# Secular and Sacred?

## The Scandinavian Case of Religion in Human Rights, Law and Public Space

Edited by Rosemarie van den Breemer, José Casanova, Trygve Wyller

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

# Research in Contemporary Religion

Edited by
Hans-Günter Heimbrock, Daria Pezzoli-Olgiati,
Heinz Streib, Trygve Wyller

In Co-operation with
Hanan Alexander (Haifa), Carla Danani (Macerata),
Wanda Deifelt (Decorah), Siebren Miedema (Amsterdam),
Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore (Nashville), Garbi Schmidt (Roskilde),
Claire Wolfteich (Boston)

Volume 15

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

Rosemarie van den Breemer, José Casanova,
Trygve Wyller (ed.)

# Secular and Sacred?

## The Scandinavian Case of Religion in Human Rights, Law and Public Space

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

With seven figures

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data available online: http://dnb.d-nb.de.

ISBN 978-3-525-60449-6
ISBN 978-3-647-60449-7 (e-book)

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen/
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht LLC, Bristol, CT, U.S.A.
www.v-r.de
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any
form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying,
recording, or any information storage and retrieval system,
without prior written permission from the publisher.
Typesetting by Konrad Triltsch, Ochsenfurt
Printed and bound in Germany by Hubert & Co, Göttingen

Printed on non-aging paper.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

# Preface

This book is the result of a long and successful cooperation between many talented scholars, many good supporters and several generous donors.

The first empirical research into the relationship between religion and human rights in Norway and Sweden was set in motion in the project 'Religion and Human Rights', under the direction of Johannes van der Ven (Nijmegen), with Trygve Wyller as the Norwegian coordinator.

The idea of writing a book about the relationship between the sacred and secular arose in a conversation between Lisbet Christoffersen (Roskilde) and Trygve Wyller on a bus journey between Nijmegen (the Netherlands) and Amsterdam, after a conference that was part of Van der Ven's project. The project has been ongoing ever since.

Funding for the Norwegian empirical research into the relationship between religion and human rights came from the research network Culcom-Cultural Complexity in the new Norway, at the University of Oslo. Culcom funded the sub-project that allowed researchers at the KIFO research centre (KIFO: Botvar/Stifoss-Hansen) to carry out a questionnaire survey.

During the period 2008 to 2012, the three editors held several workshops and seminars at the University of Oslo. Among other things, they included two international and interdisciplinary conferences held in 2010: 'Religion, Value Systems and Citizenship in Late Modern Europe' from 3 to 4 June 2010, and the conference 'Complexity and Legitimacy: Religion, Secularity, and Values in the Polis', from 18 to 20 November 2010. These activities were all financed through substantial contributions from the interdisciplinary research network PluRel- Religion in Pluralistic Societies, at the University of Oslo.

We would like to express our warm and sincere thanks to all these important financial contributors. This kind of international and interdisciplinary research cannot be undertaken without the financial support of those who dare to take a different and new track.

It is more than six years since the various activities that have indirectly led to this book were initiated. Kaia Schultz Rønsdal and Kristin Gustavsen have provided invaluable professional assistance in different parts of the process. They deserve great thanks!

We are also proud to publish this book through the publishers Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, and would like to thank the editor Joerg Persch and his colleagues for excellent and professional follow-up.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

Last but not least, we would like to thank all the researchers who we have cooperated with on the sub-projects that have resulted in this book. While all of them have perhaps not been given equal focus in this book, they have all made very valuable contributions to the discussions and to the expertise required to complete the book. We hope all contributing researchers and most readers can identify with and relate to the perspectives we raise.

Rosemarie van den Breemer, José Casanova and Trygve Wyller,
Oslo/Washington, June 2013

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

# Content

*Rosemarie van den Breemer, José Casanova, Trygve Wyller*
Introduction . . . . . 9

*José Casanova*
The Two Dimensions, Temporal and Spatial, of the Secular: Comparative Reflections on the Nordic Protestant and Southern Catholic Patterns from a Global Perspective. . . . . 21

*Kim Knott*
Interrogating the Secular: A Spatial Approach . . . . . 34

*John Witte, Jr.*
"God is Hidden in the Earthly Kingdom:" The Lutheran Two-Kingdoms Theory as Foundation of Scandivanian Secularity . . . 56

*Dag Thorkildsen*
West Nordic and East Nordic Religiousness and Secularity: Historical Unity and Diversity . . . . . 85

*Lisbet Christoffersen*
Sacred Spaces in Secular (Post)-Lutheran Contexts . . . . . 102

*Helge Årsheim*
Legal Secularism? – Differing Notions of Religion in International and Norwegian Law . . . . . 123

*Inger Furseth*
The Ambiguity of Secular and Religious Space: The Norwegian Penitentiary System . . . . . 152

*Rosemarie van den Breemer*
Graveyards and Secularism in Norway: In Search of a Fitting Category 170

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

*Knut W. Ruyter*
Space for Religion in Public Hospitals: Constructive Coexistence Can Be Negotiated . . . . . 197

*Trygve Wyller*
The Undocumented Embodied: Shaping the Space Where the Sacred and the Secular Intertwine . . . . . 221

*Pål Ketil Botvar and Anders Sjöborg*
A Comparative Study of the Relation Between Religion and Human Rights Among Young People . . . . . 236

*Oddbjørn Leirvik*
Interreligious Dialogue and Secularity: The Secular as Non-Hegemonic Condition . . . . . 261

*Johannes A. van der Ven*
From Divine Law to Positive Law.
A Perspective from the Science of Religion . . . . . 278

*Rosemarie van den Breemer and Trygve Wyller*
Conclusion . . . . . 312

List of Contributors . . . . . 319

The Editors . . . . . 321

Index . . . . . 325

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

Rosemarie van den Breemer, José Casanova, Trygve Wyller

# Introduction

The crisis of modern Western secularity has prompted analysis of the category of the secular. The presumption that modernity would lead to religious decline and increasing privatization of religion and that this European pattern could serve as a universal template for modernization has given way to an investigation into the variety of secularities, secularizations and secularisms.

Consequently, the focus has shifted to multiple secularities in a variety of national and cultural contexts, both in Europe and elsewhere. Scandinavian countries such as Denmark, Norway and Sweden are notably under-researched in this respect. In global comparisons, they are often grouped under Europe, but in European debates, they are often omitted or placed in the category of countries with established churches (such as England or Greece).[1]

Their distinctively Lutheran brand of Protestantism poses a challenge to our theories of secularization and our conceptions of secularity. A highly secular public (in terms of belief and practice), but a strong religious presence in their legal systems and public institutions is a characteristic of these Nordic countries. From the perspective of Protestant theology, this ambiguity has been characterized as 'a hidden sacrality' in the secular. More interdisciplinary research is needed, however. From the perspective of the social sciences, this ambiguity has not been addressed other than that it reveals a lack of secularity or secularization.

This book raises the question of Scandinavian secularity and explores a variety of explanations or interpretations of this ambiguous reality, a situation that the authors have dubbed 'intertwinement'.[2]

Combining contributions from the social sciences (law, sociology and political science) with theology and religious studies, the individual contributors to the book explore ways of coming to terms with this ambiguity from within their own disciplines. For example, from a historical, contemporary and political perspective, the book traces the formation of the early Scandinavian states and their laws and public spaces. It shows how the king

1 Exceptions are the multidisciplinary research programme at Uppsala University: *Impact of Religion: Challenges for Society, Law and Democracy*, which explicitly focuses on the Nordic countries. Likewise, the NOREL project (2009 – 2013) compares religious changes during the past twenty years in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Iceland and Sweden.

