

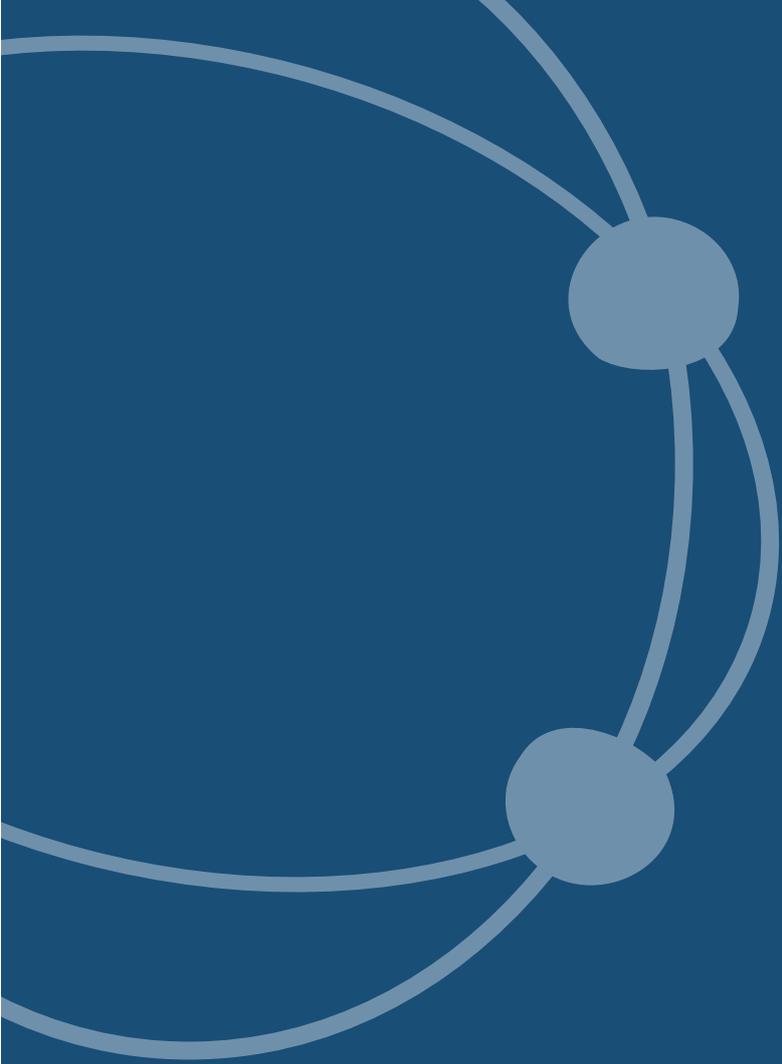


THE STATE OF THE EVIDENCE IN RELIGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

June 2022



Joint Learning Initiative
on Faith & Local Communities



CHAPTER 6

RELIGIONS, PEACE, AND CONFLICT

***AUTHORS: SUSAN HAYWARD
AND ERIN WILSON***

CHAPTER 6: RELIGIONS, PEACE, AND CONFLICT

AUTHORS: SUSAN HAYWARD³⁵⁴ AND ERIN WILSON³⁵⁵

Introduction

Research on religions' entanglement with conflict and peacebuilding has gone through significant shifts in the past three decades. After years of neglect, in the late 1990s there was a marked surge in interest in religions, conflict, and peacebuilding. Yet, while attempting to address the lack of attention for religions, an initial over-correction occurred. For a time, research on religions, conflict, and peace overemphasized religions as the crucial element for understanding all conflict situations. This was coupled with a tendency to focus on the positive contribution of religions to peacebuilding and conflict transformation and downplay their place in violence and extremism. This was in part an effort to counterbalance negative normative assumptions about religions as irrational, chaotic, dangerous, and a threat to the modern secular state. In so doing, theory and practice inadvertently reinforced problematic conceptions of the idea of "religion"³⁵⁶ as a uniform, static, and autonomous dimension of human society.

