posterity as Alexander the Great, invaded Egypt, he made a point of observing the rituals of sacrifice to the Egyptian Gods and became Pharao. As he progressed into Persia, he did the same. Modern historians have grappled with the problem of how he could do this without losing the loyalty of his Greek soldiers and people. In actual fact, while they may have thought it slightly odd, it was not the problem we tend to believe it was. Religion and nation were one, and it was common practice for people who moved around to switch their religious allegiance and sacrifice to the local deities. Religion was one of, possibly even the most important definitory elements of a nation and its political system. To the Greeks, non-Greeks were barbarians precisely because they worshipped different deities. For a king to be acknowledged as Pharao, sacrificing to Egyptian Gods was of essence. Political power and religion were one.[14]

The Jews, constituted as a nation under JHWE, had begun to spread out while maintaining their religious beliefs. Jewish colonies in Alexandria stuck to their Jewish faith, while increasingly speaking Greek rather than Hebrew or Aramaic. National, ethnic, and religious divisions were certainly not as clear-cut as we are tempted to believe they were. But the first religion to definitely discard the notion of a hand-in-glove relationship between religion, nation, and society was Christendom. Jesus, who did not, as legend has it, grow up in a remote province of the Roman Empire, but at a crossroads between the Roman, Greek, Jewish, Egyptian, Persian, and Buddhist worlds, was not merely "the carpenter's son"[15] and one of many wandering preachers of his time, but most probably a highly educated and certainly most charismatic man, who had absorbed the philosophy and theology of the cultures he had come into touch with, and had possibly travelled to far-away places before the period in his life began that we are told about in the New Testament. It is not surprising that he should have taught his disciples to "go and teach all nations"[16]. Christendom was a universal religion from its beginning, and thus well suited to a Roman Empire that stretched over many borders of nationality, language, and ethnic divide, and that allowed anyone to practice his or her own religion, provided the individual citizen was prepared to sacrifice to the Emperor[17], who was gradually assuming a god-like position[18]. Interestingly, the new faith rapidly spread beyond the Roman Empire, thus proving it was not bound to any particular

14 Berger, Entstehung des Islam: 20.

15 Mark 6:1–3.

16 Matthew 28:19–20 / Mark 16:15.

17 This in itself was a fairly new invention in Rome. See Beard, Mary (2016), SPQR, A History of Ancient Rome. London: Profile, 424–434

18 First formally accorded to Gaius Julius Caeser, after his death, in 42 B.C.: Beard 2016, 340

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political realm. The legend that Jesus himself proceeded to India following his resurrection reminds us of a sense – if nothing else – that state borders were no limit in spreading the Good News.

All this serves to show that religion and nationality, religious beliefs and a political system are frequently bound together, but that this is not necessarily so. Religion can and does exist without the state; there does not necessarily have to exist a conflict of loyalties, as is exemplified by how Jesus answered when asked whether it was lawful to pay taxes: “Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's!”[19]

In the course of history, this proved to be challenging. While the first period of Christianity was marked by intermittent persecution on the grounds that Christians were blatantly disloyal to the Empire by not sacrificing to the Emperor, later Roman Emperors, beginning with Constantine in the 4th Century, came to rely on the Christian hierarchy as pillars of their political rule. From then on, as with the pagan religions that antedated Christendom, State and Christian Church in Europe and beyond increasingly became joined together, albeit with one basic Christian creed being interpreted in increasingly different ways and adapted to diverse political systems.

The Prophet of Islam apparently neither explicitly approved nor repudiated the principle that one nation should have one religion and that this should or could be inherently different from that of other nations. Nor did Islam become a pillar of the political establishment in the same sense as Christendom did after the 4th century. One reason for this was that Islam lacked an ecclesiastical hierarchy comparable to the one the Christian Church had developed. Also, Islam picked up on Jewish to a much larger extent than on Christian teaching and traditions[20], while both as well as Manichaeism and Persian Zoroastrianism certainly had some influence on the Prophet Muhammad[21]. But early on, Islam became a driving force for Arab expansion and hegemony, and developed a very close relationship to the sources of political power. Commanding power and force became an definitory element of Islam at a much earlier stage of its history than it did in Christendom, due possibly to fighting for the possession of the Ka’ba at Mecca that became a central element of Islam even in the Prophet’s lifetime. From there, it was only one step to establishing an overlap between powers temporal and spiritual. “As God is the legislator, customs and usages […] that did not form part of the religious heritage were measured by the divine laws and declared forbidden if they contradicted them. In contrast to Christianity, which evolved outside the polity and grew into the state only secondarily – thus the

19 Matthew 22:15–22 / Mark 12:13–17 / Luke 20:25.

20 Ende, Werner; Steinbach, Udo (eds.) (2010): Islam in the World Today. A Handbook of Politics, Religion, Culture, and Society. Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press: 6.

21 loc. cit.: 4.

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independence of the two never disappeared from consciousness – Islam established a state around the religious nucleus. According to a strict interpretation, the state is identical to the religious community (umma) and its institutions"[22]. Thus, even in early Islam, the state may be seen as the political community of the faithful, while Jesus had said to Pontius Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this realm"[23]. Arguably, while declaring Christianity to be the state religion throughout the Roman Empire in the late 4th century[24] may be judged to be an aberration, conceiving of Islam in a political as well as a religious dimension is inherent in the teaching of the founder.[25] Even the 20th century Sultans of the Ottoman Empire were styled "Caliph" – supreme religious leaders. This said, it is worth noting that the Qur'ân frequently refers to the umma as the community of believers, and intense cultural exchanges served "to blur the lines between Christianity and Islam"[26]. Also, it may well be that beside the Roman tradition, Muslim theory served as a model for the relationship between the European State and Church in the early Middle Ages.

In any case, throughout Europe, over the next several hundred years, Christian kingdoms developed. While the Christian late Roman Emperors considered themselves to be "God's Viceroys on Earth", later Christian Kings derived their legitimacy from an intense spiritual claim of having been put in that position by the Grace of God, as a result of which they were entitled to Divine Rights. They saw themselves in biblical King David's tradition and close to Jesus Christ himself, who had told Pontius Pilate "You say *rightly* that I am a king!"[27]. This may have been adopted from Central Asian Muslim practices, where the *khagan*, the ruler, became increasingly removed from day-to-day affairs and the office evolved into a sacral kingship[28]. A tradition that lasted into the 20th century saw kings less and less as the warrior-kings or emperors of old, and not only at the pinnacle of the political hierarchy, but on a sacred level not comparable to any other human being. They could either have conquered or inherited their kingship, but in order for it to be universally recognized, they were initiatiated by being anointed, following the example of the ancient Kings of Israel, while the coronation was a mere investiture with temporal powers[29]. In the

22 loc. cit.: 9.

23 John 18:36.

24 The edict Cunctos Populos, issued in Thessaloniki on 27 February, 380 by the Emperor Theodosius together with his Co-Emperors Gratian and Valentinian II, declared the Nicene Trinitarian Christianity to be the only legitimate imperial religion and the only one entitled to call itsel "Catholic": https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic

25 Viz. Nagel, loc. cit.

26 Frankopan, Peter (2016): The Silk Roads. London/New York: Bloomsbury: 84.

27 John 18:37 (my italics) .

28 Frankopan loc. cit.: 109.

29 The tradition of elevating supreme political leaders to a specific spiritual position is one that is common to many cultures. E.g., while the Emperor of China was described as the Son of Heaven,

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Middle Ages, Kings and their vassals believed that being anointed equipped them with special powers, one being the power to heal by touching the afflicted, enacted for the last time on the occasion of the anointment and coronation of the French King Charles X. in 1825.

Throughout the Middle Ages, i.e. from about 500 – 1500 AD, the *Corpus Christianum* was the dominant base for public life in Europe. The spheres of government, Church, and society were identical, and while this did not imply that everybody was more religious in a more general sense, deviations from religious norms were not tolerated in society. While the Pope and the Emperor might quarrel over supremacy (which they continually did), and while theological issues of *sacerdotium ac imperium*[30] were hotly debated, basic Christianity was never questioned in matters public. Accordingly, non-Christians were *per se* enemies, and only very exceptionally accepted as partners on a level playing field. The Emperor and King of Sicily, Frederic II, was excommunicated by the Pope for doing so in the 13th century. At the same time, political theory revolved around the issue of continuity. While the concept of a corporation that would outlive its members was being formed and accepted, the question who was destined to rule supreme, the head of the Church or the King, remained disputed. In shaping the idea of the king's two bodies, one of which would live in eternity, it became obvious that it could be either of the two – and certainly the spiritual and the temporal corporation[31]. Interestingly, in order to arrive at this model, the legal and theological experts were forced to elaborate on and thus further develop the concept of an "eternal" corporation as such, which over the centuries would become the temporal frame of any established religious community, enabling it to shift within society. By the end of the Middle Ages, "society was a federation of communities: members of town guilds and villages, as well as of monasteries and collegiate churches, had a status, rights as well as duties, because of their membership of suh communities."[32]

In the 16th century, Europe experienced two developments that were not necessarily dependent on each other. However, the fact that they happened at the same time, made for an amalgam: First, the concept of a nation as a community of fate, based on commonalities of geography, ethnicity, cultural traditions, language, and political dominion, gradually replaced the medieval concept of a community bound

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every new Emperor of Japan to this day (as last witnessed in 2018), by consuming holy rice, sake and fish sacrificed beforehand to the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, enters into a mythical union with the Goddess.

