ANNUAL REPORT
2018-2019
BERKLEY CENTER
for Religion, Peace & World Affairs
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
The Berkley Center’s work at the intersection of religion and global affairs reflects ongoing trends in world events.

During the 2018-2019 academic year, a resurgence in far-right nationalism around the globe followed a continued rise in the number of displaced persons. The impact of escalating tensions between the United States and China rippled through the global economy, politics, and culture. The assassination of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi illustrated ongoing threats against human rights and press freedom. At home, the United States faced a turbulent political climate. Partisan divides over how best to deal with migrants from Central America resulted in a 35-day federal government shutdown.

This past year, our research, teaching, and outreach at the center explored the religious dimension of these and other international developments. Highlights include two major conferences: one focused on the global refugee and migration crisis and the other on faith-based engagement in the fight against antimicrobial resistance. Other events examined the relationship between religion, radicalization, and violence; climate change; and Pope Francis’ pontificate. A new Geopolitics of Religious Soft Power project analyzes how states use transnational religious propagation for political ends.

Center faculty and scholars authored numerous books and articles, furthering research on religious nationalism, the ethics of war and peacemaking, human rights in Catholic social teaching, globalization and secularism, and the role of faith actors in achieving development goals. They also gave lectures around the globe and organized events on campus, such as a conversation with Obama advisor and aide Ben Rhodes; a conference on the future of Orthodox Christianity in Ukraine; and a discussion with author David Grossman.

In this report you will learn more about these milestones and other highlights from the past year, including the continued success of the Doyle Engaging Difference Program, which brings together faculty and students from across the curriculum to address issues that cut across religious, cultural, and other divides.

As this report went to print we were saddened by the sudden passing of scholar, colleague, and friend Gerard Mannion, a Berkley Center senior research fellow. His passionate pursuit of knowledge and collegiality will be missed.

We thank you for your continued support and engagement, and we look forward to the center’s continued growth and expansion in the coming years.

Sincerely,

Shaun Casey
Director

Michael Kessler
Managing Director
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In response to the continuing global refugee and migrant crisis, the Global Engagement Committee of the Georgetown University Board of Regents provided support in 2018 for a project to study displaced persons worldwide. The resulting Global Refugee and Migration Project (GRMP), co-led by the Berkley Center and the Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM), seeks to bring scholars and stakeholders together to improve local and national responses and address the crisis in innovative ways.

The first GRMP event, held on November 15, 2018, was a public conference titled “Global Refugees and Migration in the Twenty-first Century: Policies and Narratives of Inclusion.” The conference included two panels and a keynote address.

The first panel featured leaders from nonprofit organizations dedicated to aiding refugee resettlement, including Mike Mitchell of Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, Rachel Peric of Welcoming America, Joan Rosenhauer of Jesuit Refugee Service, and Hans Van de Weerd of International Rescue Committee. Speakers discussed the role of community-based organizations in refugee resettlement and the difficulties of achieving integration when faced with onerous demands but little
state support. Expressing the difficulties facing nonprofit organizations, Mitchell stated, “This whole system focuses on the initial resettlement; it doesn’t focus on the integration of refugees.”

In the second panel, speakers representing municipal immigrant affairs offices—including Ali Al Sudani (Houston), Sonia Lin (New York City), and Linda Lopez (Los Angeles)—discussed the efforts of their respective governments to integrate immigrants, as well as the way in which each department strives to serve immigrant communities without getting embroiled in large-scale political narratives about immigrants. As Lin put it, “The perspective of local leaders is ultimately a pragmatic one that is thinking about what’s best for my residents.”

Participants in both panels expressed both sharp disappointment with current federal policies on refugees and immigrants and, simultaneously, a strong belief in the ability of local organizations and governments to resist those policies and make important headway in immigrant affairs.

Denis McDonough, former chief of staff under President Barack Obama, ended the event with a keynote address which warned that the refugee crisis will only worsen over the coming decades due to climate change. Nonetheless, McDonough concluded on a note of optimism: “The answer to what we do can be found in our country’s story. Simply put, we need to be more of what we have been, not less.”

Following this conference, the Berkley Center hosted a workshop on November 16 to bring together scholars researching refugee and migrant integration around the world. At the workshop, scholars presented papers analyzing and describing the response of local communities to refugees and migrants. Participants worked together to offer feedback and suggestions, and revised papers will be published in a special edition of the peer-reviewed ANNALS journal in July 2020.

In March 2019, the project organized a policy consultation with representatives from Turkey, Uganda, and Columbia, which resulted in a policy brief. The brief draws lessons from the experiences of Turkey, Uganda, and Colombia, which are among the top receiving countries of refugees, and offers recommendations for better policy approaches at the local, national, and international levels.

A fall 2019 capstone conference served as an opportunity to showcase the work of the project, as well as to think through next steps designed to further strengthen Georgetown’s teaching, research, and outreach around such a critical issue for the United States and the world.
With the support of the Henry R. Luce Foundation, throughout 2017 and 2018 the Berkley Center hosted a series of events to highlight five key issues at the nexus of religion and global affairs: the alt-right, religion in the 2018 mid-term elections, preventing violent extremism, climate change, and the global refugee crisis.

A conference on October 22, 2018, examined Christianity and the alt-right across three panels. The event, which was broadcast live on C-SPAN, first explored the alt-right’s divided opinions as to whether Christianity is a fundamentally white religion or a religion dedicated to universalism and the destruction of whiteness. Speakers on the second panel discussed how changing religious demographics are affecting support for the alt-right. George Hawley (University of Alabama), for instance, noted that strong religious belief is correlated with more openness towards racist alt-right beliefs, but that this correlation diminishes the more frequently a believer attends religious services. The third panel considered how the alt-right could be contested, particularly from a religious posture. Paul Dafydd Jones (University of Virginia) offered a sobering view that, “Christians and especially Christian theologians mustn’t overrate the power of ideas when it comes to contesting the alt-right…Christians, especially Christian theologians, have to acknowledge that the fusion of anti-Semitism and anti-black racism have precedent in Christian thought.”