2 We borrow the term 'intertwinement' from the legal scholar Lisbet Christoffersen (2006).

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

aimed to integrate the church into the existing state and (local) public institutions, thereby merging public and churchly functions. From the perspective of Lutheran theology, the contributions to the book see this intertwinement through a Lutheran lens, interpreting it as 'a hidden sacrality'[3] in the secular, which, historically, was seen as justified, because it is through secular institutions that God's influence can be exercised.

What this suggests (although some authors disagree) is that, rather than understanding the Scandinavian reality as revealing a lack of secularization,[4] what we might be dealing with here is a different type of secularization or secularity: one in which a certain degree of intertwinement is key.

This has implications for the international discussion of secularity. It is now widely acknowledged that the dominant narrative of secularity or secularism is heavily influenced by Protestantism (e.g. Asad, 2003), and it is against this monist notion, a wide range of publications argue, that secularism or the secular must be pluralized.[5] It is much less acknowledged, however, that an important distinction should be drawn within the 'Protestant category' (exceptions include Kahl, 2009). As it has helped to shape the Scandinavian countries, Lutheran Protestantism is set apart from Calvinist and/or American Protestant contexts by its fundamental intertwinement between religion and secular public spheres, also at the state and political levels.

Consequently, what the Scandinavian cases highlight with respect to the global discussion on secularity is that the dominant narratives of secularity and secularism[6] not only fail to convince outside the West, they miss target 'at home', in the core of the Protestant countries. One cause of this misfit, we suggest, is not simply a diverging empirical reality, but a lack of sufficient awareness of this Lutheran variant and the implicit Catholic or American Protestant underpinnings of some of the central scholarly works on secularity and secularisation. This suggests a shifting of the focus of the international debate on the secular and the question of separation and differentiation between religion and the secular to continuing but changing forms of intertwinement.

3 See also Christoffersen, L. et al. (eds.) (2010a) *Religion in the 21st Century. Challenges and Transformations* Ashgate; Christoffersen, L. et al. (eds.) (2010b) *Law and Religion in the 21st Century – Nordic Perspectives.* Djoef Publishing.

4 Secularization understood as functional differentiation or separation of religion from the public sphere.

5 C.f. Jakobsen and Pelligrini (ed.): 2008; Warner, van Antwerpen, Calhoun (ed.): 2010; Cady and Hurd (ed.): 2010; Calhoun, Juergensmeyer, Van Antwerpen (ed.): 2011.

6 'The secular' is typically understood as 'the void' or absence of religion, or the phase after religion's overcoming. 'Secularism' typically refers to a doctrine of a strict separation between state and church and the required privatisation of religion.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

## General objectives

To provide an insight into this Scandinavian reality (and its internal variations) is thus the first aim of this book (limiting the analysis to Norway, Sweden and Denmark). Secondly, the book engages with some of the central scholarly works on secularization and genealogies of the secular (such as Casanova 1994 and Taylor 2007), which reveal traits of an implicitly Catholic underpinning. Might a study of the secular and the sacred as theorized and practiced from a Protestant, Lutheran theological perspective offer alternative accounts? Thirdly, from the perspective of sociology or political science, can we speak of a Scandinavian pattern of secularity and understand this inherent intertwinement between religion and secularity as a different kind of secularization rather than a lack of it? (And if seen as a different kind of secularization how does this affect our conceptual understanding of 'non-secularization'?)

## A contextual and interdisciplinary perspective

Three important scholars of religion and secularity, José Casanova (Georgetown University, USA), Kim Knott (Lancaster University, UK) and John Witte (Emory Law, US), have developed theories and analyses of the intertwinement of the secular and the sacred. Religion (or secularity for that matter) never exists in an abstract form; it is always located within a specific history (Casanova), a designated space (Knott), or within a particular historical and dogmatic context (Witte).

By combining a contextual approach as well as a variety of scholarly approaches, ranging from political science, sociology and law to religious study and theology, the book highlights the presuppositions of the secular and religion that are deeply implicated in the histories of these disciplines (Masazuwa 2005).[7] Whereas religious studies and theology have traditionally had 'religion' as their explicit focus and can provide readings of the secular through the eyes of 'religion' (such as, in the case of this book, Protestant Lutheran theology), sociology, political science and law have traditionally been perceived as quintessentially secular disciplines which operate with a strict binary opposition between the secular and religion.

But – as this book shows in the realms of law and human rights, for example – presumptions also prevail about law and human rights as the essence of the secular, and are complicated by the state church histories in which these laws

7 For a similar viewpoint see Cady, Linell E. And Shakman Hurd, Elizabeth. (2010) 'An Introduction' in *Comparative Secularisms in a Global Age.* Palgrave Macmillan.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

operate. Law and religion prove to be mutually involved.[8] While all disciplines bear to some extent the imprint of a secular academic tradition, dialogue between different disciplines will help further unsettle standard accounts of the secular.

## Approaching the secular and the sacred: Historical and spatial dimensions

Central to modern theories of secularization was an understanding of the secular as a temporal condition: secularity comes 'after' religion has disappeared. Moreover, what Taylor has characterized as 'subtraction theories' of the secular, couple this temporal dimension, to a spatial one (Taylor: 2007). The secular is not only seen as the stage after the overcoming of religion, but also as the void left by the disappearance of religion. Approaching the secular along the axes of space and time is not new. The Christian category saeculum has always had a dual temporal and spatial dimension. Yet it is increasingly recognized that the particular modern connotations of secularity along these dimensions (as the 'absence of religion' or the 'epoch after its overcoming') are flawed insofar as they are upheld as the universal standard. Targeting its temporal dimension, scholars point to a 'post-secular' situation where religion is 'back' and, as Jürgen Habermas (2006) argues, requires a self-reflexive attitude from both secular as well as religious citizens in regard to their participation in the public sphere. Targeting its spatial dimension, scholars have shown that religion 'fails' to be absent, or to be relegated to a private sphere but is instead part of the public sphere and the state; even, for example, in a paradigmatic case of enforced secularization like Kemalist Turkey (Parla &Davidson: 2008). Alternatively, a spatial emphasis has led scholars to investigate how the body is implicated in secular formations (cf. Asad: 2003; Jakobsen & Pellegrini: 2008, 22).

Looking at the secular through the category of space, in Kim Knott's terminology 'an operational space', allows for a grounded and original perspective to a variety of situations or locations. Spaces can be seen as both public domains and actual physical spaces. But they can also be conceived metaphorically: the body is a space (topos), as are social relations and connections. This methodology allows one to reach under the surface of what looks like a 'secular' space (or 'religious' space) and investigate what value postions (religion or post secular) constitute it. What is the location of religion within and beyond it? This approach is particularly appropriate for a Scandinavian context (although certainly not limited to it) where the traces of

8 For an excellent volume on this topic see Taussig-Rubbo, M. (et al.) 2011.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

a Lutheran past or foundation lie often just below the surface. Furthermore, following in the wake of a spatial turn in social and cultural theory (evident in the work of, for example, Foucault, Lefebvre and Certeau) the interest for spatial approaches within religious studies and theology is promising but still of recent date.