The field is now experiencing a balancing in this respect. Research is increasingly moving away from the idea that "religion" is a distinct recognizable phenomenon or agent with specific characteristics that make it either violent or peaceful. Instead, new approaches seek to embed research on religions, conflict, and peace within specific contexts, paying attention to the nuances and complexities within different religious communities and traditions as well as the diverse ways that religions are entangled with gender, politics, economics, and culture. The result is contextually grounded intersectional analysis of the relationships among different aspects of the category of "religion" and conflict, violence, extremism, and peace. Peacebuilding practices and diplomatic action are increasingly pushed to operate with this more contextually based and nuanced approach.

Below we sketch the major developments and publications in the field over recent decades, noting how research has both shaped and been shaped by policy and world events. We conclude with reflections on potentially fruitful and new directions to be pursued in the coming years.

Major discussions and key references from the last 20 years

Theoretical backdrop: From lacuna to apologia

While different academic disciplines have long explored the relationship between religions, violence, and peace, a growth of scholarship and practice in the mid-1990s in the US spurred the development of a distinct field. The field emerged in response to a perceived gap in understanding religious factors and engaging religious actors in conflict resolution and diplomacy. Its emergence was also in response to a perceived secular bias against religions on the part of diplomats and those working for peace that led them to see faith actors as unidimensional and violent. The reasons for these blinders and biases were often described as a lingering legacy of the European Enlightenment project. William T. Cavanaugh, for example, has shown how in the process of shoring up the authority and power of the modern "secular" state, disentangling it from ecclesial authority, "religion" was presented as irrational, inherently violent, and absolutist, particularly during the Enlightenment period.³⁵⁷ The reality of the modern project thus led – and even continues to lead – scholars and others to see or overstate violence as a central dimension of "religion."

354 Religion and Public Life, Harvard Divinity School.

355 Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Groningen.

356 We use "religion" in inverted commas to signify dominant assumptions about the conceptual category of religion as a singular homogenous entity, i.e., the idea that while there are different religions, they all share essentially the same defining characteristics.

357 William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also: Erin K. Wilson, *After Secularism: Rethinking Religion and Global Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Given the (perceived and real) negative dominant assumptions about religions' overwhelming contribution to driving violence and injustice in modernity, early scholars often sought to rebalance the scales by highlighting the positive contributions of certain religious ideas, practices, actors, and institutions.³⁵⁸ While most were careful to simultaneously acknowledge how these same dimensions have contributed to violent conflict and exclusionary nationalism, they were sometimes criticized as apologists for religions, or of advancing an understanding of "good religion" to replace "bad religion" in a manner that reified problematic understandings of "religion."³⁵⁹ Other scholars in the 1990s sought to present a more complex understanding of the intersection of religions with violence and peace, and highlight the potential of religions to contribute to peacebuilding. For example, in *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Scott R. Appleby rejects an essentialist understanding of "religion" as being either violent or peaceful at root.³⁶⁰ Rather, he sees religion as something that is inherently lived and experienced, shaped by ongoing encounters with a transcendent, sacred reality. The responses of individuals and communities to that divine encounter are themselves diverse and paradoxical, resulting in an ambivalence and unpredictability in how religious institutions, individuals, communities, and organizations respond to conflict and peace. Interpretations of the sacred experience can lead some to discriminatory or self-sacrificial violent behavior, and others to pull their lives on the line for the cause of peace.

