Università degli Studi di Padova

University Human Rights Centre “Antonio Papisca”

Ph.D. COURSE IN: Human Rights, Society, and Multi-level Governance
SERIES: 31°

RELIGION, DIASPORA, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
A Case Study on the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

Coordinator: Prof. Giuseppe Giordan
Supervisor: Prof. Giuseppe Giordan
Co-Supervisor: Prof. Siniša Zrinščak
Co-Supervisor: Prof. Constantin Preda

Ph.D. student: Marco Guglielmi

Table of Contents

Introduction 7

1. Religion, Diaspora, and Human Rights: A Theoretical Frame 13

Introduction 13

1.1 Religions and Human Rights: a Sociological Perspective 15

1.2 Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights: Social Scientific Studies 21

1.3 Diaspora from the Orthodox Perspective 27

1.4 Glocalization, Religion, and Diaspora 34

1.5 Research Design and Research Questions 40

1.6 Method 47

Conclusion 51

2. The Orthodox Christian Panorama and the Settlement of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 55

Introduction 55

2.1 The Italian Religious Diversity 57

2.2 A Historical Perspective of Orthodox Christianity in Italy 62

2.3 Mapping Orthodox Jurisdictions and Parishes 68

2.4 An Overview of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 78

2.5 Places of Worship of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 86

2.6 Clerics in the Diaspora of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 94

Conclusion: Reframing Orthodox Liturgy 100

3. A Diaspora Religion between an Eastern Tradition and a Western country 105

Introduction 105

3.1 Religious Activity of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 107

3.2 Social Activity of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 119

3.3 Missions of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 130

3.4 Glocal and Transnational Ties of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy 135

3.5 From the Romanian Patriarchate to its Italian Diaspora: Church-State Relations, Europe, and Ecumenism 141

Conclusion: Reframing Social Activity and Social Teaching in Orthodoxy 151

4. Orthodox Christianity, Modernity, and Human Rights 157

Introduction 157

4.1 The Question of Modernity: Eastern and Western Perspectives 159

4.2 Human Rights in an Orthodox Christian Perspective 166

4.3 Human Rights in the Romanian Orthodox Perspective 173

4.4 The Globalization and/of Religion: New Challenges for Orthodoxy and Human Rights 180

Conclusion: An Assessment 186

5. Researching Human Rights Issues in the Romanian Orthodox Diaspora in Italy 193

Introduction 193

5.1 Research on the Orthodox Diaspora in a Social Scientific Gender Perspective 195

5.2 Case Study: the Romanian Orthodox Parish of Padua 202

5.3 Gender Issues 204

5.3.1 The Romanian Orthodox Perspective Towards Family and Gender Order 204

5.3.2 Framing Gender Order in the Romanian Orthodox Transnational Families 209

5.3.3 The Empowerment of Women in Romanian Orthodoxy 216

5.4 Rights to Life 223

5.5 Religious Pluralism 229

Conclusion: Rethinking Human Rights in the Orthodox Diaspora? 235

Conclusions 239

Note 255

Acknowledgments 257

References 259

Introduction

On the night of 30 April 2016 there were at least a thousand faithful in the Romanian Orthodox parish in Padua. When I arrived there by car I found a column of automobiles and with some difficulty I eventually found a parking space, even though the church is located near the industrial area of the city. In less than no time I found myself 'catapulted' into an Orthodox parish in Romania during the Easter celebrations... A week later I discovered that on the same evening in the province of Padua four other Romanian Orthodox communities had celebrated the liturgy, and at the one I had attended only the faithful who live near the city centre were present.

This moment occurred about six months after I had begun my doctoral studies and represented my first ethnographic observation in the field, corresponding to an important moment in the life of the Romanian Orthodox community. Certain trajectories that had already emerged in sociological literature, such as the mission of a church in diaspora and the indissoluble bond in Orthodox Christianity between national identity and religious identity, soon appeared quite evident and were emphasized during this impressive event. However, other issues appeared evident, such as socio-cultural changes in the younger generations. On that evening when the four Romanian children whom I met communicated with their parents and other adults, they spoke only in Italian.

I was also reminded of the profound relationship that has been established between the Romanian diaspora and Italian society during my first visit to Romania. Hearing my accent, the taxi driver who accompanied me from the airport to the centre of Bucharest spoke to me in Italian and told me that before doing this job he had managed a bar in the city of Como for a few years, but then the economic crisis had brought him back to his homeland.

This sociological research investigates the socio-cultural trajectories of a national group whose life has been marked by an important migratory phenomenon and which, for linguistic and cultural reasons, has found in the Italian peninsula a 'special' host country. However, as will be noted in this research, the phenomenon of the diaspora in

Italy, representing the largest Romanian diaspora in the world, is also favoured by religious aspects and, that is, by certain specific features of Romanian Orthodoxy and some stances of Italian Catholicism.

Dumitru Stăniloae is probably the best known theologian in the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church, with respect to which this church has constructed a part of its identity and doctrine. In his doctoral thesis on Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem (1641-1707), Stăniloae presents Romania "as a meeting place between the Greek and Slav worlds and a guardian of the Byzantine heritage, while emphasizing this country's special position within the world Christian landscape as the only predominantly Orthodox country with a Latin-based language" (Turcescu 2002b: 7). This definition, which Stăniloae further developed in his academic career, seems to be an initial socio-cultural and religious label suitable for establishing a main descriptive framework for Romanian Orthodoxy. According to this vision, which I will elaborate in the research, the Latin character of Romanian Orthodoxy appears to favour certain attitudes towards the modern world that have an influence in the settlement of its diaspora in Italy. In particular, this specific aspect seems to have effects in the engagement of this diaspora religion with the socio-cultural and religious context in Italy, and in the paths of conservation of the religious heritage of the country of origin in this new host environment. This Latin character of the Romanian people, subject to not just a few forms of criticism on account of its alleged 'fragility' on the part of its 'detractors', is used (and claimed) in such a direct and evident manner by the Romanian Orthodox Church, even to the extent of defining the aesthetic for the head of the church (and thereby influencing the identity of the same). Since the Metropolis of Romania, recognized in 1885, was raised to the rank of a Patriarchate in 1925 the Romanian patriarchs have been wearing a white garment in the religious context. Unlike other patriarchs of the Orthodox Christian Communion who wear only black vestments, they use the same colour used by the Pope in Rome in the name of a Romanian religious history founded in Latinity.

Our research focuses on the Orthodox Christian diasporas in Italy viewed as a 'Western Orthodox laboratory'. In fact, in this scenario some patterns of the settlement of Orthodox Christianity in Western Europe and some responses of this group to certain phenomena of modernity may be identified. Examining the case of Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy, I offer a historical and sociological overview of all the Orthodox jurisdictions in

the Italian peninsula, including those that are non-Calcedonian and non-canonical and adopting an 'extended' view of the concept of Eastern Orthodoxy. This perspective makes it possible to establish a more explorative overview of the processes of religious diversification and pluralization of Christianity in Italy, where the studies are conducted.

This research primarily focuses on two points, which I consider to be interrelated and present a form of continuity, and are integral elements of the same issue of the relationship existing between religion and modernity. The first point concerns the establishment of the Orthodox Christian diasporas in Italy, with respect to which we investigate patterns of settlement in the host context and socio-cultural and religious changes. I focus on the path of the settlement of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italian society and its interaction with the Catholic Church (chapters 2 and 3). I also concentrate on both the religious and social activities of this church in diaspora, and consider the processes of hybridization within its establishment in Italy. I investigate the religious changes favoured by the condition of the diaspora and by the impact of the host context, starting from places of worship and the liturgy and finally addressing forms of *aggiornamento* of the Orthodox tradition which have developed in the diaspora. In addition, I study the positions and orientations of the Romanian Patriarchate towards its diasporas in Western Europe and specifically the diaspora rooted in Italy. One of the intentions is to underline the extent of transnational religious processes and ties at the institutional level and in every day practices from the church of origin to the church in diaspora in Italy. Following this view, I attempt to challenging the situation of the Romanian Orthodoxy as a transnational religion. In the second point I draw attention to the relationship between the Romanian Orthodox Church and certain human rights issues (chapter 5). In particular, I examine a Romanian Orthodox parish in the Veneto region, in which I investigate the positions of Romanian Orthodox women on some gender issues and on women's empowerment in the family and in society. I then focus on the positions and attitudes of these Orthodox female faithful towards human rights, especially with respect to such categories as the rights to life and religious pluralism. I hypothesize that in the new lifestyle of these Orthodox women some adaptations, favoured by interaction with the new socio-cultural context and the immigrant status, have occurred and may have modified their position towards certain human rights issues.

Human rights are in fact a product of modernity, with which Eastern Orthodoxy has maintained a controversial relationship for centuries (as we will see in chapter 4). Therefore, their acceptance or non-acceptance on the part of this religious tradition becomes a privileged perspective allowing for an examination of the extent of its hybridization processes within the socio-cultural context of a host country. The Romanian Orthodox diaspora is therefore faced with the reality of a Western country, and in dealing with and interacting with certain structural elements of modernity, which, as will be seen in the thesis, involve the paths and modalities whereby the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy contends with the new environment, I hypothesize that it can change its attitude towards some human rights issues.

The concept of religious glocalization is a useful point of reference for an examination of the position of religions towards various issues of modernity such as human rights, and also for an analysis of the establishment of some diaspora religions in a host country. We thus develop this research within the paradigm of *diaspora religion as glocal religion* (chapter 1). This theoretical stance identifies in the four glocalizations theorized by Roudometof (2014a, 2014b) some key analytical concepts for an analysis of contemporary diaspora religions and a description of their hybridization processes. The analyses of the attitudes of Romanian Orthodox women on some human rights issues (chapter 5) should therefore not be interpreted as a series of processes unrelated to the rooting of the church in diaspora (chapters 2 and 3). As mentioned previously, both of these research paths are comprised within the question of the relationship between religion and modernity, and the issue of the establishment of religions outside their traditional territory.

I have divided collection of the qualitative data of the research into three periods and the relative fields of research. In the initial period of study, I conducted in-depth interviews with clerics and faithful members of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy and in the other main Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy (from November 2015 to October 2018). I conducted in-depth interviews concerning Romanian Orthodoxy in the Italian peninsula, the results of which have been used in the research, and I visited the seat of the diocese and other places of worship. The collection of this data follows the principal sociological study of Orthodox Christianity in Italy. In the second period, I became a visiting student in Romania (from March to June 2017). I was provided accommodation

at the seminary at the Romanian Patriarchate in Bucharest, and I studied at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Bucharest. This provided me with a unique opportunity to collect qualitative data from inside the religious institution. In the research field in Romania I carried out in-depth interviews with some of the Orthodox faithful and clerics and I carried out ethnographic observations in an Orthodox parish. Finally, in the last year of my doctorate I collected qualitative data from the Romanian Orthodox Parish in Padua (from January to June 2018). In this religious community on various occasions I was able to interview the local priest, Orthodox women, and I performed ethnographic observations.

In the qualitative research the collection of data may be considered as a 'chaotic' process. Some interviews were very formal and others were quite informal to the extent of being entirely spontaneous. Some of the interviews were conducted at a university or a workplace and others occurred at a church; they might take place whilst drinking a coffee or having dinner, when I was able to taste traditional Romanian sausages. To conclude, the interviews occurred in various environments, under a variety of circumstances (with some related drawbacks) and involved the stimulation of emotions and a variety of relationships. This is the main reason why the methodology adopted in the collection and processing of the qualitative material has followed the common principles underlying good social science work (Becker 1998). In this research I began the collection of data after a period of exploration, and only at that point did I attempt to construct, step by step, a 'conceptual image' of my work. I tried to conduct the interviews in a safe environment and in a secure situation, after having presented my research to the interviewee and defining the roles between the researcher and the respondent. I did not include in the quantitative data those interviews and discussions in which the condition or the interaction was too precarious, short, or unclear.

Finally, as mentioned earlier, during this research I interviewed many Romanian Orthodox priests in Italy and in Romania, as well as priests belonging to other Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy. The interviews often ended with a warm salutation and with a promise on the part of the clergy to think of me and my research work during their prayers. On a final note, I have to say that if this thesis has finally been completed, it is not solely thanks to my own work and efforts.

Chapter 1
Religion, Diaspora, and Human Rights: A Theoretical Frame

Maintenant, le futur – qui est déjà devant nos yeux – apporte avec lui de nouveaux problèmes que la théologie orthodoxe n'a pas affrontés par le passé. Permettez-moi de mentionner ici quelques-uns d'entre eux et de soulever la question de l'importance de l'héritage de la théologie orthodoxe occidentale pour les affronter. Il y a, en premier lieu, la transformation rapide des sociétés occidentales en communautés multiculturelles. La théologie orthodoxe doit faire face au fait que les prétendues «nations orthodoxes» à l'état pur n'existeront plus. L'orthodoxie occidentale, qui a appris à exister dans un milieu non orthodoxe, doit enseigner au reste des Eglises orthodoxes, non seulement comment survivre mais également comment influencer leur environnement non orthodoxe. Le dialogue œcuménique est une conditio sine qua non pour la théologie orthodoxe à l'avenir. Et il doit éventuellement inclure non seulement les chrétiens mais aussi d'autres religions. Sinon l'Eglise orthodoxe se verra transformée en un «ghetto», incapable de jouer un rôle dans la société.

Joannis Zizioulas, Metropolitan of Pergamon (2008)

Introduction

On 10 February 2008 the St. Sergius Institute of Orthodox Theology in Paris conferred a doctorate in theology on Joannis Zizioulas, the Metropolitan of Pergamon. During the *lectio magistralis* he gave at the ceremony Zizioulas focused on the contribution of Western Orthodox theology. The choice of topic would appear to be well-considered given the history of this institution, which arose thanks to the efforts of the Russian diaspora occurring in the years following the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Indeed, this appears to be a well-reasoned choice also on account of the prestige acquired by the academic institute, especially during the Cold War, thanks to the contribution of expatriate theologians who taught there, such as Georges Florovsky, Sergej Bulgakov and Nicolas Afanassieff in particular, who made it the intellectual centre of the Orthodox diaspora in Western Europe.

In the conclusion of his *lectio*, Zizioulas focused on the future of Orthodoxy, developing a body of argument which represents an important element of the sociological

hypothesis presented in our work: the Orthodox communities forming part of the diaspora in Western Europe have developed new practices and attitudes towards the contemporary world as a result of their relationship with host countries. In the near future, these Orthodox diaspora groups will be asked to 'export' some of these practices to their homeland, where societies are already changing due to the progress of secularization and processes of religious differentiation.

Such a perspective appears to be an interesting point of reference for this chapter, in which we develop the theoretical framework of our research. In this phase of the current process of globalization, Campbell (2007) argues that "during the post-World-War II era the disenchanted West was 're-enchanted' through imports from the East. The 'Easternization' of the West has become a hot topic of debate and discussion" (Roudometof 2016a: 518). Our intention is to focus on this 'Easternization' phenomenon; it appears to be absent in public debate in Western countries, but in actual fact it is rapidly expanding. It presents novel developments because a diaspora religion "supports and is itself transformed by all aspects of the migration experience - the journey, the process of settlement and the emergence of ethnic and transnational ties" (Levitt, Jaworski 2007: 140). Moreover, as stated, without entering into the debate on secularization, we wish to investigate which elements resulting from a form of cross-breeding with Western reality this religion is adopting in its traditional territories.

In the first paragraph of this chapter we define the principal critical issues and conflicts, but also common ground and intersections characterising the relationship between religion and human rights. We propose a sociological perspective, seeking to enrich the customary juridical stance, in a recent path of study focusing on Human Rights and Religion (Breskaya, Giordan, Richardson 2018). Subsequently, we refer to a series of studies conducted by social scientists on the subject of Orthodox Christianity and human rights, subdividing these works into three analytical groups on the basis of the various paths of research.

In the third paragraph we address the question of the Orthodox diaspora. The sociological concept of the diaspora phenomenon referred to in our research will be clarified and then we address tensions that arise in its application in the religious field. As we delve into the phenomenon of the diasporas of Orthodox Christianity in sociological terms, we inevitably also enter the theological and canon-law debates

regarding this particular subject. Subsequently, we describe the two main scenarios of the Orthodox diasporas in North America and Western Europe. These analyses allow us to identify sociographic trends relating to Orthodox communities in various countries and to define the Italian case in an adequate manner. Finally, in the following paragraph, we elaborate the concept of religious glocalization, adopting the same as a theoretical framework with which to explore changes occurring in the diverse religions in diaspora in the contemporary world. Starting from Robertson's studies on globalization (1992, 1994), our intention is to interpret the phenomenon whereby diaspora religions develop into glocal religions, elaborating the framework *diaspora religions as glocal religions*.

In the last two paragraphs we illustrate the plan of our research, and also the methodology adopted for the collection of data. In the penultimate paragraph we define the research questions, connecting these to current scientific debate, and provide an initial overview of various hypotheses, highlighting specific aspects of our study that will emerge during the research process. A summary of the contents and research objectives of each chapter of the thesis is indicated, and, step by step, theoretical turns are linked to the 'basic' hypothesis of our project. Among the specific elements of the case of the Romanian Orthodox Church - *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* (BOR) - in Italy, forms of hybridization occurring with respect to Italian society and Catholicism may be identified, as a result of which aspects of the Orthodox tradition are being 'renegotiated'. It remains to be seen whether this diaspora religion will be able to redefine itself also in terms of a key theme of the relationship of a religion with modernity: the theme of human rights.

1.1 Religions and Human Rights: a Sociological Perspective

Religions generally assume a diffident stance with respect to human rights. Religions slowly developed over many centuries before embracing the idea of human rights, and some religions still have a problematic relationship with these principles. Religious communities have defined boundaries, and are characterized by their practices, rituals, and symbols rooted in tradition. However, human rights can cross these boundaries and 'compromise' or modify what the barriers tend to protect. Human rights ideology does not hold that its viewpoint derives from the moral code of sacred texts, but considers its perspective to be the result of an international political system that is founded on human

morality and juridically recognized by civil society in many nations of the world. The reasons underlying a consequent mutual 'suspicion' are understandable. The situation is rendered even more complicated by the phenomenon of religious fundamentalism and the historical episodes of violations of human rights by certain religious traditions.

As Stoeckl (2014, 2016) points out, scholars have developed at least two principal narratives regarding this subject. Henkin (1998) hypothesizes that no real dialogue or engagement is possible between secular approaches to human rights and traditional religious positions. He depicts religions and human rights as two separate worlds with a relationship characterized by ideological differences and historical-political tensions. Religions nurture a form of suspicion with respect to human rights as they date back to periods preceding the development of such modern phenomena. Furthermore, the doctrine of religions offers an organic view of the concepts of good and evil, the common good with respect to society and harmony in the social order. It is not prepared to leave any space to a human idea that does not claim divine origin and inspiration and which emphasizes individual autonomy and freedom. This independence of the ideology of human rights makes it difficult for them to be accepted by religions, although a pragmatic adaptation of religious traditions to specific issues does remain possible.

Henkin also rejects the hypothesis shared by some scholars according to which human rights derive from religious inspiration. He states that

> religions also accept human dignity as a cardinal theme and motif. One finds hints of this in the principal Western religions. But the contours of religious morality developed around this concept are not congruent with the implications of human dignity as commonly conceived in the domain of human rights (Henkin 1998: 231).

According to Henkin, religions have defined human dignity in such a way that it coincides with the morality rooted in specific theological principles and its manifestations within secular traditions of religious communities or societies. Therefore, "although some Christian theologians have argued that Western human rights are grounded in religious faith, the morality underlying human rights is, in fact, autonomous" (1998: 229).

In particular, these arguments comprise three main conflicting points that facilitate our comprehension of the approach to human rights typical of the religion analyzed in our sociological research: the perspective of human rights affirms that every individual holds

universal *rights* that are inviolable and may not be removed, while religions on the other hand emphasize that each person has particular *duties*; the perspective of human rights emphasizes the primary position of the *individual*, while the perspective of religions puts the *community* first; the term *human dignity* is referred to within the sphere of human rights and in religious discourse, but in the two different areas it assumes different and sometimes conflicting meanings (Stoeckl 2016: 14-15)[1].

These three conflicting points, which will become a *leitmotiv* in our research, suggest how difficulties arising in the dialogue between religions and human rights revolve around quite well-defined positions. The discourse of the parties to the dialogue, as in the case of the three aforementioned points, differs with respect to their sources - the basis of their authority - and their substantive norms. However, the points also suggest that there are in fact also forms of contamination between the opposing sides in these tensions/conflicts, which at the same time preserve certain contradictions, alliances and forms of hostility.

The perspective recently developed by Joas (2013) seems to follow this latter view. In his theory, the 'sacralization of the person', Joas argues that human rights do not belong exclusively to the secularist field, and that they do not arise from a solely religious terrain. In the debate on the religious or secular humanist origin of human rights, Joas identifies three main narratives. In the first, human rights emerge from the spirit of the French Revolution, which is considered a political expression of the Enlightenment, characterized by anticlerical and anti-religious tendencies. The second involves the contribution of mainly Catholic Christian intellectuals of the twentieth century. For some of those who uphold this religious tradition, the path of human rights was paved by the understanding of human beings imparted by the Gospels, and by the philosophical elaboration of this religious inspiration. Finally, a third compromise position asserts that while the Enlightenment may have seen itself as anti-Christian, its deepest motives were in fact a consequence of the Christian emphasis on individuality, and the love of our neighbour.

[1] Stoeckl also hypothesizes a fourth point, which will not be referred to in this work. She assumes that religions have adapted to the language of human rights as a result of a 'pragmatic calculation' so as to take root in contemporary societies, and she opposes the idea that their engagement with the human rights discourse is a sign of true modernization.

In his historically-oriented sociological approach Joas shows that the idea of human rights is a genuinely new development, which is related to religious and secular traditions and practices, and which cannot be traced back to just one of them:

> the key point here is the 'sacrality' of 'sacredness'. I propose that we construe the belief in human rights and universal human dignity as the result of a specific process of sacralization: a process in which every single human being has been increasingly viewed, with ever-increasing motivational and sensitizing effects, as sacred, and this understanding has been institutionalized in law. The term 'sacralization' should not be understood as having an exclusively religious meaning. Secular content may also assume the qualities characteristic of sacrality: namely, subjective self-evidence and affective intensity. Sacredness may be ascribed to new content. It may migrate or be transferred; indeed, the entire system of sacralization pertaining to a culture may undergo revolution (Joas 2013: 5).

The history of human rights is thus interpreted as a history of sacralization, at the centre of which we find the human person. This perspective emphasizes the various differing types of contamination between the two sides, which the master narratives interpret as distant or contained in specific historical trajectories.

With regard to these narratives, the sociological approach in the study of human rights seems to be that which most clearly emphasizes the *hybridization* of human rights in the cultures of political and religious communities that are conventionally distant from them. Such an approach has also been able to identify their application and/or abuse in certain contexts and with respect to certain phenomena, highlighting paradoxes and forms of contamination. We maintain that a sociology of human rights does exist, even though there would still appear to be an ongoing process of institutionalization or, rather, of re-situating this sub-field of sociology and academic interdisciplinary studies relating to human rights[2]. Owing to its theoretical bent, "sociology offers an array of tools for both *working through* and *moving beyond* the customary categories of human rights. As we shall see, an 'immanent critique' - extrapolating and refining existing categories to the point where they are sublimated into new categories - offers a sound basis for addressing the sociology of human rights" (Frezzo 2014: xii).

A sociology of human rights has been developing in fragmentary ways since the beginnings of sociology itself. Following the emergence of notions of human rights in

[2] As the literature on the subject would appear to suggest: Bau, Frezzo 2011; Frezzo 2014; Brunsma, Smith, Gran 2013b; Brunsma 2015; Madsen, Verschraegen 2013; Nash 2015; Hynes, Lamb, Short, Waites 2012a.

Enlightenment thought and examples of their expression, as occurred during the French Revolution, the writings of Karl Marx provided a critique of the human rights discourse of that time. Moreover, both Durkheim and Weber briefly focused on the issues of human rights (Hynes, Lamb, Short, Waites 2012b). However, it was the emergence of the post-1948 human rights regime that generated a new universalism in the human rights discourse, and it is surprising that so little attention was paid to human rights from the sociological point of view for most of the second half of the 20th century. In the late 1980s/early 1990s various scholars began to forge a contemporary sociology of human rights. In the nascent debate, an initial narrative tended to present a rather static and absolutist conception of human rights. By contrast, a subsequent narrative has tended to emphasize the social construction of human rights, and another group of scholars has adopted sociological approaches in the activities of international human rights institutions and associations (Hynes, Lamb, Short, Waites 2012b).

In this long-developing field, in which a great amount of significant work has been achieved since the early 1990s, various sociologies of human rights have emerged. Some of the key ideas, theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches of the sociological stance may also deepen our ordinary idea of human rights. For example a key turn that has occurred is that of social construction and, that is, the idea that society organises social life through its typical constructions, such as social class, politics, hierarchies, and human rights. Also in the case of human rights, individuals act toward each other at a micro and macro level on the basis of the meanings of these social constructions (Brunsma, Smith, Gran 2013a).

In the recent development of these studies, a sub-field on Human Rights and Religion has also emerged. It seeks to move away from the legal and political perspectives that has generally characterized the study of this subject, and attempts to analyse these two parts as social phenomena. As shown by recent studies that elaborate a sociological perspective on the topic (Banchoff, Wuthnow 2011b, Witte, Green 2012b; van der Ven, Ziebertz 2012, 2013; Ziebertz; Črpić 2015; Giordan, Possamai, Zrinščak 2017; Breskaya, Giordan, Richardson 2018), this sociological sub-field is still being 're-situated' and still presents many opportunities for exploration.

It may be identified with an intention to shift the focus of research between religions and human rights towards a sociological dimension, with a framework which, if not yet

interdisciplinary, should at least be multidisciplinary. This challenge seeks to capture the variability of the social and cultural contexts in which religions have historically developed and human rights are applied. In this regard, the sociologists Banchoff and Wuthnow (2011a) argue that in addition to the dominant historical narrative (which sees religion as opposed to human rights) there is an alternative historical narrative in which religion engages human rights. As in the previous perspective suggested by Joas, also in this view the relationship between the two areas is characterized by some common ground. For Banchoff and Wuthnow, it represents a perspective more in line with sociological studies on this topic.

The alternative narrative does take issue with the idea of an unwavering tension between religion and human rights throughout history. Development from the Middle Ages to modernity via the wars of religion and the Enlightenment was not a simple story of religious authority being eclipsed by a new discourse about individual freedom, self-determination and human rights. It is better read as the story of struggles *within* and across religious and non-religious communities relating to the manner in which an adaptation may occur with respect to the rise of modernity, with its markets, laws and individualist ethos. (…) This *religion engages human rights* narrative, emphasizing the complexity of the relationship, suggests a more inclusive approach to the religious politics of human rights. In the dominant secularist story, the 'injection' of religion replaces rational reflection with traditional authority. In the alternative narrative, religious traditions provide vital resources – and most centrally, the belief in the transcendent equality and dignity of all human beings - for a reflection on the foundations of rights and how to secure them (Banchoff, Wuthnow 2011a: 5).

In the same way, Pace underlines how the sociology of religion is a discipline that allows us to examine this topic more deeply, highlighting its intersections.

The theme of human rights thus becomes - and this is primarily why it is of interest to sociologists of religion - a subject for sociological study because it draws us back to the question of the relationship between ethics and society, and, remaining faithful to the teachings of Durkheim, the relationship between the 'sacred' and society. The second reason that links the theme of human rights to sociology and the sociology of religion is consequential: human rights may constitute a powerful indicator of a type of conflict recurrent in the history of human society and which we may classify as a conflict of values, in that it is not directly linked to interests or the utilitarian dimension of human life, but rather concerns acts of *divine will* (2011a: 436-437; see also 2017).

As we shall in fact see in our research, this path highlights both productive and contentious religious engagement with the politics of human rights, and it reveals debates within and across religions. It points to different patterns of practical involvement in human rights within and across countries and regions. This perspective is suitable to deepen, sociologically, the scope and impact of religious engagement. And it depends as much on the conditions of the state as it does on the values and practices of the religious communities themselves. Finally, this perspective seems to address certain critical issues on human rights already indicated by some scholars in the constitution and application of the same. It seems to highlight at least three main points: the implications of Eurocentrism and Eurocentric discourse for the main human rights narrative in its relationship with the countries of other continental areas; the importance of the socio-cultural factor in the implementation of human rights, often underestimated by scholars and policy makers; the limits of a human rights discourse and implementation developed with a top-down approach and not through participatory processes and a bottom-up approach[3].

1.2 Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights: Social Scientific Studies

Social scientists present different and sometimes conflicting perspectives on the subject of the relationship between Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights, and also on the relationship between this religious tradition and democracy. These perspectives are related not only to the different methodological approaches and interpretations; in some cases they also reflect the different theoretical trajectories of the Western and Eastern worlds. In fact, as McMylor and Vorozhishcheva (2007) argue, we cannot hypothesize the existence of a disciplinary field such as the 'sociology of' or the 'anthropology of' Eastern Orthodoxy, but rather an area of study established within the frame of an academic field of enquiry. Moreover, socio-political and cultural analysis, as in sociological studies focusing on Orthodoxy, is often based upon a number of rarely

[3] These general criticisms of human rights are identified by some scholars who perform in-depth analyses of their relationship with religion, for instance see Marsh, Payne (2007) and Schubert (2009). Moreover, this perspective seems to assess the 'heart' of the three major misinterpretations in the analysis of the general relationship between religion and democracy indicated in the 'twin tolerations' theory (Stepan 2000: 43-46). It distances itself from the assumption that the doctrine of any religion is solely pro-democratic or antidemocratic, or that a constellation of specific socio-political conditions must be present in all similar religious phenomena, and does not remove religion from the political agenda.

explicated assumptions, and this affects the way we view all cultures, especially alien ones.

