GREASE
Religion, Diversity and Radicalisation

Concept Paper

Nation and Religion - Reflections on Europe, the MENA Region and South Asia

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This paper looks at the relationship between nationalism against the backdrop of the rise of more fervent and exclusionary forms of nationalism discourses across the world in the last decade. It discusses Europe (including specific countries within Europe) and three important countries where nationalism has been growing, in different guises, in the new century: Turkey, Russia and India.

The aim of this paper – which belongs to a three-part series - is to provide a conceptual cornerstone for the research currently underway in GREASE, an EU-funded project investigating religious diversity, state-religion relations and religiously inspired radicalisation on four continents.

https://www.grease.eui.eu

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The EU-Funded GREASE project looks to Asia for insights on governing religious diversity and preventing radicalisation.

Involving researchers from Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Oceania, GREASE is investigating how religious diversity is governed in over 20 countries. Our work focuses on comparing norms, laws and practices that may (or may not) prove useful in preventing religious radicalisation. Our research also sheds light on how different societies cope with the challenge of integrating religious minorities and migrants. The aim is to deepen our understanding of how religious diversity can be governed successfully, with an emphasis on countering radicalisation trends.

While exploring religious governance models in other parts of the world, GREASE also attempts to unravel the European paradox of religious radicalisation despite growing secularisation. We consider the claim that migrant integration in Europe has failed because second generation youth have become marginalised and radicalised, with some turning to jihadist terrorism networks. The researchers aim to deliver innovative academic thinking on secularisation and radicalisation while offering insights for governance of religious diversity.

The project is being coordinated by Professor Anna Triandafyllidou from The European University Institute (EUI) in Italy. Other consortium members include Professor Tariq Modood from The University of Bristol (UK); Dr. H. A. Hellyer from the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) (UK); Dr. Mila Mancheva from The Centre for the Study of Democracy (Bulgaria); Dr. Egdunas Racius from Vytautas Magnus University (Lithuania); Mr. Terry Martin from the research communications agency SPIA (Germany); Professor Mehdi Lahlou from Mohammed V University of Rabat (Morocco); Professor Haldun Gulalp of The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (Turkey); Professor Pradana Boy of Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (Indonesia); Professor Zawawi Ibrahim of The Strategic Information and Research Development Centre (Malaysia); Professor Gurpreet Mahajan of Jawaharlal Nehru University (India); and Professor Michele Grossman of Deakin University (Melbourne, Australia). GREASE is scheduled for completion in 2022.

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GREASE - Radicalisation, Secularism and the Governance of Religion: Bringing together European and Asian Perspectives

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1. Introduction

Nations are faced today with a new set of social and economic challenges: economic globalisation has intensified bringing with it a more intense phase of cultural interconnectedness and political interdependence. Globalisation has also further driven and multiplied international flows not only of capitals, goods and services but also of people. Nation-states see their sovereign powers eroded and are transformed to post-national states that can mainly seek to manage their interests within international forums. [1]

Nonetheless, the nation continues to be a powerful source of identity and legitimacy. We are actually witnessing in Europe and worldwide a comeback of nationalism oftentimes in an aggressive, nativist and populist guise. Examples abound from Trump's 'make America great again' to Modi's Hindu nationalism, to Bolsonaro's Brazilian populist nationalism, to Orban's Hungary, and Lepen's or Salvini's 'patriotic' overtones, only to name a few. These parties and the nationalism discourses they promote see the relations between nations and national states as a zero sum game. They privilege closure and control over openness and cooperation arguing that re-nationalising control, erecting borders, separating from other countries will make them more capable of addressing their own challenges in an antagonistic even if interdependent world.

However, globalisation and interconnectedness give rise to also to opposed trends of transnational solidarity and connectedness. Through the power of information and communication technology people feel more related and are actually better informed about what is happening in other regions of the world and on how this affects our own lives (whether through a refugee surge, a decrease in oil prices or the acceleration of climate change phenomena). International terrorism and foreign fighters joining the ISIS in the mid-2000s are one side of this coin, showing how cultural and political globalisation can transfer local integration problems and grievances to link up with international geopolitics breeding violent extremism. At the same time, during the global financial crisis we witnessed various Indignados and Occupy movements across Europe and North America. The early part of the decade was also marked by transnational youth mobilisation in support of the Arab spring and Gezi park (Turkey) movements. During the last years we have witnessed also transnational online and on-site mobilisation to commemorate victims of terrorist attacks in Paris, France or in Christchurch, New Zealand. These trends do not undermine the emotional or political force of nationalism but rather show that such nationalism develops also through plural and transnational currents. We might argue that there are transnational 'debates' that permeate both populist, nationalistic

[1] This Concept Paper focuses on the relationship between new nationalisms and religion and sets the background of our conceptual and empirical analysis of the governance of religious diversity and the prevention of religiously inspired radicalization in different world regions. The paper thus diverges from the initially foreseen focus for D1.3 which was on multiple secularisms (now covered in Concept Paper 1.1, and multiple modernities/multiple radicalisations. This latter focus on the different paths to modernity and the different currents of religiously inspired radicalization will be covered in WP4 and WP6 and addressed in WP7 after bringing together the empirical and conceptual insights and findings generated by the GREASE project consortium.

discourses of closure and exclusion, and discourses of global solidarity, equality and diversity.

Taking stock of these contrasted trends, and responding to the focus of the GREASE project on how the governance of religious diversity is shaped in Europe, Eurasia, the MENA region and Asia, **this paper explores more specifically the relationship between the nation and religion in these different world regions today**. We see this relationship as an important topic that can frame our understanding of the normative principles and institutional structures that govern religion and religious diversity and seek to address religiously inspired radicalisation.

The paper starts with a general reflection on how nationalism evolves in a context of intensified globalisation and the ways in which nation and religion reaffirm their importance counteracting the insecurity and 'liquidity' that characterises socio-economic and cultural realities in the 21st century. Section three discusses more specifically the ways in which nationalism and religion are intertwined in Europe in the post-1989 context while sections four, five and six discuss these dynamics in Turkey, Russia and India. In the concluding section we bring these different threads together to discuss the dangerous liaisons between nationalism and religion in the world today.

2. Nationalism and Globalisation

Globalisation is essentially about interconnectedness. More specifically, it "refers to the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness", and can be described and understood in terms of four socio-spatial dimensions (Held et al 2003: 67-68): density, referring to the stretching of social, political and economic activities across borders; intensity, the intensification of interconnectedness and of patterns of interaction and flows; velocity, the speeding up of global interactions and processes; and impact, deepening enmeshment of the local and global in ways that local events may affect distant lands. Globalisation entails numerous political implications, for it brings a series of challenges to the national state as a politico-territorial form of social organisation.

The national state appears to surrender to supranational institutions or private actors while its borders are transcended by multiple flows and networks. Sassen (1996) identified a partial de-nationalisation of national territories and a partial shift of some dimensions of sovereignty, while others remain intact. Especially when it comes to immigration, argues Sassen (ibid.: 59) "the national state claims all its old splendour in asserting its sovereign right to control its borders". While early accounts overstressed the powerful tendency of globalisation to undermine state sovereignty and erode national borders, more recent approaches underlined the (re-)bordering processes advancing hand-in-hand with globalisation forces (Andrijasevic and Walters 2010). Instances of such re-bordering emerged in Europe during the 2015-2016 refugee emergency and the temporary partial interruptions of the no-internal-

border circulation, as well as the erection of fences by Hungary and other Visegrad countries in response to it.

Despite political decisions shaping globalisation, the de-facto transfer of the control of national economic policy instruments (monetary policy, interest rates, fiscal policy, etc.) to supranational institutions and the domination of market forces over politics have severe implications for democracy and the legitimacy of governments by popular mandate (Castells 2010a, b). At the same time, policies at the national level and beyond are being challenged by transnational social movements such as indeed the recent protest movements of Indignados and Occupy that swept several European countries in 2012-2013. Exposure to global forces at a time of generalised cuts in public spending deprive states from their earlier function of providing social protection for their citizens, thus further undermining their legitimacy and the appeal of the nation as a main community of belonging.