On November 8, the Berkley Center hosted a discussion on the role of religion in the midterm elections. This panel included Rebecca Linder Blachly, director of government relations for the Episcopal Church; Clyde Wilcox, professor of government at Georgetown University; and Eric Patterson and E.J. Dionne, Jr., both fellows at the Berkley Center.

Much of the panel’s conversation centered on the continued support of President Donald Trump emanating from white evangelicals, but participants also addressed the influence of left-leaning believers. Wilcox noted emerging divisions between older evangelicals and their younger peers, who are more likely to describe the United States as “a mission field, not a battlefield.” Dionne discussed the role of Catholics in the election and questioned how substantial a role religion plays today in shaping political identities.

A third Luce-supported event focused on the role of religion in preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE). The February 13 meeting began with a day-long discussion among P/CVE experts, including government officials, advocates, and academics from both
LEFT
Fellow panelists listen as Senior Research Fellow E.J. Dionne shares his perspectives on the outcomes of the 2018 midterm elections and what they say about religious voting patterns.

ABOVE
Dorothy Kim speaks about the religious origins and influences of the alt-right at the “Christianity and the Alt-Right” conference.

the United States and the United Kingdom. These discussions were held under Chatham House rules to encourage openness among the attendees.

Immediately following this closed-door conference, the center hosted a public panel featuring Mohamed Elsanousi of the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers, Susan Hayward of the U.S. Institute of Peace, H. A. Hellyer of the Royal United Services Institute, and Peter Mandaville, a senior research fellow at the Berkley Center. At this event, panelists discussed the ways in which religion can drive individuals toward radicalization and how governments can most effectively seek to use religion to prevent radicalization.

The first two events in this series occurred during the 2017-2018 academic year: a panel on the global refugee crisis featuring international reporters Ben Taub, Robin Shulman, and Alice Su, and a conversation with Karenna Gore on religion, climate change, and the work of Union Theological Seminary’s Center for Earth Ethics.

Each of these events was followed by a series of blog posts and the publication of a white paper that suggested future areas of research.

FROM THE FORUM

FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS AND CLIMATE ACTION
“There is no meaningful religious case against wealthy nations acting to ameliorate the impact of climate change on poorer nations . . . There is a tendency in public discourse about religion and climate change to frame religious engagement primarily as advocacy . . . These messages have been echoed and amplified at the local level by many religious leaders with influence in their communities, but the role of religious actors with respect to climate change has to be broader than mere moral messaging.”
- Evan Berry

GOVERNMENT OUTREACH TO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AFTER 9/11
“Government interaction with faith organizations [to counter violent extremism] is motivated in part by the recognition that such groups are embedded in communities and therefore are well-placed to address local challenges. Yet in practice, outreach generally involves partnership with religious leaders, which tend to be older men. As a result, such initiatives often reinforce the visibility and primacy of male elders, thereby strengthening the patriarchal power structures frequently reflected by formal religious institutions.”
- Annelle R. Sheline

WHITE PAPERS

Exploring the Role of Religion and Christianity in Alt-Right Politics
Religious Actors and Climate Change: From Advocacy to Action
Religious Voters in 2016 and 2018: Understanding Patterns and Their Significance for 2020
Analyzing the Refugee and Forced Migration Crisis: Policy, Ethical, and Media Challenges
Religion and the Prevention of Violent Extremism: Current Debates and Future Research Agendas

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G20 Interfaith Forum

On June 7-9, 2019, Berkley Senior Fellow and World Faiths Development Dialogue Executive Director Katherine Marshall participated in the G20 Interfaith Forum in Tokyo, Japan. The forum has met annually since 2014 in advance of the G20 Summit to discuss the role of religious actors in global issues and to advocate for more religious inclusion at the official G20 meetings.

This year, the Interfaith Forum hosted panels on issues including corruption, peace, healthcare, global climate change, and the global refugee crisis. Marshall was part of the forum’s executive organizing committee and participated in several of its panels. She sat down with center staff to discuss her role in organizing the event, as well as its impact on the proceedings of the secular G20 Summit.

How did you come to be involved with the Interfaith Forum?

In 2014, when the G20 met in Australia, a team at Griffiths University working with Brigham Young University in Utah took the initiative to organize what they called a G20 Interfaith Summit. I was invited to it but couldn’t come, but that was the first of the G20 interfaith meetings linked specifically to the G20. They invited me again to the Turkey meeting in 2015 and again to the China meeting in 2016 which I participated in, but from the meeting in Germany in 2017, I really became a member of the core group. That was partly because of my knowledge of the interfaith interactions on the Sustainable Development Goals, which were a major focal point of the meeting. So that meant that I participated in several organizing meetings for Germany, and then in the Argentina meeting in 2018, I became even more deeply involved. What drew me into it was that I’m not very good at saying no. Essentially, I took on roles really without any formal blessing or without any particular decision by anybody, so that I am now one of the key organizers.
The theme for the 2019 G20 Interfaith Forum was “Peace, People, Planet: Pathways Forward.” Why was that theme chosen, and how can religious actors help promote those things?

The three Ps essentially draw on the basic architecture of the Sustainable Development Goals, which have been summarized actually as five Ps by many people: peace, people, planet, prosperity, and partnership. We were picking up three very basic themes that are part of the global goals which have been blessed by the United Nations and which are a very commonly understood architecture. The way that we framed this is that the effort of the G20 Interfaith Forum was to bring together different networks of religious institutions. In other words, not specific entities, but systematic efforts to cross different boundaries and connect networks that are working on issues important for the future of the planet.

What impact does the Interfaith Forum have on the G20 Summit?

We really don't know. We do know that in the case of Japan, the senior leadership of the host country was very familiar with what was happening. There were meetings specifically about this with the Japanese prime minister. But beyond that, how many of the other 19 governments know that this happens? Not clear. We’re a ways away from actually being a serious player in the G20 process. I mean the G20 deals mainly with economic issues, so they’re not particularly interested in the views of religious leaders. Clearly our impact isn’t going to happen spontaneously, and what that means for me is that it will depend on having really solid recommendations that are well presented, which is the focus of a lot of our efforts at the Berkley Center and in WFDD. Let’s really concentrate on trying to bring out the best of what religious communities have to offer and to put it in a form that can be understood much better by the G20 leaders.