We will thus trace an analytical path that considers the most important studies, enclosing them within three important narratives. While it allows us to move with a certain ‘agility’, this choice may perhaps appear to be a little over-simplified, considering the fragile thematic and disciplinary boundaries that characterize the topic in question, for example, in its connection with the themes of democracy and secularization[4].

The first main narrative will be referred to as the ‘burden of Eastern Orthodoxy’. The best known research in this area is most certainly that of the American political scientist Huntington (1996). In his theory relating to a ‘clash of civilizations’, he identifies in the form of civilization of Orthodox Christianity the roots of the general inferior degree of economic development and the lesser stability and development of democratic political systems in Eastern countries. In particular, in the West and in the form of civilization of Western Christianity, Huntington identifies the factors, such as a separation between temporal and spiritual authority and the tradition of the rule of law, which facilitate the development of freedom and of human rights. These factors are not so well developed in the historical trajectories of Orthodoxy, which, on the other hand, are distinguished by cooperation between the two powers.

The American political scientist Pollis (1993, 1987, 2003) identifies two main reasons which define the problematic relationship of this religious tradition with democracy. The first reason concerns the absence of a theoretical elaboration of human rights and individual rights in the Orthodox doctrine, as in its historical development Orthodoxy became detached from the legal traditions of the West, focusing instead on spirituality and mysticism. In fact, it moved away from a focus on the doctrine of natural law, later reworked by Catholicism and from which derives part of its broad contribution to human rights. Moreover, Pollis, like the political scientist Radu (1998), identifies in this issue a fundamental role exercised by the particular aspects of the Church-state relations and by the phenomenon of nationalism in the countries with an Orthodox majority. Radu hypothesizes a ‘burden of Eastern Orthodoxy’ (from which we borrow the title of this group), according to which the type of relationship occurring between the Orthodox churches and the state (*symphonia*) has historically favoured the development of

[4] The most complete overview of these issues is probably to be found in Makrides (2019).

nationalism and compromised the growth of civil and democratic relations[5]. Regarding the model of Church-state relations of Orthodox countries, the concept of *symphonia* or the symphonic model is founded in the Byzantine tradition. It means that church and state collaborate in a harmonious manner in a sort of alliance to pursue the common good of the people, and promote their spiritual and political interests[6]. It is thus understandable how this model may have facvilitated the phenomenon of nationalism, which, in Orthodox countries, reached dangerous levels during certain historical periods[7].

We refer to the second main narrative as the 'Orthodox way towards modernization'. It emphasizes the possibility of a personal path of this religious tradition towards modernization and the acceptance of human rights. Webster (1993) maintains that after the fall of communism the main Orthodox churches developed a critical evaluation of their behaviour during the period of political dictatorship. He hypothesizes that this collective process fostered a capacity on the part of Orthodox churches to support peace and human rights, particularly at the individual and not at the hierarchical level. It appears this attitude was developed through the experience of the followers of the faith and of the Russian priests who defended their right to religious freedom during the communist period and thanks also to the contribution of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in the international peace movement during the communist dictatorship.

The political scientist Gvosdev (2000), instead, presents a new reading of the history of Orthodox Christianity, starting from the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and emphasizes how the political and social values of these churches played an important role

[5] In this regard, Payne (2007) proposes an interesting long-term perspective and emphasizes that it is concept of a 'local church' (or national church) - which originally disavowed nationalism and affirmed the legitimate presence of a sole church within a particular territory - that assumed a different meaning from the nineteenth century onwards. On the one hand the Orthodox churches accepted its new nationalist nuances, using them in a strategic way in the definition of the identity and role of the (local) church within the nation-state relations; on the other hand, they insisted on the legitimacy of its original meaning by using it, as we shall see later, within inter-Orthodox conflicts for the defence of canonical territories against other churches.

[6] For some recent reflections on the subject reference may be made to Demacopoulos, Papanikolaou (2016); the scholar of ecclesiology Hovorun (2017) addresses the question of which type of Byzantine model between church and state may be possible today.

[7] For a vision that focuses on the individual historical developments of the Orthodox churches with respect to nationalism (excluding the Russian case) reference may be made to Leustean (2014b). Payne (2003) also addresses the issue of human rights in Greece during the European integration process, and identifies the factors developed in this group. In this case the paradigm of the clash of civilizations, accused by some scholars of proposing an excessively general and 'dispersive' view of the relationship between religious traditions and democracy, appears to be an adequate stance for our comprehension of the recent conflict among the Orthodox Church and the state in Greece, and the European Union.

in stabilizing the political regimes of their countries. According to Gvosdev, from the historical point of view Eastern Orthodoxy has not only co-existed with the institutions of modern democracy, but has also elaborated such concepts as human dignity and the dignity of the community, which today may still contribute to modern political thought and engender a reconciliation with contemporary democracy. Similarly, other scholars (Billington 1994, Petro 1995) holding similar positions, identify positive elements in Russian Orthodoxy, emphasizing the role of religion as a mobilizing force and its conciliar principle of *sobornost*[8].

These reflections allow us to deal with the question of the activity of the Orthodox churches during the communist dictatorships. Albeit under the diverse conditions of individual nations, these churches have collaborated with political regimes. They have suffered bloody repressions, and have also been integrated into the structures of the respective states. This historical period, representing a variable charged with cultural and political legacies, 'compromised' the relationship between this religious tradition and democracy and human rights. As already mentioned (Prodromou 2004b), these memories are still alive and tend to cause a deficit in the institutional capital of these churches which is necessary for the acceptance of cultural and religious pluralism. This legacy has been made more complicated and difficult to 'manage' also because of the difficult political transition in the Nineties, and the serious economic crisis that hit these countries.

Finally, some social scientists have investigated this issue using the theory of multiple modernities (Eisenstadt 2000, 2003). It hypothesizes the lack of presence in the contemporary world of a homogenization and hegemonization in the forward view of Western modernity, and highlighting trends of differentiation that affect all institutions in society. It interprets contemporary reality as a story of continuous constitutions and reconstitutions of multiple ideological and institutional models. According to this theory, interactions between the actors and the various areas of society generate unique expressions of modernity. Although the ideological and institutional models of Western modernity retain a historical precedence and remain an important point of reference for the countries of the other continents, interaction of the social actors and social movements

[8] This theological term of Slavonic Orthodoxy means 'catholicity', but also 'conciliarity' and 'fellowship'. It acquired importance from the nineteenth century onwards, in a period of reform of the Russian Orthodox Church. It underlines the need for co-operation between people, and the capacity of the church to operate with assemblies and councils at every hierarchical level.

with the elements of Western modernity (historically absorbed through a variety of channels and with different modalities) are re-elaborated in a non-linear way. These alternative forms of modernity are always in a phase of constitution and reconstitution through the combination of more universalistic and other traditional elements, and through a redefinition of the boundaries and content of the political arena and cultural programmes determined by the same.

For example, Prodromou (2004a) analyzes the issue of religious freedom and religious pluralism in Greece in the context of relations with the European Union, proposing this paradigm to identify the specificity of Greek modernity in its religious, political and cultural aspects. Stoeckl (2011; 2012) proposes a similar approach to investigate the plurality of processes that act within the relationship between Russian Orthodoxy and European integration.

The last narrative, which we refer to as the 'ambiguous relation', focuses on the controversial aspects of this religion with respect to human rights and its 'ambivalence' in relation to democracy (Prodromou 2004b). This most recent research path involves scholars of theology, philosophy and social sciences, inaugurating studies with a multidisciplinary 'ambition'. The work edited by Brüning and van der Zweerde (2012) collected a series of essays characterized by various approaches and perspectives on the positions of this constellation of churches with respect to human rights. Furthermore, a previous book on the Orthodox Christian religion in Europe adopts this perspective, also addressing the issue of human rights (Sutton, van den Bercken 2003). Makrides (2016) also proposed this view in a recent work (in German), which, starting from an analysis of the well-known document on human rights of the Russian Orthodox Church, he proposes a multidisciplinary comparison of Eastern and Western Christian views on this subject.

Within these approaches, quantitative and qualitative empirical social research becomes contaminated with more traditional theological and philosophical studies. This research path does not follow a general hypothesis and does not set any future direction, but rather focuses on ambiguities, ambivalence and conservative trends and at the same time situations with a more open character, as well as on matters that are interdependent with respect to this issue, such as ecumenical and inter-religious dialogue.

As previously mentioned, a novelty of this research group is the empirical analysis of the subject. For example, in recent years the international Religion and Human Rights

research project has also analyzed countries with an Orthodox majority, adopting a quantitative approach. In this programme scholars from about 25 countries in Europe and other parts of the world agreed to investigate the attitudes of approximately 25,000 young people with respect to human rights and to clarify whether religion has any impact on the orientation or people in this regard (among the publications relating to the project see Breskaya, Alisauŝkiené 2017; Sjöborg, Ziebertz 2017)[9]. Together with the theologian Payne, the political scientist Marsh (2004), who speculates that Russian Orthodoxy can offer more ‘blessings’ than negative effects in the civil and democratic development of the country, has produced an early study adopting a quantitative approach with respect to the subject (Payne, Marsh 2012). Marsh and Payne show that “the discrepancy between East and West is much less apparent than some people have suspected. This was particularly true for the issue of one’s embrace of tolerance and respecting others” (2012: 212). On the other side, within this research path there is a group of empirical studies characterized by a qualitative approach, still quite fragile and in the early stages, which attempts to analyse the same theme through in-depth interviews and grounded theory methods (Turunen 2012, Zabaev 2017).

Finally, the work produced by Stoeckl on the Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights (2014) is the first real full-length book on the issue produced by a social scientist. According to Stoeckl, the theory of post-secular society is the starting point from which to examine the relationship between the religious and the secular in the public sphere, and the ways whereby a religious tradition may enter the public debate and ‘translate’ its ideas into the secular language of politics. The human rights debate in the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) is, therefore, an appropriate case study to test this theoretical framework and highlight its strengths and weaknesses.

Generally, each narrative presents limits and critical points. The first narrative proposes a view of the entire religious tradition that is often general and comprehensive, occasionally losing certain elements of its specific historical and socio-cultural character. The second narrative, however, generally formed by scholars belonging to the Hellenic and Slavic worlds, seems to propose in some cases an ‘apologetic’ thesis, which, to some extent forcibly identifies modern elements rooted within Orthodoxy. The last narrative,

[9] Website of the research project:
http://www.rp.theologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/research/religion_and_human_rights_2012_2019 (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

the studies of which are more recent and within which we have allocated our research, seems to be still methodologically fragile; it appears a balance still has to be achieved between the field of theological disciplines and that of the social sciences.

The element most frequently addressed in all three narratives, especially in the most recent research, as well as in the vast literature on changes occurring in the countries with an Orthodox majority over the last two decades, seems to be that of the European Union. According to Berger (2005: 443), Orthodox Christianity faces a challenge of pluralism that is directly linked to its relations with Europe. Investigating the processes of secularization affecting this religion, Fokas states that "the most conspicuous European institutional influence on the national religious affairs derives from the Council of Europe via the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), the task of which is to defend the ECHR, mainly by protecting individual religious liberties" (Fokas 2012: 400).

In fact, the principal legal breaches sanctioned by the ECtHR pertain to the question of human rights, and among the major occurrences of resistance against these sentences are those relating to the Orthodox churches. This conflict has been more evident in the countries of South-Eastern Europe (Romania, Greece, and Bulgaria), and lies at the centre of the political debate in the Balkan candidate countries seeking to enter the EU (Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia); it is also present in various forms, as mentioned above, in international relations between Russia and the European Union.

1.3 Diaspora from the Orthodox Perspective

The sociological study of diasporas has grown since the nineteen-nineties, and in the relevant literature it is possible to identify various paths of research. In our opinion, to establish a sociological definition of diaspora it is appropriate to start from the early assumptions proposed by Safran (1991) which are aimed at clearly identifying this phenomenon. He maintained that the concept of a diaspora can be applied when members of a community of immigrants share several of the features of the paradigmatic case of the Jewish diaspora (Safran 1991; quoted literally by Cohen 2008: 4-6). The social scientific debate has favoured an extension of the initial basic features identified by Safran, however they still offer a point of reference capable of identifying the sociological

phenomenon of contemporary diasporas. Moreover, this framework seems to be appropriate also to identify the diaspora phenomenon of the Orthodox Christian tradition. The terms we would prefer to use in our definition of the relationship between religion and the diaspora are 'religion in diaspora' or 'diaspora religion' (Cohen 2008: 152).

Some scholars have pointed out possible problems in linking the concepts of 'diaspora' and 'religion'. For example, Cohen establishes his position with three arguments: religions involve various ethnic communities; an ethnic community can be characterized by the presence of various faiths; they tend to spread universally and not to recreate a homeland they would seek to return to (Cohen 2008: 150-154). These three critical issues do not seem to compromise application of the 'diaspora religion' concept to Orthodox diasporas. Regarding the first point, in fact, they are usually diasporas of a national church with a respective national immigrant community. In the sociological study of this religion, as we will specify later, it is important to analyse each Orthodox diaspora on a national basis. With respect to the second point, however, there is currently no true and relevant religious diversification in countries with an Orthodox majority, so this phenomenon does not even exist significantly within their diasporas. However, over the last decade some religious minorities have grown in Eastern European countries, and in some of them there has been the historical growth of a Greek-Catholic minority. In Romania, for example, the country which is subject of our study, according to the 2011 census records, 86.8% of the population declare they are still Orthodox. Finally, with regard to the last point, again this does not appear to involve the dynamics of Orthodoxy in any particular manner. The sociological study of Orthodox diasporas in Italy reveals, for example, how the desire 'to return to the homeland' is still very strong amongst the followers of the faith. This is favoured by the strength of a sense of belonging to a particular religion and national identity, which places a religious identity within a particular culture and a historical and national memory that strengthen the bond with the mother country (Giordan, Guglielmi 2018).

In fact, as Cohen argues, "in several notable cases religion closely overlaps with ethnicity and is sometimes inseparable from it (...); such an overlap between faith and ethnicity is likely to enhance overlapping forms of social cohesion and create situations where it is difficult to decide whether one is describing a faith or an ethnicity" (Cohen 2008: 153). This statement would certainly appear to be true in the case of Orthodox

Christianity and at the same time represents a challenge for researchers, who have to move within the complex bonds of these two forms of individual identity, identifying, where possible, the points where they are superimposed. Starting specifically from the empirical study of Russia and the Orthodox religion, some researchers have established the concept of *ethnodoxy* to indicate the overlapping of a religious and a national identity at the micro, meso and macro-levels (Karpov, Lisovskaya, Barry 2012). However, from the theological point of view Kalaitzidis (2016) recently pointed out how the spiritual birth of the Orthodox faithful through the sacrament of baptism relates to issues of a sense of a national bond and identity, considering the relationship between the baptismal and ethno-cultural community.

The question of the Orthodox diaspora is strongly-debated, and discussion is often facilitated by a form of confusion of a disciplinary nature. This religious phenomenon is characterized by a dual interpretation of a sociological and theological nature: the first concerns its historical development and reality (illustrated also in socio-graphic terms), while the second relates to the question of its canonical condition. This latter question is that which is most carefully studied by scholars of Orthodoxy, and sometimes it would appear to be the issue mainly considered by the Orthodox churches themselves. This double interpretation suggests a distinction already emphasized by some scholars: while from the canonical point of view the phenomenon of the Orthodox diaspora should be declined in the singular (the Orthodox diaspora), in the sociological perspective the diasporic phenomenon of the Orthodox churches should be declined in the plural (Orthodox diasporas). In fact, with the concept of diaspora we refer (sociologically) to an Orthodox church and to a respective national community of immigrants, and not to all of the diasporas of this religious tradition. As will be further discussed, this sociological perspective tends not to address mostly the issue of multiple jurisdictions and ecclesiastic conflicts of these religions in diaspora; it focuses on recent changes and hybridization within the context of the host country that appear to extend the traditional meaning of the concept of a diaspora religion.

Hämmerli notes that "*diaspora* is not an appropriate category to describe the social reality of the Orthodox presence in the West for two reasons: 1) it consists of parallel ethnic *diasporas*, which do not unite to form a single religious entity; 2) despite their strong dependence on the Mother Churches, the Orthodox dioceses in the west strive for

integration in host countries rather than plan a return movement to the bosom of the former" (Hämmerli 2010: 113). Regarding the first consideration, we argue, as stated above, that sociologically we should use the term diasporas to indicate the settlement of several Orthodox diasporas that are occasionally in competition with each other. With regard to the second point, the study of Orthodox Christian diasporas in Italy has revealed the manner in which the main Orthodox jurisdictions have developed different attitudes in their integration in the host context, and that not all of them have elaborated specific orientations in this direction (Giordan, Guglielmi 2018).

Furthermore, according to Hämmerli the concept of diaspora is not even correct at the theological level as it is not coherent with Orthodox ecclesiology with respect to many questions (Hämmerli 2010: 106-107). We share these observations and, considering our sociological interest, we will focus only on the issue of the canonical status of the diaspora, this being a profound aspect of such a dimension and of the conflicts that arise within the sphere of the same[10]. In fact, declaring the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome as uncanonical created an ecclesiastical void in his territory. The question of primacy over the traditionally non-Orthodox territories became a source of conflict, polarized by two main positions. The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople claims jurisdiction over all the territories in the world that are not already part of the canonically delimited territories of another Orthodox Church. It invokes Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council held at Chalcedon in 451 AC, which grants this Orthodox church a primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome and over 'barbarian' dioceses. On the other hand, the national autocephalous churches contest this right of world jurisdiction, warning of the danger of generating a primacy of authority similar to that of the Pope, and asking for a reading of the canons adapted to the present demographic reality of the Church.

In the Pan-Orthodox Council of Crete in June 2016 a 'provisional' solution to the question was approved, acknowledging the decision that had already been taken in the

[10] Hämmerli presents a list of five issues of canonical tradition and Orthodox ecclesiology related to the condition of the diaspora. We will focus only on that which is most closely connected to our sociological study. However, the question of Ethnophyletism deserves further study. The principle of nationalities applied in the ecclesiastical field, i.e., the idea that a local autocephalous church should be based not on a local ecclesial criterion but on a national one. It was condemned as a modern ecclesial heresy, such as religious nationalism, by the Pan-Orthodox Synod in Constantinople on 10 September 1872. This concept is often used in the conflict among Orthodox jurisdictions to denounce the condition of Orthodox diasporas (in Western Europe and North America) and parallel jurisdictions in some Orthodox countries (such as Moldova and Estonia). With respect to its original theological meaning, however, this concept is often exploited in political and religious conflict.

Fourth Pre-Conciliar Pan-Orthodox Conference at the Orthodox Centre at Chambésy in June 2009. This solution divided the Orthodox diaspora in the world into 13 regions, in which Episcopal Assemblies, composed of bishops and representatives of the diaspora of each territory, are created. The assembly is presided over by the eldest bishop of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the region (Pan-Orthodox 2016). The approval of the document concerning the diaspora gave rise to a strong debate within the Council, in particular with respect to the Romanian Patriarchate, which has a large diaspora in the Western world[11]. As seen in the first contributions on the subject (Giordan 2016; Ladouceur 2016; Leustean 2018), the lack of participation in the Council on the part of the Moscow Patriarchate (and for different, albeit connected, reasons also that of the Georgian, Bulgarian and Antioch churches) represents a conflictual episode which shows that, beneath the disputes in the theological and canonical sphere more complex relations of power lie hidden. Behind the canonical question of the diaspora, international politics and the socio-graphic equilibrium of the Orthodox diasporas in the Western world influence the social conflicts and geopolitical interests of Orthodox churches and their respective countries.

The two main religious panoramas of the Orthodox diasporas across the world are in North America and in Western Europe (following the view expressed by Roudometof 2015b). From the historical perspective, Orthodox Christians have been actively spreading the influence of their church. Over the first three centuries, missionaries from Eastern Christianity evangelized lands to the East, establishing a monastic community. This model of monastic evangelization became the pattern for other Russian Orthodox missionaries, who established a network of missions across Siberia and along the entire Pacific Rim. The eight Orthodox monks who arrived in Alaska in 1794 simply formed part of this centuries-old missionary heritage of the Russian Orthodox Church. After more than two hundred years, according to Krindatch (2011), the estimated number of Orthodox Christians in the United States in 2010 reached a total of 1,043,850 in 2,373 parishes. In Canada, where Orthodox immigration began in 1920, according to the statistics compiled in 2001 the Orthodox population exceeded 400,000 with a Greek, Ukraine, and Serbian majority (Wigglesworth 2010). Johnson and Grim (2014) estimated

[11] This information emerged from in-depth interviews with two delegates of the Romanian Patriarchate at the Pan-Orthodox Council of Crete.

that there were 1,100,000 followers of the Orthodox churches in Canada in 2015. Orthodox jurisdictions in the USA are linked or subordinated to the churches in the motherland; these are diaspora religions that work to serve national populations and maintain ties with the mother country. Among the long-standing Orthodox religious groups in the US, the most numerous and permanently established group in historical terms is that of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

Some Orthodox churches have a history that is not only characterized by the phenomenon of migration but is also linked to local dynamics and political factors, as in the case of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) (united with the Moscow Patriarchate since 2007). At the time of the newly constituted Soviet regime, the Russian Orthodox bishops in exile asked the leaders of their church to maintain a certain independence within the Synod and from the communist government. This dissent induced the Patriarch Tikhon (1866-1925) to authorise Russian bishops in the diaspora to create independent organizations in the event of an impossibility to maintain normal relations with the Patriarchate (thanks to the decree of 20 November 1920), giving the go-ahead to the development of this new jurisdiction. We should also recall the case of the Orthodox Church in America (OCA), a metropolia of the Russian Orthodox Church until 1970, when it was granted a *tomos* of autocephaly (currently not recognized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and some other Orthodox Churches). Unlike the other Orthodox communities, it did not receive large influxes of immigrants after the 1960s, and the body of its followers is primarily composed of second and third-generation of immigrant citizens and converts. This is the only community that uses English as a liturgical language, and the only local Orthodox church in the United States; it may be considered an indigenized church. This is the most important episode of an Orthodox church, which, having become ‘Americanized’, has accepted the cultural norms of the host country.

In Western Europe on the other hand, it is very difficult to estimate the number of followers of the Orthodox church. The first group of immigrants started to arrive in this European area at the beginning of the 18th century for both political and economic reasons. The Orthodox communities are currently composed of members from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet bloc, and have established themselves in various European countries according to the historical and cultural dynamics that have influenced the migratory flows. The settlement of the Greek community in the UK is historically rooted

(together with that of the Cypriot immigrants), while the number of Romanian immigrants in Spain is very high. Again, according to Johnson and Grim (2014), there were approximately 1,400,000 adherents of the Orthodox church in Germany in 2015. In Italy there seems to be the highest Orthodox presence in Western Europe - close to about 1,600,000 adherents - thanks to the presence of the largest Romanian diaspora in the world (Giordan, Guglielmi 2018). Furthermore, in France the Orthodox community is historically rooted especially on account of the presence of the Russian diaspora following the Bolshevik revolution. It has grown significantly over the last 25 years, reaching 750,000 adherents in 2015 (Johnson and Grim 2014).

There are also small Orthodox communities, due to the recent migration phenomenon, in Switzerland, Austria (186,000 in 2015), Belgium (estimated at 64,000 in 2015) and Denmark (estimated at 13,000 in 2015), and a small community exists in Norway (Johnson and Grim 2014) . With regard to Northern Europe, we would draw attention to the case of the Finnish Orthodox Church, which represents both an ‘indigenous’ and an ‘immigrant religion’ (Martikainen 2013). The church is legally recognized as a national church in the country, along with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. It is an autonomous Eastern Orthodox archdiocese of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, having roots in the medieval Novgorodian missionary work in Karelia and forming part of the Russian Orthodox Church until 1923. Finally, another singular case is that of the Archdiocese for the Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe (Exarchate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate). This stems from a rift of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad (ROCOR) that occurred 1931, following a series of tensions in the relationship between this religious istitutions and the Soviet regime[12].

With respect to these two religious panoramas, we recognise the significant difference of the Orthodox diaspora in North America compared to that in Western Europe. In the American case, religious pluralism and the socio-cultural context have changed in some cases the features of this religious tradition. In this regard, the concept of the ‘religious market’ and the effects which religious competition has had in the organization of

[12] Regarding the divisions and recent developments of the three jurisdictions of the Russian Orthodox diaspora in Western Europe, see Rimestad (2015). Furthermore, we would underline the key role of the relationship with the Patriarchate and the country of origin in the development of these Orthodox diasporas. In fact, “the fragmentation of the Russian Orthodox diaspora in three different jurisdictions was the result of a crystallization of three different approaches to the church and its relationship with the state” (Pnevmatikakis 2013: 5; in Kazarian 2015: 247).

parishes, on *cultural norms* and the identity of these religions in the diaspora require profound reflection (Stark 1994). We refer to these churches as religious actors that present themselves in their encounter with the local environment as *cultural hybrids,* distinguished by certain characteristics not typical in the Eastern Orthodox world. For example, the North American context has favoured a greater autonomy of these diaspora religions with respect to the patriarchate of origin, as in the most evident cases that distinguish the birth of a local Orthodox Church in America (OCA) and ecclesial conflicts in the Greek Orthodox diaspora.

The theologian Noble states that, excluding the case of the OCA, there are reasons which determine why Orthodoxy in the West did not develop local churches. These include "the problems of ethnophiletism but also an accumulated memory of being treated as second-rate ecclesial citizens, the problem of the multiplicity of jurisdictions and the problem of assuming theological and spiritual uniformity. Thus, abandoning some of the dead-end situations of the development of the diaspora in the 20th century goes hand in hand with a search for new solutions to recurring problems" (Noble 2016: 11). With respect to this mainly theological view, some social scientific studies have highlighted trends which have not been deeply analyzed in the dominant positions (Giordan, Guglielmi 2017, 2018; Ihlamur-Öner 2009; Hämmerli 2011; Hämmerli, Mayer 2014b; Roudometof 2015b, 2015e). While maintaining a direct connection with the church of origin, in the last decade in this region the diasporas of the major Orthodox jurisdictions have been protagonists of transformations that mainly concern their identity and their practices. Fundamentally, these research works reveal how the scenario of an Orthodox diaspora in Western Europe focusing solely on assisting immigrant communities is a situation of the past. Furthermore, these trajectories seem to be encouraged by transactional processes that increasingly concern this religion, which now appears to have assumed a global dimension (Giordan, Zrinšcak 2019).

1.4 Glocalization, Religion, and Diaspora

Among the many theories on the phenomenon of globalization, we prefer that developed by Robertson, starting in the nineteen-eighties. He defines globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a

whole" (Robertson 1992: 8). With the term 'compression' he refers to the accelerated pace of contact among cultures, peoples, and civilizations, or the sense that the world is a single dimension. The confrontation of different world views means that globalization involves a "comparative interaction of different forms of life" (Robertson 1992: 27). As a process that both connects and stimulates an awareness of connection, globalization dissolves the autonomy of actors and practices in the contemporary world order. In this process, "all units engaged in globalization are constrained to assume a position and define an identity" with respect to this interdependence (Robertson 1992: 29). Moreover, global interdependence and consciousness of the world as a whole precedes the advent of modernity through a centuries-long process[13].

Beyer (2006) argues that it is the idea of 'religion' itself, as this is commonly construed, which is the product of a long-term process of intercultural interactions subject to debate within the context of globalization. According to this view, religions that are not conventionally considered as 'global' are in any case also influenced by globalization. Beyer supports the idea that "the study of a modern religion must be initially grounded in a theory of 'global society': religion, far from remaining more or less constant during these transformations and thereby suffering or at least being challenged to reassert itself, has actually been a critical carrier and example of the entire process. Religion, like capitalism, the nation-state or modern science, has been a carrier of modernization and globalization, not a barrier or a victim" (Beyer 2006: 300). There is both continuity and discontinuity in each case, but the differences played a key role in the development of contemporary religions and current societies.

The relationship between religion and globalization, as Obadia (2010) claims, is characterized by a dual process: on the one hand, religion changes when it addresses phenomena linked to globalization and, on the other hand, religion becomes globalized by spreading and establishing itself outside its traditional territories. According to this perspective, the relationship between religion and culture is central to the analysis of recent changes in religious landscapes and religious trajectories within the phenomenon

[13] In his theory, as later reflected in the work of Roudometof (2016a), Robertson emphasizes the capacity of the historical perspective to emerge from the dominant narrative of globalization as a recent phenomenon. We do not emphasize the historical approach, but the temporal factor remains central also in our own framework. As Marienstras (1989) points out, a certain period of time must pass before we can speak in terms of a diaspora, and a series of phases that allow a community of expatriates to become a diaspora.

of globalization (Stearns 2010). Therefore, we will not consider cultural units as fixed entities or as exclusive units, but we intend to focus on processes referred to as *hybridization* or *glocalization*. The concept of *glocal religion* in fact abandons the narrative of secularization and focuses on the meeting point of cultures and a valorization of the interaction occurring between local and global levels (Beyer 2007).

This perspective is developed within the globalization and 'glocal' theories. Since the late 1980s and increasingly in the 1990s, the concept of *glocalization* has been referred to in various fields[14]. It draws attention to the fact that global processes interact with local cultures, structures and traditional settings. Robertson's goal in introducing this concept is to emphasize the duality of global processes: they do not work against or occur outside local forces but, on the contrary, both global and local processes are constituted in a reciprocal relationship. This concept shows how the global world can not be conceived as existing in opposition to or isolated from the local reality, and that both define contemporary society. The future is not determined solely by macro-level forces but also by groups, organizations and individuals operating at the micro-level.

