

Religion and the Politics of Development: Priests, Potentates and "Progress" 28-29 August 2013

Organized by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, held at University Hall, NUS Kent Ridge Campus

WEDNESDAY, 28 AUGUST 2013

09:00 – 09:30	REGISTRATION	
09:30 – 10:00	WELCOME ADDRESS (Auditorium)	
	<p>Michael Feener Asia Research Institute & Department of History, National University of Singapore</p> <p>Robin Bush Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore</p> <p>Philip Fountain Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore</p>	
10:00 – 12:00	KEYNOTE ADDRESS 1 (Auditorium)	
10:00	<p><i>Chairperson/Discussant:</i> Michael Feener, National University of Singapore</p> <p><i>The Spirit of Change: Religious Actors in Contemporary Development Politics</i></p> <p>Katherine Marshall Georgetown University, USA</p>	
10:30	<p><i>Faith-based Organisations at the United Nations</i></p> <p>Jeffrey Haynes London Metropolitan University, UK</p>	
11:00	QUESTIONS & ANSWERS	
12:00 – 13:30	LUNCH	
13:30 – 15:00	SESSION 1 TRANSNATIONAL RELIGIOUS ACTORS (Auditorium)	SESSION 2 HUMANITARIANS & RELIGION (Room T203)
13:30	<p><i>Chairperson:</i> Wu Keping National University of Singapore</p> <p><i>Remaking the Russian State from the East: The Role of Asian Christians as Civic Activists</i></p> <p>Melissa Caldwell University of California - Santa Cruz, USA</p>	<p><i>Chairperson:</i> Caroline Brassard National University of Singapore</p> <p><i>Islamic Activism and Palliative Care: A Case Study on Religion and Politics of Development from Kerala, India</i></p> <p>Santhosh Nair Indian Institute of Technology, India</p>
13:50	<p><i>Secular and Religious Dynamics of Humanitarianism among the Karen in Thailand and Myanmar</i></p> <p>Alexander Horstmann University of Copenhagen, Denmark</p>	<p><i>Beyond Contact-Anxiety: Engaging with Ulama in Aceh, Indonesia for 'Building Back Better'</i></p> <p>Christine Schenk University of Geneva, Switzerland</p>
14:10	<p><i>Between Ideology and International Politics: The Dynamics and Transformation of a Transnational Islamic Charity</i></p> <p>Zoltan Pall Utrecht University, The Netherlands</p>	<p><i>The Second Coming: Religion, Political Identity and Violence in Myanmar's Transition</i></p> <p>Lilianne Fan Overseas Development Institute (ODI), UK</p>
14:30	QUESTIONS & ANSWERS	
15:00 – 15:30	AFTERNOON TEA	

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15:30 – 17:30	PRACTITIONER ROUNDTABLE I - RELIGION AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY (Auditorium)
	<i>Facilitator: Robin Bush</i> , National University of Singapore
	Patti O'Neill , Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Scott Guggenheim , AusAID Jeremy England , International Committee of the Red Cross Charlotte Keenan , Tony Blair Faith Foundation
	QUESTIONS & ANSWERS
17:30	END OF DAY ONE
17:30	BUS TRANSFER TO DINNER VENUE
18:00 – 20:00	CONFERENCE DINNER (For Speakers, Chairpersons & Invited Guests)

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THURSDAY, 29 AUGUST 2013

08:45 – 09:00	REGISTRATION	
09:00 – 11:00	KEYNOTE ADDRESS 2 (Auditorium)	
	<i>Chairperson/Discussant: Itty Abraham, National University of Singapore</i>	
09:00	<i>Taming Religion: Institutional Multiplicity and the Politics of State-building and Development</i> James Putzel London School of Economics and Political Science, UK	
09:30	<i>State-Religion Engagements: Secularism, Politics And Governance</i> Carole Rakodi University of Birmingham, UK	
10:00	QUESTIONS & ANSWERS	
11:00 – 11:30	MORNING TEA	
11:30 – 13:00	SESSION 3 INTERROGATING RELIGION (Auditorium)	SESSION 4 ENTANGLEMENTS WITH THE STATE (Room T203)
	<i>Chairperson:</i> Julius Bautista National University of Singapore	<i>Chairperson:</i> Francis Lim Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
11:30	<i>The Political Economy of Good Intentions: The Celebrityization of Development, Charismatic Gifts, and the Sacralization of the MDGs</i> Oscar Salemink University of Copenhagen, Denmark	<i>Hindu Nationalism and the Politics of Post-Earthquake Reconstruction in Rural Kutch</i> Malini Bhattacharjee Azim Premji University, India
11:50	<i>Gender, Development and the 'De-privatization' of Religion</i> Emma Tomalin University of Leeds, UK	<i>Charisma, Community and Political Merit Making: Buddhist and Christian Social Service Provision in Southeast China</i> Wu Keping National University of Singapore
12:10	<i>Globalization, Existential Insecurities and Interrogating Religion in a Neo-Buddhist Nationalist Movement in Sri Lanka</i> Kalinga Tudor Silva University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka	<i>Patronage, Welfare Provisions, and State-Society Relations: Lessons from Muslim-Dominant Regimes in Southeast Asia, Malaysia and Indonesia</i> Kikue Hamayotsu Northern Illinois University, USA
12:30	QUESTIONS & ANSWERS	
13:00 – 14:00	LUNCH	

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14:00 – 15:30	SESSION 5 ENGAGING ISLAM (Auditorium)	SESSION 6 SECULARITY (Room T203)
14:00	<p align="center"><i>Chairperson:</i> Martin van Bruinessen National University of Singapore</p>	<p align="center"><i>Chairperson:</i> Ronojoy Sen National University of Singapore</p>
14:20	<p align="center"><i>Islam meets Development: Land, Power and Prosperity in Pakistan</i> Adeel Malik University of Oxford, UK</p>	<p align="center"><i>Religion and Political Development in Indonesia: Overcoming the 'Starbucks Phenomenon' in Muslim Civil Society Activism</i> Dicky Sofyan Universitas Gadjah Mada Graduate School, Indonesia</p>
14:40	<p align="center"><i>Engaging the Religious Elites in Development?: The Politics of Madrasa Reform in South Asia</i> Masooda Bano University of Oxford, UK</p>	<p align="center"><i>The Unremarkable And Ecological Abeyance: The Politics of "Nonreligious" Japanese Aid in Myanmar</i> Chika Watanabe Yale University, USA</p>
15:00	<p align="center"><i>Establishing Patronage or Promoting Collective Changes? Islamic Charities and the Politics of Development in Indonesia</i> Hilman Latief Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), Indonesia</p>	<p align="center"><i>Buddhist Cosmopolitan Ethics and Transnational Secular Humanitarianism in Sri Lanka</i> Nalika Gajaweera University of California - Irvine, USA</p>
15:30 – 16:00	QUESTIONS & ANSWERS	
16:00 – 17:30	AFTERNOON TEA	
17:30 – 18:00	PRACTITIONER ROUNDTABLE II - ASIAN INCARNATIONS (Auditorium)	
	<p align="center"><i>Facilitator: Philip Fountain, National University of Singapore</i></p> <p align="center">Sandra Hamid, The Asia Foundation Trihadi Saptohadi, World Vision Michel Anglade, Save the Children Caroline Brassard, National University of Singapore</p>	
18:30	CONCLUDING REMARKS	
	<p align="center">Michael Feener, National University of Singapore Robin Bush, National University of Singapore Philip Fountain, National University of Singapore</p>	
18:30	END OF CONFERENCE	

KEYNOTE ADDRESS 1

**THE SPIRIT OF CHANGE:
RELIGIOUS ACTORS IN CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT POLITICS**

Katherine Marshall

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The presentation will focus on two intertwined questions: why do religious ideas, actors, and institutions matter for contemporary debates about poverty and equity? And what do the answers suggest for action? The starting hypothesis is that, notwithstanding unease in linking religion and development (whether born of historical bias, principled secularism, or political fears), religious worlds (in their glorious diversity) have vital importance for the future of development. How and why will differ hugely by situation but ignorance and ignoring these actors is ill-advised. The question of what this implies for policy and practical action, and who can do what about it, lie squarely before us.

First as to debates. Contemporary actors focused on the world's poorest citizens face challenges that range from the existential (what is a good life? What is the purpose of it all after all) to the highly technical (what is the science of delivery, how can randomized control trials improve development performance). Virtually every disciplinary tradition and language jostles to dominate the discourse. Economics, initially king of the roost, today shares, often uneasily, space with anthropology, political science, business, engineering, medicine, law, and philosophy. Theology and the sociology of religion are relatively recent entrants to the fray, though their ideas long predate modern concepts of development and indeed infuse them. When development work in fact reaches a community in a remote village or throbbing city, no force is likely to be as present and potent as religion.

