This series aims to publish high quality works on the topic of the resurgence of political forms of religion in both national and international contexts. This trend has been especially noticeable in the post-Cold War era (that is, since the late 1980s). It has affected all the ‘world religions’ (including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism) in various parts of the world (such as the Americas, Europe, the Middle East and North Africa, South and Southeast Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa).

The series welcomes books that use a variety of approaches to the subject, drawing on scholarship from political science, international relations, security studies and contemporary history.

Books in the series explore these religions, regions and topics both within and beyond the conventional domain of ‘church-state’ relations to include the impact of religion on politics, conflict and development, including the late Samuel Huntington’s controversial—but influential—thesis about ‘clashing civilizations’.

In sum, the overall purpose of the book series is to provide a comprehensive survey of what is currently happening in relation to the interaction of religion and politics, both domestically and internationally, in relation to a variety of issues.


Religion at the United Nations
Value politics
Edited by Anne Stensvold

Religion and Soft Power in the South Caucasus
Edited by Ansgar Jödicke

The Religious Problem with Religious Freedom in North America
Perspectives on political theology
Contents

List of illustrations vii
Notes on contributors ix
Acknowledgements xiv

Religion and soft power in the South Caucasus: an introduction
ANSGAR JÖDICKE 1

Part I

The case of Georgia

1 Turkish soft power politics in Georgia: making sense of political and cultural implications
VAHRAM TER-MATEOSYAN 21

2 Common faith in scrutiny: Orthodoxy as soft power in Russia–Georgia relations
SALOME MINENASHVILI 42

3 Iran's soft power policy in Georgia
MARIAM GABEWA AND KOBA TURMANIDZE 60

Part II

The case of Azerbaijan

4 Iranian soft power in Azerbaijan: does religion matter?
ANAR VALIYEV 85

5 Examining Salafism in Azerbaijan: transnational connections and local context
KAMAL GASIMOV 105
Contents

6 Islam and Turkey's soft power in Azerbaijan: the Gülen movement
   FUAD ALIYEV

128

Part III
The case of Armenia

7 Religion as a factor in Kurdish identity discourse in
   Armenia and Turkey
   LIA EWOYAN AND TATEVIK MANUKYAN

149

8 Iran's soft power policy in Armenia: cultural diplomacy
   and religion
   TATEVIK MKRTCHYAN

170

Part IV
The EU–Russia framework

9 Face to face with conservative religious values: assessing
   the EU's normative impact in the South Caucasus
   EIKI BERG AND ALAR KILP

191

10 Russia as a counter-normative soft power: between ideology
   and policy
   ANDREY MAKARYCHEV AND ALEXANDRA YATSUK

215

Part V
Prospects

11 Prospects for thinking about soft power beyond Joseph Nye
   ANDREY MAKARYCHEV

237

Index

241

Illustrations

Figures

4.1 Countries considered unfriendly towards Azerbaijan
   93

4.2 Preferred country for work and habitation
   93

6.1 Different degrees of commitment and adhesion in the
   Gülen movement as presented by Joshua Hendrick
   134

9.1 How religious would you say you are?
   201

9.2 How much you trust: people of another religion
   202

9.3 Would not like to have as neighbours
   204

9.4 Do you support your country’s EU membership?
   206

Tables

1.1 Public opinion about Turks in Georgia
   32

3.1 Georgian–Iranian trade
   62

3.2 Sources of household income
   63

3.3 Primary activity or situation
   66

3.4 Household spending last month
   66

3.5 Current perceived economic rung
   67

3.6 How often do you attend religious services?
   67

3.7 How important is religion in your daily life?
   68

3.8 Respondent's religion
   68

3.9 What do you spend your free time on?
   68

3.10 With which of the following statements about religion do you
     agree most?
     69

3.11 Respondent's ability in languages
     69

3.12 Interest towards domestic policy of Georgia
     70

3.13 Government as parent vs. government as employee
     70

3.14 Attitudes to foreigners
     71

3.15 Acceptability of a family member marrying a representative
     of [religious group]
     72

3.16 What is cultural influence of … in your region?
     78

3.17 What is economic influence of … in your region?
     78
9 Face to face with conservative religious values

Assessing the EU's normative impact in the South Caucasus

Eiki Berg and Alar Kilp

Introduction

Since the early 2000s, the EU has evolved as a shaper of norms and a definer of what is "normal" in international politics. It became an exponent of a number of core norms, the most important of which were peace, democracy and human rights, and encouraged other countries to adopt this normative agenda for their own good. The idea of Normative Power Europe (Manners 2002) rests on the widely shared understanding that instead of exerting military power, which is not really an option, the EU may increase their leverage "softly" by imposing liberal democratic norms on the third countries interested in closer relations with the union. As this softer approach still includes conditionality clauses, financial inducements and persuasion, it diverges somewhat from what Joseph Nye (2004) has described as truly soft power, i.e. 'the ability to get others to want the same as you want, without coercion or payment', based on such commodities as cultural appeal, political values and legitimate policies (for more on that, see Nielsen 2016).

Be that as it may, the EU's normative power might win hearts and minds, or gain influence and effect change, especially when the attraction derived from the well-regulated single market and the prosperity which integration has brought to the participating states overshadows the coercive aspects. The EU can be normative and espouse soft power at the same time, given that the prospect of membership is appealing enough for the third countries to go through a reform process that would bring them in line with the prescribed norms. In practice, the EU has strengthened its soft power potential while keeping its doors relatively open. It has also wielded significant normative power in much of its extended neighbourhood—the agenda for cooperation under the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and Eastern Partnership (EaP) frameworks is defined, conditioned and assessed within the normative context imposed by the EU. There seems to be no contradiction between what the EU is (normative power), what it has (a sufficient level of appeal) and what it does (channel its power).