Proselytism and Conversion zeal

1. What is proselytism?
In this memorandum we list current developments and experiences regarding proselytism and conversion zeal. We then examine how Faith Based Organisations can best deal with this phenomenon.

The Dutch Van Dale dictionary defines proselytism as *(aggressive) conversion zeal*. Its purpose is to convince other people that your religion is better than theirs and that they can best convert to your religion in order to be saved, to amass wealth or to secure a good “life” after this life. Proselytism has to do with a lack of respect for the other as a person, with all his ideas and thoughts. An additional characteristic of proselytism is that it is pursued in an organised manner. Foreign groups are regularly involved, either directly (physically) or indirectly (via funding or lobbying).

The word *aggressive* in the definition indicates that proselytism is not about mild, respectful forms of conversion and that means of power are not shunned. In some instances one can even speak of conversion pressure. On the other hand, the word aggressive refers to a subjective experience. Rarely do people consider themselves as being pushy; *other people* experience them as such. So proselytism is also about being accused by others of recruiting members (making converts) in what is considered to be an aggressive manner. The accusation often originates from ‘rival’ religious or ideological traditions.

For example, Waseem Yaqub, at that time head of the British Office of Islamic Relief Worldwide, noticed a prejudice against the Islam. During a meeting of the Knowledge Centre for Religion and Development in 2004, he said: ‘If Islamic Relief focuses purely on Islamic groups it is reproached for working on an exclusive basis, whereas if it aims at other groups it is accused of evangelizing.’
A few years ago, Frans Wijsen and Fatimah Husein interviewed Islam and Christian students in Indonesia as to how they view da’wah and mission\(^1\). The Christian students noticed a similar prejudice against Christian relief work: when Christians provide help to the poor it is quickly distrusted due to fear of conversion objectives. It is important in this respect to understand that in Indonesia Christianity is strongly associated with the Dutch colonial rule and therefore evokes negative sentiments among parts of the population. That same distrust is also apparent in the following case, also from Indonesia\(^2\):

\begin{quote}
"Christian" medications?! \\
Immediately after the devastating tsunami that hit the Indonesian province of Aceh in December 2004 emergency aid was provided from all over the world. Christian organisations also travelled to Aceh, where 99% of the population are Muslims. Most of the people of Aceh did not mind at all that Christian organisations came to help, so long as the orphans and homeless were cared for in Aceh itself. The permission of the then president of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid, was also important for the population and local governments to accept Christian relief organisations. Still, there was a certain amount of distrust as was illustrated by an incident involving medicine boxes. An Australian relief organisation distributed antibiotics in white boxes bearing a black cross and the word Christchurch, indicating that the medication came from the Australian town of the same name. That caused quite a commotion! Was a Christian proselytic organisation aiming to poison the Muslims in Aceh? An Islamist movement tried to use the medicine boxes to fuel distrust of Western imperialism amongst the population. ICCO, working at that time as a Christian organisation in the disaster area, seized upon the incident to find out whether their partners and their supporters also suffered a similar distrust. Discussions with the partners quickly brought to light mutual acceptance and trust and the positive work relationships were confirmed and reinforced. \\
\end{quote}

How development organisations can try to prevent any semblance of proselytism will be discussed later.

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\(^2\) This case was reported verbally by an ICCO employee to an employee of the Knowledge Centre.
2. Religions that incite conversion
Conversion zeal occurs particularly in the Christian and Muslim faiths because people within these religions are distinctly called upon to propagate the message and convert others. The key message encouraging Christians to convert others is stated in the Bible, Mathew, chapter 28, verses 18 - 20. Catholics and Protestants usually refer to this as a mission. Muslims call it da’wah (invitation to the faith) or tabligh (make known); their inspiration can be found in the Koran, Surah An-Nahl (the Bees) chapter 16, verse 125.
Conversion movements can also be found within other religions, e.g. Hinduism. There are radical Hindu groups active in India, the aim of which is to have the entire Indian nation return to the Hindu faith. The Hindu Hare Krishna movement seeks followers around the world, albeit in a more peaceable manner.

