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THE IMPACT OF RELIGION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree in any university.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family whose unwavering financial and moral support has enabled me reach this far. May God always bless you.

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First, I would like to acknowledge the support and guidance of my University supervisor Dr Anita Kiamba not forgetting all the teachers and lecturers who have added great value to my life through impartation of knowledge and skill.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The study focused on the impact of religion of international relations in Kenya. The main areas explored were international relations issues and challenges, the perspective of international relation scholars on religion and the impact of religion on international relations.

The study was explanatory. The study focused mainly on secondary data. That is books, journals and research that has been done by various scholars in the field of international relations and religious studies. In the area of international relations issues and challenges the main focus was on globalization, terrorism, media and culture. The perspective of international relation scholars on religion aimed at looking at what social scientists, policy makers and various scholars view are on religion.

The study established that religion has been overlooked as an element in international relations. The study show that religion has multiple influences on international relations including influencing the world views of leaders and constituents, to bestow legitimacy, terrorism, human rights, foreign policy and even opposing certain practices.

Religion is on the rise. There is an increase in the number of groups described as religious and their actions are motivated by ideas animated by religion which has influence on outcomes war, terrorism, human rights, foreign policy, and peace settlement. Therefore religion could provide a universal understanding of the aspirations of different identity.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The study of international relations involves many actors when analyzing the world system. Traditional realist theories are concerned with the state as the main actor. While liberal theories contest this and hold to the fact that there are more actors such as multinational companies, nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations which when put together are referred as international organizations and individuals. Individuals are able to play a role because of their past offices that is positions they have held previously hence becoming influential, for example an individual like reverend Desmond Tutu of South Africa is a prominent example of individuals who have become influential actors, and their record of leadership which engenders much respect internationally.[1] Most ideas that have inspired mass movements and changed societies for the better or for worse have come from individual persons.[2]

Religious institutions have shaped international relations. The Holy See, which is the central authority of the Catholic Church worldwide, traditionally enjoys the quality of subject of international law. The head of the Catholic Church has been active as a mediator and conciliator in international and internal conflicts for example between Argentina and Chile in the beagle channel conflict in promoting the peace process in Mozambique. The world council of churches is a nongovernmental international organization, the Church of England is purely a national body and the international

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[1] Kapper.D and mwagiru.M, Diplomacy vol 1,Concept, Actors, Organs, Process and Rules,1994

[2] Mwagiru.M (Ed) African Regional Security in the Age of Globalisation, Heinrich Bull Foundation, 2004

body of Islam is the organization of Islamic states an intergovernmental international organization all of which have been active on the international plane.[3]

Religious scripture and teachings tell people what to do and how to act. For example the September 11th terrorist attacks were carried out by religious fanatics for partially religious reasons. The hijackers had been indoctrinated by the extremist wing of Islam. Where religious motive was needed to commit atrocities, that is, the promise of an afterlife and rewards that are apparently waiting for the terrorists.[4] The quantitative branch of international scholarship is often accused of ignoring factors that are difficult to measure. This was certainly true of religion until the late 1990s. However this does not mean religion was not there. Most international relations scholarship did not address religion until recently when the series of terror attacks on the West by Muslim extremist began.[5]

While there are few overtly religious international wars, there is no shortage of local conflicts with religious overtones.[6] Kenya is one of the countries that has been affected by these local conflicts through bombings and shoot out in different parts of the country by people who are believed to be Muslim extremist that are sympathizing with Somalia alshaabab. These local conflicts often cross international borders, producing refugees and you find that groups in bordering state sharing the same religious beliefs with those involved in a conflict often become involved in the conflict.

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[3] Kappeler.D and Mwagiru.M, Diplomacy vol 1,Concept,Actors,Organs, Process and Rules.1994
[4] Jamesomalley.co.uk/misc/dissertation.pdf
[5] Fox.J and Sandler.S, Bringing Religion into International Relations, New York, Palgrave Macmillan,2004
[6] Fox. J and Sandal. A, Religion in International Relations Theory: Interactions and possibilities, Routledge 2013

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The foregoing introduction brings forth the question: what is the role of religion in international relations?

To answer the question, it must be understood that the world is changing. It is becoming more and more difficult to ignore religion in the modern world. The task is that we need to understand the ways in which religions, not only influence but are influenced by the behavior of both individuals and collectivities. Religion causes intolerance, devastation, political upheaval, war and even the collapse of international order. The presence, rather than the absence of religion in the modern world require an explanation, that is, why it still exists. Religion can be seen as a social integrator, at times it can hold society together, at other times it can tear it apart. In the society where there are different religions, religious conflict can be dysfunctional for social unity. The potential for conflict and especially that between Islam and its neighbors has caught the attention of many. It has become a persistent frame of reference.

1.2 Research questions

The study aims to investigate the impact of religion on international relations. Specifically, the study will aim to:

i.   What is the impact of religion on international relations?

ii.   How has Kenya responded to religion?

iii. How have religion shaped the behavior of nation-states towards each other?

1.3 Literature review

The literature pertaining to this study is classified into two broad categories: that is literature on religion and foreign policy and literature on religion and international relations.

1.3.1 Religion and foreign policy

Policy making involves both the State and non- state actors. The non- state actors for example nongovernmental organizations and individuals who influence the policy making in a state, they characteristically exercise considerable independence, or autonomy in what they do and this gives them room for manoeuvre with regard both to the societies over which they rule and to other states. The autonomy is however limited by both internal and external forces, states and leaders cannot do whatever they want in foreign policy.[7]

Many private consulting firms and individuals are among the non- state actors, for example former UN Secretary General Koffi Annan is one of such individuals, for instance, they sell their service to foreign governments to provide advice on domestic and foreign policies. Such activity has become particularly noticeable in Eastern Europe with the end of the cold war, a region in which many American firms and individuals have instructed Eastern Europeans on the operation of democracies and market economies. The international activities of private voluntary organizations (PVOs) such as Catholic Relief Services and Lutheran World Relief, many religion affiliated, have proliferated in the post Vietnam era as well, this is because Vietnam's postwar period was filled with more fighting, poverty, and suffering for its people

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[7] Skocpol. T, States and Social Revolution, Cambridge University press 1979.

hence needed help from such organizations. Although they originated primarily as relief organizations during and immediately after world war two and focused most of their attention on the war torn countries of Europe. Over the past years these and newer PVOs have diversified their activities and geographical focus to emphasize emergency and developmental assistance to third world countries. It is through such international activities that private groups and individuals affect the making and conduct of United States of America (U.S.A) foreign policy[8].

Social movements and groups are politically active because of their impact on domestic politics and more specifically on the government's policy making process. Groups come to represent significant allies, or formidable opponents when they are well organized, when they represent a sizeable, well educated and middle to upper class constituency and when the position they wish members of congress to support are viewed as mainstream and respectable.[9]

Islam and Islamism have whether in radical or more conservative form provided the basis for formulating and pursuing foreign policy by states because of a genuine belief system that can be used selectively to endorse state action, for example, there was revolutionary ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran which, from 1979 called for the uprising of oppressed Muslims throughout the middle east and beyond and did all it could to further this end.[10] What is evident in the Middle East, though not confined to the Middle East or to the third world more generally, is the rising importance of domestic communal participation in foreign policy even as demands for greater

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[8] Rosati.J, The politics of United States Foreign Policy, Harcourt Brace College Publishers 1993.
[9] U.S Congress, Foreign Policy Interest Groups.
[10] Halliday.F, The Middle East in International Relations: Power, Politics and Ideology, Cambridge University Press.2005

regional and international interdependence grow as well. Already hampered by inadequate expertise and organization, foreign policy capacity is further weakened by escalating pressures from ethnic, religious and economic divisions within the national societies[11]

The strengthening of Islamist movements in the Middle East could be seen as simply the continuation of a process which has been under way ever since the late 1970s. Yet the period since the end of the 1980s has witnessed the emergence or the growth in strength, of some particularly militant Islamist organizations. In Saudi Arabia for example, since the end of the 1980, Islamist militancy has posed a threat to the Saudi regime. The threat is of particular significance in so far as its inspiration has come primarily from clerics. The militants employ direct action to expose what they see as corrupt elements, raiding houses where they suspect that people have been drinking alcohol, publicly denouncing members of the government and royal family who they suspect of corruption and circulating cassettes criticizing the government.[12] At present the most powerful movement advocating pan-Islamism is the Muslim Brotherhood.[13] Initially, the movement became a major political force in Egypt then spread to Syria, Jordan and other Arab and Muslim countries. The movement played an effective role in the political life of Egypt. After the independence of Egypt in 1952, the Muslim brotherhood offered guidelines for policies of the new government.[14]

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[11] Pranger.R.J, The Middle East in Global Perspective (ed) Kipper.J and Saunders .H, Westview Press 1991

[12] Niblock.T, The Middle East in the New World Order,(ed) Jawaal .H, Macmilian Press, 1997.

[13] Sharabi H.B, Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab World, Van Nostrand Reinhold, London, 1966.

[14] Ibid,pp96-7

The Muslim brotherhood started as a movement aiming at reforming the individual as well as society. The movement believes that Islam has declined because of the spread of blind imitation and western missionary activities and imperial domination have brought alien values and immorality. To remedy the situation, it is advocated that Muslims should return to the Islam of the Qur'an and try to apply its teachings to every aspect of their lives.[15] For the founder of the movement, Hasan al-Banna, he aims at a spiritual awakening based on the principles of Islam. This, in turn, would have an impact on the individual, the household and the nation. As for the spiritual awakening of the nation, he identifies two aims. The first one is to liberate the fatherland from all foreign rule, when this is obtained, a free Islamic state must be established in accordance with the principles of Islam, which are set forth in the Qur'an. Other secondary goals are: accomplishing a better economic distribution by eradicating foreign monopolies, providing better health care for the people, offering general education to all citizens, reducing crime in society and setting up a decent army. These goals can be achieved through deep faith, work and careful organization.[16]

Qutb a prominent leader of the movement after Hasan al-Banna writings call for the renewal of the Islamic life, because contemporary Muslim society is not truly Islamic. To achieve this goal, he stresses the birth of religious belief and the restructuring of legislation so that all facet of public could be ordered in accordance with the Islamic framework.[17] His teachings focuses on the belief that Islam offers adequate solutions

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[15] Hourani. A, A History of the Arab Peoples,Faber, London 1991

[16] Butterworth C.E, Prudence Versus Legitimacy: the Persistent Theme in Islamic Political Thought, in Dessouki A.E, Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World, Praeger, New York 1982

[17] Jawad.H.A, The Middle East in the New World Order, Macmillian Press, 1997.

to the problems of human because Islam alone unites spirit and matters, thereby responding to all needs of mankind.[18]

American policy is guided by three conceptions. One is the warm, generous, humanitarian impulse to help other people solve their problems. A second is the principle of self determination applied at the international level, which asserts the right of every society to establish its own goals or objectives and to realize them internally through the means it decides are appropriate. But the third idea entertained by many Americans is one which insists that other people cannot really solve their problems and improve their lives unless they go about it in the same way as the United States.[19]

1.3.2 Religion and how it influences international relations

According to Emile Durkheim, religion is community and conversely, community is religion. That is, religion has its sources in man's perception of a power outside himself, both exercising constraint on him and providing him with reinforcement and support. Religion then is society's consciousness of itself where ritual actions in which the whole of a human community assemble to ratify, celebrate and reinforce their unity.[20] On the other hand international relations refers to something that is going on in the world. It has to do with war and peace, with riots and revolution abroad, with negotiations and treaties with other governments, with the proceedings

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[18] Butterworth C.E, Prudence Versus Legitimacy: The Persistent Theme in Islamic Political Thought, in Dessouki A.E, The Islamic Resurgence into Arab World, Praeger, Newyork 1982.
[19] William A.W, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, Harper and Row publishers, 1959
[20] Greely.M, The Persistence of Religion, SCM Press ltd 1973.

of the United Nations, and with the daily reporting of news events from the capitals of the world.[21]

The concepts and thinking of international relations are influenced by religious semantics, that concepts like sovereignty, state and nation have often rather obvious religious roots. Religious elements in international relations debate on ethics and international relations. That is, the application of various ethical traditions to questions in international relations, especially questions of war and peace. When religion is mentioned in the context of international relations, this will be the connotation that it has to most international relations scholars.[22] However, this thinking has limits because this literature usually takes the form of ethics and international relations, that is an external relationship, religious thought exists somewhere else, international relations is in itself areligious.[23]