The cultural dimensions of globalisation are complex and multidimensional. Already in the 1960s, McLuhan coined the term "global village' to describe the social implications of transformations in the media from an individualistic print culture to interactive electronic interdependence. The proliferation of electronic digital media and communication tools radically transforms the patterns of human interaction and experience of time, space and place (Appadurai 1996; Castells 2010a). It crucially contributes to the instant spread of media images and information across the globe, which not simply brings closer distant places or cultures, but irreversibly distorts distinct cultural forms and conduces to increasing homogenisation under the prevalence and worldwide diffusion of "western" lifestyles and a global culture of consumerism. Indeed, today we are witnessing the 'googlisation' of culture through the pervasive influence of the internet in the production and distribution of knowledge. Search engines like Google and online encyclopedias like Wikipedia contribute to a subtle homogenisation of the production and consumption of knowledge while they also create echo chambers of not only cultural goods and services but also ideas and attitudes. Social media not only act as powerful mediators of information, communication and knowledge but also organise this knowledge and information in ways that create homogenous bubbles that indirectly foster polarisation in society.

Globalisation involves contrasted dynamics in the sphere of culture, however. On one hand it creates cultural homogenisation through the increased flows of cultural goods, capitals, media images, technological applications rendering culture a fluid, fragmented, de-nationalised and de-territorialised category (Bauman 2011). On the other hand, globalisation provokes increased flows of people and hence diversity within societies which then may stimulate identity related conflicts related to racism, nationalism and religious fundamentalism (Appadurai 1996, Castells 2010b).

It has been nearly 20 years since Zygmunt Bauman first theorised on the increased freedom and mobility that characterises late modern and post-industrial, post-Fordist societies, together with pointing to the accelerated anxiety, the existential uncertainty and angst that globalisation brings to citizens (Bauman 1998, 2000, 2011). Bauman argued that the present time of 'liquid modernity' has melted "the bonds which

interlock individual choices in collective projects and actions – the patterns of communication and co-ordination between individually conducted life policies on the one hand and political actions of human collectivities on the other" (2000: 6).

The very emancipation of the individual from the forces of nature or religious belief achieved in modernity, has gone into a new phase, a stage B of modernity argued Bauman. Thus, while free individuals in modernity were to use their freedom to find the appropriate niche where to settle and adopt the rules and modes of conduct identified as appropriate for that location, free individuals today have lost their stable orientation points. While individuals are still dependent effectively on both their subjective freedom (their own imagination and their setting of their own limits) and their objective freedom (their actual capacity to act), they no longer have pre-allocated reference groups (such as those provided by class, kinship, ethnicity, religion, locality). Their point of reference is universal comparison, argues Bauman, generating too many patterns and configurations available to the individual. The responsibility of the pattern-weaving is left entirely on the individual's shoulders, while patterns of dependency, interaction, cooperation or solidarity have become too volatile for one to rely on them.

Indeed, globalisation and its socio-economic consequences risk leaving individuals at condition of an 'unbearable lightness of being' – to use Milan Kundera's words. The more systemic perspectives on globalisation and late modernity that point to its cultural and political consequences for the national state and the closer focus of Bauman on the consequences of globalisation for the individual that becomes uprooted and disengaged seem to suggest an overall retreat of both the national community and religious affiliation – forces that traditionally tied down individuals to their communities in symbolic affective and ultimately also political and economic ways.

This view of Bauman has been criticised by several scholars (Abrahamson 2004, Atkinson 2008, Lee 2011) for not being methodologically solid and for being oblivious of the new configurations of class and inequality in times of globalisation. Atkinson (2008) and Lee (2011) argue that solidity persists in liquid modernity and it does so in two ways. Either through old solidities that may still be important both for the experiencing of discrimination and disadvantage (see for instance the case of racialised labour in Bonachich et al. 2008) or as a source of community and an anchor in migrants' transnational lives (as in the study of immigration and religion in the USA by Levitt, 2007). Or there are new solidities, new inequalities and privileges, new social classes that are being reconfigured at times of globalisation. Thus migrants and other under-privileged groups who are forced to be mobile (the 'vagabonds' in Bauman's metaphor) are faced with new solidities of economic exploitation and socio-cultural marginalisation. Under these conditions, these people may seek anchor in old community bonds or in the formation of new networks (Lee 2011).

Indeed the new rise of exclusionary and populist nationalism and its intertwining with issues of religion suggests that this intensified and diversified mobility (and liquidity) bears with it the seeds of new solidities, the revival of rootedness particularly in reference to national and religious community ties – that may mutually

reinforce one another at both the national and the supranational level. It is my contention that in the post-1989 world, nation and religion find themselves intertwined in either converging or contrasted logics, fuelled however in either case by a common reaction to the 'liquidity' of globalisation and responding to both global geopolitics and internal national dynamics of contestation and re-affirmation of national and communal ties.

Theories of nationalism have so far been too focused on the content of national identities and nationalism discourses – notably whether such content was ethnic or civic – and on the origins of nationalism – whether nations have always been there since time immemorial in one form or other (as primordialists or perennialists would argue) or whether they are the product of modernity and of the related socio-economic transformations of the last 250 years (as modernists or constructivists would argue) (Smith 2009). The relationship therefore between the nation and religion (van der Veer 2013) has been looked at through this question of origins of nations and their transformations in modernity. Less attention has been paid to the double interactive, internal-external, dimension of nationalism and religion – in other words how their relationship and entanglement is shaped not just by internal contestation between majority and minorities but also through external transformations that have to do with globalisation, socio-economic transformation and a shifting geopolitical landscape.

The GREASE project is studying state-religious institutions relations in different parts of Europe, in North Africa and the Middle East, in south and southeast Asia and in Australia. While the normative and institutional aspects of these relations are discussed by Modood and Sealey in their paper on Secularism and the Governance of Religious Diversity, we are here focusing on the socio-political dynamics between nationalism and religion that form the background of these relations. We look at the relationship between nationalism and religion against the backdrop of the rise of more fervent and exclusionary forms of nationalism discourses in these regions.

This paper discusses on one hand, Europe (and different countries within Europe) and, on the other hand, three important countries where nationalism has been growing, in different guises, in the new century, notably Turkey, Russia and India. Turkey and Russia have a close relationship with Europe as they partly belong to the wider European continent but have also been seen as Europe's quintessential Other in different historical periods (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2015). India, on the other hand, stands out as the world's most populous democracy and one that has managed both ethnic and religious diversity quite successfully so far even if tensions between the Hindu majority and minorities, particularly Muslims, have not been completely wiped out (Mahajan 2011). Russia and Turkey are also particularly interesting because they have recently manipulated religion – Christian Orthodoxy and Islam respectively – to reinforce national identity and to reaffirm themselves as important poles of geopolitical power (Gülalp 2017; Kozhevnikova 2009). In the sections that follow we discuss briefly the relationship between the nation and religion in these different countries and world regions.

3. Europe, Globalisation and the Muslim Other

The societal transformation that Bauman (1998, 2000) and Sennett (1998) have been describing and analysing already in the late 1990s has acquired a particular configuration and intensity in Europe in the post-1989 period. The defeat of Communism as a political and economic system has brought with it the reconnection of Europe (Spohn and Triandafyllidou 2003) but has also led to the dominance (if not outright hegemony) of the consumer culture and of the free market economy that Bauman and Sennett among others have critically analysed (Baumann 2000). Differences between left wing and right wing ideologies have thus become rather vague and the citizen has been left to wonder what the alternative is. The European Union has come in this context to offer an institutional framework for the reconnection of Europe overcoming the World War II legacy and Cold War divisions. A notion of European identity and European culture has brought together the different nations of Europe and their minorities, even if this has not happened in a level playing field nor have cultural hierarchies and closures towards specific minority identities been avoided (Triandafyllidou and Gropas 2015). \

Despite the important economic and political challenges posed by the reconnection of Europe, the 1990s were characterised by a certain ideological enthusiasm that the reconnection of the continent ended a past of wars and division, and that the European Union would offer a platform for both economic and geopolitical integration while European identity would become intertwined with national identities enriching and not replacing them. Not only were the 1990s a decade of European enthusiasm and drive for unification, they were also characterised by increased attention to cultural and religious diversity in Europe. Multiculturalism was celebrated in many countries (e.g. the UK, the Netherlands or Sweden) as the most appropriate way for accommodating cultural and religious diversity and building an inclusive citizenship. This pro-diversity policy extended also to the then newly independent states in Central and Eastern Europe which were strongly encouraged to recognise their national minorities and provide appropriate guarantees for their rights as foreseen in relevant European and international legal instruments (Triandafyllidou and Ulasiuk 2014). Indeed, the end of the Cold War and the implosion of the Communist Other were celebrated in the 1990s as a liberation from Europe's past tragedies as well as the start of a new era globally, what then Fukuyama called the End of History in his well-known book (Fukuyama 1992).