As Robertson suggests, glocalizations offer a means to attain a more profound comprehension of the *hybrid aspect* and *fragmentation* of the cultural context within the framework of global-local relations. Within this perspective, in their localization religions form new *cultural hybrids* that blend religious universalism with forms of local particularism. The processes of globalization in fact promote multiple glocalizations (Beyer 2007), i.e., universal religion thematized alongside local particularity. These multiple glocalizations should not be seen as mechanically linked to specific historical periods but as synchronously interacting in the various historical periods and influenced by the political and cultural conditions of each age. Such a vision allows us to comprehend historical continuity and discontinuity in the religious phenomenon, focusing on the hybridity generated by local and global processes in the geographical regions considered. For example, the processes of multiple glocalizations of Christianity in Europe suggest that "this model offers a conceptual map that accounts for religious change and fragmentations both in Western and Eastern Europe" (Roudometof 2014c: 76).

[14] For an in-depth overview of the concept of glocalization with respect to its various interpretations, its tense relations with other fields of interest and its influence in various areas, see Roudometof 2015a, 2015c, 2015d, 2016c.

This glocal process takes place through a dialectic of *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization*. It expresses itself within a territory, on the one hand with the development of a transnational religion and, on the other hand, with a redefinition of religious geography by spreading religions outside their traditional territories and with an increase in intercultural contact. In this case, the hybridization processes modify both the forms of settlement of a religious istitution within a particular territory and the culture and identity of its communities (Giddens 1990).

This concept is widely used in social scientific literature, and in some cases it may be identified in the study of religious communities situated in foreign countries. Regarding the case of Orthodox Christianity, Hämmerli and Mayer (2014a) state that the concept of glocalization is an adequate theoretical frame by means of which we may acquire a deeper understanding of the recent developments of the diasporas of this religion in Western Europe. Moreover, the sociologist Roudometof suggests that the concept of glocal religion should be employed to analyse historical cases and new religious phenomena in the world (2016b).

Therefore, we hypothesize that *diaspora religions as glocal religions* is a reasonable framework for studying the phenomenon of contemporary diaspora religions and emphasizing the hybridization developed by a religious community of immigrants in a new socio-cultural context. This framework helps us to explore all the changes involved in settlement and the day-to-day life of a diaspora religion under the influence of global and local processes. In fact, this perspective seeks to identify changes in a (host) *religioscape*, focusing on the processes of *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization*. In this view, it pays also a special attention to the trajectories and the ties of a diaspora religion with the mother country and its church of origin.

Analyzing Eastern Orthodoxy from both the historical and sociological points of view, Roudometof hypothesized a model comprising four distinct types of glocalization (2013; 2014a; 2014b). These points of reference provide concrete examples involving the fusion occurring between religious universalism and local particularism: *vernacularization*, *indigenization*, *nationalization* and *transnationalization*. Each of the above presents a specific form of 'blending' with respect to universal religion and particular human settings (e.g., empire, ethnicity, nation-state and transnational migration). These forms are not distinct simply because of their historical specificity; rather, they are distinct

because each of them offers a discrete analytical ordering or combination of the global and the local. To put it differently, each form offers a distinct blueprint for negotiating and ordering the global-local binary relationship into culturally stable and concrete formats. We believe that these four distinct glocalizations are appropriate key concepts and analytical tools for studying the peculiarties and the recent changes of religions in diaspora.

Vernacularization: blends religious universalism with specific vernacular languages. This form of glocalization is certainly far more common in pre-modern or pre-literate cultures, in which access to sacred texts was limited and religious efficacy could be linked to a specific language. Perhaps the most prominent example of vernacularization may be found in the Islamic world, where Arabic serves as the religion's sacred language, even in cultural contexts outside the Arabian territories. Currently, the socio-linguistic study of a diaspora, or the analysis of its vernacular aspect, is a particular perspective which can show how language and communication can influence the organization and social life of a community that has travelled to other countries. Furthermore, it highlights the relationship between migration and globalization within the global-local nexus. The qualities of linguistically-mediated social experiences that define the local aspect are related to global structures and relationships (Slembrouck 2011; with regard to the case of the Latino diaspora, see Reiter, Rojo 2015). In the sociological study of religion, the use of the language of the host country in the community of a diaspora religion is one of the main factors of integration as it can promote the hybridization of its national identity. However, the use of this language in the liturgy (as a so-called liturgical language) is an indicator of the depth of the process of religious glocalization and, indeed, of the process of settlement and a possible transformation of a diaspora religion into a local church.

Indigenization: this form blends religious universalism with local particularism, adopting religious rituals, forms of expression and hierarchies within the specific sphere of a particular ethnicity. Very often, a sense of distinction that is identified results in a blending of different religious and ethnic traits. Although pre-modern kingdoms and principalities made regular use of this process in order to bolster their rulers' legitimacy, the ties that were constructed often endured far beyond the specific regimes or states. This form of glocalization can favour the cultural integration of a community of immigrants, and facilitate the powerful processes of hybridization. In the case of a diaspora religion,

the term ‘indigenous’ may assume two different meanings: the first concerns ethnic identity linked to the motherland and connected to - or superimposed upon - its religious identity; the second meaning relates to the process of indigenization, which indicates the process of hybridization, to the extent of becoming an indigenous church or a new local church (a complete glocal religious expression of the host context).

Nationalization: the principal difference between nationalization and the previous forms discussed is that the nation serves as a foundation for the religious institutions’ claim to legitimacy. Nationalization operates through the use of religion as a potential source for the formation of nations or the intertwining of religious and national markers. Typically, nationalization operates through the construction and reproduction of a close relationship between confessional membership and modern national identities. The analytical boundary that separates nationalization from indigenization rests in part on the civic nature of the nation. The relationship between nationality and religious immigration seems to be sufficiently clear. We would merely point out that the nationality of migrants and their social-cultural representations in the host environment may favour or discourage hybridization processes. This form of glocalization plays a more evident role in the diasporas of national churches with respect to the diasporas of universal churches, where the tension deriving from an overlapping of national and religious identity is more evident.

Transnationalization: the global construction of nation-states and the nationalization of their citizens have necessarily created a residual category of transnationals. In this sense transnationalization represents the other facet of global nationalization and is seen as a form of glocalization. In the context of migration, transnational people reconstitute their ties to both host and home countries, and they engage in a creative process of blending elements from both points of reference. the concept of transnationalism “refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec 2009). As shown in many studies (Levitt 2001, 2007; Levitt, Jaworski 2007), transnational religion is a means of describing solutions to newfound situations that people face as a result of migration, and it presents as two quite distinct blends of religious universalism and local particularism. Transnationalism is a fundamental element of a diaspora religion, which may assume different degrees of intensity and characteristics in each single case. This form of glocalization facilitates the establishment of institutional

forms of transnationalism and forms of transnational religious practices that may favour a socio-cultural change in the diaspora religion and that of the church in the motherland.

Finally, some scholars have dealt with the issue of immigration and globalization using the concept of glocalization as a theoretical framework. This debate lends itself to an analysis of some specific forms of glocalization in migratory phenomena, which may more clearly identify our four forms of religious glocalization and suggest further analytical directions. For example, Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) define four kinds of glocalization project which may be used to analyse the effects of immigration in a host society (*relativization*, *accommodation*, *hybridization and transformation*). Each one of these aspects highlights a different attitude of the immigrant community with respect to the new context. Morawska (2013) proposes an interesting critique of this model, and suggests reducing the areas to two items and focussing instead on the phases that mark glocalization, or the processes involved in becoming an immigrant (*accommodation* and *transformation*). In our case, starting from Roudometof's model of four forms of glocalization, we prefer to maintain only one general analytical approach that establishes a common point in the two last theories that have been considered: hybridization in the sense of transformation. In fact, "transformation is hybridization, as it involves the emergence of new socio-cultural forms as a result of a mixing and blending on the part of immigrants of home-country traditions with elements of the host-country culture, and the receiver-country culture is also modified under the impact of immigrants' activity" (Morawska 2013: 106)[15]. The latter comment is made by an author who focuses on the migrant community, mainly emphasizing practical and cultural hybridization with the new context, without presenting the paths and developments of these processes under an analytical label.

1.5 Research Design and Research Questions

Our research focuses on the case of the Orthodox Christian diasporas in Italy seen as a 'Western Orthodox laboratory'. In this scenario some patterns relating to the settlement of Orthodox Christianity in Western Europe and some responses of this group to certain

[15] As Ewa Morawska suggests, with respect to cases where scholars use her model to focus on changes in the migrant community rather than on the host context (2013: 122).

phenomena of modernity may be identified. The specific aspects of the Italian case are influenced by at least four main features: the presence of the largest Orthodox diaspora of Western Europe and the largest Romanian Orthodox diaspora in the world; the virtual monopoly of the Catholic Church in the socio-cultural context, and the 'particular' religious diversity of the Italian peninsula; the settlement of several Orthodox jurisdictions and bishops in the territory, as well as the violation of Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Council held at Chalcedon in 451 AC, which grants the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople a primacy of honour after the Bishop of Rome and over 'barbarian' dioceses. Here, we find a fragmented and heterogeneous Orthodox landscape, in which the number of canonical jurisdictions is equal to that of non-canonical jurisdictions, and to which must be added the recent attempt to establish an indigenous Orthodox church.

Within this 'laboratory' or 'workshop', we focus on the case of the Romanian Orthodox Church, considering its size and its capacity to take root in a new context. The general research question of our study is based on two main assumptions developed in the two previous paragraphs: the capacity to adapt and the spreading of religions in the contemporary world and the central presence of the cultural factor in the acknowledgement and adoption of human rights. We therefore wonder whether the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy has the features of a diaspora religion, a typical church of immigrants, or whether a hybridization process is under way which is leading it towards a transformation into an indigenous church. We will in any case attempt to go beyond the dichotomy of a church in diaspora v. local church, a format that favours the canonical dimension of the Orthodox diaspora and its relationship (of autonomy, control and/or conflict) with the church of origin. As Tiaynen-Qadir points out, "this is also the case in Western Europe (…). This situation led to the scholarly categorization of national vs diasporic Orthodox churches in contemporary research. Such categorizations are analytically useful for examining the social aspects of religion. Yet, they tend to brush aside cross-sectional and cross-cutting processes that cannot be easily captured by the division between national and diasporic. In many ways 'religious transnationalism' becomes evident in hybrid or minority identities *within* Orthodox diasporas through the experiences of migration in the modern world of nation-states" (Tiaynen-Qadir 2017: 1).

We shall rather try to analyse the cultural hybrids that make up this glocal religion, attempting to connect the different analytical categories (motherland v. diaspora, national v. transnational, but also local v. global), which, moreover, are not mutually exclusive, and seeking to elaborate the complexity deriving from their contaminations. We analyse these multiple glocalizations of religion, focusing on the forms of adaptation of the religious institution in diaspora within the host context, and in the attitude of priests and the faithful towards basic elements of the new socio-cultural reality, such as certain modernity issues and some categories of human rights.

Regarding the adaptation of a diaspora religion within its settlement in the new socio-cultural environment, we refer to two main theories. According to Roudometof (2014: 119-136), an Orthodox church becomes local when it accepts the *religious pluralism* of the host country, contributes towards its 'religious market' and accepts its *cultural norms*. In the analyses of Roudometof we may also identify some indications that deal with tensions arising between the opposite poles of a church in diaspora and a local church. The indications provided facilitate the comprehension of these two conditions without underestimating their contamination and the hybridization processes, i.e., the use of the language of the host country as a liturgical language; the request for greater autonomy or for autocephaly with respect to the church of origin; the presence of a collective identity reproducing the national and/or ethnic identity of the immigrants, or a hybridized (also comprising further identities) or indigenized identity in the host country. Within these processes, the percentage of the faithful of the second and third generations of immigrants with respect to the total body of adherents has important effects in the definition of a collective identity.

It is useful to add to this general perspective a further vision having a more ethnographic bias, which theorises a *normative structure* of the community of migrants containing the values and the notions of behaviour and an indication of what changes in its relationship with the host country (Levitt 2001: 59-63). This is interconnected with the *systems of practice* of the community, presenting the actions and procedures of a diaspora and it is consistent with any changes in the *normative structures* within the new social context. The *normative structures* include norms of behaviour, notions regarding family responsibilities, the principles of neighbourliness and participation in the community and inspirations relating to social mobility. The *systems of practice* include the manner in

which individuals delegate household tasks, the kinds of religious rituals they engage in, organizational practices, such as recruiting and 'socialising' new members, goal setting and strategising[16].

We shall mainly take two points into consideration, which must be seen as interconnected and existing in a form of continuity with respect to each other, with this forming part of the issue of the relationship between religion and modernity. The first point concerns the establishment of the Orthodox diasporas in Western Europe, with respect to which we investigate settlement patterns in the host context and socio-cultural and religious changes. In this research, as previously mentioned, we analyse the path of hybridization of the BOR with Italian society and Catholicism. The second point concerns the relationship between Romanian Orthodoxy and human rights. Such fundamental rights are in fact a product of modernity and, specifically, of Western modernity, with which Orthodoxy has maintained for centuries a controversial relationship that alternates closure with forms of adaptation. Therefore, their acceptance or non-acceptance by this religious tradition becomes a privileged perspective to examine the extent of its hybridization processes within the socio-cultural context of a host country (Giordan, Guglielmi 2017). In our case, we investigate human rights as a fundamental element of civil and democratic life of a Western country and, more specifically, within the cultural dimension of Italy. This choice means that our study will focus on the clashes occurring between the religious world and the secular world, the conflict between East and West as well as the principal issues in the process of European integration in Eastern Europe.

The Romanian Orthodox diaspora has to deal with the reality of a Western country, and in coping and interacting with certain structural elements of modernity, we hypothesize it may modify its attitude towards human rights. As we will see in the last paragraph of chapter four, there are already some historical cases in which Orthodox diasporas in the US and in Western Europe have developed a positive attitude towards human rights. In particular, as Martin (2005: 834) suggests, this tendency characterizes the critical view of the three monotheistic world religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) with respect to human rights. When a particular creed becomes a major influence in a

[16] According to Levitt, *social capital* represents another change occurring in the diaspora that arises from the encounter with the host context, however this will not be addressed as we feel this is a secondary topic with respect to the sphere of our own analysis. Both the values and norms upon which social capital is based, and social capital itself are socially remitted.

country it will tend to criticise human rights, while in cases where a religion represents a minority group it will tend to have a ‘softer’ position towards human rights, even requesting that certain classes of the same be respected.

The concept of religious glocalization is an apt choice for an examination of the position of religions towards certain modernity issues and human rights. When deemed to be useful, we adopt a perspective that may be defined as human rights and glocalization (as used in Shi-Xu 2010), which addresses the issue of human rights in a glocal key[17]. As previously mentioned, analyses concerning human rights should not be interpreted as a set of processes disconnected from the rooting of a diaspora church (chapters 2 and 3), nor from its relationship with certain modernity issues (chapter 5). These are issues relating to the question of the relationship between religion and modernity and the establishment of religions outside their traditional territory.

This research is performed at the macro-level, considering a society as a whole (especially the function of the BOR in the host environment, such as that of providing a place of aggregation for Romanian immigrants), at the meso-level, with respect to institutions (organizational transformation and identity changes of the religious institution in the diaspora, and forms of settlement within the new context), and also at the micro-level, examining patterns and processes relating to the formation of an identity, opinions on specific issues and the development of a lifestyle on the part of those who adhere to the religion in question.

In the second chapter we define the ‘particular’ religious plurality that characterizes Italy, and analyse the social and cultural hegemony of the Catholic Church and religious diversification in the Italian peninsula. Subsequently, we provide a map of the Orthodox jurisdictions in the Republic of Italy and then an outline will be offered, from the historical and socio-graphical point of view, of the expansion of Orthodox Christianity in this country. Finally, we focus on the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy, proposing a historical overview and examining glocal trajectories relating to its places of worship and its clerical body.

In the various sections of the third chapter we offer an analysis of the various aspects of the settlement of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy. We focus on both the

---

[17] In this case we do not intend to define a theory as in the case of the diaspora phenomenon, but to apply an investigative perspective to a subject of research.

religious and social activities of this church in diaspora, and consider the processes of hybridization within its establishment in Italian society and in its interaction with the Catholic Church. In this chapter, as in the previous one, the frame which is referred to and categorized under the heading of 'diaspora religion as glocal religion' allows us to identify through the four forms of glocalization the cultural hybrids in Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy. This view helps us to analyse the missions of the church in diaspora, placing them within the framework of Church-state relations and the positions of the church of origin, and highlighting glocal effects that characterize its dimension/mission as a national actor. Moreover, this perspective allows us to study the dynamics of the indigenous and vernacular dimensions in the process of settlement, and also the role of transnational ties in influencing the institutionalization of the BOR in Italy and in the religious sphere of those who adhere to the faith.

Chapter 4 deals with the relationship between Orthodox Christianity, modernity and human rights. In this part of our work we initially describe the conflicts that distinguish the 'unresolved' relationship of this religious tradition with modernity, also considering the analytical contributions of the theory of secularization. Subsequently, we offer an overview of the main positions of Orthodox theologians and of Orthodox churches on human rights: a set of religious theories and doctrines that range from their full rejection to partial acceptance. In these positions we should find arguments similar to those that Orthodoxy has developed towards modernity, as human rights have developed within the historical, political, and intellectual development of the Western world. This result should allow us to hypothesize the impossibility of separating - especially in conflicts involving religious institutions - human rights from modernity, since they are a structural element or a theoretical basic necessity of the idea of modern world.

In the last paragraph of chapter 4 we emphasize the potential of the processes of globalization in changing religions; these processes increasingly 'force' them to face new socio-cultural phenomena in a globalized world and settle outside of their traditional territories. This perspective is the central point of reference of the last chapter (chapter 5), in which we analyse the life stories of 15 Romanian Orthodox women resident in the province of Padua and half of whom regularly attend the BOR parish in the city. In this study, which has a qualitative bias, we investigate the relationship of those who adhere to this diaspora religion with the socio-cultural context, focusing on some modernity issues

(for example the individualistic orientation of society and religious differentiation) and some categories of human rights. We hypothesize that in the new lifestyle of these followers of the faith some adaptations have occurred that have changed their position towards some human rights issues. Our analyses focus on individual situations, and a list of questions is administered to subjects who adhere to the religion in question. However, whenever possible, our investigation shifts to the institutional level, focusing on stories that reveal the life of the parish. The qualitative approach guides us as we venture along this path and we attempt to maintain a twin-track reading; the recognition of certain *cultural norms* may facilitate changes in the system of beliefs of the faithful and in the religious institution itself[18].

The hypothesis we develop in the research is that a process of hybridization involving the Romanian Orthodox Church and Italian society is under way, and this may be deemed to be a fairly evident case of a glocal religion. The specific aspects of the Italian situation constitute a workshop, which, in the BOR, offers an opportunity to develop new elements (both theoretical and practical) in the Orthodox tradition (Giordan, Guglielmi 2018). In this regard, we list some of the specific features of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora that have favoured multiple glocalizations of the religion in the Italian context. An initial reference to these characteristics is made in the first chapter so that we can more clearly understand their scope and effects in the hybridization processes:

- A Latin character forms part of the collective identity, public discourse and the theology of the BOR. This element, together with other historical and cultural factors, has facilitated in the BOR a more evidently open position – with respect to that of other Orthodox jurisdictions - towards the European Union and, in general, towards the Western world;
- The Latin character is recognisable in the ethnic identity of the Romanian population, however the different historical and cultural sensibilities that characterize the Romanian regions must be considered.
- An attitude that is ‘reflective’ and, that is, allowing for an encounter and possible debate with other religious actors and state institutions, can be identified in the

[18] This twin-track approach also aims at maintaining continuity with chapters 2 and 3. These chapters focus on the establishment of the diaspora religious institution, while the last chapter presents a bottom-up perspective by focusing on the faithful and their day-to-day life.

leadership of the Romanian Patriarchate regarding the issue of its diaspora in Western Europe and in that of the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy.

- We should also note that Romania may be structurally recognized as a 'diaspora country', i.e., having a very high percentage of citizens resident in other countries. This condition encourages the BOR to elaborate an authentic transnational vision on the diaspora, thanks also to the political will and economic assistance provided by the Romanian state.

The specific aspects that are listed relate to socio-cultural and religious elements that are clearly heterogeneous but definitely interdependent. Finally, we wish to stress a point capable of connecting all of the aspects and which represents a 'watershed' in the history of Romania and in that of its diaspora, given its capacity to profoundly modify the country. The entry of Romania into the European Union initiated a phase of transformation which clearly involves also Orthodoxy, and which appears to redefine Church-state relations and cultural boundaries within which the citizens of this country feel that they are Romanian and followers of the Orthodox faith.

1.6 Method

In the following chapters we present data collected through both quantitative and qualitative methods. In chapter 2 the mapping of the Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy and the collection of data on the main jurisdictions was carried out adopting the methodology of previous research concerning Eastern Orthodoxy in Italy (Giordan 2013a, 2013b; Giordan, Guglielmi 2018). In particular, to collect the data we first of all referred to the liturgical calendars annually issued by certain jurisdictions. Given that such calendars are published only by the most highly represented jurisdictions in Italy, our work subsequently involved online research and was integrated with personal meetings and telephone discussions and interviews. In the second and third chapters considerable use is made of qualitative material collected through in-depth interviews and ethnographic observations in Italy and in Romania. The quantitative data on the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy were collected through a fruitful collaboration with the aforementioned diocese. Finally, in chapter 5 we use the qualitative material collected through in-depth

interviews with the Romanian adherents to the Orthodox faith and ethnographic observations in the Romanian Orthodox parish of Padua.

The research carried out may be seen as a sociological study, however an occasional overlap with other social sciences is evident. We feel that this should not be defined as a multidisciplinary work; we would rather suggest that the research falls within the scope of the sociology of religion. In some specific points of the study, however, we enter the field of theological research and, in fact, we feel that this particular discipline may assist the social sciences in an investigation of socio-religious actors, adopting a 'qualitative' approach. It offers an opportunity to social scientists to develop an 'ambivalent' perspective, both inside and outside a religious tradition. An analysis of the doctrine of the Orthodox Church (with respect to which a comparative study involving other Christian churches is now necessary) and of the culture of the society in which it developed and evolved allows for a deepening of our understanding of current conflicts and changes, and avoids an approach that focuses excessively on rational-choice theory (for an assessment with this view, see Hamilton 2011). This is especially pertinent in a controversial issue such as Orthodoxy and democracy, in which the constituent elements - for example, the phenomenon of nationalism - are incomprehensible when detached from their historical and theological trajectories. The approach of religious glocalization points out both that religion involves active agency and that religious traditions at the local/global level may contain socio-cultural elements that do not follow a perspective of religious provision and consumption (also in their interaction within a condition of transnational religion).

In his well-known work *Tricks of the Trade* (1998) the sociologist Becker warns social scientists against the challenges and limitations of the methodologies used in their research. He promotes systematic data collection and rigorous analysis as a way to make sense of the social world, but highlighting the typical critical aspects of social research. He also pays attention to the a-priori 'images' of social scientists, which are then also constructed in relation to the subject of their research. These images have an influence on the definition of research methodology and on the collection and interpretation of data.

> Some social scientists may stop me here and say that they never talk about things about which they have no data. I don't believe them (…). Social scientists always, implicitly or explicitly, attribute a point of view, a perspective and motives to the people whose actions they analyse. For instance, we *always* describe the significance given by subjects studied to the events they take part in, thus the vital question is not whether an activity should be carried out but how accurately it should be performed. We can gather data about the meanings people give to things and many social scientists do in fact proceed in this way. We discover - not in a perfectly accurate manner, but this is better than nothing at all - what people think they are doing, how they interpret objects or events, how they consider people in their lives and what their experience is. We do this by talking to them, in formal or informal interviews, or through rapid exchanges while we participate in and observe their ordinary activities. We observe and listen to them as they go about their daily activities. We can also do this by giving them questionnaires which let them express their feelings and reveal their interpretation of events or they can choose between optional responses that we offer as possibilities (1998: 26).

In this research we began the collection of data after a period of exploration, and then attempted to construct step by step the sample structure and an 'image' of our work. This certainly does not eliminate the limits and dangers highlighted by Becker, especially when a study intends to offer an organic view of a church, a religious tradition or a great phenomenon such as a diaspora however, as he noted, this is 'better than nothing'.

In the data collection process, I followed the view of "gradual selection as a general principle in qualitative research" (Flick 2009: 120). In fact, the gradual selection of data is not only an original principle of sampling in various traditional approaches in qualitative research, but a strategy of data collection that influences how you can generalize the results. In our opinion, as Flick (2009: 125-126) states, sampling decisions are often taken during and as a result of data collection and analysis; they are frequently based on a substantial, concrete level rather than on an abstract and formal level.

As I anticipated in the introduction, I have divided the collection of the qualitative data of the research into three main periods and the relative fields of research. During my doctoral studies I was able to undertake a period of research in Romania and gather qualitative material (from March to June 2017). In particular, I interviewed priests who work at the Romanian Patriarchate in Bucharest and who, in their mission, for various reasons are called upon to address issues relating to the Orthodox diaspora (10 interviews) and also priests and deacons who have studied and participated in the life of the Romanian parishes in Italy (6 interviews) and students of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology and of

the Faculty of Foreign Languages of the University of Bucharest, who have lived in Italy and have participated in the life of the diaspora parishes (6 interviews). I also interviewed some Romanian priests who work at the Romanian Orthodox Metropolis of Western and Southern Europe *(Mitropolia Ortodoxă Română in Europei Occidentale şi Meridionale)* based in Paris and at the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva (3 interviews). Finally, I carried out various interviews and collected ethnographic material at the university chapel and parish of Santa Caterina (*Parohiei Sfânta Ecaterina - Paraclis universitar*) (5 interviews).

I also gathered qualitative material in Italy (from November 2015 to October 2018). I carried out two interviews (in 2015 and in 2017) with the bishop and the vice-bishop of the Romanian Orthodox diocese in Italy (Romanian Orthodox Diocese of Italy - *Episcopia Ortodoxă Română in Italiei*) at the Rome office (2 interviews), with priests and deacons of the parishes of the Romanian Church across the Italian peninsula (8 interviews), and with faithful of the Romanian Orthodox parish in Padua dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul (*Parohia Ortodoxă Română Sfinţii Apostoli Petru şi Pavel din Padova*) (from January to June 2018), where I also administered a list of questions and was able to collect various ethnographic data (15 interviews).

Furthermore, in a previous research project the purpose of which was to map out the galaxy of Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy (between November 2015 and October 2018 as well) I had the opportunity to interview some of the leading priests in the diocese (or communities) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Holy Orthodox Archdiocese of Italy and Malta - *Ὀρθόδοξος Ἱερά Μητρόπολις Ἰταλίας καί Μελίτης*) of the Russian Orthodox Church (Parishes of the Patriarchate of Moscow in Italy - *Приходов Московского Патриархата в Италии*) and other non-canonical churches (10 interviews). In these three years of research I have carried out 65 in-depth interviews in Italy and Romania.

Finally, I used the qualitative material of a previous research on Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy (Ihlamur-Öner 2009) and collected various types of editorial material from Internet sources[19].

[19] In particular, from the following portals: Lumina, a hard-copy and online newspaper of the Romanian Patriarchate; the website Basilica.ro, the official press office of the Patriarchate, and Basilica, the publisher of the Romanian Patriarchate; the web portals of the Romanian Orthodox Church (the portal of the Patriarchate and that of its parishes; the portal of the Romanian Diocese in Italy and that of its communities); the on-line Vatican archives.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have defined the theoretical frame of the thesis and the objectives of our research. In the first paragraph we defined the main sociological perspective referred to in our work, i.e., religions and human rights. This path of research allows us to analyse in an unprecedented way the relationship between the two sides in question and socio-cultural phenomena. In the second paragraph we defined the principal positions of social scientists regarding the subject of Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights, identifying some limitations and critical aspects of the main lines of research. Our work is associated with final category of this research, which does require greater methodological clarity but presents the potential of a broad area of potential study that remains to be explored.

In the third paragraph we defined the second debate our research forms a part of: that relating to the Orthodox diaspora in Western countries. In this respect, we seek to focus on *the sociological perspective* rather than *the canonical perspective* relating to the phenomenon of the Orthodox diaspora in the Western Europe. Our studies form part of that environment of sociological research that highlights the presence of new trends and social transformation within the Orthodox Churches in Western Europe. This is indeed a geographical area in which new experimentation seems likely, and this will be facilitated by the mobility of migratory flows from the Orthodox countries and by socio-cultural and economic changes that have occurred over the last few decades. In the fourth paragraph we defined the framework within which we approach the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy, elaborating the paradigm of a 'diaspora religion as a glocal religion'. This theory identifies in the four glocalizations theorized by Roudometof analytical concepts suitable for analysing contemporary diaspora religions and describing their hybridization processes.

In the fifth paragraph we defined the objectives of the research, and we offer an initial overview of certain specific aspects that characterize the choice of the subject of our study. The case of Romanian Orthodoxy in the Italian peninsula allows us to show evidence of recent trends in the socio-religious landscapes and to shed new light on the sociological debate on immigration and religion. The pendulum does not swing in a regular manner between the condition of a church in diaspora and that of a local church, and does not stop at just one end of its arc of movement; the challenge of our research is precisely that of analysing the glocal elements of this diaspora religion which deeply

modify its tradition and create a new *cultural hybrid*. We refer to the relationship of the diaspora religion with the main issues of modernity and human rights: issues that concern the structural (and unresolved) relationship of Orthodox Christianity with the modern world. We analyse these points maintaining a form of continuity with the view previously developed regarding the subject of the diaspora, proceeding in accordance with the perspective of human rights and glocalization.