The relevance of religion cannot be separated from its persistence in human consciousness and its historical role in the social construction of human nature. Religion is understood not only encompassing the teachings, beliefs and practices of organized religions but also all spiritual outlooks that interpret the meaning of life by reference to faith and to the commitment to that which cannot be explained by empirical science or sensory observation and is usually associated with an acceptance of the divine, the sacred, the holy, the mysterious, the ultimate. Religion is also the source of limit, suggesting outer boundaries of acceptable behavior for the human

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[21] McClelland, Theory and International System. The Macmillan Company,New York 1968
[22] Terry N.,(ed), The Ethics of War and Peace: Religious and Secular Perspectives, Princeton University Press, 1996
[23] Walker R.B, Inside/ Outside: International Relations as Political Theory, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

species, a guidance that has great current relevance with respect to imposing limits on scientific inquiry and technological innovation, as in the instance of human cloning. Religion then must be understood as providing rationale for the unconditional, for the refusal to accept limits to the extent that the divine is being served. In these respects, religion encompasses belief in God and gods.[24]

A renaissance of religious traditions is taking place virtually all over the globe. Contrary to once widespread expectations that religion would gradually disappear as a political force in modernizing societies, religious communities have been getting stronger in many nations over the last two decades or so. Their leaders put forward grievances about discrimination, raise claims as to how state and society should be organized, and mobilize the faithful into action. Social institutions such as schools, charities and hospitals are run in the name of their respective religious denominations. In many Muslim countries, there are calls for introduction of the sharia public law. In India, Hindu nationalists attempt to establish their creed as the state privilege religion. In the United States, the Christian right tries to capture the state for the dissemination and implementation of the external truth as they understand it.[25]

Activist religious intellectuals throughout the world have helped to transform the dynamics of international relations as well as the nature of politics within their own societies. As intellectuals, they are creating the new concepts and vocabulary in which policies and programs are articulated. In policy debates and in the disagreements over interpretation of policies, two significant perspectives for viewing international

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[24] Richard F., A Worldwide Religious Resurgence in an Era of Globalization,(ed) Petito .F and Hatzopoulos.P, Religion in International Relations: The Return from Exile, Palgrave Macmillan 2003.
[25] Jonathan F, Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations, International Studies Review 3.no.3(2001)

relations have emerged. One can be defined as the conflict vision of global relations, and the other is the more complex vision of dialogue.[26] The most widely known expressions of these perspectives, especially as they relate to the place of the world of Islam in the international system, are portrayed in the debates over what Samuel Huntington argues is the inevitable clash of civilizations and what his critics advocate as the necessity for the dialogue of civilizations. Among Islamic intellectuals in the second half of the twentieth century, advocates of both clash and dialogue visions had strong and highly visible voices. Their debates within the Muslim world are part of the broader dynamic of the significant role of religion and religious faith in defining the nature of international relations in the contemporary world.[27]

Most religious conflicts in international politics are asymmetric. Often, secular states are attacked by religious groups. A threat from a religious group known for using terrorist methods is typically seen as a threat to the sovereignty of the state. In American foreign policy, threats from religious fundamentalism are considered to be of utmost importance. The new enemies are driven by faith, rather than power gains. Hence, threatening them is of no use, since they do not understand reason and knowledge. It is often argued that the fundamentalists might not be many in numbers, but their faith makes them highly unpredictable and dangerous. The influence of religious communities on politics and policies real as it is must not be overestimated. The sources of conflicts and the course of conflict processes are usually highly

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[26] Esposito J and Voll J, Islam and the West in Religion and International Relations.
[27] Huntington .S, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2003.

complex. Religious factors often play only a subordinate role as a source of conflicts, but an important one in conflict processes.[28]

In one way or another, Diasporas and kin countries have been involved in every fault line war of the 1990s. Given the extensive primary role of Muslim groups in such wars, Muslim governments and associations are the most frequent secondary and tertiary participants. The most active has been governments of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Turkey, Libya and Iran, who together with other Muslim states have contributed varying degrees of support to Muslims fighting non-Muslims in Bosnia, Lebanon, Palestine, Sudan, Chechnya and Kashmir.[29] According to one analyst, Islamist international of fighters was involved in the dispatch of volunteers in order to establish Islamist rule in Afghanistan, Kashmir and Bosnia, joint propaganda wars against governments opposing Islamists in one country or another, the establishment of Islamic centers in the Diaspora that serve jointly as political headquarters for all of those parties.[30]

In Africa Sudan regularly helped the Muslim Eritrean rebels fighting Ethiopia and in retaliation Ethiopia supplied logistics and sanctuary support to the rebel Christians fighting Sudan. The latter also received similar aid from Uganda, reflecting in part its strong religious, racial and ethnic ties to the Sudanese rebels. A variety of western

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[28] Hasenclever.A and Rittberger.V, Does Religion make a Difference, (ed) Hatzopoulous.P and Petito.F, Religion in International Relations, The Return from Exile, Palgrave Macmillan 2003.
[29] Huntington.S, The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2003.
[30] Duran.K, quoted in Schultz and Olson.w, Ethnic and Religious Conflict: Emerging Threat to U.S Security, Washington, D.C National Strategy Information Center.

Christian organizations provided food, medicine, supplies and according to the Sudanese government, arms to the Christian rebels.[31]

1.3.3 Religions hostility

Some of the greatest threats to international security in the future will result from the absence of legitimate sovereignty manifested in collapsing central governments and accompanied by the rise of new and previously outlawed forces in politics such as religion and ethnicity. In many instances these changes will result in civil conflict, more than likely drawing in neighbouring states and perhaps international community as a whole.[32] The clash of civilization in the immediate future will rage and has been raging between the West and Islam. This is so because of the potent contradiction between oil and poverty. Where the minority Muslims live in very rich Gulf States, while the vast majority of Muslims live in countries with minimal or no oil resources.[33]

After the First World War, there was fierce competition between European nations for the scramble for the Middle East and its vast oil resources. The Europeans established two principles of freezing the boundaries and freezing of dynasties. They made permanent territorial boundaries which had either been nonexistent or constantly shifting. In a way that would pre-empt any future pan-Arabism or Pan-Islamism, the colonial powers ensured that there were oil rich territorial states with small

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[31] Lobban.C, Protracted Civil War in the Sudan: its future as a Multi-Religious, Multi-Ethnic State, Fletcher Forum of World Affairs 16, 1992.

[32] Nolan, J.(1994) Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century,The Brookings Institution,Washington DC.

[33] Huntington.S, The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2003.

populations and oil scarce states with large populations.[34] The new age of imperialism changed the cultural and political relationship between the west and Islam. This is due to the imposing of responsibility on the local people, therefore turning their passivity into militant modern life.[35] The impact of the west was resisted in the Islamic world. Since 1500 scarcely a decade or even half a decade has passed without some Muslim somewhere fighting against the encroachment by some western power.[36] Presently, these fightings have increased, in such a way that, in a year there can be several attacks in different parts of the world by people believed to be Muslim militants for example al-shaabab and al-queda. For these Muslims these are wars both in defense of Islam and in defense of home.

In several countries for example Afghanistan, Egypt and Somalia, Islamic fundamentalists reject western oriented secular states in favour of governments more explicitly oriented to Islamic values. These movements reflect long standing anti-western sentiment in these countries against the European colonizers who were Christian.[37] Religious intolerance can exacerbate tensions between groups, sometimes crossing the line to violence with international implications. For example Hindu-Muslim conflict affects India's relation with its Muslim neighbours including Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia. The radical Islamic movements not only threaten some existing governments especially those tied to the west, they often undermine norms of state sovereignty. They reject western political conceptions of the state base on individual autonomy in favour of a more traditional Islamic orientation based on

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[34] Rutven.M, Islam in The World, London, Penguin 1991
[35] Said.E, Orientalism, London, Penguin Books 1985
[36] Jansen.G, Militant Islam, London Penguin 1987
[37] Turner.J, Cross, Cresent and Sword: The Justification and Limitation of War in Western and Islamic Tradition. New York Greenwood 1990

community. Some aspire to create a single political state encompassing most of the Middle East, as existed in A.D 600-1200. International conflicts may be generated by clash of civilizations based on the differences between the world's major cultural groupings, which overlap quite a bit with religious communities.[38]

1.4 Justification of the study

There is need to carry out this research in order to assess the impact of religion on international relations. Religion has not been considered as an actor not only in international relations but also in other social sciences. Therefore this study will help in the evolving of international relations theories so as to accommodate religion. In that, religion is based on beliefs, and these beliefs are influencing individuals to act in different ways. For example, Muslim terrorists believe when they commit acts of terror they would go straight to heaven. Consequently, such acts of terrorism, affects the states' policy making. Secondly, the research will be beneficial in explaining why at times religion holds the international community together and at times it tears it apart. That is, how religion has shaped the behavior of nation- states towards each other, is there hostility or cohesion. Lastly, it would help to find out how religion has influenced and impacted on international relations.

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[38] Huntington.S, The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order, Simon and Schuster Paperbacks, 2003.

1.5 Theoretical framework

The term constructivism was coined by Nicholas Onuf who introduced it to international relations.[39]Then it gathered a larger following among scholars with a series of articles and a book by Alexander Wendt.[40]

Social constructivism focuses on human awareness or consciousness and its place in world affairs. Constructivists argue that the most important aspect of international relations is social, not material. Therefore, the study of international relations must focus on the ideas and beliefs that inform the actors on the international scene as well as the shared understandings between them. If the thoughts and ideas that enter into the existence of international relations change, then the system itself will change as well, because the system consists in thoughts and ideas.[41]

Constructivists rely on insights of people like Max Weber to emphasize the importance of meaning and understanding.[42]He emphasized that the world of human interaction is fundamentally different from the natural world of physical phenomena. Human beings rely on understanding of each others' actions and assigning meaning to them.[43]Constructivists emphasize the social construction of reality. Human relations, including international relations consist of thought and ideas and not essentially of material conditions or forces. According to constructivist philosophy, the social world is not something out there that exists independent of the thoughts and ideas of the

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[39] Onuf, N. (1989) A World of Our Making. Columbia, University of South Carolina Press

[40] Jackson, R and Sorenson, R. (2010)Introduction to International Relations; Theories and Approaches. Oxford University Press.

[41] Wendt, A.(1992) Anarchy is What States Make of It, International Organization.

[42] Fierke, K.(2001) Critical Methodology and Constructivism, in Fierke,K and Jorgensen, (eds) London:M.e Sharpe

[43] Weber, M. (1964) The Theory of Social and EconomicOrganisation. New York, Free Press.

people involved in it. What matters is how the actors think about each other, that is, their ideas and beliefs.[44]

There are four major types of ideas: ideologies or shared belief systems which are systematic set of doctrines or beliefs that reflect the social needs and aspirations of a group, culture or state. Normative or principled beliefs which are beliefs about right or wrong, for example the role of human rights. Casual beliefs are beliefs about cause effect or means end relationships. They provide strategies for individuals on how to achieve their objectives and policy prescription which are specific programmatic ideas that facilitate policy making by specifying how to solve particular policy problems. The ideas must be widely shared to matter. They can be held by different groups, such as organizations, policy makers, social groups or society. These ideas are mental constructs held by individuals, sets of distinctive beliefs, principles and attitudes that provide broad orientation for behavior and policy.[45]

The focus of the study is to find out how religions' impacts on international relations. Religion is based on beliefs, ideas, practices, feelings, a relationship with a Supreme Being and cohesion among those who share the same religious feeling of faith. Therefore, the social constructivism theory will be crucial in this study, in that constructivists argue that international relations is informed by ideas and beliefs that influence the actors internationally and how they relate with each other. The religious beliefs and ideas have been used in reconciliation in war tone states; they have also been used to promote cohesion in the international arena. On the other side,

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[44] Jackson, R and Sorenson, G.(2010) Introduction to International Relations; Theories and Approaches. Oxford University Press.
[45] Tannenwald, N. (2005) Ideas and Explanation: Advancing the Theoretical Agenda, Journal of Cold War Studies.

some religious beliefs have promoted a rift in the international arena, for example the acts of terror committed by people with certain beliefs, ideas and practices that are connected to religion. In international relations, rapport is very important among the actors. That is, how the actors think about each other, of which it is informed by their ideas and beliefs. The ideas must be widely shared to have an impact. For example, mass movements.