30 spiritual and temporal power

31 Kantorowicz, Ernst (2007): The King's Two Bodies. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1957.; see Koschorke, Albrecht; Luedemann, Susanne; Frank, Thomas; Matala de Mazza, Ethel: Der fiktive Staat – Konstruktionen des politischen Koerpers in der Geschichte Europas. Frankfurt: Fischer: 79–81.

32 Hill loc. cit.: 467.

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together by fealty to an overlord. Second, Martin Luther's reformation, to be followed by that of Calvin, finally distorted the idea of one universal Christian Church, that had been preserved despite the separation between the Western and Eastern Church in 1054. Strangely, Luther's concept of a universal priesthood and his insistence that scripture alone (*sola scriptura*) rather than scripture plus the tradition of authoritative interpretation was the base of religious convictions, did not result in distancing these convictions from political adherence. On the contrary, it paved the way for national Churches to be created wherever the reformation spread. This suited the rulers of the time well, as it meant that they could fully integrate religion into their power structure. The first national Church was created in Sweden in 1527, followed by England in 1533. Henceforth, the Head of State became the Head of the Church, officiating as *summus episcopus* (highest-ranking bishop). In Germany, the Catholic Emperor was not in a position to follow suit, neither within the Church, as this would have limited the prerogatives of the Pope, nor politically, the religiously divided rulers of the principalities within the Holy Roman Empire successfully claiming this position for themselves, which helped them become more independent. By a constitutional agreement reached in Augsburg in 1565, the Princes were given the right to determine which religious community their subjects should belong to. Anybody who did not succumb to this, was permitted and required to emigrate. Yet, by formally conceding that there existed more than one established Church, the absolute claim of any one of them to be in possession of truth, was broken, and religious pluralism was formally and legally introduced. "Historically, the idea of sovereignty made political compromises possible by simply excluding religious questions of truth."[33] When a century later, Thomas Hobbes argued that a common religious belief was a prerequisite for the resilience of a community[34], he was looking backwards – and supporting the case of England while turning a blind eye to Scotland: "Therefore a Church, such a one as is capable to command, to judge, absolve, condemn, or do any other act, is the same thing as a civil sommonwealth, consisting of Christian men; and is called a civil state, for that the subjects of it are men: and a Church, for that the subjects thereof are Christians."[35]

The bitter wars over religious convictions, in France in the 16th, and in Germany in the 17th century, inspired the first thoughts that states might better be separated from religion. Jean Bodin, nearly a century before Hobbes, was the first to argue this point very forcefully[36]. The separation between Church and State became one of the issues over which Europe debated and fought for centuries to come. Depriving the Churches of their wealth, as was done in England by King Henry VIII. after 1533, in

33 Erbentraut, Philipp (2008): Review Ulrich Haltern. In Redescriptions 12: 288.
34 Dreier loc. cit.: 93.
35 Hobbes, Thomas; Leviathan (1972 [1651]): Ed. John Plamenatz, Glasgow: Collins/Fontana: 330.
36 Bodin, Jean (1576): Les six livres de la république.

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France in the course of the French revolution after 1789, in Germany including Austria in various stages between 1539 and 1803, and in Italy by taking over the Papal States in 1870, constituted a sequence of important steps. Losing rights to rule (*imperium*) and resources (*dominium*) considerably diminished the power of the Church. When France restored the Catholic Church to its former position as an established religion in 1814, this proved to be shortlived. The close bond between salvation and dominion that had existed for millenia, had irrevocably been broken.[37]

3 Religious Communities in Modern Europe

What began with Jean Bodin's theory in the late 16th century, has become political reality all over Europe today: Religion is no longer a definitory category of a political system. On the political side, since the 18th century, there is general agreement that governance of any community, and of a political one in particular, derives its legitimacy and authority from the consense of the governed, or from other worldly reasonings, and not directly from God. King Frederic II. of Prussia is a case in point, describing himself as "the first servant of the state"[38]. On the religious side, Thomas Luckmann's theory that religion was not central to a social order, but constructed by individuals and voluntarily constructed groups of individuals, became widespread belief[39].

The separation between religious beliefs and national identity was of particular importance to the many national and religious minorities that existed in Europe, although the axiom that the State should be secular and not interfere in matters of religion, was neither instantaniously nor universally applied. National established Churches persisted in protestant parts of Europe well into the 20th, or even (e.g. Denmark, England, and Norway), the 21st century. Separation came with a plethora of new hand-in-glove arrangements between governments and bishops, ranging from financial support for religious communities to a strong influence in educational and in some cases core political matters. Also, the state wished to remain in control. The Prussian Civil Code of 1794 defined the three major communities (Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists) as "corporations" entitled to equal treatment by the government, while being subject to government supervision[40], and required by law

37 Habermas, Juergen: Politik und Religion. In Graf; Meier loc. cit.: 295.
38 King Frederic II: Testament Politique (1752); in Oevres, vol. 1: 123. Frederic would not have agreed with US President Donald Trump describing himself as "the chosen one" (The Hill (@thehill) 22nd August, 2019).
39 Luckmann, Thomas (1967), The Invisible Religion. New York. German version: Luckmann, Thomas (1991): Die unsichtbare Religion. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp: 112.
40 Dreier loc. cit.: 79/80.

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to teach reverence to God, obedience to the law, loyalty to the state, and high moral standards towards each other to their members[41]. In 1848, the Federal Constitution of the Swiss Conferederation began with a reference to God, but expressly forbade the creation of new Catholic bishoprics. Austria, where Protestants had been forced to emigrate until well into the 19th century, became the first European country to recognize Islam as an established religion after the annexation of Bosnia in 1908.

In England, to this day, the Church of England is seen as a national institution, closely interwoven with the State. Not only does the Queen officially hold the position of Supreme Governor of the Church, which means that the Prime Minister formally advises her – and in practice decides – on the appointment of bishops[42]. The overlap between Church and state may also be observed in many parish churches that exhibit the flags of local army regiments, and hold ceremonies of national commemoration and remembrance for past wars, organized by the Royal British Legion (the veterans' organisation).

Other religious communities developed differently. The Church of Scotland, Scotland's largest religious community, which was a state church, felt increasingly unhappy with this status. In 1921, it was "privatized" by Parliament through the Church of Scotland Act, and is since totally independent from government. Unlike the Church of England, it does not recognize the Queen as supreme head. The Church of Scotland is a registered charity and files annual reports with the Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator (the Scottish equivalent to the English Charity Commission). This decidedly non-state position notwithstanding, before devolution (1999), the General Assembly was seen as the unofficial, but influential Scottish parliament. The Church of Scotland, together with other organisations, actively promoted the idea of devolution. Since the Scottish Parliament came into existence, this role has ceased[43].

The Roman Catholic Church decided at the beginning of the 19th century that it should distance itself from worldly affairs. In actual case, this was a myth. The Popes were not only set on maintaining the position of the Holy See as a Sovereign Power after the end of the Papal States in 1870. They also continued to voice their opinion on public affairs just as vigorously as their predecessors had done, and

41 Ibid.: 81.

42 Elizabeth Evendon Kenyon, a research fellow at Oxford University, when interviewed on 14th April, 2018, pointed out that when Tony Blair became Prime Minister, this practice of appointments became highly problematic, as Blair was actually a Roman Catholic. He chose not to become one officially until he had resigned from office.

43 Related to the author by Dr Alison Elliot, Associate Director of the Centre for Theology and Public Issues at Edinburgh University, when interviewed on 23rd November, 2017. Dr. Elliot was the first female and first non-clerical Moderator (head) of the General assembly of the Chuch of Scotland, and was Convener (Chair) of the Scottish Council of Voluntary Organisations.

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repeatedly, albeit unsuccessfully, tried to mediate in conflicts[44]. The strong nation states came to mistrust the Roman Catholic hierarchy on the grounds that the bishops received compulsory orders from a "foreign power", the Pope. As a reaction to this attitude, the first edition of a German Catholic Encyclopedia of Governmental Affairs (Staatslexikon) was keen to challenge the omnipotence of an "Hegelian view of the State", i.e. a belief in absolute state sovereignty[45].

A constitution that made a clear distinction between Church and state was the first national German Constitution of 1849, which failed to come into force, but was not without influence on future constitutional theory and law. In the German National Assembly in Frankfurt that produced it, the spokesman for the Jewish community, Gabriel Riesser, remarked in the course of the debate: "The nationality of the Jews is alive but in memory, [...] in reality, it has died."[46] While some wished for exactly this to happen, others saw it as a threat to their identity.[47] For the protestant Churches in Germany, the introduction of a republic in 1918 had wide-reaching implications, as the Kings of Prussia and rulers of other German states had been supreme governors of their Churches. After some hesitation on all sides, it was agreed that their deposition as rulers entailed the loss of their ecclesiastical positions. The religious communities in question were obliged to search for a new episcopalian or presbyterian structure without the attachment to the political leadership they had cherished and wished in some way to maintain. Little wonder that "the process of joining civil society was actually much easier for the Catholic than for the Protestant Church"[48]. The republican constitution of 1919 enforced the modern notion of a nation state that bears no connection to the citizens' religious convictions. Yet, established catholic, protestant and jewish religious communities were granted a special status as public bodies, and a number of close ties between state and

44 One example is the peace proposal issued on August 1, 1917, by Pope Benedict XV to the governments involved in World War I.