This year the forum was able to include an unprecedented degree of participation from secular leaders, including three former prime ministers. What effect did their presence have on the Interfaith Forum?

I think that the general view was that even though these three prime ministers are not particularly known for their deep commitment to interreligious dialogue or anything like that, the fact that they were very familiar with how the G20 process worked and how decisions are made played a significant role. I think a number of people thought it was a very valuable input because it forced these religious communities to be more aware of how the decision-making process worked and what might influence political leaders.

What will the future of the G20 Interfaith Forum look like?

There’s been a discussion from the beginning as to whether it is possible and desirable to have the Interfaith Forum become a formal engagement group of the G20, of which there are eight. There are different views on that. For some that has been the objective to become a ninth engagement group. There’s another current that says that it’s better to maintain an informal status because that gives more possibility for the Interfaith Forum to have a prophetic voice. I’m not sure what the official status would really give it. It would be more visible, much more visible, and therefore to me there would be much more demand for rigorous policy recommendations and processes. But we had an interesting comment from a very senior global figure in Argentina who told me, “This is a fantastic forum you’re developing, but don’t tie it too much to the G20.” Then the question is, what do you tie it to? I do very much like the idea of really trying to draw on the best of religious work on an issue like the rainforest or health care or women’s issues, both to try to bring out areas where there’s disagreement but also to find the common ground.
In August 2018 a Pennsylvania grand jury released a report detailing sexual abuses committed by over 300 Catholic clergy over the past 70 years. These revelations have prompted several Berkley Center fellows to engage more directly with debates over the future of the Catholic Church and its response to the ongoing sexual abuse crisis, bringing expertise from across disciplines into dialogue about this challenging issue.

Senior Fellow Paul Elie penned a prominent *New Yorker* essay titled “Acts of Penance” (published online as “What Do the Church’s Victims Deserve?”). In it he assessed the Catholic Church’s response to the crisis in New York, where Cardinal Timothy Dolan has overseen the creation of Independent Reconciliation and Compensation Programs to address past abuses. Although the programs have resulted in substantial payouts, Elie criticized the Church for using the programs to conceal or suppress the specifics of priestly sexual abuse, which are vital to understanding what has happened during this ongoing episode in American Catholicism. Elie was also fiercely critical of what he saw as an attempt by the Church hierarchy to outsource its moral duties to third-party arbitrators:

“What the Church calls a crisis consists of thousands of criminal acts, including rape, molestation, harassment, and violation. It’s disturbing to think that the survivors’ accounts of those acts—which priests did what and where and when—become dead letters in the Willard Office Building, where a program framed as an instrument of reconciliation enables the Church to perform one last feat of evasion.”

The late Berkley Center Senior Research Fellow Gerard Mannion sat down with Joshua McElwee, Vatican correspondent at the *National Catholic Reporter*, to discuss his experience covering Pope Francis during a time of crisis. At the time, McElwee expressed cautious optimism regarding Francis’ handling of the abuses,
though he remarked that “until we answer this, nothing else matters.” McElwee sharply criticized the pope for appearing unaware of the details of the sexual abuse crisis in Ireland.

Mannion also wrote in a *Time Magazine* article that the U.S. bishops’ call for a Vatican-led investigation into sexual abuse among the American clergy was both unlikely to succeed and a dereliction of moral responsibility. He argued that the U.S. bishops should resign en masse in order to force the Vatican to seriously investigate the involvement of each bishop in the cover-ups of abuse in America:

“Words are not enough and never have been enough. The Church is bound by its own social and moral teachings to do so much more. The time has come for radical action.”

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### Meet Father Jerry

On April 22, 2019, the Berkley Center welcomed Rev. Gerard McGlone, S.J., as a senior research fellow. McGlone is a former Georgetown assistant professor of psychiatry who most recently worked as associate director for protection of minors on behalf of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men. As part of the Berkley Center, he will study and write on the sexual abuse crisis. What follows is a brief interview with McGlone as he enters his new role.

**What drew you to the Berkley Center as a place to continue your work on the lives of priests and the sexual abuse crisis?**

I was drawn to the vision and mission of the Berkley Center, and by the invitation and vision of President DeGioia. He saw and I see that there is a need to view and understand this dual crisis of abuse and leadership within a global context. We’ve seen since 2002 that we are clearly experiencing a worldwide phenomenon, not only in the Church, but also in many non-faith-related organizations.
No childcare or educational setting is immune to this pandemic of child abuse. The Berkley Center is attractive because it has been able to give me a forum to reach local, national, and international audiences that are in desperate need of research and prevention programming. There are few centers that are dedicated to this unique vision of dialogue and encounter between and within the Church and in society.

**How has your background as a psychologist shaped your views of the crisis?**

My interest in this field sprung from the first time the Church dealt with this crisis, in 1992. I was in graduate school pursuing my Ph.D. in clinical psychology when a nationally renowned psychologist pointed to the front page of the *New York Times* and said, “This is a great topic for you. You could get out of here in two years.” I graduated in 2001 with a dissertation titled “Sexually Offending and Non-Offending Roman Catholic Clergy: Characterization and Analysis,” and in 2002, the world discovered what I had been walking in throughout the 1990s when the Spotlight story in the *Boston Globe* broke. I was in the eye of the storm then and still am in the eye of the new storm.