The presentation will turn to practical, political and institutional transformations shaping today's discourse about development. Notions of a tripartite world (First, Second, and Third), and polar divisions between developed and developing, north and south are remarkably sticky and dominate much discourse. But realities have shifted profoundly towards a far more complex geopolitical array (graphically illustrated by Swedish public health specialist Hans Rosling). Institutions explicitly engaged in development work multiply like the brooms of the Sorcerer's Apprentice. The true locus of decision-making capacity is often hard to trace, in part because reality differs from idealized notions and because it varies so widely. Deciphering and categorizing current institutional and political actors (secular and religious) is a first task but making sense of their roles and trajectory is quite another.

Hard economic times have prompted fresh soul-searching about the workability and morality of global financial and economic systems. Climate change challenges call much accepted wisdom into question. New debates rage about ethical and practical implications of inequality and inequity, how they differ and what might plausibly be done about them. Modern gender roles, profoundly transformed and challenged by modernizing forces, technological revolutions, longer life spans, and stunning progress towards universal education, offer extraordinary hope for a world of opportunity and human flourishing but meanwhile shake the foundations of traditional societies. The harsh realities of failing and conflicts states and marginalized populations add other threads to the discussions. The invisible factor of religion offers promise of transforming debates and, possibly, enriching options and means to achieve the better world we seek.

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Katherine Marshall has worked for four decades in international development with a focus on issues facing the world's poorest countries. She is currently a senior fellow at Georgetown's Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs and Visiting Professor in the School of Foreign Service, where she enjoys the gift of working with the next generation. Before coming to Georgetown, Marshall worked for 35 years at the World Bank. Among her many assignments she was Country Director in the World Bank's Africa region, first for the Sahel region, then Southern Africa. Before that she was country division chief in Latin America and agriculture chief in Eastern Africa. She led the Bank's work on social policy and governance during the East Asia crisis years. From 2000-2006, she was counselor to the Bank's president on ethics, values, and faith in development. Marshall was involved from the beginning in the creation and growth of the World Faiths Development Dialogue and is its Executive Director. She serves on two international prize committees, the Opus Prize Foundation and the Niwano Peace Prize Foundation, and chairs the board of the World Bank Community Connections Fund. She was a core group member of a World Economic Forum initiative to advance understanding between the Islamic World and the West. She serves on several other boards including AVINA Americas, a foundation working across Latin America and the Washington National Cathedral Foundation. She co-moderates the Fes Forum, part of the world renowned Fes Festival of Global Sacred Music. Marshall writes and speaks on wide ranging development and humanitarian topics. She contributes regularly to the religion page of the Huffington Post. Her two most recent books are *Global Institutions of Religion: Ancient Movers, Modern Shakers*, and *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity*. From 2003-2009, she served as a trustee of Princeton University – her alma mater – with an MPA from the Woodrow Wilson School. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves as a Visiting Professor at the University of Cambodia.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS 1

FAITH-BASED ORGANISATIONS AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Jeffrey Haynes

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This working paper examines faith-based organisations (FBOs) and their attempts to seek to influence debate and decision-making at the United Nations (UN). Increasing attention on FBOs in this context has followed what is widely understood as a widespread, post-Cold War 'religious resurgence', which characterises a novel 'postsecular' international environment. One aspect of the new postsecular environment is increasing focus on global public policy at the UN, from FBOs from various religious traditions, especially Christianity, Islam, and Judaism.

I focus on Christian, Muslim and Jewish FBOs at the UN because: (1) it is the largest inter-governmental organisation, with 193 member states, (2) it is the most important global public policy focus, and (3) hundreds of FBOs have an institutionalised presence at the UN, via official status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Overall, the UN regularly engages with more than 3,000 non-governmental organisations afforded 'official' UN status. Around 10 per cent are classified as FBOs, implying that their activities and goals are significantly moulded by religious orientations and principles. This does not necessarily imply however that FBOs at the UN are 'religiously pure', that is, unwilling to work with non-religious entities, including both states and non-state actors. Many FBOs are willing to interact at the UN with both state and non-state entities which share their ideological although not religious proclivities. I conceptualise and examine two categories of FBO: 'conservative' and 'liberal', in the context of three separate issue areas: women's sexual and reproductive human rights; international development; and 'defamation of religions.'

Jeffrey Haynes is Associate Dean of the Faculty of Law, Governance and International Relations, Director of the Centre for the Study of Religion, Conflict and Cooperation, and Professor of Politics at London Metropolitan University. His main research interests are religion and international relations; religion and politics; and democracy and democratisation. He has written many books, journal articles and book chapters, totaling over 180 such publications since 1986. He is co-editor of the journal *Democratization*, convenor of the European Consortium for Political Research's Standing Group, 'Religion and Politics', and Chair of the International Political Science Association's Research Committee, 'Religion and Politics'.

REMAKING THE RUSSIAN STATE FROM THE EAST: THE ROLE OF ASIAN CHRISTIANS AS CIVIC ACTIVISTS

Melissa L. Caldwell

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Already by the 16th century, Russian state-making practices were intimately connected to the development work of religious communities. Russian imperial expansion was accomplished through the missionizing and cartographic work of Russian Orthodox monks; Lutheran clergy used church doctrines to promote civic support for the military, voting, and emerging state bureaucracies; and Catholic communities introduced public health care. Collectively, Russia's Christian communities fought poverty, homelessness, and hooliganism through new models of voluntarism and charity. Russia's Asian territories were prime settings for this work, as the imperial government used clergy to promote "civilizing" and "modernization" projects in what is now Russia's Far East, Mongolia, and Central Asia. During the twentieth century, when Soviet officials officially eliminated religion and incorporated charity and development into the state's social welfare system, the civic role of religion continued among Russia's Asian Christians. In the Far East religious communities supported immigrants from Japan, China, and Korea, including North Korean defectors. Russian-Koreans who had migrated through Central Asia to western Russia founded churches with vibrant assistance programs. Soviet authorities tolerated these religious communities because they were not "religious" but rather the "cultural" heritage of ethnic minorities. Today, religious communities with Asian ties are major players in Russia's development sphere and enjoy strong relations not only with Russian authorities but also with religious communities in Korea, Japan, and the Philippines. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork among Russian faith-based charities, this paper examines the contributions of Asian religious communities to current Russian civic initiatives (e.g., poverty alleviation, health care, immigration reform, human rights), with attention to the types of civic projects these communities pursue, the circulation of resources from Asian donors and volunteers through Russia, and how these organizations work with and against the Russian state. Of particular concern is how these religious communities trouble distinctions between church and state, especially between "non-Russian" (i.e., non-Orthodox) Christians and the Russian state, thereby creating new opportunities for religious organizations to participate in modern state-making projects at national and global scales.

Melissa L. Caldwell is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz, USA. Since 1995, her ethnographic fieldwork in Russia has focused on poverty, social welfare, and development, with specific attention to Russian and foreign religious charities and faith-based development organizations and their efforts to create a non-state, religiously ecumenical sphere for welfare, development, and philanthropy. Her current research examines how interfaith religious communities in Russia are positioning themselves as social justice organizations that pursue human rights projects, including lobbying the Russian government for public policy changes. Her publications on these topics include her book *Not by Bread Alone: Social Support in the New Russia* (University of California Press, 2004); articles in *Slavic Review*, *Problems in Post-Communism*, and *Religion, State & Society*; and chapters in several books on post-Soviet religious movements. She is currently writing a book on faith-based charities, human rights, and ecumenical social justice in Russia.

SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS DYNAMICS OF HUMANITARIANISM AMONG THE KAREN IN THAILAND AND MYANMAR

Alexander Horstmann

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Burma's longest civil war has left Southeastern Burma devastated and very poor. The peace process starting in Kayin state now offers new possibilities of reconstruction and humanitarian assistance. ADRA (Adventist Development and Relief Agency) is a Faith-Based Adventist International NGO which however is firmly embedded in Southeast Burma, as many educated elite Burmese Karen belong to Adventist Christianity and as the Seventh-Day Adventist Church has established a presence through development of schools and clinics. (Seventh-Day Adventism is the third largest denomination in Southeast Burma). While ADRA is responsible for humanitarian assistance, the Adventist Missionary Society actively proselytizes Adventist Christianity among rural Karen, using especially schools and community centers in the countryside as a base of evangelist activities. ADRA also helps in educational projects in the Karen refugee camps of Northwestern Thailand. On the basis of fieldwork, this paper examines how ADRA makes use of economic, political, and social resources in relation to religion to work in very difficult circumstances. While officially being a professional agency, ADRA is empowered by its international Adventist networks. Building on new literature on humanitarianism, I argue that humanitarian actors are heavily constrained by the political environment. Protestant Christianity, while well established in Kayin state, is a minority religion in a cultural area dominated by Mon-Burmese and Karen Theravada Buddhism. Second, different armed factions exercise control on different parts of Southeastern Burma. In addition to tensions between Buddhism and Christianity, Adventists also compete with Baptists and Catholics who do not really recognize the Adventist church as an accepted Christian church. In the refugee camp, the Adventist church operates along the dominant Baptist church and the KNU pastors that lead the internal administration of the camps. In sum, this paper offers a case-study of a highly successful faith-based NGO and contextualizes its role in development and reconstruction.

