

## The Rule of Law and The Right to Freedom of Thought Conscience and Religion

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Life-changing Learning

#### **Questions for consideration**

- Is FTCR co-dependent on adherence to the rule of law?
- Is the rule of law co-dependent on adherence to religious freedom?
- Can FTCR be considered as a universal good such that it ought to be included in constitutional frameworks regardless of the level of adherence to the rule of law in any given state

# The right to freedom of thought conscience and religion

Overview

International, regional and national human right Content

• The right

The content

 Types of constitutional structures incorporating forms of FTCR

### International, regional and national human right Content

## • The right: Art 18 ICCPR

- Art. 18 (1): "Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom [...] either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching."
- Art. 18(2) No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice Art. 18 (3): "Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others."

### FTCR in constitutional context: the paradox

 Religious and conscience-based groups formulate ethical frameworks around which adherents orientate their communal and individual lives These can require allegiance over and above obedience to state mandated norms • E.g. Individuals accept martyrdom rather than act contrary to their religious or conscience-based beliefs • Failure by the state to facilitate freedom leads to: Cognitive dissonance; disengagement with public life; ghettoization/isolation; (violent) opposition

#### The complexities of FTCR

A faith or belief group will adhere to its own 'rule of law' as a civil society organisation
The internal rules of the group may or may not mandate

engagement with the state and with public life: forms of Islam, forms of Christianity, Judaism in Israel
non-engagement: e.g Amish community/anabaptist
peaceful engagement/ non-peaceful engagement extremist/terrorist groups

 Government norms and faith or belief group norms need to co-exist in historical and political context of given nation state
 Worthwhile sophisticated and complex task

## Achieving peaceful plural living together

**Considered in my published works:** 

2018 Giles, Jessica 'Religious Freedom in Global Context'. Implicit Religion 21.3
Giles, Jessica (2018) 'Tradition as a Peacebuilding Tool' in Giles, Jessica; Pin, Andrea; Ravitch, Frank. Law, Religion and Tradition, Springer, Switzerland
Giles, Jessica (2020): 'A theological justification for freedom of religion and belief as a universal right' in Bunikowski, Dawid & Puppo, Alberto (eds) 'Why Religion? Towards a Critical Philosophy of Law, Peace and God' (Eds). Springer, Switzerland. The questions for consideration in this presentation

 Empirical evidence of co-dependence FTCR and R of L: neither guarantees the other they can be and often are, present together

 So why is FTCR important: consider what the public and individual good is that comes from FTCR and why a state should take the trouble and face the challenge of facilitating FTCR in public life

# The rule of law

Overview

#### The rule of law and FTCR

#### An analysis

 Formal conceptualization of the rule of law (Dicey, Raz): whether the process by which law is created and applied is appropriate

Substantive conceptualization of the rule of law incorporating internationally recognized fundamental rights: whether the content of the law is appropriate
 Provides ability to measure national state practice against international norms when measuring rule of law adherence

#### The rule of law

Issues arising from a substantive concept of r of I

- It is possible to measure rights adherence to some extent but
- It is unclear to what extent FTCR is incorporated in assessment – danger that other rights will be prioritized so that rule of law scores are high without adherence to FTCR
- Raz's analysis informative: see Craig 1997. A substantive approach involves political theory the incorporation of (Western) rights into national law. Is this human rights by the back door?
  Loveland's (2018) analysis: moral conceptualization
  Fuller and Dworkin: synthesis between formal and substantive: see Craig 1997

#### The rule of law

Issues arising from a substantive concept of r of I

If we take a substantive approach to RoL we should:

Articulate the political and moral implications of doing so, in particular, in relation to non-Western liberal democratic contexts
Prioritise FTCR as a societal and individual 'good'
Establish FTCR as a societal and individual 'good' absent high adherence to the RoL as a 'good' in and of itself

## The empirical evidence: RoL and FTCR

## Global measures: RoL, FTCR, Happiness

• World Justice Project rule of law index 2020

- 128 countries surveyed for adherence to RoL
- General population poll and Qualified Respondents Questionnaires
- RoL defined in accordance with outcomes in society:
- (1) accountability of government and private actors under law
- (2) just laws: clear, publicized and stable, evenly applied
- (3) open government: enactment and administration of law
- (4) accessible, impartial and just dispute resolution

 8 supporting factors constraints on government powers, absence of corruption, open government, fundamental rights (including the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion), order and security, regulatory enforcement, civil and criminal justice

Denmark measures highest with .9, Venezuela lowest with .27

## **Global surveys: RoL, FTCR, Happiness**

#### RoL comparison

 High income countries tend to score more highly on RoL index.
 Potentially application of RoL leads to economic stability and economic wellbeing

Pew Research Centre FR survey: global surveys of 1. social hositilities and 2. government hostilities towards religion
Not always a correlation between RoL and FTCR indexes

e.g. India and Indonesia: high level on Pew India 69/128 and Indonesia 59/128 on RoL

France: moderate to high on Pew

France: 20/128 on RoL (score .73)

 Therefore, above average ranking on RoL index no guarantee of FTCR. Need more than the application of the RoL to guarantee FTCR – need conscious articulation of FTCR as a public and private good Rule of law + happiness = some correlation
FTCR + happiness more complex
Countries where one predominant religion = tends to correlate with happiness

World Happiness Report 2021:
 Costa Rica (25 rule of law ranking), UAE (30 rule of law ranking), Guatemala (101 on rule of law ranking), Uruguay (22 rule of law ranking), Bahrain, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia (did not take part in the rule of law ranking), all rank 31 or above out of 149 countries surveyed on the happiness index.

## **World Happiness Index**

## Stats on Peru indicate a country can have positive FTCR results without positive RoL and happiness results

 Research Centres' 2018 report it scored in the top grouping with low social hostility towards religious freedom and low government restrictions on religious freedom. In the Rule of Law Index, however it ranked 80<sup>th</sup> out of 128 with an index score of .5 and in the 2021 World Happiness Report it scored 63/149. https://www.pewforum.org/essay/religious-restrictions-around-the-world/

#### FTCR no guarantee of RoL nor of happiness but

Careful with stats + snapshot in time
Also careful with considering outliers: several countries score highly on all three

## World happiness index

How is happiness measured? Life evaluations + positive/negative emotions 1000 responses per country, 3 years (covering pandemic) Globally positive emotions 3xs as frequent as negative Finland, Iceland, Switzerland and Netherlands of Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Afghanistan How does happiness relate to FTCR Avoiding cognitive dissonance – freedom to live in accordance with one's beliefs Telos of religion: realized and future eschatological hope Peace, joy, fulfilment, sacrifice, selflessness Self-control (of one's emotions)

## In summary

RoL and FTCR are not necessarily codependent but they can be •The presence of either or both does not guarantee a high score on the happiness index but some countries manage relatively high scores on each BUT the public and private good of religion not necessarily measured by 'happiness' •What is the 'good' that can be said to arise from FTCR



#### Individual and public good

## The good arising from FTCR

Individual and public good

 Religion or conscience orientated lives – adherence to a group and group (deity) mandated norms

 Human agency: the ability to determine one's own path by choosing to belong or not belong to civil society group which might or might not involve commitment of one's life to a deity

## The good arising from FTCR

## Individual and public good

Individual good

Public good

## Any questions?

Over to you



# Thank you for listening