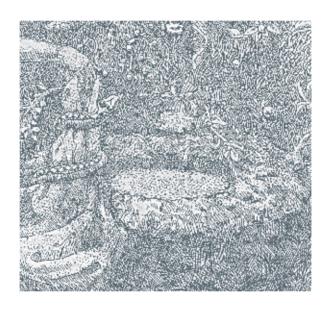# RELIGIJA IR MORALĖ

The Changing Borders of Tolerance and European Media Discourse

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The paper deals with the question of religious tolerance in contemporary Europe. The consensus of present-day mass media is that the return of religion has emerged today as the most important factor in global politics and culture. The controversial sense of today's religious tolerance is strongly linked to the process of deterritorialization. The increasing political presence of immigrants in contemporary Europe has generated debates on the nature of multicultural and multireligious society; the process of deterritorialization embodies the triad of identity, borders and orders. What the new spiritual borders divide are not territories, but the cultural domain of values in the same space. Values professed by different inhabitants of a unique territory become a powerful source of spiritual border's demarcation and disintegration. Debates in media reveal the spreading anti-Muslim state of public opinion, which is realized in terms of culture, politics and religion. The article discusses such problems as growing intolerance in the media and differentiation of its manifestation in Western and Eastern Europe.

Key words: deterritorialization, media, politics, religious pluralism, tolerance.

Introduction

This article deals with tolerance and acceptance of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity in contemporary Europe: its borders, scale and tendencies over the last ten years. In the process of European integration, the problem of "tolerance" becomes one of the more important challenges. Our aims are to investigate the new European dimension of borders between the tolerable and intolerable in the past decade and give an answer to the question: are the political and media discourses on tolerance and cultural as well as religious pluralism relevant to the implementation of actual policies? The ethnic, national and religious conflicts begin to be a real danger for European security and integration along with its processes.

In fact, contemporary Europe has four different models to describe a nature of the European political project: Christian, post-secular, laic and secular. Developing the idea of secularism and neutrality of a state towards religion, Lorenzo Zucca notes that "neutrality can never translate to equality, then the public

square as a space equally open and accessible to all citizens is also a theoretical (as well as practical) impossibility"[1].

Most of the European countries can be divided into two groups: the first one includes the Northern and Western European states, where challenges are closely related to the new religious and cultural minorities; they are mostly linked to the migration, as the result of globalization and post-colonialism. The second group comprises the Eastern European states which mostly have to deal with their own historically accommodated minorities and the new small minority groups as the result of geopolitical changes in the last twenty years.

Having analyzed diversity as a problem in contemporary Europe, researchers conclude that the challenges of ethnic/religious diversity in Europe have "come full circle". This "full circle" includes the attacks of 2004 in Madrid and those of 2005 in London, the Theo van Gogh's murder in 2004, the ban of the head scarf in 2004, coupled with the ban of the "burqa" in France in 2005, the Paris riots in 2005, the Danish cartoon incident in 2006, and several high-profile murders as well as the killing spree in Norway by Anders Behring Breivik in 2011.

In any case, tolerance can be defined as a policy of patient forbearance in the presence of something which is disapproved of or disliked. Tolerance is the recognition of necessity to provide opportunities for other people to be agents of their own ideas, faiths or behaviors. More importantly, the prin-

ciple of tolerance promotes understanding and appreciation of many values espoused by various religions. Traditional society can be characterized by its static nature, where information is transmitted via the influence of the traditional channels and religion acts for maintaining national moral values. In such a society, importation of new ideas is a weak process. In traditional societies, politics and legislation do not strongly influence the process of forming tolerance. More powerful and important are the influences of family tradition, historical stereotypes and individual experiences.