45 Staatslexikon der Goerres-Gesellschaft (Herdersches Staatslexikon). Freiburg: Herder (5 vols.) 1889–1897; see Becker, Winfried (2018), as quoted in Katholisch heißt offen. In Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 10 October.

46 see Stillschweig, Kurt (1947): Die deutschen Juden als nationale Minderheit. In Judaica 1/1: 6 (my translation); quoted from: Brenner, Michael (2001): Religion, Nation oder Stamm: Zum Wandel der Selbstdefinition unter deutschen Juden. In Heinz-Gerhard Haupt; Dieter Langewiesche: Nation und Religion in der deutschen Geschichte. Frankfurt: Campus: 587.

47 The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, preserve a Jewish regulatory document fom Darmstadt, Germany, that states: the national element has to dwindle more and more; thanks to the enlightenment, we no longer form a state within the state, no Judaism, and no political corporation. We are protected in our dissenting religion." (CAJHP, Darmstadt 4th series, No. 62) (my translation); quoted from: Brenner, loc. Cit.: 588.

48 Prof. Thomas Sternberg, member of the state parliament of North-Rhine Westfalia and President of the Central Council of German Catholics (the umbrella organization of the Catholic laity) interviewed on 19th July, 2018.

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church are preserved to this day. "A limping separation" was the phrase coined and widely used for this arrangement[49].

In France, special legislation passed in 1905 aimed at keeping anything to do with religion out of the public sphere. Whether the concept, which has come to be known as *laicité* (secularization), is a systematic attempt to separate the two while not taking any stand on the religious beliefs of the citizens, or whether it is in fact an expression of anticlericalism, has been a matter of dispute ever since. Other nation states, while granting religious freedom and professing to be totally secular, have adopted a more relaxed attitude. In Italy, parish priests officiate as public magistrates and marry couples under civil law after having married them in Church. The rule by which they are to don a red-white-and green sash when doing so, is apparently rarely observed. In Greece, new members of government are sworn in by the Archbishop rather than in parliament.

While freedom of religion is constitutionally guaranteed in most European countries, this is not so world-wide. 52 countries (up from 40 in 2007) have high or very high government restrictions on religion, whereas in 56 (up from 39) social hostilities toward religion are reported as high or very high[50]. The government restriction figures do include three European countries (France, Spain, and Rumania), while the social hostility figures include 11 (Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland).

Not in every country have religious communities accepted the changes gracefully. In Spain, the Catholic hierarchy is engaged in a bitter legal battle with the government over property rights and tax priviledges. Though considered a legal person under private law, the Church, while arguing that the constitution protects private property, insists on upholding very generous and very special provisions enacted by the Franco dictatorship in 1946. I.a., it regards the Mezquita in Cordoba, an 8th century mosque later converted into a Catholic cathdral, as its very own, while the government considers it to be public property as one of the country's prime cultural heritage sites.

Generally speaking, pragmatic approaches that build on the long tradition of a close relationship and an overlap of interests, while observing the principle of separation between Church and State, have become common practice throughout Europe[51], as has the recognition of democratic polyarchy as the adequate principle of public governance by the Church. "In the well-established polyarchies, these freedoms have long since lost the attraction of a new cause, let alone any revolutionary

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49 Stutz, Ulrich (1926): Die päpstliche Diplomatie unter Leo XIII. nach den Denkwürdigkeiten des Kardinals Domenico Ferrata, Berlin: 54 (my translation).

50 Majumdar, Samirah et al. (2019): A Closer Look at How Religious Restrictions Have Risen Around the World. Pew Research Center, Washington D.C.: 5 and annexes.

51 Thomas Sternberg, interviewed on 19th July, 2018.

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appeal."[52] In many countries, the relationship is underpinned by an ongoing engagement of religious communities in the provision of public welfare and education[53]. This attitude prevalent in constitutional theory and practice corresponds to that of the citizens themselves. As a recent study has shown, over 95% of the citizens in Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Switzerland believe religious matters to be the responsibility of the individual and not part of the mandate given to the state. Even in Turkey, though lower at 73%, the majority for this view remains clear.[54] Clearly, religious communities are in a position of having to adjust and find a new place in society.

Most religious communities, with the exception of some Orthodox Church leaders and some Muslim communities, have come to terms with the separation and today would no longer uphold a traditional position of them alone being in possession of the truth and therefore not admitting to any form of pluralism. Within Orthodoxy, the role of the hierarchy as being the right hand of an authoritarian government charged with underpinning national identity and stabilizing society, is contested, although the percentage of believers has risen considerably. To the observer, this is seemingly a very complex process and probably involves "believing without belonging"[55] to a considerable degree. In Ukraine, the decision to become an independent Orthodox Church and no longer to adhere to the Patriarch of Moscow, created a political earthquake, since the Russian government clearly sees the Russian Orthodox Church as an important asset both to the "Russianness" of the country and its citizens, and to the supremacy the Russian government wishes to assert over Russia's neighbours and former parts of the Soviet Union.

The last 30-odd years have seen additional fundamental changes. While up to the mid-20th century, there existed a clear distinction between dominant religious beliefs and disenfranchised minorities, these distinctions are now fundamentally blurred in that virtually any religious community in Europe may be considered a minority. In Spain, traditionally a particularly Catholic country, only 26% of the citizens today describe themselves as practicing Catholics. In Germany, it is foreseeable that within the next two or three years, Christians of all denominations will no longer be a majority. So what held for diaspora communities and nonconformist

52 Dahl, Robert A. (1971): Polyarchy – Participation and Opposition. New Haven/London: Yale University Press: 20.

53 see Zimmer, Annette; Gaertner, Janne; Priller, Eckhard; Rawert, Peter; Sachsse, Christoph; Strachwitz, Rupert; Walz, Rainer: The Legacy of Subsidiarity. Iin Zimmer; Priller loc. cit.: 681–711.

54 El-Menouar, Yasemin (2019): Ist Religion Privatsache? So stehen die Europäer zur Religionsfreiheit. Bertelsmann Religionsmonitor: https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/publikationen/publikation/did/religionsmonitor-kompakt-mai-2019/ (18 August 2019).

55 Freeze, Gregory (2013): Staat, Kirche und Gläubige in Rußland. In Friedrich Wilhelm Graf / Heinrich Meier (eds.) Politik und Religion – Zur Diagnose der Gegenwart. Muenchen: Beck.

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Churches in the past[56], will be true for any religious community in the future. And while some differences between various European countries, regions, and societies continue to exist, the trends are similar all over Europe. This development is reflected in the attitude taken by European governments and the European Union in defending the freedom of religion. The issue does not rank very highly on any priority list.[57] Still, religious communities strive for and are most commonly accorded a voice in public affairs and resist being crowded out[58].

Clearly, the rapidly shrinking formal membership in religious communities is a uniquely European phenomenon. "… the split within the West is rather perceived as if Europe were isolating itself from the rest of the world. Seen in terms of world history, Max Weber's "Occidental Rationalism" now appears to be the actual deviation."[59] In nearly all other parts of the world, membership is shifting but not diminishing, as Christian believers leave the established Churches and join new evangelical – and quite often very political – movements, and as Muslim believers change their affiliation from one mosque community to another. Church and state have become competitors in setting the standards of individual and collective life – a widely different scenario from when they were either so closely intertwined that to the citizens, the standards were being set by them jointly, or when one of them either refrained from doing so, or aspired to be the sole standard setter.

Since the turn of the century, perhaps a little earlier, religion is finding its way back into public discourse on a different level, both in Europe and in North America. Charles Taylor, Juergen Habermas and others prepared the ground for this religious turn. Their question in reviewing the modern welfare state, and to which this tendency provides an answer, is: "What is missing?"[60] But three fundamental questions remain:

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56 Interviewed on 1st October, 2018, Peter Joergensen, Pastor of the Baptist Community in Berlin and representative of the association of nonconformist Churches to the German government, explained that Baptists in Germany were treated as outsiders. E.g., they were outlawed in Hamburg before the great fire of 1842, when the ban was lifted in recognition of the charitable services delivered. However, although they would have much preferred not to, they continued to live on the fringes of society. The "big" Churches, to this day, prefer to ignore them. E.g., in the course of the celebrations to mark the 500th anniversary of the reformation, Martin Luther King was referred to as a symbol of Protestantism – and a "Protestant", not as a Baptist pastor.

57 This attitude became very obvious in 2018 when the case of the Pakistani Christian woman Asia Bibi became universally known, and neither Ms. Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs, nor any of the European heads of government or foreign ministers came out strongly in defence of this particular aspect of human rights.

