

XX ISA World Congress of Sociology



Resurgent Authoritarianism:
*Sociology of New Entanglements of
Religions, Politics, and Economies*

Melbourne, Australia | June 25-July 1, 2023
Melbourne Convention and Exhibition Centre
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Presidential Opening Session: Liberalism, the Other and Religion

President Sari HANAFI, 25 June 2023 17:30-20:15 Melbourne, Australia, local time

In the age of authoritarianism and populism, many argue that the political liberal project is in danger. Is this related to its conceptualization or to its application? How would this project encompass more comprehensively social justice, social love, convivialism, solidarity and all forms of pluralism? Is secularism a mechanism to achieve the political liberal ideals or a value in itself? By distinguishing between the conception of justice and public reason vs. the conceptions of a good life, how can Rawlsian political liberalism be more comprehensive in conceptualizing individual autonomy, freedom and equality? How public reason can (reasonably) accommodate different repertoires of moral arguments? And finally, beyond criticizing the social life and market and all forms of domination, should sociology construct a framework for society? Panelists are invited to reflect on these questions.

Minimal Secularism: A Defense

Cécile Laborde

In this talk, I articulate a political theory of secularism that can be defended against common, legitimate criticisms of existing forms of secularism. What I call minimal secularism is not vulnerable to the claim that secularism is hostile to religion, marked by an ethnocentric legacy of church-state separation, or committed to a Christian, and specifically Protestant, conception of religion. In addition, it is more structured and precise than liberal philosophies advocating state 'neutrality' towards the plurality of conceptions of the good life. Minimal secularism is a thin, yet attractive, transnational ideal for progressive politics.



Cécile Laborde holds the Nuffield Chair of Political Theory at the University of Oxford and is a Fellow of the British Academy. She has published widely on theories of law and the state, pluralism, syndicalism, and on contemporary theories of nationalism, toleration, republicanism, multiculturalism, secularism and global justice. Her work has appeared in major journals of political and legal theory. She is notably the author of *Pluralist Thought and the State in Britain and France* (2000) and *Critical Republicanism. The Hijab Controversy in*

Political Philosophy (2008). Her last monograph, *Liberalism's Religion*, was published by Harvard University Press in 2017, and was awarded the 2019 Spitz Prize.

Should Liberals in Authoritarian States Stand for Comprehensive or Just For Minimal “Political Liberalism”?

Azmi Bishara

In authoritarian states, comprehensive ideologies (including political religious ideologies) have the potential to play a mobilizing role both for and against the regime and are not necessarily forged in rational concepts. I will try to answer the question: Should liberals, under these conditions, stand for so-called comprehensive or just for, in Rawlsian terms, minimal “political liberalism”? To this end, the paper argues that comprehensive liberalism can be promoted if its basic values, like civil liberties, individual autonomy etc. are reproducible in the context of the prevailing culture (for example, comprehensive liberalism cannot be presented in anti-religious terms). This effort is vital because the struggle for democracy without liberal values can lead to other forms of authoritarianism. Crucially, liberals do not have to wait until popular political culture is liberalized – nowhere has this been a precondition for democratic transition. Rather the ‘minimal’ political liberalization of the ruling elite during the transitional periods and their ability to cultivate pluralism while committing to civil liberties is such a condition.



Azmi Bishara is an Arab researcher, one of the most prominent intellectuals in the Arab world. Bishara has published extensively on political thought, social theory and philosophy. His Arabic publications include: *Civil Society: A Critical Study* (1996); *On the Arab Question* (2007); *Religion and Secularism in Historical Context* (3 volumes 2011-2013); *What is Populism?* (2019); and *The Transition to Democracy and its Problematique: a Theoretical and Applied Comparative Study* (2020). Some of Bishara's writings have been published in English, including: *Sectarianism without Sects* (Oxford/Hurst); *Palestine: Matters of Truth and Justice* (Hurst); *On Salafism: Concepts and Contexts* (Stanford University Press); and a trilogy on Arab revolutions (I. B. Tauris): *Understanding Revolutions: Opening Acts in Tunisia*; *Egypt: Revolution, Failed*

First Principles: A Declaration of Interdependence

Frederic Vandenberghe

Sociology is the continuation of moral and political philosophy by its own means. A sociology of sociology that inquires into the moral and political presuppositions of sociology will reveal that its critiques of social injustices and social pathologies basically adhere to the repertoire of “liberal communitarianism”. Sometimes it veers more towards the communitarian pole of identity and authenticity; at other times towards the liberal pole of autonomy and justice. When the discipline is attacked by authoritarian or “austeritarian” regimes, it is important to reconfirm its first principles – lest the discipline itself disappears with the world it was supposed to analyse and defend.