Cultural Anthropologist **Alexander Horstmann** is a faculty member in the PhD program on "Multicultural Studies in Asia" at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia at Mahidol University, Thailand. He is also a Senior Research Partner at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Goettingen, Germany. Alexander has published four books, three special issues, and twenty journal articles, mostly on Religion and Politics in Southeast Asia. He is currently doing projects on the Politics of Humanitarianism and Religion in Thailand-Burma Border Spaces and about a Burmese Migrant Church in Bangkok. His newest edited book is called *Building Noah's Ark: Refugees, Migrants and Religious Communities*.

BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: THE DYNAMICS AND TRANSFORMATION OF A TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMIC CHARITY

Zoltan Pall

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In my paper I will examine some important dynamics of transnational Salafi charities based in the Arabian Gulf. I intend to uncover some neglected aspects of the inner workings of these organizations by discussing how ideology, the transnational flow of ideas, intra-movement dynamics within Salafism, connections to the political elite and transnational networks shape their policy and strategies. My analysis will be based on the results of my multi-sited fieldworks between 2009-2012.

In my presentation I will focus on the Kuwaiti Revival of Islamic Heritage Society (*Jama'iyat Ihya' al-Turath al-Islami* - RIHS) as a case study. First, I will show how the originally activist oriented organization was taken over by a purist group in 1997. I will shed light how the fractionalization of the transnational Salafi movement due to theological debates, culminated in the following years of the 1991 Gulf war, interplayed with transnational political developments (as the end of the Afghan jihad and the emergence of militant Salafism) and the influence of the Kuwaiti ruling family in causing this transformation. The leadership change and the change of the ideological profile of RIHS had severe impact on its transnational activities and strategies. Most importantly RIHS became under the surveillance of the Kuwaiti state and many regard it as a tool to implement the agendas of the emirate's political elite. To explain the direct impacts of RIHS transformation I will take a closer look on the development of the Lebanese branch of the charity.

I will discuss how the purist takeover of RIHS resulted the reconfiguration of the charity's network of local beneficiaries and how this led to the reshaping of the structure of Salafism in Lebanon. Means of poverty eradication - as distributing alms, providing free medical care and education - and attempting to integrate Salafism to the civil society were the main strategies of RIHS to acquire dominance in the Lebanese Salafi field. I will seek answers why and how might these strategies serve Kuwaiti state interests. I will also take a closer look how the initiative of the RIHS subsequently failed due to internal rifts in RIHS and competitors. Since RIHS is also a major player of the Salafi field in South and South East Asia my paper can provide a comparative perspective for researching the organization in these regions.

Zoltan Pall is a researcher and PhD Candidate at Utrecht University, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, the Netherlands. In 2008 he was a visiting fellow at the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM) in Leiden. In 2009-2010 he worked on a short-term research project, financed by FORUM at Utrecht University as junior researcher. His current employment is financed by the Netherlands Interuniversity School of Islamic Studies (NISIS). As an arabist and social anthropologist Zoltan Pall's main research interest focuses on transnational Islamic movements in the Middle East and South East Asia. His PhD thesis discusses the evolution and transnational networking of Lebanese Salafism. His book '*Lebanese Salafis between the Gulf and Europe*' was published by Amsterdam University Press in 2013.

ISLAMIC ACTIVISM AND PALLIATIVE CARE: A CASE STUDY ON RELIGION AND POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT FROM KERALA, INDIA

Santhosh Raghavan Nair

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Political Islam and Islamic civil society have attracted scholarly attention for their role in shaping developmental agenda of the secular state. The proposed paper foregrounds such a scenario from Kerala, the southern state of India, where Islamic activism in organising a highly successful palliative care movement has persuaded the state to bring in decisive policy formulation for palliative care.

The palliative care initiative in Kerala has attracted widespread attention and has been hailed as one of the most successful initiatives in the developing world, and the WHO has declared it as a model worth emulating (Stjernsward 2007). Almost 50 per cent of the terminally ill people in the state are covered under the palliative care scheme while the corresponding national figure is only 2 percent (Paleri and Numpeli 2005). Active involvement of Muslim religious organisations is often suggested as the prime reason for the unusual success of this initiative, especially in the Muslim majority northern districts of the state. Muslim reformist organisations, especially the Salafis play vital role in collecting funds from the community as well as in volunteering themselves for the programme. The paper situates this experience against the studies suggesting the strengthening connection between Islamic activism and political Islam (Bayat 2000, 2002, Deeb 2006). In the context of Kerala, Islamic activism is increasingly expressed in secular terms forcing us to reflect on the new avatars of political Islam and post Islamism (Bayat 2007).

Probing this experience further, this paper looks into the religio-moral dimensions of Islamic activism and charity and its influence on the wider state discourse and policy formulations on development question in general and human wellbeing and health in particular. It is evident that the secular state incorporated, albeit indirectly, these religious networks and resources to create a more humane and inclusive developmental agenda. The paper makes use of ethnographic data collected from volunteers, beneficiaries, health-care professionals, and religious leaders to substantiate its arguments.

Santhosh Raghavan Nair is currently an Assistant Professor in the department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Madras, Chennai, India. He completed his PhD in Sociology from Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC), Bangalore and his dissertation studied identity formation of Muslims in Kerala, a south Indian state. Currently he is working on the Islamic charity and activism in the context of palliative care movement in Kerala. He had visited Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Leipzig University, Germany, Free University Amsterdam, University of Leiden Netherlands and Curtin University, Miri, Malaysia for presenting papers in conferences. His paper titled '*The State and Religious Contestations over Human Body: A Study on Hook-Swinging and Production of New Human Subjects*' which was presented in a conference organized by ARI, NUS on 15-17 March, 2007 is included in the book titled '*Body in Asia*' (2009) edited by Bryan S Turner and Zheng Yangwen, Oxford: Berghahn books.

BEYOND CONTACT-ANXIETY: ENGAGING WITH *ULAMA* IN ACEH, INDONESIA FOR 'BUILDING BACK BETTER'

Christine Schenk

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Religious leaders and scholars such as the *Ulama* in Islam are an important force for policy-making in the context of Muslim societies, in particular if the *Ulama's* role is prescribed as counterpart to a secular government. While some consider Islamic leaders as experts in all Islamic matters, development experts, in particular in governance efforts, are quite reluctant to engage with them. When surmounting such a 'contact anxiety' for the purpose of development, the paper argues that cooperation with religious actors can have two implications for development: Firstly, direct cooperation with religious actors as part of any government owes the acknowledgement that religious actors possess multiple roles within institutionalised systems of beliefs and practices, as well as for faith and spirituality. Secondly, these multiple roles can lead to a confusion and make it difficult to engage in spirituality and faith for the purpose of development. In the case of Aceh, the *Ulama* possess a complicated role within the history of Aceh: due to their role as 'custodians' of the *shari'a* they had in the past a leverage in carving out a particular specialness for the province of Aceh. However, their institutionalized role in beliefs and practices has resulted in a myriad of institutions being responsible for the interpretation and implementation of the *shari'a*. Moreover, ambiguous interpretations of the *shari'a* alienate the *shari'a* as source for policy-making. In such a convoluted setup this paper asks about the role of involved religious leaders and their feasible engagement in policy-making.

Christine Schenk is a geographer by training (MSc Humboldt-University Berlin, BSc University of Regensburg) and has gathered more than ten years of working experience in the field of development practice and development studies in Latin America (Haiti, Peru, Honduras) and Asia (Sri Lanka, East Timor, Indonesia). Her main focus is on issues around political economy, governance, resource management and reconciliation in the context of conflict and disasters. Thereby she draws on a comprehensive work experience in different organisational settings (state development agency, German ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, non-governmental organisations, think-tanks). Her current research focuses on the role and implications of Islamic values in biopolitics of Aceh/ Indonesia as part of governing and highlights the role of developments agencies within such endeavours. Her research is funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (Marie-Heim-Vögtlin Programme) as part of her PhD at the University of Geneva/Switzerland.