1.6 Hypotheses

This research was based on three hypotheses:

i).   Religion affects international relations.

ii).   Religion has contributed to hostility between states.

iii).   Religion has influenced nation-states views and choices.

1.7 Methodology

This study was based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data consisted of data collected from interviews from selected samples. Secondary was used in order to explicate work already done in this field.

The study used cluster sampling design. Cluster sampling is used when it is not possible to obtain a sampling frame because the population is either very large or scattered over a large geographical area. Cluster sampling involves selection of an intact group. All the members of such an intact group are then included in the sample and each member becomes a unit of observation.[46]

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[46] Mugenda.M and Mugenda.A, Research Methods, Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches, ATS Press Nairobi, 2003.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter one: Introduction to the study.

The chapter stated the study statement problem, objectives, literature review, working assumptions, methodology, and theoretical framework.

Chapter two: Internationalization of religion

The chapter seeks to explain that most religions have become global, hence creating new boundaries and breaking old ones, creating new cultures and sharing of languages.

Chapter three: A comparative study of Nigeria, India and the United States' security in relation to religion

The chapter seeks to compare three different states' security in relation to their different religions.

Chapter four: A critical analysis of the impact of religion on international relations

The chapter goes into depth of finding out how the different religions of the world affect and influence international relations.

Chapter five: conclusion and recommendations.

This chapter will give the findings of the study and the way forward.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF RELIGION

2.1 Introduction

Sometimes the term fundamentalist is used to describe any group that takes religion seriously or that views religion's role in public life to be greater than the labeler would wish it to be. The term also might be used for those who are too religiously confident or who engage in any sort of action out of religious conviction. Thus, not only are the Christian religious right in the United States and the global al Qaeda Muslims called fundamentalist, but so too are local parent groups who want restrictions placed on Internet access in local schools. Groups that want their religion practiced purely are called fundamentalist, as are groups pushing for an overhaul of the national or global political system who are at best culturally connected to a religion.[47]

To understand terrorism and violence and their connection to fundamentalism, first, not all religiously based violence is done by fundamentalists. Sometimes, in fact, religion is used as a justification for violence by people and groups not specifically religious. Second, not all fundamentalist groups are violent. In fact, most are not. Despite the many fundamentalist people and groups in the United States, for example, there has been less violence than, for example, in many nations of the Middle East.

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[47] Michael O. and David H. The Rise of Religious Fundamentalism, First published online as a Review in Advance on April 5, 2006.

And most often, when violence has occurred in the United States, it was the work of an individual operating alone, without the organized support of a religious group.[48]

The use of violence and terrorism has increased over the decades. The confrontation between religion and the secular state is increasingly framed as a cosmic war that one group or the other will win. It is a battle between the good, true, and right versus the bad, false, and wrong. The end goal is to see religion restored to its position at the center of public consciousness. The result is that politics becomes increasingly "religionized" as opposed to religion becoming increasingly politicized. Religion is making its claim on public life, rejecting relegation to the private sphere. To make this claim, religious groups sometimes or for some groups, often use violence to make their position and presence known.[49]

The ties binding individuals from one state to individuals and groups in another are often the barriers separating them from other individuals and groups within and without their states, for example the tie of religion. Where religion is central to a society, religious identity assumes the position of the most highly valued of all identities. Nation such as Germany, Ireland, Bengal and the Punjab have been ripped apart because religious identities took precedence over linguistic or national identities. Islam is certainly one of the major factors uniting the people of North Africa and the Middle East. One may explain the feeling of unity among the Arab people on grounds other than religion, but certainly the Indian, Indonesian, Malaysian, Iranian and

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[48] Juergensmeyer M. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press. 3rd ed. 2003
[49] Ibid

Pakistani attitudes toward Israel must at least in part be explained by their religious identity.[50]

Today most religions are global in nature and they create new boundaries, breaking ancient frontiers of nations, culture and language. Indeed religion changes the ethnic origin of societies. Egyptians and some other Muslim nations are referred today as Arabs but we know in reality like other arabized societies Egyptians obtained their Arabic identity through the process of Islamization. Religion as the globalizing force seems to change the location of the boundaries in two ways. The first one, is cosmopolitan which brings old practices to new groups in new settings, the other variant, the global, extends and intensifies transnational links among groups similar in their practices, and creates networks and sometimes even tightly-knit communities of people straddling vast distances and also straddling non-religious boundaries of language, ethnicity and race, such as Pentecostals, the pietism Muslim revival movement and ultra-Orthodox Jewish sects and cultures.[51]

2.2 Globalization

Globalization is a process where many social relations become relatively delinked from territorial geography. Globalization has become inevitable because of the complex interdependent relationships between states. Globalization has led the world community to becoming interdependent in matters of commerce and communication. Where with new technology people can have immediate contacts with each other irrespective of their geographic location. It has also led to an increased proliferation

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[50] Singer.M, Weak States in a World of Power: The Dynamics of International Relationships, Macmillan London, 1972

[51] Lehmannhttp. D, Religion and Globalization: A Comparative and Historical Perspective, in www.davidlehmann.org/david-docs-Pub-pap/Religion and Globalization

and growth of multinational corporations and inter governmental organizations. The growth of these entities has interlinked regional contacts which governments cannot control.[52]

Globalization gives greater influence to ethnic and religious groups. These communities are contributing to the changing nature of international security and are one of the most significant types of non-state actors in international relations. Globalization has blurred the lines between religious organizations involved in advocacy, proselytizing, or social welfare and purely terrorist organizations. It is these kinds of both local and global social networks that allow people to support or facilitate the operations of al Qaeda, Hamas, alshaabab, Isis and other illicit groups across the world. Globalization also enables members of Diasporas to join religious groups in their countries of ethnic origin. The Internet and cheap airplane tickets, for example, give young, rootless, and alienated Muslims in the Diaspora the opportunity to construct new, radical identities by joining a global Islamic community. One recent example is Faisal Shahzad, the so-called Times Square bomber. A Pakistani-born immigrant who lived in Connecticut, Shahzad nonetheless visited Pakistan often and received terrorist training from the Taliban.[53]

2.2.1 Globalization and state sovereignty

The main challenge of globalization stems from its tendency to undermine all boundaries and encourage people to express any position and develop any product that the markets absorb. Another challenge of globalization stems from deconstruction

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[52] Mwagiru, M (ed) African Regional Security in the age of Globalization Henrich Bull Foundation 2004.
[53] Thomas. M, A Globalized God, Religion's Growing Influence in International Politics, Foreign Affair magazine, November/December issue 2010

of many familiar institutions by questioning their very foundations, thus creating institutional vacuums. The most radical of these deconstructions is that of the authority of the state as the final arbiter for citizens, which has occurred to such an extent that many talk about the end of the state.[54]

Globalization has made popular culture accessible to everyone to the point that it has become a virtual reality controlled by invisible omnipotent high-tech information networks.[55]

International relations assert that the state is the main actor in world politics. Most studies of world politics or international politics begin from the assumption that the object of study is the political interactions of sovereign states. States are from this stand point the pre-eminent members of international society. In this perspective the key features of the state are territoriality and sovereign equality.[56]

The power of the state is the ability to the state to be sovereign. Liberals assume that the state is being weakened and eroded by the growth of other non-state actors, to a point where the state is no longer the central actor in international relations.[57]

Globalization of finance and industry has moved both capital and the means of production further away from state control. Governments can no longer affectively control the economic situation within their own borders; it is the markets which are

[54] Rajaee, F. Globalization on Trial: The Human Condition and the Information Civilization, International Development Research Centre 2000
[55] Barber B.R. Jihad vs Mc World. Times Books, New York 1995.
[56] Williams, M. International Relations in the Twentieth Century, Macmillan Education 1989.
[57] Strages, S. Political Economy in the Changing Global Order, Oxford University Press 2006.

masters over the governments of states.[58] Membership in an international organization, such as United Nations means that the joining state voluntarily waives a certain degree of sovereignty.

There are tasks which states are meant to perform and which are central to them. These may be security, economic management or the control of trade, so the loss of capacity to perform, it qualifies a state's stateness. There is a claim that such tasks either can no longer be done by it alone or no longer require to be done. In each case, the state withers because it is inappropriate to some relevant or more relevant social requirement, because it is not useful and because things that society requires to be done either cannot be done by a state or the state is not the best organ to do them. Thus there are possibilities for it to decline. Evaluations of whether or not the state is indeed withering base their analyses in a range of functions it must perform.[59]

The explosion of age old tensions, incubated during the imposition of imperial or communist order, has undermined many traditional assumptions about sovereignty. Regional politics, ethno-religious influences, international communications, the diffusion of military capabilities globally and the ascending importance of international humanitarian intervention are influences that transcend national boundaries.[60]

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[58] Strange, S. The Global Transformation Reader, Cambridge: Policy Press 2002.
[59] Krasner, S.D. Structural Conflict: The Third World against Global Liberalism, Berkeley, University of California, 1985.
[60] Janne, E (ed). Global Engagement, Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century, The Brookings Institution, Washington DC 1994.

Globalization restructures the relations between state and capital. It has led to the internationalization of the state. With the globalization of the world economy, there is a tendency for states to become instruments for adjusting their economies to the pressures of the world market.[61]

States in the advanced world no longer have war as a central support for their claims to sovereignty. They are no longer conceivable as autonomous actors, free to pursue any external policy in the anarchical society of states. The society of states has passed from an anarchical condition to a quasi civil one. The vast majority of states are bound together in numerous ways in what amounts to an international political society. This does not mean that nation-states are irrelevant, but it does mean that their claim to a monopoly of the means of legitimate violence within a given territory is no longer so definitive of their existence.[62]

New communications and information technologies have loosened the state's exclusiveness of control of its territory, reducing its capacities for cultural control and homogenization. Computer networks, satellites and other new communications have rendered the state licensing and control of information media all but impossible, undermining not merely ideological dictatorship but also attempts to preserve cultural homogeneity by state force.[63]

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[61] Hooguelt, A. Globalization and the Post Colonial World: The New Political Economy of Development, Mc Millan

[62] Hirst, O and Thompson, G. Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance, Policy Press 1996

[63] Hirst, P and The Possibilities of Government, London: Verso. (1991)

The existence of different languages and religions, virtually guarantees cultural diversity.[64] Local cultural traditions will continue to coexist with cosmopolitance cultural practices. What is threatened however is the idea of an exclusive and virtually self sufficient national culture, of which individuals are simply sharing a common language, beliefs and activities. States strenuously attempted to create such cultures through common systems of national education and military service. Such projects are no longer possible for advanced states means that they have to seek bases of citizen loyalty outside primitive cultural homogeneity.[65] The state will have to find a new rationale in managing these diversities, acting as a public power that enable such parallel communities to co-exist and to resolve conflicts.

Although globalization has not ended the importance of the states themselves, it has made state borders less important. It has influenced the extent of the states' power and has given rise to an interesting practical problem the fate of the marginalized or failed states and communities.[66] It has made powerful states more powerful and weak states weaker and more fragile.

The Vanishing or weakening of borders is not limited to physical or geographical boundaries. The weakening of the family, parliamentary democracy, educational systems, media and welfare states, institutions expected to provide peace, order and good government. These institutions have fallen victim to the deconstructed globalized world. The new mode of thinking encourages the worst forms of radical individualism. Such individualism ignores the inherent tensions between the organic

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[64] Kant, I, Perpetual Peace in Reiss, (ed) Kant-Political Writings, Cambridge University Press (1991).
[65] Anderson, B. Imagined Communities, London: Verso (1991)
[66] Ayoob, M. The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, regional conflict, and the international system. Lynne Rienner Publishers 1995.

demands of the community particularly the family and the impulses of the automized person.[67]

There are crises of authority in the family, community and religious establishments, a crisis of power in that our traditional understanding of power relations no longer holds, and a crisis of values in that everything is considered relative. In short globalization has discredited all forms of hierarchy.[68]

The state may have less control over ideas, but it remains a controller of its borders and the movement of people across them. States remain sovereign not in the sense that they are all powerful or omnicompetent within their territories, but because they police the borders of a territory and they are representative of the citizens within those borders.[69]

The state has to become more refined, more perceptive of and responsive to the demands of the population, more transparent, since the array of subjects it has to deal with is now wider and more challenging. We are far from the death of the state that many have predicted. Nonetheless, the state we need at present ought to be different from one that existed.[70]

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[67] Gairdner, W.D. (ed) After Liberalism: Eassys in search of Freedom, virtue and order. Stoddart, Torento 1998.
[68] Rajaee, F. Globalization on Trial; The Human Condition and the Information Civilization, International Development Research Centre 2000.
[69] Hirst. P and Thompson G. Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance, Polity Press 1996.
[70] Cardoso, F.H, Charting a New Course, The Politics of Globalization and Social Transformation, Rowman and Littele field Publisher 2001.