Looking at secularity "through a theological lens" (Cady: 2010, 249), we see that the Lutheran narrative of the secular is both historical and dogmatic. Historically, the Lutheran Reformation has aimed to abolish the sacred canon laws and remove legislation from the ecclesiastical body to that of the king, who was considered the only legitimate secular ruler. Dogmatically, the idea of salvation 'by faith alone' implied that any kind of legislation connected to the spiritual was thought to be wrong. The only way to relate to the generous God was through belief, not through legislation. Hence, the canon laws were removed and legal regulations were laid down by public authorities, kings and sovereigns, etc. In other words, legal 'secularity' was part of the Reformation's intention and part of a theological plan. The Reformation theologians had their focus on God's salvation of souls and viewed the 'secularity' of the Reformation legislation as God's will.

There is no doubt that this historical process has taken many different routes and forms in the respective Scandinavian countries. Nonetheless, the basic idea still holds, and makes for a relevant distinction between countries more dominated by Catholic traditions and those more dominated by reformed traditions. This combination of history and dogmatics characterizes the Scandinavian countries and makes them more than just locally interesting. Out of it comes a narrative of what one could call a 'hidden sacrality' whereby the sacred is not necessarily explicit but is implicitly present in secular institutions and legislations. The secularity is due to the will of God rather than an absence of religion.

## The interdisciplinary challenge: Theology, political science, law and sociology

Exploring the secular and the sacred from the perspective of different academic traditions presents some difficulties. For example, in one reading of the situation we could say that Norway and many other Protestant countries have only secular law, as opposed to Catholic countries, where sacred canon law coexists with secular civil law. In the Protestant context, the abolition of canon law in the wake of the Reformation resulted in a legal system in which both civil law and laws regulating Church affairs (church laws) were approved and – ultimately – regulated by national governments rather than by religion

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

itself. From the perspective of Lutheran theology, this 'secularity' makes sense as another way of performing *Christentum*.

From the perspective of political science or sociology, however, the theologian's secularity here can hardly be called secular; large parts of Norwegian public life are regulated by these church laws, often revealing a strong Lutheran, privileged position. So it is here that the interdisciplinary challenge starts. Do these Norwegian public spaces attest to an incomplete secularity? Religion is partly removed – but not entirely? Or should we rather see it as a different kind of (Lutheran) secularity? But then how does this affect our conceptual understanding of the secular? If secularity is ultimately always reduced to or translated as one of many other theological positions, does that imply that the secular has no independence outside the category of religion? Is it essentially 'all a matter of religion'? Or is the notion of religion/sacred versus secular simply not (always) a useful analytical tool for analysing law and public institutions?

## Definition of terms

To redress the problem of different connotations of certain terms within different disciplines, the individual contributors specify their usage of terms as far as possible. To distinguish between the terms 'secularization', 'secularism', and 'secular', most of the contributors to this volume distinguish between 'secularization' as a historical and sociological process of functional differentiation, 'secularism' as a normative, political doctrine about state--church relations or 'worldview', and the 'secular' as a modern epistemic category (Casanova 2011). Nonetheless, these are far from mutually exclusive categories. When speaking of 'Scandinavian secularities' we refer to different collective and public self-understandings of a country in regard to religion or religious diversity (for example the way a goverment proclaims an offical position in regard to religion in the public sphere) or to the position of a set of actors (such as activists, human rights workers, or religious representatives) in these countries in regard to the role of religion in the public sphere or the understanding of secular law. Rather than provide a fixed definition of the secular – which would defeat the purpose of this anthology – we refer on several occasions to 'the standard picture of the secular' (as 'the absence', 'the opposite', 'the overcoming of religion'), in juxtaposition to which the findings of the individual studies can be analyzed.[9] 'Religion' in this anthology encompasses a wide variety of phenomena: organized belief communities, religion as a legal concept, identity or set of practices of a belief-community,

9 Secularisation is typically defined as: a) the inevitable process of decline of religiosity (in belief and practice); b) religion's inevitable privatisation; and c) the increasing functional differentiation between spheres.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

values, theological doctrines, etc. Likewise, 'sacredness' is used differently as a term to describe a transcendent element in civil religion, the 'specialness of the nation', the 'divine character of humanity', non-negotiable beliefs or the 'special' function of a church building, etc. We use 'Scandinavia' to demarcate a group of countries including Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The term 'Nordic' is used by some authors interchangeably with 'Scandinavian', but its established meaning typically includes Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and the Faroe Islands (Øystein: 1997). Casanova's 'Nordic pattern' includes a wider range of Protestant countries: Germany, the Netherlands and, potentially, also a Baltic state such as Estonia.

## An outline of this book and underlying logic

The book opens with articles written by three leading scholars who suggest theoretical frameworks to approach the intertwinement of secularity and religion from within different disciplines (sociology, religious studies and theology). The authors in this Section, 'Approaching the secular: Historical and spatial dimensions,' discuss secularity along the axes of time and space and provide an important reference point for the other contributors in the anthology. The remaining part of the book is structured along three 'ostensibly secular' and Scandinavian sites; areas of law (Section 3); public spaces (Section 4) and; human rights (Section 5). The contributors ask how religion or the sacred is visible or implicit within these sites. They seek to illustrate and clarify the different forms of intertwinement between the secular and the religious as they manifest themselves in the sites analyzed.

José Casanova, Professor of Sociology, Georgetown University, USA, suggests taking a Nordic, Protestant pattern of secularization as opposed to a Southern, Catholic one to explain the ambiguity we observe between the secular and religion in these secular Scandinavian domains. Tracing the development of two main dynamics of secularization out of medieval Christendom which gave rise to the secular religion binary, Casanova argues that the Nordic Protestant response has been to transcend this binary by blurring the boundaries between the two. The Southern, laïcist version, on the other hand, has tried to maintain that boundary by privatising religion and aiming for a neutral public sphere. A third American Protestant pattern consists out of secularization without confessionalization.

The contribution by Kim Knott, Professor of Religious and Secular Studies, Lancaster University, UK is methodological, not targeting the Scandinavian cases but providing a tool to approach the issue of intertwinement. Her article offers a spatial approach for interrogating 'ostensibly secular' spaces. She shows that secular spaces are often taken for granted and rendered

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

insubstantial, while in fact they are heterogeneous, containing diverse religious, secularist and post-secularist standpoints.

The article by John Witte, Jr., Jonas Robitscher Professor of Law, Emory University in Atlanta, USA, could be read as a further contextualization of Casanova's 'model of secularization', or sacralization within Luther's framework. His analysis of the impact of the Lutheran Reformation on law, through a reading of Martin Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms, is a historical and theological account of Casanova's conceptual outline. It shows how processes of secularization and sacralization occur simultaneously from within Lutheran Protestantism and allow for the secular and the sacred to coexist. Like Casanova, Witte's argument is of a general nature, and the task of teasing out the more particular 'Scandinavian story' is left to the authors of the remaining articles.

Section three of the book 'Law and the secular: The West Nordic story of secular and sacred', addresses the interface between religion and law from both a historical as well as a dogmatic and contemporary perspective. Here we see illustrated the ways in which a Lutheran framework is formative for the shaping of the early modern Scandinavian states and their legal systems. And we see how this framework provides a background for the legal interpretation of religion, or notion of sacredness in public debate, today.

Dag Thorkildsen, Professor of Theology, University of Oslo, Norway, situates Witte's general Lutheran reading of secularity within the context of four Scandinavian Lutheran states, tracing the historical and dogmatic development of Lutheranism through its internal Nordic varieties. This article importantly shows the variety of secularities existing within the Scandinavian pattern, by differentiating a West Nordic pattern from an East Nordic one. Thorkildsen shows how, historically, religious confession and church order have been an important and integral part of the governing of the Nordic state and its laws. This served not only a religious, but also a political, aim.