The new millennium started however with a profound geopolitical, cultural and existential crisis for Europe and the West. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 signalled the end of the post-1989 euphoria. While the US government was proclaiming the War on Terror and attacking Afghanistan and later again Iraq, Europe was facing important internal and external challenges. Urban violence erupted in northern English cities in the summer of 2001, while the French cities followed suit in 2005. National grievances of second generation children that were failing both in school and the labour market were then coupled by global cultural crises like that surrounding the Danish cartoons of Prophet Mohammad in 2006. While jihadist, extremist forms of

Islam were emerging as a global terrorist threat, more moderate versions of Islam and European Muslims started being portrayed by conservative parties as unfit for European liberal and secular societies. The Madrid (2004) and London (2005) bombs did nothing but reinforce this view. Far-right and even simply conservative politicians argued that there is something fundamentally wrong (sic) with Islam as a religion that makes it inappropriate for European democratic societies and impossible to accommodate in a secular system.

Islam emerged forcefully as an important dividing "civilizational" line within Europe during the same period in which the post-1989 European re-unification enthusiasm started declining. Indeed, the magnitude of the economic and political challenges of the transition of Central Eastern European countries from Communism to free market Capitalism and liberal democracy became increasingly felt in Europe in the late 1990s when several of the former Communist countries experienced a second round of economic and political decline. Discussions about their integration into the European Union seemed to come to a dead end when the Helsinki summit of 1999 reaffirmed the political will of the EU15 to integrate the new countries possibly in one big enlargement wave by 2004. Thus, economic objectives were subsumed to the overarching political goal of re-uniting Europe, provided the new member states would be full-fledged democracies and would subscribe to the European values which included the accommodation of national minorities and the abandonment of irredentist claims or border disputes.

In a way it was the very success of Eastern Enlargement, alongside with the emergence of international jihadist terrorism, urban tensions among post-migration minorities and native majorities that paved the way for Islam to become the necessary European Other. Not only had Communism collapsed and with it the overall Cold War geopolitical and symbolic framework, but the Central Eastern European countries were fully subscribing to the by then hegemonic western European model. The Communists had been successfully 'reformed' – there was a need for a new Other at the European and global level towards whom a united Europe and the Western/European values would be reaffirmed.

Muslims emerged as a convenient Other, both internally and externally – they were accused of creating 'parallel societies' within European countries, while they also posed a threat to European security through terrorism. Indeed, a number of thinkers and politicians were advancing the claim that Muslims were impossible to accommodate in European countries because their cultural traditions and religious faith were incompatible with secular democratic governance, while others distinguished between those who were 'good' and 'bad' and 'compatible' and 'incompatible'.

While for a good part of the 2000s this debate gained momentum and actually led to the public repudiation of multiculturalism by a number of European leaders (Angela Merkel in October 2010, David Cameron in February 2011), there were other important developments in Europe which changed the course of things and shifted the focus from religion and Muslims to other 'Others'.

Indeed, the debate on migration and diversity was further complicated by the intensification of intra EU mobility after the 2004 enlargement and the 2007 accession of Bulgaria and Romania and the progressive lifting of restrictions in terms of the new member state citizens' access to the labour markets of the old member states. There has been a rising concern that intra EU migration includes welfare tourism and while it was Nicolas Sarkozy's government in France in 2009 to cause wide condemnation in relation to their (Romanian) Roma expulsion practices, such debates gained high currency in Britain in the 2010s. While such debates were initially to be found only among extremist and populist parties like UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party) or Front National (in France) or the party of Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, they gradually expanded to the mainstream political discourse. Thus, what was initially seen as mainly an issue of second generation migrant youth and of Muslim communities has become a wider anxiety that national governments and national majority groups are losing control over their territory, labour market and national identity. The European integration process thus shifted from being the epitome of Western cultural, economic and political dominance over Communism – the victory of democracy over authoritarian rule – to posing a threat of losing national control over important social and economic issues. The result of the Brexit referendum in June 2016 can certainly be read through this lens too.

Thus we are faced today with a complex socio-political reality where Muslims and Islam continue to be stigmatised by mainstream media and conservative political parties across Europe as 'unfit', while at the same time fear is mounting among public opinion that the European integration process is stripping states of their power leaving their national populations unprotected from the cultural and economic invasion of the newcomers. The refugee emergency of 2015 has been represented as an 'invasion' of Muslims that put under strain the already scarce welfare resources while also threatening the European secular way of life (see Krzyzanowski, Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2018). At the same time there are important sensitivities with regard to intra EU migration and the extent to which intra-EU migrants contribute to the welfare system and labour market or are a liability to it. This leads to a divisive debate that is organised along religious *and* national lines. In a post-1989, post-9/11 but also post-EU Enlargement era, religion and the nation compete with one another for providing ontological and socio-economic security to European citizens, but they converge in their offering of discourses of fear (Wodak 2016) and ready-made, easy scapegoating answers to complex problems such as labour market and welfare system transformation.

In the paragraphs that follow we elaborate on how this anti-Muslim dynamic has unfolded in Europe over the last 15 years looking also at the specific experiences of both 'old host' countries in western Europe, new host countries in southern Europe, and countries with no immigrants and no Muslims in central eastern Europe, to show how these dynamics develop to some extent independently of socio-demographic realities.

By contrast to southeastern Europe, large Muslim populations in western and northern European countries are mostly of immigrant origin. In the UK and France they are linked to pre-existing colonial ties and the de-colonisation processes in

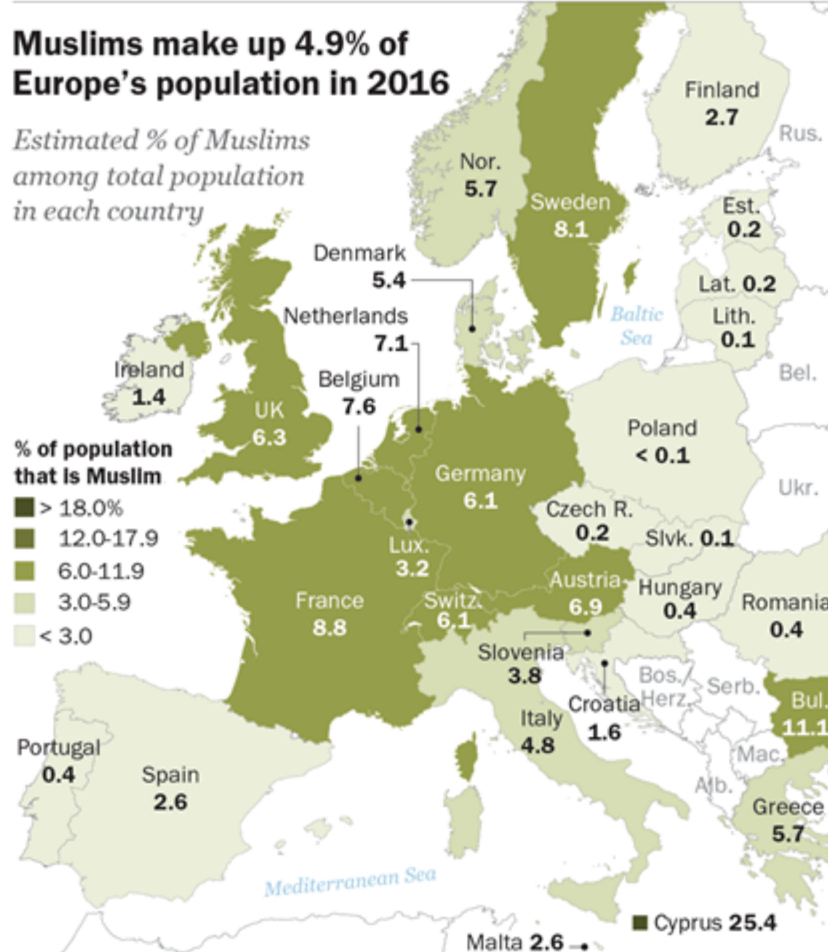
North Africa and South or Southeast Asia. In countries like Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, Spain, or also Greece, Muslims came as economic migrants without any previous special relationship between the country of origin and the country of destination. In terms of nationality the vast majority of Germany's Muslims are Turks (or of Turkish origin). French and Belgian Muslims are mainly of Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian and Turkish origin. British Muslims are south Asians for the most part, in particular Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. In the Netherlands the largest Muslim populations are Turkish and Moroccan. In Italy and Spain the vast majority of Muslim residents are of North African origin (Moroccans predominantly). In Greece, and also to some extent in Italy (in addition to the Moroccans), Muslims are mainly southeast Asians (Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Afghani and Somali citizens). In Sweden, Muslims are mainly Somalis, Iranians, Iraqis and Bosnians. In the last few years, Syrian asylum seekers have also settled in significant numbers in Germany, Austria, and Sweden.