Frederic Vandenberghe is professor of sociology at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) and Distinguished Max Weber Fellow at the University of Erfurt (Germany). He holds a Ph.D. from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He's a social theorist and a proud member of RC 16. He has published widely in English, French and Portuguese on critical realism, hermeneutics and moral sociology. He's one of the editors of *Mauss international*. His most recent publications are *What's Critical about Critical Realism?* (Routledge, 2014), with Margaret Archer (eds.): *Le réalisme critique. Une nouvelle ontologie pour la sociologie* (Le bord de l'eau, 2019), (with François Dépelteau (eds.): *Sociologia relacional* (Ateliê das humanidades, 2020) and (with Alain Caillé) *For a New Classic Sociology* (2021).

Religious Nationalism and Anti-cosmopolitan Terror

Anna Halafoff

Religious nationalism is on the rise globally, as is its capacity to inflict violence – both direct and structural – on ‘others’. This is evident in a number of contexts, including in Russia under Putin and in India under Modi. Concurrently, there have been a number of acts of terrorism committed as outcries against multiculturalism and as calls for racial purity, such as by Breivik in Norway and Tarrant in New Zealand. There have also been campaigns to strengthen religious freedom in Australia, and attacks on women’s and LGBTI+ rights in the USA. This presentation, drawing on cosmopolitan theories, argues that these are interrelated phenomena and that it is crucial to understand the role of religion in both enabling and resisting this anti-cosmopolitan terror.



Anna Halafoff is an Associate Professor in Sociology at Deakin University. She is a Chief Investigator on two Australian Research Council Discovery Projects on the Worldviews of Generation Z Australians and on Religious Diversity in Australia. Anna is also the author of *The Multifaith Movement: Global Risks and Cosmopolitan Solutions*, and co-author (with Andrew Singleton, Mary Lou Rasmussen, and Gary Bouma) of *Freedoms, Faiths and Futures: Teenage Australians on Religion, Sexuality and Diversity*.

Unlearned Lessons of the Pandemic

Didier Fassin

The major disruption caused by the pandemic in the normal course of life at a global level generated a sense that lessons had to be drawn from the dual perspective of public health and social inequalities. Indeed the health crisis revealed the flaws of the former in most countries and the depth of the latter within and between countries. Correcting these issues would have implied major transformations of political and moral economies at both national and international levels. The lecture will examine what was uncovered by the pandemic and discuss how much of the earlier promises of change were held.



Didier Fassin is Professor at the Collège de France and the Institute for Advanced Study. At the the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales where he is Director of Studies, he founded Iris, the Interdisciplinary Research Institute on Society. Anthropologist, sociologist and physician, he has conducted research in Senegal, Congo, South Africa, Ecuador, and France, focusing on moral and political issues. He gave the Tanner Lectures at Berkeley on punishment, the Roger Moore Lecture on resentment at Harvard, the Adorno Lectures in Frankfurt on life, and the Eric Wolf Lecture in Vienna on conspiracy theories. Recipient of the Gold Medal in anthropology and of the Nomis

Distinguished Scientist Award, he was elected at the American Philosophical Society. He authored twenty books, translated in seven languages, most recently *Life. A Critical User's Manual* and *Death of a Traveller. A Counter Investigation* (both at Polity). *The Worlds of Public Health*, his lectures delivered at the Collège de France at the end of the first year of the pandemic are in press.

Fear, the Anti-democratic Emotion

Eva Illouz

In an attempt to think about post-Covid justice, this paper tries to think of the role in the reshaping of the relationship between state and citizens as well as corporations and the state.



Eva Illouz is Directrice d'Etudes at the EHESS, a member of the Center of Rationality at Hebrew University and holds the Rose Isaac Chair in Sociology. She is also a Senior Research Fellow at the Van Leer Institute and visiting professor at the Wissenschaftszentrum, in Berlin. She is a past President of the Bezalel Academy of Arts.