We always tend to exaggerate the uniqueness of our own historical era compared to those of others. Ricard Zapata-Barrero emphasizes that "nowadays debates related to borders are perhaps one of the most visible signs that we are experiencing a process of change"[2].The way in which concepts and categories are related to immigration policies has always to do with borders. The problem of borders is connected with immigration policies and the concepts of citizen and non-citizen, the wish to break down the "closed" borders of identity, with religion and the secular space, relation between religion and the public sphere, etc. Now the process of deterritorialization and the weakening of importance of territorial belonging are among principal tendencies in the European Union (EU). It is the possibility of going beyond the form of the nation. Europe in its actual phase of history is a new

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1 Zucca, L. Law and Religion in a Secular Europe. *World Financial Review*. May 20th, 2012. Available online: http://www.worldfinancialreview.com/?p=2175.

2 Zapata-Barrero R. Borders in Motion. Concept and Policy Nexus, *Refugee Survey Quarterly. Oxford Journals*, January, 2013, p. 1–23. Available online: http://dcpis.upf.edu/~ricard-zapata/~ricard-zapata/Refugee%20Survey%20Quarterly-2013hds021.pdf.

form of post-national construction in which borders begin to be a "transitional object" and an object of permanent transgression.

Definition of tolerance bears connection with borders: it means that somebody who crosses the border as such, at the same time crosses the border of religion, language, values, habits, rules and traditions. Crossing our own state's border we change our status from national or religious majority to minority and begin to be an object of tolerance from the side of another state majority. From David Delaney's point of view, today we begin to adapt the complex paradigm of the border, rather than a classic paradigm, in which land and people are the same. Over the last twenty years, space, place and territories have been understood as waves of territorialization and deterritorialization in an endless process.

European and American public discourses on Islam are closely linked to the debate on compatibility of Islam with the West and the deep differences within the opposition. The local national minorities and immigrants have been a source of cultural and religious differentiation. Religion as a part of minority's identity is a historically and contemporarily important facet of the cultures of people arriving in Europe.

Definition's Approach

"The question is, said Alice, whether you can make
words mean so many different things"
(Lewis Carroll)

Tolerance. The definition of tolerance can belong to several different contexts: phi-losophical, global political, geopolitical, moral, psychological and legislative. The practices of tolerance are distinguished in different countries and applied to various minority groups. From our point of view, tolerance as a concept and a practice, can be accommodated between intolerance and acceptance-respect positions. Empirically and normatively, we distinguish non-toleration, toleration, recognition and respect. For us it is important to clarify the relationship between tolerance and respect or recognition. Sometimes it does not correspond with a hierarchical position. Tolerance can sometimes be more appropriate for diversity claims requests of minority groups or individuals. In our context, tolerance is a more appropriate definition than respect or recognition. Jurgen Habermas defined tolerance as one of the very important "cognitive achievements of modernity" and put it in the same line with equality, individual freedom and freedom of thought.

Cultural and religious pluralism in the Western world has produced an existential situation where tolerance is necessary for an establishment of a community under the conditions of pluralism. On one hand, tolerance was a necessary product of this pluralism; on the other hand, the first was a condition for the development of the latter. The problem of tolerance has arisen in the Western civilization at the religious level, and religious tolerance has laid the foundation for all the other freedoms that are achieved in a free society. This definition and subject is studied in an interdisciplinary way: with regard to philosophical, religious, legal, psychological and political issues.

Religious pluralism. The term "religious pluralism" can refer to the diversity of religious movements within a particular geographical area, and the theory that there are more than one or more than two kinds of ultimate reality and/or truth. From Peter L. Berger's point of view, "modernity very likely, but not inevitably, leads to a pluralization of worldviews, values including religion". Pluralism and the multiplication of choices, the necessity to choose, don't have to lead to secular choices"[3].

The cultural and religious differentiation in Europe is connected with the situation, where the potential sources of immigrants are culturally distinct from the traditional European cultures, values and perception of democracy. When we try to define the borders of cultural and religious differentiation in Europe, we should find the key marks which create these borders. The EU societies share such values as non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity, responsibility, the right of critical view and gender equality. A new discovery for multinational societies was that modern European values are not universal for everybody. A field of disagreement in many European countries is the problem of borders of public demonstration of religious rituals, symbols and appearance, different understanding of religious tolerance/intolerance, gender non-equality. It has become evident that national identity in Europe tends to be based more on ethnicity or, sometimes, on religious affiliation, than on a set of civic values. In this situation the meaning and borders of tolerance begin to

change and start to be a "moving target". For example, in France, religious affiliation serves as a parallel category of the process of racial construction and helps to differentiate North Africans from the French population. At the same time, "media discourses use the category "Muslim" operates as a "neo-ethnic" rather than a religious category"[4].