Despite this internal ethnic and cultural diversity of European Muslims, they are often portrayed in public discourse as a uniform group, 'the Muslims', which challenges the liberal and secular character of European societies. This challenge however is each time shaped by the institutional model and philosophy of migrant integration of each country.

Thus, in France, for instance, where religion is seen as a private matter and where public space is thought of as absolutely secular, Muslims pose a specific challenge to the dominant concept of *laïcité*[2]. In the French context, the term French Muslim tends to refer mainly to the community of believers, those who identify as such, rather than to all French citizens or residents of Muslim religion. In a situation where religious belonging is seldom used as a basis for political mobilisation, it is more common to hear of "*maghrebins*" to refer to the members of minorities who trace their ancestry to North Africa. Islam in France is thus constructed as an ethnic marker that encompasses a religious dimension as well. Muslims in France can be considered a 'visible' minority and are discriminated against in employment, housing and social service, much as people of colour are in general. However, since ethnic statistics are a contentious issue in France, there are no official statistics that can appropriately document these phenomena (Simon 2008).

[2] Concretely, *laïcité* is the complete separation of church and state and represents an institutional arrangement that sets the conditions for the exercise of religion and the limits of religious forms of expression.

Figure 1: Europe's Muslims



Estimated size of Muslim population in 2016

	Estimated size of Muslim population in 2016	% of population that is Muslim
REGION	25,770,000	4.9%
France	5,720,000	8.8
Germany	4,950,000	6.1
United Kingdom	4,130,000	6.3
Italy	2,870,000	4.8
Netherlands	1,210,000	7.1
Spain	1,180,000	2.6

Note: Europe is defined here as the 28 nations of the EU plus Norway and Switzerland. "Estimated size of Muslim population in 2016" column lists only countries with at least 1 million Muslims. Estimates do not include those asylum seekers who are not expected to gain legal status to remain in Europe, including roughly 320,000 Muslims in Germany and 140,000 Muslims in France.
Source: Pew Research Center estimates. See Methodology for details.
"Europe's Growing Muslim Population"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Source: PEW Research Centre, Europe's Growing Muslim Population, 29 November 2017, available at: https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/ last accessed on 7 April 2019.

In Germany Muslims were previously generally referred to as Turks, i.e. by reference to their nationality or ethnicity. It was only in the 1990s, and increasingly in the 2000s, that Turks became 'Muslims' and that the public debate on immigrant integration centred on the notion of a common German 'leading culture' (*Leitkultur*). Proposed by a conservative politician, Friedrich Merz, the idea of the German *Leitkultur* demanded that immigrants adapt to this leading culture, if they want to stay in Germany for good. Thus, the socio-economic dimension of the problems of Turkish/Muslim migrant integration in German society was set aside, and integration challenges were increasingly seen as issues of culture and religion – especially after 9/11 (Yurdakul 2009).

The cultural attribution of social problems (attributing all contested issues such as arranged/forced marriages or homophobia to the religious beliefs and identity of the group) contributed to the stigmatisation of all Muslims in Germany, regardless of their personal beliefs (Modood 2005), and to the politicisation of these issues. Especially since the relaxation of the naturalisation provisions in Germany in 2000, there has been a simultaneous reactionary turn towards scrutinising whether Turkish citizens, even those established in Germany for decades, espouse the main German values, or constitute some kind of suspect and dangerous 'Others' in the midst of the German nation. In this context, the term 'tolerance' became particularly relevant, as Muslims were seen as asking for tolerance of their difference, while they were themselves supposedly intolerant of the German national majority and/or their own members who held dissenting views. In Germany there was a clear shift from the 1990s, when it was mainly right-wing extremists who were considered intolerant in society, to the post-2001 years where it is the Muslims who are the 'intolerant' ones (Schiffauer 2006).

This public discourse in Germany, which also flourishes widely in Denmark and the Netherlands, ignores the fact that in Germany, for instance, Turks and people with Turkish background are not the only Muslim groups – and many of them are not practicing Muslims or not Muslims at all.

Other European countries have Muslim communities that are highly diverse in terms of ethnic origin. For instance, Sweden has one of the most heterogeneous Muslim populations of all Western European countries. They have different ethnic, political, linguistic and/or educational backgrounds and come from over forty different countries in north and sub-Saharan Africa; from Arabic, Turkish or Persian parts of Asia, and from Europe. They come from secularised states as Turkey, religious states such as Iran, and from former socialist states such as Bosnia-Herzegovina and several of the new states that formerly belonged to the Soviet Union. The same is true for Ireland, where Muslims come from Malaysia, Somalia, South Africa, Nigeria, Algeria, Libya, Bosnia and Pakistan. Greece has a moderately diverse Muslim population: while native Muslims are of Turkish, Roma and Pomak ethnicity, immigrant Muslims are mainly from Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The definition of the 'Muslim problem' as essentially one of a radical (fundamentalist) religion and a culture incompatible with western values also obscures in Germany (but also in Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, the UK and France) the socio-

economic dimension of Muslim stigmatisation, exclusion and indeed inability to integrate successfully. The poor educational attainment of Turkish and Moroccan children in France, the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark, or of Bangladeshi and Pakistani children in Britain (documented in numerous studies) has a lot to do with their socio-economic background (profession and schooling of parents, socio-economic level, area of residence) but also with the discrimination that they face at schools and later in the labour market. Indeed several studies (such as for instance Heath and Cheung 2006) find it hard to explain why inequalities persist and which are the factors that matter most: socio-economic background, discrimination, unequal opportunities, religion, specific ethnic background, structure of the educational system, or indeed a variable combination of all these factors.

In Denmark, Germany, Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden and France, Muslims have been treated with increasing suspicion in the last 15 years. Indeed, the rise of a fundamentalist international terrorism, and during the last couple of years the issue of foreign fighters – even if they are only a few hundred – has contributed to the stigmatisation of both Islam and Muslims. Social scientists have coined the terms 'Islamophobia' and 'Muslimophobia' to analyse these phenomena (Klug 2012). Islamophobia is the irrational fear of and prejudice against Islam as a faith and a culture without any discrimination between different Islamic religious currents. Muslimophobia is the irrational fear of and prejudice against Muslims as individuals, assuming that all people who are nominally Muslims experience their identity and faith in a fanatical and absolutist way that involves, among other things, the fusion of religious and political power, the subjugation of women to men, and certain other customs that are indeed incompatible with dominant western values such as forced and under-age marriages, homophobia and anti-semitism. This post-2001 discourse overlooks the fact that some of the issues seen as emblematic of Muslim incompatibility with European secular and liberal democracies, notably homophobia or anti-semitism, are persisting issues of tension among Christian or secular majorities in these countries.