3. Conversion pressure?
In a recently published article in Religie en Samenleving (Religion and Society), professor of sociology of religion Henk Tieleman and political scientist Ward Berenschot list belonging and believing as the two key aspects of religion. The former refers to belonging to a religious faction, whereas believing pertains to subscribing to certain religious opinions and views. The balance between the two can differ greatly; one situation can lay emphasis on belonging and the other on believing. Tieleman and Berenschot state in their article that “from the manner in which people from a sociological point of view ‘determine’ their ‘choice’ of religion or go along with schisms, secessions and other religious variations of ‘breaking down into smaller religious groups’, one is inclined to feel that the factor belonging is, as a rule, much more important than believing.”

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3 16 But the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain that Jesus had directed them. 17 And when they saw Him, they worshipped Him; but some doubted. 18 And Jesus came forward and said to them: ‘To me has been given all power in heaven and on earth. 19 Go and make disciples of all nations, and baptise them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, 20 teaching them to observe everything, that I have commanded you. And see, I am with you all the days until the end of time.’ (Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling (NBV/Revised Version), NBG publishers)

4 123 And now We have revealed to thee, saying, “Follow the way of Abraham who was ever inclined to God and was not of those who set up equals to Him.” 124 The punishment for profaning the Sabbath was imposed only on those who had differened about it, and thy Lord will surely judge between them on the day of Resurrection about that in which they differed. 125 Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and argue with them in a way that is best. Surely, thy Lord knows best who has strayed from His way; and He knows those who are rightly guided. 126 And if you desire to punish the oppressors, then punish them to the extent to which you have been wronged; but if you show patience, then, surely, that is best for those who are patient. 127 And endure thou with patience; and verily, thy patience is possible only with the help of Allah. And grieve not for them, nor feel distressed because of their plots. 128 Verily, Allah is with those who are righteous and those who do good.

One's religion is generally determined by the family and the community in which one grows up. This endorses the premise of Tieleman and Berenschot that belonging greatly influences one’s religious preference.

A change of religion can be prompted by two different considerations: Firstly, by purely contextual arguments about the religion, in which (elements of) the new religion is considered to be better or more agreeable than the original faith. The services are more appealing, the music or the gospel dovetail better with one’s personal perception. Tieleman and Berenschot call this believing. Power plays no part in this; it is a matter of changing religion of one’s own free will. However, balance of power does play a role in most other reasons for changing one’s religion; disparities in social, economic or political power are used for conversion activities.

In the case of social and economic factors, we speak about religious groups that offer economic and social support for converting purposes. For example by building churches and mosques, or by initiating social projects focused on education, health, or empowerment. Education is a tried and tested means to ‘promote’ a certain religion, whereby students are provided (mandatory or otherwise) a certain religious movement or vision in addition to the ‘regular’ curriculum.

The last reason for changing one’s religion is prompted by political power. Factors include such matters as the position of one’s faith within the whole range of religions, within society and the power base. What implications are connected to being associated with a certain religion? Will people accept your change of religion? Or will they tolerate your refusal to change your religion? This can induce people whose own religious tradition excludes them from high-level positions or political influence to opt for the dominant religion.

According to Tieleman and Berenschot, religious justification often goes hand in hand with stressing the differences between groups of people. A positive self-image is created and weighed against ‘the others’ who are non-believers or who are of a different faith. Especially in the context of shifting social relationships and unclear social hierarchies the need can arise to broadly emphasise the special identity of the group and sometimes even to confirm the dominance of the group by means of violence. Because religion is a social vehicle, it lends itself very well as a political instrument. And the fact that religions are rarely unambiguous in their teachings, they are most advantageous for rulers who can easily work their own message into them.

