

## CHRISTIANITY AND FREEDOM

### VOLUME 2: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

*Christianity and Freedom, Volume 2*, illuminates how Christian minorities and transnational Christian networks contribute to the freedom and flourishing of societies across the globe, even amid pressure and violent persecution. Featuring unprecedented field research by some of the world's most distinguished scholars, it documents the outsized role of Christians in promoting human rights and religious freedom; fighting injustice; stimulating economic equality; providing education, social services, and health care; and nurturing democratic civil society. Readers will come away surprised and sobered to learn how this very Christian link to freedom often invites persecution. What are the dimensions of persecution and how are Christians responding to that pressure? What resources – theological, social, or transnational – do they marshal in leavening their societies? What will be lost if the Christian presence is marginalized? The answers to these questions are of crucial relevance in a world awash with religious extremism and deepening instability.

Allen D. Hertzke is an internationally recognized scholar of religion and politics. He is author of *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights* and editor of *The Future of Religious Freedom: Global Challenges*. A past fellow for the Pew Research Center, he directed the study "Lobbying for the Faithful: Religious Advocacy Groups in Washington DC." He is a member of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences.

Timothy Samuel Shah is the Associate Director of the Religious Freedom Project at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, and Visiting Assistant Professor in the Government Department, Georgetown University. He is the author most recently of *Religious Freedom: Why Now? Defending an Embattled Human Right* and *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (with Monica Duffy Toft and Daniel Philpott).

Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-107-56188-5 — Christianity and Freedom  
 Edited by Allen D. Hertzke, Timothy Samuel Shah  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## LAW AND CHRISTIANITY

Cambridge Studies in Law and Christianity

*Series Editor*

John Witte Jr., Emory University

*Editorial Board*

Nigel Biggar, University of Oxford  
 Marta Cartabia, Italian Constitutional Court / University of Milan  
 Sarah Coakley, University of Cambridge  
 Norman Doe, Cardiff University  
 Brian Ferme, Marcianum, Venice  
 Richard W. Garnett, University of Notre Dame  
 Robert P. George, Princeton University  
 Mary Ann Glendon, Harvard University  
 Kent Greenawalt, Columbia University  
 Robin Griffith-Jones, the Temple, the Inns of Court  
 R. H. Helmholz, University of Chicago  
 Mark Hill, the Inns of Court / Cardiff University  
 Wolfgang Huber, Bishop Emeritus, United Protestant Church of Germany /  
 Universities of Heidelberg, Berlin, and Stellenbosch  
 Michael W. McConnell, Stanford University  
 John McGuckin, Columbia University  
 Mark A. Noll, University of Notre Dame  
 Michael Welker, University of Heidelberg

The Law and Christianity series publishes cutting-edge work on Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Christian contributions to public, private, penal, and procedural law and legal theory. The series aims to promote deep Christian reflection by leading scholars on the fundamentals of law and politics, to build further ecumenical legal understanding across Christian denominations, and to link and amplify the diverse and sometimes isolated Christian legal voices and visions at work in the academy. Works collected by the series include groundbreaking monographs, historical and thematic anthologies, and translations by leading scholars around the globe.

*Volumes in the Series*

*The Western Case for Monogamy over Polygamy* John Witte (2015)  
*Pope Benedict XVI's Legal Thought* Marta Cartabia and Andrea Simoncini (2015)  
*The Distinctiveness of Religion in American Law* Kathleen A. Brady (2015)  
*Christianity and Freedom*, edited by Timothy Samuel Shah and Allen D. Hertzke (2016)

# Christianity and Freedom

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

VOLUME 2

Edited by

**ALLEN D. HERTZKE**

University of Oklahoma

**TIMOTHY SAMUEL SHAH**

Georgetown University



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-107-56188-5 — Christianity and Freedom  
 Edited by Allen D. Hertzke, Timothy Samuel Shah  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107561885](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107561885)

© Cambridge University Press 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016

First paperback edition 2016

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

Christianity and freedom / edited by Allen D. Hertzke, Timothy Samuel Shah.  
 2 volumes cm. – (Law and Christianity)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: – v. 2. Contemporary perspectives.

Description based on: v. 2, published in 2016.