Under the conditions of globalization and European integration, religious and cultural pluralism objectively becomes the most favorable ground for prosperity of global social, cultural and moral tendencies. In the changing historical circumstances, new representations of religious pluralism replace the previous ones. We distinguish some specific features and functions of the "new" religious pluralism which are engendered by the processes of globalization and consequences of multiculturalism. Under these conditions, they allocated with new characteristic features and forms of display: a national-ethnic character; the so-called new (in other words, historically not implanted), or statistically not significant in the past, religious minority; a new dominating model of mutual relations between a national ethnic and religious minority and a society of the majority.

It is impossible to analyze the new religious pluralism and problem of tolerance borders without contemporary European secular context. The secularization begins to be a background for European states legislation in the sphere of religion policy under the pressure created by modernity;

3   Berger, P. An interview with Peter L. Berger, *The Hedgehog Review*, 2006, n.8. P. 152–53.

4   Roy, O. *Holy Ignorance: When Culture and Religion Diverge*. London: Hurst, 2010.

at the same time, this process has pushed religion towards revitalization of its political relevance. As Zucca notes, "Secular law should be regarded as the tool to build a framework within which religious and non-religious people are able to live together"[5].

Tolerating the Diversity

"There never were in the world two opinions alike,
no more than two hairs or two grains;
the most universal quality is diversity"
(Michel de Montaigne)

Today Europe occupies a particular place in terms of the ongoing resurgence of the religious factor in politics. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart wrote that it is a result of the key present-day paradox, which includes two parallel processes. "The publics of virtually all advanced industrial societies have been moving toward more secular orientations but at the same time demographic trends show that poorer societies the world as a whole now has more people with traditional religious views than ever before – and they constitute a growing proportion of the world's population"[6]. This observation gives us a possibility to conclude that secularization and tendency to tolerance are not global and universal; instead, they are mostly typical of liberal democratic societies. The accommodation and toleration of religion-related cultural differences begin to constitute a very important challenge for the united Europe. Diversity as such is both a fact and a process, which will be more and more important in the future. Today the problem of limits and borders of tolerance is starting to be discussed*.

The European experience of the last decade has shown that the practice of the different kind of tolerance policy does not always give the expected result, and, consequently, tolerance has its own restrictions in a democratic society. Religious tolerance also becomes a conditional concept, as it is based on the assumption that all religions can coexist peacefully and that any pressure or tension can be resolved by democratic legislation.

Tolerance is a social, cultural and religious term applied to the collective and individual practice of giving allowance to those who may believe, behave or act in ways that one may not personally approve of. In Michael Walzer's view, "toleration" is not a universal and transcendent moral principle that should apply uniformly, but a process that has had discrete expressions at different times in history and in different political and cultural contexts (different political regimes). Those contexts may

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5   Zucca L. (ed).*A Secular Europe - Law and Religion in the European Constitutional Landscape.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Available online: http://ssrn.com/.

6   Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. P. 25.

*   Buruma I., Myers J. Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo Van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance. 2006. Available online: https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20061120/5409.html/_res/id=sa_File1/Murder_in_Amsterdam.pdf; *Crossing Religious Frontiers.* Oldmeadow H.(ed). World Wisdom, Inc. Bloomington, Indiana, 2010; Wendy Brown. *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire.*Princeton:Princeton University Press, 2009.

be represented by multinational empires, where pluralism has premodern and group-based character, national states, where the regime of tolerance is based on the rights of minority citizens and individuals, or immigrant societies that are built upon the rule to tolerate individual minority culture and, as a result, have formed a dual identity. "My stress is not on mutual respect but on peaceful coexistence. Start there. In today's world, it would be a huge gain. Then you can work towards higher levels of mutuality"[7]. In one of his interviews, he explains that tolerance is becoming a buzz-word, sometimes sounding like a polite way of accepting the unacceptable.