Islamophobia was initially a phenomenon noted in the countries with large Muslim immigrant populations, i.e. the 'old host' countries (Erdenir 2010). However, such prejudice and irrational fear exists also in 'new' host countries. The case of Greece with respect to recent irregular migrants arriving in the country is an interesting case in point, which shows how a fundamentally socio-economic or humanitarian problem can be framed as a question of culture and religion. Indeed, Greece has an increasing Muslim immigrant population, which was, however, largely invisible in the public space until the last decade. The vast majority of Muslim immigrants in Greece were in fact of Albanian origin and hence not practicing Muslims, raising no claims for mosques, headscarves or religious education. For Albanian Muslims, faith was a personal and private manner and had little to do with their integration in Greek, predominantly Christian Orthodox society. The south Asian immigrants who have arrived in Greece during the last two decades were also mainly male workers who had left their families back home in Pakistan or Bangladesh. Hence there were no challenges of integration of Muslim children in schools, nor any women wearing the veil in public places. Islam was however instrumentalised in the late 2000s and early 2010s as part of the irregular migration discourse. Most irregular migrants / asylum

seekers arriving through Turkey to Greece without documents, crossing the Greek Turkish border illegally, were and still are Afghan, Somali, Pakistani and Bangladeshi, and more recently since 2014, Syrians. While the challenges these people face have more to do with their legal status (as irregular migrants or asylum seekers) and eventually their socio-economic integration, religion has come to the fore particularly during this last decade, largely through the discourse of extreme right wing groups portraying them as a threat to the cultural and economic survival of Greece (Kouki and Triandafyllidou 2014).

A particularly interesting case is that of Poland, a post-communist predominantly Catholic country that has mainly experienced emigration rather than immigration in the post 1989 period and in which migration discourse was virtually absent until the 2015 refugee emergency (Buchowski 2016, Krzyzanowski 2018). While in Poland immigrants account for approximately 1% of the resident population and are mainly Ukrainians, considered to be culturally and religiously akin to the Poles, the country has experienced a spectacular rise in anti-Muslim sentiment. Poland is home to four distinct even if numerically quite small Muslim populations (Buchowski 2016): native Polish Tatars by now assimilated (approx. 1,000 in the 2011 census), new Muslim immigrants including refugees from the former Yugoslav Republics, students and small entrepreneurs from Muslim majority countries, who eventually settled in Poland (estimated between 10,000 and 30,000), Chechen refugees who were 80,000 but have left the country after brief stays and estimated now at 7-8,000.

This is what Renata Wloch (2009) has termed phantom Islamophobia as anti-Muslim attitudes in Poland are not the result of personal experiences, competition for jobs or challenges in the public sphere but rather emerge out of media and public discourses which present the Polish nation as culturally and religiously homogenous and unchanging, threatened though by the 'Muslim menace' (Buchowski 2016). Beyond the role of the dominant discourse which sees national identity as homogenous and compact, not allowing for migrants or minorities within the definition of Polishness, Buchowski points to the similarities between anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim attitudes in Poland and the role that paradoxically both Jews and Muslims in their demographically very small presence play in defining Polish national identity. In other words, religion becomes a vehicle for exclusionary nationalism.

This brief review of developments in several western, southern and central-eastern European countries suggests two converging trends: on one hand, there is an increasing tendency to identify Muslim populations by their religion and not by their national or ethnic background, despite their marked diversity of origins and histories of migration. On the other hand, nationalist discourses adopt an anti-Muslim overtone regardless of the actual presence of Muslim populations in a country or of whether such populations pose specific social, economic or political challenges.

In the sections that follow we turn first to a Muslim majority country, Turkey, and its new nationalism emerging in the last ten years under Tajip Erdogan looking at the dynamic relationship between nationalism and Islam in that country and the extent to which religious minorities or Europe are utilised as Others to reinforce this new Turkish nationalism.

4. Nation and Religion in Turkey

Discussing the relationship between nationalism and religion in Turkey inevitably requires to acknowledge the important historical role of the Ottoman Empire in the region and its millet system (Barkey, 2008). Religion, rather than ethnicity or language, was the main basis of identification for the Empire's diverse subject populations; and the empire granted the various religious communities (called "*millet*") under its rule some form of autonomy in their internal affairs. As a religious community, a *millet* could include members of different ethnic and linguistic groups and residents of different regions of the empire, and its leadership had some measure of political power and significance. Each *millet* had its own semi-autonomous legal, judicial, as well as cultural and educational, functions, and was represented by a leader whose position was incorporated into the central administration of the empire. In the course of the nineteenth-century modernization of the Ottoman Empire, the term "millet" began to acquire its current meaning in the Turkish language, which is equivalent to the word "nation" (Karpat, 1982).

The *millet* system declined during the nineteenth century, with the institution of new norms of equal of citizenship, and completely disappeared with the creation of the Turkish Republic. Still, in the course of transition to "modern" Turkey, "national" homogeneity was secured through religious homogenization (Gülalp, 1994; Cagaptay, 2006). The Turkish nation was indeed created by the expulsion of the non-Muslim elements from the territory defined as Turkey, and the remaining small populations of non-Muslims were given "minority" status and brought under protection (and granted some small measure of autonomy) by the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, the founding document of the Turkish Republic which internationally recognised Turkish independence. Minority and non-Muslim have been (and still are) identical in Turkish national consciousness and a non-Muslim citizen of Turkey is still not considered a "Turk." This religious core of Turkish national identity seems to defy both the secularism (*laïcité*) of the state, enshrined in the Constitution, and its territorial principle of citizenship. Established historiography uncritically portrays the Turkish state along these formal lines, but in terms of both popular cultural assumptions and state policy, the Turkish nation is primarily defined as a (Sunni) Muslim entity.

During the political history of the Turkish Republic, the institutional structures of the constitutionally "secular" state have more or less remained the same, but the political role and visibility of religion have not remained constant. Relations between state and religion have been subject to political fluctuations that widen or narrow the room for religious expression in the public sphere. There has been, and there still continues to be, a debate (or struggle) on the proper place of religion in public and political life, where the outcome is determined by the relative room for maneuver that the politically powerful group may have. Hence, the broader context of Turkey's political history accounts for the changing perceptions about the place that religion ought to occupy (Gülalp, 2017).

The institutional structures of state secularism were put into place during the early decades of the Republic under a single-party rule, when care was taken not to allow religious expression in politics. Following the end of the Second World War, however, Turkey's Western alliance encouraged the institution of multi-party democracy, creating an opening for an Islamist orientation in politics. The Democrat Party (DP) was created in 1946 as an offshoot of the ruling Republican People's Party (RPP) and won the seat of power in the 1950 elections. During the 1950s, the DP government pursued pro-Islamist policies thanks to popular electoral support, but was then removed from power by a military intervention in 1960 when things seemed to get out of hand for the Kemalist establishment. While the DP was in power, the Kemalist opposition seemed to favor an institutional restructuring that would more closely resemble a "twin tolerations" model (Stepan, 2000) of state-religion relation, but with the new constitution of 1961, which opened up new space for social rights while instituting new mechanisms for limiting the role of religion in politics, they became more adamant in their pursuit for driving religion out of politics. The new Kemalist consensus remained dominant through the 1960s and 1970s, until the military coup of 1980, which created a new political model of increased religiosity.

Ernest Gellner has noted that, as the guardian of secularism, the military tends to intervene every time a democratic election results in Islamist victory (Gellner, 1994). While superficially this may seem true, a closer look reveals greater complexity. The 1980 coup followed the Iranian Islamic revolution of 1979 and was intended to strengthen NATO's eastern flank against the expanding "communist" influence in Asia. As a NATO member, Turkey's military could only act with U.S. complicity, if not direct guidance (Eligür, 2010, pp.91-2; Öktem, 2011, pp.60-3). As in previous cases, the coup was carried out in the name of Kemalism; but this time the military regime adopted what was called the "Turkish-Islamic synthesis." The notion of "synthesis" implied the acknowledgement of Islam's significance in Turkish national identity, but aimed to set limits to its political expression so that Islam would only remain within the confines of nationalism and not turn into "fundamentalism" (Çetinsaya, 1999). The use of Islamic themes by the military would both ideologically foster the stance against communism and also contain any possible demonstration effect emanating from next door Iran. This was, in other words, an experiment in contained and controlled Islamization of politics and society. Religion classes became mandatory in primary and middle schools as a new constitutional provision, religious language began to be used more widely in political discourse, and so on.