As previously stated above, this thesis does not only concern the two debates referred to above, but seeks to address the relationship between religion and modernity. This may be seen as a favourite topic of classical sociology, but it never becomes an obsolete subject of interest on account of its mutation and redefinition in accordance with the evolving conditions of modern societies. The conclusions of the following chapters (except for chapter 4 which does not present empirical data, but in which we will present an assessment of the nexus religion, modernity and human rights) close with a focus on forms of 'importation' of experiences and practices from the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy and in Europe to the church in the motherland. This research question involves above all two main changes of traditional religions in modernity: their diffusion outside their traditional territory (the so-called 'going-global' effect) and their having to deal with phenomena usually 'extraneous' or distant to their socio-cultural context. The transnational processes connect a diaspora religion to its church of origin, and in our case some of the Romanian Orthodox 'fruits' cultivated in Italy may have been exported to other diasporas or to the motherland. Such 'fruits' may have otherwise even arisen from a process of hybridization between the different diaspora situations in Europe, if indeed some kind of network binding the various groups does exist in the Old continent.

> We argue that transnational religious connections create organizational and cultural change in local houses of worship and alter the global power dynamics within international religious communities. Transnational religious connections also modify the way followers of a faith interact with public institutions and those who adhere to other faiths. Sometimes this results in positive interactions that allow religious values to strengthen civil society; sometimes it increases conflicts between groups. What is clear is that transnational religious connections have a significant power to create social and religious change (Offutt, Miller 2016: 527).

Levitt coined the term ‘social remittance’ to describe the content of transnational religious flows, and defined the concept as “the ideas, behaviours and social capital that flow from receiving to sending communities” which become “tools with which ordinary individuals create global culture at the local level” (Levitt 2001: 11). Starting from the Italian case and occasionally extending our sphere of interest to the European field, we therefore seek to show how this transnational process has inaugurated paths involving an *aggiornamento* with respect to specific issues in Romanian Orthodoxy.

Chapter 2
The Orthodox Christian Panorama and the Settlement of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

Thanks to the Christian faith, this country, which is linked with the memory of Trajan and the Roman world and which by its very name recalls the Roman Empire but is also marked by the Byzantine civilization, through the centuries has become a bridge between the Latin world and Orthodoxy, between Greek civilization and the Slavic peoples.

Pope John Paul II (1999)

Introduction

The quotation we have placed at the beginning of this chapter is taken from a speech made by Pope John Paul II during his visit to the Orthodox Cathedral of Bucharest on 7 May 1999. This papal journey represents a sort of dividing line in the history of relations between the Orthodox Churches and the Catholic Church; it was the first time a Catholic Pope had visited a predominantly Eastern Orthodox country since the Great Schism of 1054. Furthermore, with respect to the importance of the event and its related media coverage this may even be seen as the most important ecumenical event in the history of the Romanian Patriarchate.

The Pope's visit was in fact a 'success'; this well-attended religious and diplomatic event was appreciated by the majority of followers of the Romanian Orthodox faith (Durandin 2000)[1]. In his speech Pope John Paul II focused on the role of the Christian faith in the early settlement of the Romanian population and in the constitution of the Romanian state, and also on the constant presence of the Church in Romanian society since ancient times, "becoming a source of civilization and a principle of synthesis among the diverse inspirations of its culture". It would appear that he was paraphrasing the affirmation of Dumitru Stăniloae previously referred to in the introduction of our thesis.

[1] Excluding the dissent of a radical minority linked to the world of Romanian monasticism.

The historical link existing between Romania and the Christian Byzantine faith - and, at the same time, with the Roman Empire - over the centuries allowed it to become a border country and, occasionally, also a mediator between the Slavic Orthodox and Hellenic worlds. As mentioned above, the Latin character remains a highly thematic element in the identity and doctrine of the Romanian Orthodox Church. The manner in which this is recognized and emphasized by the pontiff of Latin Christianity - together with Romania's historical relationship with the West- is thus an interesting aspect.

Our aim is to begin the second chapter with this reflection in order to focus on the presence and extent of the Romanian Latin character within the current Italian socio-cultural context and in its processes of religious differentiation. The first paragraph of this chapter will in fact attempt to describe the religious diversity which in recent decades has begun to characterize the Italian peninsula. This context has moreover assumed particular features as a result of the cultural hegemony of Italian Catholicism and its openness to other Christian traditions. These processes also intersect with the recent development of secularization and important changes in personal relationships with the 'sacred' which have contributed to changing the Catholic religion and redesigning the Christian scenario in this country.

Paragraph 2 proposes a long-term historical overview of the main Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy, and attempts to highlight their sociological discontinuity at the end of the last millennium. In the next paragraph we will refer to the current condition of Orthodox Christianity in Italy, and our aim is to clarify the 'puzzle' of the various canonical and non-canonical jurisdictions in the country. First of all we focus on demographic aspects and analyse the national groups that make up the body of the Orthodox faithful, and then we consider institutional level, identifying the territorial distribution of the religious communities in the diaspora.

In paragraph 4 we attempt to place the Romanian Orthodox Church within the framework of socio-religious changes dictated by the diasporic condition. In particular, we offer an initial historical and socio-religious reflection on the Latin character and culture in Romania and consider its effects in the settlement of the BOR within the Italian territory. In fact, Vertovec (2000) emphasizes that the diaspora condition involves all spheres of the religious communities. It has an effect on one's sense of identity and the community (the dilemma of continuity or change) and ritual practices (the reinterpretation

of rituals in the new socio-religious context, the negotiation of regional styles and traditions and a decreased use of certain rituals). This perspective accompanies our research work and in particular the following paragraphs of this chapter, which raise questions concerning the dynamics that characterize places of worship and the liturgies in the diaspora.

In the two final paragraphs, in fact, we investigate the main elements of the parishes and monasteries of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy, and the condition of its clerics in the diaspora. In the first case our intention is to highlight, through a glocal perspective, the *cultural hybrids* developed by the places of worship in the diaspora, and attempt to identify within the liturgy the influence and interaction of the four forms of glocalizations indicated in the first chapter. In the second case we outline the glocal profile of the Romanian Orthodox clergy in Italy and the socio-cultural characteristics of this particular vocation (that of the priesthood in the diaspora), placing it in relation to a religious mission in a new host context.

2.1 The Italian Religious Diversity

Over the last two decades the socio-cultural fabric of the Italian peninsula has undergone important changes. Although it is still characterized by the cultural hegemony of the Catholic Church, new phenomena that change the features of Italian religious geography are superimposed upon it.

In fact, our country is characterized by an unprecedented religious diversity favoured by the migratory flows that have developed since the end of the Second World War and their acceleration in the nineteen-nineties and in the recent phases of European integration. The birth of a multi-ethnic society has promoted the emergence of a plurality of faiths, which involves traditions such as Islam, Orthodox Christianity, the evangelical and pentecostal protestant world, Buddhism and the religions of the Eastern world, as well as a broad spectrum of religious sects. However, this ‘Italian pluralism’ remains quite special, considering the central position preserved by Catholicism in the various cultural, social and political aspects of the peninsula (Garelli, Guizzardi, Pace 2003, Pace 2011b, 2013b).

Pace (2013a) described this situation using the famous paradox of Achilles and the tortoise attributed to the pre-Socratic philosopher Zeno of Elea (490-430 B.C. ca.). The intention of this author was to analyse from a particular angle various social changes taking place in Italy and, that is, the transition from a society under a Catholic monopoly to a socio-cultural dimension characterized by an unprecedented and unexpected religious pluralism. Despite the religious diversity that is beginning to make itself socially obvious, the Catholic Church continues to have a central role in the public arena but, like Achilles in the metaphor, it is beginning to realise that Italian society (the tortoise in the metaphor) is moving on, not only because other religions are striving to gain visibility and public acknowledgement, but also because they are contributing in some cases to making the religious field more variegated (Pace 2013a: 316).

The estimate of 189 nationalities represented in the immigrant population in Italy suggests that the processes of religious diversification involve almost all Italian regions. In the latest research on religious diversity in Italy (Pace 2013b) maps have been used to facilitate the comprehension of the dissemination of religions in the Italian territory. A person travelling through Italy, from north to south or from west to east, would not easily become aware of the Sikh temples or Mosques, nor would this individual know how to recognise Hindu Mandirs or Buddhist temples. The traveller would also find it rather difficult to comprehend the rapidly-evolving Protestant presence in the peninsula. He would not be likely to notice the African neo-Pentecostal or South American churches or those of the Chinese (a community of immigrants about which little or nothing is known regarding their religious habits). It would also be difficult for the traveller to comprehend the heterogeneous reality of Baptist churches or to identify differences between a 'normal' Catholic Church and the Anglican and Episcopal churches historically established in some Italian cities. Moreover, problems might arise in the identification of certain recent Christian churches, such as those of the Mormons and the Adventists; it is often very difficult to identify them and they continue to exist in quite precarious conditions.

This religious diversification occurs in parallel with other processes that modify the relationship with the 'sacred' on the part of followers of the traditional religion in the country. In this case some elements of the past are mixed with other more unusual and recent situations, for example favouring the emergence of alternative religious identities

and spirituality or the tendency of many Italians to claim that they adhere to a particular religion while living a completely secularized daily life. These changes appear to occur and develop in a situation in which the Catholic faith, albeit distinguished by many 'doubts', remains generally prevalent and in which among the followers of this religion one may note an increase in the number of those who reveal a cultural link to the same without nurturing a deep belief. It seems that for most people Catholicism remains the main cultural and social point of reference of Italians, although the specific practices of the religion and the acceptance of certain dogmas appear to be declining (Garelli 2011). Moreover, it would seem that a general lack of interest with respect to the 'sacred' is growing particularly among last generations or younger members of society. Over the last few decades it was probably never quite so evident, but a fading interest in religion on the part of younger people now appears to be widespread, as is the consolidation of non-institutional paths in their relationship with the 'sacred' (Garelli 2016).

According to an ethnographic study (Marzano 2012) that focuses on Catholicism in our peninsula, it seems that Italy does not resemble the more secular France or Germany, which do not present strong Christian points of reference, and the Italian situation differs also from that England with its consolidated stance of 'believing without belonging'. However, social changes similar to those affecting the whole of Western Europe and which tend towards a general process of secularization may be identified. There are significant regional differences (Cartocci 2011), nonetheless the decline of religious practices and a waning interest in religion on the part of Italians would appear to reveal a breach in particular with immigrants living in the various areas of the country where communities are distinguished by greater attention paid to the 'sacred' and to religious cult.

These recent dynamics (on the one hand a decline in religiosity on the part of Italians and on the other the arrival of new immigrant communities) pose unprecedented challenges to the traditional religion of the country with respect to forms of dialogue and negotiation with the new religious communities. These socio-cultural trajectories seem to stimulate in the Catholic Church an ecclesial model capable of developing a renewal of an external type linked to the mission of socially integrating the communities of immigrants of every religion, and a change of an internal nature that aims at attaining a new balance between the new religious groups and national groups (Garelli 2006). On the

one hand, in fact, the presence in the country of a large community of Muslims, whose socio-cultural dimension differs from that of Italy and Europe, seems to have contributed towards a reinforced sense of the existence of shared cultural roots, in the form of Catholicism, and in some cases has favoured cultural closures (Pace 2007). On the other hand, however, contact with the immigrant communities living in Italy appears to have engendered the question - as Ambrosini (2016) suggests - of the permanent and actual inclusion of the 'new Catholics' in local religious structures. This will moreover perhaps occur, conferring upon them a sort of 'ecclesiastic citizenship', allowing them to be included in the representative bodies and the life of Italian parishes[2].

We may examine more thoroughly the theoretical framework described, focusing on the reality of religion in Italy from the sociographic point of view and in particular on the sociographic aspects of Christian traditions. Such a perspective allows us to clarify with empirical data the processes of religious diversification and to focus on the phenomenon of the pluralization of Christian traditions within which our research unfolds. Thanks to the processing of data provided by the ISMU Foundation (2016), we may provide an estimate of the extent to which immigrants adhere to the Christian churches in Italy.

Table 1. Distribution of resident foreigners by religious affiliation as of 1 January 2016.
(abs. value, expressed in thousands)

Catholic Christian	Orthodox Christian	Christian Coptic	Evangelical Christian	Other Christian groups	Other Religions	None Religion	Total
1,038.6	1,606.9	18.7	121.3	106.7	1,807	320.5	5,019.6

The religion with the largest number of immigrants is Christian Orthodoxy (1,606,900), followed by the evangelical churches (121,300) and other Christian churches (106,700 followers). The number of immigrants adhering to non-Christian religions represents the highest value (1,807,000), which includes very different religious traditions, such as Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Sikhism. However, this total added to the number of immigrants who adhere to no religion at all (2,127,500 people) remains about 26.5% lower than the estimate of the number of immigrants belonging to Christian

[2] In the message *Migration and the New Evangelization* (2011) Pope Emeritus Benedict XVI clearly declares, as on a few other occasions, the urgency of promoting such a form of evangelization.

churches (2,892,200 followers). These estimates confirm the presence in Italy of an immigrant population presenting a Christian majority (57.6%), a small portion of whom also participates in the activities of Catholic parishes. In fact, an interesting detail that emerges is the fact that 1,038,600 immigrants follow the Catholic faith, this being a group that represents about 20.6% of the immigrant population in Italy. The latter estimate seems to confirm an increasingly significant trend, which, also on account of the decline in births in Italian families, appears to change the national balance in the community of followers of the Catholic faith.

Regarding the main nationalities that correspond to these Christian traditions, we may offer other estimates. Christian Orthodoxy is characterized by an immigrant population mainly from Eastern European countries involved in the two great migratory processes of the last two decades, with the first occurring in the early 1990s following the fall of the communist regimes and the second after the entry of these countries in the European Union. According to data provided by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), in January 2017 there were 1,168,552 Romanians, 135,661 Moldovans, 234,354 Ukrainians, 39,935 Serbs and 58,620 Bulgarians living in Italy. These figures allow us to empirically establish the hegemony of this religion in quantitative terms. However, as regards followers of the Catholic faith, the main national groups in the peninsula are those from the Philippines (166,459) and Poland (97,062), and the Roman Catholic and Greek-Catholic communities from countries with a non-Catholic majority, such as Romania, Albania and the Ukraine. Finally, the other Christian churches receive migratory flows from different continents, where the phenomenon of the African and South American Pentecostal churches is becoming increasingly significant.

However, according to further data from the Immigration Statistical Dossier compiled by the IDOS Study Centre the population of Christian immigrants would appear to be slightly lower, in any case presenting a positive trend in recent years. The following table (Table 2) shows historical variations in the numbers of immigrants with respect to their connection with the three main Christian traditions in Italy.

Table 2. Distribution of immigrants by Christian religious affiliations in Italy from 2013 to 2016 (%)

	Christianity	Catholicism	Christian Orthodoxy	Protestantism	Other Christian Churches
2013	53.2	18.5	29.6	4.3	0.7
2014	53.8	18.3	30.5	4.3	0.7
2015	53.8	18.1	30.7	4.3	0.7
2016	53	18.1	29.8	4.3	0.8

The estimates present a substantial stability in the number of Christian immigrants over the last three years. This balance is characterized by a slight increase of those who follow the Orthodox faith, while the number of those who adhere to the other Christian traditions remains substantially unchanged. These data also seem to confirm the hegemony and expansion of Orthodox Christianity in Italy. The 2016 data indicate a decline in the number of Orthodox Christians, probably owing to the economic crisis and the contraction of the Italian labour market, which has influenced migration flows from Eastern Europe.

2.2 A Historical Perspective of Orthodox Christianity in Italy

As stated by Giordan (2015: 263-264), descriptions of the Orthodox presence in the West in historical perspective are fairly plentiful (see, for example, Chaillot 2005) and, in particular, of its presence in Italy (Pacini 2000; Morozzo della Rocca 1997; Reati 2009; Morini 2002; Battaglia 2011). Traces of the Greek-Byzantine Christian culture that characterized the Italian peninsula throughout the first millennium may still be easily found today by tourists visiting various churches in Rome, Lucca, Venice, Ravenna (an extension of Constantinople in the peninsula) and the cathedrals of Monreale and Spoleto or by pilgrims who want to trace the memorials of monks, such as St Januarius or St Nicholas of Myra in Lycia, who were venerated throughout the entire period of Orthodoxy but were also the patrons of dozens of cities and towns in southern Italy. The Byzantine influence in Italy on culture, art, architecture and faith, especially in the south and along the Adriatic coast and, in spite of the presence of Islam, in Sicily, continued - even following the division between the Christian Churches - until the modern era: the present Italian-Albanian communities or the Italian-Greek communities in Calabria and

Sicily, as Battaglia says, “represent the living memory of that significant and multifaceted presence” (2011: 22).

Early Byzantine monasteries were founded in Sicily in the seventh century, when Byzantium controlled the southern and Adriatic areas around the Italian peninsula. The Eastern monasteries which had their headquarters in Rome disappeared in the thirteenth century but in the south Italian-Greek monasteries continued to exist until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and many Roman pontiffs of the seventh and eighth centuries were of Byzantine origin. “Venice itself had been Byzantine, from the time of its foundation until the thirteenth century” (Battaglia 2011: 24) and Christopher, its first bishop, followed the Byzantine faith.

One of the most ancient Byzantine monasteries still active in the world is the Monastery of Grottaferrata in Italy, ranked with such non-Italian foundations as St Catherine on Mount Sinai, the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the Monastery of Our Lady of Saidnaya in Syria, the Great Lavra of Mount Athos and the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev. At least until the eleventh century, some dioceses in the peninsula were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which was a source of incessant conflicts with the pope in Rome until the mutual excommunication between Patriarch Michael Cerularius and the papal legates led by Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida.

However, even after the 1054 schism, the absorption of these Greek dioceses into the Latin hierarchy was gradual rather than immediate. In addition, migration flows from the Christian East have occurred throughout all regions from the sixteenth century onwards, and significant Orthodox communities of the Byzantine rite have always been present in Naples, Barletta, Messina, Catania, Livorno, Venice, Trieste, Ancona, Genoa and other cities (Battaglia 2011: 27). The Byzantine style sometimes mingled with the Arab-Norman style, and the churches and palaces of Palermo are a clear example of this blending, giving rise to a ‘half-breed’ style and traces of which are to be found along many of the Italian coasts. In this cultural exchange with the East, besides the movements of populations even the movement of relics acquired through violent raids played a major role and were transformed by tradition into discoveries, miraculous rescues or transfers. Two examples widely known in Italy are the sack of Constantinople carried out by the crusaders and the Venetians in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade (part of the spoils of the

enterprise were the famous bronze horses placed in front of the facade of St Mark's Basilica) and the transfer of the remains of St Nicholas of Myra to Bari, celebrated even today by the Russian Orthodox church. The history of the relics thus also reflects a story of domination and conflict, as well as a story of various encounters (Battaglia 2011: 38).

Following this brief reconstruction of the historical background of Orthodoxy in Italy in previous centuries, we will simply provide the most significant historical references of the principal Orthodox churches currently present within Italian territory: the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Russian Orthodox Church and the Romanian Orthodox Church. Altogether their parishes represent almost 80% of the Orthodox parishes present in Italy (378 out of 486). In addition, we will focus on the Coptic Orthodox Church, the main non-Chalcedonian Orthodox Church in Italy (see Giordan, Guglielmi 2018).

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople boasts the most ancient Orthodox presence in the Italian peninsula. The presence of Greek-Orthodox communities is linked to the influence of the Byzantine Empire in the Italian territory and is concentrated in the Southern regions of Italy. In the fifteenth century the rise of the Ottoman empire in the Balkans and in the Middle East produced great migratory flows of Orthodox populations, especially from Albania, which increased the presence of the Eastern communities in the Italian territory. However, in the mid-nineteenth century they declined due to their gradual assimilation into the Catholic Church and their immigration to new diaspora centres in Europe (Ravegnani 2004).

However, in the twentieth century the presence of Greek-Orthodox parishes and monasteries in the Italian territory became stable. At the beginning of the last century these religious communities started to become increasingly organized, and since the post-World War II period their activity has grown significantly, in particular thanks to the large numbers of Greek students enrolled in Italian Universities (Piovano, 2001: 73-74). During the latter historical period the Greek-Orthodox parishes in Italy formed part of the Archdiocese of Thyatira and Great Britain (1922-1963) and later the Exarchate of the Archdiocese of Austria-Hungary (1963-1991). Given the strong Orthodox presence and the great migratory flows from Eastern Europe, in November 1991 the Patriarch Bartholomaios I formed the Holy Orthodox Archdiocese of Italy located in the historical

church of Campo dei Greci in Venice, and in 1996 appointed Gennadios (Zervos) as Bishop of Italy.

The Italian diocese is currently divided into 15 vicariates and has been officially recognized by the Italian state since 1998. Finally, the Ecumenical Patriarchate is the only Orthodox jurisdiction in Italy to have reached an agreement (officially referred to as an 'Intesa' or 'Understanding') with the Italian state. This agreement, drawn up in 2007 and ratified in July 2012, grants the practice of spiritual support within the national health service and in military structures and also the recognition of some religious festivities. It moreover solves the question of the civil effect of religious marriage, and provides the Ecumenical Patriarchate with certain forms of economic aid, such as the deduction of donations in state tax declarations and its participation in the so-called 'eight-per-one-thousand' convention, whereby a small portion of general taxes collected by the state may be donated to religious institutions that have signed the agreement (Parlato 2012).

The Russian Orthodox Church also has a long history in Italy, even if its initial difficulty in settling and subsequent internal vicissitudes rendered its experiences in this country manifold and complex (Talalay 1998). The first attempts to settle in Italy date back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when small Orthodox chapels were installed in the Russian embassies. Following an initial unsuccessful attempt in Turin in 1791, at the Russian embassy within the Kingdom of Sardinia, in 1802 a chapel was established and remained sporadically open for about a year at the Russian embassy in Naples. In 1810 a military church was established in Florence, and in the following decades it was transferred to various cities until the time of its return to Russia. The embassy chapel in Rome, the centre of the Russian Orthodox life in Italy, was also transferred several times until the early twentieth century.

After more than twenty years following its foundation, in 1866 the Russian embassy chapel of Naples was transferred to Florence, the new capital city of the Kingdom of Italy. After obtaining various permits, it was in this particular city that the first Russian Orthodox Church was built in Italy in 1903. This was followed by those of Merano (1895-1898) and Sanremo (1913), attended by Russian tourists, and by that of Bari (1913), a centre of attraction for pilgrims. However, after 1917 the situation changed considerably. The material support of the Russian Foreign Ministry was no longer available and the embassy chapels were at risk as a result of the advent of Soviet Russia and nationalization

processes. The number of Russians in Italy grew significantly, although a large number of exiles tended to prefer France. These were the first Russian-Orthodox communities in the Italian peninsula; the first parish that was closed at the end of World War II had been set up in Milan in the nineteen-thirties.

The Russian community in Italy also experienced the schism that occurred between the two foreign jurisdictions in 1926 and, that is, between the Archbishopric for Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe based in Paris and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) based in New York. The shifts of parishes from one jurisdiction to another that affected major cities such as Rome and Bari were followed by a period of decline of Russian Orthodoxy. However, in the nineteen-seventies, when the parishes slowly began to disappear, the Russian Church was reinvigorated by the birth of the Italian Orthodox communities guided by the Patriarchate of Moscow. At this time some Catholics in fact expressed a desire to investigate their Christian roots and, returning to the Church of the Fathers, converted to Orthodoxy. In the first half of the nineteen-eighties, this phenomenon led to the establishment of 5 new parishes in Milan, Pistoia, Palermo, Brindisi and Modena. Also in the following decades the increase of migratory flows caused by the fall of the Soviet Union allowed the Church to establish new parishes and to expand in some of the major Italian cities, as in the case of the community of San Massimo in Turin, which was founded in 1994 (Berzano, Cassinasco 1999: 115-121).

The administrative body that oversees the parishes of the Moscow Patriarchate in Italy, legally recognized by the Italian state in May 2012, is currently in the process of negotiating an agreement. Since 2015 it has been guided by Bishop Antonij (Sevrjuk) of Bogorodsk (the Bishop of Vienna and Budapest since 2017), who is also the director of the foreign institutions of the Moscow Patriarchate.

The presence of Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy on the other hand is a more recent phenomenon, and its beginnings are linked to an event that may be defined as quite unique. Father Mircea Clinet, a Greek-Catholic priest arrived in Italy in the nineteen-sixties to assist the Romanian community. In the academic year 1966-1967 Clinet began to teach the Romanian language and in the nineteen-eighties became a professor of Romanian literature at the Catholic University in Milan. During his studies at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome Father Mircea met the young Greek-Catholic Romanian Jesuit Father Vasile Bărbat. Shortly before he died he asked him to continue

his activities relating to a scientific exchange with the Romanian Patriarchate to facilitate a fraternal meeting between the two churches at the end of the dictatorship. Having accepted this task, Father Mircea went to Milan and tried to establish a form of collaboration between the Catholic University and the Orthodox Theological Faculty of Bucharest, and succeeding in obtaining the allocation of a two-year scholarship for a doctorate that would be reserved for one Romanian student. This scholarship was granted to Father Traian Valdman, a young priest who, at the end of the two-year period of studies, established the first Romanian Orthodox parish in Milan in 1975. The following year a second scholarship for a new doctorate was granted to Gheorghe Vasilescu, the founder of the first Romanian Orthodox parish in Turin in 1979 (Alzati 2011: 193-195).

The establishment of the two latter parishes was followed by those of Bari (1983) and Florence (1984), and later on by those of other Italian towns in which a small group of Romanians was present. However it was in the nineteen-nineties, after the fall of the Communist regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu, that an initial large group of Romanian immigrants came to Italy. Although 34 parishes were already present in the Italian territory in 2004, the Romanian diaspora began in 2007 with the entry of Romania in the European Union. Thanks to socio-cultural affinities and solid historical and diplomatic relations between the two countries, Italy soon became the primary destination for the Romanian diaspora - both in Europe and also at world level - with a community of more than 1,130,000 people.

Since 2001 the Romanian parishes in Italy have been subject to the supervision of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolis of Western and Southern Europe directed by Bishop Iosif (Pop). In June 2004 Bishop Siluan (Șpan), at that time bishop vicar of the Metropolis indicated above, was appointed Bishop Vicar for Italy. In 2007 the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church approved the creation of the Romanian Orthodox Diocese of Italy and the following year, in February, Bishop Siluan was appointed Bishop of Italy. The Church became legally recognized by the Italian state in 2011, and negotiations aimed at establishing an agreement are currently in progress.

Finally, after analyzing the historical trajectories of the main Orthodox jurisdictions we may examine the case of the Coptic Orthodox Church in Italy. This principal jurisdiction of the Oriental Orthodox Church in the Italian peninsula represents a communion composed of six autocephalous churches that recognises the validity of only

the first three ecumenical councils. In the early nineteen-seventies many Egyptian immigrants came to Italy in search of labour opportunities. Within a few years many Egyptian families decided to remain in this country, constituting the first Egyptian communities. The Coptic ministry in Italy thus began in 1984 with the arrival in Milan of the hieromonk Beniamino El Baramusi. It also operates in the communities of other cities, such as Rome, Turin, Bologna and Brescia, practising the liturgy in churches granted to it by the Catholic Church. From 1985 until the mid-1990s, every year Coptic clerics were sent to Italy to assist the groups of their fellow countrymen.

In 1993 the Coptic community in Italy appeared to have reached a point of consolidation and the various local communities had become established. At that time in this country there were 8 parishes and a monastery under construction and the followers of the faith included about 900 families and 2,220 young people (Cannuyer 1994: 228-231). For this reason, in 1996 the Diocese of Turin and Rome was established under the guidance of Bishop Anba Barnaba, and, in particular, it became operative in the cities of Florence, Reggio Emilia, Bologna and Genoa. In the same year the Diocese of Milan was established under Bishop Anba Kyrillos and became a strong point of reference especially for communities in the North-East part of the country. In 2017, on the death of the latter, Anba Antonio was nominated as the new bishop of the diocese.

2.3 Mapping Orthodox Jurisdictions and Parishes

As we have already seen in the study presented by Giordan and Guglielmi (2018) and, as mentioned earlier, important changes in the presence of Orthodox Christianity in Italy began to occur in the nineteen-nineties. This ‘revolution’ did not take place only at the quantitative level, but also at the level of the structuring and permanent establishment of these Churches in the Italian territory. Table 3, which contains data from the Immigration Statistical Dossier compiled by the IDOS Study Centre, indicates that the Orthodox presence in Italy has been constantly increasing since the year 2000. The growth accelerated especially in 2003, probably as a consequence of immigration rules that were introduced by the Italian Government in the previous year. Since 2006 there have been more Orthodox then Catholic immigrants, and in the following years the numbers almost corresponded to that of Muslim immigrants. In 2010 the recorded difference between

Orthodox and Muslim immigrants amounted to approximately 100,000 subjects, and some scholars suggested that “if this trend remains constant, in three years' time the number of Orthodox immigrants is bound to exceed that of the Muslims, and, subsequently, the expected decline of flows from Eastern Europe will cause a reversal of the positions” (Perego, Gnesotto 2010: 207).

Table 3. Religious adherence of immigrants in Italy: Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim.

	Catholics	Orthodox	Muslims
2001	362,066	198,824	488,300
2002	363,809	204,373	553,007
2003	496,051	446,099	723,188
2004	629,712	565,627	919,492
2005	668,048	659,162	1,009,023
2006	685,127	918,375	1,202,396
2007	775,626	1,129,630	1,253,704
2008	739,000	1,105,000	1,292,000
2009	700,777	1,221,915	1,354,901
2010	876,087	1,404,780	1,504,841
2011	960,359	1,482,648	1,650,902
2012	994,000	1,534,000	1,708,000
2013	911,200	1,459,300	1,628,000
2014	917,900	1,528,500	1,613,500
2015	908,000	1,541,000	1,609,000
2016	910,000	1,506,557	1,641,800

In the years 2011, 2012 and 2013 the difference between the two religious traditions in quantitative terms increased considerably, probably also due to the effect that the international economic crisis and recent conflicts in the African continent has had on migratory flows. However, it would appear that this difference decreased in a significant manner in 2014, to the point of presenting the lowest divergence since 2001. In 2015 Orthodoxy was the only religious tradition that saw an increase in the number of its followers. The other two religions saw a slight decline, and since 2000 the numerical difference between Orthodoxy and Islam has never been so small (68,000 subjects).