Some scholars sought to highlight resources within religions that could support work of just peacebuilding and diplomacy. In his *Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in Islam*, Abu-Nimer lists the various values, teachings, and practices within Islam that support peace.³⁶¹ He is forthright in saying he does not want to assert that Islam is essentially peaceful (nor essentially violent). But he is driven by a practitioner's approach to find Islamic tools that can be used to build peace in Muslim-majority communities. His work reflects theories by political scientists like Monica Duffy Toft who often analyze religions as tools wielded by political actors for political ends, including those that are violent.³⁶² Similarly, Johnston and Sampson's *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, highlighted the blunders resulting from US diplomats' lack of understanding of and appreciation for religious forces shaping political activities globally, arguing for the essential need for foreign policymakers to better understand religious dimensions and engage with them to advance their interests, including those related to security.³⁶³

While endeavoring to address the previous neglect of religion attributed to a secular bias, this scholarship left core elements of secular thinking in place. Analysis continued to focus on the characteristics of "religion" as a distinguishable and autonomous phenomenon, rather than recognizing that what "religion" is and how it manifests differs from context to context depending on a complex array of intersecting factors. More recent debates have emphasized the need to eschew pre-existing generic assumptions about the nature of "religion" in favor of contextually grounded intersectional analyses of conflicts and issues that focus on the specificities of religions in particular places.

Practical results of debates in religions, conflict, and peace

The rise of this niche field, increasingly referred to as "religious peacebuilding," tended to emphasize the positive contributions of (male) religious authorities as third-party conflict resolvers. Dialogue and relationship building across religious identity differences in the internal conflicts of the time (former Yugoslavia, Israel/Palestine, Sudan, and Sri Lanka, among others) was highlighted as critically important for reducing prejudice and "othering" that legitimated direct and structural forms of violence. These strategies also contributed to creating social cohesion among groups to support peace processes and reconciliation. Noting the limitations of purely person-to-person interfaith dialogue projects for reforming structural injustices, and the need to bridge conflict within religious communities, the field came to emphasize the relationship between dialogue and action for peace. It also shifted to

358 See, for example: David R. Smock, "Catholic Contributions to International Peace" (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001); Qamar-ul Huda, "Crescent and Dove: Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam" (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010); David W. Chappell 1999. *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace* (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, In association with Boston Research Center for the 21st Century, 1999); Cynthia Sampson and John Paul Lederach, *From the Ground Up: Mennonite Contributions to International Peacebuilding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Note the emphasis on Christian forms of peacebuilding in these examples, which reflects the broader literature during this period (followed by Islam).

359 See Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, *Beyond Religious Freedom: The New Global Politics of Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

360 R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000).

361 Mohammed Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

362 Monica Duffy Toft, *Religion, Civil War, and International Order* (Cambridge: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2006).

363 Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson, eds., *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Notably, these calls for greater attention to religion in conflict and peacebuilding were happening at the same time that James Wolfensohn, as president of the World Bank at the time, launched an initiative to explore the role of religion in development more broadly.

focus on intra- as well as inter-group dynamics to create broader mobilization. Major players in religious peacebuilding included non-governmental organizations with an explicit “faith-based” or religious engagement modus operandi, such as Religions for Peace (RfP), United Religions Initiative, and the International Network of Engaged Buddhists. Non-governmental peacebuilding organizations like Search for Common Ground began incorporating religious engagement into their efforts, appointing a new Director of Religious Engagement in 2017. At the same time, some government foreign ministries, notably that of the US, but also Switzerland and Germany, increasingly incorporated religious engagement³⁶⁴ into their efforts through new offices created for that purpose.³⁶⁵ Finally, international organizations, including the United Nations, sought to incorporate “faith-based engagement” across a range of activities, including peace efforts.³⁶⁶

Following the events of September 11, 2001, the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the rise of the Islamic State, an overlapping but distinct set of conversations and action arose related to counterterrorism. Operating firmly within a security lens, religions, and particularly Islam, were perceived anew to be drivers of violence. This fueled new projects of ideological warfare that, once again, sought to supplant extremist/bad religion with moderate/good religion.³⁶⁷ As peacebuilding sought to reframe itself as countering violent extremism (CVE), driven by donor interests, these projects often exacerbated conflict dynamics.³⁶⁸ As one example, Western governments sometimes participated in CVE projects with Muslim-majority countries that encouraged the state to wield more control over religious expression, in ways restrictive of religious freedom and potentially counter-productive.³⁶⁹