THE SECOND COMING: RELIGION, POLITICAL IDENTITY AND VIOLENCE IN MYANMAR'S TRANSITION

Lilianne Fan

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Myanmar's historic transition from decades of military rule has been welcomed by international community and has ushered in a rapid process of top-down democratic reform. However, commitment to far-reaching change and has been marred by outbursts of deadly violence against two groups of Muslims: the stateless Rohingya, and Myanmar's Muslim minority. This paper will critically examine the specific ways in which various forms of political identity, including religion, have been mobilised in both cases of violence. In the case of Rakhine, the nexus between religion, racial and immigration narratives will be explored. In the case of the recent Buddhist-Muslim violence, the paper will explore the ways in which religious narratives have been constructed as campaigns of "protection" and "progress" and, as such, are not viewed as standing in contradiction to the transition process, but, perhaps, even fundamental to it. The paper will then consider what the religious frame of analysis allows us to understand in regards to these forms of violence, and what its limitations are. It will argue that while in Rakhine the Rohingya problem is seen first as a citizenship problem and, thus, requiring a political solution, that the framing of the Buddhist-Muslim violence in primarily religious terms obscures not only our understanding of the root causes of the violence, but also the specifically political dimensions of the violence, the actors involved, and our conceptualisation of what accountability or even resolution might look like.

Lilianne Fan is a Research Fellow at the Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in London. Lilianne's areas of research and expertise include governance and institutional transformation in crisis and transition contexts; conflict, reconciliation and peace in Myanmar's transition process, with a particular focus on the Burmese Muslim community; separatism, peace and transition in Aceh; the post-earthquake reconstruction process in Haiti; South-South humanitarian and development cooperation in transition contexts. Prior to joining ODI Lilianne had spent 8 years in post-crisis contexts, serving as Housing, Land and Property Coordinator for the Inter-Agency Standing Committee Cluster System in Haiti, as Advisor to the ASEAN Special Envoy on Post-Nargis Recovery in Myanmar, as a member of the advisory team of the Governor of Aceh, and as Senior Policy Coordinator for Oxfam International in Aceh and Nias. She has also worked with and advised Acehnese humanitarian, human rights and refugee organisations since 1999. Lilianne earned a Master of Arts in Anthropology from Columbia University, with a thesis entitled Islam, Indigeneity and Native/Migrant Identity in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malaya.

PRACTITIONER ROUNDTABLE I

RELIGION AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Patti O'Neill

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This panel brings together senior development policy makers to examine the place of religion in global development discourses and policies. Each panellist has extensive experience working within particular development agencies. The discussion will be shaped by two key questions.

First, what is the current place of religion in development policy formation? Much has been made of the warm welcome that religion has recently received in the hallowed hallways and offices of development agencies. This remarkable change has involved significant rupture with past policies and practices. But this perceived change has not been sustained in all development institutions, and it has not even begun to penetrate mainstream policy in most of them. Furthermore, beneath the headlines and public announcements the exact nature of these changes is far from clear. Have there been fluctuations over time and between different actors in the engagement with religion? If so, what has driven these differing engagements? Has there been conflict over whether or how to engage with religion, and also over the kinds of religion that should be engaged with or avoided? What roles do organisations or individuals affiliated with particular religious traditions play in facilitating new conversations? What issues are being conspicuously avoided?

Second, what roles will religions play in development policy in the future? The development world is abuzz with discussion about what framework should be launched in 2015 to take the place of the Millennium Development Goals. The political wrangling that surrounds these negotiations will eventually produce a framework that will have far-ranging effects on the priorities, financial flows, and collaborations for the next decade or so. Will religion be part of this process? If so, in what shape or form? More broadly, what are the prospects for future forthright and productive engagements between development policy and diverse religious traditions?

Patti O'Neill has worked with the OECD's Development Co-operation Directorate since 2004. She coordinates the Directorate's work on *flexible and responsive policy advice*, leading the work on gender equality and women's rights through the Development Assistance Committee's Network on Gender Equality (GENDERNET). Patti was directly involved in the management of the Busan High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in late 2011; and is actively engaged in the implementation of the *Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation*. Immediately prior to joining the OECD, Patti worked for the then New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID). This followed 11 years in senior positions with New Zealand's Ministry of Women Affairs where she led New Zealand's engagement with international processes, including the Beijing Women's Conference in 1995. Earlier in her career, she was both a librarian and a trade unionist. She is an active and committed member of the Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID).

Scott Guggenheim is Senior Social Policy Adviser for the AusAID-Indonesia Partnership Program and former lead social scientist for East Asia and Pacific at the World Bank. His main focus during the past twenty-five years has been the use of social policy and analysis to help development agencies improve the quality of their operations. He was instrumental in the shift to better integration of social development in the World Bank structure and the architect of many large-scale community development programs including the Kecamatan Development Program, a national community development program covering 68,000 villages across Indonesia; the National Emergency Solidarity and Employment project in Afghanistan; and the Empowerment of Female-Headed Household (PEKKA) program which supports advocacy and micro-finance for poor, single women in conflict areas across Indonesia. He has a doctorate in Social Anthropology from Johns Hopkins University. His publications include *The Search for Empowerment: Social Capital as Idea and Practice at the World Bank* (edited with Anthony Bebbington and Michael Woolcock) and *Anthropological Approaches to Involuntary Resettlement: Policy, Practice, and Theory*.

Jeremy England assumed the position as the Head of Regional Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in November 2012. In addition to Malaysia, the Regional Delegation covers Singapore and Brunei and hosts the Regional Resource Centre that provides expert legal, thematic and operational advice and services across the Asia Pacific region. Prior to his current post, Mr England was the Head of the ICRC Office in Australia. He managed a specialist legal, communications and research team, based in Sydney and focused on representing the ICRC's global concerns and activities, promoting international humanitarian law and assisting governments in the region to implement it. Mr England has worked in the international aid sector for over 20 years, including extended periods in Africa, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Primarily working for the ICRC, he has also worked with non-government organisations and the United Nations. During his career, Mr England's responsibilities have included analysis and policy development, aid cooperation and coordination, security and operational management of humanitarian emergency and development programmes. He has particular expertise in assisting vulnerable populations in transitional or unstable environments, through the coordination of large-scale integrated protection and assistance programmes, as well as through the provision of capacity building support to local structures (government and other).

Charlotte Keenan has been with the Tony Blair Faith Foundation since 2008. She was previously Director of Programmes and was responsible for the development and management of the education and health work of the Foundation worldwide. Before joining the Foundation, Charlotte was in Corporate Finance, firstly with Jefferies and Company in the United States and then with JP Morgan Cazenove in London. She has extensive experience in international capital markets and M&A advisory work. Her sector focus was in industrials, mining and energy. Charlotte holds a BA Hons Degree in Theology from Oxford University, where she was also President of the Oxford Union. After Oxford, she was awarded a Frank Knox Memorial Fellowship to study International Relations and Public Policy at Harvard, where she was at the Kennedy School of Government. She also holds a Master of International Affairs Degree from Columbia University.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS 2

TAMING RELIGION: INSTITUTIONAL MULTIPLICITY AND THE POLITICS OF STATE-BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT

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Religious organisations can play a powerful role in the processes of state-building and development because they provide sources of legitimacy for political action and often resources to respond to social needs, which are independent of the state. They can be mobilised to legitimise state action or, conversely, to legitimise actions to challenge state authority. This dual role of religion in the politics of development has often been neglected with the headlong rush in recent years by international development agencies and bilateral aid organisations to embrace “faith-based organisations” in the delivery of foreign aid programmes. The paper aims to provide an analytical framework to understand the complex role religion plays in contemporary politics in the developing world with particular, though not exclusive, reference to Asia. The first section presents an institutional view of the state and discusses the ways in which “institutional multiplicity” affects challenges of state consolidation. The second section considers why religion and religious organisations act as a particularly potent institutional rival to the state in conditions of late development. The third section analyses the opportunities and dangers presented by channelling resources for service delivery through religious organisations and networks. The fourth section examines various experiences within the Asian region of organising politics on religious grounds and the ways in which they have shaped processes of state consolidation. The conclusion sums up the implications of the analysis for contemporary thinking and policy-making about religion in conditions of late development.

James Putzel (BA, MA McGill, DPhil Oxford) is Professor of Development Studies at the Department of International Development at the London School of Economics (LSE), UK. Between 2000 and 2011 he was Director of the Crisis States Research Centre based in the LSE and is currently Director of the Masters Programme in Development Studies at the LSE. Professor Putzel is well-known for his work on agrarian reform including his book *A Captive Land: The Politics of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines*. His published research includes work on social capital, democratisation, the political economy of development in Southeast Asia and the politics of HIV/AIDS. His recent research has focused on politics, governance and economic development in crisis states including comparative research in Asia and Africa with a particular focus on the Philippines, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Tanzania. Recent publications have examined political organisation in fragile states and the impact of international intervention on state building. He is lead author of *Meeting the Challenges of Crisis States* (2012) and the OECD book, *Do No Harm: International Support for Statebuilding* (2010).