58 Thomas Sternberg, interviewed on 19th July, 2018

59 Habermas, Jürgen (2006): Religion in the Public Sphere. In European Journal of Philosophy, vol. 14:1: 2.

60 Bartlett, Robert C. (2007): Religion and Politics in Classical Political Science. In Graf/Meier (eds.) loc. cit., p. 167.; see: Taylor, Charles: A Secular Age. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.;

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1. If citizens really do reconsider their personal beliefs, will they revert to the existing religious communities?
2. If religious communities really do find they are regaining strength, will they and should they aspire to regain their former position in society?
3. If they do try, will they be successful?

It would seem that these questions are closely intertwined, albeit not immediately apparent, and that, given the disruptive changes in modern society, the answer to all three questions in all probability will be “No”. Arguably, the state, the private or business sector, and civil society increasingly circle around the individual and his immediate relationships which take centre place. Society centres around man, not, as the 20th century would have us believe, the other way around! So: “How does the constitutional separation of state and church influence the role that religious traditions, communities, and organisations are allowed to play in civil society and the political public sphere, above all in the political opinion and will formation of citizens themselves?”[61]

4 Modern Democracy

In today’s society, the role of religion, and particularly of large religious communities is often criticized. Three major critical arguments are put forward:

1. As a result of the emphasis on formal democracy, organisations that are not formally democratically structured have been critized, espcially by those who are democratically elected and would prefer to enjoy a monopoly of gaining and exercising power beyond decision making. It is in a sense true that a fundamentally heterarchical democracy is theoretically incompatible with a religion that is hierarchically bound to the teachings of its founder, as is the case in both Christianity and Islam[62]. But this is a misconception. Formal democracy rightly extends to any power that may force its will on a community or force its members to act in a certain way, e.g. pay taxes, obey the law, do military service etc. The monopoly of force accorded to the state, as summarized in the famous American pre-independence slogan “no taxation without representation”, is a democratic achievement nobody would want to miss. But even the most established religious community in Europe today would admit that it cannot force anybody to do anything – and is finding it increasingly difficult even to nudge

Habermas, Juergen (2008): Ein Bewusstsein von dem, was fehlt. Berlin: Suhrkamp.; Joas, Hans (2004): Braucht der Mensch Religion? Ueber Erfahrungen der Selbsttranszendenz. Freiburg, Herder.

61 Habermas 2006: 3.

62 “Our supreme head is Christ!” (Alison Eliot, interviewed on 23rd November, 2017)

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members to act in a certain way. Nor may the state lend itself to forcing citizens to obey church rules. It is by the members' free will that they succumb to the rules laid down in a religious community, and these may very well be undemocratic. Equally, the state may not force religious communities, or indeed any corporation, foundation, or membership organization, to adopt democratic or other governance principles. All the state may well demand is that they obey the law like any citizen. The law, in the case of religious communities, must of course conform to constitutional provisions like freedom of religion and freedom of association.

2. An interesting argument has arisen over the degree of influence that a religious community may exert in the public sphere. It is relevant not only because of an embedded traditional influence that Christian Churches in Europe are keen to preserve, but also, because by their sheer size and financial resources, these Churches are prone to be more influential than other players in society. John Rawls, in discussing this issue, insisted that "reasonable comprehensive doctrines, religious or non-religious, may be introduced in public political discussion at any time, provided that in due course proper political reasons – and not reasons given solely by comprehensive doctrines – are presented that are sufficient to support whatever the comprehensive doctrines are said to support"[63]. Habermas refutes this theory on very general grounds by stating, "we should not over-hastily reduce the polyphonic complexity of public voices [...]. It cannot know whether secular society would not otherwise cut itself off from key resources for the creation of meaning and identity."[64]
3. It has also been argued that the modern welfare state is not only detrimental to a "pure" market economy, but also inherently adverse to religion, by asking: "Can the government replace God (or other deities) as a provider? In other words, can secular exchange replace religious exchange?"[65] A number of studies has confirmed this view. "As predicted, religiosity was lower at higher levels of both government services and quality of life (controlling for one another), and was particularly low when both government services and quality of life were high."[66] This may be a valid explanation. It may however have something to do with religions' traditional care for the underpriviledged and for those in distress that made them attractive for a large percentage of the citizens. This does however confuse two different meanings of "religion", a confusion delib-

63 Rawls, John (1997): The Idea of Public Reason Revisited. In The University of Chicago Law Review, vol. 64: 783.
64 Habermas 2006: 10.
65 Zuckerman, Miron; Li, Chen; Diener, Ed (2018): Religion as an Exchange System: The Interchangeability of God and Government in a Provider Role. In Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 1–13: 3.
66 loc. cit.: 5.

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erately used by religious leaders to keep the flock together. It cannot really be held against religious communities that their practical aid programmes are not as much in demand as they used to be. Also, one cannot expect them to clamour for less public welfare in order to be more attractive. There are still enough issues left that can be judged and brought into the public arena from a religious viewpoint and more than enough demand for role models of impeccable ethical standards that many people would and do look to.

Notwithstanding criticism of religious leaders on the grounds of their personal behaviour that continues to be widespread and strong, religious communities as such have earned considerable trust and respect for being there to help the needy, especially when this has happened in contradiction to governmental action. Citizens are becoming increasingly critical of a democracy that is a mere power structure, and of a state that fundamentally mistrusts its citizens. Liberal democracy is in deep crisis. Populist authoritarian movements that make false promises about giving power to the people and having the majority rule, are gaining popular support and have been voted into office. Believing in pluralism, freedom of speech, human rights, and the dignity of each and every individual is fast losing popular support. But countermovements are coming to the fore. While traditional faith-based living models (milieus) have virtually vanished throughout Europe with the exception of very few minorities of ethnicity and religion, notably Muslim and occasionally Jewish communities, new communities of choice are attracting members. In as far as these have managed to adapt, old communities too are seemingly attractive. They all belong to civil society, an arena that has gained considerable cohesion, strength, and potential over the past 30-odd years. Arguably, the state, the market, and civil society today constitute the three arenas of collective action which circle around the immediate personal sphere and make up modern society. As the state and the market engage in multiple alliances, civil society has adopted a special role as the civic space, while each of these arenas is a necessary component of 21st century society, and each is dependent on the others in order to perform well. The failure to recognize and accept civil society on a level playing field is one of the reasons why the state and the market are failing, while it is not, as has been suggested, this failure alone that has generated the emergence of modern civil society.

Civil society has existed in one form or another at least since the time of "The Great Transformation", the "Axial Age", first described by Karl Jaspers in 1949, to mean a period between the 8th and the 2nd century BC, when a world-wide near-simultaneous transformation of thought and subsequently of society took place[67].

67 The theorem of the Axial Age (in Jaspers, Karl (1962): The Origin and Goal of History. London) has since been extensively elaborated on, notably by Armstrong, Karen (2006): The Great Transfor-

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However, over the last two generations or so, a novel concept of civil society has emerged that differs from previous concepts, including the one put forward by Adam Ferguson in 1767[68]. It may be seen today as a coherent group of collective movements and organisations, which are in many ways huguely diverse, but do bear some common traits that allow us to distinguish them from organisations and institutions that form part of the state or the private business sector. If society is something that exists and is not synonymous with the state or the nation, relevant collective action takes place in one of these three arenas, the term arena being preferable to "pillar", as it implies areas of movement, action and change.

Both academia and public opinion, and not least the agents of civil society in the field are engaged in a discussion over definition. This is decidedly unfortunate, as it renders it more difficult to make a conclusive case for civil society as an arena and most particularly for the involvement of this arena in discussions over societal development and change. The in many respects pioneering work undertaken by Lester Salamon and his many associaties since the 1990s in mapping the empirical evidence in a comparative fashion world-wide[69] has not achieved one of its main purposes, i.e. to present a standardized and universally accepted notion of what civil society is, and who is part of it.

Civil society may be termed the citizens' arena, the place where citizens engage by their own free will, participate directly in affairs to do with the common good, and voice their concerns, ideas, criticism, and agreement. Lester Salamon's Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project[70] defined a number of principles that may decide whether an activity, a movement, an organisation, an institution should be considered part of this particular arena:

– Access should be voluntary.
– The organisation should not be engaged in core government business.
– Making a profit should not be a prime objective.
– The governance structure should be autonomous.
– Any profits made may not be distributed to members or owners.

Though civil society organisations employ a considerable full-time and part-time paid workforce, the arena as such is based and relies heavily on volunteerism and philanthropy. Philanthropy in the true sense of the word is not just what donors of funds are doing, let alone what foundations do; philanthropy is the spirit in which gifts of empathy, time, ideas, know-how, reputation, and financial resources are put

mation. London: Atlantic Books. A critical view is elaborated by Jan Assmann (2018): Achsenzeit, Eine Archäologie der Moderne. München: Beck

68 Ferguson, Adam (1767): An Essay on the History of Civil Society.

69 Salamon, Lester et al (1999): Global Civil Society. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University.

70 Ibid.

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at the disposal either of individuals in need, or of organisations deemed able to use these gifts to perform their self-allotted tasks. The first mention of philanthropy in philosophical literature is most probably in Plato, who, in one of his dialogues, lets Socrates call himself a philanthropist because he lets others partake of his wisdom free of charge. In 1960, the French political economist Francois Perroux described giving as the attribute of what we call civil society, while force is associated with the state, and exchanges are associated with the market[71].

