



The Routledge Handbook of Religion, Politics and Ideology

Edited by Jeffrey Haynes

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF RELIGION, POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY

This comprehensive handbook examines relationships between religion, politics and ideology, with a focus on several world religions – Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Judaism – in a variety of contexts, regions and countries.

Relationships between religion, politics and ideology help mould people's attitudes about the way that political systems, both domestically and internationally, are organised and operate. While conceptually separate, religion, politics and ideology often become intertwined, and as a result, their relationships evolve over time. This volume brings together a number of expert contributors who explore a wide range of topical and controversial issues, including gender, nationalism, communism, fascism, populism and Islamism. Such topics inform the overall aim of the handbook: to provide a comprehensive summary of the relationships between religion, politics and ideology, including basic issues and new approaches.

This handbook is a major research resource for students, researchers and professionals from various disciplinary backgrounds, including religious studies, political science, international relations and sociology.

Jeffrey Haynes is Emeritus Professor of Politics at London Metropolitan University, UK. His areas of expertise are religion and international relations, religion and politics, democracy and democratisation, development studies, and comparative politics and globalisation. His publications include more than 50 books, most recently: *Trump and the Politics of Neo-Nationalism* (2021), *Religion, Conflict and Post-Secular Politics* (2020) and *The Routledge Handbook to Religion and Political Parties* (ed. 2020).



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INTRODUCTION

Religion, politics and ideology

Jeffrey Haynes

A ‘*religious ideology*’ can be defined as a set of ideas that refer to *religious* and secular tools and accompany political actions and processes in a sustained and systematic way’ (Rachik, 2009: 357). The study of the relationships between religion, politics and ideology represents a relatively understudied subfield of research. However, given the increasing global significance of these relationships, the topic has recently witnessed increased scholarly, policy and popular interest. Initially, the research field focused rather narrowly on the relationship between Christianity and the development of modern states in Europe (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967). More recently, due to the impact of decolonisation, the end of the Cold War and globalisation, the subject area expanded in terms of geographic extensiveness – to cover much of the non-Western world – and in relation to the number of faiths included in the research focus.

The relationship between ideology, religion and politics can shape people’s attitudes about the way that political systems, both domestically and internationally, are organised and operate. The relationship has evolved over time, and the relationship between ideology, religion and politics has varied in its relative importance, while sometimes becoming intertwined. At the start of the third decade of the 21st century, the ties between them are both in a state of flux and, in many cases, becoming more pronounced. To try to understand this complex relationship, it is important to try to shed light on a variety of topical and controversial concerns, including Islamism in Iran and Egypt, Hindu fundamentalism (*Hindutva*) in India, Buddhist nationalism in Sri Lanka, and Christian civilisationism, reflecting the rise of a culturally-orientated right-wing populism in the United States and sundry European countries, including Hungary, Poland and Italy (Haynes, 2019).

Following decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s, Western politics and ideology influenced the political development of much of the non-Western world, including Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Primarily motivated by the pursuit of economic gain, the desire to spread their civilisation, and the urge to Christianise the rest of the world, Europe’s imperial powers spread the West’s officially secular ideologies. This process continued until the aftermath of World War II, when a rapid yet conclusive process of decolonisation ensued. Prior to that, for a century from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, the vast European empires in the non-Western world – mainly run by the French and the British – had huge social, economic, political and religious impacts. Secular ideologies – such as conservatism, liberalism, communism and nationalism – found numerous

new adherents around the globe. Religion, on the other hand, was typically associated with 'traditional' behaviour and backwardness. But as Europe's erstwhile colonial possessions gained independence, the ideologies of their new nationalist governments were mostly shaped and guided by Western political ideals. Many independence movements and post-colonial nationalist governments in Asia, Africa and elsewhere found socialist and nationalist ideologies especially attractive. At the same time, the Cold War struggle raged over which Western ideology would prevail: secular liberalism or secular communism. In the late 1980s, the end of the Cold War left many countries, including the erstwhile components of the Soviet empire, to look for political values and ideologies with roots in their own cultures and histories rather than those imposed from outside by Western or Eastern imperialism.

Francis Fukuyama (1991) proclaimed in his notable book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, that the close of the Cold War marked the world's turning away from ideology. With the exception of Maoist beliefs that at the time continued to guide the ideology of anti-state rebel groups in a few 'developing' countries, such as Peru and Nepal, the age of clashing ideologies, he contended, had come to an end.

However, contemporaneous with the decline of ideological competition and conflict, various expressions of religious faith began to reassert themselves, both socially and politically, communicated in both religious revivalism and resurgence. Having been diminished in the West by the rise of secular politics and ideology and undercut globally by Western and Eastern imperialisms, many religions began to reassert themselves both publicly and politically. Political and social movements in many former Western colonies, notably in Asia, Africa and the MENA region, looked to religion to rediscover both political and cultural identities. To do this, sundry political actors looked to the ideology of Islamism to further and fuel political objectives.

Reflecting these developments, there soon developed a novel scholarly, policy and popular focus on the relationships between religion, politics and ideology. The consequence was an expanded focus and purview – especially in terms of the depth in scope of inquiry – to look beyond the subject of social cleavages in order to analyse the complexity and multiplicity of forms by which religion, politics and ideology interact. For example, the recent (albeit temporary) victories of Islamist political parties, consequential to the events of the Arab Uprisings in 2011, as evidenced by the electoral successes of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in Egypt, Ennahda in Tunisia and the Party of Justice and Development (PJD) in Morocco, collectively highlight the increased significance of the interaction of religion, politics and ideology in the MENA region. However, despite their proclaimed adherence to the same religious faith, Islam, the rise to power of these different, yet similarly ideologically focused, parties highlighted diverse religious dimensions while underlining various ways that 'Islam' could be manifested both politically and ideologically. This divergence serves to drive the need for further research on questions of religion and ideology with regard to areas including democratisation, party platform formation, party moderation and secularisation, social constituency representation and interest articulation.