Lisbet Christoffersen, Professor of Law, Religion and Society, Department of Society and Globalisation, Roskilde University, Denmark, argues for a 'hidden notion of sacredness' in a contemporary debate over church asylum in Denmark. Through a case study of Iraqi asylum-seekers that hid in a church building in an attempt to avoid deportation from Denmark, she analyzes the public's conception of this church building. Her essay importantly conveys the existence of a sacred dimension in the popular understanding of the church building, as well as a tiny opening towards sacredness in the law on church buildings, which requires respect for the church as a 'special' building. But while this sacredness is respected (indicating what she calls an "intertwined order of post-secularity"), an appeal to church asylum is overruled by a concern with the secular law of the land.

Helge Årsheim, PhD fellow in religious studies at the faculty of Theology, University of Oslo, Norway, examines the impact of international law on Norwegian law. He explores the distinction between what is religion and what

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

is not through three examples (including the registration of religious communities). He shows how drawing the line between religion and its opposite is affected by a Lutheran framework of interpretation and political expediency rather than by principled reasoning or international, legal concepts.

Section four, 'Religion and secularity in Scandinavian public spaces or institutions', encompasses a range of interesting empirical case studies of the presence of religion in various public spaces. Here we see demonstrated the myriad ways of mutual involvement of religion and public space and the often contradictory processes of secularization and the maintenance of the privileged position of the majority faith in society.

Inger Furseth, Associate Professor at the Department of Socialogy and Human Geography, University of Oslo, Norway, analyzes secular and religious space in the Norwegian penitentiary system. Relying on Knott's spatial approach, Furseth's analysis reveals both a process of increasing secularization as well as a privileged role for the Church of Norway in the workings of this institution. She also observes variation between individual prisons in the extent to which they provide for prayer rooms, reflecting an altered conception of secularity between the architects of the older and the more modern prison buildings.

Knut W. Ruyter, Adjunct Professor Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo, Norway, investigates the role of religion in the public Norwegian hospital. Combining a spatial and historical approach that traces the Lutheran underpinning of this Norwegian institution since its inception, he explores several existing contemporary solutions for dealing with religious plurality in Norwegian hospitals. He argues for a secularity (a way of dealing with religious plurality) that can coexist with religion in one space.

Rosemarie van den Breemer, comparative political scientist and PhD fellow at the Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo, Norway explores the Norwegian state's attitude towards religion and religious diversity in the graveyard. Her analysis reveals a variety of Norwegian secularities that consist of a different interpretation amongst state and non-state actors of how to give form to religious pluriformity in the graveyard. The municipal and intertwined dimension of Norwegian state–church relations is shown to carry important political weight.

Trygve Wyller, Professor of Diaconal Studies and Systematic Theology at the Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo, Norway, presents a case study from a humanitarian-based project for undocumented migrants in a Swedish church. The project itself was initiated by a philantropic group of volunteers not connected to the Lutheran Church, but it cooperates closely with the church and is located in the church building. Wyller discusses the kind of intertwinement visible in this project. The cooperation between the church and the project leads, according to Wyller, to an alternative proposal for a secular 'law' or a secular approach to the issue of undocumented migrants. It

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

leads to a Lutheran-implicit redefinition of what the secular should be: normatively providing more space to the undocumented.

Section five, 'Human rights as appropriated within a Scandinavian context', provides a compelling collection of articles that probe the connection between human rights and religion in the Lutheran countries: Are human rights the new civil religion in Scandinavia? How do human rights language affect interreligious dialogue in Norway?

Johannes Van der Ven, Research Associate in Religion and Human Rights, Faculty of philosophy, Theology and Religious Studies, Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands, approaches the relation between 'secular' and 'sacred' from the theory of functional differentiation in modern societies. In that perspective he analyses the development from divine law in the Middle Ages via natural law to positive law in our time. He argues that in today's democratic societies the relation between religion and law is based on contingency rather than on whatever structural connection between throne and altar.

Oddbjørn Leirvik, Professor of Interreligious Studies, Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo, Norway, argues that the starting point for interreligious dialogue is a shared consciousness of a non-hegemonic condition, in which no one religion can control the public sphere. With reference to empirical material drawn from organized interreligious dialogues in Norway, he discusses whether such dialogues systemically pull in the direction of a common secular language. Furthermore, he discusses the influence of human rights discourses on interreligious dialogue in the Scandinavian countries.

Pål Ketil Botvar, researcher at the Centre for Church Research (KIFO), Norway, and Anders Sjöborg, researcher at the Uppsala Religion and Society Research Center, Sweden, examine the impact of religion on the attitudes towards human rights among young people. Comparing data from a survey conducted among youth in Norway and Sweden with data from four other countries in north-western Europe, they explore the relationship between religious affiliation (Muslim, Christian and nonreligious) and support for the first generation of human rights. They suggest that the limited impact of religion on the support for these principles in the Scandinavian context are related to the cohesive function that these rights have in Scandinavian public life. Might they be seen as constituting a new form of 'civil religion'?

## Focus for future research

Because this anthology is the result of two conferences in 2010 and a working group on human rights and religion, all of which have an overlapping but

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

slightly different theme, we have to acknowledge some limitations.[10] Does it make sense to speak of a 'Scandinavian' or even a 'Nordic' model of secularity? In terms of representation, the articles in this anthology focus heavily on Norway (and omit Finland and Iceland). Generalising from these Scandinavian findings to an even more general Nordic pattern (following Casanova's typology) is then certainly possible but would require much more comparative research. It would require comparison with other Protestant/Lutheran contexts such as Germany, as well as more Calvinist Protestant contexts such as the USA or the Netherlands. Alternatively, it could compare a Baltic state such as Estonia, where Lutheranism was enforced through Baltic–German and Swedish rule.

Furthermore, the way in which a country (or actors therein) understand themselves as modern and secular is determined by the confessional legacy of the country, but of course also by other 'secular' factors such as the existence of social democracy, welfare state ideology, human rights politics, or (to remain with Estonia) the effect of Soviet occupation. The contributions in this anthology touch on several of these themes, but we would need more extensive comparative studies to 'fill in' more contours of the secular than those provided here .

Finally, we should be careful to reduce the 'Scandinavian model' to a Protestant tradition alone. This would omit the influence of other religious groups which, importantly, have helped shape the nature of the secular, and which are in many ways the reason why we are discussing the secular in the first place. Nonetheless, this book may help set the agenda for further research. It is intended to complement existing research on religion in the Scandinavian countries with; 1) a more specific focus on secularity; 2) with international implications for our theories on secularization and the secular; and 3) explicit engagement between the social sciences and Protestant theology in comprehending (a part of) the Scandinavian reality.

## Bibliography

Asad. T. (2003), Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity. Stanford University Press: Stanford California.

Cady, l. E. (2010), Reading Secularism through a Theological Lens, in Cady, L. and Shakman-Hurd, E. (eds.) Comparative Secularisms in a Global Age (Palgrave MacMillan) (247 – 264).

Cady, l. & Hurd, Shakman, E. (2010), Comparative Secularisms in a Global Age. Palgrave Macmillan.