In the changing historical circumstances (globalization, migration process and consequences of multiculturalism), the new image of tolerance is replacing the previous ones. We have found some specific changes of object, features, functions, borders and image of the 21st century tolerance. The new image of tolerance is partly codified in norms, institutional arrangements, public policies and social practices.

The philosophical postmodern discourse has created a new definition – marginal tolerance. Everything becomes marginal, including tolerance, which turns to being mobile and playful. The legitimacy of distinctions means legitimacy of various tolerance images. Deconstruction dismantles the traditional tolerance. The desacralization of "authorized" tolerance amounts to secondary sacralization of other kinds of tolerance, which are not attempted to be

understood, instead, mere coexistance with them comes to the fore. Wendy Brown has emphasized such tolerance's feature as investment in managing rather than resolving conflict. "Tolerance as a political practice is always conferred by the dominant; it is always a certain expression of domination even as it offers protection or incorporation to the less powerful"[8]. She adds that such features as divergence and marginality are also typical of tolerance. For Brown, "almost all objects of tolerance are marked as deviant, marginal, or undesirable"[9]. Toleration does not mean affirmation or acceptance of something; it only conditionally, situationally and temporarily allows that what is unwanted or deviant.

Deconstruction is a way to expand the tolerant attitude on the higher level: from acceptance on the higher level to expansion of the otherness phenomenon. There is a local situational tolerance, which has exclusive character, and is based not on mutual understanding and consensus, but on the primary and unconditional consent of the sides. The postmodern discourse has created the image of "idle" society, in which marginalization is a result of free choice. A person as a subject of tolerance is capable of creating and destroying something and creating it again without internal pressure. It occurs only in the case when a person is capable of changing his or her own identity, instead of simply coexisting with various types of otherness. Tolerance in the given context is equal to person's sensibility, thinking and

7   Walzer, M. *On Toleration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997. P. 27.

8   Brown W. *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. P. 178.

9   Ibid. P. 14.

activity on a wide range. His extreme pole becomes transition (most often, temporarily) into the world of Other's: into his or her belief, way of life, styles of behavior, clothes, rituals. Changing of the religious and cultural paradigms has become a characteristic feature of our epoch. The problems of tolerance borders and limits simply do not exist in the postmodern context. Each type of eventual tolerances is distinguished by its own truths, values and criteria. However, it does not mean that traditional tolerance and pluralism disappear; they continue to exist as institutional forms of interaction.

The national, ethnic and religious tolerance in East-Central Europe has acquired specific forms and partly destroyed the standard European stereotypes about prerequisites, conditions, and forms of tolerance. In order to picture this tendency, we have looked into specificity of tolerance present in ethnic and religious structure of two neighbouring states in East-Central Europe: Lithuania and Poland.

Among the Baltic States, Lithuania has the most homogeneous population. According to the census conducted in 2011, Lithuanians make up 84.24% of the population. What concerns the religious structure, Roman Catholics dominate at the rate of 77.2%**. According to the 2002 census carried out in Poland, 96.74% of the population consider themselves Polish, while 1.23% declared another nationality, and 2.03% did not declare any nationality. Around 97% of the Poland population are Poles, and among the EU countries Poland is one of the most homogeneous state. In regard with tolerance, the religious structure of these countries is important to us. Catholicism is the major religion of Poland, and most Christians in Poland are Roman Catholics: 89.8%***.

Historically, in the East-Central European countries tolerance was mostly a concept that meant nothing more than reconciliation with the need to have someone who is a bearer of a different ethnic, religious group, ideas, beliefs and behavior. It does not include such elements as acceptance, openness and complementarity. In East-Central Europe, tolerance is not only policy or legislation but also an emotional state of a person. It forms under the influence of social processes, as well as through individual experience. East-Central Europe is the space of a special kind of tolerance. Czesław Miłosz said: "I feel great affinity with Singer (Isaac Bashevis) because we both come from religious backgrounds, I from Roman Catholicism and he from Judaism. Constantly, we deal with similar metaphysical problems"[10].