Her research interests include sociology of culture, sociology of emotions, sociology of capitalism, and the effect of consumerism and mass media on emotional patterns. Illouz is the author of 14 books about diverse topics as romantic love, Oprah Winfrey, culture, capitalism and the crystallization of the psychological culture during the 20th century, the industry of happiness, and the impact of modernity on emotions. She was a member of the *WissenschaftKolleg* in Berlin and the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. She gave honorary lectures as the Adorno Lectures, The Andrea and Charles Bronfman Annual Lecture in Israeli Studies, the Niklas Luhmann Annual Lecture, the Hedi Fritz Niggli Annual Lecture, The Jerome Nemer Annual Lecture, the Albertus Magnus Lectures. Her books have won numerous international awards and have been translated into 25 languages. She received three Best Book Awards from the American Sociological Association, the Annaliese Maier International Award for Excellence in research, the EMET prize in Israel for lifetime achievement as well as the French *Legion d'Honneur* for her contribution to French culture. In addition to her scholarly work, she writes for *Le Monde*, *Der Spiegel*, *Die Zeit* and *Ha'aretz* on various subjects such as literature, politics and social affairs.

The Global Politicization and Religionization of COVID-19 Pandemic – The Future of the Past or the Past of the Future?

Afe Adogame

Historically, global pandemic outbreaks have decimated societies, revealing socioeconomic disparities, racial injustices, and health inequities, but also, paradoxically, clearing the way for innovation and creativity in science, economy, political systems, and religion. While pandemic crises have been closely examined through the lens of social science, and medicine, perhaps not much attention is given to ways pandemics affect the individual and group sociology of the everyday life. Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic has rudely woken up the world from slumber on the things that we often take for granted. What would the 'real' world look like post COVID-19? What lessons for a just, humane, and more resilient global cosmos? How do we interrogate the intersectionality of science, belief, and COVID-19? The nexus between religion, science, and pandemics such as COVID-19 plays out in myriad ways. For instance, science challenges the legitimacy and potency of religion in offering protection, healing, security, and hope, while religion in turn confronts the efficacy and authority of science as panacea. Pandemics and religion are historically linked, and such connections have repercussions in all its waves, phases, and variants. Religion embodies archives of memories of pandemics, and pandemics were often framed in a religious idiom in historical perspectives. How does culture and society's collective memory affect the responses to pandemics and identify important lessons for decision-making as we hopefully adapt to a new normal? Amidst the promises and illusions of healing and hope, how can governments, policy makers, religious entrepreneurs and the civil society discern the COVID-19 crisis as an opportunity to learn from the policy missteps of the past and better prepare for the future? How and to what extent have the COVID-19 pandemic and its afterlife necessitated new methodological toolkits, challenges, and ethical practices that sociology of religion and fieldwork ethnography must think with while envisioning a Just Post-COVID-19 World?



Afe Adogame is the Maxwell Upson Professor of Religion and Society at Princeton Theological Seminary, USA and Professor Extraordinaire at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. He is the current President of the ISA Research Committee 22 (RC22) Sociology of Religion (2018-2023); and served previously as RC22 Secretary/Treasurer (2010-2014) and Board member (2006-2010). His teaching and research interests are broad but tend to focus on interrogating new dynamics of religious experiences and expressions in Africa and the African diaspora, with a particular focus on African Christianities and new indigenous religious movements, the interconnectedness between religion and migration, globalization, politics, economy, media and the civil society. His most recent book publication: *Indigeneity in African Religions: Qza Worldviews, Cosmologies and Religious Cultures* (Bloomsbury, 2021).

Post-western sociology as a way of the understanding among different civilizations

Li Peilin

In the more than 180 years history of sociology as a discipline originated from Durkheim, the development of sociology is always connected with the great changes of society. Based on the modernization experience of Europe, United States and Latin America, sociologists have produced important and influential sociological theories. But until now, it seems that there is no influential sociological theory based on the experience of oriental modernization experience. Over the past more than 40 years, China has been experiencing a modernization process with a huge population and leapfrog development. We need also a new sociological theory to explain this.

Nearly a decade ago, Prof. Laurence Roulleau-Berger at Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon , also Research Director at National Centre for Scientific Research of France (CNRS), suggested the study of “Post-Western sociology”(PWS) . In 2018, Laurence Roulleau-Berger and me, we edited *Post-Western Sociology — From China to Europe* (Routledge). In 2022, Professor Laurence Roulleau-Berger, Professor and former President of the Korean Sociological Association Seung-Kuk Kim, Professor and former President of the Japan Sociological Society Shujiro Yazawa, and me, we edited and published together *Handbook of Post-Western Sociology* (Brill). We invited about 80 sociologists from France, China, South Korea, and Japan, to work on this book.