2.3 Terrorism

Terrorism is a premeditated and unlawful act in which groups or agents of some principal engage in a threatened or actual use of force or violence against human or property targets. These groups or agents engage in this behaviour intending the purposeful intimidation of governments or people to affect policy or behaviour with an underlying political objective.[71] International terrorism is terrorism that spills over onto the world's stage. Targets are selected because of their values as symbols of international interests and the impact that attacks them will have on a global audience.[72]

Over time, the ultimate goals of terrorists have varied, five have had enduring importance: regime change, territorial change, policy change, social control and status quo maintenance. Regime change is the overthrow of a government and its replacement with one led by terrorists or at least one more to their liking. For example the Al-Shaabab in Somalia has sought this goal. Territorial change is taking territory away from a state either to establish a new state or to join another state. Policy change is a broader category of lesser demands, such as Al-Qaida's that the United States drop its support for Israel and corrupt Arab regimes such as Saudi Arabia. Social control constraints the behaviour of individuals such as demanding that women should cover up. Finally, status quo maintenance is the support of an existing regime or a territorial arrangement against groups that seek to change it.[73]

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[71] Martin, G., Essentials of Terrorism, Concepts and Controversies, Sage Publication 2008.
[72] Kegley, W., An Introduction in International Terrorism: Characteristics, causes, controls, New York, St. Martins 1990.
[73] Hutchison,M. The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism, Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol 16, No. 3 (September 1972)

When the goal is regime change, weak states and rough terrain are two factors that facilitate intimidation. Civil wars are likely to erupt and continue where the government is weak and the territory is large and difficult to traverse. These conditions allow small insurgent groups to carve out portions of a country as a base for challenging the central government. Intimidation is likely to be used against civilians on the fault lines between rebel and government control to deter individuals from supporting the government.[74]

Terrorist organizations seeking to replace a regime face a significant challenge, they are usually much hostile to the regime than a majority of state's citizens. Al Qaida may wish to topple the house of Saudi, but is a majority of citizens do not support this goals, Al-Qaida is unlikely to achieve it. Therefore, to succeed a terrorist organization must first convince moderate citizens that their government needs to be replaced or independence from the central government is the only acceptable outcome.[75]

In the new era of terrorism, the belief that one group has discovered and obeys the dictates of a single and exclusive spiritual truth has been used to justify incidents of horrific terrorist violence. The people who carried out the attacks of September 11, in their minds the attacks were acts of religious devotion, a form of worship, conducted in God's name and in accordance with his wishes. Where it is inextricable linked to pursuit of mass casualties. The events of 9-11 increased the tensions between Muslim minorities and Christian majorities in many western countries for example France,

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[74]Fearon J. and Laitin D. Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War, American Political Science Review Vol. No.1(February 2003)
[75] Kydd A. and Walter. B., The strategies of Terrorism in Global Terrorism Vol. IV, Sage Library of International Relations 2008

Austria, Belgium, and Denmark. They feared that Muslims within their borders could commit violence. [76]

Advances in communication technology, namely satellite TV, satellite phones and the internet, and its spread around the globe has facilitated terrorism. Although technologically tied together in the virtual global village, people of different nationality, ethnicity, religion and ideology are less inclined to search the readily available global market place of ideas for a diversity of information and opinions and are more prone to tune into narrow parochial media that reinforce their prejudices and stereotypes. Instead of cultivating better understanding, global communication has been more influential as a web of hate. This has led to the hands of today's hi-tech terrorists.[77]

Years before the terror in New York and Washington, it had been predicted that the greatest dangers in the post cold war era would arise from conflicts between nations and groups of different civilizations, of different cultural background.[78] After the events of September 9-11, Huntington was sure that Bin Laden wants it to be a clash of civilizations between Islam and the West.[79]

During the 1970s and 1980s, most terrorist groups had limited political motives. For them, terrorism was a tactic mainly to draw attention to their cause. These groups reasoned that many people would sympathize with that cause if only they were made

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[76] Martin, G. (ed). The New Era of Terrorism, Sage Publication California State University 2004.

[77] Nacos. B, Mass Medicated Terrorism, Boulder Co: Rowman and Little Field 2002.

[78] Huntington. S., The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, New York: Simon and Schuster 1996.

[79] A Head on Collision of Alien Cultures, New York Times, 20 October 2001 PA 13.

aware of it. However, in the past decade it has become clear that many terrorist groups are motivated less by narrow political goals and more by ideological or religious fanaticism. Sometimes their goal is simply hatred or revenge and tactics have changed to reflect these motives. Rather than avoiding large scale causalities, these terrorists seek to kill as many people as possible.[80]

The world is faced with new security threat because terrorism allows the weak to attack the strong. Which is relatively inexpensive to conduct and difficult to counter. Terrorists take the advantage of the fact that, in the fight against terrorism, defenders have to protect all their point of vulnerability around the world, while the terrorist has only to attack the weakest point. For example when Al-Qaeda attacked the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Sa-laam in August 1998, that is, two embassies thought to be in little danger.

Also the costs of launching a terrorist attack are a fraction of the costs required to defend against it. To shoot up an airport, a terrorist needs only an Ak-47 assault rifle; defending that same airport costs millions of dollars. Thus, the new terrorism reverses the conventional wisdom that in military operations, the offense must be three times as strong as the defense.[81]

Precisely because of economic modernization and social change throughout the world, people are being separated from long standing local identities while at the same time the nation state is weakened as a source of identity.[82]

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[80] Bremer. P, A new strategy for the New Face of Terrorism, California State University 2004

[81] Martin. F. (ed) The New Era of Terrorism, Sage Publication California State University 2004.

[82] Hooguelt A., Globalization and the Post Colonial World: The New Political Economy of Development, Macmillan Press 1997.

2.4 Democratization

In the society, international relations is a new profession and while practitioners around the globe are complaining about lack of understanding by journalists, this is problematic and magnified in the new and emerging democracies. This is because each is trying to carve out identities and standards for practice in the society, practitioners are frustrated when they send press release and is treated as advertisement because they are asked for money for placement just because the name of corporation appears. This makes it difficult to get attention of the press and coverage of events and practioners complain that journalists are not professionals and do not understand the importance of public announcements nor the newspapers are designed to accommodate them as many U.S. newspapers particularly in local U.S. have section designated for community news of interest to public[83].

International relation varies in different countries to different degrees and sociopolitical systems but the supposition does not justify why United States has emerged as the worldwide leader in codifying international relations but because of its open communication environment bound by the democratic principles. The U.S legacy of free press and marketplace of ideas has spurred the industry rise in association, conference and practices since the beginning of the 20th century which has corresponded with institutional structures, such as international relations agencies that could define their work and value to the society. Conversely many countries which are developing do not have the same constituencies to define their work.

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[83] McGraw, M. (2003, September). Fighting editorial corruption. *Frontline 25*(3).

The plurality of voices and structures in the dialogue of what means to define and practices international relations is limited in countries with centralized governments. Scholars argue that the authoritarian governments abase western notions of international relations by restricting media and squelching dialogue with the target publics and the government in these countries have preeminent voice and might be associated with propaganda than international relations, many of the scholars have pointed historical association between the international relation and propaganda in Chile, Africa and Asian the association is still fresh because in these countries international relations concept is not yet wholly separated from that of propaganda.

2.5 Culture

There is overarching mentality that exists in minds of people emerging from totalitarian environments which can be described as paternalistic, passive and resistant to persuasion[84]. International relations practitioners faces interesting challenges in attempt to inject persuasive messages into the society, they must be patient and creative in communicating with the general public as they meet overall resistances from people.

The complexities of international public relations are also reflected by the cultural emphasis on social relations in the parts of Middle East, Asia and Africa in Middle East, it is important to take into account historical and ideological context of the region. This is because cultural difference gives rise to distinctively different

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[84] Raycheva, L. (2003). Speech Bulgaria and the Mass Media. Colloquium lecture University of Florida, November 13, 2003.

communication traditions which is between Arabic nations and United States. In Arab nation a press release for example may read like a political proclamation than a news announcement[85] . United Arab Emirates practitioners do not view international relations not as communication but as a social relations one, placing a great deal of emphasis on receiving delegations[86] . Most of Egyptian Universities do not differentiate sales, marketing and international relations and practitioners consequently often view international relations as hospitality related function[87]. In Middle East the hospitality functions for dignitaries have constituted international public relations[88]. In Singapore international relations is seen as sales and marketing function used heavily by the government[89].

In Asia layers of cultural constructs are essential in understanding Eastern forms of international relations, cultural constructs do not affect international relations practices but they are essence of international relations practice. In Korea for example idiomatic expression *cheong* that loosely relate to respect between two individuals[90] but a Korea scholar spent 10 minutes trying to explain *Cheong* in English before giving up saying he could not give justice to the term due to English. Other cultural constructs are not formalized through terminology and they often exist in invisible webs that link people through relationships for example NU Skin a multibillion company with over 10,000 employees worldwide encountered expected problems

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[85] Sriramesh, K. (2009). Introduction. In K. Sriramesh and D. Verčič (Eds.), *The global public relations handbook. Theory, research and practice*, (pp. XXXII XXXVIII). New York: Routledge.
[86] Sriramesh, K. (2009). Introduction. In K. Sriramesh and D. Verčič (Eds.), *The global public relations handbook. Theory, research and practice*, (pp. XXXII XXXVIII). New York: Routledge.
[87] Keenan, 2003
[88] Grunig, J. E. (2001). Two-way symmetrical public relations. Past, present and future. In R. L. Heath (ed.), *Handbook of Public Relations* (11-31), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
[89] Grunig, J. E. (2010). Paradigms of global public relations in an age of digitalization. *Prism, 6*(2).
[90] Rhee, 2002

when they sent a manager in thirties to head operations in Malaysia and Nu Skin did not take into consideration the status accorded to age in Malaysia and thus the manager was deemed too young and Nu Skin was not wholly committed to its operations in Malaysia[91].

Another example of cultural diversity is the expatriate manager of CBG Guinea largest mining company noted absenteeism as high as 20% of employees who travelled to remote regions to mourn the death of relatives[92]. Imagine multimillion dollar business steeped in capitalism moving into new country and having a fifth of its employees absent to attend family related matters. This example of native Guinean is hardly noteworthy to a native it offers lesson that all cultures are necessarily complex and international relations practitioners are often looking for spoken and unspoken norms that constitute culture. The complexity of these concealed webs varies by culture and public relations have struggles to access these webs by culture. Clearly culture matters international public relations varies greatly around the globe through competing definitions and semantic nuances that suggest links to propaganda and persuasion. On larger level cultural subtleties that alter definitions of public relations but also means to public relations internationally. Culture represents layers of the public relations that must contend with to get situations that are core of international relations whether in building nation, attracting tourists, spurring economic growth or quelling discord from opposition groups or nations. This layers of culture across international lines from both developed and developing nations, and from democratic and authoritarian regimes.

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[91] Wakefield, 1999
[92] Auclair, 1992

Past studies on international relations support that societal culture also influences international relations. Study found out that South African practitioners do not conform to underlying assumptions of models of international relations developed by western nations and instead develop their own culture specific models of practice as described by their culture, the Ubuntu model and oral communication model[93]. In area of international relations across cultures, questions whether U.S assumption of symmetry in international relations is relevant to other countries and suggests that a unique social, political and economic factors shape the practice. Communication is key element in international relations, there is direct parallel links in fields of international relations and intercultural communications, defining them as sister field[94]

Zaharna makes significant contribution to field of international relations by proposing 'in awareness' approach to international relations the three-tiered framework is based on country profile, cultural profile and communication profile with goal of exposing the hidden cultural expectation and expectations allowing researchers to explore national and cultural differences between the clients and practitioners[95]. The skills cultural in-awareness is developed within intercultural communication and applied in international relations practices to understand culture influence on the communication function of international relations. For Example Freitag assessed and profiled the U.S

[93] Holtzhausen, D.R., Peterson, B.K. and Tindall, N.T.J. (2003), "Exploding the myth of the symmetrical/asymmetrical dichotomy: public relations models in the New South Africa", Journal of Public Relations Review, Vol. 15 No. 4, pp. 305-41.
[94] Zaharna, R.S. (2000), "Intercultural communications and international public relations: exploring parallels", Communications Quarterly, Vol. 48 No. 1, p. 85.
[95] Zaharna, R.S. (2001), "'In-awareness' approach to international public relations", Public Relations Review, Vol. 27 No. 2.

international relations practitioners' preparation for international assignments. The results of the research showed that academic and professional preparation for international assignments among the U.S practitioners is limited but preparation correlates positively with success and satisfaction in international assignments.