Furthermore, the ISMU Foundation (2016) offers another authoritative source of data concerning the relationship between immigration and religion in Italy. The latest data provided indicate a greater number of adherents of the Orthodox faith, who exceed the number of Muslims by over 180,000 subjects. Table 4 presents an estimate of the numbers of faithful of the various religions among foreign residents in Italy:

Table 4. Religious adherence of immigrants in Italy (2015)

Catholics	Orthodox	Muslims
1,038,600	1,606,900	1,423,900

The Orthodox religion seems to be more widespread in the northern regions (Lombardy 265,200, Veneto 175,500, Piedmont 162,900, Emilia Romagna 156,700) and in some central regions (Tuscany 116,400, Marche 40,700), with a peak noted in the Lazio region (259,900)[3]. This religion would appear to be less present in the southern regions (with a maximum presence in the Campania region of 84,800 faithful), and, from the geographical point of view, this also reflects the situation of the Italian labour market, and that of the immigrant population in the country. To conclude, more than half of the followers of the Orthodox faith seem to live in the northern regions of Italy (53.8%), and a third in the two regions of Lombardy and Lazio (32.7%).

In the first paragraph of this chapter we referred to data on the nationality of immigrants who belong to the three main branches of Christianity in Italy. In this case, we analyse further data that offer a more in-depth view of the processes of differentiation within Christianity and of the national dimension of religious glocalization in the Italian territory. The data in Table 5, from the Immigration Statistical Dossier compiled by the IDOS Study Centre, shows the nationalities represented in the group of adherents of the Orthodox faith in Italy and those of the other two Christian traditions.

Table 5. Nationalities of immigrants of the three Christian traditions in Italy (2015)

Citizenship	Orthodox	Citizenship	Catholics	Citizenship	Protestants and others	Citizenship	Christians
Romania	999,400	Philippines	135,000	Romania	68,000	Romania	1,151,000
Ukraine	193,000	Poland	94,000	Nigeria	20,000	Ukraine	226,000
Moldova	133,000	Peru	84,000	Ghana	19,000	Philippines	152,000
Bulgaria	42,000	Romania	84,000	Philippines	17,000	Moldova	135,000
Albania	41,000	Ecuador	80,000	Germany	16,000	Albania	115,000
Republic of Macedonia	40,000	Albania	74,000	United Kingdom	15,000	Peru	97,000
Other countries	*93,000*	*Other countries*	*357,000*	*Other countries*	*100,000*	*Other countries*	*828,000*
Total	1,541,000	Total	908,000	Total	255,000	Total	2,704,000

[3] In this estimate of followers of the Orthodox faith in Italy the adherents of the Coptic Orthodox Church are not included, and accounted for individually. As previously mentioned, this is the jurisdiction of the 'non-Calcedonian' Eastern Orthodox Churches most deeply-rooted in Italy, which has about 18,700 faithful residing mainly in the northern regions (over 40% live in Lombardy).

The Romanian Orthodox community is the largest group, followed by that of the Ukrainian and the Moldavian immigrants. The faithful of these three national communities together represent the 'basin' of the three main Orthodox jurisdictions. The Moldavian and Ukrainian immigrants constitute the majority of adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church in Italy, thereby respecting the jurisdiction to which the two respective churches in the motherland belong (the Moldovan Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church). In the definition of this grouping a key role is played by common ethnic and linguistic characteristics among these faithful, and, in particular, aspects relating to the culture of the Slavic world and the Slavonic language. However, some of the Ukrainian Orthodox faithful are members of the parishes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, considering the presence in their homeland of a church (the Ukrainian Orthodox Church - Patriarchate of Kiev) that was founded in 1992. In October 2018 the Ecumenical Patriarchate concedes the status of autocephaly to this Ukrainian church, opening thus a large conflict with the Moscow Patriarchate. In 2016 the latter church founded in Italy a Deanery which appears to be developing, and which will probably facilitate a further redistribution of the Ukrainian faithful in the Orthodox parishes in Italy[4]. The Moldovan Orthodox faithful in Italy are also influenced by divisions in the motherland, where the two operative Orthodox jurisdictions reflect historical, ethnic and cultural tensions occurring across the country. These are an Orthodox church under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, and an Orthodox church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate Romanian (Metropolis of Bessarabia) (Grigore 2016). In our own case, the Moldovans in Italy are to a large extent present in the Russian parishes, and are then also found in the Romanian parishes and in those of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Finally, the data concerning the other two Christian traditions suggest the presence of two particular situations. The first is the quantitative impact of the Romanian population, which also has the third largest Catholic community and the first community of the Protestant branch of the immigrant population in Italy. This latter community even surpasses the overall total of the two main African Protestant communities in Italy (those of the Nigerian and Ghanaian immigrants), which is rapidly rising in our peninsula thanks to the unprecedented phenomenon of the African Pentecostal churches (Butticci 2016).

[4] Reference may be made to to Hovorun (2016) and Krawchuk and Bremer (2016) for an examination of the dramatic situation in the Ukraine and the position of the three local Orthodox churches with respect to the current political crisis in that country.

The second situation concerns the trends of the entire Christian dimension of immigrants in Italy: the Romanians reveal their considerable influence, however one should not underestimate the presence of faithful from other countries with an Orthodox majority, such as Ukraine (Vianello 2009) and Moldova, or from those with a large Orthodox community as occurs in Albania.

Following this examination of the national communities of Orthodox believers in Italy we may now move on to consider the Orthodox jurisdictions in our peninsula. In a reseach (Giordan, Guglielmi 2018) we note that at the beginning of 2016 there were eighteen Orthodox Christian jurisdictions present in the Italian territory, with a total of 486 parishes distributed across the entire country. Table 5 offers the possibility to compare these values with those recorded five years ago. In 2011 there were 16 jurisdictions and 355 parishes, and as far as the latter are concerned an increase of 37% was recorded in only five years. Moreover, with respect to details relating to the individual jurisdictions the data show that the most significant increase concerned the Moscow Patriarchate (43%), the Patriarchate of Romania (37%) and the Coptic Church (52%). The Metropolis of Milan and Aquileia, which presents a surprisingly increased percentage, is a particular case as it comprises the clergy and believers of various ethnic groups. In Table 6 we have also included the Orthodox Church in Italy, which, however, presents a rather controversial situation that will be discussed later.

Table 6. Orthodox Churches in Italy (2011 and 2016)

Jurisdiction	Parishes and monasteries in January 2011	Parishes and monasteries in January 2016
Romanian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Romania), Diocese of Italy	166	228
Sacred Orthodox Archdiocese of Italy and Malta (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople)	84	87
Russian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Moscow), Administration of the Churches in Italy	44	63
Coptic Orthodox Church	21	32
Greek Orthodox Church of the Calendar of the Fathers – Synod of the Resistant	9	12
Archbishopric for the Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe (Exarchate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate), Deanery of Italy	7	7
Ethiopian Orthodox Church Tewahedo	5	6
Serbian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Serbia)	4	5
Romanian Orthodox Church of the Old Calendar	3	4
Autonomous Orthodox Church of Western Europe and the Americas - Metropolis of Milan and Aquileia	3	14

Bulgarian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Bulgaria)	2	2
Eritrean Orthodox Church	2	3
Macedonian Orthodox Church	2	3
Armenian Apostolic Church	1	2
Russian Orthodox Church of the Ancient Rite (Metropolis of Belokrinitsa)	1	1
Orthodox Church in Italy	1	2
Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Kiev)	-	5
Georgian Orthodox Church	-	10
Total	355	486

The increase in the number of parishes of the Romanian Patriarchate has been surprising, both in quantitative terms and with respect to the speed of their growth, which has also been caused by changes in the European legislation on migration. It is moreover evident that from the quantitative point of view, the Orthodox Romanians in particular have made a difference within the panorama of the Orthodox Christian churches in Italy.

In our analysis we also consider the number of Orthodox parishes present in each region of the Italian peninsula at the beginning of 2016 (Tab. 7). These data seem to overlap with previous estimates relating to the distribution of adherents of the Eastern Orthodox faith in the Italian peninsula. Indeed, the regions with the largest number of parishes are Lombardy and Lazio, the principal destinations of the religions in diaspora in Italy, and also Piedmont, Emilia-Romagna and the Veneto, which are the areas with the most important economic and productive activities in the country.

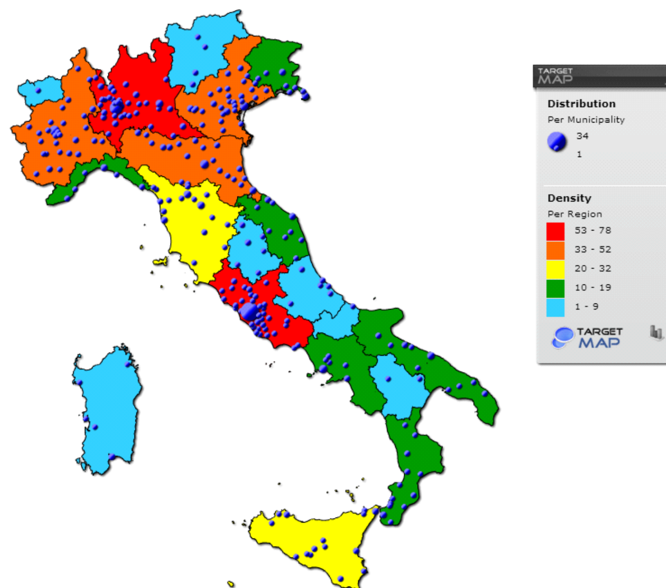
Table 7. Orthodox Parishes and Monasteries in Italy by Region (2011 and 2016)

Regions	Parishes and Monasteries 2011	Parishes and Monasteries 2016
Abruzzo	8	8
Basilicata	2	2
Calabria	21	19
Campania	12	15
Emilia Romagna	31	45
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	10	16
Lazio	57	75
Liguria	9	12
Lombardy	48	78
Marche	9	14
Molise	3	1
Piedmont	38	52
Apulia	14	19
Sardinia	8	8
Sicily	19	24

Tuscany	20	32
Trentino Alto Adige	4	6
Umbria	10	9
Valle d'Aosta	1	1
Veneto	29	50
Total	355	486

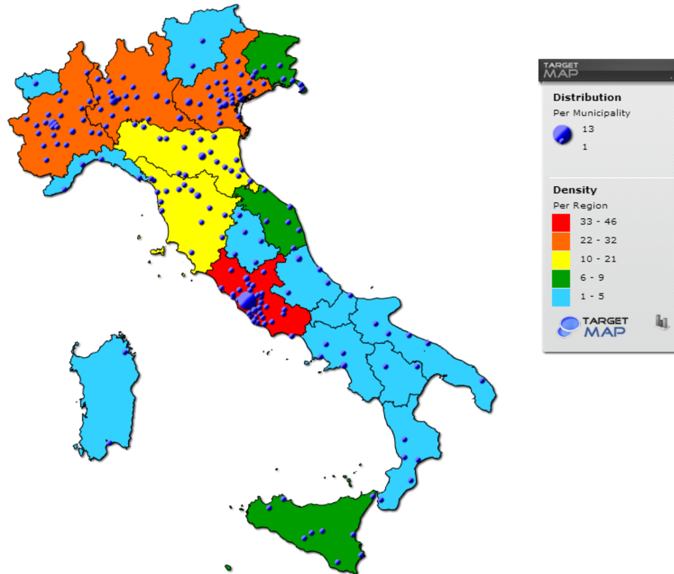
Places of worship are present in all major cities in all of the Italian regions (see Map 1). While their presence is consistent across Northern Italy, it is evident that Orthodox settlements in the central areas (excluding Lazio) and in the Southern regions (except Sicily) is more limited.

Map 1. Orthodox Churches in Italy in 2016

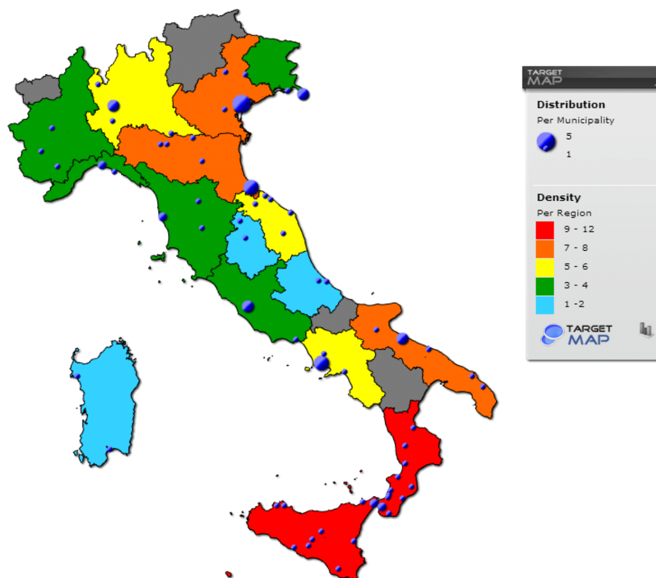


Maps 2, 3, and 4 show the territorial presence of the three main Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy. The Romanian Orthodox Church is present in all regions and in all major cities. However, the Moscow Patriarchate and Ecumenical Patriarchate have no places of worship in some regions and are less present in the major Italian cities. The Moscow Patriarchate is absent in 4 regions and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 3 regions.

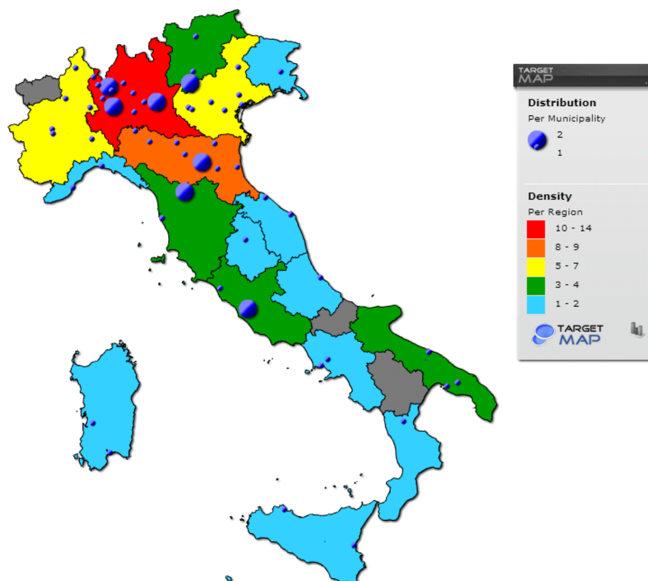
Map 2. Romanian Orthodox Churches in Italy in 2016



Map 3. Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in Italy in 2016



Map 4. Russian Orthodox Church in Italy in 2016



This scenario appears to be a fragmented and heterogeneous, and characterized by internal and external divisions and forms of tension. It includes the jurisdictions of 7 canonical Orthodox churches, 4 ‘non-Calcedonian’ Eastern Orthodox churches, and 7 non-canonical Orthodox churches. As previously mentioned, these 18 jurisdictions are populated by faithful not only from their own national group, and thus also ‘import’ into the Italian territory certain hostilities relating to ecclesial conflicts and the issue of the multiple jurisdictions in the homeland. To complicate the situation, this religious scenario also comprises parishes of the Greek and Romanian factions forming part of the Orthodox tradition of the Old Calendarists: the Orthodox churches that did not accept modification of the traditional Julian-Constantinian ecclesiastical calendar in 1924. We also refer to settlement in the city of Turin of the largest Lipovenian community from Romania in Western Europe (probably on a par with another large community in Spain). This diaspora religion forms part of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Ancient Rite, a church faithful to the liturgy of the origins that began to spread across the world in the mid 1600s following the repression of the Patriarch Nikon as it did not accept some of his reforms in the Russian Orthodox Church.

In 2016 an attempt on the part of a group of Italian clergymen, not forming part of or on the verge of the Orthodox world, to constitute the first Italian Orthodox Church caused a sensation within the Orthodox world and attracted the attention of the Italian media. Within this sphere a path is sought that will lead towards an Italian Orthodoxy, which, in fact is a controversial goal that has been promoted for a few decades by other churches. Moreover, attempts have been made to bring together within a sole autocephalous institution various Italian religious groups[5]. Considering certain aspects, this religious faction aims at creating a distance from the doctrine of churches forming part of the Orthodox Communion, for example in its choice to approve the presence of deaconesses and in that of consecrating as its primate a married clergyman.

This Orthodox Christian panorama appears to suggest that some forms of nationalism and religious conflict typical of specific Orthodox experiences are no longer suitable in a (host) context that forces the various jurisdictions to interact with each other at an unprecedented level with respect to the situations of the motherland. In this regard, the example of the Orthodox Episcopal Conference of Italy and Malta is a first attempt at establishing Pan-Orthodox coordination among the Bishops and Canonical Orthodox Churches who have jurisdiction over the Italian territory. The assembly appears as a glocal institution with a Pan-Orthodox nuance, and an attempt to coordinate different experiences and needs related to the social, cultural and political reality of Orthodox (canonical) diasporas in a Western country.

As we indicated on the previous pages, we may argue that within this Orthodox Christian panorama the redistribution of national groups within the jurisdictions of Orthodox diasporas takes on glocal traits as it blends socio-political and canonical tensions of the motherland and international Orthodox affairs with typical elements of the host country and of the diasporic condition. In the next chapter we will focus on the effects of the host environment on the organization and activity of these diaspora religions; in this section however we will emphasize how the host country may re-establish or negotiate the boundaries that normally relate to national and religious identities. Moreover, the configuration of the jurisdictions of the Orthodox diasporas in a specific country seems to constitute a ‘glocal puzzle’, which, also on account of the hybridization

[5] A brief historical and organizational profile of this church is available on the CESNUR website: http://www.cesnur.com/la-chiesa-ortodossa-italiana (Accessed: Septeber 8, 2018).

processes favoured by their indigenous (or ethnic) and vernacular aspects and also by situations generated by transnational religious processes, is not easily identified in other contexts. As stated by Roudometof (2015b: 223-224) it appears that through migratory flows and its transnational ties Orthodoxy may in certain situations distance itself from its historical experiences.

2.4 An Overview of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

The historical development of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy may be seen as forming part of the history of Italian society and in particular is related to the phenomenon of the immigration of Eastern Europeans in our territory. The first communities established in the late seventies in some Italian cities entered into relations with a socio-cultural environment divided by political conflict and shaken by terrorism. At the same time, in Romania there was a communist dictatorship and the BOR was in a difficult situation.

A great transition occurred in the final decade of the twentieth century in Romania as the communist era came to an end. The change leading to the creation of a democratic regime had even devastating repercussions on the social, economic and political life of the country. This very difficult situation facilitated an increase in migratory flows from Romania to Italy and in general towards Western European countries. However, this difficult period also represents a moment of strong enthusiasm and expectations on the part of the Romanian population with respect to Europe. Moreover, after almost half a century of religious repression there is a rebirth of religion in Romania and in some countries of Eastern Europe (Tomka 2011). Father Gheorghe Liviu Verzea recalls his arrival in Venice in the mid nineteen-nineties:

> At that time in Romania our faith was flourishing, and there was a sense of great enthusiasm in our church. At the same time the country was engaged in discovering the European continent, and nurtured great expectations with respect to the European Union. But it was also a very difficult period. I remember that in those years there was the Kosovo war, and there had been previous conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Italy was very welcoming towards these people from the Eastern block with whom they had had no contact previously and were now meeting for the first time.

This climate of great trust towards Europe and the expectation of being able to build a life with better socio-economic conditions strongly influenced the migratory flows. As shown in Table 8, which contains an estimate of the number of Romanians in Italy since 2001 according to ISTAT data, the phenomenon of Romanian migration to Italy initially accelerated after 2002 with the liberalization of tourist visas in Romania. A second acceleration can be identified in 2007, and this was motivated by Romania's entry into the European Union and by access on the part of Romanian citizens to the right of free movement in the European territory.

Table 8 - Number of Romanian immigrants in Italy (abs. val.)	
2001	74,885
2002	95,039
2003	177,812
2004	248,849
2005	297,570
2006	342,200
2007	625,278
2008	796,477
2009	887,763
2010	968,576
2011	823,100
2012	933,354
2013	1,081,400
2014	1,131,839
2015	1,151,395
2016	1,168,552

Excluding the decline in the two-year period 2011-2012, the progressive growth of the Romanian community in Italy is quite impressive.

There is not an exhaustive sociological answer which may clarify the motivations that led the Romanians to emigrate en masse to Italy (and constituting in this country their greatest diaspora at world level). However, it appears that one main reason may be identified in their cultural profile: like Romania, Italy is in fact a Latin country. This cultural proximity seems to have made Italy a privileged territory with respect to

Romanian immigration. It is no coincidence that Spain, another Latin area, is the country with the second largest Romanian diaspora in the world.

The Romanian Latin character and nature is a theme discussed in both Romanian public and historiographical debates. However, not all of the intellectuals and political forces involved in the debate recognise it as a historical matrix of the Romanian population. Such is the case despite the fact that from the linguistic point of view it is indisputable, considering that Romanian is a Romance or neo-Latin language. As mentioned above, in our research we argue that: the Latin character is recognisable as the ethnic identity of the Romanian population, however the various historical and cultural sensibilities that characterize the Romanian regions must be considered; the Latin character is a key element of the identity, public discourse and theology of the BOR. With respect to the first point, the subject of an ongoing debate, we might consider affirmations made by the Romanian historian Ioan-Aurel Pop in relation to the link of the Romanian people with ancient Rome:

> The Romanians may trace their history back to the time when they existed as a 'Latin enclave at the gates of the East' or as an 'island having a Latin nature and character in a Slavic sea' and have always remained in a wide area of intermingling and various influences. The stability and the very existence of this region has always been threatened from the west and the east, from the north and from the south. The threats have occasionally assumed destructive or dissolving forms, dangerous for the identity of the Romanians. In the distant past the serious dangers arriving from the south and from the north and those from the west were eliminated, removed or neutralized when possible through the contribution of the Romanians themselves and with the help of their neighbours, but above all thanks to the evolution of international relations. Much more persistent, more pressing, more painful and more serious were the dangers arriving from the East, starting with the flow of migrants and ending with the Soviet tanks ushering in a communist scenario. For over a thousand years, Romanians have lived with the obsession of threats from the East. With their polyvalent identity and legacy, they have thus preferred to cultivate their western component. In the 14th and 15th centuries it was already obvious that 'the light' had ceased to come from the East. As the East became an increasingly abject reality, culture and civilization flourished in the West against the backdrop of Greek and Latin classical culture of antiquity and Christianity. The West thus became a model to be followed. Rome - ancient Rome - was a substantial part of this model and had become its most striking symbol. Romanian national ideology and modern mythology derived from this link with Rome, albeit real and imaginary at the same time. However, in the 13th and 14th centuries Rome was Catholic, and the link with the city was mediated by other Catholic states, in particular by the Kingdom of Hungary. This link was strongly hampered by the orthodoxy of the Romanians and through pressure to achieve their Catholicization, which did not always correspond to a general conviction. Such pressure to extend the

influence of the Catholic faith bore the seal of Rome in a misleading way, but was effected through the prism of coercion on the part of the Hungarian military-political world. In the mind of the Romanians (especially those directly dominated by Hungary) Catholicism was associated with the Hungarian world and their oppressors, and this feeling was sometimes extended to include Rome, where the head of the Western Church resided. In this way, the Byzantine faith and the bond, through the Slavs of the South, with the 'New Rome' (Constantinople), but also the tendencies towards Catholicization relating to the Hungarian influence had become serious obstacles for the cultivation of the memory of early Rome and the Latin nature and character. However, Rome was present not only in the nature of the Romanian world; it was also present in the very name of the Romanians. They were the only holders of this 'privilege', with this being for ideologists evident testimony not only of their Latin nature and character, but also, together with it, of their western origin. For this reason, links with the West have been resumed in modern times in relation to other principles and, for Romanians, the name of their country - a sort of Rome transferred close to the Danube, across an area stretching from the Carpathian mountains to the Black Sea - has become strongly linked to their identity. The name was created in the same period, deriving from historical and ideological factors, both powerful and perennial. Most definitely, the consolidation of this general name of Romania was tenaciously supported - as occurs in the history of all peoples - by intellectuals, the creators of modern nationalism and national ideology (2014: 34-35)[6].

This long quotation adequately highlights the relationship between Romanians and the Latin character and nature, showing some of the characteristics and functions that it has historically assumed. According to this historical perspective it can be traced back to early Romanian history and relations existing between the population of this country and other empires and it is also related to its central position between the West and the East. This historical trajectory arises with the appearance of the Dacian population around 200 BC and their subsequent inclusion in the Roman Empire; it continues from the great clashes of the Middle Ages until the Romanian national awakening of 1848, which led to the birth of the Principality of Romania (1859). This Latin character and nature appeared to be present also in the events of the two world wars, and within the identity policies of the communist regime[7].

As previously mentioned, in this Latin character there are geographical and temporal differences. As mentioned by Pop in the quotation, Antohi (2002) established that "the

[6] In this regard, reference may also be made to the work of Pop (1999).
[7] However, especially initially, the debate and emphasis on the Latin nature and character of Romania developed within the thorny political and religious issue of the relationship of these territories with the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Catholicism. In particular, these dynamics occur mostly in the region of Transylvania, where the Romanian Greek Catholic Church (*Biserica Română Unită cu Roma, Greco-Catolică* (BRU) was born and is most deeply rooted.

eighteenth century deepens the discrepancies between Transylvania and the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in every way, including such elusive domains as social imaginary, self-identity and symbolic geography". On the other hand, the philosopher Mona (2008: 116-118) emphasizes how the Latin character goes hand in hand with other identifying elements, such as the Orthodox one, which lead it to different leanings in the intellectual debate in the various historical periods. In our opinion, a Latin character and nature thus appears to assume the traits of the Romanian ethnic identity, which should be distinguished from the national identity. The latter is used in the reproduction of a close relationship between confessional adherence and modern national identities, while the former represents an element of a cultural nature, a pivot of the tradition of a population with respect to its ancient history[8].

Furthermore, the Latin nature and character must be historically placed within Italo-Romanian relations. As Tucu establishes (2013; see also Marcu 1940), in the history of cultural relations occurring between these two countries an argument underlying the common values of the two peoples has always been that of their common origin, or of the Latin character that unites their national paths. These cultural relationships seem to develop in parallel with the Italian emigration to Romania, especially since the end of the nineteenth century. During this period a Latin League was formed in Italy, which, referring to the common Roman heritage, sought to promote cooperation between the two countries. For some Italian intellectuals Romania became a privileged destination for the dissemination of ideas underlying the Italian Risorgimento; in this context reference was often made to the 'Latin race'. However, already from the Age of Positivism and from the beginning of this century some Italian and Romanian intellectuals trusted in the achievement of closer relations between national groups having a common Latin origin.

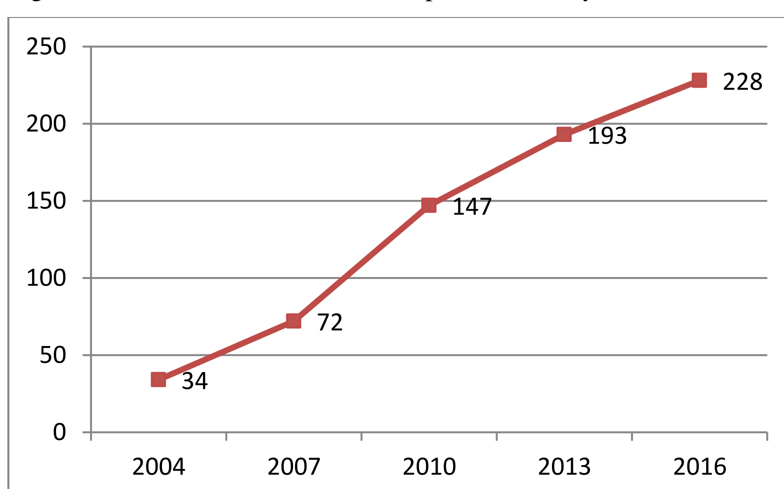
This 'shared Latin character' between Italy and Romania seems to have favoured Romanian immigration in the Italian peninsula. The distinction between nationalization and indigenization, two forms of religious glocalization, is useful for the comprehension

---

[8] Regarding the power of the role or space allocated and 'reserved' to the Latinity in the Romanian identity, it is interesting to consider some rhymes of the Romanian national anthem: "Now or never let us give proof to the world that in these veins a Roman blood still flows, that in our chests we hold a name with pride, Victorious in battle, the name of Trajan!". This song became the Romanian national anthem in 1990 after the fall of the communist regime, however it has a long history. It was written and published during the Wallachian Revolution of 1848 with the name *Un răsunet* (An echo), and has been sung during all major Romanian conflicts; it was one of the main revolutionary songs during the 1989 anti-communist revolution.

of the entrenchment of the Orthodox religion occurring together with the Romanian migratory flows. The indigenous aspect of the BOR, thus established by the church to the extent of proposing it as a historical and religious specificity in the Orthodox world, facilitated its religious glocalization in the Italian territory[9]. An initial observation of this process of glocalization focuses on the quantitative level: as shown in Fig. 1, after Romania's entry into the European Union the number of Romanian Orthodox parishes began to increase in an exponential manner, following the influx of Romanians in Italy.