In fact, sociologists who participated in the study of PWS have diversified understanding of PWS. But we also share the same view that PWS is producing an ecology of diverse knowledges with the multiplication of epistemic autonomies, it is a more inclusive sociology based on the development experience of different civilizations, It will further promote understanding between the East and the West.

In the face of the impact of COVID-19, regional conflicts and the threat of world economic recession, after the modern world system theory, the Cold War theory and civilizations clash theory, we need a more inclusive sociology to contribute to the establishment of a world order of peace, development and prosperity, this is the responsibility of sociologists.



Li Peilin is a chinese sociologist and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of social sciences

Spotlight: Islamophobia

Beneath Integration Lie Racism and Islamophobia: A French Situated Account

Nacira Guénif

Rather than considering that integration may be the solution to racism and a fortiori to islamophobia, this presentation will argue that the rhetoric of integration in France, and beyond, fueled racist practices and discourses, allowed dismissive policies and opened the path for an enduring islamophobia that until today is sustaining hatred and suspicion against Muslims, be they French citizens from colonial descent, or newcomers reaching Europe through dangerous routes. More than half a century long, such dynamics relies on measuring the lack of integration as a proof of unwillingness to comply with rigidified standards and congealed values always referred to the higher position of France, in a word, its genius. Such decoy downplays the French coloniality that still permeates ordinary and extraordinary circumstances. In that respect, racism is all but subtle. To convince oneself, it suffices to consider France as the pioneering promoter of the “great replacement” trend and its worldwide horrendous translation from Christchurch to Pittsburgh, from Halle to El Paso. The normative implementation of integration constitutes the platform of this fatal ideology.

It is pursued and simultaneously denied through the debate on the use of the word islamophobia, considered until very recently as contentious if not inflammatory. And the other that provides justifications for demeaning the persons object of and fighting against islamophobia, submitting them to suspicion, and stripping them from fundamental rights by erecting a wall of “separatist” laws that divide and isolate Muslims from their fellow citizens. Gendering, sexualizing and racializing political subjects by reducing them to a sole religious identity, and their counterparts belonging to the so-called secular realm, are mighty tools geared towards the purpose of saving France’s grandeur, at whatever cost. A task renewed often disclaimed but forcefully pursued across decades.



Nacira Guénif is a professor of sociology and anthropology at the University Paris 8 Vincennes - Saint-Denis and a senior member of the research center LEGS (CNRS). She holds a PhD in sociology from l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris and a HDR from Sciences Po Paris.

In 2019, she was a visiting professor at REMESO (Institute for Research on Ethnicity, Migration, and Society), Linköping University in Sweden. Her PhD dissertation was awarded *Le prix le Monde de*

la recherche universitaire, published as *Des beurettes aux descendantes d'immigrants nord-africains* (2000), translated into Arabic in 2004. She has co-authored *Les féministes et le garçon arabe*, *L'Aube* (2004, Italian translation forthcoming, 2022), edited *La république mise à nu par son immigration*, *La Fabrique* (2006), and co-edited with Manal Altamimi and Tal Dor, *Rencontres radicales* (2018).

Since 2004, she has written in: *Le foulard islamique en questions*; *La fracture postcoloniale*; *La situation postcoloniale*; *Histoire politique des luttes de l'immigration (post)coloniale*; *Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the Francophone World*; *Ruptures postcoloniales*; *Frenchness and the African Diaspora*; *Migration und Menschenrechte in Europa*; *Penser à gauche*; *Religion, the Secular, and the Politics of Sexual Difference*; *What's Queer about Europe?*; *Politics of Coalition*; and *Austere Histories in European Societies*.

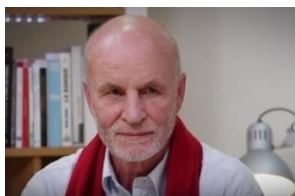
From 2010 till 2019, she was the vice-chair on the board of the ICI Islamic Cultures Institute of Paris. She is currently the president of the board of *Kohl*, a bilingual online journal.

History and Politics: The Roots of European Islamophobia

François Burgat

The tensions and rifts between Europe and the Muslim world, whether domestic or regional, may be analysed as resulting from various historic dynamics. The most important of these rifts has little to do with global religious affairs: is an internal and political one. It is by far the most structural—and the most decisive.