** http://www.truelithuania.com/topics/culture-of-lithuania/ethnicities-of-lithuania, Religion in Lithuaniahttp://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Lithuania, Gyventojai pagal tautybę, gimtąją kalbą ir tikybą. Lietuvos Respublikos 2011 metų visuotinio gyventojų ir būstų surašymo rezultatai. http://web.stat.gov.lt/uploads/docs/gyv_kalba_tikyba.pdf?PHPSESSID=3e5d5ded04f384c083b1eb354dcb3497%3Fa5efdb60

*** Wyniki Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego Ludności i Mieszkań 2011, Opracowanie przygotowane na Kongres Demograficzny w dniach 22-23 marca 2012 r. P. 18; http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ko%C5%9Bcio%C5%82y_i_zwi%C4%85zki_wyznaniowe_w_Polsce
Rocznik statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. 2012. Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny.

10 Miłosz, Cz. and Gardels, N. *An Interview with Czeslaw Miłosz*. 1985. Available online: http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1986/feb/27/an-interview-with-czeslaw-milosz/?pagination=false.

The East-Central European borderland, which represents a concentration and crossing of several ethnic, cultural and religious borders in rather small territory, represents an area of permanent simultaneous involvement in neighbors' cultures, knowledge of several neighbors' languages, openness to cultural diversity, perception of otherness as a norm of daily life, featuring a level of tolerance which is higher than in another territory.

The Western European religious tolerance and religious pluralism create a new situation, in which dedifferentiation has taken place in the secular-sacred boundary: the religious has become less obviously religious, the secular has become less obviously secular. This mixed, eclectic worldview is impossible for an Eastern European community, for which religious exclusives, traditionalism and ethnicism are an important part of being and self-identification.

Poland, just like Lithuania, was a traditional "migrant sending" country for a few generations since the early 1980s of the 20th century . Presence of foreigners constitutes a new challenge and a complex dilemma for policy and attitudes towards immigration. In these countries, the estimated number of immigrants constitutes less than one percent of the total population. The percentage of permanent immigrants is still low, and immigrant's legal status is relatively difficult to achieve.

Lithuanians and Poles eagerly accept "strangeness" and "otherness", provided that it is practiced in the private sphere or as an exotic custom. They imply activities that do not interfere with their image of the world and do not jeopardize the idea of a homogenous community and a sense of security based on cultural familiarity. Michał Buchowski and Katarzyna Chlewińska emphasize that "The discourse on tolerance in a modern sense of the word is relatively recent in Poland. As such, it is absent in mainstream education, and seen as redundant from the point of view of the majority"[11]. All the discussions about tolerance in contemporary Poland seem to revolve around the issue of who is the real host and who is the tolerated minority or migrant in the country of the Polish nation.

Religious Tolerance and Media

"Churches bring the "good news",
the press bears the bad news"
                    (John Dart and Jimmi Allen).

The end of the 20th century exposes "new media" explosion and influence on human communication. On one hand, there is the "new media" explosion (internet, film, television), on the other hand, the "return of the religious" takes place on a global scale. The study of media and religion gives us a possibility to explain the role of each in the public sphere. According to Hent de Vries, it is possible "because both religion and the media connect cultural identity and personal identity, they each produce and highlight cultural difference, which is the condition for the political or public sphere"[12].

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11 Buchowski M. and Chlewińska, K. Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Poland. *2010/09, Overview National Discourses Background Country Report*. P. 3–4. Available from Internet: http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/19782.

12 De Vries, H. In Media Res: Global Religion, Public Spheres, and the Task of Contemporary Religious Studies. De Vries, H., Weber S. (eds.). Religion and Media. Stanford: Stanford University Press,2001. P. 19–20.