Although in this section we speak of a basis of inequality and the incidence of power factors, it need not always be considered to be a very negative thing. People can also choose a different religious movement for pragmatic reasons because it offers them
better opportunities to develop themselves. According to Wendy Tyndale\(^6\) it is quite common:

_De facto there are probably quite a lot of people everywhere in the world who join a church for what they can get from it, as well as for the spiritual enlightenment and strengthening it might give. [...] In Guatemala there are hundreds of women – if not thousands – who have joined Pentecostal churches in the hope that their husbands will join as well and give up drinking alcohol (although it in no way encourages alcohol consumption and denounces drunkenness, the Catholic Church does not prohibit drinking). This of course leads to ‘development’ in many dimensions including that of having more money to spend on the children’s education._

### 4. Inter- and Intrareligious dialogue

Some Christian churches and organisations acknowledge the negative role of power in conversion activities. It was already recognised during the first World Missionary Conference held in 1910 in Edinburgh that differences in power stood in the way between missionaries and local populations. This is still true one hundred years later.

This is a regular topic of discussion within the World Council of Churches as well. Jacques Matthey, director of the Missionary Department of the World Council of Churches says in this respect\(^7\): “As the means to share the message usually speak louder than the content of the message, the risk of counter-witness is enormous. In terms of power, the danger of proselytism lies in the pretension of one’s superiority in terms of belief, theology, ecclesiology, ethics, coupled with a denigration of other traditions and the use of political alliances to effect conversions, the offering of economic incentives for attracting people and manipulating fear through apocalyptic narratives of God’s judgement.”

Hans Ucko, programme secretary for the Inter-religious Relations and Dialogue Office of the World Council of Churches\(^8\), says the arrogance of those who believe they are entitled to convince others that they are right is a major problem. They place themselves above the other. An important point that Ucko presents in this respect is that religious movements usually stress the right to conversion, but that hardly any attention is paid to one’s right to keep one’s faith and one’s right to be protected against conversion zeal. In his article _The Right to Religious Conversion: Between Apostasy and Proselytization_\(^9\), Rashid Omar quotes Professor of Comparative Religion Arvind Sharma\(^10\), who states that even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights promotes proselytising groups because

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\(^6\) “Some thoughts on proselytism and development”, drawn up by Wendy Tyndale on request of the Knowledge Centre, 2009

\(^7\) The article "Mission and Power", by Jacques Matthey, written for EEMC Meeting in Utrecht, February 2010.

\(^8\) “Towards an ethical code of conduct for Religious Conversions” written by Hans Ucko, 2009


\(^10\) Sharma is Professor of comparative religion at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, and author of many publications relating to comparative religious studies, Hinduism and the role of women in religions.
(in Article 18) it stresses the right to freedom of religion, including the freedom to change one’s faith and to actively practice one’s faith. According to Sharma, the Declaration of Human Rights therefore gives us nothing to cling to in order to combat proselytism.

Inter-religious dialogue on conversion got a new impetus during the last few decades. In 1976 Muslim and Christian scholars met in Chambesy (Switzerland) where they discussed the mission and da’wah problem at length. Because although both Islam and Christianity are aimed at preaching the faith, many organisations realise that the battle to ‘make converts’ must be prevented and that one must strive towards peaceful collaboration.

Many conferences and consultations have been held on this issue since Chambesy, but little has changed in the practice of proselytism. A large number of organisations aimed at converting people in a disrespectful way continue to exist.

However, during the past few years the Christian and Islam faiths are considering clear conversion guidelines. A growing number of declarations have been made around the world, calling for mutual understanding and offering guiding principles for inter-religious dialogue and cooperation. Today, more than ten ethical codes of conduct and guiding principles have been published, an overview of which can be found on the last page of this document. Some examples of rules contained in these codes are:

As Muslims and Christians we call for mutual learning through opening up of mosques and churches to visitors from other communities and also to learning through engagement of people. This includes scholarly encounter and academic interaction. We need to get into the spirit of religions, as well as their outer clothing. We pledge ourselves to avoid generalisations about the other.

From: Conference of European Churches and Muslim Representatives, see [last pg.] no. 3

So let our differences not cause hatred and strife between us. Let us live with each other only in righteousness and good works. Let us respect each other, be fair, just and kind to one another and live in sincere peace, harmony and mutual goodwill.