In France, above all, it is rooted—unsurprisingly—in the contemporary, post-Revolutionary history of French society. But, in France as well as in Europe, it has been made more explicit and amplified by recent political power struggles. Like many of their European counterparts, for several decades, political forces in France but not only had thrown themselves into defiant electioneering one-upmanship against their fellow citizens descended from Muslim backgrounds. For the past 5 years, this posture has no longer been the sole preserve of extreme-right political forces. From Italy to Denmark, Sweden or Austria and its “Operation.....”, it has become the position of a quasi-majority of the political landscape, including, like in France or Austria, that of the ruling elite. In what follows, this paper will examine the historical roots of Islamophobia in both the European context and its French archetype, and how this issue of Muslims and Islamophobia has become deeply politicised all over Europe.



François Burgat is Senior Research Fellow at the French National Centre for Scientific Research. He has lectured across the world for a wide range of Academic institutions and think tanks such as the World Economic Forum, NATO, and European Union. A permanent resident in the Middle East for over 22 years, he has taught and researched at the University of Constantine, Algeria (1973-1980), at

the French CEDEJ in Cairo (1989-1993), and then served as a director of the French Centre for Archaeology and Social Sciences in Sana'a, Yemen (1997-2003), at the IREMAM (Institut de Recherches et d'Études sur le Monde Arabe et Musulman) in Aix-en-Provence (2003-2008), as well as the Institut Français du Proche Orient (Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq) based in Damascus (2008-2012) then Beirut (2012-2013).

Islamophobia in Muslim Majority Societies: Global Entanglements in a Postcolonial World

Farid Hafez



Farid Hafez is a political scientist (Salzburg University, Department of Political Science and Sociology), who in 2017 was Fulbright Visiting Professor at University of California, Berkeley and Visiting Scholar at Columbia University in New York City in 2014. He is the founding editor of the German-English *Islamophobia Studies Yearbook* (since 2010) and co-editor of the annual *European Islamophobia Report* (since 2015), covering more than 25 European countries. Hafez regularly appears on prominent media outlets throughout the world. A native Austrian, Hafez was awarded the prestigious 2010 Bruno Kreisky-Award for the Political Book of the Year for his anthology on *Islamophobia in Austria*. Hafez has more than 50 publications and publishes in internationally renowned journals.

Neo-Liberalism, Anti-Islamophobia Advocacy and the Betrayal of Palestinian Advocacy

Randa Abdel Fattah

On the occasion of Eid al Fitr 2022, one of Sydney's prominent mosques invited Australia's Prime Minister, Scott Morrison, a staunch 'friend of Israel' and exposed Islamophobe, to share in Eid celebrations. At another major mosque, Premier Dominic Perrottet, a Zionist, climate-change denier and Trump sympathiser, stood on the mosque's front steps and addressed a Muslim crowd of thousands. Mosque spokespeople boasted about the occasion as 'successful'. On the occasion of the death of Queen Elizabeth II, whilst Indigenous and colonized peoples spoke up about the violence of British imperialism, the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, Australia's so-called peak Islamic body, issued a press release 'mourning' the Queen's death and celebrating her 'legacies.' This paper is interested in how Muslim 'leadership' responses to Islamophobia based on the logic of 'realpolitik', of neoliberal politics of recognition, of 'local versus global', effaces Australia's settler-colonial violence, privileging liberal multicultural frameworks of advocacy at the expense of movement building based on principles of solidarity with First Nations peoples. I explore how marginalised communities, with a particular focus on Palestinians as a case study, are betrayed by Muslim 'leadership' who succumb to the enduring and seductive power of common-sense ideas and scripts about the 'moderate/apolitical/integrated' Muslim— so powerfully sedimented over two decades of the war on terror and the privileging of liberal multicultural frameworks of inclusion in fighting Islamophobia. I investigate how cumulative, repetitive practices between the state and Muslim community organisations serve to embolden Islamophobia, racism and Zionism in the specific context of Australia, a settler colony. At a time when we are witnessing renewed global consciousness of the 'intersectionality of struggles,' many Muslim leaders reveal a chronic failure to grasp that Islamophobia requires globally-oriented analytics including an understanding of Australia's role in the global war on terror.



Randa Abdel-Fattah is a Future Fellow in the Department of Sociology at Macquarie University, Sydney. She researches Islamophobia, Arab/Muslim social movements and the generational impact of the war on terror on Muslim and non-Muslim youth. She is a prominent Australian Palestinian advocate and a multi award-winning author of 16 books for children and young adults, published in over twenty countries. Her most recent academic books are the critically acclaimed *Coming of Age in the War on Terror* (NewSouth Publishing) and *Islamophobia and Everyday Multiculturalism*. Randa is also a columnist for *The New Arab*.