CHAPTER THREE

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NIGERIA, INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES' SECURITY IN RELATION TO RELIGION

3.1 Introduction

National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of power projection and political power. Initially focusing on military might; it now encompasses a broad range of facets, all of which impinge on the non-military or economic security of the nation and the values espoused by the national society.

Accordingly, in order to possess national security, a nation needs to possess economic security, energy security, and environmental security. Security threats involve not only conventional foes such as other nation-states but also non-state actors such as violent non-state actors, narcotic cartels, multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental damage in this category. Measures taken to ensure national security include: using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats; marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation; maintaining effective armed forces; implementing civil defense and emergency preparedness measures including anti-terrorism legislation; ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure; using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage, and to protect classified information; using counterintelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats. Once anything

generates anxiety or threatens the quality of life in some respect, it is thus labeled a "security problem".[96]

Religion can be understood as a consequential dimension of human and social identity. As a basic empirical matter, religion appears to be inescapable from how most people in the world consider their own humanity. Policymakers who seek to understand the causes of human behavior cannot disregard religion. Materialism is simply insufficient as a mode of inquiry, and for the most devout, material causes sometimes even exacerbate rather than erode religious motivations. Even a cursory glance across the span of human history shows that it is almost impossible to find a society, culture, or even civilization that was not religious. Historically speaking, human beings appear to possess an innate religiosity that is manifest consistently across a staggeringly diverse array of geographies and eras even as the particular expressions of this religiosity are almost as diverse themselves. The other historical fact that follows from this and also emerges on almost every page of history is the remarkable power of religion to motivate human behavior and shape the actions of nations. Not surprisingly, the mixed character of human nature, prone to base conduct yet also capable of nobility, is mirrored by the mixed nature of religion, which has caused great malevolence as well as great benevolence[97].

3.2 Homeland security in the United States

The 2010 National Security Strategy, states that the U.S Homeland Security is a seamless coordination among federal, state, and local governments to prevent, protect

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[96] Freedman, L (1998) "International Security: Changing Targets; *Foreign Policy*
[97] Scott Atran, "God and the Ivory Tower: What we don't understand about religion just might kill us," *ForeignPolicy.com*8 (August2012).

against, and respond to threats and natural disasters.[98] The 2012 Strategic Plan of Department of Homeland Security defined homeland security as efforts to ensure a homeland that is safe, secure, and resilient against terrorism and other hazards.[99] Policymakers respond to events and crises like terrorist attacks and natural disasters by using and adjusting strategies, plans, and operations. These strategies, plans, and operations also evolve to reflect changing priorities. The definition of homeland security evolves in accordance with the evolution of these strategies, plans, and operations.[100]

There are several commonalities in the different definition of homeland security. These are, the homeland security enterprise encompasses a federal, state, local, and tribal government and private sector approach that requires coordination; homeland security can involve securing against and responding to both hazard specific and all-hazards threats; and homeland security activities do not imply total protection or complete threat reduction. Each of this highlights the importance of coordinating homeland security missions and activities.

The 2012 Strategic Plan of Department of Homeland Security states the mission and goals of homeland security as follows, preventing terrorism and enhancing security, securing and managing our borders, enforcing and administering our immigration laws, safeguarding and securing cyberspace, ensuring resilience to disasters,

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[98] Office of the President, *National Security Strategy*, Washington, DC, May 2010,
[99] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Department of Homeland Security Strategic Plan: Fiscal Years
2012–2016, Washington, DC, February 2012,
[100] Shawn Ransee, Defining Homeland Security: Analysis and Congressional Considerations, Congressional Research Service, January 2013

providing essential support to national and economic security.[101] Therefore the protection of the population, key infrastructures and resources need protection from terrorists and disasters. This protection is a key strategic mission for homeland security. Policymakers are faced with a complex and detailed list of risks, or threats to security, for which they then attempt to plan. However, managing those risks 99% of the time with even a single failure may lead to significant human and financial costs.[102]

Homeland security as a concept suggests a different approach to security, and differs from homeland defense. Homeland defense is primarily a Department of Defense (DOD) activity and is defined as the protection of US sovereignty, territory, domestic population, and critical defense infrastructure against external threats and aggression, or other threats as directed by the president. Homeland security, regardless of the definition or strategic document, is a combination of law enforcement, disaster, immigration, and terrorism issues. It is primarily the responsibility of civilian agencies at all levels. It is a coordination of efforts at all levels of government[103]. The differences between homeland security and homeland defense, however, are not completely distinct. An international terrorist organization attack on and within the United States would result in a combined homeland security and homeland defense response, such as on 9/11 when civilian agencies were responding to the attacks while the U.S. military established a combat air patrol over New York and Washington DC.

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[101] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Department of Homeland Security Strategic Goal: Fiscal Years 2012 –*
2016, Washington, DC, February 2012, pp. 3-18
[102] Donald F. Kettl, *System Under Stress: Homeland Security and American Politics*, 2nd ed., Washington, DC, *CQ Press*, 2007
[103] U.S. Department of Defense, *Homeland Defense*, Joint Publications 3-27, Washington, DC, 2007

Homeland security as a concept was precipitated by the terrorist attacks of 9/11. However, prior to 9/11 such entities as the Gilmore Commission and the United States Commission on National Security discussed the need to evolve the way national security policy was conceptualized due to the end of the Cold War and the rise of radicalized terrorism. After 9/11, policymakers concluded that a new approach was needed to address the large-scale terrorist attacks. A presidential council and department were established, and a series of presidential directives were issued in the name of homeland security. These developments established that homeland security was a distinct, but undefined concept.[104] Later, the federal, state, and local government responses to disasters such as Hurricane Katrina expanded the concept of homeland security to include significant disasters, major public health emergencies, and other events that threaten the United States, its economy, the rule of law, and government operations. This later expansion of the concept of homeland security solidified it as something distinct from other federal government security operations such as homeland defense.[105]

On February 26, 1993, radicalized Muslim terrorists[106] detonated a bomb beneath the world trade centre. In response, President Clinton ordered his National Security Council to coordinate the bombings' response and investigation. The CIA's Counterterrorist Center and the National Security Agency, along with the FBI, were

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[104] Harold C. Relyea, "Homeland Security and Information," *Government Information Quarterly*, vol. 19, 2002

[105] Nadav Morag, "Does Homeland Security Exist Outside the United States?," *Homeland Security Affairs*, vol. 7, September 2011

[106] An FBI investigation identified the following individuals as the culprits: Mohammed Salameh, Ahmad Ajaj, RamziYousef, Mahmoud Abouhalima, and Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman (often called the "Blind Sheikh"). All of these individuals were prosecuted and convicted.

among the numerous federal agencies that participated in the investigation.[107] This use of the National Security Council was an ad-hoc response specifically to this event, and it did not result in the development of strategic documents. On April 19, 1995, Timothy McVeigh exploded a bomb-laden truck in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. Following this bombing, President Clinton directed the Department of Justice to assess the vulnerability of federal facilities to terrorist attacks or violence and to develop recommendations for minimum security standards.[108] These standards, however, were not a wide ranging strategy for U.S. homeland security strategy. It was the 9/11 terrorist attacks that initiated the debate and development of a broader homeland security strategy. Prior to 9/11, federal, state, and local governments responded to domestic terrorist attacks in an ad hoc manner. These terrorist attacks, and the governments' responses, however, did not significantly affect how policymakers perceived, defined, and prioritized security as related to the homeland.[109]

However, following the 9/11 initial response and subsequent investigations, it was determined that there was a need to reorganize the government to prepare for, mitigate against, respond to, and recover from future attacks. This decision to reorganize the government resulted in an evolution of homeland security definitions and missions.[110]

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[107] National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, Washington, DC,
July 22, 2004.
[108] U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Building Security: Interagency Security Committee Has Had Limited
Success in Fulfilling Its Responsibilities*, GAO-02-1004, September 2002.
[109] Shawn Ransee, Defining Homeland Security: Analysis and Congressional Considerations, Congressional Research Service, January 2013
[110] National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, Washington, DC, July 22, 2004.

Terrorism is not a new threat. Since World War II, there have been hundreds of international terrorist attacks every year. Terrorism tends to be persistent, but cyclic. What has changed is that there are more terrorists willing to kill thousands or even millions of people and their capacities to do so are increasing. The common wisdom used to be that terrorists want a lot of people watching and not a lot of people dead because killing many would alienate support. Now, evidently, some do not seek broad support. Small groups motivated by religious fervor may be the most dangerous[111]

The Senior vice president of Homeland security in the U.S Booz Allen in 2012 stated that the threats that were being witnessed in the U.S were different and keep on evolving, compared with what had been witnessed when the U.S Department of Homeland Security(DHS) was being formed. Therefore, there is need to focus on certain areas in the future of DHS, which are as follows:[112]

- *Resiliency:* When it comes to natural disasters, investing in prevention and mitigation will provide a long-term payback that can limit the cost of hastily-arranged responses. But this requires rethinking the roles and responsibilities of government and the private sector. Using a "whole of community" model demands collaboration and coordination across the public and private sectors and non-profit community, as well as the recognition that some risks are regional in nature and therefore necessitate state and local government leadership.

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[111] Waugh, William L., Jr. (2003a) "Extreme Events and the Need for Cultural Interoperability," Natural Hazards Workshop, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO, July 13-16
[112] National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, Washington, DC, July 22, 2004

- *Law enforcement and counterterrorism:* Counterterrorism and transnational crime demand a network-on-network approach. International terrorism and transnational crime are highly networked threats that include complex financial, travel, and personal links. So too, DHS and its partners must mount a networked response to sharing information and coordinating operations.[113]

- *Enterprise insights:* It is time to use enterprise solutions such as cloud analytics to drive integration of enforcement, security, and response functions. Technology to address big data issues is a hurdle, but so too is organizational leadership.[114]

- *Borders:* Protecting physical borders is no longer enough. Today's borders are not defined solely by geography. The majority of trade flowing into and from the U.S. is virtually "inspected" through analytic tools, not by physical inspections at ports of entry. In fact, the "functional border" is comprised of air, land, sea, and cyber domains through which legitimate and illegitimate flows of people and goods pass. As a result, we must create more holistic, integrated approach to facilitating, security, and enforcing the movement of goods and people across all domains .[115]

- *Cyber security***:** Cyber attacks pose grave threats to critical U.S. infrastructure and defending our cyberspace requires the effective collaboration of government and industry. Embracing this shared responsibility will help understand cyber

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[113] Ibid
[114] Ibid
[115] Ibid

citizenship and its implications for the functioning of markets, civil institutions and informal networks.[116]

3.3 Security and religion in Nigeria

Religious and ethnic factors are present in the majority of social conflicts the Nigerian people have witnessed. Religion and ethnicity as they present themselves in Nigeria have therefore become critical factors in ethno-religious conflict. At different levels and times people experience religious or ethnic discrimination, people complain of past and present religious and ethnic discrimination, people demand for religious or ethnic rights in their state, and more importantly, the state uses religion or ethnicity in political discourse or action. What the above means is that ethno-religious conflict is a multi-causal variable. With over four hundred ethnic groups, belonging to several religious sects, Nigeria since independence has remained a multi-ethnic nation state, which has been grappling and trying to cope with the problem of ethnicity on one hand, and the problem of ethno-religious conflicts on the other. This is because over the years the phenomena of ethnicity and religious intolerance have led to incessant recurrence of ethno-religious conflicts.