From: A Common Word, see [last pg.] no. 12:

The most recent ethical guideline concerns “Ethical Guidelines for Christian and Muslim Witness in Britain”, drawn up in 2009 by the British Christian Muslim Forum organisation. This guideline states:

1) We bear witness to, and proclaim our faith not only through words but through our attitudes, actions and lifestyles.

2) We cannot convert people, only God can do that. In our language and methods we should recognise that people’s choice of faith is primarily a matter between themselves and God.
3) Sharing our faith should never be coercive; this is especially important when working with children, young people and vulnerable adults. Everyone should have the choice to accept or reject the message we proclaim and we will accept people’s choices without resentment.

4) Whilst we might care for people in need or who are facing personal crises, we should never manipulate these situations in order to gain a convert.

5) An invitation to convert should never be linked with financial, material or other inducements. It should be a decision of the heart and mind alone.

6) We will speak of our faith without demeaning or ridiculing the faiths of others.

7) We will speak clearly and honestly about our faith, even when that is uncomfortable or controversial.

8) We will be honest about our motivations for activities and we will inform people when events will include the sharing of faith.

9) Whilst recognising that either community will naturally rejoice with and support those who have chosen to join them, we will be sensitive to the loss that others may feel.

10) Whilst we may feel hurt when someone we know and love chooses to leave our faith, we will respect their decision and will not force them to stay or harass them afterwards.

5. Recent global developments

Rashid Omar sketches in his article two developments around conversion zeal that reinforce conflict:

A. Conflicts inspired by religion

There is a worldwide increase of religiously inspired conflicts. As an example, Omar mentions India, where the multitude of religions and the conversion zeal of national and international groups cause a lot of strife.

The Human Rights Watch Report that was published in 1999 discusses the situation of fundamental Hindus who actively convert Muslims, Christians and animists to their Hindu faith. Violence is not shunned. Their objective is to re-convert India to an entirely Hindu state. The ideology of the Hindu nationalists is called Hindutva. They are active on various fronts: The VHP organises the promotion of Hinduism, the Bajrang Dal (the youth organisation of the VHP) ensures Hindus are protected and the BJP political party is responsible for the political framework.11

Tieleman and Berenschot relate these conflicts to the major social upheavals that India has endured during the past few decades. “The liberalisation of the Indian economy, the continuous drift to the city and the system of reserving jobs and education for ‘underdeveloped castes’ have put social relationships under pressure and created new uncertainties due to major lifestyle changes.” This is affecting the privileges of India’s

11 Human Rights Watch report 1999: Politics by Other Means: Attacks Against Christians in India, pg. 4
higher castes. The militant Hinduism currently being propagated is drawing attention away from the contrasts between higher and lower castes and is thus undermining political mobilisation around caste disparities.

B. Participation in War on Terror
A major global development Omar mentions in his document is the participation of religious organisations in the ‘war on terror’ in Iraq and Afghanistan. In these mainly Islamic countries, missionary organisations arrived along with the American soldiers and proceeded to distribute Bibles and convert Muslims. As an example, during the Gulf War Samaritan Purse, led by Franklin Graham (son of Billy Graham who was close friends with most American Presidents), sent 30,000 Bibles along with the soldiers for them to distribute in Iraq and surroundings. And immediately after the invasion of Iraq they stood at the ready to carry out their ‘aid evangelism’.

Last January it was reported that rifles intended for combat in Afghanistan bore references to biblical texts: “The British soldiers fighting in Afghanistan will be equipped with long range rifles containing references to biblical texts. The British Ministry of Defence stated that one was not aware of the meaning of the code on the sophisticated ‘ACOGs’, optical long range rifles, when placing the order for 400 of these weapons with American company Trijcon. [....] Opponents of the war can interpret this as a holy war between Christians and Muslims. According to Trijcon’s managing director, code JN8:12 stated on the guns refers to a biblical text, chapter 8, verse 12 contained in the Gospel according to Saint John.”