10 It concerns two international interdisciplinary conferences held in 2010: "Religion, Value Systems and Citizenship in Late Modern Europe" of June 3 – 4 2010 and the conference "Complexity and Legitimacy: Religion, Secularity, and Values in the Polis", November 18 – 20, 2010.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

Calhoun, c. & Juergensmeyer, M. & Vanantwerpen, J. (eds.) (2011), Rethinking Secularism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Casanova, J. (2011), The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms. In Rethinking Secularism, Calhoun, C., M. Juergensmeyer, and J. VanAntwerpen (eds.), 54 – 74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

Christoffersen, L. (2006), Intertwinement: A New Concept for Understanding Religion-Law. Nordic Journal of religion and Society. Volume 19:2

Habermas, J. (2006), "Religion in the Public Sphere" in European Journal of Philosophy (1:14) s. 1 – 25.

Jakobsen, J. R. & Pellegrini, A. (eds.) (2008), Secularisms. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Knott, K. (2005), Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis. Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Løgstrup, K.E. (1997), The Ethical Demand, Notre Dame Press.

Masuzawa, T. (2005), The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism. University of Chicago Press.

Øystein, S. And Stråth, B. (eds.)(1997), The Cultural Construction of Norden. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

Parla, T. And Davidson, A. (2008) Jakobsen, J. R. & Pellegrini, A. (eds.) Secularisms. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Taussig-Rubbo, M. & Yelle, R.A. & Sullivan-Fallers, W. (eds.) (2011), After Secular Law. Stanford University Press.

Taylor, C. (2007), A Secular Age. Harvard University Press.

Warner, M & Vanantwerpen, J. & Calhoun, C. (eds.) (2010), Varieties of Secularism in a Secular Age, Harvard University Press.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

José Casanova

# The Two Dimensions, Temporal and Spatial, of the Secular: Comparative Reflections on the Nordic Protestant and Southern Catholic Patterns from a Global Perspective.

## Abstract

This paper examines the changing interconnection between the temporal and the spatial dimensions of the secular. It argues that the contemporary crisis of Western secular modernity, and of the secularist philosophy of history that went with it, has opened up the space to study the heterogeneity of the secular and simultaneously forces every form of political secularism, as the doctrine that has the task of defining the proper place of religion in public spaces, to self-redefinition. The analysis is embedded in a comparative analysis of three different patterns of secularization: the Nordic Protestant, the Southern Latin Catholic and the American. The Nordic pattern is characterized by a peculiar integration of the religious and the secular, which is manifested in the fusion between church (ecclesiastical institution), state and nation. The Latin Catholic pattern of laicization is characterized by a rigid separation of the religious and the secular and by civil-ecclesiastical and laic-clerical antagonism. The United States offers a third dynamic of secularization without confessionalisation. With laicist France it shares a secular separationist model of disestablishment of ecclesiastical religion at the state level, while radicalising the Protestant model of diffusion of the religious and secular boundaries in society. The key to the American model is the dissolution of the ecclesiastical national church institution and the proliferation of the sectarian model of free voluntary religious associations without any state interference.

## Introduction

We would not be discussing the 'heterogeneity of the secular' and its spatial dimension in particular if something fundamental had not happened to its temporal dimension as it became crystallized in the concept of Western secular modernity. Theories of modern secularisation were predicated on the notion that the secular is a temporal condition that comes 'after' religion. Following Charles Taylor's formulation, 'a secular age' is a stage of historical development that comes after a religious age once the belief in God that was previously held uniformly is no longer taken for granted. (Tylor: 2010) Within

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

this temporal conception, the secular is identified with 'unbelief,' with the void left by the disappearance of religion. Taylor has characterized such a conception as the "subtraction theory" of the secular.

I would claim that, paradoxically, it is the contemporary crisis of Western secular modernity – and the secularist philosophy of history that went with it – that opens the way to the study of the heterogeneity of the secular and that simultaneously forces every form of political secularism aimed at defining the proper place of religion in public spaces to redefine itself. In some of my recent writings I have stressed the distinction between, on the one hand, 'philosophico-historical secularism' as a genealogical and teleological theory of religion embedded in a particular philosophy of history that explains the genesis, development, and *telos* of religion, and on the other, 'political secularism' as a statecraft doctrine and ideology that separates the religious and the political and puts religion in its place. (Casanova: 2011a) The central thesis I want to present is that it is the contemporary crisis of 'philosophico-historical secularism' that forces the reflexive redefinition of 'political secularism'. In this respect, I want to emphasize the interconnection between the temporal and spatial dimensions of the secular.

The Christian category *saeculum* has always had a dual temporal and spatial dimension, as is obvious by looking at the equivalent noun in any modern Romanic language dictionary. The word *siglo* in Spanish or *siècle* in French has three distinct connotations: two temporal ('age' and 'century') and one spatial ('world'). The concept of 'century' as a specific one-hundred-year calendar unit dividing secular time as opposed to the more indefinite periodization of 'age' is of more recent origin. It first emerged around the year 1300, with the establishment of the tradition of jubilee years by Pope Boniface VIII, and only became firmly established in its modern secular usage in the sixteenth century. The year 1700 marks the first public turn-of-the-century celebration in Europe, a practice which became increasingly widespread and globalized in the following three centuries, culminating in the global, simultaneous end-of-year, end-of-century, and end-of-millennium celebration in the year 2000, probably the first joint calendar celebration of global humanity (Casanova: 2001, 415 – 441).

However, it is important to stress that the two older connotations of *saeculum*, 'age' and 'world', still survive in modern Romanic languages. Originally the pre-Christian Latin term *saeculum* only had a temporal connotation, that of an indefinite period of time, as in *per saecula saeculorum,* a term equivalent to the Greek concept of aeon. It was Augustine who turned the term into a central Christian theological category, adding to it a spatial connotation. *Saeculum* as first used by Augustine now referred to a temporal space, the world between the present and the *parousia*, the Second Coming of Christ, in which both Christians and pagans had to live together and learn to work together towards their common civic goals in the *saeculum*, in the City of Man (Markus: 2006). In this respect Augustine's concept of secularity is very

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

close to the post-secularist principle advanced by Oddbjørn Leirvik in 'Interreligious dialogue and secularity' in this volume. It is also similar to the modern meaning of a secular political sphere, that of the constitutional democratic state and that of a democratic public sphere, which are neutral with respect to all worldviews, religious as well as non-religious. Such a conception does not equate the secular with the 'profane', as the other of the 'sacred', nor is the secular the other of the 'religious'. It is precisely a neutral space that can be shared by all who live in a society that is either multicultural or religiously homogeneous, which by definition will have different and most likely competing conceptions of what is 'sacred' and what is 'profane'. This was precisely the situation in late Antiquity. Judeo-Christian monotheism had led to a de-sacralisation or disenchantment of the pagan sacred. Consequently, the Christians' refusal to sacrifice to 'pagan' gods or to worship the divine emperor earned them the epithet of 'atheists'. The Christian sacred was the pagan profane and vice versa.