A major cause of what we now see as ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria has to do with the accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry. In every nation, there is no complete agreement on how wealth, power and status are to be shared among individuals and groups. There is also no agreement on how to effect necessary

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[116] National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, Washington, DC, July 22, 2004.

changes and reforms. This is because, different groups and individuals have diverse interests in which case, some groups will have their aims met, while others will not. What this means is that, conflict usually occur when deprived groups and individuals attempt to increase their share of power and wealth or to modify the dominant values, norms, beliefs or ideology.[117]

Religions crises in Nigeria could be traced to the developments in the Middle East. In this regard, religious issues became particularly phenomenal since the late 1980s with the death of the cold war and replacement of communism with Islamism. With this new Islamic ideology, the Muslims worldwide, and particularly in the Middle East, were determined to resent the socio-economic impoverishment and psychological alienation that stem from failed modernization and excessive westernization in the post cold war world.[118] The contemporary increase in the incidences of terrorism around the world has also been linked to this new ideology of Islamism. It should be understood that the problem created by the new Muslim ideology was not limited to the Middle East as the increasing feelings of relative deprivation and alienation around the world makes developing states with large Muslim populations susceptible to militant forms of Islamism in the Middle East. This explains why the increased rate of religious violence in Northern Nigeria a Muslim dominated region since 1980s can be understood from this perspective.

One of the outcomes of the security challenge imposed by the Boko Haram insurrection on Nigerian society has been the emergent preponderance of theories that

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[117] Salawu.B, Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria: Causal Analysis and Proposals for New Management Strategies, *Department of Sociology, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria*

[118] Albert, I.O. (2001): *Building Peace, Advancing Democracy: Experience with Third-Party Interventions in Nigeria's Conflicts.* Ibadan John archers Ltd.

attempt to explain the motive of the Islamic group. Unlike the Niger Delta militancy which preceded it, and which predicated its desire for a separate state from Nigeria on decades of conspiratorial neglect by the Nigerian state and multinational oil prospecting companies in the Niger Delta region, Boko Haram has refrained from articulating and formally presenting its grievances, apart from its declared desire for the strict interpretation of Islamic Law in Nigeria. The confusion also grows out of the changing dynamics in the operations of the sect. For instance, its terror campaign, which initially targeted security formations and personnel, has expanded to include civilians and non-government targets, and the Nigerian public generally.[119]

The Boko Haram insurgency has been at the epicentre of Nigeria's security crisis since it upped its terrorist activities in 2009. While both the origin and leadership composition of the Boko Haram sect are subject of speculation, their ideology and terrorist activities are not.[120] The Boko Haram sect is professedly anti-west and considers terrorist strategy as a veritable jihadist tool to conquer the infidels. Here, infidels are defined as those who are outside the template of orthodox Islam or those who condone or are sympathetic to western education and civilization. There has not been any boundary in the targets of its attacks, it appears to attack everybody but with preponderance on Christian institutions. Essentially, the targets of the attacks masterminded by the Boko Haram have not followed any particular pattern to lead to a plausible conclusion about their driving motives and ultimate goals[121]

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[119] Alozieuwa, S.H.O (2012) Contending Theories on Nigeria's Security Challenge in the Era of Boko Haram Insurgency. The Peace and Conflict Review. Volume 7.

[120] Bagaji, Ali S. Y., Etila, Moses S.,Ogbadu, Elijah E. & Sule,Jafa'aru G. (2012). "BokoHaram and the Recurring Bomb Attacks in Nigeria: Attempt to Impose Religious Ideology through Terrorism?" Cross-Cultural Communication

[121] Connell, Shannon (2012). "To Be Or Not To Be: Is Boko Haram a Foreign Terrorist Organization?" Global Security Studies,

The immediate deducible interpretation of Boko Haram motives is that it intends to undermine the sovereignty of the Nigerian state through the creation of general insecurity by turning the country into a territory of anarchy. Their strategy could be likened to religious anarchism as it manifests the nature of, and also exemplifies the mainstream, terrorist tradition of the al-Qaeda and Taliban style organisational planning and armed resistance[122] Its ideological mission is quite clear, namely to overthrow the Nigerian state and impose strict Islamic Sharia law in the country. Members of the sect are motivated by the conviction that the Nigerian state is filled with social vices and corruption, thus the best thing for a devout Muslim to do was to migrate from the morally bankrupt society to a secluded place and establish an ideal Islamic society devoid of political corruption and moral deprivation.[123]

Between July 2009 when the Boko Haram ostensibly declared war on the Nigerian state and January 2012, Boko Haram had carried out over 160 separate attacks which accounted for over 1000 deaths. These attacks involved high alert security targets like the Police Headquarters in Abuja, Police and Military Barracks, the United Nations Building in Abuja, and the Eagle Square situated at the centre of the seat of power in Abuja. One of the major attributes of Boko Haram, the one that has made its defeat problematic is its facelessness. There is no reliable intelligence to mount surveillance of its leadership or predict, with assurance, its next move to enable intelligence agencies to checkmate them. The call by certain analysts and statesmen for

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[122] Bagaji, Ali S. Y., Etila, Moses S.,Ogbadu, Elijah E. & Sule,Jafa'aru G. (2012). "BokoHaram and the Recurring Bomb Attacks in Nigeria: Attempt to Impose Religious Ideology through Terrorism?" Cross-Cultural Communication
[123] Onuoha, Freedom C. (2012). "Boko Haram: Nigeria's Extremist Islamic Sect". Available at: http://studies.aljazeera.net/ResourceGallery/media/Documents

government to initiate negotiation with the group led Nigeria's former president, Goodluck Jonathan to challenge the sect's leadership to identify themselves and state their demands as a basis for dialogue.[124]

In the face of the apparent failure of the various joint military task forces to bring the menace of Boko Haram under control, it was not surprising that the federal government decided to extend the olive branch to the sect as part of its non-military strategies to bring the human carnage and psychological trauma, which the sect has engendered to an end. In June 2012, Jonathan sacked his Minister of Defence, Haliru Bello and National Security Adviser, Andrew Aziza as a demonstration of their ineffectiveness in tackling the country's security crisis. In an interview, Jonathan was quoted to have said, "If you study the evolution of Boko Haram, they are changing their tactics every day, so you also have to change your staff and personnel to beat their styles."[125]

3.4 Security and religion in India

Religion influences many aspects of politics and society and is considered by many to be an inseparable and integral component. One of the most important effects of religion is its ability to bolster or undermine the legitimacy of governments. For example, a Marxist interpretation acknowledges the relationship between legitimacy of the state and religion, and claims that religion is a tool of dominant and opposing

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[124] BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) (2012a) "Nigeria's Goodluck Jonathan: Officials back Boko Haram". January 8.Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16462891.
[125] Vanguard (Newspaper, Nigeria). (2012). "Why I sacked Azazi –Jonathan". June 25. Available at http://www.vanguardngr.com

classes to facilitate their own political actions.[126] Religion based conflicts have been shown to be a source of more conflicts in Asia than in any other region of the world.[127] No state is able to pursue a foreign policy that is independent of domestic pressures, especially those that originate from ethnic and religious subgroups. India and Pakistan are particularly vulnerable to these forces.[128]

Kashmir is considered one of the most likely places on earth to spark a major conflict.[129] The origin of the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan dates back to the partition of the British colonial empire after World War II. Although Kashmir is treated as a homogenous unit, it is actually the opposite in terms of demography, religion, culture, ethnicity, and language.[130] The origins of the dispute over Kashmir predominantly suggest that India and Pakistan claimed Kashmir because of their nation-building strategies. For the elite of newly independent India, the possibility of a Muslim majority in Kashmir choosing to live and prosper within a primarily Hindu state was a symbol of secular nationalism and state building. This was the long term goal of Jawaharlal Nehru, first prime minister of India. However, for Pakistan and its first leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah the primary defining characteristic of the nation of Pakistan was Islam. In other words, Pakistan's leadership believed Kashmir

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[126] 1. Jonathan Fox and Shmuel Sandler, ''Quantifying Religion: Toward Building More Affecting Ways of Measuring Religious Influence on State-Level Behavior,'' Journal of Church and State 45, no. 3 (2003)

[127] Jonathan Fox and Carolyn C. James, Regional Propensities for Religious Violence, American Public Perception and the Middle East,St. Louis, Missouri, 2002.

[128] Maya Chadda, ''From an Empire State to a Nation State: The Impact of Ethno-Religious Conflicts on India's Foreign Policy,'' in Dilemmas of National Security and Cooperation in India and Pakistan, ed. Hafeez Malik , New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

[129] Andrew Scobell, ''Flashpoint Asia: The Most Dangerous Place?'' Parameters 31, no. 2 2001

[130] Sumit Ganguly, The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hopes of Peace. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

represented the impossibility of secular nationalism in the region. Therefore, Kashmir and its Muslim citizens must be part of an Islamic homeland.[131]

The main religions of India include Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam, Christianity, and Jainism. Compared to the other main religions of India, Hinduism provides little encouragement to change one's situation in terms of material wellbeing. According to Hinduism, the purpose of life is to attain liberation and freedom from re-birth and the chain of cause and effect, which means living to understand reality and not for the pursuit of material things. The caste system is another aspect of Hindu culture that shapes individuals' values and beliefs. According to ancient scripture, Hindus were classified into four major castes, Brahmins were the intelligentsia and spiritual leaders of the community, Kshatriyas were kings and noblemen, Vyshyas were traders and businessmen, and Shudras encompassed all other occupations.[132] Religion has been the constant push towards this stratification system for centuries, which has continued down a long road of unfortunate discrimination, segregation, violence, and inequality. Hinduism was the backbone of the purity pollution complex, and it was the religion that influenced the daily lives and beliefs of the Indian people. Even after years of independence, Indians continue to be in the grip of caste consciousness.[133]

Although discrimination on the basis of caste has been outlawed in India, it still exists in the community today. In India people are socially differentiated through class, religion, region, tribe, gender, and language. Although this or other forms of

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[131] Sumit Ganguly and Kanti Bajpai, ''India and the Crisis in Kashmir,'' Asian Survey 34, no. 5 1994.

[132] David B. Audretsch, Religion, Culture and Entrepreneurship in India, Indiana University

[133] Velassery, Sebastian. *Casteism and Human Rights: Toward Ontology of the Social Order*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic, 2005. Print.

differentiation exist in all human societies, it becomes a problem when one or more of these dimensions overlap each other and become the sole basis of systematic ranking and unequal access to valued resources like wealth, income, power and prestige. Many in India who were oppressed like the Shudras and the "untouchables" joined anti-Brahmanical movements in order to take a stance against the discriminatory acts they were facing. In 1950, one of the primary reasons for the conversion to Buddhism in India during the 1950s under the leadership of B.R. Ambedkar was the caste system and the plight of the oppressed "untouchables". Conversion to Buddhism seemed to be believed as the only means of emancipation from the injustices associated with the caste system.[134]

Caste and politics in India have come to affect each other. Caste has become an inseparable aspect of politics. In fact, it is tightening its hold on politics. Elections are fought more often on the basis of caste. Selection of candidates, voting analysis, selection of legislative party leaders, and distribution of ministerial portfolios are very much based on caste. Even the communist parties which project the ideal of a casteless and classless society are also not an exception to this. Politics of each state is virtually the politics of confrontation of its dominant castes. Frustration is a natural product of mismatch of individual needs and social provisions. Those who are most deprived of need satisfaction are also those most deprived of valued relationships that induce socially conforming behavior. If an attempt is made to subordinate individual values to social values, then, because it is not possible to enforce social values that are inconsistent with individual values, there will be responses that are damaging both to the individual and through him, to the social system. Individuals either singly or in

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[134] Sekhon, Joti. *Modern India*. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000. Print.

groups act deviant, sometimes despite themselves, to register their disaffection with the social group that lead to violence and deviance.[135]

Modern democracy in India has produced a powerful class, who rule the region for most part of its history. The ruling class is mainly comprises of political families and their clan, bureaucracy and its material beneficiaries, security forces and industry houses. The elite are often detached from the society. The ruling class which forms a minuscule part of nations takes all the benefit of the state when a large section of the population is left dry. The majority of the deprived people are vulnerable to subversive activities and there is always the danger that they may join the terror forces. The absence of a responsive government or the inability of a government allows religious organization to take deep root in the society and interfere in the administration of the people. Taking advantage of such a situation terrorist organizations spread their tentacles and solicits support of ordinary citizen for their extremist agenda. Availability of such vulnerable groups of people makes the recruiter's job easy. The capture of a fidayeen terrorist Ajmal Kasab during the Mumbai attacks of 2008 and his subsequent confession shed important light on the root cause of terrorism. He confessed to have been attracted to terrorism because of his father's persuasion, prevailing poverty in the family and the prospect of prosperity after joining a terror organization.[136]