Though philanthropic giving is by no means the prime source of civil society funding, it is most certainly a major driving force in empowering its agents. Empowered in this way, as Albert Hirschman rightly established in 1970, civil society organisations may engage in tasks that support existing societal systems (“loyal”), may distance themselves from mainstream society (“exit”) or become an opposing force (“voice”)[72]. Under all three of these headings, we may see eight distinct role models; many organisations are active in more than one:

- service provision,
- advocacy,
- watchdog,
- intermediary,
- self-help,
- community building,
- political discourse, and
- self-fulfilment.

Each one of these role models has a history. For centuries, non-governmental players have assumed a multitude of tasks – and done so in a close or distant relationship, and quite frequently in opposition to the political forces of the time.[73]

Developed over the past 30 years or so, both in practice and in theory. But since the American economist Richard Cornuelle, building on Alexis de Tocqueville’s observations in 19th century North Amrica, first spoke of an independent sector beyond the state and the market in 1965[74], the discussion about the overall function of this sector or arena has never stopped. Cornuelle argued that associations of volunteers could effectively solve social problems without recourse to heavy-handed bureaucracy, while governments in particular would prefer to see these associations

71 Perroux, François (1960): Économie et société : contrainte, échange, don. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

72 Hirschman, Albert O. (1970): Exit, Voice, and Loyalty – Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

73 Strachwitz, Rupert Graf (2014): Social Life and Politics in Voluntary Organizations: An Historical Perspective. In Matthias Freise; Thorsten Hallmann (eds.): Modernizing Democracy. New York/Heidelberg/Dordrecht/London: 25–26.

74 Cornuelle, Richard (1965): Reclaiming the American Dream. New York: Random House.

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and foundations support the government's work in a subservient fashion and neither question government decisions nor adopt any degree of independence. Little wonder that service-providing and intermediary organisations are popular with governments, while the self-help, self-fulfilment and community building roles are habitually overlooked, and advocacy, watchdog and political discourse roles are viewed with suspicion. Responding to pressure from the citizens, advocacy has found its way into tax exemption, and the watchdog role has gained acceptance for watching over excess market behaviour. But Colin Crouch's insistence that given the parliaments' failure in fulfilling that role, civil society's main task is to act as watchdog in public affairs[75], has not to date made government theorists and practitioners rethink the interplay between various contributors to the development and execution of policy. On the contrary, the public sector, and, somewhat strangely, the media, tend to belittle the role of civil society and use arguments to do with the rank of representative democracy to enhance their own role, while at the same time accepting the private sector – in other words, business – as a driving and quite regularly decisive force in determining policy.

The civil society role model most contested by those caught up in the present system of government is civil society's demand to be heard as a contributor to public discourse – with one notable exception: In countries the government of which are seen as undemocratic in the sense that they have not taken on and/or said good-bye to principles Western democracies uphold, civil society that opposes the government is hailed as the expression of the people's will. This has been seen to happen in the past, not least in the Central and Eastern Europe transformation process in the late 1980s: Civil rights fighters in China are considered heroes, while civil rights protests in Hamburg at a G-20 conference are seen as a criminal disruption of public order, and civil liberties activists in Catalunia are quickly labelled as terrorists.

This means we not only have a problem of defining civil society itself, but also of defining its activities – a fairly academic debate when it comes to deciding whether a hospital managed by a not-for-profit organization is part of civil society or not, but a very real issue when talking about terrorism, civil liberties, and indeed societal change. There have been instances, where the growth in coherence, power and strength that civil society has gone through over the past generation or two, its ability to post societal needs and drive the issues, have been decisive. Care for the environment, gender issues, individual liberties, and indeed the fall of the Berlin Wall and the whole process of transition in 1989/1990 were driven by civil society action, by determined activists and philanthropists. The heterogenous, heterarchical and more often than not plainly chaotic structure of a civil society organisation is quite obviously better suited to become a hotbed of new ideas and creative, and potentially disruptive innovation, than an orderly government agency and/or

75 Crouch, Colin (2011): The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism. Cambridge: Polity Press.

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corporation. The way many business start-ups operate is proof of this rather sweeping statement. But this does not answer our question. Neither can the fact that a concept of civil society in its modern sense has by now developed over two generations – and I have deliberately used some older sources here – and that there is every reason to believe that civil society is here to stay, suffice. Nor will success alone make civil society action legitimate.

Normative principles are needed to decide whether or not an organisation may be considered "good", i.e. acceptable to society. Among them, one may determine some very general ones, such as a basic belief in the human being as the supreme principal of society, respect for other human beings, their distinct and possibly very different ways of life and convictions, adherence to basic societal principles such as human and civil rights, the rule of law, and government by the people for the people, and a belief in a pluralist society that allows for each and every individual to lead the life she or he wishes, provided this does not infringe on the life of others.

Furthermore, there are some that are specific to civil society, e.g. a strict priority for ideals and ideas rather than for personal material gains, a commitment to be accountable to the citizenry at large, an acknowledgement of everyone's right to assemble and associate, and an endorsement of a political role for civil society.

All this will not allow us to disregard or disqualify organisations the views or goals of which we do not like. On the contrary, our respect for others will oblige us to listen most carefully to opposing statements and to consider positions we do not embrace. Furthermore, this respect will make us exercise caution and restraint when it comes to playing the power game. Large foundations and other CSOs face a particular challenge here. But in doing so, they will join an ever growing number of smaller, very often minute CSOs and become what in other arenas is proving to be virtually impossible: change agents. Change agents are not legitimized by size, or by election procedures. They are legitimate by the quality of their proposals. A fairly novel and increasingly important and attractive sub-sector of civil society has thus proven to be particularly suited. It is what we call informal civil society, movements without much of or even any structure that convene around one point, one thought, one philanthropic impulse. During the refugee wave that hit Germany in 2015, it was individuals who assembled their friends, small groups of volunteers called up over social media, responsible citizens who in the light of a failing government bureaucracy lived up to Chancellor Merkel's famous "*Wir schaffen das*" – "We can do this"[76]. It was they that enabled Germany to cope with 1 million refugees in less than six months. It is they that will most probably be the most influential change agents. The resources in volunteer work and donations that civil society can command are

76 Angela Merkel, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, in a press conference on 31st August, 2015. She was referring to the country's ability and willingness to accept and cope with the influx of approx. 1 million refugees and migrants.

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small in numbers compared to what governments obtain from the citizens by way of taxes, and what the business community makes by selling goods and services. In this respect, civil society is the smallest of the three arenas, and this will not change in the foreseeable future. Yet, faith-based charities have proven to be needed and sustainable and have in many cases acquired a new licence to operate.

At this point in history, democracy has to a large extent been reduced to a methodology to determine leadership and reach decisions that affect everybody. The ensuing rule by the majority, albeit a changing one, has become the hallmark of modern European society. Theoretical observations, and indeed binding formal agreements signed by governments and ratified by parliaments that go beyond this exceedingly simplistic view of a modern, open, and free society, are regularly forgotten and if remembered at all, are waived. Many international conventions[77], some of which have transferred traditional sovereign powers to transnational bodies, importantly state four principles that define the framework of any party to the treaty in question. They are

1. human and civil rights,
2. the rule of law,
3. democracy, and
4. cultural traditions.

Democracy is one of the four. Obviously, these principles may be and indeed are quite frequently in conflict with one another, and citizens and governments alike are perpetually called upon to balance these principles against each other and with other basic principles like freedom of conscience, the dignity of the individual, respect for all human beings, respect for the world around us, accepting the states' monopoly of force, refraining from taking other human beings' property, and many others.

Societies, and democracies in particular are never static. By the electoral process if for no other reason, they change their character continually. The members, i.e. the citizens, are part of – and in many instances drivers of – this process. By this process, identities adapt and change. This makes it difficult for institutions to survive, for while they have a strong inbuilt resilience, they are perpetually in danger of outliving their relevance. The history of the last 30 years has demonstrated an increasing tendency for the initiative for change to be taken by non-governmental bodies – civil society organisations. Caring for the environment, promoting peace, gender issues, and the transformation in Central and Eastern Europe were first fought for through advocacy action that then successfully nudged governments to

77 see i.a. the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed in Rome on 4 November 1950, ratified and entered into force on 3 September 1953. The 47 members of the Council of Europe have signed this convention.

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act. Should not religious communities be keen to be part of this larger arena, that embraces conservative and liberal, supportive and disruptive, large and small, traditional and new, hierarchical and heterarchical players, united in promoting a culture of respect and empathy, aiming to improve society and effect social change? Each of these players has its very own mission, and nobody is entitled to speak for all. Yet, civil society is powerful, as may be seen, as governments world-wide enter into a process of trying to make it shrink. It is fair to predict they will not succeed.

5 Conclusion

The question remains: If religion returns to Europe, where will organized religious communities return to? Given that “religious traditions and communities of faith have gained a new, hitherto unexpected political importance since the epochmaking change of 1989–90”[78], it seems crucial to find an answer. An American answer offered in the 1980s has obviously been proven wrong: “In addition to the state, which preserves order, God has provided two other institutions for the ordering of society: the family for the propagation of life, and the Church for the proclamation of the Kingdom of God.”[79] The real world looks different, and religious communities cannot but try to live up to their mission within this real world.