Elsewhere, a renewed focus on religion and ideology occurred much earlier. Political events in the 1980s reminded social scientists of the power of religion to influence ideology, politics and social movements in various parts of the world. In particular, the Iranian revolution of 1979 provided evidence of how a radical religious movement with an ideology of forming an Islamic state could overthrow an established secular regime once seen as the regional exemplar of modernisation and go on to create and consolidate in power a revolutionary religious, political party, the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) (Skocpol, 1982). In the United States, at roughly the same time, the rise of the Christian Right indicated how religious movements can evolve ideologically – even when a country appears to be secularising. In addition, the role of the

Pope and the Roman Catholic Church in supporting Solidarity in Poland during the 1980s ably demonstrated the power of religious groups to encourage social movements and parties to challenge non-democratic regimes in a clearly ideological direction: away from communism and towards democracy.

Like the broader field of religion and politics, the study of religion and ideology was long circumscribed in the context of the once-dominant secularisation paradigm. For decades after World War II, modernisation and secularisation theories channelled scholarly attention away from the relationship between religion and ideology (Gill, 2001) while predicting that the importance of religion in relation to ideological politics would decline – a position that nevertheless failed to explain the political resurgence of religion in many countries from the 1970s and 1980s. Although secularisation is clearly still occurring in many, if not most, countries (Norris and Inghelhart, 2004), it coexists with often notable religious revivals (Finke and Stark, 1992). Contrary to the tenets of secularisation theory, the impact of religion on politics has not declined *tout court*; instead, it has changed in rather complex ways (Bruce, 2003), while the separation of religion and state has paradoxically decreased with higher socio-economic development throughout the world (Fox, 2006). Consequent to these developments, the relationship between religion, politics and ideology has become increasingly pronounced in many countries.

The study of religion, politics and ideology, the subject of this handbook, has been a difficult area for inquiry due to the complexity of the interrelationship between the two. Although there are a number of extant studies of relationships between religion, politics and ideology, most are rather old, with a focus in many cases on Marxism before the end of the Cold War. In the context of particular countries, however, there are relatively few recent analyses of the relationship between religion, politics and ideology, perhaps because of the complex variety of relationships in play and difficulties involved in trying to ascertain their precise and analytically important connections. Consider just a few examples:

- In officially secular India, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) first came to power in the 1990s after staging a 10,000-kilometre march that sought to destroy an ancient mosque that was alleged to be built on the remains of Rama's temple (Sahu, 2002). In 2014, the BJP won the majority of seats in the parliament – the first time any single party has accomplished such a feat since 1984 – propelling BJP party leader Narendra Modi to the position of prime minister of India. In power, the BJP sought to implement its ideological preference: *Hindutva*, or 'Hindu-ness'.
- In the United States, long known for the constitutional separation of church and state, candidates of both main parties, Republican and Democrat, today make speeches from church pulpits. Candidates for political office from both main parties speak openly of their faith and its implication for their policies. The administration of Donald Trump (2017–21) had 'self-confessed' Christian Nationalists as vice-president (Mike Pence) and secretary of state (Mike Pompeo). Both appealed greatly to Trump's Christian Right supporters, mainly right-wing Protestant evangelicals and conservative Catholics (Haynes, 2021).
- In Turkey, a secular state with a large Sunni Muslim majority, parties that are insufficiently secular have traditionally been banned (Özbudun, 2010). The current ruling party – the Justice and Development Party (AKP) – is ideologically somewhat Islamist while attempting to embellish its rhetoric with the secular nationalist goals. Many critics fear a creeping Islamising agenda by the ruling party and the national president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Kaya, 2014).
- In the Netherlands, three confessional parties once represented distinctive pillars of politics. These three parties merged in 1980, but their strength declined with secularisation

(Lacardie, 2004). By 2002, a new party – the Pim Fortuyn List, which sought to focus and drive popular suspicion of Muslim immigrants – became for a time the largest party (Van Holsteyn and Irwin, 2003). More recently, the Party for Freedom, which has also had a pronounced anti-Islam position and programme, has consistently gained a strong parliamentary presence (Vossen, 2011), becoming the second-largest party in parliament following the 2017 elections.

- In several majority Buddhist countries, including Myanmar, Thailand and Sri Lanka, recent years have seen the emergence or consolidation of Buddhist nationalist political parties and movements. Sometimes such parties are inspired by a proclaimed desire to ‘clean up’ politics according to Buddhist precepts, while others bring in Buddhist ideals in the context of a focus on nationalism, which tends to discern non-Buddhists as a threat to the integrity of the nation (Walton, 2018).

Finally, in many countries around the world, religion links to politics via various ideological relationships. These include but are not limited to secularism, conservatism, liberalism, socialism, nationalism, gender, (post-)communism, fascism, fundamentalism, Islamism, populism, theocracy, Salafism, Buddhist nationalism, Christian evangelicalism and Christian civilisationism. Such issues are of particular interest in certain countries, including the United States, Italy, Russia, Turkey, Iran, Sri Lanka, India and Israel.

The chapters of this book examine the many and varied relationships between religion, politics and ideology in various ways. The overall aim of the handbook is to offer an array of highly illuminating accounts of how these relationships evolve and manifest themselves.

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