This shift in state discourse was welcomed by Islamists because the "public visibility of Islam" grew in the 1980s, just as it did in the 1950s. Indeed, this situation led to a widening opportunity for the domestic Islamist political movement to thrive as it did in the late 1980s and beyond (Toprak, 1990; Yavuz, 2003). Better organized than ever before, Islamists in Turkey began to gain new ground through electoral politics. In the municipal elections of 1994, the pro-Islamist Welfare Party (RP, *Refah Partisi*) won several major cities, including Istanbul and Ankara. It then emerged from the parliamentary elections of 1995 with the plurality of the national vote and was able to form a coalition government.

By the mid-1990s, however, with the Cold War having ended and the "communist" threat replaced by the threat of Islamic "fundamentalism," Turkey was urged by NATO (and the Western community of nations more generally) to take a firmer position domestically to prevent the development of Islamist politics. In 1995, NATO formally shifted its attention from the now-extinct Soviet bloc to the rise of Islamist movements around the world, with Turkey as the "center-piece" of U.S. policy and pursuit of interests in the MENA region (Gülalp, 1996). This configuration, combined with the electoral successes of the Islamist movement within Turkey, resulted in a backlash and yet another military intervention in 1997, which imposed limitations on religious expression in the public sphere. The RP-led government was forced to resign, and in the following year the Constitutional Court ruled for the closure of this party for violating the principle of secularism. This closure was upheld by the European Court of Human Rights. An attempt to create another political party to replace the RP also ended in similar closure. The ban in Turkish universities (and certain other locations) on the use of the headscarf as a symbol of Islamic identity was implemented particularly in this time frame. Similar bans were imposed in a number of other European countries, and these bans were also upheld by the European Court.

The "secularist revival," both in Turkey and elsewhere, was thus a conjunctural phenomenon linked to the perception of a growing Islamist threat in this period. What has been described and criticized by both liberals and Islamists as the "assertive" mode of secularism came to prevail in this political environment, but was eventually ideologically weakened. Paralleling the global rise of postmodernism and the politics of religious identity, Kemalism had already fallen into general disarray and ideological decline (Kasaba, 1994; Gülalp, 1995). The confrontational mood of the time led to the view that secularism is in general authoritarian, militaristic and even potentially (or really) totalitarian. As secularism began to be perceived, both domestically and globally, as an unconvincing ideology that could only be maintained by force, pro-secularist arguments in political debates in Turkey suffered a radical decline in quality. Islamists were thus able to frame their own political project in the liberal terms of human rights and freedoms.

Finally, in a reversal of the past experience of Islamist-oriented political parties in Turkey, the Justice and Development Party (AKP, *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) swept to power in 2002 and has remained in office to this day. Initially claiming a project of correcting the alleged past "injustices" of Kemalist secularism and describing its own ideology as "conservative democracy," the AKP then began to slowly but firmly lead Turkey in an Islamist direction. In the post-9/11 context, the AKP was welcomed by the West as the embodiment of "moderate Islam" and touted as a role model for the rest of the Middle East. But, cautious at first and speaking the language of democratization, the AKP gradually turned authoritarian and began to Islamize the state and society as it more securely entrenched itself in power (Özbudun, 2014; Kaya, 2015).

The renewed force of Turkish Islamist nationalism that the AKP has championed and eventually imposed on the country responded to both internal and external socio-political factors. It reaffirmed Turkish nationalism within a context of increasing

contestation of secularism, increasing mobility and diversity and within a shifting post-1989 geopolitical opportunity structure in the region and globally. We turn next to Russia, a country that was formally atheist until 1991 and where religion was largely suppressed, invisible to the public sphere, and where there has also been a moderate religious revival coupled with a new post-Soviet phase of Russian nationalism.

5. Nation and Religion in Russia

The comparatively long history of Orthodox Christianity in Russia suggests its strong position and role in the construction of Russian national identity. Russians became Christians in 988. However, as in many other cases, it was rather a political move dictated by the influence of Byzantine Empire.[3] The invasion of Russia by Mongols and Tatars[4] in the 13th century, the conquest of its territory and the subsequent history of interaction between Russians and Tatars (in a form of the rule, confrontation, cooperation, military alliances, and trade) resulted in a merger. This merger suggests that a religious Other was part of the formation and consolidation of a Russian national identity (as the Tatars had converted to Islam shortly after their conquest of Russian territories in the 13th century) but the role of religion was complementary and even secondary in the process. The amalgamation of nation and religion continued after the Moscow principality became independent and started expanding to the east incorporating the territories of the former overlords (16th-18th centuries).

At the same time, looking at religious Others beyond Islam, Russia has had a long history of confrontation with other denominations of Christianity. Russians take pride on the victory on the lake Chud' (*Peipsi järv* - Estonian), where the Livonian order was defeated by the Russian forces. The confrontation with the western (Catholic and Protestant) states continued further during the period of 1600 – 1900. At the same time, Russia waged wars with the Ottoman Empire (the then leader of the Muslim world). Further Russia's expansion to the Caucasus and Central Asia (in the 19th century) to some extent also stands out of this logic; For Russians, these wars were not religious.

However, Russian Christian Orthodox religious identity was widely used to justify wars and promote mobilisation in order "to protect Slavs" of the Balkans against the Ottoman and Germanic Empires. A similar discourse (with a focus though on ethnic identity) is still in use in recent conflicts too. The "protection of the Russian population" is a widely popularized excuse to justify military interventions in the post-Soviet space.

In brief, all the referred historical cases demonstrate that religion was rather subordinate to politics (as in many Christian Orthodox countries). The situation

[3] The later Russian imperialism would be based on the idea of continuity and succession that would place Russia to the centre of Christianity. This idea is coded in the claim that Moscow is a Third Rome, which was voiced by Slavophiles in the 19th century and more recently by A. Dugin (one of the ideologists of the modern Russia).
[4] Tatars became Muslims shortly after the conquest of Russian principalities in the 13th century.

remains similar even today, despite the decades of the Soviet rule, imposition of state atheism, subsequent religious revival in the 1990s, and Russo-Chechen wars. The fact that religion is subordinate to politics is demonstrated by the Russo-Georgian war too, in 2008 and the more recent Russo-Ukrainian conflicts since 2014, where the 'enemy' was Christian Orthodox too.

Looking at Russian demography, Muslims emerge as the main internal religious Other in Russia. According to different estimates, there are up to 25 million inhabitants of Muslim background in Russia. They constitute up to 14-15 percent of the population and their number is growing due to high birth rates, immigration from former Muslim-majority Soviet Republics, and even conversion of ethnic Russians to Islam (Aliyeva 2014). According to a study conducted by the Levada Centre think-tank in 2012, other religious groups (Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists) are comparatively insignificant and hardly could play the role of a religious Other in domestic politics.[5] The data[6] below also demonstrates that there is a comparatively large percent of those who do not want to associate themselves with any denomination. The Levada Center survey, however, revealed a much lower share of Muslims than most academic estimates.

- Orthodox Christianity— 74 %
- Catholics — 1 %
- Protestants — 1 %
- Judaism — 1 %
- Islam— 7 %
- Buddhism— <1 %
- Hinduism — <1 %
- Other — <1 %
- No association — 10 %
- Atheism — 5 %
- Refused to answer — 0 %
- Cannot answer — 2 %

The results of the same survey further assert that the religious beliefs of Russians (Orthodox Christians) are rather weak. Only 11 percent of the Christians visit churches for religious services from time to time and only seven percent go there to confession.[7]

The role of Islam and Muslims in Russia is quite ambiguous. In fact, Islam is officially recognized as a traditional religion in Russia, and its institutional representatives, the muftis, are courted by the official Kremlin. Muslims of Tatarstan and Bashkortostan are hardly ever perceived to be different from the general (non-Muslim) population

[5] V Rossii 74% pravoslavnykh I 7% musul'man (17/12/2012). Available online http://www.levada.ru/2012/12/17/v-rossii-74-pravoslavnyh-i-7-musulman/ (accessed 25/04/2019)
[6] V Rossii 74% pravoslavnykh I 7% musul'man (17/12/2012). Available online http://www.levada.ru/2012/12/17/v-rossii-74-pravoslavnyh-i-7-musulman/ (accessed 25/04/2019)
[7] V Rossii 74% pravoslavnykh I 7% musul'man (17/12/2012). Available online http://www.levada.ru/2012/12/17/v-rossii-74-pravoslavnyh-i-7-musulman/ (accessed 25/04/2019)

and the fact of their nominal Muslim identity does not translate into their othering on any (political or social) level.