KEYNOTE ADDRESS 2

**STATE-RELIGION ENGAGEMENTS:
SECULARISM, POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE**

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Contemporary modes and practices of states' engagement with religious traditions are related to the historical evolution of both and the constitutional and legal principles on which governance is based. These are in part a product of countries' pre-colonial and colonial histories, but are also strongly influenced by constitutional settlements reached at independence and decisions about the status of inherited systems of law. In addition, national constitutions, political systems and laws have often been modified subsequently in response to changes in political regimes and governance experience. In addition, how engagement between states and religious traditions plays out from day-to-day depends on a number of factors.

First, religion may influence political organisation, most notably in the difference between the Islamic view that religion and the state are inextricable and the contrasting view that religion and the state should be constitutionally separate. Second, the arrangements for political representation and periodic transfers of power may be influenced by religion – the extent to which the identity of sub-national groups is tied to religion, the nature and prevalence of inter- or intra-religious competition, and whether or not religious political parties are permitted seem to be important. Third, political debates, policies and administrative practices may be influenced by the role played by religion in politicians' and civil servants' values and social networks. Fourth, interaction between religious groups and states is likely to be influenced by the extent to which governments rely on religious organisations to assist with various governance functions, particularly education and health service delivery and welfare provision.

These in turn are influenced by the teachings and organisational structures of religious traditions, which both vary, with implications for their influence on states and citizens and the roles they may play in politics and governance. Clearly, teachings vary between particular sects/denominations and it is important to recognise these differences (and the nature of relations between sects/denominations) in seeking to understand the links between religion and politics. Some characteristics are common to a particular religious tradition, for example, the degree of hierarchy or congregational autonomy, with implications for its organisational characteristics, the sources and nature of authority and how its social roles are performed (e.g. education). However, there is often considerable variation between sects/denominations, with implications for the ways in which they engage with the state (e.g. whether and how they seek to influence political debates and legislation, or whether they collaborate in service provision or operate independently).

States may adopt constitutional principles based at one extreme on pure secularism or at the other on the integration of religion with state structures. However, in practice, constitutional arrangements and legal systems are usually more complex than either. It will be argued that an analysis of their historical origins and recent modifications is needed to understand how the relationships between states and religious traditions and organisations have evolved. While these may influence the adoption of particular development models and the achievement of development objectives, both are also influenced by many other factors.

These broad arguments will be illustrated by reference mainly to India and Pakistan in Asia and Nigeria and Tanzania in Africa, drawing on research undertaken in these countries between 2005 and 2011. Although it will not be possible to discuss the examples in detail, the intention is to provide a broad framework that might be used for analysing state-religion engagements in other contexts.

Religion and the Politics of Development: Priests, Potentates and "Progress" 28-29 August 2013

Organized by Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, held at University Hall, NUS Kent Ridge Campus

Carole Rakodi is a social scientist who has worked in a professional and research capacity in developing countries, mainly in Africa, since the 1970s. Much of her work has focused on towns and cities, particularly in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Kenya, where her concerns have included urban planning and management, land, livelihoods and urban politics, but she has also collaborated on wider international comparative research projects on the role of government in adjusting economies, urban poverty and governance, and informal land delivery. From 2005 to 2011, she was director of a large research programme on religions and development, working with colleagues from other UK institutions and in Nigeria, Tanzania, India and Pakistan. She has taught at the universities of Cardiff and Birmingham in the UK and is currently Emeritus Professor in the International Development Department, University of Birmingham.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GOOD INTENTIONS: THE CELEBRITIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT, CHARISMATIC GIFTS, AND THE SACRALIZATION OF THE MDGS

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The end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st Centuries have been marked by millennial expectations in politics, religion and international development, in the form of the Millennium (sic!) Development Goals. When the Comaroffs coined the term 'millennial capitalism' to denote the unpredictable, often religious and quasi-magical forms of wealth accumulation in our re-enchanting world, the UN were busy debating the MDGs that were supposed to make poverty history.

In this paper I explore the Weberian theme of the connections between religion and capitalism by reflecting on the MDGs as a millennial myth constituting the ultimate sacralization of the culture of neoliberalism as well as the neoliberalization of culture. Based on the demarcation of a field of development as unrelated to the work of politics and economics by denying the differentiating effects of neoliberalism (Saith 2006), the MDGs reduce development to technical solutions as a form of 'antipolitics' (Ferguson 1994; Fisher 1997; Schedler 1997). This neoliberal 'ideology of development' (cf. Easterly 2007) can be considered a secular religion (cf. Gray 1998; 2007) that preaches the gospel that prosperity is within reach for all, even though individualizing responsibility for one's situation (wealth or poverty).

I argue that in the era of millennial capitalism the 'celebrity celebration' of the MDGs constitute the ultimate sacralization of neoliberal development through its association with the popular culture of global consumerism, prophesied by secular saints Bob (Geldof) and Bono (Biccum 2007). Based on wishful thinking rather than sound analysis (Saith 2006), the MDG prophesy of a utopian *telos* without poverty – but where inequality does not matter – cannot come true. Rather, Jeffrey Sachs' MDG recipes will further the neoliberalization of societies in the Global South, ultimately, holding the poor accountable for their own poverty, risking to turn this utopian chimera into a dystopian reality.

Oscar Salemink is Professor in the Anthropology of Asia at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark. He received his doctoral degree from the University of Amsterdam, based on research on Vietnam's Central Highlands. From 1996 through 2001 he was responsible for grant portfolios in higher education, arts and culture and sustainable development in Thailand and Vietnam on behalf of The Ford Foundation. From 2001 until 2011 he worked at VU University in Amsterdam, from 2005 as Professor of Social Anthropology. His current research concerns religious and ritual practice in everyday life in Vietnam and the East and Southeast Asian region. Recent book-length publications include *Colonial Subjects* (1999); *Vietnam's Cultural Diversity* (2001); *The Ethnography of Vietnam's Central Highlanders* (2003); *The Development of Religion, the Religion of Development* (2004); *A World of Insecurity: Anthropological perspectives on human security* (2010) and thematic issues of *History and Anthropology* (1994), *Focaal – European Journal of Anthropology* (2006) and *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (2007).

GENDER, DEVELOPMENT AND THE 'DE-PRIVATIZATION' OF RELIGION

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'Poverty has a female face' in many contexts, which has been exacerbated by the recent global economic crisis. Amongst the range of actors that have responded to declining levels of welfare support by the state are 'faith-based organizations', and international donors and agencies increasingly recognize these as significant 'development' partners. This 'turn to religion' within mainstream development policy and practice has taken place against the backdrop of a perceived 'religious resurgence' or 'de-privatization' of religion, which casts doubts upon earlier predictions that secularization and modernization are two sides of the same coin.

From a 'gender and development' (GAD) perspective, the 'rise of religion' coupled with declining levels of state welfare provision presents a threat to gender equality and women's rights. The preference for 'secularism' amongst numerous women's rights activists and GAD practitioners is no secret, and has been promoted as the best route for securing equality, freedom and security for women globally. Therefore, it is crucial to view the recent 'turn to religion' by mainstream development actors through a gender lens. This is not only because women are more vulnerable to poverty, but also because 'religions have a male face' (see also Tadros 2010; Tomalin 2011).

This paper examines the future of the 'secular' in the light of theories about the 'de-privatization' of religion and the implications this has for gender equality and women's rights, which are central to GAD. Currently, understandings of religion that influence mainstream development policy and practice rely upon frameworks for analysis that are outdated and unhelpful for addressing the above concerns. Focusing upon examples from South Asia, I will demonstrate that distinctions between the religious and secular, the private and public, and the idea of a clearly defined thing called 'religion' are unhelpful in addressing contemporary questions around 'gender, development and the de-privatization of religion'.

Emma Tomalin is a Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of Leeds, UK. Her main research interests are focused around 'Religions and Global Development' and 'Religion, Gender and Society.' Her articles have been published in *Oxford Development Studies* and *Gender and Development* among others. Her latest book is entitled: *Religions and Development* (Routledge, 2013).

GLOBALIZATION, EXISTENTIAL INSECURITIES AND INTERROGATING RELIGION IN A NEO-BUDDHIST NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN SRI LANKA

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Globalization and the resulting processes such as population movement, displacement, social conflicts and changing aspirations and consumption patterns enhance poverty, vulnerability and existential insecurities for growing numbers of people in less developed and middle income countries alike (Pogge 2010, Kinnvall 2004, Giddens 1991). In this context the surge of ethno-religious nationalisms serve to articulate and highlight ethical dilemmas caused by neoliberal globalization on the one hand and identify and blame "the ethnic other" as the primary cause of one's suffering, insecurities and vulnerabilities on the other (Izberk-Bilgin 2012). While ethno-religious mobilizations can be seen as a powerful force in which globalization is contested and anti-globalization sentiments are politically articulated, ethno-religious nationalisms can also serve as a hegemonic instrument of majoritarian states, silencing, politically marginalizing and violating the rights of ethnic and religious minorities in the process. This is one of the reasons why both recognizing the political potential of and interrogating religion are necessary in discussing the religious turn in the modern world.