The citizens would not accept nor would religious leaders wish to see themselves restored to a position as part of political power-play. Yet, the Christian Churches differ in their self-assessment of their place in society. The formerly established Churches, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Orthodox, are imbued with a sense of being an institution. Other religious communities would prefer to think of themselves as associational bodies or even movements as described by Tocqueville and Weber. So for some, it will be easier to identify with civil society than for others. Cardinal Marx found it difficult to confirm that the Catholic Church was part of civil society, but readily admitted it was a player in civil society[80]. At the same time, he confirmed that there surely existed wide differences of opinion within the Church. Thomas Sternberg would not make that distinction. Asked whether he considered the Churches to be part of civil society, his plain answer was “Yes.”[81] Michael Rosie saw the Churches in a pivotal role within civil society[82]. Peter Joergensen confirmed

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78 Habermas 2006: 1.

79 Colson, Charles (1987): Kingdoms in Conflict – An Insider’s Challenging View of Politics, Power, and the Pulpit. New York: Zondervan.

80 Cardinal Marx, interviewed on 10th November, 2018.

81 Thomas Sternberg, interviewed on 19th July, 2018.

82 Michael Rosie, lecturer in sociology at Edinburgh University and author of “The Sectarian Myth” (2004), interviewed on 25th November 2017.

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that nonconformist religious communities performed typical civil society functions in society, like service provision and community building. Furthermore, he recognized a function of enabling "personal growth" as an important aspect of any Church and a legitimate and well documented civil society function[83].

Many religious leaders and analysts of society would be cautious and contend that Churches may be on their way to a repositioning. In many cases, this uncertainty probably has to do with ignorance as to a definition of civil society. But connecting religious communities to civil society is not a new thought. In writing about religious orders, Bryan Froehle points out that these are "intrinsically related to the development of civil society", having provided "a model for how people could develop strong horizontal relationships and create flourishing spaces between official society, whether political or ecclesiastical, or both"[84]. He goes on to say: "Religion is now part of civil society."[85] This is seconded by Sue Crawford, who notes: "Religious organizations comprise a core component of civil society in most nation states. It is difficult to identify any other single type of nonprofit, nongovernmental organization that involves so many citizens in so many different parts of the world."[86]

The definition of civil society has of course changed over time. 19th century political scientists like the Italian Antonio Rosmini[87] defined civil society as secular as opposed to Christian society. In this vein, Eric Voegelin, in 1948, pronounced that "after the failure of the Church to provide civil society with a spiritual order, all that remained for this purpose was the nation state"[88]. And Juergen Habermas contended that in their role as co-legislators, all citizens as citizens of the state accord each other protection on the grounds of civil rights, which enables them to retain and voice their individual cultural and religious identities as citizens of society. This relationship between a democratically organized state, civil society and cultural autonomy is the key to understand the interplay between the universalist approach of the political enlightenment and a particular self-assertion of any religious and cultural minority.[89] The Roman Catholic Church, in one of the most important and yet least known documents of the Second Vatican Council, proclaimed: "Religious

83 Peter Joergensen, interviewed on 1st October, 2018.
84 Froehle, Bryan T. (2010): Religious Orders. In Helmut K. Anheier; Stefan Toepler (eds.): International Encyclopdia of Civil Society, vol. 3. New York: Springer:. 1303.
85 Ibid.
86 Crawford, Sue: Religious Organizations. In Anheier; Toepler (eds.) loc. cit.: 1307.
87 Liermann, Christiane (2004): Rosminis politische Philosophie der zivilen Gesellschaft. Paderborn: Schoeningh.
88 Voegelin, Eric (2003): Bodin. Muenchen: Wilhelm Fink: 49 (my translation).
89 Habermas: Politik und Religion: 291/292.

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freedom, […] which men demand as necessary to fulfill their duty to worship God, has to do with immunity from coercion in civil society."[90]

Possibly, some forces in governmental establishments still see religion as an asset that might support the state. Poland and Russia come to mind as examples. But by professing religious neutrality and abstention, most European states are nudging religious communities towards civil society. The European Union that counts more and less religiously connected states among its members, "has turned in the last decade towards civil society, with the expectation that civil society organisations can serve as the interface for and promotor of a larger public debate on EU issues. The notions of public sphere, deliberation, and civil society are attractive to EU scholars and institutions, because they are not necessarily but are historically linked to the nation state and can be the founding steps of a political community that is not bound to the state but is constructed by mutual recognition in a transnational public sphere"[91].

It would seem that religious communities by their necessarily transnational nature are well suited to answer this invitation and might see this as a means to transgress traditional Church – Nation State relationships. The Church of Scotland is a case in point. It sees itself as a civil society organisation in every respect, feels very comfortable with this position and would not wish to be in any other[92]. Michael Rosie confirmed that civil society was instrumental in lobbying for and eventually achieving devolution (creating the Scottish parliament and government); within civil society, the Churches played a pivotal role, and were regarded as neutral and being "outside politics". This goes particularly for the two more important Christian churches in Scotland, the (Calvinist) Church of Scotland, and the Roman Catholic Church. The Episcopal Church was seen as closer to Westminster and less independent. The Catholic Church, which serves the Irish immigrants, was closer to the Labour Party, while the Church of Scotland was perhaps closer to the Scottish National Party; but neither entertained a hand-in-glove relationship with any party[93].

The past few years have seen more recognition of the role of civil society and a more serious and to the point debate on the role of philanthropy and civic engagement. Yet, issues of legitimacy and relevance are still being discussed – by professional politicians who continue to cherish the notion that they are in the drivers'

90 Second Vatican Council: Declaration on Religious Freedom "Dignitatis Humanae", proclaimed by Pope Paul VI. on 7th December, 1965.

91 Bouza Garcia, Luiz (2015): Participatory Democracy and Civil Society in the EU – Agenda Setting and Institutionalisation. Basingstoke: Palgrave: 3 (with references to Cohen, Jean and Arato, Andrew: Civil Society and Political Theory. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, p. 201 and Kaldor, Mary (1995): European Institutions, Nation States and Nationalism. In Daniele Archibugi; David Held (eds.): Cosmopolitan Democracy – An Agenda for a New World Order. Cambridge: Polity Press).

92 Alison Elliot, interviewed on 23rd November, 2017.

93 Michael Rosie, interviewed on 23rd November, 2017.

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seats, by mainstream academia, who have not understood the meaning of this new societal model, and by the media who still prefer to report on the occasional scandal or on local events rather than offering civil society full participation in the debate on public affairs. However, as Parag Khanna put it, the "dotgov-, dotcom- and dotorg-worlds"[94] will in future interact on a level playing field, despite an important caveat.

While civil society as such is an analytically describable phenomenon, the impact and the legitimacy of civil society rest on a normative theory. Civil society is not inherently "good". Just as there are good and bad governments, and honest traders and crooks in business, there exist, of course, civil society organisations not universally approved of, be this in a fundamental sense or simply because they hold dissenting views. The Ku Klux Klan, the National Rifle Association of America, and, to name a German example, Pegida, are examples of the first group, while a plethora of associations and foundations whose goals do not correspond to those entertained by others may be counted among the second. For this reason if for no other, there is no such thing as a spokesman for civil society as such. Civil organisations will and can only speak for themselves and their members. Religious communities could in theory be part of the dark side of civil society and thus obstruct the view of civil society as a positive aspect of society. Yet, today, no area of politics is pursued without the involvement of civil society. Consultation is permanently required – and public accountability of civil society becomes a permanent prerequisite.

So, whither the religious communities? To a quasi-governmental role, or to civil society? To a societal force or to an existence on the fringes of society? Do religious communities fit into civil society? Should they be advised to actively promote themselves as civil society organisations? Should they think of themselves as operating in the same public arena as do foundations and traditional membership organisations, protest movements and advocacy coalitions? At this point in history, there is certainly no uniform answer to all these questions, let alone a general consensus within and between religious communities. But a few guidelines may be seen as gaining acceptance:

1. In as far as religious communities argue that they offer a comprehensive concept of human life and interaction, they are not overstepping the boundaries of what civil society actors aspire to, whileoverstepping the boundaries of what citizens would wish the state to do, and while defending a principle that citizens would wish to see defended: the unique dignity of every human being.
2. One may point out that the Jewish, Christian and Islam religions all started as movements; retracing one's origins is obviously not illegitimate. One may also bear in mind that charitable foundations have always been considered as belonging to civil society. So there is evidently no reason why an organism that is

94 Khanna, Parag (2011): How to Run the World. Charting the Course to the Next Renaissance. New York, Random House.

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bound to its founder's will should not belong to this societal arena. They have been styled corporations many times and in very different circumstances in history. There is no reason why they should not accept this classification. It can easily be shown that as regards the functions they fulfil, religious communities are well within the scope of civil society. And in highlighting their very specific mission, there is no reason to suppose that this might preclude them from adhering to civil society principles.