Within this context, promoting the right to Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB) took on new prominence in international conflict resolution and peacebuilding efforts. FoRB has been explicitly linked with CVE policy agendas and projects, as a tool to counter religious intolerance, absolutism, and unwillingness to compromise that is assumed to characterize religiously-inflected extremism.³⁷⁰ In addition to the concerns about FoRB being seen as “Christianity by stealth” in some contexts in part because of connections to colonial era missionizing,³⁷¹ there is also now the additional baggage attached to FoRB as part of its inclusion in the swathe of policies and tools utilized to “counter violent extremism,” policies and tools that, overall, have been directed towards Muslim minorities and Muslim majority countries over the last two decades.³⁷²

Major current debates of the last 1-5 years

Gender Justice

New critical questions have emerged in the past 5-10 years that are shaping the still relatively young field of “religious peacebuilding” in important ways. Critiques of the gendered assumptions within earlier scholarship and practices of religious peacebuilding have highlighted how these interventions may have reinforced gender injustice. This insight has led to new standards emphasizing gender justice as an essential element of religious peacebuilding, recognition of the important roles that women hold in religious spaces to transform violence, including sexual and gender-based violence, and of the priorities of women in religiously informed peacebuilding. Specific attention has now been given to LGBTIQ+ actors’ and needs in religious peacebuilding.³⁷³ Case studies and attendant recommendations for gender-sensitive religious peacebuilding often disrupt assumptions about what constitutes “traditional” or orthodox

364 It is important to distinguish between religious engagement efforts and the promotion of the right to Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB). While often part of the same office, they are distinct and different areas of policy planning. A number of countries have established Special Representatives for FoRB (e.g., the Netherlands and Denmark), but have not always included religious engagement as part of those offices.

365 Philip Fountain and Marie Juul Petersen, “NGOs and Religion: Instrumentalisation and Its Discontents,” in *Handbook of Research on NGOs*, ed. Aynsley Kellow and Hannah Murphy-Gregory (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018), 404–432.

366 Jean Duff et al., “High-Level Collaboration Between the Public Sector and Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Fad or Trend?,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 14, no. 3 (2016): 95–100.

367 See Mamdani, Mahmood, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004) and Deepa Kumar, *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire: Twenty Years after 9/11*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2021).

368 Dishani Jayaweera, head of the Sri Lankan peacebuilding organization Center for Peacebuilding and Reconciliation, offers personal reflection on the challenges that accompanied the push by donors to reframe and reform their work to fit the new “CVE industry” in her chapter entitled “Peacebuilding as ‘Countering Violent Extremism,’” in *Making Peace with Faith*, ed. Michelle Garred and Mohammed Abu-Nimer (Blue Ridge Summit: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2018), 167–186.

369 See Stacey Gutkowski, *Secular War: Myths of Religion, Politics and Violence* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014); Peter Mandaville and Melissa Nozell, “Engaging Religion and Religious Actors in Countering Violent Extremism” (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 2017).

370 For an example of these kinds of arguments, see Nilay Saiya, *Weapon of Peace: How Religious Liberty Combats Terrorism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

371 Elizabeth A. Castelli, “Persecution Complexes: Identity Politics and the “War on Christians,”” *Differences* 18, no. 3 (2007): 152–180.

372 Katherine E. Brown, “Religious Violence, Gender and Post-secular Counterterrorism,” *International Affairs* 96, no. 2, (2020): 279–303

373 Jason Klocek and Julia Schiwal, “Exploring the Nexus of Religion and Gender and Sexual Minorities” (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 2022).

religious positions and values worldwide. They emphasize how colonial projects sometimes displaced traditional norms affirming of gender minorities, even as this new attention raises criticisms from some corners globally about “foreign” or “Western” agendas.³⁷⁴ Moreover, these insights move analysis and engagement away from an exclusive focus on institutional religions, from which these actors may be marginalized.