Fig. 1 Number of Romanian Orthodox parishes in Italy from 2004 to 2016



The increase of the number of parishes of the Romanian Patriarchate has been very surprising, not only in quantitative terms but also in terms of speed with which this has occurred: as clearly shown, the Romanian parishes in Italy increased from 34 to 228 in 12 years, tripling their number in less than ten years (since 2007). This growth is parallel to that of Romanian immigration, which is intensely marked by transnational processes. The phenomenon of 'commuting' between Romanian villages and Italy for seasonal work involves a large section of the Romanian population. This type of migration, especially in the first decade of the 21st century, has become a sort of lifestyle for many Romanian immigrants who now have roots in two different national contexts and their transnational situation helps them to set up networks between the two countries in order to transfer goods, resources and experiences (Cionchin 2006; Cingolani 2009).

[9] The same arguments on the common Latin origin of Italians and Romanians are widely developed in the work of Ihlamur-Öner (2009: 336-338).

In 2014, the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy was made up of 19 Deaneries situated in various locations along the peninsula; the Deaneries unite the parishes of one or two regions or in some cases just one area within a single region. The Diocese consists of 228 parishes, to which must be added 108 'filial' parishes (in Romanian *filii*), where a 'non-resident' priest will celebrate the mass only once or twice a month. In addition, we must consider 5 chapels, 4 monasteries, 3 hermitages, and 4 deaconries: structures led by a clergyman that are permanently engaged in providing social-welfare services and assistance. Finally, within the total number of parishes, we must also consider the 23 Moldavian parishes involved in the pastoral administration of the Metropolis of Bessarabia.

In order to understand the characteristics of this Orthodox settlement in Italy it appears useful to focus on religious leadership and consider the biography of Bishop Siluan (Şpan) of the Romanian Diocese in Italy. Siluan was born in March 1970 in the province of Sibiu in Transylvania. After completing his theological studies in Sibiu, he was awarded a doctorate at the Saint-Serge Institute in Paris in 1998. In 1994 he went to France, where he lived for almost ten years until he moved to Italy. Practically ever since the time he completed his doctoral studies he has lived outside of Romania, and his entire religious career has developed abroad[10]. From a young age this personal situation and life path allowed him to acquire experience in Western European society and develop his own pastoral vision by serving in the Orthodox diaspora in France. Furthermore, to understand his positions and personal history, as suggested by Bogdan Tătaru-Cazaban, the Romanian ambassador to the Holy See from 2010 to 2016, it is useful to consider the spirituality of the bishop's patron saint, Silouan of Athos or Silouan the Athonite (1866-1938). Although he spent most of its life on Mount Athos, his spiritual and theological heritage should not be interpreted as distant and alien with respect to the West. For

[10] To briefly recapitulate his ecclesiastical career, prior to his election as a bishop, in 1994 he was ordained as deacon at the chapel of the Faculty of Theology of Sibiu; in 1994 he was ordained as an unmarried priest at the chapel of the Faculty of Theology of Sibiu by the Metropolitan Serafim of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolis of Central and Northern Europe, at that time Bishop Vicar at the Archbishopric of Sibiu; from 1994 to 2001 he fulfilled the role of presbyter at a convent of nuns at Bussy-en-Othe in France; in 1999 he was canonically transferred (incardinated) by the Archdiocese of Sibiu to the Romanian Orthodox Metropolis of Western and Southern Europe in Paris; in 1999 he was nominated as vicar of a Parisian parish; in 2001 he received the monastic tonsure, assuming the name Siluan; in 2001 the Synod of the BOR elevated him to the rank of Archimandrite and elected him as Vicar Bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolis of Western and Southern Europe; from 2001 to 2004 he was the first abbot of a monastery in Malvialle in France; in 2001 he was ordained Bishop Vicar at the parish of Bordeaux in the Metropolis referred to above. The next part of his ecclesiastical career is outlined in the previous paragraph.

example, in 1958 his pupil Archimandrite Sophrony (Sakharov), who translated and disseminated his writings in English, founded in Essex (UK) an Orthodox monastic community composed by monks and nuns and with an ecumenical nuance (the Patriarchal Stavropegic Monastery of St. John the Baptist). Reflecting on these facts, we would like to suggest that the religious profile of the bishop, linked to a specific religious and spiritual leader in the Orthodox Christian monastic tradition, may also facilitate a 'reflective' attitude towards the contemporary world, thus influencing his direction of the diocese.

Finally, the foundation of a Romanian parish often becomes a subject of local public debate, and relative news items will appear in local daily newspapers and the religious press. As we have identified in the analysis of the content of Italian on-line news media, the birth of an Orthodox parish seems to highlight within the (local) public sphere of the host country various aspects of the Romanian identity perceived by Italian citizens.

These dynamics appear to be influenced by the occurrence of serious crimes committed by Romanian citizens, drawing attention and generating concern on the part of the public, beginning in the early years of the 21st century and following Romania's entry into the European Union. Over the last two decades some Italian media have in fact developed a campaign against Romanian immigrants, and some right-wing political parties have been the protagonists of political campaigns presenting xenophobic traits (Harya, Malis 2010: 107-135). Thus, the opening of a Romanian Orthodox parish sometimes seems to become an opportunity to 'heal', through their religious and ethnic identity, a national identity that has been 'damaged' by the media and/or which is subject to intolerance and suspicion of a part of the Italian population. For example, the establishment of a new parish in the Veneto region was referred to by a Romanian Orthodox priest as an opportunity to "overcome also the erroneous mistrust triggered by confusion between the 'Roma' and 'Romanian' nationals, two entirely different ethnic groups" (Il Mattino di Padova 2016). A similar statement was made in an interview with a Romanian Orthodox priest who serves in a parish in Sanremo (Roggero 2011) and in another interview - again, with a Romanian priest serving in Sicily - following the occurrence of a crime near the parish of the latter (Brunetto 2009). On the Italian side, the Councillor for Integration in a well-known Tuscan city defined the birth of the new Romanian Orthodox parish in his city as an opportunity to valorise a community that is

penalized and discriminated against on account of news reports concerning fellow citizens of other ethnic groups who engage in unlawful behaviour (Il Tirreno: Edizione di Pisa 2014).

We may hypothesise that for this diaspora religion there are issues at stake within the public sphere that have to be dealt with together with other actors, and religious glocalization seems to be a suitable path to follow in order to 'correct' a negative image of one's national identity in the public sphere. This process may assume an orientation and trajectories that differ on a case-by-case basis and which - in the Romanian Orthodox Church in any case - appear to remain focused on the question of ethnic identity or indigenus aspect. By way of an example, in an interview with a local newspaper in Mantua a Romanian Orthodox priest who had just arrived in the city to serve his new community said: "Like you, we are a neo-Latin people and, as reflected in the name of our country, we maintain a close relationship with Rome" (Mazzotti 2004).

To conclude, the establishment of a Romanian Orthodox parish in an Italian city seems to stimulate within the local public sphere feelings and opinions relating to national, religious and ethnic roots on the part of the diaspora religion and also in the host country. These reactions are also connected to specific events occurring within the local context, such as the memory of a serious crime perpetrated by a foreign citizen in the city, which have an influence over the development and composition of this cultural hybrid.

2.5 Places of Worship of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

Some social scientists have theorized the concept of religious landscapes or *religioscapes* to map complex relations resulting from the migration of faiths and peoples across borders, as well as the geographical coexistence or overlapping of sites claimed by different world religions (Hayden, Walker 2013). This theoretical framework appears to be an adequate point of reference for a study of the places of worship of the diaspora religions and of religious communities abroad, and of the transnational processes that influence places of worship in the motherland[11]. In fact, "the academic and journalistic

[11] Hayden and Walker use this concept, focusing on the historical dimension (as in the studies on religious glocalization in the previous chapter). Their definition of religioscapes in fact focuses on the temporal factor: "A key concept which we explain in this project is that of the religioscape, the distribution in spaces through time of the physical manifestations of specific religious traditions and of the populations that build them" (2013: 399). We prefer to use this theoretical frame to focus on today's interactions between religious

consideration of shared religious space usually presents assertions about the quality of the sharing as a manifestation of ‘tolerance’, a term that is usually not further specified. Less attention has generally been paid to the defining the space in question, perhaps because it usually seems obvious that an author is speaking about a specific site” (Hayden, Walker 2013: 400).

The places of worship of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora are characterized by constituent elements linked to the state of the diaspora and the host environment, and these elements create places of worship that are distinct from the churches in the motherland. Moreover, they present particular features that differentiate them. We can indicate the different types of places of worship under four main profiles: 1) a Catholic church, the interior of which - especially the altar - is decorated with icons, national flags and Orthodox liturgical adornments. These churches are normally provided to the Romanian parishes by Catholic dioceses only for the liturgy and for just a few hours a week or, as occurs always more frequently, they are permanently loaned to the Romanian community; 2) a garage or a room set up with Orthodox ornaments for the liturgy. Again, in such cases the situation remains precarious and the interior furnishings and fittings of the place of worship are limited by the duration of the liturgy; 3) a Catholic church the ownership of which has been acquired by the Romanian diocese. Inside it will be converted according to the standards and canons of an Orthodox church, however the external architecture of the church remains conditioned by the Latin rite; 4) an Orthodox church or a monastery, newly constructed in the Italian territory. In some cases these latter places of worship may present architectural forms that are not ordinary or common in the Orthodox world (but respectful of the canons).

In 2014 the Romanian Orthodox Diocese of Italy had about 220 places of worship, of which: 7 owned by the diocese, 1 with surface rights; 32 on loan with a leasing contract; 76 on loan with a free concession-for-use contract; and 94 on loan on the basis of a verbal agreement. Thus, the most common profile of place of worship is that of a Catholic church on loan to a Romanian community.

Let us now try to understand some of the dynamics that characterize these profiles of places of worship. For an examination of the Catholic churches appointed as places of

traditions, neglecting a long-term historical perspective that is not essential in the sociological study of recent phenomena such as this diaspora religion.

worship for the Romanian diaspora (1), the reflections of Mother Maria Skobtsova (1891-1945) would appear to be still relevant today. She was an Orthodox nun of the first Russian diaspora in Paris in the 1920s who was canonized as a saint by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 2004. She perceived "the new situation of the diaspora as a free space for the Holy Spirit" (Bauerova 2015: 159), and from the beginning of her vocation she was not afraid to imagine the impossible: to become an Orthodox nun in Paris where there were no Orthodox monasteries. Starting from the story of Mother Maria and extending the scope of her interest to include other figures belonging to that nascent religious community abroad, the theologian Bauerova (2015) showed how freedom and creativity could lead to innovative steps in the liturgical life of the small Russian Orthodox diaspora in France in the nineteen-thirties. Almost one century later it seems that the 'creative factor' still underlies the preparation of these places of worship characterized by a precarious condition.

This view, which does not strictly constitute a sociological perspective, aims to highlight the hybridity of these Orthodox parishes with respect to the environments of traditional religion in the new context: a hybrid dictated by practical needs involving images and symbols not belonging to the Orthodox tradition and the negotiation (also in a chaotic manner) of the normal materialization of Orthodox canons. For example, the traditional pews present in Catholic churches are fittings not generally used in the Orthodox world and not present in Romanian Orthodox churches[12]. These objects in particular have caused some tension in the relationship between Orthodoxy and the contemporary world and the processes of secularization. In the Orthodox view pews and benches allow the faithful to assume an excessively 'comfortable' attitude in a sacred environment. A young Romanian Orthodox faithtul who stopped attending his parish in Italy said that the pews are a symbol which in their case distinguishes a religious minority from the dominant religion: some followers of the Orthodox faith in the diaspora call the Catholics the 'comfortable ones' on account of their 'comfortable' habits during the liturgy and other religious practices (e.g., during periods of fasting).

[12]Although over the last decade in some Orthodox countries pews have in fact appeared in churches. Furthermore, as reported by Cingolani (2009: 235-236), pews/benches are also present in the Romanian Orthodox churches of the diaspora in Turin. These changes are interpreted by priests both as a necessary adaptation and as a departure from tradition.

However, to study Catholic churches that have been internally converted into Orthodox churches (3), as in the case of the Romanian church in Padua, the sociological concept of religious landscapes still appears to be adequate:

The concept of a religioscape as we have developed it is useful because we would anticipate seeing such social horizons being marked physically in their various settings. In situations where only one religious community has a major presence, its structures form a border. As these frontiers shift, the physical structures that have marked their interface may be converted as they are no longer on a social border (Hayden, Walker 2013: 408).

This study of Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy in fact also allows us to analyse changes in the Italian Catholic Church: the growing number of Catholic churches that have been closed or deconsecrated owing to changes in the religious orientation of Italians seems to be accompanied by the phenomenon of the conversion of these churches into places of worship of another Christian tradition. Moreover, these churches appear as ‘hybrid’ places of worship as they are located in a different socio-cultural environment, even though they may have been reconstructed in full accordance with the Orthodox canons:

Religioscapes as we define them are inherently ‘fluid’. People move, taking their religious practices with them and also potentially changing constructed environments in ways that reflect their beliefs. Yet the religioscape also reflects connections between people who regard themselves as holding the same beliefs or are regarded by others as doing so. The point seems simple, and yet it is precisely in this regard that writers who analyse single sites in one brief time period have placed themselves in the synchronic structures of a structural-functionalist framework. Viewing sites as isolated fails to consider how they came into being, and how they have changed (Hayden, Walker 2013: 408).

These forms of connection generate attitudes and orientations that may change places of worship and may have an effect on the most personal religious sphere of the faithful and even more evident elements concerning religious practice. In fact, as the two sociologists claim, “the best way to understand shared religious sites is by observing as nodes in structures of social interaction between populations that consider themselves and each other as different, on religious grounds, over time” (Hayden, Walker 2013: 407).

This perspective also seems to involve the life of places of worship newly built in the diaspora (4), such as the monastery in Rome or the church at Abano Terme (PD). After

all, also from the simple architectural point of view they become a part of the public space and modify - also solely at the visual level - the scenario and balance of Italian religious diversity[13]. The most innovative element of these new places of worship, which we will discuss in depth in the next chapter, is that of being flanked by one or more buildings used as a cultural centre and/or for social-assistance activities. Moreover, some new places of worship may assume architectural forms quite uncommon in the Orthodox world. For example, the Romanian Orthodox Church in Moncalieri is entirely made of wood and was assembled using joints without nails (as occurred in the creation of the summer altar for liturgies and other structures in the park). This type of church originates from the Maramureş region in Romania, and the few specimens existing in the motherland are UNESCO heritage sites. Around the world there are 6 other examples (counting the church in Italy), all of which were built in the Romanian diaspora (respectively, in Venezuela, France, Sweden, Cyprus and Switzerland) (Orlando 2016).

To further investigate the glocal dynamics of places of worship in the diaspora, it seems useful to dwell on the liturgy. The study of this aspect has been underestimated in the sociology of religion, and there is no real methodological compass that might facilitate a sociological exploration of liturgical practices (Flanagan 1991)[14]. In our case study, we will try to investigate some implications of the liturgy in the diaspora from a sociological perspective and comprehend their symbolic significance with respect to this rite. As evident in the interviews with the priests these Orthodox liturgies would in fact appear to be 'oriented' towards the motherland. Besides their transcendent aspect, which involves the invocation of God and the Holy Spirit, some words and expressions and certain

[13] Hayden e Walker create a model of competitive sharing of religious sites, or 'Antagonistic Tolerance'. Their model sees religious sites as indicators of political dominance or challenges to it, and they have developed measures of dominance that have potentially universal applicability. These measures are based on what we have come to regard as important features of major religious sites: perceptibility (especially visibility, audibility, massiveness) and centrality (2013: 413). In our case, these indicators are suitable for analyzing the growth of Orthodox Christianity in Italy as a religious minority, and in particular its Romanian component.

[14] For the purposes of our research, it is interesting that Flanagan interprets the liturgy as a pre-modern rite in conflict with the modern world. He thus places the liturgy in relation with modernity: "It can not be said that liturgies operate at the centre of modern consciousness. To the secular mind, these Christian rites belong to a pre-modern age, relics of past anxieties which technology and modernity have assuaged. Attitudes to liturgical operations relate to wider questions of the value of religious belief in a secular society, where consumerism and instant satisfaction help to keep the flock from the Church door - save at weddings and funerals" (1991: 57).

symbols, such as the national flag (also present in some liturgical instruments[15]) and sometimes the actual content of the sermons of the priests, have the country of origin as their main subject or point of reference. This experience emerges from the words of Father Costel Calanciuc Evghenie, priest of the Orthodox parish of Abano Terme in the province of Padua. In an extensive interview carried out in October 2018, he told us that during the construction of the church, the faithful tried to make the best use of the material available. Since there were not enough rugs to cover the entire floor of the church, the faithful covered each of the three steps of the altar with a fabric representing the colours of the Romanian flag (blue, yellow, and red):

> The condition of diaspora is a 'blessing' for Orthodoxy, because it gets you back to the roots. It leads you to ask questions about the meaning of the faith, rituals in the liturgies, and sacraments like baptism. Often, I spend some minutes to explain to the faithful the reasons why we do something in a certain way, unfolding what is its value in tradition. In my homilies I often approach the topic of diaspora, because this issue is everyday life of my parishioners. And as the poet Mihai Eminescu says, "when you say Orthodox you say Romanian". This 'blessing' of the diaspora condition pushes you to go in depth into the roots of your people, your history, and your culture.

According to the frame of Father Costel, Sebastian, a 65-year-faithful who attended the Romanian Orthodox parish in Turin, stated that over the years he had also matured a similar point of view. With respect to the religious and socio-cultural 'deepening' of Romania in the Orthodox liturgy abroad aforementioned, he highlights instead that these objects represent a sort of points of reference in the life of a faithful immigrant:

> In Turin I attended one of the two Romanian parishes. The church is not very large; it was created on the site of a former warehouse, and as many as 400 people would attend the services. We felt very united, and there were more of us with respect to the 300 people who attended the parish that I frequent in Bucharest. When you're away you need to find fellow countrymen, followers of your own religion, a place where you can feel at home [...]. And when you're there [in the church] you feel Romanian, you feel connected to your own land... Obviously, you are practising the Orthodox faith, following the rituals you have always adhered to since you were a child. Then you will often find that some of the faithful wear our traditional costumes, and after the mass we all sit down to eat some of our traditional food together, which it is now possible to find also in some shops in Italy.

[15] In the Romanian Orthodox liturgies it is possible to identify associations presenting a highly symbolic value between national identity and the sacred dimension. For example, the *Evanghelion*, the sacred text used in the liturgy, may have a pagemarker presenting the three colours of the Romanian flag (blue, yellow and red); a piece of cloth with these colours may also be used to envelop the handle of the 'sprinkler' with which the priest disperses holy water among the faithful or may adorn the candles used by the clerics in the liturgy.

The liturgical practice of immigrants has been studied in some researches. A study of Orthodox icons and the migrant context, which focuses on the case of the Slavonic diaspora in Toronto, shows that "the icon-image may be associated with with emotions and personal reflections relating to religious adaptation and memory. Appreciated as objects of art and even generating feelings of nostalgia in some people, icons function in the immigrant context as identity markers and a form of cultural branding, a reminder of ethnicity and historical rootedness" (Mastagar 2006). Furthermore, theological studies and, subsequently, anthropological studies concerning Santería (see, for example, Beliso-De Jesús 2014) have developed the concept of diaspora spirituality[16]. In our case, we intend to highlight the existence in the Orthodox liturgy of a bond that unites identities and symbols relating to the religious, national and ethnic spheres and the relationship existing between the host and mother countries. According to our sociological perspective, in the ritual there is a binding of forms of religious glocalization that involve the vernacular, national, indigenous and transnational aspects; it represents a cultural hybrid that is defined and materializes within a diaspora religion. Furthermore, this religious glocalization seems to increasingly reach the motherland through transnational processes, and the diaspora phenomenon gradually becomes a stable part of the identity of the BOR. In this regard, as noted by the Patriarch Daniel (2016), in the new Cathedral of the Nation built in Bucharest there will be in some of its parts an architecture presenting monumental elements of Western cathedrals in homage to the Romanian diaspora in the West (for some analysis on cathedral' s project history, see Stan, Turcescu 2006a, 2006b).

Paradoxically, a final aspect to be explored to fully comprehend the Romanian Orthodox places of worship in Italy appears to be that of attendance on the part of Romanian Orthodox faithful of Catholic places of worship. In fact, "it is important to note that often members of a subordinated community may visit religious sites claimed by the dominant group, and even perform some observances there. Syncretism may arise from such sharing, even though dominance of one group over the other is clear" (Hayden, Walker 2013: 404-405). This phenomenon has often emerged during interviews, and usually it seems to concern those followers of the faith who live too far from an Orthodox

---

[16] This religion is born from a syncretism between some elements of the Catholic religion with other elements of the traditional Yoruba religion, and was practised by African slaves and their descendants mainly in Cuba and Brazil. In any case, the concept of diaspora spirituality seems ill-suited to our research and more appropriate in the anthropological debate on the theories of transcendence, notions of mediation and anthropological modes of conceptualizing presence.

church. Moreover, in our research we ascertained that Romanian women employed as carers sometimes regularly attend the Catholic liturgy, and perhaps also together with the elderly person whom they assist. In their life stories reference is almost always made to the emblematic case of the Orthodox sign of the cross. It is similar to the Catholic gesture but with some visible differences, and it is perceived by the Orthodox faithful as the ritual in which they are recognized by Catholics as members of another religion. At the same time, it is an occasion to confirm their identity and their religious boundaries existing in the Catholic liturgy. These borders can also be established with other rituals and symbols, which are possibly more visible; but they also have the opposite effect of generating hybridization. For example, Costantin, a student in the third year of a degree course in theology in Bucharest, lived for a period with his mother in Rome, where she worked as a caregiver. He recounted that she attended Catholic liturgies, wearing the traditional Romanian costume, and reciting the Orthodox prayers in a low voice.

Attendance of the Catholic liturgy on the the part of followers of the Orthodox faith involves a very ‘sensitive’ theological question: that of administration to these faithful of the sacraments by the priests of a ‘sister’ Christian church. Again, in this case in the interviews conducted with Romanian faithful different experiences and habits emerged. However, given the uniqueness of their perspective the testimonies of some Catholic priests were very interesting. In this regard, we will refer to two cases that reveal forms of adaptation of an Orthodox ritual within the Catholic liturgy and, that is, two cases of hybridization. Don Roberto, a Catholic priest in a parish in the centre of Padua, stated that he was able to recognise the Orthodox faithful during his liturgies at the moment of the holy communion as they receive it with their hands crossed over their chest as is customary in the Eastern tradition. While Don Giuseppe, a Catholic priest of a parish in the diocese of Ragusa in Sicily, referred to a follower of the Romanian Orthodox faith who asked him whether she might receive the sacrament of confession. However, she also asked him whether he would place the stole over her head during the sacrament, as would occur in the Orthodox ritual of absolution.

It is not possible to offer an estimate of this phenomenon, but it seems to be adhered to by a minority of Romanians who for practical reasons can not attend the Orthodox liturgy. Moreover, these faithful are generally aware that receiving the sacraments of the Catholic Church or of another Christian church is a sin. Some Orthodox priests have

apparently tried to develop measures to discourage this phenomenon as pointed out by Monica, who works as a caregiver in the province of Vicenza:

> I pay the annual tribute to my parish in Bocovina; we are very religious there. When I return home, I attend confession with my spiritual father and I first of all prepare myself with a week of fasting. I have brought some prayer books with me, which I use in the evening or when I'm feeling low. In those moments I know that the priest of my parish will pray for me from there, and that some of my relatives will also do this for me. The priest is aware of the fact that here [in Italy] I attend Catholic mass and he said that this is all right, provided I do not receive holy communion and the sacraments. This would be a serious sin. He gave me two bags of blessed bread, which I have to keep in a drawer, in the dark and in a dry place. In this way, after the Catholic mass, I can receive the communion at home.

The life and religious practice of this faithful present a transnational character, and material factors favour religious glocalization. She lives too far away to attend the Orthodox parish of her province, and has therefore developed a religious practice that generates fluid forms of interaction and exchange between the rituals and sacred objects of two Christian traditions.

2.6 Clerics in the Diaspora of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

The number of priests and deacons of the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy is very high, to the extent that the figure would not appear to be typical of a diaspora religion. In 2014, 220 priests and 21 deacons were incardinated in the diocese, 11 of whom worked as clerks in their parish, while 65 others had a second job in addition to the priestly ministry. Regarding the academic background of the clergymen, 226 have a degree in theology, 87 have a master's degree, and 14 have been awarded a doctorate. The transnational connection of the diaspora with the church of origin becomes manifest also with the mobility of the clergy: in 2014 three priests and two deacons left the diocese and one new priest was incardinated. There are also many candidates (about 50) to the priesthood, who may receive, as we shall see in the next chapter, their religious education leading to the priesthood in Romania and in Italy. Finally, 10 people work in the central administration of the diocese at the Dormition of the Mother of God Monastery in Rome, where there are about ten monks and nuns, who are sometimes sent to visit the parishes in the Italian territory.

The management of this robust religious body undoubtedly represents a challenge for a diaspora religion, but also an opportunity to attempt to develop new practices. For example, Bishop Siluan regularly organises meetings with priests and their families at the monastery in Rome, and periodically organises spiritual retreats with groups of priests. In each case these two pastoral practices occurring within the church and which are not so common in the Orthodox world stem from a particular reasoning. In the first case the personal biographical aspect is relevant: Siluan is the son of a Romanian Orthodox priest, and therefore pays close attention to the role of a priest's family in the life of the parish. In the second case the glocal situation is important as spiritual retreats for the clergy are customary in the Catholic world. As the bishop himself confirmed in a long interview, he developed this practice "acquiring a good habit from his Catholic brothers".

Furthermore, it appears that the administration of this large number of Romanian clerics presents a particular critical characteristic. In this regard, the sociologist Yang (2006) analysed the religious situation in China, theorising a triple-market model: a red market which comprises all legal (officially permitted) religious organizations, believers, and religious activities; a black market which comprises all illegal (officially banned) religious organizations, believers, and religious activities; and a grey market which comprises all religious and spiritual organizations, practitioners and activities having an ambiguous legal status. In the latter market group individuals and activities fall within a grey area of religious regulation which can be perceived as both legal and illegal, or neither legal nor illegal (Yang 2006: 97). The latter case is also the most difficult to clearly distinguish due to its ambiguity, as it may include "illegal religious activities of legally existing religious groups" (Yang 2006: 97).

In fact, it seems that in the Romanian clergy this last phenomenon is present, albeit little known and scarcely traceable in the Italian grey market. From the evidence emerging in our research, it would appear there is a group of Romanian priests who are not officially assigned to the diocese and who, for family reasons, live in Italy (for example to follow a wife who has found work in an Italian city). Some of those who do not succeed in being assigned to a parish may opt to assume the role of clerical 'freelancers'. They have already obtained their academic qualifications and have been ordained as priests and they thus 'freely' assume their religious role among the Romanian families. In some cases, they

operate with the consent of a parish, establishing a semi-structured relationship with the religious institution in the diaspora[17].

From the interviews collected in our research it emerges that the priesthood in the diaspora does presuppose a sort of typology of religious vocation. This vocation to the priesthood appears ready to face the challenge to be 'reflected' in the socio-cultural environment of the host country, apart from a personal commitment to undertake certain missions typical of diaspora religions. As stated, the diasporic condition and characteristics of the host environment have effects on the activities undertaken by Romanian Orthodox priests, and tend to define their religious mission. In fact, within this priestly vocation, characteristics or essential conditions we may define as glocal seem to become manifest: an orientation towards an encounter between religious universalism and local particularism, and a certain threshold of tolerance with respect to cultural hybrids. Father Gheorghe Liviu Verzea, who serves in the Romanian Orthodox Parish of Padua, agrees there is a need for a diaspora priest to possess these 'qualities', and adds:

> Our communities were created and grew with us [the first priests of the diaspora]. In fact, before the revolution in Romania there were only four communities in Italy. We - the priests and communities of faithful - have grown together. The clergy first of all became integrated into society in this country, mainly in the academic world of the university, and then we saw the development of the parishes, which initially were only meeting points. The process took place in a physiological and natural way. However, it is quite a different thing if you are already a priest in Romania, and then you arrive in Italy in an already structured community; in such a situation one may experience a sort of trauma. Some Romanian priests arrived here and later returned to Romania because they did not find themselves at ease. But now of the almost 250 Romanian clerics in Italy only about fifty were consecrated in Romania; all of the others were consecrated here, where they conduct their lives, and where they were resident even before attaining priesthood.

As Father Verzea maintains - and as we shall see in the next chapter - the preparation and consecration of priests in the diaspora has important effects (in the second case, also a strong symbolic value) in the processes of devolution and decentralization from the Patriarchate to the diaspora religion and in the religious glocalization of the latter. As Father Verza emphasizes, in order for a glocal cleric to work in a positive and effective

[17] Regarding this phenomenon, which has to be downsized and is identified only in some Italian cities, reference may be made to Carnevale (2018).

manner, “it requires a long period of preparation”, during which he may interact with and study the host context and its traditional religion.

While discussing about these peculiarities and dynamics of the priesthood in diaspora, in a long interview held in October 2018 Father Gabriel Gabor Codrea, the priest of the Romanian Orthodox Church of Verona, confirms this:

> I think we cannot understand and live the Orthodox priesthood differently in today’s Italy. For us clerics in diaspora, it is essential to have an attitude of openness and a ‘desire’ of encounter with the host context. A first step in this direction, for example, is to study abroad. This offers a great opportunity to learn about the new environment. Then, as I told you before, at the beginning of your priesthood abroad it is important to keep your ears uncorked and your eyes wide open. On the one hand, it is important to understand the needs of the Romanian community and the existing Romanian experiences in the territory. On the other hand, it is important to gain a certain credibility with the local state and religious actors, developing a relationship with them. (...)
>
> Looking back at my personal history, I arrived in Verona at the age of 29, and in a certain sense I have matured here as a man and as a priest. To serve as a priest in the diaspora is, I could say, my ‘greatest passion’. If you ask me to go back to Romania and become the prime minister of the country, I would refuse because I am satisfied with my life and my priesthood in Italy. I’m proud to see my children grow and mature here; serene, selfless, and open to the world. In the parish we try to plan a 360-degree education, and not to grow, we could say, bigots. As an example, we organized an exhibition on fossils in the library near the church, while a catechist held lectures on Creation. We organized a visit to the botanical garden of the University of Padua, and another one to Asiago to see the trenches of the First World War where they also battled our Romanian compatriots.

