



POST-SECULAR WORLD: THE RESURGENCE OF RELIGION IN NATIONAL AND GLOBAL POLITICS

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WHAT DOES SECULAR MEAN?

Does secular mean non religious ?

The word *secular* comes from the tradition of Western Christendom/Roman Catholics.

The original word of secular is *saeculum*. *Saeculum* means era/a length of time.

TWO DYNAMICS OF SECULARIZATION IN WESTERN CHRISTENDOM:

(According to Charles Taylor these two dynamics happened because there was an effort to empower human by putting forward the narration of human/suffering Christ)

1. Spiritualization of secular world (priests in *saeculum*: a Catholic tradition wherein priests have a practice to go out from the monastery).
2. Becoming laity: emancipation of secular aspects from church control
→ Protestant Reform

THE MEANINGS OF SECULARITY

(CHARLES TAYLOR)

Secular in a narrow sense means irreligious, phenomenologically self-sustained in secularity. Yet, Taylor defines three meanings of secularity: it

1. First Secularity → Political secularity: emptying the public spaces from all religiosity; the division of public space and private space
2. Second Secularity → People secularity: the disappearance of the faith to God and the practice of religion (becoming a more anthropocentric society)
3. Third Secularity → Religious secularity: Believing in God is only an option among many options of religiosity: Phenomenologically, humans become an Immanent Frame → disenchantment (Max Weber), porous self change to buffered self → subject within the self not beyond → Cosmic, social and moral order are free from transcendence (it began with the emergence of Deism).

CLASSICAL THESIS OF SECULARIZATION

(AS SUMMARIZED BY JOSE CASANOVA)

1. In a certain stage of world history, religion will vanish and only exist at private space.
2. The more modern a society is, the more secular it becomes
3. (1) and (2) is a heritage from *Aufklärung*, based on “stadial awareness” that someday the irrationality of religion would be overcome.

E.g.: Three Stages of the Development of Theory by August Comte

Theological Stage (supernatural)



Metaphysical stage (abstraction)



Positive Stage (human manages the universe) : in IR (realist, liberalist, etc)

THE WORLD BECOMES SECULAR (?)

Based on what happened in history:

1. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648): the beginning of separation of church from states: states become the primary actor in politics, holding the sovereignty
2. French Revolution (1748): *liberte, egalite, fraternite*
3. The Age of Enlightenment (18th century, began in 16th-17th century (modernism)
Descartes: *cogito ergo sum*/I think therefore I am) → humanism becomes the primary idea among the European elites.

Aufklärung, le Siècle des Lumières or Enlightenment: a range of ideas centered on reason as the primary source of authority & legitimacy, and came to advance ideals such as liberty, progress, tolerance, fraternity, constitutional government, separation of church and state → some ideals were developed to be “exclusive humanism”: humanism without any reference to transcendence (Taylor)

THE WORLD BECOMES SECULAR (?) (CONT'D)

Enlightenment



Gave birth to the division between private and public space: religions are placed and isolated in private space, some considered religions as “irrational”; on the other side, humanism takes position in public space → It is considered by some as the character of modern society.

4. War and Peace are managed: WW I and II, Cold War and League of Nations and the United Nations and many more international/regional treaties and institutions in between

5. Human freedom (Taylor: the age of mobilization (around 19th century) mobilize emancipation → the age of authenticity (1960s til now) : LGBT, sex before marriage, and many other freedom of choices in various connotations

IS IT TRUE THAT THE WORLD HAS BECOME SECULAR/IRRELIGIOUS?

In reality:

1. The so called modern societies like US, South Korea or Japan are not secular in their daily life. Some states with state's religion: Malaysia, Arab Saudi. Vatican as a Catholic state. Indonesia: Pancasila (secular in its form but give place for transcendence)
2. There is resurgence of religions in developing or "new" societies, especially after the end of Cold-War era: e.g. ex USSR (Russia) and East Europe countries (e.g. Poland: an idea of using cross as its national symbol), evangelism in Africa and Latin America

IS IT TRUE THAT THE WORLD HAS BECOME SECULAR/IRRELIGIOUS? (CONT'D)

3. Even during the Cold War religious factors are influential to strengthen nationalism, especially for diaspora communities, e.g. Jewish, Armenian, Sikh.
4. Conflicts caused by religions still happen (e.g. Division of Pakistan from India, Singapore from Malaysia), Indonesia: GAM, RMS, OPM
5. The emergence of radicalism and the response (positive and negative) towards it after the end of Cold War (9/11, Al-Qaeda, ISIL → ISIS, Dialogue among Civilizations from President Khatami, the case of Charles Hebdo etc.)