Religious Literacy

Increasingly, there have been calls to enhance “religious literacy” to ensure more sophisticated consideration of religious dimensions and, when appropriate, for more effective and sensitive religious engagement in peacebuilding. What is meant by “religious literacy” is not always consistent; some call for greater understanding of different religious traditions – their basic practices, sacred calendars, institutions, and so on, even while emphasizing the internal pluralism and dynamism of religions and the need to understand them in context. Others call for greater understanding of religions as essential dimensions of human societies that intersect with economic, political, and social systems, sometimes in ways that are subtle.³⁷⁵ This advocacy for religious literacy has increased training offerings for foreign policymakers within the international system (for example in the European Union and United Nations), as well as in individual foreign ministries.³⁷⁶

Advantages and disadvantages of formalizing faith networks

Considering the increased scale of religious peacebuilding initiatives, and engagement of religious actors in development and peace efforts, some scholars have raised concerns about the bureaucratization of faith-based networks and organizations. That is, the increased engagement of faith-based and non-formal networks and community-based organizations by big development and peace actors have led these bodies to become more formalized and to operate in ways deemed necessary to receive donor funding. The concern, based on observation, is that part of what makes these networks effective and legitimate, namely their “prophetic” and disruptive actions for the cause of justice, and their informal nature, is lost as they become forced to operate as traditional non-governmental organizations. They are seen by their communities as beholden to donors.³⁷⁷ Faith actors are often faced with choosing between increasing “professionalization” (often seen as code for increasing secularization and domestication) to access donor funding and be given a seat at the table with other major humanitarian and peacebuilding players; or retain their independence and their core religious identity and praxis.³⁷⁸

“Right-sizing” and diversifying religion, conflict, and peace

Now that religious considerations and engagement in peacebuilding have become more common, there is an increasing call to ensure these efforts are not siloed as a “niche” field, but better integrated within larger projects, as part of multi-sectoral approaches.³⁷⁹ Indeed, some observers have become concerned that the increased attention given to religion has swung too far, resulting in an over-emphasis of religious dimensions both in defining conflicts and in designing peace responses. This has led many scholars and peace practitioners to urge for “right-sizing” religion in analysis of problems and solutions, neither over nor underemphasizing its contributions but noting its intersection with multiple factors as necessary for designing effective policy and practice solutions.³⁸⁰ Some scholars have gone so far as to call for de-emphasizing religion entirely as a dimension of foreign policy analysis and making.³⁸¹

An additional change is the increasing attention given to even more religious traditions and worldviews than previously commonly considered. The early emergence of the field in the 1990s tended to focus on Christianity, Islam, and Judaism, and then, increasingly, Buddhism, Hinduism. In recent years, there has been a greater intentional

374 Susan Hayward and Katherine Marshall, *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015).

375 See Benjamin P. Marcus & Allison K. Ralph, “Origins and Developments of Religious Literacy Education, Religion & Education,” *Religion and Education* 48, no. 1 (2021): 17–36; Diane Moore, *Overcoming Religious Illiteracy*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

376 Susan Hayward, “Religious Literacy in Development: A Mapping Report” (Washington DC: USAID, unpublished, 2021).

377 Atalia Omer, “Prophets Versus Religiocrats,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 18, no. 2 (2020): 115–118.

378 Brenda E Bartelink and Erin K. Wilson, “The Spiritual Is Political,” in *International Development and Local Faith Actors* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 45–58; May Ngo, *Between Humanitarianism and Evangelism in Faith-based Organisations: A Case from the African Migration Route* (London: Routledge, 2018).

379 Daniel Philpott and Gerard F. Powers, *Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

380 Peter Mandaville, “Right-Sizing Religion and Religious Engagement in Diplomacy and Development,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 19, no. 1 (2021): 92–97; Marie Juul Petersen and Katherine Marshall, “The International Promotion of Freedom of Religion or Belief” (Copenhagen: Danish Institute for Human Rights, April 5, 2019), <https://www.humanrights.dk/publications/international-promotion-freedom-religion-belief>.