**Similarly, how has your life as a priest, combined with the research you invested in writing The Inner Life of Priests, shaped your views of the crisis?**

I am a survivor of sexual abuse. I was abused by a Jesuit in high school and then throughout my formation. So I had to do what I think most people today in the Church and in any faith community have to do: I had to attempt to make sense of the trauma. One of the key ways I’ve been able to understand the safeguarding and protection of minors is that it is core to my mission as a person and as a priest. And I think, by example, it has to be core to the very mission of the Church, if we are to have any lasting impact and change. So my priestly goal is to constantly reclaim the Church, faith, and vocation that I know and love. This is not dependent upon any man—my abuser, my religious superiors, any bishops of any diocese, or the past or current occupant of the Chair of St. Peter. My personal relationship with God and my vocation as a Jesuit are paramount to me, and I will not allow my Church, my love of the Jesuits, to be stripped and taken away from me because of horrendous, horrible criminal actions and ineffective, arrogantly ignorant religious and diocesan leadership.

**What do you hope to accomplish as a Berkley Center senior research fellow?**

There are several specific goals. The first is to provide data-driven information that can enhance the debate beyond the simplistic agendas offered by the left and the right. What does the evidence tell us as to what has caused this, and what does the evidence tell us as to how we can solve this problem? The second key goal is to always have a survivor’s perspective. In other words, survivors’ voices have often not been included in the Church in a proactive way to tell us what they need and what we can do for them. The third is to collaborate in an interdisciplinary way with existing efforts at the university so that an international center like the Berkley Center can be seen as a resource with unique expertise. That, to me, involves research, education, and evidence-based programming on this issue.

**What do you believe are some immediate steps that the Church could take to most effectively care for victims and prevent future abuse?**

The first thing the Church needs to be is more humble and poor. She needs to stop the silliness of hindering statute of limitations laws, stop the silliness of blaming the survivors and defending what she’s done so far as being sufficient. Clearly it is not. It’s been necessary, but it’s hardly sufficient for us to feel safe again in our own Church and to trust religious and diocesan leadership. Healing the shattered trust in leadership must be front and center. We also need to look at screening, the initial and the ongoing formation of priests with specific attention to their psychosexual, interpersonal, emotional, and leadership skills development. Finally, the Church needs to engage in an ongoing dialogue with science about sexuality. It took 350 years to apologize to Galileo. Are we going to make the same mistake regarding the study of sexuality today? Our credibility as a faith community is on the line.
EXITING VIOLENCE: THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Held on October 11 and 12, 2018, this conference examined how faith traditions and sacred texts can push people toward tolerance and pluralism or toward radicalism and violence. Panels over the course of the two-day event examined Catholicism and violence in Latin America, religion and race, women and faith-based peacebuilding, and the relationship between Islam, state power, and violence. The center co-sponsored the event with the Bruno Kessler Foundation and the Reset Dialogues On Civilization.

ANTIMICROBIAL RESISTANCE AND FAITH-BASED ENGAGEMENT

On April 7 and 8, 2019, health experts and faith-based health leaders convened at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome to develop strategies for fighting antimicrobial resistance (AMR). This workshop, organized by the Berkley Center and Georgetown’s Global Health Initiative with support from the GHR Foundation, was a follow-up to a December 2016 workshop that called for strengthening religious engagement in the fight against AMR. Participants shared best practices, and key takeaways were published in a subsequent white paper.

A CONVERSATION WITH DAVID GROSSMAN

On January 28, 2019, the Berkley Center welcomed David Grossman, a prominent Israeli novelist and non-fiction writer and the winner of the 2017 Man Booker International Prize, to campus. In a conversation with Berkley Center Senior Fellow Paul Elie, Grossman discussed the ways in which religion can influence literary composition and the impact of his Jewish heritage on his creations. This event was part of the ongoing Faith and Culture Series, which brings prominent authors and artists to Georgetown to discuss the role of religion in their work.
Research Fellow Eric Patterson takes questions from the audience after offering a presentation on his book *Just American Wars: Ethical Dilemmas in U.S. Military History*.

Dr. Mireille Twayigira speaks with John Monahan about her experience as a refugee who found hope through education offered by Jesuit Refugee Service at Dzaleka camp in Malawi.
TOP LEFT
Obama advisor and aide Ben Rhodes discussed some of the most consequential moments of the Obama presidency in conversation with Center Director Shaun Casey.

CENTER LEFT
Pulitzer Grantee Danny Gold explains to Professor Marc Howard how evangelical churches in El Salvador help gang members escape the cycle of violence by becoming born-again Christians.

BELOW
Susan Hayward discusses U.S. policy with fellow panelists Mohamed Elsanousi, H.A. Hellyer, and Peter Mandaville (L-R) at “Religion, Governments, and Preventing Violent Extremism: What Have We Learned?”
In 2018, the Berkley Center received support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to analyze how states, especially Muslim-majority states in the Middle East, use transnational religious propagation for political ends. The Geopolitics of Religious Soft Power (GRSP) project is led by Berkley Senior Research Fellow Peter Mandaville in cooperation from the Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.
This partnership was inaugurated in November 2018 with the publication of “Islam as Statecraft: How Governments Use Religion in Foreign Policy,” a report by Mandaville and Hamid. It explores the complex ways in which governments have sought to shape and export religious belief systems in order to promote their own international power. It discussed, among other cases, the efforts of Saudi Arabia to advance international Wahhabism and the recent rise in states seeking to become recognized as homes for “moderate Islam.” As Mandaville and Hamid concluded, “Whether governments are ‘Islamist’ or ‘secular’—or, more likely, somewhere in between—they all, almost without exception, understand that the ideational components of foreign policy matter.” Later that month the project was profiled by the Economist online.

Mandaville and Hamid followed their report with “The Rise of Islamic Soft Power,” an article published in Foreign Affairs on December 7, 2018, summarizing some of their research. On January 8, 2019, Mandaville and Hamid sat down at the Brookings Institution to discuss their paper with Geneive Abdo, senior fellow at the Atlantic Council, and Indira Lakshmanan, executive director of the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting.

The project has also commissioned a series of shorter pieces examining the geopolitics of religious soft power. “‘We Pray for Our President’: Saudi-Inspired Loyalist Salafism and the Business Sector in Kazakhstan” is a working paper by Aurélie Biard, published in January 2019, which explores the role of Salafis in Kazakhstan who, despite overwhelmingly being quietists, face persecution for their alleged disloyalty and ties to Saudi interests. On the Berkley Forum, the center’s blog, contributors have explored everything from Russia’s attempts to use its Orthodox identity to bolster ties with Greece to the international rebranding of Sufism as a moderate Islamic sect meant to counteract radical extremist theologies.

