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אוניברסיטת בר-אילן
Bar-Ilan University

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Fundamentalist Extremism and Politics

Prof. Jonathan Fox

I will be addressing the following questions:

- What is fundamentalism and what are its causes?
- What is the nature of fundamentalist politics?
- What is their agenda?
- When and why does fundamentalist extremism become violent?
- What can governments do to mitigate or prevent fundamentalist violence?





What is fundamentalism and what are its causes?



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- The definition and causes of fundamentalism are interrelated:
- **My definition:** Fundamentalism, is a set of religious beliefs and practices that evolved or was designed to defend religion against secularism and modernity by rejecting both secularism and modernity.
- **Almond et. al. (2003) definition:** a discernable pattern of religious militancy by which self-styled 'true believers' attempt to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the borders of the religious community, and create viable alternatives to secular institutions and behaviors.





Characteristics of fundamentalism

- Anti-modern
- Boundaries
- Elect membership
- Inerrancy of and focus on religious texts
- Selective emphasis on some parts of religious texts
- Theological innovation
- Black and white view of the world
- Millennialism
- Persecution
- Authoritarianism
- No public-private sphere distinction
- Hierarchical and patriarchic relations between the genders
- Myth of the golden age





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What is fundamentalism and what are its causes?



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- Fundamentalism is a reaction against rationalism, modernity, and secularism.
- Consequently fundamentalist movements often feel threatened by many aspects of modernity and actively oppose them.
- This determines much of their political agenda and behavior.





Fundamentalist politics



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- Fundamentalist political agendas vary but they all have the following in common:
 - Designed to preserve the religion against the threats of modernity and secularism.
 - The world has left its proper course the following are to be blamed:
 - Secularists.
 - Members of other religions.
 - Members of their own religion who do not accept the fundamentalist ideology.
 - Their agendas matter deeply to them, so they are unlikely to concede or compromise.





Fundamentalist politics



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- Fundamentalist have the following type of political agenda when they belong to a country's **majority** religion:
 - To bring society and politics in their country in line with their fundamentalists ideologies.
 - In many cases, the long term agenda is to transform the country into a religious state.
 - Often more modest goals are set in the short term because forming a religious state can under some circumstances be unrealistic as a short term goal.





Fundamentalist politics



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- Fundamentalist have the following type of political agenda when they belong to a country's **minority** religion:
 - Set up closed homogeneous community for members only.
 - Seek equal treatment and government benefits.
 - Seek special privileges.





Fundamentalist politics



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• Strategies

- Strategies largely influenced by the political opportunity structure.
- To proactively set the terms of political debate.
- Seek to control or influence religious authority and institutions.
- In democracies, if they have enough support, form political parties which pursue their agenda.
- When they are shut out from the political process, violence is more likely (more on this later).





Fundamentalist politics



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- Strategies

- Engage in community charity work by providing services such as education and welfare, especially in locales where the government provides inadequate services.
- International coordination and assistance.





Fundamentalist violence



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- Violence is largely determined by structural factors
 - “World renouncers” rarely get violent when left alone.
 - Most violence is from those who have a political agenda to change the nature of a country’s politics and society.
 - Fundamentalists prefer peaceful and legal political tactics.
 - As long as these tactics are allowed.
 - As long as these tactics are seen as potentially successful in the long term.





Fundamentalist violence



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- “War is the continuation of politics through other means”
–Carl von Clausewitz
 - When three factors are present violence becomes likely:
 - The political agenda cannot be achieved peacefully.
 - The political group is unwilling or unable to compromise, give up, or put off its agenda.
 - The group has the means to engage in violence.
 - This structure makes fundamentalist violence more likely
 - Fundamentalists seek change which is often too radical to gain support from a majority.
 - Fundamentalists are unwilling to compromise or give up their agenda.





A political agenda to address fundamentalism



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- Promote religious freedom for fundamentalists in return for fundamentalists guaranteeing that they will not infringe upon the freedoms of non-fundamentalists.
 - Simple in theory, difficult in practice.





A political agenda to address fundamentalism



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- Religious freedom for fundamentalists mitigates their perception of threat.
 - This freedom includes.
 - Allowing them their modes of behavior and dress as well as their institutions.
 - Fundamentalist control the education of their children.
 - A promise that secular agendas will not encroach upon their religion.
 - Government willingness to make religious exceptions to generally applicable laws which encroach upon their religious beliefs whenever possible.
 - Essentially, limited internal autonomy.





A political agenda to address fundamentalism



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- The government must be seen as having a clear and consistent policy of accommodating fundamentalists to whatever extent is possible within this framework.
 - This is important because there will be instances where a religious accommodation is not possible.
 - it is critical that the fundamentalists perceive these instances as a minor exception within an agreement which in which they have a stake and from which they greatly benefit.
 - This agreement requires active and explicit support from both the government and the religious leaders of the fundamentalist movement.





A political agenda to address fundamentalism



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- This arrangement is similar to what exists with a number of “world renouncing” sects in a number of countries.
- It provides a framework and a tradition of cooperation to manage inevitable tensions.
- One of the best strategies to counter fundamentalists is to force them to defend their ideas in a free marketplace of ideas.





A political agenda to address fundamentalism



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- In brief this creates a strategy with the following components
 - Remove as much as possible the perceived threat of secular encroachment.
 - Place fundamentalists in a situation where they must compete with religious moderates in a free marketplace of ideas.
 - Create a structural situation where fundamentalists see it as being in their benefit to cooperate.
 - Equal rights to other religious groups.
 - Equal benefits to other religious groups.