Augustine's concept of 'secular' was not yet tied to its binary opposite, 'religious.' This would come about as result of the transformation of late post-Imperial Christianity and of Medieval Christendom. But the principle already presupposed an axial concept of 'religion'. After all, Augustine was also the author of *De vera religione*, a treaty which challenged Varro's customary tripartite Latin conceptualization of religion, or divine affairs (*res divinae*, into *theologia mythica*, *theologia naturalis* and *theologia civilis*. Varro's distinction was borrowed from the Stoics and was built upon the Greek axial differentiation of the pre-axial sacred into *mythike, physike, politike*, which broke the ontological-cosmological monism of the pre-axial sacred, whereby in the words of Robert Bellah: "supernature, nature and society were all fused in a single cosmos." (Bellah: 2005, 70) Augustine's concept of 'true religion' presupposed equally what Ian Assman has defined as the axial "Mosaic distinction" between axial true religion and pre-axial idolatry, in the same way as his immanent earthly or mundane City of Man presupposed the axial-transcendent City of God.[1]

It is important to realize that the post-axial *saeculum* is not equivalent to the pre-axial 'profane', in the same way as the post-axial 'religious' is not equivalent to the pre-axial 'sacred'. The important point to stress is that as binary terms, 'religious' and 'secular' are specific Western Christian theological categories which have no equivalent in non-Christian cultures nor even in Eastern Byzantine Christianity. It is well known that the word 'religion' is practically impossible to translate into a single term in classic Greek. Both the modern Greek and modern Slavic languages simply had to

1 For an elaboration of the concept of axial religion see (Casanova 2012), 'Religion, the Axial Age and Secular Modernity in Bellah's Theory of Religious Evolution' in Robert N. Bellah and Hans Joas, (ed.), *The Axial Age and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 191 – 221.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

borrow the Latin term *religia*. The binary spatial distinction between 'religious' and 'secular' first emerged with the elevation of Christian monastic life as the paradigmatic form of 'religious' life and with the subsequent canonical differentiation within the church between the otherworldly religious or regular clergy, who inhabited the monasteries as an eschatological space that anticipated the transcendent City of God, and the secular clergy who, along with ordinary Christians, that is, the laity, inhabited this world, that is, the *saeculum*.

Eventually, however, with the consolidation of Western Medieval Christendom and the hegemonic triumph of the Christian church, the secular became one of the terms of a dyad, religious/secular, which served to structure the entire spatial and temporal reality of Medieval Christendom into a binary system of classification separating two worlds, the religious-spiritual-sacred world of salvation and the secular-temporal-profane world. The sacred-profane and the religious-secular binary systems of classification became superimposed, and the secular now became equated with the earthly city while the religious became equated with the heavenly city.

It is from this new theological perspective of Medieval Christendom that the modern meaning of 'secularization' emerges. To secularize means, first of all, to 'make worldly', to convert religious persons or things into secular ones, as when a religious person abandons monastic rule to live in the world, or when monastic property is secularised. This is the medieval Christian theological meaning of the term 'secularization' that may serve, however, as the basic metaphor of the historical process of Western secularisation. This historical process needs to be understood as a particular reaction to the structuring dualism between the religious and the secular world. Even in Western Europe, however, this process of secularization follows two different dynamics, which would eventually crystallize into the Nordic Protestant and the Southern Catholic patterns. The North American pattern, as I will argue later, presents a third, non-European, alternative dynamic.

The first dynamic is one of internal Christian secularisation, which aims to spiritualize the temporal and to bring the religious life of perfection out of the monasteries into the secular world. It tends to transcend the dualism by blurring the boundaries between the religious and the secular, by making the religious secular and the secular religious through mutual, reciprocal infusion. This path was initiated by the various medieval movements of Christian reform of the *saeculum* and gained further institutionalization in and through the Protestant Reformation in all its versions, but attained its most radical and paradigmatic expression in the Anglo-Saxon sectarian-Calvinist cultural area, particularly in the United States.

In the Nordic pattern, as Knut Ruyter has rightly pointed out in this book, this does not lead to differentiation between or separation of the religious and the secular but to a peculiar integration, a sharing of space, or a blending between the two. He rightly criticizes in this respect what he reads as a rigid

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

theory of differentiation in my 1994 book, *Public Religions in the Modern World*. But in my posterior writings I have questioned the theory of differentiation and revised significantly the theory of public religion, acknowledging that my previous position was very much informed by a Catholic hermeneutic perspective. (Casanova: 2008)

The second, very different and at times almost opposite, dynamic of secularization takes the form of laicization. It aims to emancipate all secular spheres from clerical-ecclesiastical control, and in this respect it is marked by a laic-clerical antagonism, which was exacerbated by the Counter-Reformation and the absolutist alliance rather than the Protestant integration of throne and altar during the *ancient regime*. Unlike the Protestant path, however, here in the Southern Catholic pattern of secularization the boundaries between the religious and the secular are rigidly maintained, but those boundaries are pushed into the margins, aiming to contain, privatize and marginalize everything religious while excluding it from any visible presence in the secular public sphere, now defined as the realm of *laïcité*, freed from religion. This is the paradigmatic French-Latin-Catholic path of secularization, but diverse manifestations can also be found throughout continental Europe.

With many variations, these are the two main dynamics of European secularisation that culminate in our secular age. In different ways, both paths lead to an overcoming of the medieval Christian dualism through positive affirmation and revaluation of the *saeculum*, that is, of the secular age and the secular world, imbuing the immanently secular world with a quasi-transcendent meaning as the place for human flourishing. In this broad sense of the term 'secular', we are all secular, and all modern societies are secular and are likely to remain so for the foreseeable future; one could almost say *per saecula saeculorum* (Casanova: 2013).

But there is another meaning of 'secular' which is linked to what I call 'philosophico-historical secularism' whereby the secular is understood not as one of two mutually constituted binary poles (religious and secular) nor as an optional worldview (belief versus unbelief), but rather as a post-religious temporal stage. What Taylor calls the naturalization of 'unbelief' or 'non-religion' as the normal human condition in modern societies corresponds to the assumptions of the dominant theories of secularization, which have postulated a progressive decline of religious beliefs and practices with increasing modernization, so that the more modern a society is, the more secular (i. e. less 'religious') it is supposed to become.

I would maintain that secularization in the sense of being 'devoid of religion' does not happen automatically as a result of processes of modernization; it needs to be mediated phenomenologically by some other particular historical experience. Self-sufficient secularity, that is, the absence of religion, has a better chance of becoming the normal, taken-for-granted position if it is experienced not simply as an unreflexively naïve condition, as just a fact, but rather as the meaningful result of a quasi-natural process of

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

development. As Taylor has pointed out, modern unbelief is not simply a condition of absence of belief, nor merely indifference; it is a historical condition that requires the perfect tense, "a condition of having overcome the irrationality of belief." (Taylor: 2007, 269) Intrinsic to this phenomenological experience is a modern 'stadial consciousness', inherited from the Enlightenment, which understands this anthropocentric change in the conditions of belief as a process of maturation and growth, as a 'coming of age' and as progressive emancipation. For Taylor, this stadial phenomenological experience serves in turn to ground the phenomenological experience of exclusive humanism as the positive self-sufficient and self-limiting affirmation of human flourishing and as the critical rejection of transcendence beyond human flourishing as self-denial and self-defeat.

In this respect, the historical self-understanding of secularism has the function of confirming the superiority of our modern secular outlook over other – supposedly earlier and therefore more primitive – religious forms of understanding. To be secular means to be modern, and, by implication, to be religious means to be somehow not yet fully modern. This is the ratchet effect of a modern historical stadial consciousness, which turns the very idea of going back to a surpassed condition into an unthinkable intellectual regression.

I have argued that this secularist stadial consciousness has been a crucial factor in the widespread secularization that has accompanied the modernization of Western European societies. Europeans tend to experience their own secularization, that is, the widespread decline of religious beliefs and practices in their midst as a natural consequence of modernization. To be secular or irreligious is not experienced as an existential or historical choice, which modern individuals or modern societies make, but rather it is understood as the natural outcome of becoming modern. In this respect, the theory of secularization mediated through this historical stadial consciousness tends to function as a self-fulfilling prophecy (Casanova: 2009). It is, in my view, the presence or absence of this secularist historical stadial consciousness that explains when and where processes of modernization are accompanied by radical secularization. In places where such secularist historical stadial consciousness is absent or less dominant, as in the United States or in most non-Western post-colonial societies, processes of modernization are unlikely to be accompanied by processes of religious decline. On the contrary, processes of religious revival may accompany them.