Because these mainly Islamic countries like Iraq and Afghanistan associate Christianity with Western dominance and imperialism, such matters regularly exacerbate tensions between the Islamic and Christian faiths.
There are two other conflict boosting developments around conversion zeal I wish to mention here in addition to the two mentioned by Omar, namely:

C. Large number of conversion organisations
There are a great many organisations dedicated to converting others. A part of these operate in an open and respectful manner; others are aggressive in their efforts to persuade others to convert. Evangelical Christian organisations infamously work in this way. They are generally individual, unattached religious denominations of which many declare their own to be the only true persuasion.

An example of such a conversion organisation is the international Joshua Project. Their website www.joshuaproject.net contains a world map indicating which indigenous peoples have not yet been reached with the Christian gospel (the Unreached). The aim of the Joshua Project is stated as follows: “Joshua Project is a research initiative seeking to

12 www.raarmaarwaar.nl
highlight the ethnic people groups of the world with the least followers of Christ. [...] Jesus directly links His return to the fulfilment of the Great Commission. While no one knows the date or time of His return, we do know that this gospel of the kingdom must be preached to all the nations first. Revelation 5:9 and 7:9-10 show that there will be some from every tribe, tongue, nation and people before the Throne.“

Bible translators are another active group focusing on conversion. A group of Bible translators is sent to each newly discovered tribe to help them see their sins and convert them. New Tribes Mission, the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Wycliffe Bible translators are well-known examples.

D. International lobby movements
Besides converting others, some religious movements very actively spread their religious views, lobbying at top levels. A recent study entitled “Globalizing the Culture Wars. US Conservatives, African Churches and Homophobia” and carried out in 2009 by Political Research Associates (PRA), an American progressive think tank, shows the major influence of the American conservative Christian movement on the attitude towards homosexuals in Africa. A campaign pursued by conservative American Protestants actively persuades prominent African religious leaders to curtail the human rights of lesbians, homosexuals, bisexuals and transsexuals. The success of this campaign is expressed in the strong growth of (the already present) homophobia on the African continent, concretely resulting in increased violence against these people and the introduction of the death penalty for actively propagating deviant sexual proclivity. An anti-homosexual law has already been enforced in Burundi and is being discussed in Uganda, Rwanda, Kenya and Tanzania.

6. Western secular development concept
An interesting question is whether you can separate (externally) organised conversion activities from other external influences within a community. Is there any great difference between the establishment of a missionary movement in a local community and that of a development organisation or a foreign company? All instances involve external influences that can have implications for the social cohesion within a community, for the traditions, the culture, religion, etc. Wendy Tyndale states in her article that most development organisations also proselytise in their own way, by proclaiming their Western development concept to be the only true one:

Ironically, it seems to me that the clearest case of proselytism among aid agencies is from secular agencies, or even secular workers within faith-based aid agencies, whose message is often clearly one of giving technological or managerial concerns much higher priority than concerns that may be high on the agenda of faith-based communities, such as building a community and including everyone etc.. The very

use of the ‘logical framework’ form of evaluating projects implicitly relegates to a lower level of importance elements that cannot be measured, such as hope or happiness or the strengthening of individuals and their communities through the deepening of their spiritual life together. The demands of funding agencies can lead to faith-based groups ‘wasting’ less time on developing personal relationships or even on religious ceremonies or rituals and to embracing an approach that concentrates so much on effectiveness and results that the importance of the process – which is often the major strength of development work done by faith-based communities – becomes lost. This proselytism to a secular view of life is extremely widespread.

Tyndale has an important point here. Western organisations strongly promote the secular development model whereby religious and other elements (social, cultural) that are difficult to measure play hardly any role. That does not fit well with everyday reality in developing countries. By focusing on the result the value of the (common) process is lost.