This paper analyzes the rise of Bodu Bala Sena (BBS), a militant Buddhist movement in post-war Sri Lanka, itself aiming to become "the miracle of Asia" (*Asiyave Ascharyaya*), as an attack on certain aspects of globalization and, at the same time, a militant campaign against market dominant ethnic minorities (Chua 2004). Using mass political rallies as well as social media such as blogs and face book, BBS seeks to establish and disseminate the view that the Sinhalese Buddhists, especially poorer segments of them, are vulnerable to market exploitations and cultural onslaught by Western regimes in collaborations with their local agents typically lumped together in a supposedly unholy alliance of minority and women's rights activists, NGOs and minority-owned business conglomerates. What is the nature of the religion represented by BBS and how is it different from classical Theravada Buddhism understood as a non-violent universal doctrine open to diverse communities and an "anti-political status religion" (Weber 1958) shying away from political agendas and collective mobilizations of any kind? What aspects of Buddhism are mobilized by BBS in its efforts to promote Buddhist interests within a multi-religious landscape in the era of globalization, which indeed present serious challenges to the integrity of Buddhist ideas of salvation and spiritual upliftment? Is BBS the modern face of Buddhism that seeks to safeguard its principles and core values from the onslaught of cultural domination by the west or simply a nationalist political movement that manipulates religious symbols for its own advantage betraying Buddhist doctrine and values in the process (Tambiah 1992)? Why is religion invoked in campaigns against globalization instead of a purely secular agenda and what are its implications for minority religious and ethnic communities? Finally, the ways in which ethno-religious mobilizations in contemporary Sri Lanka reveal and at the same time conceal the contradictions arising from neoliberal development and their wider implications are explored.

Kalinga Tudor Silva holds BA from the University of Peradeniya and PhD from Monash University in Australia. He is a senior professor in Sociology in the University of Peradeniya. This university has been his primary base for the past 35 years. He served as the Executive Director of the Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA) from 2002 to 2003 and the Executive Director of the International Centre for Ethnic Studies from 2009 to 2011 and the Secretary General of the Asia-Pacific Network of Social Sciences and Health (APNET) from 1998 to 2001. He served as an invited guest editor of the recently published *Religion and Development* (2013), a special issue of International Development Policy published by Geneva Graduate Institute in collaboration with Palgrave. His latest book *Decolonization, Development and Disease: A Social History of Malaria in Sri Lanka* is currently in press.

HINDU NATIONALISM AND THE POLITICS OF POST-EARTHQUAKE RECONSTRUCTION IN RURAL KUTCH

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Religion as an operative category has increasingly gained prominence in Indian politics since the rise of the Hindu Right as a reckonable force. The ascent of Hindu nationalism in the recent past has been spectacular; from a small coterie in the 1920s the ideology traveled through the years to gain a national platform in the 1990s, with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the political outfit of the Hindu Right in India, occupying the seat of power in Delhi. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) formed in 1925, became the foundational organization for the formation of the *Sangh Parivar*, which depicts the Hindu nationalist tendencies in modern India. An important reason for the success of the movement can be traced to its grassroots work centred on a strategy of social service, denoted by the term *seva*.

Based on ethnographic field work in three villages of rural Kutch, this paper attempts to understand the ways in which the Bhuj earthquake of 2001 provided an opportunity to the Hindu Right to undertake mobilization through the implementation of *seva*. The paper would specifically focus on the role of two affiliates of the Parivar, namely, the Seva Bharati and the VHP which had collaborated with the state BJP government to 'adopt' some villages after the earthquake. The pattern and model of the reconstructed villages in many ways manifest the political ideology of Hindu Nationalism and its notion of an 'ideal society'. By legitimizing and promoting a notion of development focused solely on economic growth and religious and cultural exclusivity, the state, I argue has become culpable in deepening the disconnect between democracy and development. I also argue that this disconnect is not an uncontested phenomena and is increasingly creating space for parallel forms of mobilization by the hitherto marginalized groups.

Malini Bhattacharjee is currently associated as Lecturer at Azim Premji University, Bangalore, India. In this capacity she is involved in conducting research, teaching university students and building research capabilities of Azim Premji Foundation's Field Institutes. She has an M.Phil and Masters degree in Political Science from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, and is currently pursuing her PhD from the same university. A student of politics, she is deeply interested in political theory, educational public policy, the growing role of private actors, particularly religious institutions in the primary education sector of India and the politics of communal mobilization.

CHARISMA, COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL MERIT MAKING: BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION IN SOUTHEAST CHINA

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Religious giving in China can never escape the thorny issue of the state-religion relations. In contrast with the assumption that state interference necessarily leads to deterioration of religious giving, this study complicates the picture and suggests that the extent to which religious groups can actively provide public goods and other social services is contingent upon different relationships the religious organizations cultivate with the local government and local community; upon whether there is a charismatic leader who advocates for charity as the guiding theology; as well as whether they can play political merit-making through international relations or other ways of benefitting the local political leadership. Based on ethnographic field work in Jiangsu province of Southeast China, this paper examines three types of religious organizations: state-led, community-led and translocal. Buddhism as the most tolerated religion in this region and in contemporary China in general offers the best example for the state-led category. Two tourism-based Buddhist temples studied in this category both enjoy biggest political space and most effective charity work, but they maintain quite weak community ties. Charismatic religious leaders often play pivotal roles. They can utilize the kind of space given in a state-led temple and channel it to charity. Community-led organizations deliver their services in a limited scope – only to their immediate neighbors and religious adherents, but they have the most potential to foster moral-building and civility. The cases include a Buddhist temple and a Christian church to demonstrate the kind of strong community ties they gain through hosting public rituals. The third category composes of one national Christian NGO and one overseas Buddhist NGO operating in Jiangsu. Both had to downplay their religious flavors and sacrifice community building in order to get the state off their backs. This study argues globalization is the not the single source of inspiration for religious groups in China to get involved in social service provision or other developmental projects. Besides theological drive and advancement of the religious group, charismatic leadership, community building, and political merit-making all contribute to it, making up intricate dynamics of religion-state-society triangle in China.

Keping Wu is trained as a cultural anthropologist at Boston University, USA. Her doctoral work deals with religious authority, bureaucracy and embodied experience of a charismatic Catholic community in the U.S., engaging with the debates in the field of anthropology of Christianity and post-secularism. She received a BA in English Literature from Peking University. Her current research projects include 1) religion and development in contemporary China; 2) ethnic and religious pluralism in Southwest China; 3) conversion and Buddhism in contemporary Southeast China.

PATRONAGE, WELFARE PROVISIONS, AND STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS: LESSONS FROM MUSLIM-DOMINANT REGIMES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

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The recent debates about the quality of democracy seek to address broader issues of human development beyond the conventional focus on formal institutions and procedures (e.g., elections) or growth. In this debate, the function of informal institutions, patronage, and clientelistic networks have been given renewed attention. In contrast to prevailing normative expectations, some scholars of comparative politics find that patronage and clientelistic linkages could contribute to the improvement of welfare conditions of citizens in the absence of a welfare state (e.g., Helmke and Levitsky 2006; Kitschelt 2000; Kitschelt and Wilkinson 2007). Will patronage and clientelistic networks promote or hinder welfare conditions of religious communities in non-secularized developing societies in Southeast Asia?

This paper will analyze the strategic use of welfare services by religious parties and the effect of patronage politics, as well as the clientelistic networks they build in the process, on the welfare conditions of Muslim communities in Malaysia and Indonesia to test these contending propositions. Based on fieldwork, in-depth interviews, anthropological observations, and original empirical data, my comparative case studies of religious parties in those non-secularized societies in Southeast Asia will illuminate the different strategies adopted by religious parties to mobilize their followers, as well as the effects of political incentives on their welfare services and social enterprises. Will the political incentives and the type of services provided by religious parties affect welfare conditions of religious communities? This study will focus on the two most prominent religious parties in Malaysia and Indonesia, the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) and the Justice and Prosperous Party (PKS). These parties have adopted different strategies to gain access to resources in order to build their support base in the context of democratic transitions and consolidation. In order to offer an explanation for the diverging strategies and make broader theoretical contributions to the studies of informal institutions, human development and state-society relations in deeply religious societies, this paper also looks into the function of the state in extending welfare services to religious citizens.

Kikue Hamayotsu is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Faculty Associate at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Northern Illinois University. Before joining the NIU faculty, she was a Postdoctoral Research Associate at Yale Center for International and Area Studies and a Postdoctoral Fellow in Modern Southeast Asian Studies at Columbia University. Dr Hamayotsu has conducted research on state-Islam relations in both Indonesia and Malaysia. Her current research projects include religious parties, electoral politics, political violence and the quality of democracy in democratic Indonesia. In 2011, she was appointed as Visiting Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute (ARI), National University of Singapore. Her recent publications include: "Bringing Clientelism and Institutions Back In: The Rise and Fall of Religious Parties in Indonesia's Electoral Democracy," *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*, edited by Dirk Tomsa and Andreas Ufen (London: Routledge, 2013), "The Political Economy of Islamist Mobilization in a Muslim Democracy: Political Rise of PKS in Post-authoritarian Indonesia," *Asian Survey*, Vol.51, No.5 (September/October 2011).