FROM THE FORUM

RELIGIOUS SOFT POWER IN RUSSIAN AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

“[I]t is hard to differentiate between the effects of religious soft power and the effects of material factors, like—for example—America’s military and economic might. This only matters, however, if we think of religious soft power and material power as mutually exclusive . . . It may be difficult to find examples of religious soft power mattering more than military or economic might. Likewise, there are clear limits to the effectiveness of these appeals, as seen in the split between the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. But religious appeals seem to amplify the effectiveness of material power. Additionally, the fact that states like America and Russia keep relying on religious appeals—even if they are not always effective—demonstrates religious soft power has value to those who deploy it.”

- Peter Henne

THE PROMOTION OF SUFISM IN THE WAR ON TERROR

“While nice in theory and certainly appealing to Western actors, the idealization of the category of Sufism in public policy might have serious counterproductive effects as far as curbing violence is concerned . . . When the state, particularly an authoritarian state, tries to co-opt a given Islamic movement for controversial political ends, it can leave the movement vulnerable. In this context, we can inquire whether the aggressive promotion of Sufism in the framework of the U.S. war against terrorism and its potential perception as a neo-imperialist tool by jihadist actors explain in part why it was only after 9/11 that the shrines were actually attacked and Sufis killed by radical militants. Similar questions arise elsewhere in the Muslim world: ‘What happens when Sufis come to stand in for an American proxy, when the Americans themselves are so out of reach?’”

- Alix Philippon
Exploring the Role of Religion in American Politics

As the role of religion in American politics has become an increasingly divisive subject, scholars at the Berkley Center have responded by offering expert commentary on key topics.

This year, Berkley Center Director Shaun Casey was quoted in an article in *Deseret News* criticizing the Trump administration’s “hypocrisy” in using international religious freedom rhetoric while enabling Islamophobia at home. Casey also co-authored an op-ed in *Religion News Service* titled “What every Democratic presidential candidate needs to know about religious voters” and was quoted in an article in the *Atlantic* discussing strategies of religious outreach for Democratic candidates. “The next president of the United States,” said Casey, “may well be the woman or man among the current Democratic cavalcade who figures out the best strategy for addressing the complexities of religion today.”

Beyond Casey, numerous Berkley Center scholars engaged in dialogue on domestic political issues. For example, Senior Research Fellow E.J. Dionne, Jr., regularly discusses faith and politics in his op-ed column for the *Washington Post*. This past year, he has written articles on Pete Buttigieg’s religious messaging, Ilhan Omar and anti-Semitism, and Republican-passed church taxation policies. Senior Fellow Rev. Drew Christiansen, S.J., argued in an *America online* Short Take that U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo’s new Commission on Unalienable Rights ignores the many meaningful ways in which our shared understandings of human rights have developed over the past two centuries.

FROM THE FORUM

PRIESTLY AND PROPHETIC CIVIL RELIGION IN CONFLICT

“What the controversy over the NFL national anthem protest reveals is a clash between priestly and prophetic expressions of the American civil religion. For the priests, the flag, national anthem, and nation they represent ought to venerated, and such veneration ought to take the official, one might say orthodox, form. (The United States Code describes the statutory conduct during the playing of the national anthem.) The prophets, by contrast, hope that their counter ritual calls attention to the failings of the nation to guarantee and protect the rights of all its citizens. Its very purpose is to provoke dis-ease among spectators and to inspire positive social change. Further, understanding these rituals in religious terms allows us to think of them not only in terms of free speech but also in those of religious freedom.”

*Jerome Copulsky*
The conference, “Religious Pluralism, Religious Freedom and Challenges for Democracy: Practicing Neighborliness in Ukraine and Beyond,” was hosted by Ukrainian Catholic University (UCU) and focused on the challenges facing democracy, the need to maintain interreligious pluralism, and the importance of broadcasting the values of religious freedom for all.

Ukraine provided an interesting context for these discussions. Unlike most other Western states, which have been home to one or two major religions and have undergone secular processes in the modern age, Ukraine has been built upon a platform of uneasy tolerance. The conference specifically discussed the changing religious landscape in Ukraine, especially given the recently obtained autocephalous status of the united Orthodox Church of Ukraine.

The discussion was split into two panels: one that focused on the historical and sociological narratives of religious pluralism in Ukraine, and a second that looked at the broader political implications of religious pluralism.


In addition to their participation in this conference on religious pluralism, Casey and Casanova led a workshop titled “Revitalizing the Public Square: Religion and Friendship” at a conference, also at UCU, on “Friendship in the Time of Facebook.”

Casanova gave an additional two lectures during the trip to UCU, one hosted by the Department of Sociology on “The New Orthodox Church of Ukraine and the Religious Situation,” and the other hosted by the Program on Economics, Politics, and Ethics on “The Jesuits and Early Modern Globalization.”

Finally, UCU Press published Casanova’s new collection of essays, Religion in the Contemporary World: Pluralism, Secularization, Globalization, in Ukrainian during the visit.

Center Faculty Visit Ukraine

Senior Fellow José Casanova has a longstanding relationship with members of the Ukrainian religious and scholarly community and has visited Ukraine with several members of the center over the years. In March 2019, he and Center Director Shaun Casey traveled to Ukraine to meet with local religious leaders and participate in a conference.
JOCELYNE CESARI
Senior Fellow

An expert on religion and politics, Jocelyne Cesari spoke at the European Academy of Religion (she was 2018-2019 president elect) and the International Studies Association, where she received an award for her book *What is Political Islam?* She published on religious nationalism in Israel and Turkey in *Religions* and on the concept of civilizations in the *Review of Faith & International Affairs*. She taught her annual government seminar on political violence in the name of God in the spring. Since 2018 Cesari has been the Dunphy Visiting Professor of Religion, Violence, and Peace building at the Harvard Divinity School.