3. If they so wish, religious communities may well exercise public influence much more easily as civil society actors than as an increasingly unwelcome appendage to the State. This does however imply that they accept religious pluralism (as the Roman Catholic Church did, when the Second Vatican Council pronounced: "We cannot truly call on God, the Father of all, if we refuse to treat in a brotherly way any man, created as he is in the image of God. [...] No foundation therefore remains for any theory or practice that leads to discrimination between man and man or people and people, so far as their human dignity and the rights flowing from it are concerned"[95]).
4. "Society is the space for many free actors."[96] It seems that religious communities may and should continue to play an active part in society. However, they will perform in a different arena and by consciously doing so may well prove to be better suited to pursue their mission in society than they were as an addendum to the state. "I am convinced", says Cardinal Marx, "that we are living through a crucial period of searching for a new social form for the Catholic Church. This search is exceedingly difficult, because the Church is perceived so differently in a global context."[97]
5. Religious communities are communities of faith, and as educated and informed citizens choose the multiple communities they wish to belong to, communities of faith are among the communities of choice they might choose to adhere to. They are certainly no longer communities of fate, as much as some religious teachings might insist on this point. The Church is not "a castle or fortress, but a movement"[98].
6. Muslim co-citizens have reminded Europeans that men and women, for whom religion is a centrally important part of their lives, are entitled to respect and to have their convictions thought about in earnest. As women and men world-wide necessarily come into ever closer touch with each other, they necessarily meet others with differing religious convictions. It does not seem sustainable to tie

95 Second Vatican Council: Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions "Nostra Aetate", proclaimed by Pope Paul VI on 28th October, 1965.
96 Marx, Reinhard (2015): Kirche ueberlebt. Muenchen: Koesel: 32.
97 Marx loc. cit.: 16.
98 Marx loc. cit.: 25.

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these convictions to the exercise of force as commanded exclusively by the State that also commands somewhere around half of any nation's resources. It seems far too dangerous that an alliance between these two sources of power on one hand and ultimate convictions on the other might lead to a misuse of these convictions for political ends. Indeed, history has many examples for this happening.

7. In order to achieve the kind of society we wish to live in, we must overcome a tradition that has developed over the past 250 – and in some respect for many more years. We need to overcome a society where people with different convictions are subject to derision or are not taken seriously. This goes for a plethora of small issues as much as it does for the ultimate questions of life.

In a paper commissioned in 1995 by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Ralf Dahrendorf said: "The term 'civil society' is more suggestive than precise. It suggest for example that people behave towards each other in a civilized manner; the suggestion is fully intended. It also suggest that its members enjoy the status of citizens, which again is intended. However, the core meaning of the concept is quite precise. Civil society describens the associations in which we conduct our lives, and which owe their existence to our needs and initiatives rather than to the state. Some of these associations are highly deliberate and sometimes short-lived, like sports clubs or political parties. Others are founded in history and have a very long life, like churches or universities."[99]

Little wonder that those with a long history, particularly if this has led them into very different arenas in society have difficulties in adjusting to what could be a new lease of life. A believing lay member of the Catholic Church, when asked whether he considered Churches to be part of civil society answered "yes" unequivocally, provided civil society is defined as one of three arenas of societal action. He also agreed that the Churches had moved towards civil society and were still moving, and remembered a discussion about 10 years ago, when a Church representative in a parliamentary hearing had insisted on the Churches' cultural activities being called "public non-governmental" to distinguish them from those of cultural NGOs. Although this was meant to indicate a divide, one could actually turn the argument around and argue that all civil society activities were in fact "public non-governmental"[100].

99 Dahrendorf, Ralf (1995): Economic Opportunity, Civil Society, and Political Liberty. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Discussion Paper 58, March: 8.
100 Thomas Sternberg, interviewed on 19th July, 2018.

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N.B. All interviews mentioned in this paper were conducted by the author in the context of the "Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe" project between November, 2017 and November, 2018.

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Philipp Kreutzer

Religious Communities and Civil Society in Europe Report on the Final Conference, Rome, 22/23 November 2018

The final conference of the three-year research project on religious communities and civil society in Europe was held at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome on 22nd and 23rd November 2018. In the course of the two days, 15 speakers presented the results of their research. Most presenters have agreed to have their presentation included in one of the volumes of findings of the research project.

The present report follows the Chatham House Rule, except in relation to speakers mentioned in the programme.

At the beginning of the conference, the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Gregorian University, Fr. Jacquineau Azetsop, the Director of the Maecenata Institute for Philanthropy and Civil Society, Rupert Strachwitz, and Rocco D'Ambrosio, Professor for Social Sciences at the Gregorian University, welcomed the participants.

1 State – Church – Civil Society: Defining the Spheres

Rocco D'Ambrosio introduced the overall intentions and goals of the conference (his paper will be published separately). To start, the relatedness between religious communities and civil society was discussed. The eight functions that define civil society actors can be seen as a guideline to classify the action of religious communities. Rupert Graf Strachwitz listed them:

1. provision of services,
2. advocacy,
3. intermediary,
4. self-help,
5. watch-dog,
6. personal empowerment (personal growth),
7. community building, and
8. participation in political discussions.

Following these characteristics there is an unquestionable evidence that religious communities form an important part of civil society.

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It emerged that for their own members, religious communities have a unique selling point as compared to all "secular" players in the field of civil society. This is based on the specific faith or dogma of the religion. The approach of the conference was rather a social scientific one, thus contributions approached the topic from a secular point of view. This tension became apparent at several points, e.g. when discussing the inner motivation of committed citizens. While one "secular" scientist underlined that the personal wishes of people who engage do not matter because they are acting in the public arena which works differently than the religious field, another discussant pointed out that religious people transform the public sphere, because "they offer something that is deeper than what they do".

A discussant drew attention to the fact that the socio-political environment determines the role of religious communities in a society and defines the relationship between the state, civil society and religious communities. Father Jacquineau Azetsop spoke in this respect about the socio-political situation and the role of religious communities in his home country Cameroon. As the state does not fulfil its responsibilities, it needs the religious communities to step in as basic service providers. Following the concept of Albert O. Hirschman about the possible responses of people (or organisations) when experiencing a decreasing quality in an organization (or a nation) which he developed in his book "Exit, Voice, and Loyalty", the religious communities show *loyalty* to the society. They do this without having a direct impact on the formal political decision-making process. At the same time, following Azetsop, religious communities criticise the state or market actors and offer protection to people who raise their *voice* against the political leaders or private companies. A participant remarked that the challenges religious communities are confronted with in this situation are characteristic for civil society actors in general.

At the end of the session, the question was raised how social scientists can deal with the question of religious communities as civil society actors: In a first step social scientists must find categories and define the relationship between religious communities and civil society institutions based on theoretical findings and empirical data. In a second step, the academics must start a dialogue with the actors in the religious communities about their understanding of their own engagement and the relatedness to civil society. This approach enables social scientists to gain an understanding of the differences and similarities of a scientific explanation on one hand and the self-identification of the actors in the field on the other hand.

The presentations by Tymen van der Ploeg and Edith Archambault concerning the relationship between individual religious communities and states, introduced more specific aspects and viewpoints. Van der Ploeg chose a legal approach and talked about the diverse constitutional positions of religious communities and civil society organisations in European countries. Edith Archambault chose an historical approach and France as a particular example and spoke about the special relation-

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ship of the Church and the state in the past and in current French society. Both speakers answered a number of questions that further clarified their positions.

2 Religious Affiliation – Social Engagement: The Individual Level

Johan von Essen, Linnea Lundgren, and Paul Dekker presented case studies from Sweden and the Netherlands, in which they examined the impact of individualization on religiosity and civic engagement. They posed the question whether a late-modern understanding of religion influenced civic engagement. According to von Essen's results for Sweden, no significant differences in volunteering between individuals with a traditional and late-modern understanding of religion can be seen. Consequently, individualization neither undermines religiosity nor civic engagement. Perhaps, von Essen asked, it is the other way around, and religiosity and civic engagement are means to enact one's individuality in secularized Swedish society. Thus, society is changing, but the fact that new civic arenas and new languages for civic engagement are emerging does not mean that people will become isolated and that society will fade away.

The fact that religious communities do not necessarily disappear from the public space even in highly secularized countries was shown by the findings from Linnea Lundgren, also from Sweden. Lundgren demonstrated that in Sweden a new visibility of religion is emerging. Religious communities are increasingly funded by the Swedish state. The state uses them as a resource and service provider, thus unintentionally bringing religion back into the public sphere. This development became visible during the dramatic increase in the number of asylum seekers in Sweden in 2015. This secular return of religion, as Lundgren calls it, evokes a possible conflicting situation with regards to both the internal and external expectation of the role and mission of the religious communities. She identified two groups: In the engagement of the first group, the so-called emergency responders, religious activities are largely suspended during social activities and the majority of volunteers has no previous connection to the congregation. This group behaves similarly to other civil society organisations, benefits from the state support and experiences a growing space. The second group, the so-called community-based continuers and spiritual integrators, is characterized by the fact that religion is highly integrated in all activities and volunteers are part of the congregation. This group experiences a rather shrinking space, the state welcomes the good deeds of the religious players but not their faith.

The results for the Netherlands, as presented by Paul Dekker, show that personal faith has no impact on civic engagement. Consequently, in this respect, it is irrelevant to which denomination people belong or whether they belong to any denomi-

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nation at all. The research has rather shown, that being part of a community which provides structures that facilitate social engagement has a highly positive impact on people's engagement. The churches (religious communities) have traditionally very well-developed structures and are capable of mobilising and organising the willingness of individuals to be active for others or the society. Consequently, the lack of community poses a problem for less religiously affiliated people which cannot be balanced by higher education or other factors that are favourable to civic engagement.