381 Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, “It’s Time to De-emphasize Religion in US Foreign Policy,” *The Hill*, July 19, 2021, <https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/563193-its-time-to-de-emphasize-religion-in-us-foreign-policy/>.

turn toward indigenous traditions worldwide. This, coupled with greater appreciation for the internal complexity and dynamism of the so-called “major world religions,” has introduced far more complex understandings of the very category of “religion,” and power considerations operating in mainstream religious peacebuilding that have marginalized some voices over others, and so reinforced some forms of structural and cultural violence.

Evaluation and evidence in religions, conflict, and peace

There have been some efforts to enhance evaluation of religious peacebuilding efforts and to come up with a special rubric for evaluating these projects. This has been in response to concerns that earlier projects’ success had primarily been anecdotal rather than empirical.³⁸² Some organizations, like Alliance for Peacebuilding, have sought to create specific rubrics for evaluating interfaith action in peacebuilding.³⁸³ These efforts, however, have resurfaced long unresolved debates about the very idea of “religion” being *sui generis*, requiring that evaluation of religious peacebuilding be done in some distinctive way from “secular” peacebuilding. Such approaches may also continue to subtly reinforce the separation of “secular” actors and activities from “religious,” and privilege the secular over religious, demanding that religious actors and approaches continuously demonstrate their “added value” to established secular peacebuilding frameworks.³⁸⁴

Conclusion

It is notable that the nuances and complexities of the intersection of religions with peace and conflict have not permeated beyond the circles of already interested and invested scholars and practitioners. Most governments and secular-defined NGOs continue to display little interest in, or knowledge of, dynamics connected with religions. Thus, a key task for scholars and practitioners is promoting more thoughtful attention for and engagement with religious traditions, communities, ideas, and practices, demonstrating their significance for holistic analysis of conflict settings and therefore also for developing peacebuilding strategies. Yet this must be done in a way that does not position religions as the central factor in conflict, but rather puts religions in conversation with other factors from the conflict context.

382 As noted in USAID’s two-day Strategic Religious Engagement in Development Summit in October 2020. Research mapping the state of evaluation of the field of religious engagement in development broadly, which included, to a degree, peacebuilding specifically, noted that most evaluation was qualitative rather than empirical. Chris Seiple et al., “Strategic Religious Engagement in International Development: Building a Basic Baseline,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 19, no. 1 (2021): 1–11.

383 Woodrow, Peter, Nick Oatley, and Michelle Garred, “Faith Matters: A Guide for the Design, Monitoring & Evaluation of Inter-Religious Peacebuilding” (Cambridge: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects and Alliance for Peacebuilding, September 2017).

384 Karam, Azza. 2012. “Religion, Development and the United Nations.” Social Science Research Council Report. New York: Social Science Research Council, www.ssrc.org/workspace/images/crm/new_publication_3/%7Beb4b29c9-501d-e211-bb1a-001cc477ec84%7D.pdf