IS IT TRUE THAT THE WORLD HAS BECOME SECULAR/IRRELIGIOUS? (CONT'D)

According to some scholars:

Peter Berger: two strategies taken by religions facing secularization:

1. *rejection* (e.g.: the rise of closed groups who preserve certain traditions)

2. *adaptation* (e.g.: Roman Catholic's 2nd Vatican Council, educated women wearing hijab)

Charles Taylor: third secularity ← “*The perennial human susceptibility to be fascinated by death and violence is at base a manifestation of our nature as homo religiosus*”.

IS IT TRUE THAT THE WORLD HAS BECOME SECULAR/IRRELIGIOUS? (CONT'D)

➡ in secular/profane daily life, people tend to continually keep their religiosity through many ways: e.g. watching orchestra, academic dress and *Gaudeamus Igitur*, yoga. Spirituality/religiosity exists in everyday life

➡ giving birth to the mechanism to control war and preserve peace: international/regional treaties and institutions.

Jurgen Habermas: religion as pre-political base that raise solidarity among the people in economic dynamic and global politics. Religion is potential to play a political role by interpreting its moral values to a universal language

POST-SECULAR WORLD

Post-secularism: a global phenomena which shows the resurgence of the role of religion especially in political world

William A. Barbieri: SIX TYPES OF POST-SECULARISM

(as summarized by Dr. F. Budi Hardiman)

The six types explain the aspects of the post-secularism phenomena (some are the antipodes of Taylor's meaning of secularities)

FIRST POST-SECULARITY: PUBLIC POST-SECULARITY

1. Antipode of first secularity
2. A condition in which contemporary secular societies are shaken in two ways:
3. First way: The resurgence of the role of religion in public life since 9/11
4. Questioning of the historical role of religion in the genealogies and continuity of the secular modern law states

SECOND POST-SECULARITY: SOCIOLOGICAL POST-SECULARITY

1. Antipode of second secularity: the failure of secularization thesis
2. De-secularization: re-enchantment of the world (e.g.: Dimas Kanjeng)
3. The resurgence of religion globally and the increasing role of religious actors in global politics
4. The world is religious as well as secular

THIRD POST-SECULARITY: THEOLOGICAL POST-SECULARITY

1. Antipode of third secularity: questioning the immanent frame to give back a place for faith
2. Critics toward Enlightenment from theological sides
3. Similar to the critics from Postmodernism thinkers (Foucault, Lyotard and Rorty)
4. Challenging the ideas from Enlightenment: the autonomy of ratio, the hegemony of scientific methods, and the grand-narrative of progress
5. The rising of various kinds of theology which respond (positively and negatively) toward secularism: e.g. orthodox theology that criticize universal ratio, natural theology, etc.

FOURTH POST-SECULARITY: PHILOSOPHICAL POST-SECULARITY

1. “Religious turn” in philosophy
2. Various approaches toward religions, like phenomenology (Emmanuel Levinas, Jean-Luc Marion) and search (e.g.: faith beyond faith and God after God by Richard Kearney)
3. Intersects with third post-secularity in relation to ratio and faith.

FIFTH POST-SECULARITY: POLITICAL POST-SECULARITY

1. Refer to theological presupposition of political theories, e.g.: Carl Schmitt with his political theology
2. The relation between theology and politics that characterizes by genealogy and analogy (Hent de Vries)

SIXTH POST-SECULARITY: GENEALOGICAL POST-SECULARITY

1. Reflections from religion groups
2. The dichotomy of secular/religious, public/private are suspected as a construction or world production function by West, because secular is found only in Christian tradition (Talal Asad)
3. Questioning the discrimination and marginalization caused by the binary anatomy of secular/religious, etc.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

1. The Classic Theory of Secularization is false because religion does not disappear
2. Modernization relates to secularization, but modernization does not necessarily mean secularization
3. Modernity \neq secularity
4. In a secular world, religion still has an important role
5. Religiosity could go along with secularity and develop common moral grounds
6. The question → Religion nowadays: is it only a cover for other problems which might be more fundamental (?) or a/the basic principle/mobilizing factor (?)



THANK YOU |