ISBN 978-1-107-12472-1 (hardback)

1. Liberty – Religious aspects – Christianity. I. Hertzke, Allen D., 1950– editor.

II. Shah, Timothy Samuel, editor.

BT810.3.C48 2016

261.7–dc23 2015027373

ISBN 978-1-107-12472-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-56188-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-56188-5 — Christianity and Freedom  
Edited by Allen D. Hertzke, Timothy Samuel Shah  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

*The Religious Freedom Research Project*

This volume is the fruit of research conceived and supported by the Religious Freedom Research Project (RFRP) of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University. Under the leadership of Director Thomas Farr and Associate Director Timothy Samuel Shah, the Religious Freedom Research Project is the world's only university-based program devoted exclusively to the analysis of religious freedom, a basic human right restricted in many parts of the globe. The RFRP is made possible by significant grants from the John Templeton Foundation, a partnership with Baylor University's Institute for Studies of Religion, and the generous support of numerous other individuals and foundations.

The goal of the RFRP is to deepen scholarly understanding, inform policy deliberation, and educate the wider public concerning the meaning and value of religious freedom. It achieves this goal through publications such as this one, as well as conferences, workshops, media appearances, a vigorous web presence, and a blog, *Cornerstone: A Conversation on Religious Freedom and Its Social Implications*. Find out more at [www.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/rfp](http://www.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/rfp).

Contents

<i>Contributing Authors</i>	<i>page xi</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xv</i>
<b>Introduction: Christianity and Freedom in the Contemporary World</b> Allen D. Hertzke	<b>1</b>
<b>1. Persecution in the Context of Religious and Christian Demography, 1970–2020</b> Todd M. Johnson	<b>13</b>
<b>2. Patterns and Purposes of Contemporary Anti-Christian Persecution</b> Paul Marshall	<b>58</b>
<b>3. Where the Spirit Leads: Global Pentecostalism and Freedom</b> Donald E. Miller	<b>87</b>
<b>4. Christianity among the Marginalized: Empowering Poor Women in India</b> Rebecca S. Shah	<b>107</b>
<b>5. Transnational Christian Networks for Human Dignity</b> Mark Brockway and Allen D. Hertzke	<b>133</b>
<b>6. The Growth and Dynamism of Chinese Christianity</b> Fenggang Yang	<b>161</b>
<b>7. Christianity and Religious Freedom in Indonesia since 1998</b> Zainal Abidin Bagir and Robert W. Hefner	<b>191</b>

8.	<b>Christianity and Freedom in India: Colonialism, Communalism, Caste, and Violence</b>	222
	Chad M. Bauman and James Ponniah	
9.	<b>Vietnam: Christianity’s Contributions to Freedoms and Human Flourishing in Adversity</b>	254
	Reg Reimer	
10.	<b>The Challenge and Leaven of Christianity in Pakistan</b>	284
	Sara Singha	
11.	<b>Christianity and the Challenge of Religious Violence in Northern Nigeria</b>	306
	Richard Burgess and Danny McCain	
12.	<b>Copts of Egypt: Defiance, Compliance, and Continuity</b>	338
	Mariz Tadros	
13.	<b>Between the Hammer and the Anvil: Indigenous Palestinian Christianity in the West Bank</b>	372
	Duane Alexander Miller and Philip Sumpter	
14.	<b>Christians in the State of Israel: Between Integration and Emigration</b>	397
	Daphne Tsimhoni	
15.	<b>Arab Muslim Attitudes toward Religious Minorities</b>	431
	Michael Hoffman and Amaney A. Jamal	
16.	<b>They That Remain: Syrian and Iraqi Christian Communities amid the Syria Conflict and the Rise of the Islamic State</b>	453
	Matthew Barber	
	<i>Index</i>	489

## Contributing Authors

**Zainal Abidin Bagir** is Director of the Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies at the Graduate School of Gadjah Mada University. He was Coprincipal Investigator for a two year research project on Pentecostalism in Indonesia and the Indonesian Coordinator for an international collaboration, the Pluralism Knowledge Programme.

**Matthew Barber** is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago, where he studies Islamic thought.

**Chad M. Bauman** is Associate Professor of Religion and Chair of the Department of Philosophy and Religion and of the Classical Studies Program at Butler University. He is also President of the Society for Hindu-Christian Studies.

**Mark Brockway** is a doctoral student in political science at the University of Notre Dame. His research focuses on religion in American and transnational politics.

**Richard Burgess** is Senior Lecturer in Theology at the University of Roehampton, London. He was formerly a lecturer at the Theological College of Northern Nigeria, Jos.

**Robert W. Hefner** is Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs (CURA) at Boston University. He has directed nineteen research projects and is the author or editor of twenty books, including *Shari'a Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World*.