In the discussion, Johan von Essen emphasized the fact that social engagement still very much depends on class affiliation. Socialization determines the capacity and willingness for social engagement to a high degree. Working-poor and unemployed citizens have less resources available and are less integrated in structures that enable social engagement. Furthermore, researches show that unemployment has a negative impact on people's availability and willingness to volunteer, and also that unemployment has a more negative impact on women's engagement compared to men's. Von Essen explained this by the fact that the organizational structures of civil society had been created by men for men; it would seem that this heritage has effects even today. Subsequently, a discussion about the proper representation of factors like ethnicity and national affiliation followed. The question was, in which situation these factors could contribute to a critical approach to societal structures and where they just reproduced stereotypes and discrimination. A statement from the audience put emphasis on the fact that any form of deterministic equation of Muslims and foreigners for European societies would not be acceptable. On the other hand, a panelist stated that everything should be done to make the underlying power structures visible in research projects and therefore ethnicity had to be brought in as a relevant factor.

Concluding, Deborah Tonelli spoke about the socio-political role of sacred texts. She discussed the way religious practice and personal religiosity promote (or impede) civic engagement. Religion, following Tonelli, with its system of practices and beliefs, is capable of elaborating a social and political critique that, in turn, is able to engender new ways of thinking and creative ways of putting these into practice. In the analysis of the sacred texts, Tonelli emphasizes, it is not their narrative content that authorizes a line of interpretation, but rather the readers who attribute a meaning to the text shaped by the perceived needs in their situation which are extrinsic to the sacred text.

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3 Cultural Identity – Religious Identity – Political Identity

Religion has always and in recent years increasingly been used to determine political identity, most particularly in an exclusion mode. Two examples from the United Kingdom (Elizabeth Evendon-Kenyon) and Poland (Anna Domaradzka) were presented and discussed. Furthermore, Udo Steinbach talked about the two sides of the Gülen movement as a "classic" civil society actor in Germany and as a global religious movement. Giuseppe Giordan presented a comparative analysis of the rhetoric used and actions taken by the Italian and the Croatian Churches during the humanitarian crisis in 2015/16.

Anna Domaradzka stated that around the globe, both mainstream politicians and right-wing populists increasingly exploit religion in political discourse. The symbiosis of religion and politics in the form of a specific "marriage" of representatives of the Church with some politicians or political groupings and the decorative use of the Church to "embellish" state celebrations could be observed. Religious symbols are used to express "belonging" rather than "believing". Her data showed that in some European countries, there is a significant negative correlation between the religiosity of a country and the trust level in politicians or political parties. Furthermore, in the Polish case, a negative correlation of religiosity and the acceptance of immigration can be shown. More specifically this means, that the more religious people are, the more hostile they are concerning migrants. Consequently, a positive correlation between religiosity and the support for populist or right-wing parties can be observed. Domaradzka also showed data that proved that, since 2010, the acceptance of migrants in Poland has diminished significantly. However, she also pointed out that the positions in the Church concerning the topic of migration differ considerably. Not all Church representatives agree with right-wing political parties; on the contrary, in 2015/16, many of them called for support for and solidarity with refugees and migrants. The Church may still be seen as the biggest change-maker in Polish society. The task for the future would be to make committed people visible in the media and to form a community of solidarity.

Elizabeth Evenden-Kenyon, in her presentation, analysed the lexical and visual tactics of the Remain and the Leave campaigns in the run-up to the Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom. The white British Christian population was identified as the target audience by the Leave campaign. The topics addressed were about immigration, national identity and the erosion of the supposed supremacy of Christian faith. The remain campaign targeted the more cosmopolitan, urban and religiously diverse population and especially families. Their arguments centred on jobs and economic issues. In a next step, Evenden-Kenyon presented the voting results according to the religious affiliation. E.g., 60% of the members of the Church of England voted Leave, while 69% of the Muslims voted for Remain. In general, a

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majority of non-religious and non-Christian voters voted Remain. Her analysis also showed that 70% of readers of the so-called yellow press (Sun, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Star) voted for Leave. Evenden-Kenyon's point was that the use of both political and religious propaganda by the media proved to be highly influential in determining the result of the referendum, and that an anti-Islamic, anti-migration and anti-refugee sentiment merged with a notion of a white Christian supremacy.

The discussion made it very clear that in contrast to these alliances between political organisations and religious communities which attempted to convey an exclusive and excluding notion of belonging, other examples of cooperation between religious communities and government agencies use a universal and inclusive approach.

Vasilios Makrides presented a comparison of Christian communities, civic engagement and the civil society in Eastern and Western Europe. Makrides stated a difference of both, the tradition of civil engagement and the religious tradition. The development of the civil engagement in the West benefited from the establishment of the liberal state and the process of individualization. Furthermore, due to the influence of the protestants, the church developed an affirmative world-relatedness. In the Eastern European tradition, the entanglement from state and church was stronger and therefore space for civil engagement smaller. In the second half of the 20th century, facing the communist state, churches became an opposition power and part of the civil society. Nowadays, following Makrides, the Orthodoxy can not be seen as a monolithic, stagnating system, but one that constantly changes and adapts itself to the societal dynamic. As an example, he mentions the engagement of the church in the Maidan protests in Kiev.

The concluding case study focussed on the conflict to do with the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. The presenters (Sergei Chapnin and Cyril Hovoroun) explained how religious and political identity are linked. While the Ukrainian Orthodox Church tries to gain an independent status, the Russian Orthodox challenges this move for autocephaly. Following Chapnin, the reason for this negative attitude towards Ukrainian autocephaly is the national church mythology and the imperial version of Russian history as the determining factor of Russian Orthodox Church. For this reason, the Russian Orthodox Church categorically refuses to recognize an alternative (national) version of church history in Ukraine or Belarus. Large parts of Ukrainian society refuse to recognize the Russian historical narrative. These discrepancies lead to the alienation of Ukraine from Russia since the Russian Orthodox Church understands the unity of the Church not in terms of faith and sacraments, but above all in terms of national ideology and administration within the framework of the "Russky mir" ("Russian world") concept. Following Chapnin, this concept was transformed from a soft power instrument to a repressive ideological construction that subordinates all parts of "Russky mir" to Moscow. Chapnin's data confirm his assumptions. They show that in Ukraine, the connection between Orthodoxy and national identity is weaker than in almost every other Eastern European Coun-

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try. Only a minority (22%) sees Russian influence as an important counterpart to Western influence; while only 17% of Orthodox Christians see the Patriarch of Moscow as the highest authority in the Orthodox Church, 46% preferring a national Patriarch. But Chapnin's data also show that Ukrainian society is divided concerning the relationship with Russia. While in the Eastern parts of the country, a majority agrees with the statement that Russia should take the role of a protector of ethnic Russians, in the Western parts the majority does not agree.

Cyril Hovorun spoke about the revolution in Ukraine in 2014, when the Church became a midwife for the emerging Ukrainian civil society during the Maidan protests. What started as protests against the government of president Yanukovych, was transformed into a movement to create an active society of citizens as a response to the demands of the society. Following Hovoroun, this was more than a nation building process; it became a religious phenomenon, as it was not about an emancipation from the church. On the contrary, the Church played a crucial role in developing and empowering Ukrainian civil society. This, he believes, makes the case of Ukraine different to Western European Countries.

4 Summary

In summing up, participants agreed that the historically unquestioned alliance between Church and State has come under close scrutiny and is in many ways contested. But, as Alejandro Crosthwaite reminded the audience, in the United States and elsewhere, religious communities no longer enjoy a formal position in the framework of the state and have embraced independence as a positive development, the situation in Europe is more diverse and, in many cases, more delicate. The United Kingdom, Ukraine, Italy, Poland, Germany, Sweden, France, the Netherlands, and other countries offer exceedingly different pictures that result from different histories, constitutional frameworks, and challenges that need to be met. Furthermore, the modern concept of civil society having emerged over the past 30 years or so, its implications have not come to be fully realized, and its advantages for fulfilling the mission of a religious community have yet to be embraced by all concerned. While obvious changes in attitude and behaviour may be seen in some countries, others, for ideological, political, utilitarian or other reasons remain tied to concepts of old notwithstanding the fact they are outdated. Pope Benedikt's appeal to the Catholic Church to distance itself from the world was deliberately misinterpreted and ignored, his meaning of the world to read the worldly, i.e. governmental powers, perhaps not being clear enough. Yet, there can be no doubt that the transformation of religious communities from institutions to movements is in many respects underway, while religious indifference should not be equalled to misconceptions regarding the influence and the chances religious communities may have in a

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pluralist, individualist, and secular society. The general mistrust of government, and of political parties in particular, matched by a greater degree of trust in civil society may well prove to be a guideline when attempting to decide to which sphere of society a religious community should wish to belong. On the other hand, the central mission of religion can no longer depend on being upheld by secular governments while being accepted both constitutionally and by mutual consent if embodied in a voluntary organisation.

The conference ended on a note of approval of some central arguments while admitting that the research presented and offered both in the project in general and in the conference will require further endeavours.

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