The function of secularism as a philosophy of history, and thus as ideology, was to turn the particular Western Christian historical process of secularization into a universal teleological process of human development from belief to unbelief, from primitive irrational or metaphysical religion to modern, rational, post-metaphysical secular consciousness. This philosophical-historical secularism and the teleological view of Western secular modernity associated with it have recently been questioned by contemporary processes of

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

globalization which, on the one hand, have led to a de-centering of Western modernity and a certain provincialisation of Europe and, on the other hand, to a pluralisation of European societies due to new global migrations, which can no longer be conceived as homogenous, secular, post-Christian societies (Chakrabarty: 2007).

It is this dual process of pluralisation of modernities at the global level and of internal pluralisation of Western European societies which in my view leads to the discovery of the heterogeneity of the secular and to the need to rethink anew everywhere political secularism as a new reconfiguration of the spatial arrangement of religion and the secular, and of the place of religion in public secular spaces.

Modern sociological theories of secularization and modernization were based on an ideological and a historical theory of functional differentiation, understood as a linear process from the religiously undifferentiated Middle Ages to the present, ignoring the fact that the Westphalian system of modern territorial absolutist states was not predicated on the differentiation between church and state or on state secularization but rather on the territorialisation of Christian confessional churches and on the confessionalisation of peoples, nations and states. This process of state-led confessionalisation created religiously homogeneous societies throughout continental Europe, a homogeneously Protestant North, a homogeneously Catholic South and three bi-confessional societies in between, Holland, Germany and Switzerland, with their own patterns of internal territorial confessionalisation based on confessional 'pillars', territories or cantons.

The absolutist principle *cuius regio ejus religio* was not significantly altered by the shift of sovereignty from the monarch to the nation or people with the fall of the ancient regimes or with increasing massive democratisation process in the 20th century. European societies have remained religiously homogeneous societies, and the only significant change has been that from belief to unbelief. In this sense the process of European secularisation ought to be understood primarily as a process of deconfessionalization of states, nations, and individuals. But here one can also distinguish between the Nordic pattern of soft deconfessionalisation, which can best be characterized as 'belonging without believing', that is, secularisation without unchurching, and the more radical deconfessionalisation of the Catholic South that accompanies laicist unchurching.[2] Denmark presents the paradigmatic case of a European society with one of the lowest rates of religious belief and practice accompanied by one of the highest rates of confessional affiliation in the national church, the Church of Denmark. In this respect, to be Danish, to be Lutheran, and to be secular amounts to one and the same thing. This contrasts with the Southern Catholic pattern (France, Belgium and, increasingly, Spain, but not so much Portugal or Italy) of radical secularization and laicist deconfessionalisation.

2 Grace Davie.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

The secular is understood here in drastic laicist, anti-clerical, and often anti-religious terms that demand assertive unchurching. Spaniards in post-Francoist Spain who took the resisting Catholic Church to court in order to get their names erased from the church's baptismal registry may serve as a vivid illustration of this assertive deconfessionalisation.

The two different patterns of secularisation, Nordic Protestant and Southern Catholic, are related to different dynamics of deconfessionalisation, which in turn are related to the different preceding dynamics of confessionalisation of the absolutist state in Lutheran Protestant Europe and in Catholic Europe. Introducing an analytical distinction between the sacred and religion proper, or between two different kinds of religion, the Durkheimian socially sacred and religions of individual salvation may help to elucidate the main differences between the two patterns (Casanova: 2011b). In the same way as the axial breakthrough was characterised by a certain dissociation of the pre-axial sacred and the new salvation religions, which led to a new relocation of the sacred, the modern process of secularisation leads to a new dissociation of the collectively sacred and the individualised religious, and to a new relocation of the sacred in the secular public sphere on the one hand and in the individualised and privatised religious sphere on the other.

If one identifies religion with the socially sacred, as Durkheim does, then religion is, by definition, the system of beliefs and practices related to 'the sacred' which serves to unify its adherents into a single moral community, 'the church'. For Durkheim, however, this church is coextensive with society, which in a modern context would mean 'the nation' rather than what we would customarily call ecclesiastical institutions or religious communities. Durkheim goes so far as to assert that "individual religion either is simply derived from group religion or is no religion at all but magic. Indeed, the presence or absence of a church is what helps to differentiate both religion and magic." According to Durkheim, "in history we do not find religion without Church" and "there is no church of magic." (Durkheim: 1995, 41 – 44)

From this perspective the process of early modern state confessionalisation and the later process of deconfessionalisation can best be understood as processes of fusion, dissociation and relocation of the socially sacred, ecclesiastical institutions, and individualized religion. In the Nordic Lutheran pattern, notwithstanding all the significant differences between the various Nordic countries analysed in this volume, one finds a fusion of ecclesiastical institution (the Lutheran Church), the state and the nation. The church becomes an administrative unit of the secular (sacred) state, which even today still falls under parliamentary (popular-national-democratic) regulation and supervision. The socially sacred in Durkheim's terms has been relocated to the secular sphere of the state and of the nation.

As John Witte shows in this book, Luther reassembled the dualism of the Augustinian two kingdoms theory in novel ways that led to relocations of the sacred, the religious and the secular. Most importantly – and this is the key

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

difference with the laicist Southern-Latin pattern – the core dualism between the religious clergy and the secular laity is dissolved by mutual infusion, so that, in Witte's formulation, "Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers at once 'laicised' the clergy and 'clericised' the laity." The 'clerical' office of preaching and teaching was secularised, becoming one secular vocation just like any other, while the traditional 'lay' offices now became "forms of divine calling and priestly vocation."

The 'church' is also radically transformed in the process. A new dualism now emerges between the ecclesiastical institution, which as a visible church is just, part of the *saeculum* that falls under the law of the earthly kingdom, i. e., the state, and the invisible church of the eschatological communion of the saints. In the process, the 'true religion', the Kingdom of God, of Love and of the Gospel, mutates into a religion of inwardness and migrates to the individual conscience, eventually giving birth to pietist movements on the margins of the ecclesiastical institution, which prepared the ground for the modern cult of the individual and the sacralisation of human rights. Secularisation or soft 'deconfessionalisation' in this context means: a) continued adherence to the national church, which remains under the jurisdiction of the national sovereign; b) a drastic decline in religious (ecclesiastical) beliefs (confessional faith) and practices (rituals); c) interiorisation of a modern, individual, spiritual realm which becomes the authentic space of the sacred. There are of course tensions between the three domains of the religious-secular-sacred: a) the democratic national collective (the civil religion); b) the ecclesiastical Lutheran church; and c) the individual inward conscience. But there is no radical chasm or schism between the three.

The Southern Latin Catholic pattern evinces different dynamics of dissociation and relocation of the social sacred (state and nation), the ecclesiastical institution (the Catholic Church) and the religion of the individual. The process of absolutist confessionalisation is based on a close alliance between throne and altar, but the transnational structure of the Catholic Church and papal supremacy do not allow the kind of integration and fusion of the two one finds in the Nordic Lutheran pattern, even under caesaropapist Gallicanism. The secularisation of the state takes place through a radical break with the church that resists disestablishment. The schism here leads to a protracted chasm, indeed to a kind of prolonged civil war within the social sacred between a new republican laicist civil religion and the old national Catholic religion. The Latin-Catholic path of laicization is marked not by integration but by civil-ecclesiastical and laic-clerical antagonism. It maintains rigidly the boundaries between the religious and the secular, but pushes those boundaries into the margins, containing, privatising and marginalising everything religious. When it breaks the monastery walls, it will not be to bring the religious into the secular world, but to laicize them, dissolving and empting their religious content and making religious people (monks and nuns) civil and laic before forcing them into the secular world. Deconfession-

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

alisation of state, nation, and individuals here means assertive anti-Catholic unchurching.