Chapter 6: Peace & Conflict

- Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.
- Appleby, R. Scott. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000.
- Bartelink, Brenda E, and Erin K. Wilson. "The Spiritual Is Political." In *International Development and Local Faith Actors: Ideological and Cultural Encounters*, edited by Kathryn Kraft and Olivia J. Wilkinson, 45–58. Routledge, 2020.
- Brown, Katherine E. "Religious Violence, Gender and Post-secular Counterterrorism." *International Affairs* 96, no. 2(2020): 279-303.
- Castelli, Elizabeth A. "Persecution Complexes: Identity Politics and the 'War on Christians.'" *Differences* 18, no. 3 (2007): 152–180.
- Cavanaugh, William T. *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Chappell, David W. *Buddhist Peacework: Creating Cultures of Peace*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications: In association with Boston Research Center for the 21st Century, 1999.
- Duff, Jean, Mike Battcock, Azza Karam, and Adam Russell Taylor. "High-Level Collaboration Between the Public Sector and Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Fad or Trend?." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 14, no. 3 (2016): 95–100.
- Fountain, Philip, and Marie Juul Petersen. "NGOs and Religion: Instrumentalisation and Its Discontents." In *Handbook of Research on NGOs*, edited by Aynsley Kellow and Hannah Murphy-Gregory, 404-432. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018.
- Gutkowski, Stacey. *Secular War: Myths of Religion, Politics and Violence*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.
- Hayward, Susan, and Katherine Marshall. *Women, Religion, and Peacebuilding: Illuminating the Unseen*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2015.
- Hayward, Susan. "Religious Literacy in Development: A Mapping Report." Washington, DC: USAID, unpublished, 2021.
- Huda, Qamar-ul. "Crescent and Dove: Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam." Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010.
- Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. "It's Time to De-emphasize Religion in US Foreign Policy." *The Hill*, July 19, 2021. <https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/563193-its-time-to-de-emphasize-religion-in-us-foreign-policy/>.
- . *Beyond Religious Freedom: The New Global Politics of Religion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Jayaweera, Dishani. "Peacebuilding as 'Countering Violent Extremism.'" In *Making Peace with Faith*, edited by Michelle Garred and Mohammed Abu-Nimer, 167-186. Blue Ridge Summit: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2018.
- Johnston, Douglas, and Cynthia Sampson. *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

- Karam, Azza. "Religion, Development and the United Nations." Social Science Research Council Report. New York: Social Science Research Council, 2012. www.ssrc.org/workspace/images/crm/new_publication_3/%7Beb4b29c9-501d-e211-bb1a-001cc477ec84%7D.pdf
- Klocek, Jason, and Julia Schiwal. "Exploring the Nexus of Religion and Gender and Sexual Minorities." Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 2022.
- Kumar, Deepa. *Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire: Twenty Years after 9/11*, 2nd ed. London: Verso, 2021.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*, 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 2004.
- Mandaville, Peter. "Right-Sizing Religion and Religious Engagement in Diplomacy and Development." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 19 (2021): 92–99.
- Mandaville, Peter, and Melissa Nozell. "Engaging Religion and Religious Actors in Countering Violent Extremism." Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 2017.
- Marcus, Benjamin P., and Allison K. Ralph. "Origins and Developments of Religious Literacy Education." *Religion & Education*. 48, no. 1 (2021): 17-36.
- Moore, Diane. *Overcoming Religious Illiteracy*, 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Ngo, May. *Between Humanitarianism and Evangelism in Faith-Based Organisations: A Case from the African Migration Route*. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Omer, Atalia. "Prophets Versus Religiocrats." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 18, no. 2 (2020): 115–118.
- Orsi, Robert A. *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.
- Petersen, Marie Juul, and Katherine Marshall. "The International Promotion of Freedom of Religion or Belief: Sketching the Contours of a Common Framework." Copenhagen: The Danish Institute for Human Rights, April 5, 2019. <https://www.humanrights.dk/publications/international-promotion-freedom-religion-belief>.
- Philpott, Daniel, and Gerard F. Powers. *Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Saiya, Nilay. *Weapon of Peace: How Religious Liberty Combats Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Sampson, Cynthia, and John Paul Lederach. *From the Ground up: Mennonite Contributions to International Peacebuilding*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Seiple, Chris, Katherine Marshall, Hugo Slim, and Sudipta Roy. "Strategic Religious Engagement in International Development: Building a Basic Baseline." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 19 (2021): 1–11.
- Smock, David R. "Catholic Contributions to International Peace." Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 2001.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. *Religion, Civil War, and International Order*. Cambridge: Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2006.
- Wilson, Erin. K. *After Secularism: Rethinking Religion and Global Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Woodrow, Peter, Nick Oatley, and Michelle Garred. "Faith Matters: A Guide for the Design, Monitoring & Evaluation of Inter-Religious Peacebuilding." Cambridge: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects and Alliance for Peacebuilding, September 2017.