The other side of the connection between media and religion is given by Jacques Derrida in his essay "Above All, No Journalists!" where he linked the power of the modern Western visuality to necessity to believe. His idea that "there is no need any more to believe, one can see" began to be the road for a more deep analysis of this kind of relations. For him, all plurality of the world is represented in a form "permanently inhabited by the miracle"[13].

The deterritorialization dynamics is the changes of places functions (what Michel Foucault called "Heterotopy") and begins to be an important subject of boundary study. Informational territory creates new heterotopias, which open process for redefinition of social, cultural and communication practices. There is not the end of a concrete place and its territory, but rather a new meaning, senses and functions open up for these spaces. This new form of territorialization can be compared with the influential religious concept of "mediatisation". Religious mediatisation means a process through which the media have taken over many of the cultural and social functions. The arguments that the mediatisation of religion, visibility and presence of religion in the public discourse exists and is developing in Great Britain are confirmed by a huge increase in references to different religions. References to Islam increased almost ten-fold across through, references to atheism/secularism increased nine-fold; references to Hinduism increased seven-fold, references to Sikhism increased five-fold; and those to Judaism and Christianity increased only 5–10%. No categories of religion showed a decrease[14].

The informational territory begins to be a space for religious, racial, ethnic tolerance/intolerance manifestations. Oliver Roy notes that "demands that subjects share the religion of the sovereign (*cuius regio eius religio*) has either disappeared or has become devoid of meaning as a result of the development of virtual spaces"[15].

We have found three main points on how mediatization changes the presentation of religion: media have become an important source of information about religion in general; media has dealt with "banal religion" which is a mix of religious narratives, symbols and references forming a pseudo-religious universe in popular culture, which is the most mediatized form of religion; media has taken some functions from religious institutions and awarded them with secular and post-secular sense (rituals, holiday, days of mourning).

The processes the interaction of media and religious institutions are realized in several ways: religious media is managed and controlled by religious organizations; relations between media and religious organizations and actors have a less linear character (religious events are not only news about religion but have social, moral, political and cultural aspects); religious media actors rarely speak and use a narrow religious language, the subject and context are wider.

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13 Derrida, J. Above All, No Journalists! in de Vries, H., Weber S. (Eds.). *Religion and Media.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. P. 63.

14 Ward, G. and Hoelzl M. *The New Visibility of Religion: Studies in Religion andCultural Hermeneutics.* London and New York: Continuum, 2008.

15 Roy, O., *Holy Ignorance: When Culture and Religion Diverge.* London: Hurst, 2010. P. 160.

Over the last decade, the content, intonation and forms of religious news in mass media has dramatically changed. Now the religious news is mostly "bad news" (confrontation between different faiths, conflict and violence). Religious news are closely linked to such issues as abortion, end-of-life questions, stem cell research, same-sex marriage and children adaptation in such families. Eugenia Siapera stresses that media are not only a different kind of technologies which function by disseminating images and discourse of religious differences. "Cultural diversity in this particular historical juncture must be seen as mediated, that is, traversing processes of the production, circulation, representation, and reception/consumption of meaning"[16].

Patrick Eisenlohr recommends to distinguish works on media practices in situations of religious diversity on three approaches: the media politics of diversity, religious diversity and the public sphere, and the diversity of religious mediations. The first approach focuses on the control of representations of religious diversity and differences, the second one looks at the interaction of religious differences and the public circulation of discourse and images. The third approach builds a bridge between media and religious practices and analyzes the consequences of their interaction for political and sociocultural life.

All three of the approaches take us back to the dialogic deliberation in Habermas' conception of the public sphere. Habermas' theory of the secular public sphere

takes us back to the question of borders of the public sphere that is divided from the private. If the principle of tolerance is to be above any suspicion of oppressive features, then compelling reasons must be found for the definition of what can be tolerated and what cannot, the reasons that all sides can equally accept. This conclusion is very important for understanding the media politics according to different religious and secular diversities. Society expects from religious citizens and communities not only a superficial attachment to constitutional order but also secular legitimation of constitutional principles while remaining faithful to their convictions. In turn, religious citizens and communities expect that secular law, society and secular mentality of citizens will be acceptable and comfortable for everybody. The case of the infamous cartoons of the Muhammad published by the Danish newspaper in 2005 is an example of media representation connected to normative models of religion which was a key issue in conflict along religious lines. This and other kinds of media practices that give example of religious intolerance have become a reason for the mobilization of European (and not only European) Muslim religious diasporas.

