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Latest News, April 2011: Dr. Hagemann received an award donated by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation for the advancement of the translation of humanistic literature

Between Quietism and Violence –

Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel and Protestant Fundamentalism in the USA

The proposed PhD project aims at a comparative, theoretical oriented, empirical analysis of two fundamentalist movements within democracies. Both fundamentalisms will be analyzed as social movements which emerged in reaction to processes of modernisation and made the consequences of political, social and cultural transformation the subject of their ideology. However, the concept of modernisation alone remains too abstract, at the most it can explain the emergence of certain movements, but not their specific form. Only a socioscientific analysis that takes into account the political, cultural and socio-economic aspects of modernisation processes and their interaction with the fundamentalist movement and its ideology is able to comprehend phases of growing or diminishing influence, of radicalization as well as de-radicalization. Therefore, the proposed framework comprises on the one hand the supply side (ideology, organisation, strategy and carriers), on the other hand the interaction of fundamentalist movements with the political system, political culture and processes of structural change. These independent factors of objective social change, subjective perception and resulting actions of protest have to be analysed, combining micro-, meso- and macro-level analysis.

The PhD will therefore resort to social movement research, especially of right-wing movements, to analyse causes, political and discursive opportunities and dynamics of fundamentalist mobilisation. However, this framework has to be specified to fundamentalist movements taking into account the religious symbols and gestures,

myths and idols - the religious logic underlying public actions. Martin Riesebrodt (1990) differentiates between two levels of fundamentalist ideology: a social critique and a salvation history. While the social critique addresses actual grievances, the salvational dimension locates the meaning of the contemporary crisis between the ideal order of the past and eschatological expectations of the future. The course and rhythm of fundamentalist protest can be understood only through a consideration of the salvational dimension. This dimension distinguishes fundamentalist movements from other movements. Consequently, religion as a social sphere is of relative autonomy and its inner laws as well as dependencies and interdependencies with other social factors must be analysed for each case. That means for social movement research, "bringing religion back in" (Smith 1996).

Both cases show that fundamentalist movements can (at certain points in history) have considerable influence within democratic systems and might contribute (under certain conditions) to the escalation of conflict within society. In both countries fundamentalist movements emerged as a reaction to processes of modernisation and new socio-cultural cleavages. In contrast to secular-humanistic and universal values, the movements are engaged in reconstructing a definition of the nation on the basis of religion (and ethnicity). By influencing the outcome of elections and agenda-setting campaigns fundamentalist movements aim at a moral renewal of society. Political-strategical adaptations to public resonance (e.g. in order to form alliances with conservative-secular groups) highlight the differences between pre- and postmillenarianism, moderate and radical factions and quietist and activist streams. These conflicts may be conducive to violent escalation in both countries though to a different extent - the level of violence in the Israeli case seems to be higher due to the messianic dramatization of some fundamentalist settler groups and the ongoing conflict with the Palestinians. This PhD understands fundamentalism as a social and dynamic phenomenon that has considerable influence on democratic institutions and the political-cultural foundation of democracy. The systematic comparison provides a basis for analysing under which conditions the conflict dynamic of fundamentalist movements can evolve.

The objective of the PhD is to analyse fundamentalist movement, their dynamic changes within cycles of protest as well as their impact on democratic systems. The causes of mobilization, political and discursive opportunity structures of mobilization efforts will be analysed comparatively as well as phases of decline, failure or stagnation and the reaction of the movements in times of demobilization. Subject of the study are therefore fundamentalist movements themselves as collective actors - their ideology, organisation and strategy, and secondly their interaction with other actors in the

political system (e.g. parties, counter-movements etc.), the political culture and socio-economic and socio-cultural conflicts.

Cited Literature: Martin Riesebrodt (1993): *Pious Passion. The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London. Christian Smith (1996): *Disruptive Religion. The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism*. New York, London.