Muslims of North Caucasus, however, are seen in a different light, this, to a large extent due to the radicalization processes in parts of North Caucasus (particularly Chechnya and Dagestan) and the two devastating Russo-Chechen wars that took the entire 1990s and the best part of the 2000s. Yet, even in the case of the North Caucasian Muslims, their radicalization is generally seen as an imported phenomenon and as such alien to the indigenous traditions of the local Muslim populations. Since the end of the fighting in the end of the 2000s, the Othering of Chechens and other North Caucasian Muslims, at least, on the official level, has significantly diminished.

Immigrants from South Caucasus and Central Asia, who are almost invariably seen as of Muslim background, are increasingly being viewed as an unwanted external Other. In the localities with their greater concentration (besides the capital city Moscow, where there number is estimated to run into several million, other major cities attract these labour migrants) these migrants are seen as Others and are the target of racist and nationalist xenophobic and chauvinist discourses. But there anti-Muslim sentiment plays a marginal role.

Manipulating a threatening Other in Russian politics is not a new phenomenon. Domestically, negative and pejorative attitudes towards small nationalities and smaller than Russians nations is well documented at different levels (including at grass-root, simple citizen level) in the Soviet Union. This attitude became even more apparent in today's Russia. According to the data of the SOVA research centre, which regularly monitors the situation in the country, hundreds of xenophobic attacks happen in Russia each year. The target of these attacks are usually people from the Caucasus and Central Asia (Kozhevnikova 2009). For instance, in March 2019, there was a wave of such attacks in Yakutia, where a migrant from Central Asia raped a Russian woman.[8]

The criminal activities of skinhead and other pseudo-patriotic organisations against immigrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia sometimes are supported and even covered by the Russian police. This lenient attitude towards xenophobic and racist crime by low-rank policemen suggests that it is either supported by the high-rank officials or is ingrained in society. The negativity towards ethnic or religious Others in Russian society particularly grows during times of political crisis. For instance, the wave of xenophobia towards the Chechens was felt during the Russo-Chechen wars, especially in the period starting from 1996 and until 2006. The same waves against the Georgians and Ukrainians during the conflicts with Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (2014-present), which are predominantly Orthodox nations, demonstrate that religion plays a very minor role in creating the Other and using it for the mobilisation of society. Other nationalities, such as Roma, Jews, Armenians, only to give some examples, are targets of regular xenophobic attacks too.

[8] Rasizm I ksenofobia. Itogi marta 2019. (10/04/2019) https://www.sova-center.ru/racism-xenophobia/publications/2019/04/d40834/

The Russian case shows that while a Significant (internal or external) Other is an important component for strengthening national identity (Triandafyllidou 1998; 2001), there are different Significant Others mobilised by political elites at different points in time. Such Others are instrumental to the political agenda of the moment and aim at reinforcing the national identity within while also asserting Russia's position in the international scene.

But the Other too, as the case of Chechnya demonstrates, can use religious identity for mobilisation in order to confront Russia. This can have some influence and encouragement for the Russian government to use religion for mobilizing against the religious Other too. Orthodox priests, actually, participate on the preparatory stage of military operations and bless the Russian troops before them.

Immigrants of Muslim background from Caucasus and Central Asia, are stigmatised not so much because of their religion but because of their being purportedly of lower civilizational level, since their social standing is in most cases much lower than that of ethnic Russians. They are mainly the social (foremost, economic) Other, perceived to be taking away jobs from ethnic Russians and bringing in more criminality in the cities.

To sum up, the political agenda *ad hoc* plays the most important role in constructing the image of Other and orienting Russian nationalism, which is only partly built around Orthodox Christianity. The Other in Russia is not a fixed group but rather an array of potential groups that may be momentarily instrumentalized by the political elite to mobilize the nation in the promotion of its own agenda of the moment. In short, religion plays a rather secondary role within the revival of Russian nationalism which seeks to assert the country's role and power in a post-Soviet, post-1989 world.

In our last section we turn to consider India, a country with significant ethnic and religious diversity and a complex institutional system for accommodating such diversity at different levels of government and public life.

6. Nation and Religion in India

Since the creation of the independent Indian state in 1948, accommodation of religious diversity, public recognition of minorities, space for the performance of religious practices were all elements that have characterized India's plural democracy (Mahajan 1992 and 2011). There was a broad-based consensus on these principles; the voices that disagreed and spoke for a Hindu state were few and rather marginal before independence, during the making of the Constitution, and in the first few decades after independence. In fact in the very first election after independence, that took place under the shadow of Partition and communal violence, the spokespersons of this dissenting view secured a meager 3% of the vote share.

In India, Hindu-Muslim relationship was a pivotal concern but religion was not the only fault line; caste was an equally deep divider. The fate of the lower castes was a

matter of grave concern and the Constitution provided a quota of reserved seats for previously excluded castes, now identified as Scheduled Castes, in legislative bodies; and included an enabling clause which permitted governments to devise policies for the betterment of the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). Over the decades governments have extended the list of beneficiaries of reservation policies and provided reservations in higher education as well as government jobs. In 1990, the central government decided to implement the recommendations of the Mandal commission and extend reservations in education and government positions to other socially and economically backward castes (Mahajan 2013). This polarized society, consolidating a new group – other backward castes - and pitted them against the upper castes.

As caste identities became an important marker of personal and collective identity, the right-wing [espousing the vision of India as a Hindu nation] countered this trend through religion-based mobilization. Although until the 1990s the Right had not been a strong force in India, it now offered a concrete alternative to caste-based mobilizations. The BJP launched an aggressive movement for the building of the Ram temple at Ayodhya. The demolition of the Babri Masjid and subsequently the mobilization for constructing the temple helped them to consolidate the Hindu identity under which caste differences were momentarily submerged.

Judging by the electoral results of 1991, the effort to consolidate Hindu majority yielded considerable dividends. BJP increased its vote share to 20% and emerged as a significant, if not the most important, part of the opposition. Since then it has steadily increased its seat share and, in a way, set the agenda in the public domain. In an effort to consolidate the Hindus and homogenize Hinduism it devised strategies to reach out to different caste groups and bring them into its fold.

The 1990s was an important decade in yet another way; it ushered a very significant change in the economic sphere: from being a strongly regulated and state-controlled economy, India endorsed policies that slowly but steadily opened the market to private competition and foreign investments; it reduced trade barriers and initiated structural reforms to integrate the economy into the global economic system. In brief it adopted policies of LPG (liberalization, privatization and globalization). In the initial years both the Left and the Right in India opposed these policies, referring to them as a “sell-out” to foreign powers (see Alam 2017). Such pockets of resistance in a democracy meant that the state could not simply follow the rules laid out by IMF and other multilateral agencies. To move forward with reforms without losing the support of the people meant that the state remained an important player, often determining the nature and pace of change and not always being in sync with external global pressures. For instance, the pace of disinvestment from the public sector was set by internal compulsions rather than external pressures, and many believe that reforms in infrastructure and telecommunications were similarly triggered by developments within (Mukherji 2009). Most importantly, the state has played a critical role in managing the conflict arising out of competition between indigenous private capital and foreign capital.

The new economic policies of structural reforms yielded, by the end of the 1990s, a boost to the economy with growth rate being at an all-time high of about 8%. At a time when the agrarian sector was facing a deep crisis, the influx of foreign capital, technology and industry tie-ups came with the promise of creating millions of new jobs. Indeed it provided new opportunities and saw an enormous growth of the service sector. Even as these changes created a new middle class, by the turn of the century it was evident that globalization had created greater inequalities of wealth and income; and the promised benefits had not percolated to the large masses of society. As a consequence there was a contradiction that emerged in society between high aspirations and the actual lived reality.

The anger and frustration of being "left out" could be harnessed by political parties, including those on the Right. They were pressures for increasing the list of beneficiaries of reservations – something that governments could not always accommodate. There were also emerging tensions within the category of beneficiaries: intra-group conflicts and rivalries surfaced sharply. For instance, some caste groups within the SCs felt that the benefits of reservations had been cornered by a few castes, so they demanded sub-quotas. Tensions also surfaced between the OBCs and SCs – something that would be utilized much more effectively by the Right rather than the Left.