The subject of religious tolerance becomes wider. It starts to include not only such problems as the borders of public demonstration of religious rituals, symbols and religious appearance, but a whole new understanding of religious tolerance/intolerance, gender non-equality, same-sex marriage, new reproductive technologies, bioethics problems at all. Cynthia B. Cohen stresses that trying "to eliminate comprehensive religious views of human good from

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16   Siapera, E. 2010. *Cultural Diversity and Global Media: The Mediation of Difference.* Malden, MA/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. P. 75.

the creation of public policy is not only to misunderstand the degree to which religious belief permeates secular thought, but also unfairly and unwisely to exclude religious views from public discussion in pluralistic democratic societies"[17]. At a time when tensions are rising between religious minorities, particularly between the Islamic groups and the prevailing secular or Christian elements, some researchers offer a new vision of these tensions and new ways to soften it. In her book "The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age" Martha Nussbaum offers a well-timed exhortation to overcome the hypocrisy and fear which are a source of political and social persecution and cultural ignorance. The Nussbaum's book offers a psychological explanation to understanding the origins of fear in both others and ourselves. Examined from psychological, biological and cultural perspectives, fear is a necessary but "dangerously fast acting", "deep seated" and influential factor of rational worldviews. "Fear can produce unreliable and unpredictable conduct, and it can be exploited by politicians eager to whip up aggression against unpopular groups"[18]. Nelson Mandela saw that "we recognize that they persist in the new century and that their persistence is rooted in fear: fear of what is different, fear of the other, fear of the loss of personal security. And while we recognize that human fear is in itself ineradicable, we maintain that its consequences are not ineradicable"[19].

Religions should always be mediated. It is no longer possible to have a "private conversation" on religious matters, it transcends vast geographic spaces today. All contemporary religious events or events having religious aspects take place in the context of media. Today, religious institutions appropriate interactive forms of media generating new religious deliberative spaces and demolishing the old boundaries in the process.

Conclusions

The aim of this article was to make three main points. The first point was about the return of religion which has emerged as the most important factor in global politics and culture today. The second point dealt with globalization and the situation of religious pluralism, which generate not only integration processes, but also results to division of the world into poles of a mutual distrust, intolerance and open conflict. The problem of religious tolerance is actualized as reaction on different acts of religious grounded violence. The third point was about mediatisation of religion as a process through which the media take over many functions of institutionalized religions and provide spiritual guidance and moral orientation. At the same time, it is necessary to describe that today most of religions are deterritorialized, detached from the old civilizational settings and moved to new territories. Mediatisation has taken place in the informational territo-

17 Cohen, C. B. Religious Belief, Politics, and Public Bioethics: a challenge to political liberalism. *Second Opinion*. 6, 2001.P. 37. Available online: http://www.parkridgecenter.org/Page509.html

18 Nussbaum, M. C. *The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age.* Cambridge: The Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, 2012. P. 20.

19 Mandela, N. *World Conference against Racism in Durban.* 2001. Available online: http://www.angelfire.com/journal/brooke2000/mmsept2001.html

ry, which is not a territory in the common sense; it is a source of communication and information that reaches through borders of states. The informational territory is a space of religious, racial, ethnic tolerance/intolerance manifestations. In the situations of religious diversity media practices can be possibly divided on three approaches: the media policy of diversity, religious diversity in the public sphere, and the diversity of religious mediations. Mass media are concentrated on such subjects as religious diversity and difference, interaction of religious differences and public circulation of discourse and images. All of them in different ways analyze the consequences of religious diversity for the political and sociocultural life. The present-day religious tolerance has controversial character that is reflected in mass media.

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