Naturally, in the same way as one can point to significant differences and variations within the Nordic pattern, one can also ascertain fundamental differences within the Southern Latin pattern. Paradoxically, Italy, the land of the papacy, presents a pattern of softer deconfessionalisation and secularisation. At a time when most forms of state public laicist and secularist formations, parties and ideologies are in crisis, the non-etatist religious subculture and the internally pluralist sphere of Catholic associations and movements within Italian civil society maintain relatively high prestige and trust.

The United States offers a third dynamic of secularisation, which differs from the European patterns of deconfessionalisation. While it shares some elements from both the Nordic Protestant and the Southern Catholic patterns, it also radicalises them. With laicist France it shares a secular separationist model of disestablishment of ecclesiastical religion at the state level, while radicalising the Protestant model of diffusion of the religious and secular boundaries in society. The key to the American model is the dissolution of the ecclesiastical national church institution and the proliferation of the sectarian model of independent voluntary religious associations without any state interference.

A crucial fact is that the United States did not share the early modern European historical process of confessionalisation of state, nation and people. Consequently, the process of American secularization does not entail a process of deconfessionalisation or unchurching. On the contrary, secular modernisation in the United States is accompanied by religious revival and by 'churching', which, however, denotes affiliation to any of the many different kinds of religious denominations but not, as in Europe, adherence to a confessional, territorial church (*Landeskirche*).

Unlike France, the United States did not need to undergo a formal process of separation of church and state, since it never had a confessional state or an established state church from which the state had to separate itself. Also, and unlike most Europeans, Americans did not need to undergo a process of deconfessionalisation from any national ecclesiastical institution, since even the established colonial churches, Congregational, Presbyterian and Anglican, remained minoritarian institutions in the respective colonies and the majority of the population remained unchurched at the time of independence. The American state was born as a modern secular state without having to undergo any process of deconfessionalisation, and the dual constitutional formula of no establishment of religion at the state level and free exercise of religion in society guaranteed the development of denominationalism as a system of free and open religious pluralism in society, based on the sectarian non-ecclesiastical model of religious association.

The sectarian denominational model entails freedom of religion from state

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

and from church and the dismantling of all ecclesiastical institutions, thereby turning them into civil associations. It also entails a radical individualisation of religion. Moreover, American nationalism functions as the 'American civil religion,' a religion that, while disestablished and without any ecclesiastical institutional form, is not in conflict with ecclesiastical religion. And while it differs from any particular religious denomination, it is shared, as Tocqueville already pointed out, by all denominations in America (Bellah: 1967).

Surveys of American religion reveal two persistent characteristics of the American religious system. The first is the high level of religious belief (over 90 % of the population declares a belief in God), of religious affiliation (around 80 % of the American population declares some religious denominational affiliation), and of individual and collective religious practice (over 70 % prays regularly and over 50 % participates in congregational religious services at least once a month). The second remarkable characteristic is the highly competitive and dynamic fluidity of American religious pluralism. According to the 2008 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life Survey, more than one quarter of American adults (28 %) have switched their religious affiliation since childhood. If change in Protestant denomination is included, the number of adults who have switched their religious affiliation rises to 44 per cent (Casanova: 2011c). This is a phenomenon that is totally incomprehensible in the European confessional context, both in the Protestant North and in the Catholic South, where the only relevant changes are unchurching and confessional secularisation, not a change in religious affiliation.

The modern 'secular-religious' system of classification which emerged out of the transformation of Western Christianity and which we tend to characterize as a process of secularisation has now become globalised, entering into dynamic transformative interaction with all non-Western systems of classification, pre-axial as well as axial. All the religio-cultural systems, Christian and non-Christian, Western and non-Western alike, are now being transformed through these global interactive dynamics. Following Charles Taylor, one can understand this process as the global expansion of the secular immanent frame.

The paradox is that the globalisation of the Western European secular-religious regime leads not to the exit from religion, as was the case in Europe, but rather to all kinds of novel religious transformations, as is the case in the United States. Indeed, what characterizes the contemporary global moment is not only the fact that all forms of human religion, past and present, from the most 'primitive' to the most 'modern', are available for individual and collective appropriation Equally relevant is the fact that increasingly they must learn to coexist side by side in today's global cities. This contemporary social fact tends to call into question all teleological schemes of religious rationalization and development, which tended to regard 'primitive' and 'traditional' forms of religion as older human cultural forms to be superseded by more modern, secular, and rational ones.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497

Paraphrasing Johannes Fabian's analysis in *Time and the Other*, one could say that the social scientific study of religion had been permeated by a modern, secularist, stadial consciousness that placed the social scientists 'here and now' in secular modernity while placing their object of study, religion, 'there and then', as the 'other' that somehow persisted as a pre-modern anachronistic survivor in a time not contemporary with our secular age (Fabian: 1983). This was the fundamental premise on which every theory of modernisation and every theory of secularisation were built. Our age of globalisation, however, is changing this perspective. Globalisation is the new philosophy of space that has come to replace the modern philosophy of history. In a sense, with globalization the spatial metaphor has begun to replace the dominant temporal-historical metaphor of Western secular modernity.

Paradoxically, with its institutionalization first in the West and then globally, ensuing globalisation, the secular immanent frame becomes the very guarantor of the post-axial secular/religious system which guarantees equal, non-hierarchic free exercise of religion to all forms of religion, pre-axial, axial and post-axial. The sacralisation of human rights and the sacralisation of the right of each and all individuals to religious freedom serves as the constitutive principle of such a post-axial global pluralist religious system.

Certainly, one finds around the globe a tremendous variety of secular regimes of separation of religious and political authority as well as of state management of religion and religious pluralism, along with very different patterns of majority/minority relations which are mainly structured by different forms of nationalism and by different immigration regimes. Yet the secular state management of religion is everywhere under siege, or at least in need of substantive revision, as it confronts the expansion of the principle of individual religious freedom, increasing religious pluralisation, and new transnational religious dynamics linked to immigration and globalisation.

## Bibliography

Bellah, R. N. (2005), What is Axial about the Axial Age? European Journal of Sociology 46.

Bellah, R.N, (1967), Civil Religion in America, Daedalus 96 no. 1, 1 – 21.

Casanova, J. (2013), Exploring the Post secular. Three Meanings of "the Secular" and Their Possible Transcendence, in: Calhoun, C. / Mendieta, E. / Van Antwerpen, J. (ed.), Habermas and Religion, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Casanova, J. (2012), Religion, the Axial Age and Secular Modernity in Bellah's Theory of Religious Evolution, in: Bellah, R. N. / Joas, H. (ed.), The Axial Age and Its Consequences, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 191 – 221.

Casanova, J. (2011a), The secular, secularizations, secularisms, in: Calhoun, C. / Juergensmeyer, M. / Van Antwerpen, J.( ed.), Rethinking Secularism, New York: Oxford University Press, 54 – 74.

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
ISBN Print: 9783525604496 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647604497