REV. DREW CHRISTIANSEN, S.J.
Senior Fellow

Continuing decades of scholarship on the ethics of war and peacemaking, Rev. Drew Christiansen, S.J., spoke prominently at two institutions this year: once at the Museum of the Bible to discuss the Catholic perspective on the ethics of war, and once before the 20th International Conference of the Holy Land Ecumenical Foundation to decry President Donald Trump’s decision to move the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. Christiansen also published two articles in *America Magazine* and one in *La Civiltà Cattolica* and taught both the capstone course in the center’s Religion, Ethics, and World Affairs minor and a course on religious agitators, pastors, and organizers.

REV. DAVID HOLLENBACH, S.J.
Senior Fellow

As part of his ongoing work advancing human rights and spotlighting humanitarian issues, Rev. David Hollenbach, S.J., delivered the 2019 Devlin Lecture at St. Patrick’s College Maynooth, speaking on “Human Rights in Catholic Social Thought: A Living Tradition and Some Urgent Challenges Today.” Hollenbach has been a prominent figure advocating for the dignity and rights of forced migrants and refugees. In an event sponsored by Georgetown’s Initiative on Catholic Social Thought and Public Life and in an interview with *America* magazine, Hollenbach stressed that Americans have a responsibility to address forced migration and refugees, invoking the principles of Catholic social teaching.
The Berkley Center occasionally sponsors visiting researchers from outside of the United States to conduct their work in Washington, DC. During the 2018-2019 academic year, the center sponsored Rafael Escobedo, associate professor of modern history at the Universidad de Navarra in Spain, to research the attitudes of American Catholics towards Spain and Spanish Catholicism under the Franco regime. Escobedo’s research focused in particular on the way in which American Catholics responded to the Francoist suppression of religious freedom, a move that made the standing of Catholics in America more perilous by associating Catholicism with authoritarian illiberalism in the eyes of many Protestant Americans. On November 29, 2018, Escobedo shared his preliminary findings at a public lunch and published them on the Berkley Forum (excerpt below).

“... News from Spain broadcast in the United States fed the anti-Catholic discourse that questioned their loyalty to the Constitution. Reasonably, it could be argued that American Catholic endorsement of religious freedom and church-state separation was no more than a misleading maneuver, a useful strategy while they remained a minority, but that their ultimate goal, once enough powerful, was achieving a Catholic state like Spain. Moreover, unpleasant news from Spain could not come at a worse moment.

Besides the fact that the United States government seemed to have forgotten Franco’s friendship with Hitler and Mussolini and had approached him as a potential ally in the Cold War, the so-called Catholic question had again made headlines at home in the late 1940s and early 1950s. In 1947, the Supreme Court declared that public financing programs that benefitted parochial schools did not infringe upon the First Amendment (Everson v. Board of Education). Unsurprisingly, a heated controversy burst, propelling events such as the creation of the influential advocacy group Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State or making Paul Blanshard’s American Freedom and Catholic Power a real bestseller. The tide seemed to ebb during the mid-1950s, but it vigorously resurged when John F. Kennedy started his race for the White House.”
Each year, the Doyle Engaging Difference Program supports Doyle Seminars and an annual Doyle Symposium, which aim to strengthen Georgetown’s core commitment to tolerance and diversity and to enhance awareness of the challenges and opportunities of an era of increasing interconnectedness.

The program is a campus-wide collaboration between the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs and the Center for New Designs in Learning and Scholarship (CNDLS). It is made possible through the generosity of William J. Doyle (C’72), chairman of the Georgetown University Board of Directors.
During the 2018-2019 academic year, the Berkley Center supported a total of seven Doyle Seminars, upper-level classes that foster deepened student learning about diversity and difference through research and dialogue. Doyle seminars receive grant funding to promote engagement with differences through guest speakers, field trips, and other programming. Course topics for the past academic year included language and politics, policing in the contemporary world, Muslims in the West, and immigration and conflict.

This year’s Doyle Symposium, “An Introduction to Intergroup Dialogue,” was structured as an invitation-only practicum that offered training in the University of Michigan’s model for Intergroup Dialogue (IGD). The University of Michigan’s IGD model forms the basis for Georgetown’s own intergroup dialogue program, A Different Dialogue, which is housed in CNDLS and the Division of Student Affairs, and has worked for nine years to engage Georgetown students of all backgrounds in fostering, promoting, and maintaining diversity.

Over the course of four days, Charles Behling and Scott Hwang, experts in IGD at the University of Michigan, trained participants in structuring academic pedagogies that can effectively engage difference and permit students to learn from one another’s perspectives.

The first two days of the workshop involved 40 faculty and staff from across campus who represented the Center for Social Justice Research, Teaching and Service; the Office of Campus Ministry; the Center for Multicultural Equity and Access; the Red House; the School of Medicine; and the Departments of Linguistics, Psychology, and Biology, among others.

Throughout the workshop, exercises became increasingly immersive and personal, reflecting the IGD philosophy that productive dialogue occurs only once trust has been established. Participants were asked to talk about forms of personal privilege or disadvantages they face in the workplace because of their various social identities, a process which exposed commonalities and complexities related to the intersection of marginalized social identities, such as race and gender.

On days three and four, roughly half of the original group participated in more immersive training in which they were taught how to apply and use IGD techniques. Sessions throughout this course examined how to effectively navigate conflict, how to avoid IGD “malpractice,” and how to foster an environment in which all participants feel comfortable opening up about their personal experiences.

The Doyle Engaging Difference Program team is now thinking of ways to incorporate IGD or aspects of the pedagogy into curricular and co-curricular offerings across the university. Ester Sihite, director of A Different Dialogue at CNDLS, sees great promise in IGD techniques and the transformative power they hold for Georgetown students.