The United States devotes considerable resources billions of dollars, thousands of analysts, countless man-hours, and endless bureaucratic anxieties across the national

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[135] Burton, John. *Deviance, Terrorism and War: The Process of Solving Unsolved Social and Political Problems*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1979.
[136] Kasab, A. (2008). *English Translation of Interrogation by Mumbai Police on November 27*.

security community to identifying potential security threats. Policymakers and analysts should add religious freedom conditions to the set of indicators they use to identify and track possible security threats. Violent religious persecution also helps cause social conflict and instability, and can be a leading indicator of a failing state or looming civil war.[137]

Consider Afghanistan before the September 11th attacks. While generally relegated by international policymakers to the back burner of priorities, Afghanistan occasionally lurched into international attention when the Taliban would engage in particularly outstanding displays of religious intolerance. This included the destruction of the sixth-century Buddhas of Bamiyan statues in March 2001, or the imprisonment of two American women missionaries that same year. And those who consistently suffered the most under Taliban rule were Afghan Muslims who did not share the Taliban's Islamist predilections. Internationally, before September 11th the Taliban's depredations provoked the anger of religious freedom advocates and women's rights advocates, but were otherwise largely dismissed by foreign policy professionals as unfortunate albeit irrelevant to national security concerns. Yet the very same conditions of religious intolerance that were appalling to human rights advocates were appealing to Al Qaeda. This is by no means to say that a more vigorous push for religious freedom would have prevented the September 11th attacks. But at a minimum, more attention to the Taliban's religious persecution also might have helped reveal the potential terrorist threat.

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[137] Brian Grim and Roger Finke, *The Price of Freedom Denied: Religious Persecution and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

CHAPTER FOUR

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF RELIGION ON

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

4.1 Introduction

What is happening currently in the world, is as a result of reverse process in which religion tries to rebuild its universal claims for peace and unity without necessarily destroying the nations, but by extending the scale of the 'imagined community' beyond the scale of the traditional boundaries of the State. Another interesting perspective is provided by the constructivist approach to international relations, especially as far as the implications of the notion of 'collective identity' are concerned. The possibilities for collective action in international relations cannot be explained in full without assuming that interaction at the systemic level changes state identities and interests[138]. The key structures in the states system are inter-subjective, rather than material; and state identities and interests are important part constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics[139].

In many ways the contemporary international system is in a state of flux and increasingly characterized by transformation[140]. New actors are not only emerging in their numbers and scope of activities they are also having fundamental impact of the nature and character of international systems as well as influencing behaviours of

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[138] Casanova, J. (2012) 'Rethinking Public Religions', in Shah Timothy Samuel, Stepan, Alfred C., Duffy Toft, Monica (eds.), *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs, Ox*ford: Oxford University Press.

[139] Wendt, A. (1994) 'Collective identity formation and the international state', *American Political Science Review* 88.

[140] Haynes, Jeffrey (2007) An Introduction to International Relations and Religion. Pearson Education Ltd., England.

state actors. More visible is the resurgence of religious actors in international relations with a variety of religious actors involved in significant ways in the international relations. This scenario is aided and reinforced by globalization that leaves states increasingly battered[141].

The challenges posed by increased religious fundamentalism which have pitched Islam against the West are global currents that can only be ignored at expense of the 'New world order' As Tibi[142] demonstrates concerning religious extremism, it is a rather powerful challenge to existing order of the international relations of capitalist social engagement:

Religion in the contemporary world has become both a reaction to the deleterious effects of modernisation and globalisation, but a tool for socio-cultural identity. It has become a global category, part of the global repertoire of collective action available to discontented groups, but also a symbol in a global discourse about the shape of the world…it represents a form of sociological realism rather than Western wishful thinking.

Religion aims at preserving traditional society from undue and unwelcome alien modernising influences and reforming society in line with religious teachings, morality, values norms and laws. Religion actors now pursue public social justice issues and it is increasingly used as instrument for movements towards emancipation

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[141] Smith, Steve (2007) "Introduction: Diversity and Disciplinarity in International Relations Theory" in Tim Dunne et al (eds.) International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity. Oxford University Press Inc. New York.
[142] Tibi, Bassam "The Challenge of Fundamentalism" in Frank Lechner and John Boli (eds.) The Globalisation Reader Third Edition, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp.358-363.

and emotional satisfaction in globalising the world with its accompanying communication and information network. [143]

Religion can forge pragmatic, pro-active and creative ways of combining justice, community and dialogue in the international relations if the topic is dealt with in terms of policies of global governance and they are particularly relevant; the relationship between religion and global public goods namely environment, health, stability and the relationship between religion and human security. These are two related aspects of what is defined as humane global governance, as opposed to the emergence of inhumane social patterns at the global level. Religious visions provide a potential political grounding for humane global governance that cannot arise otherwise[144]. Religion based on the paradigm of inclusivity can play an important role in strengthening 'globalization from below' and provide an alternative vision to the Westphalia tradition that usually associates solidarity with territorial sovereign states[145].

At a minimum, policymakers would benefit from paying more attention to religious factors as potential predictors, catalysts, and/or accelerants for conflict. Perhaps less appreciated among policymakers is religion's potential role in peacemaking and reconciliation. Religion is hardly univocal, of course, and just as sometimes religion causes conflict, it is also capable of playing, even indispensable role in peace efforts. Examples abound, whether the role of the Moral Rearmament religious community in

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[143] De-Gruchy, J. (1995) Christianity and Democracy: A Theology For a Just World Order, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
[144] Casanova, J. (2012) 'Rethinking Public Religions', in Shah Timothy Samuel, Stepan, Alfred C., Duffy Toft, Monica (eds.), *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs, O*xford: Oxford University Press, pp. 25-34
[145] Ibid

the post-war Franco-German reconciliation; the work of the Catholic lay Community of Sant'Egidio in the Balkans, Mozambique, and the place of Islam in the Sudanese peace process.[146] Here again, policymakers would be wise and well served to include engagement with religious actors and awareness of religious motivations as important instruments in the policy toolkit for peace and reconciliation processes.

4.2 Impact of Religion on International Relations

There is a widely held view that religion is a cause of interstate war, arguing in Cavanaugh's words, that the "so-called wars of religion appear as wars fought by state-building elites for the purpose of consolidating their power over the church and other rivals." Challenging the view that public faith and democracy are incompatible, still other scholars see them as mutually reinforcing. In short, important elements of the secularization thesis are breaking down under intellectual inquisition.

If the secularization thesis is correct about the link between religion and war, we should observe three developments[147]. First, there should be a decrease in the number of religious believers as the world becomes more peaceful, beliefs are the micro motives of the actors. Second, of the few wars that do occur, it should not be the case that they tend to have different religions arrayed against each other on either side this is a correlation argument. Finally, the strongest evidence for the secularization thesis

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[146] Douglas Johnston, ed., *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik (*New York: Oxford University Press 2003) and Daniel Philpott, ed. *The Politics of Past Evil: Religion, Reconciliation, and Transitional Justice* (Notre Dame, In: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).
[147] Gorski, "Historicizing the Secularization Debate," 142.

would be a decline in the number of wars fought for explicitly religious reasons this involves analyses of the causal processes[148].

Religion's role in world politics has been underappreciated, the latest wave of scholarship on religion and international relations has made making this case even harder by assuming that in fact religion is both indefinable and indistinguishable from other political factors. The result of these assumptions is that, ascertaining the influence of religion on international relations will remain deeply problematic given that the strongest test of the influence of religion on war cannot be undertaken if religion and everything else are assumed to be inseparable[149]. The classic example of this argument that religious legacies continue to shape modern secular politics was the German sociologist Max Weber's linkage of Protestantism and Capitalism. Weber famously argued that the ascetic worldliness of the Protestant faith was conducive to many of the values that made for the successful businessman, including restless, continuous, systematic work in a worldly calling.[150]

An essay by Philpott entitled "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations" in which he argued that Religious ideas are at the root of modern international relations, concluding that had the reformation not occurred, a system of sovereign states would not have developed, at least not in the same form or in the same era as it did."[151]

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[148] John Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War* (New York: Basic Books, 1989).

[149] Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[150] David D. Laitin, "Review: Religion, Political Culture, and the Weberian Tradition," *World Politics*, vol. 30, No. 4 (July 1978).

[151] Philpott, "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," 206 and 214.

There is a list of other international events in which religious resurgence played a significant role, example was the Iranian Revolution of 1978, which overthrew a pillar of secular modernism in the Gulf and knocked out the keystone in the architecture of America's Nixon Doctrine in the Persian Gulf, dramatically undermining the strategic balance in the region[152]. To that, we also ought to add the Pan-Islamic response to Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which not only stalemated the Soviet Union there but also may have contributed not only to the process of *Perestroika* within the Soviet Union, which ushered in the end of the Cold War. Unfortunately it also lead to the rise of the fundamentalist movement *al Qaeda*, the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks[153]. Finally, a host of religiously motivated civil wars broke out in the wake of the end of the Cold War, the most dramatic of which were those in the former Yugoslavia among Latin, Orthodox, and Muslim groups. Given that the combatants in these last conflicts were ethnically homogeneous, they are most appropriately characterized as "religious" rather than "ethnic" wars[154]. This apparent increase in the incidence of religion affecting international politics spurred new theorizing about religion and international relations. The most influential example was the late Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" thesis. In it, he argued that future global politics would be characterized by the interaction among civilizations, which he defined as the highest cultural grouping whose most important defining feature was common religion[155].

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[152] Gary Sick, *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter With Iran* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1985).

[153] Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* [Second Edition] (New York: Holt, 2004).

[154] Kenneth D. Wald and Clyde Wilcox, "Getting Religion: Has Political Science Rediscovered the Faith Factor?" *American Political Science Review*, vol. 100, No. 4 (November 2006).

[155] Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 71, no. 3 (Summer 1993).

4.3 Impact of religion on World Norms

Religious communities and their beliefs have contributed to normativity in international relations in numerous ways; moral, legal, and cultural that shapes the international system, the relations between states, and the identities and policies of actors within the international system. This set of norms shapes international relations by influencing the framework of the international system and the actual conduct of states as well as the prior and arguably more important dynamic of how actors perceive the international system and their own identities, aspirations, goals, policies, and overall place within the international system.

Normativity in international relations, like normativity in general, shapes conduct by pointing to ideas, principles, norms, and aspirations that command, oblige, recommend, or guide.[156] The commands and obligations of normativity can be refused, disobeyed, or evaded, just as in every domain of human affairs. But they can shape human conduct sometimes in profound ways even when they are not being followed. States that conspicuously violate normative principles make extraordinary efforts to persuade themselves and others that their conduct is justifiable nonetheless. The very emergence and existence of the elaborate theory of realism in international relations which is in many ways itself a normative theory testifies to the power of normativity in the theory and practice of international relations. Precisely to the extent that international statecraft departs from the standards of traditional morality or ethics, its practitioners and theorists are keen to provide an elaborate account of why such departures in fact represent a higher practical wisdom or morality, which is precisely what realism claims to define. In other words, realism generates its own stringent and

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[156] Christine M. Korsgaard, *The Sources of Normativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

hortatory norms and obligations *raison d'état*, necessity, rationality for states either to follow or to flout.

Religion has historically contributed to the definition and construction of the official and quasi-official moral and legal norms that help to define the international system. In other words, religion has helped to define some of the constitutive rules of the game in terms of its basic parameters, players, and codes of conduct. There are many examples of such historical contributions. Grasping them is important not just as a historical exercise but as a way to understand better the particular character of the norms that shape modern international relations as well as the nature of the modern international system itself. The contribution of religion in defining the norms and codes of conduct governing conflict and warfare between the political units in the international system is a good example. These norms are embodied, for example, in the international law of war. Substantively, they include the normative presumption that military action by one state against another is unjustified except in cases of reasonable self-defense.