ISLAM MEETS DEVELOPMENT: LAND, POWER AND PROSPERITY IN PAKISTAN

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As an agrarian economy with a persistently unequal distribution of land, the land question is fundamental to understanding Pakistan's political economy of underdevelopment. Land reforms are central to debates on social justice in Pakistan. The Islamic position on land reforms has been a particular area of contestation. Islamic debates on the subject are emblematic of Pakistan's deep-seated ideological divide between the protagonists of status-quo and change. Muhammad Iqbal, the poet-philosopher of Pakistan, fervently campaigned for land reforms as a key vehicle for uplifting rural peasants. A major challenge to Iqbal's views on landownership came from a well-known Islamic revivalist of the twentieth century, Abul Ala Mawdudi, who deployed the Islamic argument of sanctity of private property rights to defend feudalism (*jagirdari*). Islam, in his view, does not prescribe any limit on landownership and therefore "lawful" *jagirs* need not be abolished. In his booklet published in 1950, *Masail-e-Malkiate Zameen* (The Problems of Landownership), he proceeded to establish an Islamic case against land reforms.

This left a deep imprint on subsequent debates, and intensified the ideological polarization after the country's independence in 1947. To fulfill its electoral promise of abolishing feudalism, the Muslim League established a committee for agrarian reforms. Powerful landed families who dominated the Muslim League in rural areas rallied together in active opposition of land reforms. The mainstream *ulama* provided an Islamic seal of legitimacy to their position by issuing *fatwas* considering land reforms as un-Islamic. This paper will revisit this Islamic discourse on land reforms, which has been largely neglected by previous scholarship. The study provides a fascinating instance of how Islam meets development in practice.

Adeel Malik is the Globe Fellow in the Economies of Muslim Societies at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies and a University Research Lecturer in Development Economics at the University of Oxford, UK. His previous research affiliations include: Department of Economics, Oxford University (2004-05); Merton College (Lecturer in Economics, 2002-03 and 2005-06); and Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre, Islamabad (Senior Policy Analyst, 1997-1999). Dr Malik's research focuses on exploring the causes and consequences of economic fluctuations in developing countries, and the political economy of the Middle East. His latest article, "The Economics of the Arab Spring", is forthcoming in *World Development*.

ENGAGING THE RELIGIOUS ELITES IN DEVELOPMENT? THE POLITICS OF MADRASA REFORM IN SOUTH ASIA

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Madrasas (Islamic schools), along with mosques represent the traditional sphere of Islamic authority — it is in madrasas that ulama, who traditionally enjoy the right to interpret Islam for ordinary believers, are trained. Madrasas in South Asia have thus been a site of contestation between Islam and modernity starting from the British colonial period, when the first madrasa reform attempts were made. In the last decade due to alleged links between madrasas and recruitment for jihad, many foreign governments have also tried to influence the madrasa reform programmes through their development agencies, such as USAID and DFID. In practice, the reforms have focused on introducing modern subjects in the madrasa curriculum: the government provides teachers for teaching of modern subjects and school resource material to madrasas who agree to join the initiative. Since the bigger madrasas already teach modern subjects till secondary grade, this initiative should not be controversial. Yet, across Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, the senior madrasa leadership has refused to accept this initiative; they argue that these interventions are aimed at eventually controlling the entire madrasa curriculum. By looking at the interaction between madrasa leadership, state officials and donor agencies, this paper will highlight how the politics of development leads to failure of otherwise viable partnerships between religious and secular national elites and international development agencies. The paper will show how and why the existing reform efforts have only attracted the low ranking madrasas within the religious hierarchy leaving the power over religious authority intact in the hands of orthodox ulama. It would also highlight how few changes in the design of these reform efforts could help turn these reform initiatives into mutually beneficial development initiatives.

Masooda Bano is University Research Lecturer at the Oxford Department of International Development. Her work focuses on traditional structures of Islamic authority in comparative context. Her book, *The Rational Believer: Choices and Decisions in the Madrasas of Pakistan*, provides an insight into the complexity of the Pakistani madrasa system and shows the limitations of simplistic deductions about links between madrasas and jihad. Dr Bano writes extensively about the interface between Religion and Development. Since 2008, Dr Bano has also been advising on DFID's largest ever Education Sector Support Programme in Nigeria. Under this initiative, Dr Bano has developed two interventions to support improved learning outcomes within Islamic schools in northern Nigerian states.

ESTABLISHING PATRONAGE OR PROMOTING COLLECTIVE CHANGES? ISLAMIC CHARITIES AND THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

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Over the past two decades Indonesia has been characterized by the proliferation of Muslim NGOs, in general, and charitable organizations, in particular, working on development issues. Islamic charitable organizations, supported mainly by affluent middle class, and underpinned by strong political networks with the state agencies, have endeavored to sharpen their development agenda, both domestically and nationally, by utilizing religious discourse. Some Muslim NGOs have acted as non-state welfare agencies and established partnership with the state agencies to work effectively in the grassroots. Despite the fact that Muslim NGOs with their distinct religious and political orientation become increasingly proliferated and played popular roles in the communities, there have been questions to what extent Muslim NGOs can utilize political framework in fostering the welfare of the community (poverty alleviation, education and health provision for low income households). This paper will analyze the types and functions of political networks between Islamic charities and government agencies, and investigate the way in which Islamic charities utilize these political networks to broaden their development agenda. By way of case studies, this paper would argue that the close ties between Muslim NGOs with government agencies have weakened, instead of strengthen, Muslim NGO's political framework in the promotion of collective social and political changes.

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RELIGION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA OVERCOMING THE "STARBUCKS PHENOMENON" IN MUSLIM CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVISM

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Political development is an elusive concept, often requiring broad and sweeping analyses on both the origin and direction of a society. Scholars have defined political development as falling within "the broader process of modernization in society as a whole" (Huntington 1965), "a specific form of change in the political culture of a society" (Chilton 1988a), "cognitive structures of political culture" (Chilton 1988b), which "manifests in increases in stage of performance on political tasks of given orders of hierarchical complexity" (Ross and Commons 2008: 481). Because of the nature and definition, modernization, as the larger framework for political development, has been defined as "separation of the polity from religious structures, substitution of secular modes of legitimation and extension of the polity's jurisdiction into areas formerly regulated by religion" (Smith 1974). Thus, religion has been largely seen as "an obstacle to effective development, capable of positive contribution only in its capacity to promote social mobilization" (Wald and Wilcox 2006). This paper will specifically examine the role of religion in political development in Indonesia, using what professional developmentalists call "the Starbucks Phenomenon" in looking at the creation of an elite regiment of faith-based non-governmental organization activists. The main argument of the author is that faith-based NGOs embracing the professional world of political development are highly prone to the ideology of Western secularism and liberalism, which in effect delegitimizes their own political cause for political freedom and in turn produces negative development outcomes.

Dicky Sofjan is a Core Doctoral Faculty in the Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies (ICRS) in the Graduate School of Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Sofjan has translated, published and edited articles and books on religion, namely on Islam. He is currently a Principal Investigator for a three-year program on Religion in the Public Sphere in Southeast Asia, involving nine countries including the United States of America. He previously worked as an officer, manager and director for international organizations, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), The Nature Conservancy (TNC) and The Nippon Foundation (TNF). His experience and consultancy work in the field of development have extended to areas of programming, resource mobilization, donor coordination, project monitoring and evaluation. In 2010-2011, Sofjan was the Team Leader appointed by the Ministry of National Development (Bappenas) and UNDP to conduct an overall assessment on aid for development effectiveness and the implementation of the Paris Declaration in Indonesia, covering the government, international organizations and developmental agencies. Sofjan holds a PhD in Political Science and is a Prince2 (UK Government) certified Project Manager. He graduated in 2006 from the Policy, Programming and Operations (PPO) Training of the UN System in New Delhi, India.