7. Faith Based Organisations and proselytism

In most cases proselytism is denounced by Dutch development organisations. Still, Dutch faith-based organisations and their alliances in particular can come up against a grey area between supporting religious projects and religious partners on the one hand and proselytism on the other hand. Tyndale:

The agencies of the historical Protestant/Anglican churches (Christian Aid, ICCO etc.) and those of the Catholic Church all have the stated policy and, as far as I know, the consistent practice of supporting people of all faith traditions or none and of rejecting any form of proselytism. Nevertheless, certainly in the case of Christian Aid, they have felt a duty to prioritise their sister churches’ work, even if in strictly ‘developmental’ terms it might not be the most effective. Christian Aid would insist that these funds are not used for proselytism but I am sure there are many cases of the churches supporting their own flocks first. And that can be seen with the ‘links’ set up from church to church or diocese to diocese (e.g. the diocese of Oxford linked to an Anglican diocese in Tanzania). Among other elements, links involve money for development which, in the best of cases, will reach everyone in the neighbourhood, whether Anglican or not, but I know of the case of an Anglican diocese in southern India where Muslim women who came to join in with a sewing project had to listen to readings from the Bible.

Faith based organisations can easily be accused of proselytism – particularly within a multi-religious setting - if they opt to work only with partners of the same religious or ecclesiastical tradition. These accusations are based on the perceptions local people have of the character of the project or of the organisation. How can faith based organisations try to avoid these accusations? Trust and integrity are essential for development projects
to succeed. Depending on the context in which projects are undertaken – be it political, economic, social, cultural, religious or legal – there are three ways for FBOs to avoid any semblance of proselytism.

The first is to ignore their religious inspiration as best they can and at most mention it only as a source of inspiration for their activities. This is especially advisable in areas where religions do not co-exist peaceably and in regions where certain religions can evoke negative associations, often in conjunction with current or former control (such as colonial rule). An ICCO partner, for instance, operates in India, a country where – as already stated previously – many religious conflicts and (hyper) sensitivity occur. Although this organisation is inspired by religion, it deliberately does not propagate its Christian identity so as to prevent any accusation of proselytism.

The second way is to explicitly open the FBO’s activities for all members of the local community, and not only for the adherents of the same religion as the partner-organisation.

A third way to try to prevent FBOs from being accused of proselytism is to ensure total openness and transparency with respect to the intentions of the organisation and its activities. Actively propagating an ethical code of conduct can help these organisations communicate a clear message that their intentions are pure and that their activities are not for conversion purposes. Most ethical codes of conduct are centred on certain merits, such as mutual understanding, integrity and respect; however, to be effective, ethical codes of conduct must be actively incorporated into the organisational culture, for instance via the language that is spoken and the images that are used. The code must also be propagated outside the organisation so as to make it clear that the organisation’s intentions are pure and that it is not involved in proselytism.

Esther Dwarswaard
Knowledge Centre for Religion and Development
July 2010
Ethical codes of conduct and guidelines, as from 1993

**Christian-Muslim**
1. ‘Striving Together in Dialogue’ (WCC, Muslims and Christians, the Netherlands, 2000)
2. ‘Joint declaration on the freedom of religion and the right to conversion’, Islamic Council of Norway / Church of Norway Council on Ecumenical and International Relations 2007
   http://www.kirken.no/english/news.cfm?artid=149142
3. ‘Being a citizen of Europe and a person of faith’ Committee for Relations with Muslims in Europe / Conference of European Churches and Muslim representatives 2008
   http://www.cec-kek.org/pdf/FinalStmtChristianMuslimdialogue08EN.pdf
4. Ethical Guidelines for Christian and Muslim Witness in Britain / Christian Muslim Forum

**Inter Faith**
5. ‘Building Good Relations with People of Other Faiths and Beliefs’ (Inter Faith Network, IFN, 1993).
   http://www.interfaith.co.uk/publications/buildinggoodrelations.pdf

**Christian**
9. ‘Ecumenical considerations for dialogue and relations with people of other religions’ (WCC, 2004)
   http://www.oikoumene.org/?id=3445.

**Muslim**
12. ‘A Common Word’, 138 worldwide Muslim scholars of many traditions, 2007,