The injection of religious norms into public debate had some impact. For example, the 1983 pastoral letter of the US Catholic Bishops on nuclear weapons, "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," succeeded in eliciting from the Reagan Administration some clarification about the nuclear targeting of Soviet installations[157]. Furthermore, these faith-inspired norms fostered a growing consensus that any actual use of the nuclear deterrent as opposed to its possession would be

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[157] On Reagan's views concerning the immorality of nuclear weapons, see John Finnis, Joseph M. Boyle, and Germain G. Grisez, *Nuclear Deterrence, Morality, and Realism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

immoral, leading some, such as President Reagan himself, to engage in an urgent search for alternatives to the nuclear deterrent in the form of missile defense, a nuclear freeze, or nuclear disarmament.[158]

There are innumerable instances of religious contributions to the emergence of global humanitarian norms. The evangelical Protestant revivalism of the First Great Awakening on both sides of the Atlantic (ca. 1730-ca. 1750) and the Second Great Awakening in the United States (ca. 1790-1830) spurred a variety of unprecedented social reform efforts, including an international movement against slaveholding and slave-trading[159]. The faith-inspired antislavery movement was an extraordinary milestone in the development of humanitarianism, for, as Adam Hochschild observes it was the first time a large number of people became outraged, and stayed outraged for many years, over someone else's rights.[160] A few decades later, in 1859, after witnessing a battle between French and Austro-Hungarian troops in Italy, evangelical Calvinist Henry Dunant began an international campaign to care for the victims of war that eventually led to the creation of the International Committee for the Red Cross and the Red Cross Movement[161].In the early decades of the twentieth century, drawing on an eclectic mix of religious ideas that included radical Jain pacifism, Hindu renunciation of desire, and a Tolstoyan reading of the Sermon on the Mount, Mohandas K. Gandhi devised the notion that even one's political enemies should be

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[158] Ibid

[159] Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), originally published in 1957, and Michael P. Young, *Bearing Witness against Sin: The Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[160] Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), p. 5, quoted in Barnett, Empire of Humanity.

[161] Ibid

accorded dignity and respect and that opposition to injustice therefore must take the form of nonviolent resistance[162].

4.4 Religion and Civil Wars

Understanding the influence of religion in civil wars is critical for three reasons: first, its influence over the identities and motivations of people in conflict; secondly, its influence over the scope and intensity of a religious group's political objectives; and lastly, the transnational nature of religious groups and communities.

First, as a category of civil war, religious civil wars are more destructive than nonreligious civil wars, causing more deaths among combatants and noncombatants alike.[163] Secondly, they last longer than other sorts of war by an average of two years. Lastly, in cases where religion is a central component, wars once halted by cease-fire or negotiated settlement; recur twice as often as civil wars lacking religious motivation.

Religion often leads to uncompromising demands. Given some liberty in translation over time, religious texts and interpretations circumscribe the conduct of followers in important ways. Conduct departing from these guidelines is believed to put a follower at risk of losing God's favor with the risks and penalties varying depending on the nature of the breach of conduct. Thus, when followers believe they are being asked to violate the fundamental tenets of their faith, they are less likely to do so even when it might result in what most would consider a better outcome, such as peace.

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[162] Bhikhu C. Parekh, *Gandhi's Political Philosophy* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989).
[163] Monica Duffy Toft, "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War," *International Security*, vol. 31, no. 4 (Spring 20070.

As a rule, most of the world's prominent religions encourage followers to discount their physical survival. The logic is simple, the physical self is mortal and thus temporary, but the religious self is potentially immortal and eternal. If belief is strong enough, it can therefore become rational to sacrifice the temporary and mortal to obtain the eternal and immortal[164]. In the Christian and Muslim traditions, it is believed that self-sacrifice in religiously prescribed conduct will be rewarded by eternal, super-physical existence in a heaven or paradise.[165] This is a critical distinction that international relations scholars often miss. Whereas most international relations theories focus on survival and material well being particularly the survival of the state, religion frequently asks it followers often not states, but groups to discount their survival. But this undermines a central pillar of the states system itself: So long as it may be assumed that all fear death above all else, then a credible threat to kill becomes a kind of universal currency of power and deterrence.

When religion is involved, however, the most common pattern is mixed: a conflict that begins with limited aims tends to escalate with religion becoming more central to the conflict as governments and localities fight to determine whether and the extent to which religion will be part of public life. This was the situation in Sudan in the wars between the North and South. Initially the South sought only reduced repression and greater autonomy. But after the northern dominated government abrogated the Addis Ababa treaty that ended the first civil war (1956-1972) and sought to extend Islamic law throughout all of Sudan including non-Muslim areas, the South's aims shifted

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[164] Ibid

[165] Monica Duffy Toft, "Religion in International Relations," in *Handbook of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

from greater autonomy to full independence, which was achieved in 2011. So, while the South accepted the government's imposition of sharia in the North, it would not accept its imposition in the South. As an independent state, it now has control over local affairs, including the public role of religion.

Furthermore, with the globalization of religious networks, one state's religious violence has the power to seep into the affairs of another. Rarely do the ideas of a religious opposition movement remain contained within its borders; those ideas have the power to spread and become an ideology that others apply to their own circumstances. This pattern can be seen plainly in the global jihadist movement. Whereas religious opposition to the Saudi government gave rise to Al Qaeda, its goals have gained sympathy and a following from Muslims elsewhere in the world, such as within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and in post-war Iraq. This clearly indicates that religion impacts on international relations.

4.5 Religion and Terrorism

Interest in the study of religious terrorism has increased since the attacks of September 11, 2001, though, in fact, religious terrorism had been steadily increasing worldwide since the 1980s. Until 1980, virtually all terrorism was secular in nature, encompassed in three types of organizations: that is, independence movements struggling against colonial occupiers as in Algeria and Kenya; separatist groups seeking territorial autonomy or national sovereignty as in Ireland and Spain; and socioeconomic revolutionaries fighting for their version of justice in places like Latin America, Italy, and West Germany. What tied all these movements together was that

they grounded their actions in secular ideals Marxism, anti-colonialism, social justice rather than in religious motivations.[166]

Rise in religious violence has not been met with a marked increase in scholarship dealing specifically with the causes of religious terrorism. In a pattern that mirrors trends in social science of ignoring religious variables more generally, scholarship that does recognize the religious dimensions of terrorism tends to treat it cursorily. Much of the literature on the causes of terrorism fails to make a distinction between religious and secular terrorist groups and the varying motivations that drive them. A common belief continues to persist that religion only masks the secular rational motivations for terrorist activity. Such motivations typically emphasize underlying conditions such as poverty, alienation, humiliation, oppression, and foreign occupation[167]. In these analyses religion may still matter in that it helps to motivate combatants, but it matters as an intervening rather than an independent variable and is secondary to more material motivations.

4.6 Religion and the international system

The religion allergy among policymakers has declined considerably in the past decade, and there has been a growing appreciation in many policy circles that religion needs to be taken seriously. This has largely been in acknowledgement of empirical realities. Events including the September 11th attacks and the professed religious motivations of the terrorists, the sectarian divisions that beset Iraq in the aftermath of the American invasion, the manifestations of political Islam in the unfolding Arab

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[166] Jonathan Fine, "Contrasting Secular and Religious Terrorism," *Middle East Quarterly* vol. 15, no. 1 (2008).
[167] Daniel Philpott, "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion," *American Political Science Review* vol. 101, Issue 3 (2007): 505-525.

Awakening, the opacity of the Iranian regime's *Velayat-e-faqih* ideology and nuclear program, the resurgence of religious nationalisms in nations such as India and Russia, and the upsurge in Pentecostalism and political participation in many Latin American and African countries, have all reinforced the relevance of religion for foreign policymakers.

A positive recent example of incorporating religious themes into a public diplomacy exercise was President Obama's Cairo University speech in 2009. Beyond the discussion of policy issues, Obama quoted multiple times from the Koran and the Bible, described his own religious faith, and made repeated invocations of the divine will for ideals such as peace and unity. Such explicitly religious references accounted in part for the speech's very favorable reception among the mostly Islamic audience which included some Egyptian Christians as well.[168]

One area of government that has long appreciated religion's role is the development sector. Given the rich and diverse array of religious nongovernmental organizations devoted to relief and development work, USAID and its related entities focused on development policy work regularly in partnership with religious organizations engaged in development work. However, this is merely one dimension of the policy intersection of religion and development: the supply-side inputs of mostly Western religious actors into mostly non-Western developing and impoverished nations. Policymakers would also benefit by expanding this conceptual zone of engagement,

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[168] Text of the speech is available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarkspresident-cairo-university-6-04-09.

from exploring the ways that religion can serve as a driver or restrainer of economic growth and a contributing or mitigating factor for poverty.

As with economic development, religion has a similarly ambivalent relationship with democracy. Depending on the political and cultural context and confessional standards, religion has played and does play a role in either undermining or advancing democratization. Religious impediments to democratization are well known, including Muslim communities in many Muslim-majority countries and the Orthodox Church in Russia. Less appreciated but arguably as important are religious contributions to supporting and sustaining democratization, such as the Protestant churches in South Korea in the 1980s, the Catholic Church in Poland, Judaism in Israel, Islam in Indonesia, and Buddhist democracy activists in nations such as Vietnam, Burma, and China.

While related to democratization and other policy equities, religious freedom merits its own category, due in part to its intimate relationship with religion itself.

Ensuring religious freedom protections can also play a constructive role in states that do not now pose a security threat but are forging their development and identity. Promoting religious freedom can help prevent a future security threat and destabilization from emerging. The higher the degree to which governments and societies ensure religious freedoms for all, the less violent religious persecution and conflict along religious lines there will be.[169] The precarious stabilization and reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan are instructive. While each country's

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[169] Brian Grim and Roger Finke, *The Price of Freedom Denied: Religious Persecution and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

new constitution offers some hortatory commitment to religious freedom, other clauses undermine this by privileging Islamic law. And in practice the conditions for religious minorities are precarious, as evidenced by the recent imprisonment and horrific treatment of an Afghan citizen for converting to Christianity. While religious freedom protections alone will not guarantee the emergence of stable and self-governing states in Afghanistan and Iraq, the absence of religious freedom protections will make failure more likely. Egypt faces a similar reality in its ongoing political transition. While it faces challenges in institution building, economic growth, and democratic processes, one key determinant of Egypt's democratic transition will be religious freedom. Specifically, Egypt will need to ensure robust legal protections for the rights of its Coptic Christian minority as well as the rights of moderate and progressive Muslims who do not share the Islamist agendas of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafists.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

Religion has been an overlooked element in International Relations. This is understandably so because International Relations as a social science discipline rejects it as a concrete phenomenon. Despite of this, the study has come into conclusion that religion has a great influence on international relations. According to the constructivism theory that was used in this study, international relations study focuses on ideas and beliefs that inform the actors in the international scene. Likewise to religion, in that, it is based on ideas, beliefs and practices that inform the people of a particular religious group.

Therefore, it is of great necessity to note the correlation between religion and international relations, whereby both are based on ideas and beliefs that make people act in certain ways. Hence, affecting the relations between states: either creating hostility among states or enhancing cohesion. While some individuals informed by religious beliefs get involved in violent practices like terrorism, while others get involved in religious fundamentalism for example extremist groups forcing people to follow certain practices and beliefs according to their religion.

Lately, in Kenya due to the several terrorist attacks by the al-shaabab, for example abduction of tourists from the Kenyan coast which led to the incursion of Somali by the Kenya Defence Forces, the Westgate mall attack and the Garissa University attack

being among the major terror attacks in Kenya has led the Kenya government to change its strategy of dealing with terrorism which is a global issue. That is, it is not only affecting Kenya but so many other countries. Therefore, in such a case we find that such terror activities have enhanced cohesion among countries, in that, states have stood together against terrorism for example, African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) . That is, African states that came in aid of Kenya against this fight. In this case, al-shaabab being a group that is informed by religious beliefs and their acts being acts of creating fear and confusion, but on the contrary this has led to cohesion among states and also among the people of the nation that is affected. That is when people stand with each other in times of terror acts.

Constructivists argue that the social world is not something that exists independent of the thoughts and ideas of the people involved in it, what matters is how the actors think about each other, that is, their ideas and beliefs. Hence, with this, it is important to note that religion is informed by ideas and beliefs that affect the way people of a given religious group think about another religious group that is different from theirs which affects the social world. If the social world is affected by these ideas and beliefs it means that the study of international relations should focus on the ideas and beliefs that inform the actors on the international scene.

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