THE UNREMARKABLE AND ECOLOGICAL ABEYANCE: THE POLITICS OF "NON-RELIGIOUS" JAPANESE AID IN MYANMAR

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The Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement (OISCA) is a Japanese NGO with roots in a Shinto-based new religion that nevertheless identifies itself as "nonreligious." As one of the oldest and most prominent NGOs in Japan with activities around the Asia-Pacific region, it has enjoyed significant financial and political support from prominent public figures, from former prime ministers to powerful business leaders, who see development and humanitarian aid as an important vector of Japan's future. Inhabiting a space that is neither religious nor secular, OISCA proposes a vision of what I call global culturalism, that is, a vision of "Japaneseness" as a vehicle for realizing universal spiritual values of peace and harmony in the future. In this paper, I examine this utopian orientation in OISCA's vision of progress, and what it suggests about Japanese aid in Asia. In particular, based on 20 months of ethnographic research that I conducted in Japan and Burma/Myanmar, I analyze how such utopian aspirations tripped on the politics of aid as a contact zone, in which actual intercultural relations demanded Japanese and Burmese aid actors to contend with the differences and "gaps" between them. What this indicates is that the demands of secularization in modern Japan have shaped the ways that Japanese aid actors see international aid as a "nonreligious" form of utopian dream, and that aid work itself is constituted in different aid actors' struggles and resistances to actualize this dream.

Chika Watanabe is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Anthropology at Cornell University (degree expected May 2013). Her dissertation, *"Making Persons": Aspiring Relations and the Cultural Politics of Aid by a Japanese NGO in Burma/Myanmar*, focuses on one of the oldest and most prominent NGOs in Japan, the Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement (OISCA), which derives from a Shinto-based new religion. It examines OISCA's training programs in sustainable agriculture and "spiritual cultivation" in Japan and Burma/Myanmar, arguing that the everyday labor of international aid work shapes understandings of aid through the ways that aid actors negotiate intercultural relations. Her work has been published in various places, most recently in the journal of *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* (PoLAR).

BUDDHIST COSMOPOLITAN ETHICS AND TRANSNATIONAL SECULAR HUMANITARIANISM IN SRI LANKA

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This paper examines how through Buddhism's entanglement with modern secular development and humanitarian activity, cosmopolitan Buddhist ethics emerge as a particular modern religious ethic that can guide the work of "doing good" even in a secular realm. Doing so, I seek to contribute to broader questions in anthropology, international relations and studies of humanitarianism that inquire into how non-Christian religious traditions and ethics articulate with contemporary secular humanitarian work. Drawing upon fifteen months of ethnographic research conducted in Sri Lanka with Buddhist NGOs, between 2009 and 2010, I examine how Theravada Buddhism is given new shape and meaning through its engagements with secular humanitarian activity. I specifically engaging with the work carried out by local NGOs working in Sri Lanka's in the aftermath of the Indian Ocean Tsunami in 2005 and the Civil War in 2009. Doing so, I suggest, can help challenge dominant conceptions of the relationship between secular humanitarianism and faith-based, which tend to emphasize the totalizing force of secular practices and ethics on religious traditions. Yet in order to fully understand how such a religious ethic develops through its entanglement with modern secular ethics and practices of humanitarianism, I argue it is necessary to consider this ethnographic context in relation to the particular situated historical development of Buddhism through Sri Lanka's colonial history. I chose this genealogy to consider how NGOs draw upon this historically situated form of Buddhist modernity to help situate themselves within a transnational network of secular giving. I thus show how through the intertwinement of Buddhist religious discourses and practices with modern procedures of NGO work, new emergent forms of cosmopolitan Buddhist ethics are cultivated in the context of development.

Nalika Gajaweera is currently a doctoral candidate of Anthropology at University of California-Irvine, USA (doctorate expected to be awarded in June 2013). Her research interests are in Transnationalism, Humanitarianism, Buddhism, and South Asian Modernity. Her dissertation is based on ethnographic fieldwork in Sri Lanka, which involved working closely with humanitarian NGOs investigating their participation in post-war and post-tsunami redevelopment. She is especially interested in the relationships between Buddhist religious giving and humanitarianism, the entanglement of humanitarian work with state-led militarization in northern Sri Lanka, and how women's philanthropy and volunteer activism has emerged as an integral aspect of Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism. In 2005, Nalika was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to conduct research in India studying the socio-cultural issues surrounding the outsourcing of call center work to India and its effects upon the lives of young Indian workers. In each of these contexts, Nalika has had a continued interest in understanding how local communities negotiate larger national and transnational events and processes.

PRACTITIONER ROUNDTABLE II

ASIAN INCARNATIONS

Sandra Hamid

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The development experience in Asia over the past sixty years has been marked by heterogeneity, with diverse models being deployed at different times and places. Similarly, the religious landscape of this region is extraordinarily diverse including varied indigenous spiritualities, contrasting traditions, and diverse secular political formations. Both development actors and religious/secular actors operate at multiple scales, from localised communities to those with global horizons. In their attempts to induce positive change in the region development agencies have to navigate these complex realities. This panel brings together leading development practitioners to explore the intersections of religion and development in this region. The discussion is shaped by two broad themes.

The first is concerned with the ways in which development actors negotiate the *politics of religion* in the process of carrying out their work. Of particular interest are questions of *access* to locations and communities, *legitimacy* in the eyes of recipients and government officials, and differing *conceptualisations* of what it means to do development and work toward human flourishing. How do NGOs negotiate the politics of religious/secular identities in diverse Asian contexts?

The second theme examines the prospects for a greater level of political engagement with religious organisations and religious leaders. The 'working politically' approach advocates forthright political interventions for developmental ends, including strategically engaging powerful elites and important institutions. Though their precise importance varies on context, throughout Asia religious leaders – be they civil servants, philanthropists, business leaders or clergy – are clearly politically important. What kinds of models of engagement with these leaders would be most productive for achieving development goals? What are the risks and potential benefits to donors, implementing NGOs, beneficiaries, and development agencies, of taking a more explicitly political approach to achieve development outcomes, and what might be the effects of involving religious leaders and groups in that approach?

Sandra Hamid is The Asia Foundation's country representative to Indonesia. Formerly she served as the senior director for programs in the Jakarta office from 2008-11, and has also held positions as the Aceh programs director (2004-08) and elections program manager (2003-04). A cultural anthropologist and development specialist with strong interests in political participation and civil society, Sandra has twenty years experience as a journalist, researcher, and development professional, nine of those years with The Asia Foundation. With the Foundation, she has designed and implemented programs in the areas of political participation, knowledge and policy, governance, gender, law, and religious freedom. Prior, she was a writer, researcher and international development consultant working in Indonesia, East Timor and the United States. Dr. Hamid has extensive political experience, having served in one of the first political parties formed immediately after Suharto's resignation. A two-time recipient of The Asia Foundation's Presidential Award for Exceptional Performance and a Draper Hills Summer Fellow on Democracy and Development at Stanford University, Dr. Hamid is also a former Fulbright Scholar.

Trihadi Saptoadi is the Regional Leader for World Vision South Asia and Pacific, a post he has held for the past three years. Based in Singapore, Mr Saptoadi leads seven WV national offices of ten countries spanning India to Timor Leste with more than 6,000 staff as part of his portfolio. Prior to his current appointment, he held the post of National Director, World Vision Indonesia for four years. Mr Saptoadi has also worked with World Vision's Global Centre in senior ministry and strategy roles, National Director for World Vision Nepal and World Vision Laos, and programme staff in China. When he worked for WV Indonesia, Trihadi actively worked on interfaith work such as Interfaith Action for Poverty Alleviation and Injustice in collaboration with PGI, KWI, and Muhammadiyah, partnered with Nahdlatul Ulama on Channel of Hope addressing HIV/AIDS in Indonesia, established Indonesia Humanitarian NGOs Forum responding to disaster in Indonesia. He was also a Board member of Association of NGO for Community Empowerment.

Michel Anglade is Save the Children's Campaigns and Advocacy Director for Asia, based in Singapore. In his role, Michel Anglade is coordinating EVERY ONE, Save the Children's flagship campaign to reduce child mortality. He is supporting Save the Children country offices across Asia to develop and to deliver health and nutrition advocacy strategies. He is also working closely with country offices to advocate for better practices and policies to fulfil children's rights. Prior to his present position, Michel Anglade worked for Oxfam from 2000 to 2011, in various leadership positions. He started working in the field of humanitarian and development in 1995 and undertook various assignments with Doctors without Borders and with Action Against Hunger in Armenia, Sudan, Somalia and North Korea. Michel Anglade graduated from Sciences Po (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris) in 1989. He also holds a Master in Media and Information Management from the Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Paris.

Caroline Brassard worked as an economist for the Government of Ontario in Canada, and then undertook research and long term consultancy work on poverty reduction strategies for several international non-governmental organizations in developing countries, including United Nations Children's Fund in Madagascar, CARE in Bangladesh and Save the Children in Vietnam. She then went on to undertake a Phd in Economics at the University of London, where she taught empirical analysis for economics and management for two years, prior to joining the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy. Caroline continues to consult with various international organizations including the United Nations Development Program and she teaches on aid governance, research methods, economic development policy, poverty alleviation strategies and empirical analysis for public policy. Her current research focuses on the development policy lessons from the Post-Tsunami reconstruction in Aceh, Indonesia and on Singapore's humanitarian aid effectiveness in Asia.