“Political psychology is inevitably influenced by the increasingly sharp divisions in the larger world. Through Doyle support I was able to place greater emphasis on both the psychological foundations of these divisions and constructive solutions to resolving them. Doyle support also enabled the students to achieve more integrated and better developed research projects, through the additional constructive and critical feedback they received on their reports. In essence, being part of the Doyle Seminars improved the standard of critical thinking and writing in the class.”

-Professor Fathali Moghaddam

**JUNIOR YEAR ABROAD NETWORK (JYAN)**

Through JYAN, which is also a part of the Doyle Engaging Difference Program, the Berkley Center encourages students to reflect on religion, culture, politics, and society in their host countries during their time abroad. In 2018-2019, students blogged from a variety of countries, including Chile, Ghana, Jordan, Malaysia, Sweden, and Thailand. They witnessed political elections and reflected on the role of secularism in modern states, the difficulties in dealing with gender and safety abroad, and the enduring memory of the Catholic Church in many European countries. Seventeen students participated in the program this year. Since JYAN’s inception, over 600 students have participated, writing from over 55 countries across six continents.
“The capstone seminar research portion of the REWA program allowed me to explore a particular interest in depth: the situation of religious minorities, specifically Christians, in the Middle East. While the themes of violence, persecution of religious minorities, and sectarianism had come up in the coursework for my international politics major, the research paper allowed me to take a more comprehensive look at the situation. Presenting my research helped me learn to distill my results and discuss their ramifications with a general audience.”

-Erica Lizza (SFS’19)
This year, the REWA capstone was taught by Katherine Marshall in fall 2018 and Rev. Drew Christiansen, S.J., in spring 2019. Marshall’s teaching covered a broad range of case studies, from the Arab Spring to immigration in Europe and the religious dimensions of the American “culture wars,” and focused on a disparate array of faith traditions, formal religious structures, denominations, and religiously affiliated organizations. Christiansen’s teaching emphasized the contemporary rise of xenophobia and “illiberal democracy” and the challenges these phenomena pose to faith-based advocacy. Students gained a broad knowledge of the role religion plays in contemporary international affairs and designed unique research projects examining the impact of specific religious organizations.
Expanding Academic Engagement

This year, the Berkley Center sought to engage students in the classroom through two new programs: a new course on Religion, Ethics, and International Affairs taught by Rev. David Hollenbach, S.J., in the fall and Shaun Casey in the spring, and a Religion, Culture, and Politics Workshop co-sponsored with the Graduate Program in Theology and Religious Studies.

Closely modelled off of the Religion, Ethics, and World Affairs capstone course, Religion, Ethics, and International Affairs was a Department of Theology and Religious Studies course satisfying the second theology core requirement. The course emphasized the growing role of religion in international diplomacy, with the fall semester drawing from a wide array of theorists and ethicists and the spring semester emphasizing Casey’s perspective and expertise as a scholar, diplomat, and policymaker. Over 60 students participated.

The Religion, Culture, and Politics Workshop brought together faculty, graduate students, and postdoctoral and affiliate fellows to present and discuss working research papers examining topics at the intersection of religion and contemporary social issues. This workshop met on a bi-monthly basis and provided graduate students the opportunity to learn about a wide array of contemporary issues as they relate to religious experience, such as religious rhetoric in comedy, reparations for African- and Asian-Americans, and the religious roots of colonial land claims.
As a continuing element of the Berkley Center’s partnership with the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, which began in fall 2017, the Berkley Center provided one Georgetown student with an international journalism travel grant for the summer of 2019. This grant supports a student to pursue a journalistic project that investigates the religious dimension of an international issue, bringing to light what is often overlooked, untold, or misunderstood. This year’s awardee was Kaitlyn Johnson (G’20).

Johnson is a student in the Master of Science in Foreign Service program, class of 2020, at Georgetown University. Her project as an international reporting fellow took her to the Republic of Georgia, where she examined the governmental, non-governmental, and religiously affiliated agencies working to resettle displaced people. A special focus of her research was on the role of Orthodox Christianity in resettling displaced persons. After returning to the United States, Johnson received assistance from Pulitzer Center staff to craft articles for high-profile news outlets based on her time in Georgia.

The Republic of Georgia, although a predominantly Christian country, is home to a number of religious minorities including the Yazidis, an ethnic group that has often faced persecution in the Middle East. Pulitzer International Reporting Fellow Kaitlyn Johnson (G’20) reflects on her experience attending a Yazidi religious festival, Tawafa Ezid, at the Yazidi temple in Tbilisi:

“The people wore outfits I would normally associate with Easter in the United States: girls in sundresses and summer heels, men usually in collared shirts and light-colored pants. The courtyard filled with hundreds of people, all huddling under umbrellas for shade. Unlike the crowds in Orthodox churches, which tend to be made up mostly of pensioners, the average age of the crowd was about 30. Everyone was cheerful, greeting friends and family as they arrived. A band played traditional music and, when they were cool enough to take a break from the shade, people line danced [...] The air was loud with laughter and song.

After about an hour of this, the more formal program began. Two young men in traditional dress climbed the cupola on top of the temple as every eye in the courtyard watched. When they hung a flag from the spire, the people below erupted in cheers and the band struck up anew. The program then focused on a microphone as religious leaders addressed the crowd [...] Though the community is small, the active participants are young, ensuring the continuation of the group in Tbilisi in years to come.”
Each summer, selected students travel abroad to conduct in-depth examinations of innovative educational initiatives, with a focus on the work of Jesuit secondary and postsecondary institutions.

During summer 2018, ESJ sponsored four students to conduct research. Grace Koehl (NHS'19) spent three weeks conducting research at Entreculturas in Madrid, Spain. Koehl interviewed employees of Entreculturas, a non-profit promoting the Jesuit education network Fe y Alegría, and examined how the organization advocates for Jesuit education in an increasingly secular, European society.

Brittany Fried (SFS'19) traveled to Zambia to study the Jesuit Center for Theological Reflection (JCTR), which advocates for economic policies that can help the situation of the poor. Fried visited a number of JCTR sites to conduct interviews, focus groups, and surveys examining how the organization understands its role as a Catholic education and advocacy center in a majority-Protestant country, and how it seeks to pursue political justice.