The breakup of the erstwhile Soviet Union and the end of communism had an impact on the politics of the Left in India. While globalization and America remained the major enemy, internally the focus was on the marginalized groups within the structure – namely, scheduled Tribes, women, SCs and Other Backward castes. In the structural location SCs, STs and OBCs were placed alongside each other and hence treated as one single block. However, the very visible divisions between these groups that were apparent, remained largely ignored within the Left politics. The Right, by comparison, played on these internal tensions and, in many places, successfully won over sections of the lower castes on their side.

In a developing society, particularly one that is a democracy, the state remains an important peg within the framework of globalization. When more than half the society is living below, what is identified as, poverty line, and agriculture is the major occupation the state cannot easily renege on its responsibilities. Despite global pressures, governments cannot eliminate farm related subsidies; indeed at the centre and the state level, they were compelled to write off loans given to farmers facing acute agrarian distress.

The period of globalization – 1990s onwards – India has had governments led by the Congress party (traditionally identified as the centrist party) and BJP (which claims to represent the interests of the Hindus). While both have appealed to the people with the promise of providing "development", the coalition – UPA – led by the Congress party made space for the agenda of left parties and civil society organizations. It strengthened welfare related rights by providing – right to work, right to food and right to education; it also initiated a minimum employment guarantee scheme. The BJP led government has given a new form to many of these policies but added a cultural component, over and above the development agenda.

Having emerged as the single largest party, with a majority on its own, the BJP (particularly its many affiliates) could focus on its core ideological plank of constructing a Hindu state, or at least a state where the Hindu majority gets its "due" share. For some time the BJP had accused the Congress of pursuing a policy of "Muslim appeasement" and it is against this that they presented their agenda of giving due recognition to the interests of the Hindu majority. The larger family of right wing organizations drew upon available fault lines (differences and tensions between Hindus and Muslims that were present even in pre-independence India) and began to define the nation in a way that is more exclusionary. It gave a cultural content to the nation, focusing on such issues as - building the Ram temple, blanket ban on beef and slaughtering of cows, recitation of 'Bande Matram', , etc., elements which were associated with the Hindu culture and a conception of nationalism that demanded commitment to these norms.

The idea of nationalism that the conglomerate of Right-wing groups espoused pushed the cultural divide further, but it succeeded in garnering support, at least in part, by usurping the liberal agenda for its purpose: for instance, it pushed for a Uniform Civil Code to ensure gender equality (the primary target being to effect changes in the hitherto unreformed Muslim personal law, outlawing such practices as 'Triple Talaq', which invariably affected women adversely), modernizing 'madrasa' education so that the young students from these institutions can have opportunities thrown up by the market.

The organized voices within the Muslim community have responded equally stridently by refusing to accept external intervention in their Personal laws, seeking control over tombs and sites, many of which are significant archaeological sites at the moment. What we have as a consequence is a process of 'othering', sharpening of the distinction between 'us' and 'them', with members of the minority community finding safety and comfort within their own community – something that almost always engenders a more insular perspective and resistance to change. In these processes, one cannot discount or overlook the role played by misinformation, and what has today been called, fake news' which justifies the process of othering.

It is by now well known that modernization does not make religion or religious identities completely irrelevant. In India religious identities were always an important marker of personal identity, or at least perceived to be so, and political parties were known to mobilize and reach out to different sections of the population by appealing to their identity-related interests. Cultural concerns of identities have for some time dominated electoral politics and conflicts within the public domain. The internal logic of affirmative action policies, on the one hand, and growing inequalities in the period of globalization, on the other, threw up a new form of identity politics in which there were often unusual allies. Long-standing alliances thrown up by the contradictions within structures that had existed for long periods of time were broken up or at least loosened up considerably. As was mentioned earlier, it is the Right that utilized the new opportunities most successfully.

Religion-based consolidation has not displaced completely caste divisions within the majority community. Nor has religion-based polarization won the day conclusively. While elements of the constitutional structure with which we began, and which shaped the relationship between state and religion, and state and religious communities, is being challenged in the public domain, there are strong voices still on both sides. There are obviously organized voices that want the Hindu majority to prevail in the public domain, and the ensuing process of othering the Muslim has in no small measure been helped by the international discourse on terrorism. But, as is the case in many other parts of the world, there still remain alternative visions which are more inclusionary and in line with the initial constitutional intent. There are not just political parties, but also people within the majority community who remain committed to the constitutional frame of pluralism; and members of all communities resisting homogenization, on the one hand, and marginalization, on the other.

7. Concluding Remarks: From local and national diversity challenges to global geopolitical hierarchies

The emergence of anti-Islam and anti-Muslim discourses and attitudes as an important component of new European nationalisms during the last 25 years has been particularly reinforced and accelerated in the last decade. European public opinion and political leaders, squeezed by several problems – notably a fragile recovery from a long financial and economic crisis, an imploding Middle East and political unrest and instability across several Arab countries, persisting asylum seeking and migration pressures from Asia and Africa, and persisting challenges of socio cultural integration of migrants and minorities – are tempted to conflate these different challenges into a one-size-fit-all explanation based on a presumed "clash of civilisations" (Huntington 1996). In this difficult context, international Jihadist terrorism has accelerated the sense of insecurity in a globalising, borderless, 'liquid' (Bauman 2000) world as if European countries were confronted with a triple menace: a cultural invasion from within; a domestic terrorist network creeping into society also from within; and a geopolitical threat from ISIS, both as an Islamic state and through its terrorist attacks.

Geopolitics have taken up strong religious connotations (such as those of the "War on Terror" or the overall Islamophobia discourses erupting in different places in Europe) and have become constitutive elements of rising nationalist discourses in different European countries. While the connection between national/local challenges and global geopolitics with the Rushdie affair in Britain (when at the time as Ayatollah Khomeini issued a fatwa against Salman Rushdie because of his blasphemous "Satanic Verses") caused both national and international upheaval as something unexpected and novel, today such a connection has taken a central place in nationalism discourses. The nation affirms itself not only in its cultural, religious or territorial homogeneity and uniqueness but also through its positioning in a global landscape of Christian or secular Europe vs Islam and the Muslim Other. Addressing these socio-political challenges today requires acknowledging this reciprocal projection of the local/national and the global, which appear to fire back to one another usually with detrimental results for tolerance and respect.

These trends observed and analysed in Europe emerge also albeit in different forms in Turkey, Russia and India. The fall of the Soviet Union and the re-shuffling of the Left and Right, the forces of globalisation and the reorganisation of the global geopolitical landscape have affected internal nationalist and religious dynamics in both Turkey and India. In both countries, like in Europe, the geopolitical reorganisation on one hand, and the insecurity and fluidity brought about by globalisation have favoured the emergence and strengthening of exclusionary forms of nationalism which have been further reinforced by both identifying the national majority with a given religion (Islam in Turkey and Hinduism in India) but also by Othering minorities whether religious communities or simply secularists.

In Russia the trajectory and dynamics of nationalism have been somewhat different. Although the new socio-economic and geopolitical landscape after the collapse of the Soviet Union has favoured a religious revival and the identification of Russian nationalism with Orthodox Christianity, our analysis shows that these dynamics are highly instrumentalised by political elites in power. It appears that the forced secularisation of the Communist times has left an indelible marker. Thus religious sentiment remains less fervent and for instance the Muslim Other is only ephemerally mobilised, more ephemerally than in Europe for instance.

In conclusion, contemporary dynamics between the nation and religion need to be understood in their interactive character taking into account how they are affected by socio-economic and geopolitical transformations both within the nation-state and globally. We need to pay special attention to how nationalism and particularly exclusionary and religiously informed nationalism can be mobilised by political elites to respond to both socioeconomic and geopolitical insecurity, and at the same time reaffirming the nation's and nation state's position in a globalising world. Assertive nationalism in the age of globalization marks a new form of identity politics: one where the perceived fears and anxieties of the majority are becoming the rallying point. They draw upon local issues and local fault lines to consolidate the simmering discontent in their populations, to target an internal 'other'; and in many parts of Europe and the world that internal other is the Muslim.

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