**Allen D. Hertzke** is David Ross Boyd Professor of Political Science and Faculty Fellow in Religious Freedom at the University of Oklahoma. He is editor of two recent books: *The Future of Religious Freedom: Global Challenges* and *Religious Freedom in America: Constitutional Roots and Contemporary Challenges*.

**Michael Hoffman** is a Ph.D. candidate at Princeton University. His work focuses on religion and political behavior.

**Amaney A. Jamal** is Edwards S. Sanford Professor of Politics at Princeton University and Director of the Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice. Jamal also directs the Workshop on Arab Political Development. She currently is President of the Association of Middle East Women's Studies (AMEWS).

**Todd M. Johnson** is Associate Professor of Global Christianity and Director of the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. Johnson is Visiting Research Fellow at Boston University's Institute for Culture, Religion and World Affairs, leading a research project on international religious demography.

**Paul Marshall** is Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute's Center for Religious Freedom, Washington, D.C.; Distinguished Senior Fellow of the Institute for the Study of Religion at Baylor University; Senior Fellow at the Leimena Institute, Jakarta; and Visiting Professor at the Graduate School of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN), Jakarta, Indonesia. He is the author and editor of more than twenty books on religion and politics, especially religious freedom, and his writings have been translated into twenty-two languages.

**Danny McCain** is Professor of Biblical Theology in the Department of Religion and Philosophy of the University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria. As an American who has lived in Nigeria since 1988, he has been an observer of much of the ethnoreligious conflict in Nigeria and actively involved in researching and promoting peace.

**Donald E. Miller** is Professor of Religion at the University of Southern California and Executive Director of the Center for Religion and Civic Culture at USC. He is the coauthor of *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagements* (University of California Press, 2007) and was the Director of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Initiative project funded by the John Templeton Foundation.

**Duane Alexander Miller** is Lecturer in Church History and Theology for Nazareth Evangelical Theological Seminary (Israel) and Adjunct Professor of Theology at St Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas. He is also Mission Partner with the World Missions Department of the Episcopal Diocese of West Texas.

**James Ponniah** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Christian Studies at the University of Madras. He holds an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Madras.

**Reg Reimer**, with World Evangelical Alliance, began missionary service in Vietnam in 1966. Through numerous visits to Communist Vietnam since 1980, he has forged close ties with that country's burgeoning Evangelical movement, and advocated

strongly for religious freedom. He is the author of an acclaimed book on the movement, *Vietnam's Christians: A Century of Growth in Adversity* (2011).

**Rebecca S. Shah** is Research Fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, Georgetown University, and Associate Scholar with the Berkley Center's Religious Freedom Project. An economist by training, Shah has been the Project Leader and Principal Investigator for two research initiatives on religion, entrepreneurship, and economic development in the modern world. Her work has been published in a number of scholarly anthologies.

**Timothy Samuel Shah** is Associate Director of the Religious Freedom Project at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs and Visiting Assistant Professor in the Government Department, Georgetown University. He is the author most recently of *Religious Freedom: Why Now? Defending an Embattled Human Right* and *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (with Monica Duffy Toft and Daniel Philpott).

**Sara Singha** received her Ph.D. in theological and religious studies from Georgetown University. Her research interests include Muslim-Christian relations and religion and caste in North India and Pakistan.

**Philip Sumpter** received his Ph.D. in Old Testament at the University of Gloucestershire, United Kingdom. He was Lecturer at Nazareth Evangelical Theological Seminary in Israel and is currently Visiting Lecturer at the European School of Culture and Theology in Stuttgart, Germany.

**Mariz Tadros** is Fellow and Coleader of the Power and Popular Politics Cluster at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, United Kingdom.

**Daphne Tsimhoni**, Ph.D., is retired Professor of Modern Middle East History at the Department of Humanities and Arts, The Technion – Israel Institute of Technology and the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; her research focuses on Palestinian Christians since the nineteenth century.

**Fenggang Yang** is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center on Religion and Chinese Society. He is the Founding Editor of *Review of Religion and Chinese Society* and is the President of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (2014–2015).

## Acknowledgments

This book is *Volume 2* of a two-volume project, *Christianity and Freedom: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. The volumes emerged from a two-year cooperative research initiative conceived and supported by the Religious Freedom Research Project (RFRP) of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, & World Affairs at Georgetown University. Founded in 2011, the RFRP has been made possible by significant grants from the John Templeton Foundation, a partnership with Baylor University's Institute for Studies of Religion, and the generous support of numerous other individuals and foundations. At the same time, the opinions expressed in this volume are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Templeton Foundation or any other supporting foundations or individuals.