Mayeesha Galiba (C'19) conducted research in Rome, Italy, where she created a vertical case study to examine the Centre for Child Protection, a Catholic organization working to prevent the sexual assault and abuse of minors.

Erin Luck (SFS'19) traveled to Bogotá, Colombia, to study how the Jesuit identity of Javeriana University (La Pontificia Universidad de Javeriana) promotes reconciliation following the 2016 peace accords between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).
On the Forum

The Berkley Forum offers an online space for rigorous debate on critical issues of the day at the intersection of religion, law, ethics, and world affairs. Topics covered in 2018 and 2019 include:

HOW FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS CAN RESPOND TO CLIMATE CHANGE
August 2018

RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNAL TENSIONS IN INDIAN POLITICS
August 2018

RELIGIOUS LEADER ADVOCACY FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT
September 2018

FOOD AND FAITH: HOW CAN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS HELP END WORLD HUNGER?
October 2018

RELIGION AND GENDER IN HORROR FILMS
November 2018

BUILDING COALITIONS TO END CHILD MARRIAGE
November 2018

FAITH-BASED ADVOCACY FOR PRISON REFORM
January 2019

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH’S CONTRIBUTIONS TO MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE
February 2019

EDUCATION FOR MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES
March 2019

JUST WAR VS. RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT: THE ETHICS OF MILITARY INTERVENTION
April 2019

FAITH COMMUNITIES AND GENE EDITING
April 2019

Read these and more at: berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/forum.

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The Berkley Center and greater Georgetown community mourn the loss of scholar, colleague, and friend Gerard Mannion, who passed away unexpectedly on Saturday, September 21, 2019. Mannion was a senior research fellow at the Berkley Center and the Joseph and Winifred Amaturo Chair in Catholic Studies in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at Georgetown University. His work was dedicated to investigating the role of the church in the world and promoting ecumenical and interreligious dialogue.

Mannion came to Georgetown and the center in January 2014. Vice President for Global Engagement Thomas Banchoff, who at the time was the Berkley Center director, and Managing Director Michael Kessler were involved in the recruitment efforts.

Kessler recalls, “Upon first meeting Gerard, his energy and dedication to public scholarship was apparent. His work on a broad range of ethical and ecclesiological concerns increased our understanding of the Church’s changing role in the modern world. His Berkley Center colleagues mourn his loss.”

Mannion’s career was marked by his commitment to being a public scholar in every sense of the word. Much of his effort was put toward forming networks and communities of scholars in order to amplify their voices. In 2007, Mannion was instrumental in forming the Ecclesiological Investigations International Research Network (EI), a hub for international collaboration in ecclesiology. The network was founded upon the principle that the church must be inclusive if it is to be relevant and fulfill its mission, and it has supported a large number of conferences around the globe on a diverse range of themes.

At Georgetown, EI sponsored a three-day conference “Vatican II – Remembering the Future” in May 2015 that invited a diverse set of international scholars and religious leaders to explore the historical context and vision of the council, discuss the multiple new ways in which the Catholic Church engaged with the wider world through the council, and consider the role of the council in advancing interfaith dialogue and relations.

Banchoff, who introduced the conference, said of Mannion, “Gerard was a wonderful colleague and innovative theologian whose work creatively explored the historical import of the Second Vatican Council and its full contemporary implications. His death is a great loss for Georgetown, the academy, and the Church.”

Mannion served as a key organizer of the Vatican II meeting and opened the event with the observation that
what the EI events seek to do is to invite and encourage all participants to become as involved throughout the days we are together as fully as possible and not simply to speak about dialogue here but to genuinely engage one another in dialogue both during and beyond the gathering itself.

Mannion was himself deeply committed to honoring this call to engage beyond the confines of conferences and academic gatherings, appearing in a number of public media outlets, and often pushing the Catholic Church to face and critically address its problematic past. In 2015, Mannion appeared on NPR’s Diane Rehm Show to discuss badly needed reform efforts of the Vatican Bank. And after the Pennsylvania grand jury report documenting clerical sexual abuse was released in summer 2018, Mannion took to TIME Magazine to offer a blistering criticism of U.S. bishops and a call for accountability.

Department of Theology Chair and Berkley Center Senior Research Fellow William Werpehowski said of Mannion, “Gerard was a remarkably active and significant presence here in the department and in the university at large. He was also an astute and lively public theologian who wrote with clarity and insight.”

Mannion’s many scholarly pursuits and public engagements did not prevent him from following personal passions, and beginning four years ago, he found a way to bring the personal and professional together in the Global Irish Studies Initiative at Georgetown University.

An Irish citizen himself, Mannion teamed up with colleagues Irene Jillson and Cóilín Parsons to build off of Georgetown’s many current and historical Irish ties in order to form an ambitious initiative designed to pioneer new research and teaching efforts focused on Irish studies.

The initiative also serves to raise the profile of global Irish studies, including high-level events, such as “A Generation of Peace: Northern Ireland, Then and Now,” which focused on the legacy and durability of the Good Friday Agreement and included reflections from agreement negotiator George Mitchell.

Alongside Mannion’s many public outreach efforts were his attempts to build community and foster a collegial environment at the center. Associate Director for Programs and Outreach Claudia Winkler recalls fondly how personable Mannion was:

“I still remember the first time I got to know Gerard. It was the day of the center’s annual summer outing some years ago. When some staff members decided to continue their conversations at a local restaurant, other faculty members went home, but Gerard joined us, and that really struck me. He was a serious scholar, but he never took himself too seriously. He was always genuine and kind and was able to connect with people on an intellectual and a personal basis.”

Reflecting on Mannion’s passing and his role in the center, Berkley Center Director Shaun Caseys added, “We are deeply saddened and shocked by the news of the untimely death of our friend and beloved colleague Gerard Mannion. Gerard was a widely published, internationally renowned scholar who was a stalwart member of the Berkley Center faculty. We extend our condolences to his family, and we rejoice in his memory.”