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J. Christopher Soper, Joel S. Fetzer
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Religion and Nationalism in Global Perspective

It is difficult to imagine forces in the modern world as potent as nationalism and religion. Both provide people with a source of meaning, each has motivated individuals to carry out extraordinary acts of heroism and cruelty, and both serve as the foundation for communal and personal identity. While the subject has received both scholarly and popular attention, this distinctive book is the first comparative study to examine the origins and development of three distinct models: religious nationalism, secular nationalism, and civil-religious nationalism. Using multiple methods, the authors develop a new theoretical framework that can be applied across diverse countries and religious traditions to understand the emergence, development, and stability of different church-state arrangements over time. The work combines public opinion, constitutional, and content analysis of the United States, Israel, India, Greece, Uruguay, and Malaysia, weaving together historical and contemporary illustrations.

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*Dedicated to my wife, Jane, and my children,
Katharine and David
— JCS*

*Dedicated to the memory of Carl Frederick Fetzer
(February 2, 1937–July 28, 2016), dear father, grandfather,
husband, and father-in-law
— JSF*

*Dedicated in memory of Ted Gerard Jelen
(April 30, 1952–November 21, 2017), devoted scholar,
frequent collaborator, and long-time friend
— JCS & JSF*

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Preface

Like most scientific projects, this book began with an intriguing question: Why do most American churchgoers proudly display prominent US flags at the front of their sanctuaries and find little or no conflict between devotion to the American state and loyalty to Christ, while their theological cousins in places such as France or Germany generally avoid nationalistic symbols in their sanctuaries and can sometimes express quite critical views about their respective central governments? From an original plan to cover just a couple countries in the Atlantic region, this study morphed into the global, six-nation investigation you hold in your hands. Although such an approach probably suffers from our having less in-depth expertise in all the states of the world, let alone the various religious traditions within those countries, we trust that our intellectual audacity in broadening the range of cases has enriched the general international literature on this subject.

As coauthors, we each have our particular special interests and gifts. Chris completed most of the theoretical background and large-scale institutional argument. He also wrote the bulk of the American, Israeli, Greek, and Indian chapters. Joel focused on the quantitative, public opinion, and content analysis and also composed the Malaysian and Uruguayan chapters. But over almost a decade we have been toiling on this book, we sent each other innumerable drafts of our respective sections and constantly revised and reconsidered our approach as a whole.

Although this multi-country project required far less fieldwork than some of our earlier works, we did benefit from financial assistance from Pepperdine's Endowed Chair and Endowed Professorship programs as

well as from several release times, Dean's Grants, and Seaver Research Grants. We would particularly like to thank Pepperdine's Vice-Provost for Research and Strategic Initiatives, Lee Kats, as well as Assistant Provost for Research, Katy Carr, and Divisional Dean Steve Rouse. In Payson Library, we are especially grateful to Melinda Raine and Melissa Pichette for processing countless new-book and ILL requests. Because we are not conversant in all of the languages spoken in the six countries used as case studies, we relied on several research assistants and a translation firm to render relevant documents into English. Our deepest appreciation thus goes out to Samir Fernandes, Joanna Siong N. Chen, Latifa Al Saud, Anitha K. V. Sampath, Carolyn Dapper, and Day Translations. Responsibility for the analysis and interpretations in this volume rests solely with us, however.

The quantitative analysis in this book relied heavily on many public-opinion surveys from around the world. Databases we examined include the 2003 International Social Survey Programme's National Identity II, 2004 American National Election Study, 2006 Latinobarómetro, 2008 European Values Study, 2010 Spring Pew Global Attitudes Survey, 2011 World Values Survey, 2013 Israel Democracy Index, 2013 Spring Pew Global Attitudes Survey, and 2013 International Social Survey Programme's National Identity III poll. The usual caveats about authors' responsibilities apply.

As we worked on this project, we became painfully aware of the breadth of our topic and of our limitations as scholars. We would therefore like to thank the following friends and colleagues who read chapters and helped us avoid glaring omissions or outright mistakes in our country case studies and generally strengthened the book: Ken Wald, David Legee, Scott Hibbard, George Th. Mavrogordatos, and Joseph Chinyong Liow. Lewis Bateman encouraged our proposed book when he was editor at Cambridge, and his successor, Sara Doskow, has been just as generous in her time and support of us. We would therefore like to thank both of them and the rest of the editorial team at Cambridge University Press who have been helpful and accommodating partners in our project.

Chris is thankful for the love and support given to him for many years from his wife, Jane, and children, Katharine and David. Over the years they have patiently listened to his dinnertime musings about religion and nationalism, but more importantly they teach him on a daily basis that we are made better by the commitments we make to the people around us.

The research and writing of this book took place during a particularly dark period in Joel's life, with the terminal illness and death of his father followed by a health crisis of his own. He is eternally grateful for

the support shown by his family, church, and friends during these trying experiences. Eliseo Franco and the congregation at Ministerios en Su Presencia once again prayed Hno. Joel through a long series of personal trials. The second author also owes many thanks to Dr. Shahdad Arami, Dr. Rennie Cheung, and Rev. Jim Mockabee for their professional care, and he expresses much love and gratitude to his wife Christina and son Isaak for accompanying him on this journey and putting up with his many defects.

Sadly, as this book manuscript was about to go back to the publisher for the last time, our dear friend and colleague Ted G. Jelen passed away. We will always be grateful for his enthusiastic support for our research over the decades (including serving as a peer reviewer for this manuscript) and for his similar encouragement of generations of younger scholars in religion and politics. Ted was a pioneering, organizational genius and will be sorely missed.

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