It still seems to emerge from these words that this religious mission presupposes a sort of typology of vocation, in which a main key role is the priest’s attitude towards hybridization with the host context. In fact, in the activity of a priest in the diaspora, the four forms of glocalization discussed in the first chapter play a central role. The vernacular dimension seems to become an element of mediation with the host context (with acceptance and/or closure) through its use in the liturgy and within the life of the community. The national dimension, as seen previously in the case of the foundation of a new parish, seems to preserve its own space and importance in the local public sphere and occasionally appears to be more relevant than the religious dimension itself. This usually occurs in the case of a national church (which from a sociological point of view should be understood as a specific historical form of church-type (Turcotte 2012)), and

the phenomenon has been identified, with regard to both self-representation on the part of faithful and in the positions adopted by the Orthodox clergy, also in the case of the BOR abroad (Cingolani 2009: 230). In fact, this ecclesial reality or specific historical form of church type favours the reproduction of a national identity abroad, and it appears capable of facilitating a re-definition of the public image of a community of immigrants. Moreover, these parishes are subject to the negotiations of the transnational flows and ties of the adherents of the faith, which seem to generate further paths of hybridization[18]. Finally, although this may not occur, the indigenous dimension appears capable of facilitating the hybridization of a religious community within the host context, and is controlled through various orientations on the part of the church in diaspora in the processes of its establishment.

Father Vasile Jore serves at the Romanian Orthodox parish of Ferrara. He studied theology at the University of Cluj-Napoca in Romania, and arrived in Italy in 2002. He did various jobs (from gardener, bricklayer, to handyman) before starting his mission as a priest in Ferrara in 2008. This Romanian Orthodox community has a ‘basin’ of 5,000 Romanians living in the city, and Sunday mass is usually attended by about 150-250 faithful. In a long interview in October 2018 discussing his priesthood in the diaspora, Father Vasile tells us:

> Many priests are unable to be part of the communities of the diaspora, to find themselves well as priest abroad. First, because in the diaspora a priest must really ‘to serve’; for example often I have to clean the church, and every Sunday I go out last and close its door. In Romania, a parish is usually more institutionalized, and has a sort of ‘gear’ made up of many volunteers who work with the priest, so he can focuses on the word of God. Here instead, a priest must to do everything, and this situation is very motivating and a good challenge. (...) I cannot make a great comparison with the experience of the priesthood in Romania, because I did my priesthood only in Italy. My priesthood is born in the diaspora, even though I formed in the motherland.

[18] For example, during an interview a Romanian priest who lived in Italy and who currently serves in a parish close to the Gara de Nord train station in Bucharest told us that one Sunday during the liturgy he found among the Romanian *Lei* banknotes in the offerings a 10 Euro banknote. At the end of the celebration a Romanian faithful told him that he had just returned from Italy and that after arriving at the train station he stopped at the nearest church, making an offer in the only currency he had at his disposal. The conversation took place alternating the Romanian language with Italian. This brief anecdote highlights the fluidity of transnational ties between Romania and Italy, and their capacity to be present in simple religious aspects of everyday life.

Father Vasile emphasizes that priesthood in the diaspora presupposes the acceptance of some challenges related to the precarious status of the parish, and to those linked to the progressive construction of a religious community. With respect to the attitude towards the host context that a priest in diaspora should develop in addressing this challenge, he adds: “Think you simply that I celebrate an Orthodox mass in a Catholic church. This is not a so common situation, is a new experience and a situation of encounter”.

These four forms of hybridization seem to act ‘creatively’ in the daily life and activity of the clergy of the religious communities abroad, which may be defined as a glocal clergy. In fact, as mentioned above, the clergy appears oriented towards interacting with the socio-cultural environment of the host country and an encounter between religious universalism and local particularism, as well as permitting a certain threshold of tolerance towards cultural hybrids.

The diocese in Italy is in fact now considered a normal ecclesial territory in which a Romanian Orthodox priest can perform the duties of his religious mission. This vision seems to be valid also in the case of aspiring priests, considering the very high number of ordained priests that appear to be present in Romania. For example, Nicu, a seminarian and student at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology in Bucharest, spent some time in Genoa, where his mother worked, and served the liturgy as a choir singer in the local parish. Nicu sees in the Romanian Orthodox diaspora a new diocesan dimension where he hopes one day to become a priest, and sees Italy as a privileged destination, considering his knowledge of Italian and experience with Italian culture.

This glocal clergy appears to be formed following three main paths. The first path is that of a religious vocation that may be acquired by an adherent of the faith in the diaspora. For example, following the foundation of the parish of Padua there were 9 faithful who discovered a religious vocation, 7 of whom were ordained as priests. In an extensive interview, Father Gabriel of the Romanian Orthodox parish of Verona states he addressed some young Romanians educated in Italy to the priesthood. He saw in them some ‘qualities’ suited to the religious life, and to serve in diaspora where they grew up. At present, they are studying Romanian Orthodox theology in Rome (as we will discuss in the next chapter), and in Romania. The second route is that of a clergyman trained in the motherland who has spent a good part of or even his entire ecclesial career in the diaspora, starting from the time of his consecration, as in the case of Bishop Siluan referred to

above. Finally, there seems to be a third recent path leading towards a glocal clergy. The process of religious glocalization of a diaspora may also comprise the consecration of clerics belonging to the host country. In recent years, the sociological study of Orthodoxy has focused on qualitative research regarding the conversion of Western faithful (in the United States, Sagle 2011, Herbel 2014, Winchester 2015, Kravchenko 2018; in Europe, Giordan 2009a, Kapalò 2014, Thorbjørnsrud 2015a), neglecting an analysis of conversions among the new Orthodox priests. Generally, the conversion of new faithful in the host country to an Orthodox church in the diaspora is considered a main path towards the establishment of a local or indigenous church (thus generating hybridization and in-depth processes of religious glocalization). In particular, with this phenomenon the religious institution in diaspora accepts and enters the 'religious market' of the host country (Guglielmi 2017a). The latter path does in fact appear to be very powerful, and seems to deeply involve the leadership of the church and the socio-cultural profile of the ecclesiastic body.

In Italy the only Italian citizen ordained as a priest in the Romanian diocese is the son of a Romanian Orthodox diaspora priest in Turin. This phenomenon seems to be more widespread in other Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy, such as in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Greek Orthodox Church of the Calendar of the Fathers, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Kiev). Returning to the case of the BOR, the most famous religious ordination of a native citizen in Western Europe is probably that of the monk Mark of Neamţ. A former French architect converted to Romanian Orthodoxy, Mark of Neamt is currently Assistant Bishop of the Romanian Orthodox Archdiocese of Western Europe.

Conclusion: Reframing Orthodox Liturgy

In the first section we outlined recent developments of religious diversity in Italy, indicating its particular nature facilitated by the social and cultural central position maintained by the Catholic Church within the secularization processes. This pluralism is favoured by migratory flows and promotes a diversification of Christianity; it should be noted that most immigrants in Italy are Christian and almost a third of this population follow the Orthodox faith. In the second paragraph, adopting a historical perspective we

highlighted sociological discontinuity, starting from the social and political developments occurring at the end of the last millennium, in the quantitative presence and in the institutional organization of the main Orthodox Christian jurisdictions in Italy.

In the third paragraph we observed how from the demographic point of view Orthodoxy vies for the position as the second most practised religion in Italy, and this occurs thanks to the great Romanian diaspora and the significant migratory flows from Eastern Europe. This presence was also confirmed by the large number of Romanian parishes and their rapid development, as well as by their predominance in the jurisdictions of the Orthodox diasporas in Italy. In this scenario, we argue that the redistribution of national groups within the aforementioned jurisdictions seems to take on glocal traits. In this situation socio-political and canonical tensions of the motherland and of the international Orthodox church appear to merge with typical elements of the host country and the diasporic condition.

In the fourth paragraph we examined the historical development of Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy, and outlined the Latin character of these faithful in terms of its indigenous or ethnic identity. The Latin culture and language of the Romanian population seems to have facilitated the phenomenon of the great migration towards Italy, and the cultural closeness or 'shared Latin character' between the two countries seems to have favoured the religious glocalization of the BOR in the Italian peninsula. In the penultimate paragraph we referred to the places of worship of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora, elaborating the concept of religioscapes, and identified four main profiles of places of worship, which may also present characteristics that are quite different. However, each one of them is characterized by elements that involve the four forms of religious glocalization and seem to favour the creation of new cultural hybrids. These glocal dynamics, which promote the hybridization of places of worship and of Orthodox faithful in the host society and with the dominant religion, seem to operate also in the Orthodox liturgies and in the phenomenon of attendance of followers of the Orthodox faith at the Catholic liturgies.

Finally, in the last paragraph we focused on the religious body of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora, which we defined as a glocal clergy. It provides a sort of vocation oriented towards the encounter between religious universalism and local particularism, and a certain threshold of tolerance towards cultural hybrids. The activity of these priests

in fact intertwines on a daily basis with the processes of glocalization and the missions of a religious community of immigrants. We have emphasized the significance of the path towards a glocal clergy, considering the consecration of clerics belonging to the host country. This recent phenomenon, which affects some of the Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy, is one of the 'fruits' of the religious glocalization of diaspora religions and deserves the future attention of social scientists.

As anticipated in the first chapter, we will close this paragraph with a thematic focus on the forms of 'importation' of experiences and practices from the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy to the church in the motherland. In this case we consider the theme of the liturgy, the focal point of tradition and religious practice in Eastern Orthodoxy. The liturgy is a ceremonial practice in which there is interaction and tension may occur between the religious institution and the contemporary world, the clergy and the faithful, the 'sacred' and the secular world. In this section we tell the story of Constantin Preda, currently the professor responsible for a course of introduction to the study of the New Testament and Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Bucharest. In the nineteen-nineties he studied at the Faculty of Theology of the Triveneto in Padua and later at the Biblical Institute in Rome. He then spent some years studying in Israel, Jordan and Egypt, although his years spent in Italy probably played a more central role in his training. He confirmed us in a long interview in May 2017 that starting from his academic experience in the pontifical institutions, and that of the Catholic diocese of Padua and Rome, during his priesthood Preda has developed a reflection on some modalities of the Orthodox liturgy in the current socio-cultural context:

> What I imported into my priesthood in Romania with respect to my experience in Italy, let's say, was a reflection on the Orthodox liturgy, starting from that of the Latin church. This reflection gradually developed as I also observed social changes occurring in the last few decades. Over the years I have tried to celebrate shorter liturgies, usually lasting an hour and a half or in some cases at most two hours, so that they might assume a faster and more cheerful pace. I would not eliminate any elements of the Orthodox liturgy; with the choir of the parish, composed of young musicians and university students, we simply sing the hymns adopting a rhythm which is perhaps not exactly traditional, but more joyful. Moreover, during the liturgy I try to limit the sermons to a maximum of ten minutes and to develop only one or two concepts, so that they are comprehensible and memorable for the faithful. I was able to reflect on this not only in my studies, but also by participating in the Catholic liturgies in Italy, and thanks to their experience of the Lectio Divina.

In these words one recognises the issue of comprehensibility and the ease of participating in the liturgy on the part of the faithful. This matter that is certainly more adequately addressed in Latin Christianity and was above all the liturgy was one of the practices subject to reform in the Second Vatican Council. In fact, in the Christian liturgies there is a sensibility towards transformation occurring in society and in the religious communities, and also with respect to changes in the relationship with the 'sacred' on the part of the faithful. These socio-cultural tensions and transformations underlie the development of the movement for renewal of the liturgy. As stated by Vassiliadis (2018), the tendency began early in the last century within the Roman Catholic Church and was characterized as one of the major theological movements of that period; this ecclesiastical desideratum is of course a relatively new phenomenon in the life of the Orthodox Church. It is also connected to the "issue of the relationship between the World and the Mystery" and has its roots in the initial phases of modernity. In this regard, Preda added: "We priests should try to involve the faithful a little more, while remaining faithful to the canons, of course. However, we must also remember that attention is a limited resource, especially in the social reality of the modern world".

Moreover, a second reflection developed by Preda concerns the question of the central position preserved by the Fathers of the Church in the Orthodox tradition. This may sometimes result in neglecting the study of the Bible in academic institutions and the exegesis of biblical texts in the pastoral activities of Orthodox priests. With regard to this perspective, the Catholic experience of the *Lectio Divina* and, that is, the modality of prayer that defines the reading of a biblical passage, reflection on the same, prayer and its comprehension seems to be an interesting point for the Orthodox world. With respect to understanding and interpreting this practice Enzo Bianchi's work, published in 1974, remains an essential point of reference for Preda. It is by no mere chance that the author is the former prior of the monastic community of Bose (BI), an ecumenical institution that has been able to develop an unprecedented encounter between Catholicism and Orthodoxy and which represents a specific aspect of the Italian Christian panorama (Giordan 2015).

These reflections form the embryo of a possible *aggiornamento* of the Orthodox liturgy deriving and imported from the Italian Orthodox diaspora: a *cultural hybrid* within the Orthodox territory whose trajectories are to be found in Latin Christianity and which

may initiate a new path in the motherland. In fact, in Romanian Orthodoxy it is customary for a significant number of young seminarians and young monks to receive a part of their training abroad, usually during the period of their doctoral studies and in a Western European country, and perhaps serving in the parish of the Romanian diaspora where their university is based[19]. For example, Father Gurie Georgiu, the current bishop of the Diocese of Devei and Hunedoarei (Episcopia Devei şi a Hunedoarei), also studied at the Faculty of Theology of the Triveneto in Padua in the second half of the nineteen-nineties. This recent 'good practice' corresponding to a period of study abroad for the Romanian Orthodox clergy seems to favour the establishment of transnational religious flows and the realization of a 'social remittance' from the diaspora to the mother country[20]. The practice appears to create paths of hybridization that would seem to also involve clerics who have important positions in the leadership of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

[19] Regarding consolidation of this custom, as we shall see in the next chapter, the current Patriarch Daniel, who studied and taught for over a decade in Western European countries, should have a key role.
[20] As stated by Ihlamur-Öner (2009: 170): "The younger priests, who had the chance to study abroad, come back with new ideas to 'modernize' the Church. They have programs regarding the social sphere, young people and the missionary activity".

Chapter 3
A Diaspora Religion between an Eastern Tradition and a Western country

The answer to the question "Diaspora or Church?" must be unequivocally "Church and not Diaspora!" In America, in other places where the Orthodox Church is present in "territories that are not historically Orthodox," and in the historic centers of Orthodoxy there is today no greater need than the need to live the Orthodox faith remaining fully faithful to the true ecclesiology of the Orthodox Church. This is the way to deter or overcome divisions and schisms. This is the way to bear credible witness in the world and among other Christian bodies. This is the way to offer the members of Christ's Body the joy of the ecclesial experience and good pastoral care, equipping them for a life in service to the Gospel of Christ.

Leonid Kishkovsky (2004)

Introduction
Father Leonid Kishkovsky is a priest of the Orthodox Church in America, serving at a parish in Syosset (NY). During his service he has represented the OCA in Pan-orthodox, ecumenical, and inter-religious settings, and he currently operates as Director of External Affairs and Interchurch Relations for the OCA. The quotation above is taken from the speech *Orthodoxy in America: Diaspora or Church?* (2004) which he gave at an International Theological Conference of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow in 2003. He begins by reconstructing the history and development of the OCA, starting with the arrival of missionary monks from the Valaam Monastery on Kodiak Island in Alaska in 1794. Discussing the present situation of Orthodoxy in the United States, he states that "the most common image of Orthodoxy in America is that pertaining to immigrant communities so any definition of Orthodox Christianity in America built on the 'immigrant model' thus has more in common with sociological interpretations and cultural categories than it does with ecclesiology". Consequently, questioning the state of Orthodoxy in the United States and, that is, whether it should be considered a diaspora religion or a local church, he argues that we should consider as obsolete the usual vision

that distinguishes ecclesiology in the Orthodox tradition. He suggests a common commitment among Orthodox churches aimed at promoting the creation of local autonomous or autocephalous churches.

We will begin the third chapter with this reflection in order to highlight a particular point: generally, when a church in diaspora reaches a certain threshold of engagement with the socio-cultural environment in which it finds itself and/or a certain level of ecclesial autonomy in respect to the church of origin, the desire to become a local church will arise. In part, albeit in the presence of specific aspects, this is also the story of the OCA. Likewise, this is also the paradox which occurs within the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy. Although the Romanian Patriarchate guarantees its diaspora in Italy a significant degree of autonomy and decentralization, also accepting some forms of hybridization with the local context, this does not seem to generate friction between the two actors or a conflictual demand for greater autonomy (a 'separation') on the part of the diaspora religion.

This chapter is divided into five sections, which offer an in-depth analysis of the glocal path of Romanian Orthodoxy already discussed in the last two sections of the previous chapter. We will focus on the interactions with the host environment on the activity of this diaspora religion in Italy, and on its orientations occurring in the process of its settlement. A large part of the concepts referred to in this chapter derive from the main studies on the Orthodox diaspora in Western Europe (Hämmerli 2011; Mayer, Hämmerli 2014b; Roudometof 2014b). In particular, in these analyses we elaborate in a creative manner the internal and external factors of adaptation hypothesized by Hämmerli (2011, 2014) in her studies on the Orthodox diasporas in Switzerland.

In the first section we analyse the religious activity of the BOR in Italy. We present empirical data on the religious activity of the clergy and on the frequency of receiving the sacraments on the part of the faithful, and we examine their engagement with the socio-cultural environment and the traditional religion of the Italian peninsula. In the second section we examine the social activity of the BOR in Italy, focusing respectively on pastoral practices and on assistance practices of the Romanian diocese. Both subjects are comprised in the same category of religious practices relating to social activity. In these two sections we emphasize the roles played by the vernacular and by the indigenous aspect in BOR's religious glocalization. Furthermore, we define the missions of this

church in diaspora within the glocal frame (third section), focusing in particular on the national aspect.

In the fourth section we examine the historical case of a powerful glocal tie of the Orthodox Church in America, and attempt to identify some similarities in the glocalization of Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy. Subsequently, we will examine transnational activities in the everyday life of followers of the faith and priests. i.e, forms of transnational religious practices. In the first two sections of the chapter we will present some institutional forms of transnationalism, especially in the organizational dimension and in social activity occurring between the parishes in the diaspora and the church in the motherland. In this section, however, we will analyse more closely the religious sphere of the faithful in these transnational ties, and the glocal nuances assumed by their religious practice.

Finally, in the last section we study the positions and orientations of the Romanian Orthodox Church towards its diasporas in Western Europe, focusing on three issues and then considering the Italian case. In fact, our intention is to underline the role of transnational processes from the Romanian Patriarchate to the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy as transnational religious connections change religious communities in terms of shifting global power dynamics (Offutt, Miller 2016: 535). The 'domestic' Church-state relations of the BOR are an important variable in the definition of the transnational religious orientations of the Patriarchate. Likewise, the position developed by the BOR towards the European Union and in its relations with the Catholic Church has a strong influence on the glocalization of its diocese in Italy.

3.1 Religious Activity of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

The analysis of the religious activity of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy allows us to highlight from a singular point of view its interaction with the host context. Some quantitative data collected at the Romanian Orthodox diocese in Rome in December 2015 will help us comprehend certain phenomena developing within this church and hypothesize some possible future trends.

In 2014, 10,433 baptisms took place in the diocese, revealing an increase with respect to the previous year (9,545 in 2013). The parishes that celebrated most of the baptisms

are one of the two located in Turin (428 baptisms), the parish in the centre of Verona (298 baptisms), and those situated in the Milano Nord - Monza district (245 baptisms), at Bassano del Grappa (212 baptisms) and in Padua (202 baptisms). As shown by the socio-graphic analysis of the Romanian population and that relating to the distribution of parishes in Italy, also in this case the communities with a greater number of baptisms are located in the north of the peninsula.

Fig. 2. Italian regions with the highest number of baptisms celebrated in the BOC in Italy in 2014

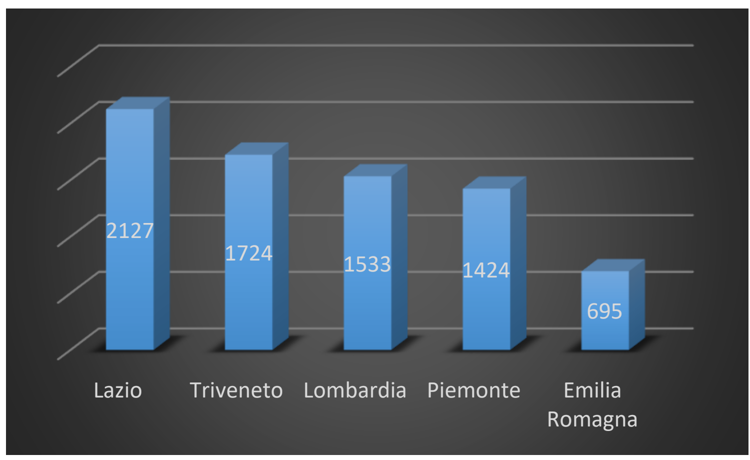
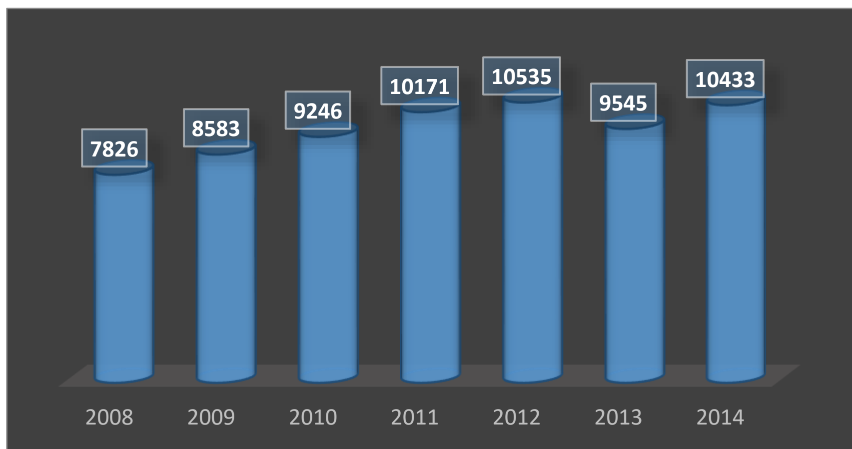


Fig. 2 shows that the Lazio region, in which there is a high concentration of Romanian citizens, is the area in which the greatest number of baptisms are celebrated; this is followed by the regions of the North and Emilia-Romagna. Fig. 3 indicates the historical trend of the number of baptisms in the diocese in recent years.

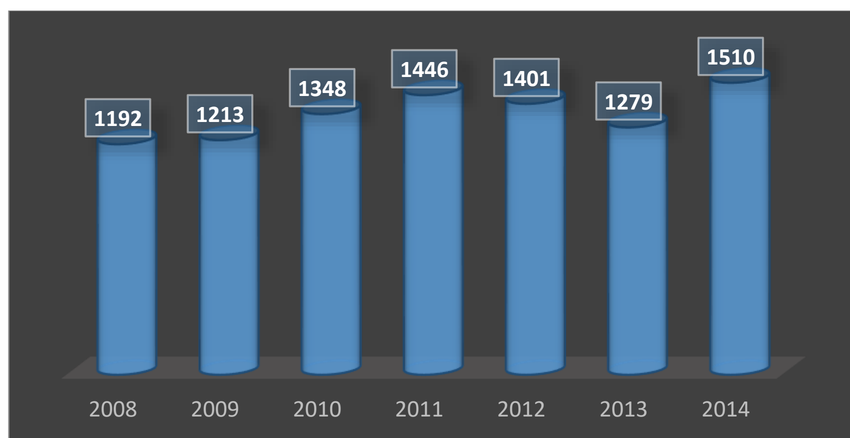
Fig. 3. Number of baptisms celebrated in the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy from 2008 to 2014



As can be seen, the number of baptisms grew from 2008 to 2012, while a drop of almost 1,000 baptisms occurred in 2013 and a new period of growth began in 2014. Over a period of 7 years 66,341 baptisms were celebrated in the diocese; the number of annual events and the stability of the situation are quite astonishing. Moreover, among these baptised children 20 were born in the families of the priests of the diocese.

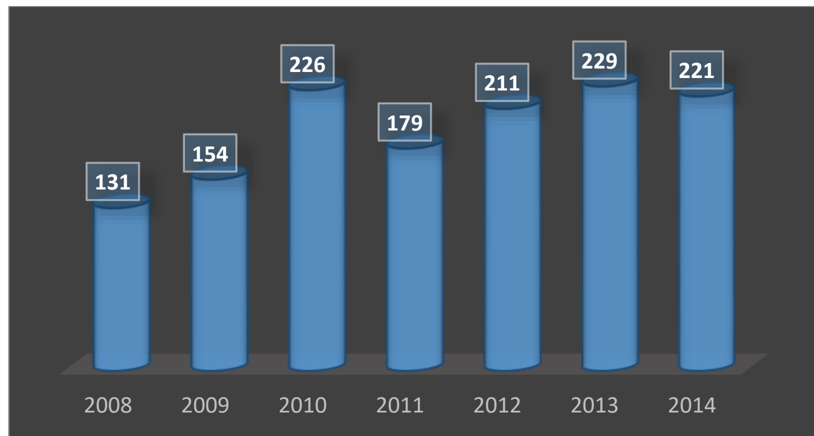
The second most frequent sacrament is that of marriage. In the year 2014 1,510 marriages were celebrated, revealing an increase compared to the previous year (1,279 in 2013). Of these, 74 are mixed marriages between members of the Orthodox and Catholic churches. The parishes that have been most active in celebrating this sacrament are located in the North of Italy and include the second parish of Turin (60), Bassano del Grappa (55), Padua (45), and the other parish of Turin (35). Fig. 4 shows the historical trend of marriages celebrated in the diocese in recent years:

Fig. 4. Number of marriages celebrated in the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy from 2008 to 2014



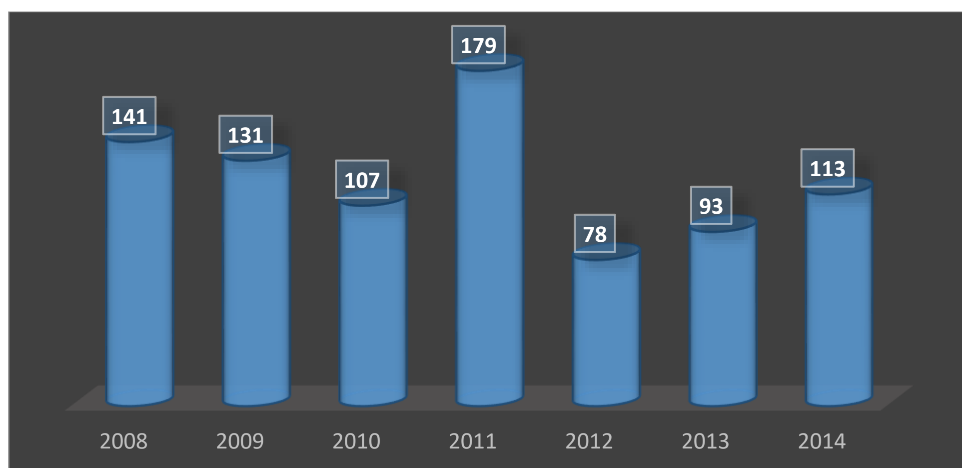
The values presented in Fig. 4 reveal a growth from 2008 to 2011, and a slight decrease in the following two years (2012-2013). The highest number ever recorded occurred in 2015. On the other hand, the number of funerals remains relatively low (221 funerals in 2014), and mainly occurred in the northern Italian regions. Fig. 5 shows the number of funerals celebrated in the diocese in recent years.

Fig. 5. Number of funerals celebrated in the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy from 2008 to 2014



With respect to the previous year the number grew by about 25% in 2010, becoming stabilized in 2014 after a few variations (especially in 2011) that could 'hide' some glocal trajectories[1]. Finally, the last sacrament is that concerning Italians converted to Orthodoxy. In this case, the sacrament of Christian initiation is administered as in the church of the first centuries of the Christian era: Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist are conferred in this order, and all together. In 2014, the number of Italians who had converted to Orthodoxy was 113, representing an increase with respect to the previous year (93 in 2013). Fig. 6 shows the number of Orthodox conversions and initiations in the diocese in recent years.