The *Christianity and Freedom* initiative was set in motion by an initial, catalytic grant from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation in 2011. For his crucial role in helping us to conceptualize the project and then inviting us to seek Bradley support, we gratefully acknowledge Daniel Schmidt, Bradley's Vice President for Program. Serendipitously and almost simultaneously, in September 2011, Donald Yerxa and Wilfred McClay went out of their way to encourage us to seek major funding from the Historical Society's Religion and Innovation in Human Affairs Program (RIHA), an initiative they had just launched with the support of the Templeton Foundation. Don Yerxa in particular has proven a constant source of warm encouragement, not least through his gracious invitation to one of the editors (Timothy Shah) to deliver the Donald A. Yerxa Lecture in History on *Christianity and Freedom* at Eastern Nazarene University in April 2014. At a crucial point, before it was clear how much support the project would ultimately secure, Matthew Franck and the Witherspoon Institute stepped in to provide generous bridge funding that enabled us to organize and hold the first planning meeting with our Steering Committee of distinguished scholar-advisers and thus get our work under way in the spring of 2012.

We are delighted to have enjoyed the support of Baylor University, whose investment in this project has blossomed into an ongoing partnership with

Georgetown University's Religious Freedom Research Project. It is a pleasure to single out Ken Starr, President and Chancellor of Baylor University and a contributor to *Volume 1*, and Byron Johnson, Director of Baylor's Institute for Studies of Religion (ISR) and a member of our Steering Committee, for the depth and constancy of their personal and institutional commitment to this project and its goal of advancing scholarship in the cause of human freedom. We also gratefully acknowledge the enthusiasm and wisdom of Carey Newman, Director of Baylor University Press. Carey joined us for the conference in Rome that previewed the project findings and gave us singularly generous and profound counsel concerning the process of taking the fruit of our work to publication. He has also worked closely with us to develop a monograph encapsulating the findings of the *Christianity and Freedom* initiative, making heavy investments of his time (and that of his staff) along the way.

The contributors to the *Christianity and Freedom* volumes presented their initial research at a global conference in Rome on December 13–14, 2013. We are especially grateful to the representatives of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty in Rome – particularly Kishore Jayabalan and Michael Severance – for their counsel and indefatigable assistance in conference organization and planning over many months. We also gratefully acknowledge the Pontificia Università Urbaniana (Pontifical Urban University) and its Secretary General, Father Roberto Cherubini, for their generosity in throwing open the university's beautiful facilities for our use throughout the conference. And we warmly thank the Honorable Kenneth Hackett, United States Ambassador to the Holy See, for hosting a welcome reception in the ambassadorial residence on the eve of the conference for participants and special guests.

Three additional people deserve special mention for their memorable contributions to our Rome gathering. A most dramatic moment was the keynote address of His Beatitude, Louis Raphaël I Sako, Chaldean Catholic Patriarch of Iraq, who challenged us to raise our voices on behalf of Christians imperiled in their ancient lands. His ongoing fight to salvage and restore the pluralist fabric of Middle Eastern societies – now under existential threat – personifies and dramatizes the aims and themes of this project. We were also humbled and buoyed to receive the blessing of the Holy Father, Pope Francis, in a personal audience on the morning of the final day of the conference. With his zest for close ecumenical cooperation, nurtured over many years of friendship with evangelical and other non-Catholic religious leaders in Argentina, he took particular delight that our project and our conference represented a “Baptist-Catholic” collaboration between Georgetown University, America's oldest Catholic university, and Baylor University, the world's largest Baptist university. We interpreted his decision to meet with us – less than a year into his pontificate – as a concrete sign of his passionate concern for religious liberty as well as the growing plight of persecuted Christians worldwide. On both of

these issues he has spoken with ever-greater poignancy and clarity over the last two years. Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the role of then-Archbishop Dominique Mamberti, at that time the Vatican Secretary for Relations with States (since made a cardinal by Pope Francis), in launching our conference with a compelling keynote address interweaving the historic significance of the Edict of Milan and the contemporary importance of religious freedom. We also thank Cardinal Mamberti for his role in facilitating our personal audience with Pope Francis.

The success of this endeavor hinged in large measure on the foundational work of the distinguished members of our Steering Committee. These members identified contributing scholars, honed the themes and research questions of the volumes, and diligently reviewed and provided detailed feedback on draft chapters. Furthermore, their own scholarship served as an inspiration and model for many of the contributors to these volumes. Our thanks go out to these outstanding individuals: Thomas Farr, Matthew Franck, Yvonne Haddad, Amaney Jamal, Byron Johnson, David Little, Paul Marshall, and Robert Wilken. We especially want to acknowledge our colleague Thomas Farr, Director of the Religious Freedom Project at Georgetown, for his sage counsel and assiduous work at every stage of this initiative. Robert Wilken also deserves special thanks. In sharing his own pivotal research on the roots of religious freedom in the early church fathers, he proved an indispensable inspiration for this entire project. His close involvement ever since has guaranteed that we have never been without his infectious intellectual enthusiasm.

This project could not have been fulfilled without the vital support of Georgetown University, and particularly the leadership and staff of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs. We are profoundly grateful to Thomas Banchoff, Director of the Berkley Center and Georgetown's Vice-President for Global Engagement, as well as Michael Kessler, the Berkley Center's Managing Director. From the very beginning, they have generously contributed their support and encouragement, both intellectual and administrative. Other Berkley Center colleagues who provided essential support include Erin Taylor, Amy Vander Vliet, Melody Fox Ahmed, and Randolph Pelzer.

If the multipronged efforts leading up to the publication of these volumes had a single headquarters, however, it was the Religious Freedom Research Project and its dedicated staff and team of student assistants. More than anyone, these friends and colleagues managed the successful execution of every aspect of this project, down to the last detail, with unfailing cheerfulness and consummate professionalism. We are particularly grateful to the Senior Project Associate, Claudia Winkler, who in effect played the role of managing editor of both of the project volumes, and the former Senior Project Associate Kyle Vander Meulen, who more than any other single person worked to ensure the success of the Rome conference. We are also thankful for the many contributions of the Project Associate Nicholas Fedyk and the former

Project Associate A. J. Nolte. In addition, we acknowledge the many Georgetown students who contributed outstanding research and editorial assistance, especially Louis Cona, Justin Pinkerman, Matthew Quallen, Kevin Sullivan, Timothy Yin, and Harry Green.

Allen Hertzke's work as coeditor of these volumes was supported by the University of Oklahoma's Religious Freedom Project, which he directs under the auspices of the Institute for the American Constitutional Heritage. That program funded two energetic undergraduate research assistants, Gabriella Skillings and Erin Byrne, who helped us manage this complex endeavor. It also funded the work of our talented and assiduous indexer, Alexa Selph.

We are deeply grateful to John Witte Jr., Series Editor of the Cambridge Studies in Law and Christianity, for his enthusiastic backing of this project. We are honored and delighted to be included in his series. We also laud the superb work of Cambridge University Press in publishing these volumes, and we are particularly grateful to Senior Editor John Berger, Managing Editor Stephen Acerra, and the entire team involved in copyediting, production, and marketing.

The John Templeton Foundation deserves a special note of thanks. Without the Templeton Foundation's generous funding in 2011, there would have been no Rome conference and no volume of outstanding essays. In fact, there would have been no Religious Freedom Project at all. The decision to bet on the Religious Freedom Project with a major start-up grant ultimately rested with Dr. Jack Templeton, President of the John Templeton Foundation. It was thus a blow to us and to the visionary philanthropy the Templeton Foundation uniquely embodies that he passed away on May 19, 2015 as this volume was being completed. We take this opportunity to record our unpayable debt of gratitude to Dr. Jack Templeton. And we take this opportunity to pray: Eternal rest grant unto him. . . . Long may his work continue.

For both of us this project is more than an academic exercise, as we have been inspired and challenged by the faithful witness of our many brothers and sisters in Christ around the world who live under conditions of persecution, yet whose very struggle sows the seeds of a more hopeful future. We pay homage to their inestimable gifts, both to global Christianity and to human freedom. More than anything, these volumes acknowledge and honor the fact that they are not mere victims, passive and mute, but stirring witnesses and incomparably powerful agents of world-historical change.

The process of expressing thanks (however inadequate) to the many people who inspired, supported, and carried this initiative to fruition takes us to a place of deeper gratitude – for our very lives, our liberties, our families, and the many blessings of God's love we experience. To all of this we can only pray: *Deo Gratias*.

Allen D. Hertzke and Timothy Samuel Shah  
 November 22, 2015, The Solemnity of Christ the King