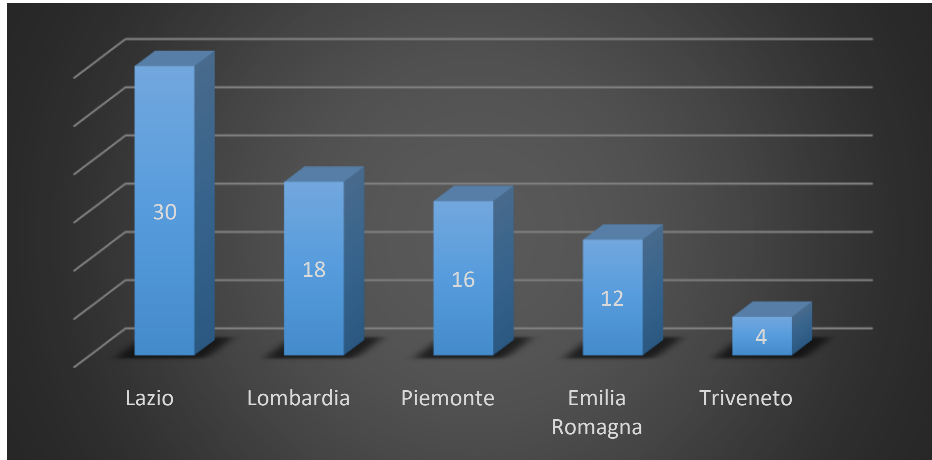
Fig. 6. Number of initiations celebrated in the Romanian Orthodox Diocese in Italy from 2008 to 2014



[1] The choice to celebrate this sacrament in the diaspora is probably one of the deepest 'signs' in the religious sphere of the faithful or of his family towards BOR's religious glocalization in Italy. The faithful decides to rest for eternity in the land of the host country.

Over a period of 7 years there were 842 conversions in the diocese. In almost all cases, these were motivated by mixed marriages involving a Romanian Orthodox spouse and an Italian Catholic spouse. As we see in Fig. 7, also in this case (as in Fig. 2) more conversions occurred in Northern Italy, but the peak occurred in the Lazio region.

Fig. 7. Italian regions with the highest number of conversions in the BOC in Italy in 2014



The religious activity of priests does not take place only in churches, but also in prisons and hospitals. In 2014, a total number 94 priests visited the prison located in the territory of their parish, a figure higher than that of the previous year (61). Moreover, 179 priests visited hospitals located in the territory of their parish and, again, this was an increase compared to the 159 priests who had done so in 2013.

Another religious activity that has become more frequent in the diocese in recent years is that of the devotional practice of pilgrimage. The Pilgrimage Centre 'Santi Apostoli Pietro e Paolo' of the Romanian Orthodox diocese in Rome organized 42 pilgrimages in the year 2014, 22 of which were to destinations abroad. In 2014 a total of 1,194 followers of the Orthodox faith participated in the pilgrimages organized by the diocese; however they represent only a part of the faithful who engage in and support the phenomenon of Orthodox pilgrimages in Italy. The Romanians in fact go on pilgrimages to Catholic places of worship in which are kept relics of saints proclaimed before the Great Schism of 1054. The Romanian Orthodox diocese has also published a small book which lists Catholic churches in Italy where it is possible to venerate the saints shared with the Orthodox Church. For example, it is common to see Romanian Orthodox faithful at the

Basilica di Santa Giustina in Padua, where the reliquary of St. Luke the Evangelist is housed and protected by the Benedictine monks (O.S.B.).

Moreover, the phenomenon whereby the Romanian Orthodox faithful venerate Catholic saints who are not recognized by the Orthodox church seems to be widespread, and they pray at the places of worship that host their relics, for example as occurs in the cases of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Anthony of Padua and Padre Pio of Pietrelcina. The phenomenon is due to the *fluidity* of the interaction occurring between religious traditions, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, and the processes that create forms of hybridization, above all among Christian churches. Likewise, it seems conceivable - although it is not actually possible to clarify the phenomenon - that a certain number of Romanian Orthodox faithful may visit the Marian shrines in Italy. Such hybridization processes may be facilitated by a host context in which in their daily lives the Romanian immigrants may encounter forms of continuity with the life they would lead in Romania (Cingolani 2009)[2]. Furthermore, such common elements 'naturally' persist in a society in which the traditional religion is still the Christian faith, thus forming part of the same devotional dimension. In this regard, in a long interview with Bishop Siluan which we recorded in December 2015, the prelate stated: "Sometimes we Romanian Orthodox faithful feel freer here that at home in Romania. There, hatred towards the Church is sometimes very strong. Here, along the street I have never been offended, as once happened to me in France".

In this analysis of the religious activity of the BOR in Italy we note that it has not resorted to *oikonomia*. This theological concept is generally regarded as being a more flexible application or interpretation of the Orthodox canons, and the adaptation of its spirit to particular contexts and personal situations.

[2] These forms of continuity may be identified in various spheres of daily life: in the dimension of work activities (undeclared employment, non-compliance with contractual provisions and a prevalence of informal relations in the labour market); in family dynamics (a general patriarchal family style); in public life and in the relationship between citizens and institutions (tolerance towards undeclared work, a 'soft' interpretation of rules, an occasionally arbitrary attitude on the part of law enforcement bodies); in the presence of intolerance towards local populations that emigrate from different parts of the country (Cingolani 2009).

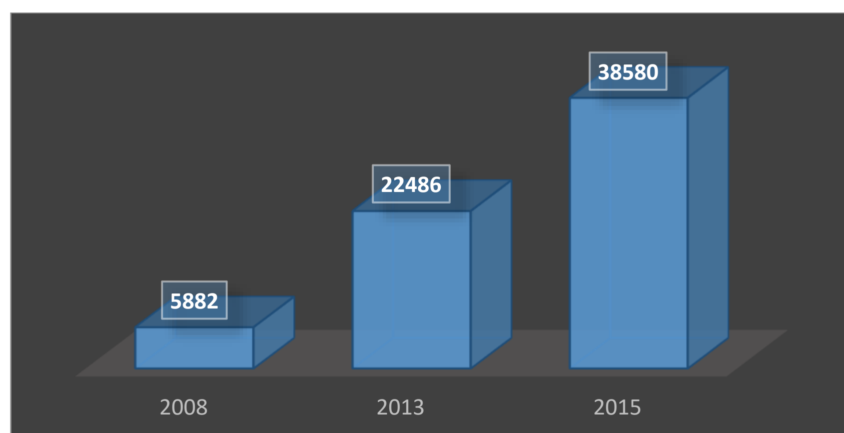
We should also add a principle of Eastern Orthodox theology that was not directly expressed in interviews, but which is transparent in the conduct of Eastern Orthodox parishes, namely the principle of economy (oikonomia), as opposed to akrivia (akribeia). Akribeia is the strict application of church law. Oikonomia translates as God's merciful dealing with humankind, which implies discretionary deviations from church law and the adaptation of its spirit to particular contexts and personal situations. This principle leaves room for flexibility and, applied to the practical aspects of a migrant's life, can have a positive impact on integration (Hämmerli 2011: 12).

In sociological terms we may define this theological concept as a practice which ensures formal changes within an Orthodox diaspora, allowing for adaptation to the juridical norms and/or the culture of the new host country without opposing the doctrine of the church and its religious tradition. Commenting on such situations, Hämmerli expresses her own views: "Consider the case of monks who have to wear a black monastic habit, which is traditionally prohibited in public places in the Canton of Geneva. In order to avoid breaking the law or being mistaken for Muslim traditionalists, some Eastern Orthodox monks who reside in the canton adopt a sober civil way of dressing and thus live an interiorized monasticism" (2011: 12). In Italy, however, thanks above all to the historical and social hegemony of the Catholic Church, there are no particular restrictions for the clerics and society presents no characteristics that make it incompatible with the Orthodox tradition.

However, this does not mean that the framework of religious activity of the BOR in Italy does not present many mutations. In this regard, it allows us to reflect on three principal issues. The first question concerns the stability and future trajectories of this church in diaspora. As we have seen, the number of celebrated sacraments is very high, and this is indicative of the rooting of a diaspora religion in the host territory. In fact, the lower the number of sacraments concerning the rites of passage in the life the faithful (such as baptism, marriage and funerals) the less stable their settlement in the host environment will be. In this case we see a very high number of baptisms and a significant number of marriages, followed by a constant but relatively low number of funerals and initiations into the Orthodox church. This scenario shows how this religious community is on the rise as the number of new Orthodox youths and new couples is increasing, while the number of deaths remains generally low. Moreover, the official position of this diaspora religion does not provide for proselytism, and does not favour the conversion of

Italians. The number of Christian initiations therefore seems significant, considering, as mentioned above, that they are only due to mixed marriages. Finally, the sacrament of baptism, as suggested in Fig. 8, can be a significant indication of the trend of births of Romanian children in Italy.

Fig. 8. Number of Romanian births in Italy (Eurostat)[3]



After Moldova (a territory that belonged to Romania until 1944) Italy is the country in the world with the highest number of births of Romanian children (followed by Spain). Over a period of five years (2008-2013) this figure quadrupled, and in the following two years (2013-2015) it increased by about 55%. This trend seems to be international, given that the births in the Romanian diaspora seem to have surpassed those in the mother country[4]. This information stimulates a reflection on the transmission of a religious faith within a new host context such as the Republic of Italy.

Father Vasile Jore who serves at the Romanian Orthodox parish of Ferrara tried to face this issue and and to optimize the few time of the Orthodox families. He organizes the education of young people in parallel with the liturgical experience. In an interview in October 2018, he tells us:

---

[3] Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Romania#cite_note-21 (Accessed: May 28, 2018).

[4] Acknowledgement of this situation has emerged in many interviews with Romanian priests in Romania and in Italy.

Every Sunday during the conclusion of the Mass, after the sacrament of the Communion, I do a second sermon in which I face pastoral questions that affect the life of our community and which lasts about 45-50 minutes. During this time, some faithful lead children to the rooms near the church, where we do catechism and other social activities. In this way we can optimize the times, and parents can also be a little free. We divided children into three different groups: one from the age 4 to 7 in which they can play together, but inside our community and church; one from the age 8 to 13 in which some catechists trained in courses organized by our diocese educate to religious principles the children; one from the age 14 to 18 in which the teachings are more in-depth, and where my wife teaches, since she has studied theology in Romania.

Fr. Vasile believes, how he developed in his discourse, that this type of activity is essential to transmit the faith to the next generations. It is important to diversify parish's offer and to plan carefully paths that in depth affects young people.

In this regard, the sociological study of the religious activity of Romanian priests, as well as that concerning the transmission of the faith to the new generations of Romanians in Italy, suggests a reflection on the vernacular aspect. In an interview in 2001, Father Traian Valdman already emphasized the future importance of the linguistic characteristics of Orthodox Christianity in Italy, manifesting a certain position of openness:

The future of Orthodoxy in Italy depends on its capacity to integrate into the cultural environment. While maintaining the spiritual richness of their Churches of origin, the new generations will seek to praise God in the language they use every day, to increasingly worship local saints and bear witness together with other Italian Christians, both Catholic and Protestant (Valdman 2001: 92).

As was evident in the interviews and in ethnographic observations, young faithful of the last generations speak Italian as their first language. It is the language that they use in their everyday life, which in their common relations is less centred on the migrant community with respect to the day-to-day life of their parents. However, also in the case of first generation Romanian immigrants in Italy, who mainly use the Romanian language, their interaction with the Italian language has led to changes in this foreign language. Cohal (2014) carried out the first research on the linguistic repertoire of the Romanian community in Italy and analyzed changes occurring in Romanian, the language of origin of the immigrants, on account of its contact with Italian. Some innovative linguistic phenomena emerge from this research, especially in terms of the lexicon of the

language studied, with loanwords and claques, but also at the grammatical and syntactic level. Some hybridizations of the language of the religious community in the diaspora with the language of the host country seem evident. This form of hybridization on the vernacular aspect is facilitated by the fact that both languages belong to the Romance or neo-Latin linguistic group.

The latter vernacular trajectories appear to be strengthened within the liturgy and religious activity of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora. The Romanian Orthodox Church is in fact the only jurisdiction of the Orthodox communion that uses the vernacular as its liturgical language (generally the other churches use Slavonic or ancient Greek). This allows for a greater understanding of and access to the liturgy on the part of the faithful, and would appear to represent a further factor of hybridization with the host context. Interviewed in October 2018 Father Gabriel, who serves at the Romanian Orthodox Church in Verona, deepens this point, he focuses also on the key role that the temporal factor will play in deciphering this issue:

> For us it is important that children and new generations of Romanians in Italy know their mother tongue, and for this reason we organized a course of Romanian language in the parish, and a course of Romanian culture and civilization. Parents don't have time to teach this topic in depth to their children, because they work long hours, often seven days a week. Therefore, as a church we take care of this aspect of the education of young people. At the same time, I celebrated several mixed marriages' liturgies in Italian. The fact that our liturgical language, the normal Romanian language, is similar to Italian facilitated this choice. (...) I'm at the service of my community, and my main goal is that the word of God is 'embodied' in my spiritual children. For now, I'm called to serve a community that is mostly composed of first-generation immigrants, who still use the Romanian language very much. On the other hand, young Romanians use and refer to the Italian language, because they have already been educated differently from the previous generation. When this balance changes in the community, and the faithful whose main language of reference is Italian are a majority, I will have to face the question of how to organize the Mass: I could celebrate two Masses, one in Romanian and one in Italian, or one Mass, half in Romanian and half in Italian. At present, there is a small group of Italian converts in the parish, and for linguistic reasons they are quite excluded from the liturgy. They must be content with some prayers in Italian, and a weekly paper with the Gospel of Sunday and some sayings of the Fathers of the church.

As it seems clear from the interview, the linguistic element is in fact one of the main factors of interation with the host context of a religious diaspora with respect to both the liturgy and the life of the communities. On the basis of our research, with respect to life

in the religious communities it seems difficult to hypothesize the extent and customs relating to its use, which is linked to the number of Italian converts present in the parish (and, as we have seen, the number is usually quite low). On the other hand, with respect to the liturgy it would appear that (again) a 'creative factor' may be identified within the sphere of activities of the priests, who are closely linked to the essential dimension of the diaspora and to his personal tendency or attitude towards hybridization (as noted in the previous chapter with respect to the study of the liturgy in sociological terms). As was found in the interviews and in the ethnographic material collected in our research, the sermons are occasionally given in both languages - and thus acquire a double nature - or are given partly in Romanian and partly in Italian. It seems a widespread practice in the liturgy to recite the main Christian prayers, such as the Creed and the Pater Noster, in both languages. This practice conceals a key point: in reciting the same prayers, as emerged in interviews conducted with Romanian faithful, Orthodox and Catholics feel that they belong to 'sister churches'. Moreover, in the case of the Orthodox liturgy in the diaspora this practice seems to also represent an act of reflection with respect to the host context and a form of hybridization may also be found in the vernacular aspect. In fact, from the point of view of the religious institution, bilingualism is facilitated by the diocese, which seems to have a generally reflexive attitude towards the host context and tries to face the question of the younger generations within this perspective[5].

Furthermore, the processes described in this section seem to facilitate a hybridization of the spiritual 'capital' of the BOR in Italy with the socio-cultural environment and the traditional religion of the host country. With regard to spiritual capital Hämmerli (2011) notes that "apart from providing a space for the formation of social capital, churches are there to perpetuate and teach a spiritual tradition, norms of morality and beliefs and to perform rituals that embody these values" (2011: 12). Referring to Orthodox immigrants, Hämmerli (2014) once again comments on their situation: "Dislocated from their original cultural, family, social, and geographical settings, migrants find an element of stability in the immutability of religious practice. The liturgy, the feasts of saints and the celebrations of family patrons place individuals in a continuum with their ancestors and relations in

[5] In fact, many publications and materials present on the Internet are published in both languages or only in Italian, as in the case of the Almanac of the Italian Episcopate, a guide to the city of Rome for pilgrims who revere the Apostles, a booklet of monastic prayers in Italian and the Gospel in Italian printed by a Catholic publisher for the catechesis of young people in Rome.

the home country" (2014: 127-128). Focusing on the internal practices of this spiritual capital, it would appear that encounters with the Catholic world may be identified. This allows us to indicate a path - certainly not a central factor with respect to the situation described - which seems to once again present the concepts of an overlapping and fluid interaction between two cultures and Christian traditions. For example, as Ihlamur-Öner (2009) showed in her study on the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy, Romanian saints are transferred to the new host context to become part of the parish life in Italy:

> The parish of Ivrea has Sfântul Leontie as its patron Saint because most of the people come from the Northern part of Romania... from Suceava. We chose a saint who lived in the Northern area in the 16th century or, rather, in the second half of the 15th century. He lived respecting tradition, in the minds… and the people place their trust in this saint, who is the protector of our parish (2009: 369).

As a Romanian Orthodox faithful states, the patron saint of a parish is thus chosen according to the region of origin of the followers of the faith in the diaspora. This choice can also have a reflexive character: "emphasizing certain days and introducing new saints in the calendar can also be conducive to creating common ground for the Catholic church and the Orthodox diaspora whereby these worlds may approach each other" (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 370). Moreover, such a phenomenon could facilitates hybridization between two Christian traditions by inserting new elements into the life of the faithful of both religious groups. For example, "there are also many cases where Italian Catholic families start a period of fasting 40 days before Easter while a Romanian Orthodox care worker is present in their houses. A practice which they ceased to follow a long time in the past is then revived on account of interaction with an Orthodox caregiver in the home" (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 371).

This type of phenomenon appears to facilitate a religious glocalization of the diaspora religion. For example, we may consider the Orthodox practice of writing on cards during the liturgy the names of people who are alive and the names of others who have died; through his intercession the priest will remember these people in prayers, praying for the health and well-being of those who are alive and for the eternal peace of those who have died. Very often the names of the living and dead persons are those of relatives, friends and also priests who are alive or who have died in the motherland, and the practice thus becomes a form of transnational religious practice. However, in other cases the

intercession concerns relatives and family members living in Italy or priests of other parishes in the Italian peninsula. In the Romanian Orthodox parish of Trento the researcher Ihlamur-Öner (2009: 273-274) has seen many Romanians writing the names of Romanian clergymen in Italy other than the local priest. Father Avram Matei confirms Ihlamur-Öner's observation, referring to his own experiences:

> My name is […]. In many places in Italy my name can not be found. They say that they know me; the priests say that they know me because I have a very rare name. Avram. There is no one called Avram. It's a very rare name. I know you, and I have received many papers with your name written on it (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 274).

We feel that such a situation would appear to indicate an invisible and profound path of religious glocalization[6]. Through this practice the faithful create links among the priests of the diaspora religion present in the host country, and in their religious sphere reproduce elements of the diasporic condition[7].

3.2 Social Activity of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

To attain a deeper understanding of the social activity of the BOR in Italy, it would appear advisable to undertake a parallel analysis of the mission developed by the Romanian Orthodox diaspora abroad. In this regard, we propose a broad perspective, introducing some historical trajectories of the religious leadership of the BOR in Western Europe. In the next section we will return to the topic of transnational ties between the diasporas with a view to focusing on the 'genesis' of the Romanian Orthodox *missionary style* in this part of the European continent. In this respect in a long interview conducted in June 2017 Father Patriciu Vlaicu, coordinator of the Department of Continuing Education of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan Diocese of Western and Southern Europe in Paris, informed us that:

[6] This path of religious glocalization seems similar to a previously analyzed one related to the sacrament of funeral celebrated in the diaspora.

[7] Another example of reproducing elements of the diasporic condition in the religious sphere is identified by Cingolani (2009: 236). He encounters changes in the *pomană*, a ritual held in memory of the dead and occurring in the first week after Easter in the Romanian Orthodox community of Turin. These changes are dictated by material factors relating to the condition of the diaspora, thus creating a different version of the ritual generated by hybridization with the new host context.

The bishops of the Romanian dioceses in Western Europe meet 3 or 4 times a year in conferences or seminars. On these occasions, lecturers or other priests are invited, and opportunities for discussing their respective missions and sharing their experiences are created. However, in particular it should be noted that these bishops belong to the same spiritual family: Father Serafim of Nuremberg is the spiritual father of Siluan, of Iosif in Paris and of Timothy in Spain. The spirituality of the mission in Western Europe has been developed over the years by Iosif (the Bishop in Paris), who developed the Metropolia in the early years of the 21st century. He would go on long journeys in his car, covering thousands of miles to visit the nascent parishes in the various European countries. Gradually developing the church, he was able to confront these new realities, with all of the difficulties and challenges involved, developing this type of missionary spirit.

We have heard this story also during other interviews that have been recorded in our research. A Romanian priest even recalled Bishop Iosif's long journeys by car from Paris to Rome on the occasions when he came to visit him. These journeys are reminiscent of the travels of Catholic missionaries in Brazil and in other countries of South America (a situation which, in terms of the size of the countries involved, resembles that of Western Europe) to create or to assist the new parishes. In addition to Bishop Siluan the above-mentioned clerics are Father Iosif (Pop), the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolia of Western and Southern Europe (based in Paris), Father Timothy Lauran, Bishop of the Diocese of Spain and Portugal, and Father Serafim Joantă, the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the Metropolia of Germany, Central and Northern Europe (based in Nuremberg). The anecdote seems to suggest that the *missionary style* of the Romanian diaspora in Europe has progressively developed over the years through a relationship established with the host context. As previously stated with regard to glocal clerics, also in this case operating effectively in the diaspora "requires a long period of training", interacting with the host context and its dominant religion. A 'vocation' to interact with the new socio-cultural environment, to accept the encounter between religious universalism and local particularism and to attain a certain threshold of tolerance towards cultural hybrids is also required.

In a long interview conducted in October 2017 we discussed for a second time with Bishop Siluan certain characteristics of his leadership of the diocese in Italy. He stated that the basic objective is to "discern the essential aspects of a good life in the possibilities offered by the environment". Siluan informed us of his approach: "In the diocese we try to adapt to the new contexts in order to pass on our message, developing a pastoral

practice as we proceed in the midst of the chaos of a society that is also very different from that of Romania". According to the bishop, in Italy the BOR intervenes in contemporary Italian society, "seeking new pastoral routes to convey the Orthodox message". In our opinion, following a discussion and an analysis of the data collected during the research, these 'new routes' can be essentially summarized under two categories.

The first path concerns the elaboration of a socio-cultural space in the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy. As previously mentioned, a change in this direction seems to affect the places of worship of the diaspora; they are also designed as places of aggregation and social interaction for the Romanian population abroad. For this reason at the sites of the new Romanian Orthodox churches built in Italy there are annexed buildings used as cultural centres, as is the case in Padua and Verona, where a library is also provided. The parishes tend to propose the addition of these structures also in Catholic churches and in leased buildings, suggesting a 'flexible' use of the places of worship and surrounding spaces.

Another change occurring within this first path seems to concern the structuring of activities of a truly pastoral nature organized on a permanent basis in the parishes of the Romanian Orthodox Church. This is apparently indicated by the quantitative data collected at the diocese in Rome in December 2015, for example with the organization of events and days spent together with Romanian children. In 2014 these events saw the participation in the entire diocese of 1,396 children under the age of 6 (compared to 1,181 in 2013), 2,309 children aged 6 to 12 (compared to 1,914 in 2013) and 1,364 adolescents aged 12 to 16 (compared to 1,028 in 2013). Furthermore, the diocese has helped the parishes to organise 'school camps' for children from the communities located in the Italian peninsula, thereby adopting a pastoral practice customary in the Catholic world. Fifteen of these events were organized in Italy in 2014 (12 in the summer and 3 during the winter period), and approximately 600 children participated in the activities. Some parishes in Italy have organized pilgrimages and 'school camps' for students in Romania, and some parishes in Romania have organized pilgrimages for young people to the monastery in Rome where the diocese has its seat. Finally, adopting yet another experience of the Catholic world - that of the promotion of associations for young people

- the ‘Nepsis-Italia’ Youth Brotherhood of the Romanian Orthodox Diocese of Italy, composed of 1,172 young members (807 in 2013), was founded in 2008.

It would appear that the objective of creating a social and cultural space essentially coincides with the desire to create a small Romanian dimension outside the homeland[8]. This occurs by encouraging both the planning of pastoral initiatives and events that will facilitate aggregation, involving young people and adults (thereby also modifying the management of material spaces within the parish). In this regard, in the words of Father Athanasius, Vicar General of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy, who was also interviewed in December 2015 and in October 2017 before he was ordained as bishop, what is happening is the shift from a ‘static pastoral’ to a ‘dynamic pastoral’ situation, or “learning also the pastoral practices from our Catholic brothers”. In this regard, the organization of festivals focusing on Romanian culture in various Italian cities by Romanian associations close to the BOR appears to involve the communities of Romanian immigrants (with an overlapping of the national and religious identities, as is customary in the Orthodox church). In fact, since 2008 this diaspora religion has encouraged the organization - often together with local Romanian associations - of cultural activities aimed at promoting Romanian traditions in Italy. Among the significant events worthy of note are concerts of sacred music (e.g., in Rome, Lucca and Padua), exhibitions and festivals focusing on traditional Romanian costumes (e.g., in Lucca, Monza, and Turin (Cingolani 2009: 132-133)), Romanian art exhibitions (e.g., in Padua), cultural conferences (e.g., in Turin), and traditional music concerts (e.g., in Venice).

Finally, the second path seems to concern the development of a *diakonia* rooted in the territory, and therefore of a form of ecclesiastic social assistance established in the host context and connected to the real needs of the adherents to the faith. This goal seems to involve most of the parishes through the distribution of foodstuffs and small volumes of economic aid, and these activities are flanked by various local initiatives, such as free healthcare services provided by Italian physicians in some parishes (e.g., in Rome) or the distribution of meals to the homeless in the stations (e.g., in Rome and Turin). According to this view, the BOR in Italy has also started a form of collaboration with Catholic institutions, such as the Caritas and the Migrantes Foundation to assist their countrymen

[8] Cingolani describes the Romanian Orthodox parish in Turin as “a sort of small Romanian consulate, a service centre and an informal employment office” (2009: 233).

with no fixed abode or who are experiencing serious difficulties. Furthermore and, again, in Turin, the diocese has some apartments which it places at the disposal of carers who have lost their jobs and are temporarily without a home.

This social-assistance activity is transnational and also aims at helping people in difficulty in the homeland, as the quantitative data collected at the Romanian diocese in Rome in December 2015 appears to suggest. In 2014, the diocese organized 30 transfers of garments (over 25 tonnes) and food (2.5 tonnes) to parishes and monasteries in Romania and in the Republic of Moldova, and provided economic aid to support families in need (€ 1,595). The diocese also covered the cost of transferring some fellow citizens to Romania (€ 7,000) and the repatriation of 7 deceased persons to the mother country.

Furthermore, from September 2013 to June 2014, 480 children from Romania, and the Republic of Moldova were adopted, through long-distance adoption projects, involving a related expense of € 143,251 (while 317 children were adopted from 1 September 2012 to June 2013). During the 2014-2015 scholastic year, 490 scholarships were awarded, and the 'Ragazzi in Gamba' international program offered assistance to young people with disabilities. The 'Good Samaritan' Program provided health care to people with serious health problems, and in 2014 allowed 100 people from Romania to receive surgery in Italy.

These two new paths of the BOR in Italy can be explained quite clearly by the case of its parish of Verona dedicated to Saint Elijah the Tishbite, prophet of the Old Testament, and San Zeno, the eighth Catholic bishop in the history of Verona to whom the basilica is dedicated and who is revered as a saint by the Catholic and Orthodox churches. The Romanian Orthodox community owns land measuring about 5 thousand square meters. The church follows the religious artistic style typical of the Bucovina region in northern Romania. It has a 350 square meters plant and is topped by a tower about 8 meters. Under the church, a large crypt has been constructed, while the side building is divided into three floors: the first one for the meeting of the carers, with a large living room and a kitchen; the second one for a library with books in Romanian and Italian; the third one with two rooms for the short-term reception of countrymen in difficulty, and for medical assistance. A conference center will be built in another building, while all around the church there is a park with icons following the Oriental Orthodox style. In this 'great reality', the BOR

organized various socio-cultural and social-assistance activities, as Father Gabriel explains:

> We did not invent the 'hot water': in the first years we tried to fit into the needs and activities of the city, many of which were already present in our community. For example, in the prison there were already figures belonging to the Catholic Church, and we inserted ourselves in these projects. We have sent our deputies to visit some 'school camps' for students organized during the summer by Catholic parishes, and then we organized them in an Orthodox perspective. In our tradition prayer is very important, and it should mark the various phases of a child's day; together with moments of catechesis as well as games, in a similar manner to the Catholic experience. (...) Years ago, we started organizing courses of Romanian culture and civilization, so that children learn the language and history of their country, since their parents work long hours and often do not have time to do it. We used to go and pick the children up house by house by car, taking them to a class that was held in the afternoon (while the parents worked). Then, we decided to include this experience in the life of the community, and to give it its own space: today the courses are held on Sunday before the Mass and are attended by about 60 children. On Saturday, on the other hand, we organize a course of Romanian folk dances, where kids can stay together, have a drink and socialize. (...) There are also experiences that involve adults, such as communitarian meals and catechetical courses, or the volunteering of Romanian doctors at our surgery on the top floor of the building near the church.

Starting from this narration of the case of the parish of Verona, we may now attempt to examine in sociological terms these two principal new paths of the BOR in Italy. First of all, we will use the concept of the *reflexive position* proposed by Lichterman (2005). Lichterman analyzed religious groups and their capacity to reach out to society at large and build bridges between different social media, stressing the crucial role of reflexivity in a group (2005: 15). In this case, it is probable that "if you are interested in discussing their relationship to the host society, other religious groups, the state, or other social and political actors, they stimulated collective and individual thinking about the local culture" (Hämmerli 2011: 8; 2014: 123). In our research we have identified numerous experiences of the BOR in Italy that have facilitated an 'encounter' with the Italian context. Each of the further cases in the following list seems to represent a type of event that has encouraged the reflexive processes of this religion in the diaspora with the host environment: a visit to the Romanian Orthodox Church in Monza on the part of children from a primary school (Monza 2016); an event promoting a greater awareness and knowledge of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Livorno, which opened its doors to followers of all the other religions present in the city (Cuzzocrea 2016); a traditional

Christmas concert with songs from the Orthodox tradition which has been organized for many years in the Romanian parish of Padua and promoted by the Office for Ecumenism of the city's Catholic diocese (Diocesi di Padova 2016); the traditional celebration of the Orthodox Easter which the Romanian community of Turin has organized for many years in a central square of the city (Cingolani 2011); a partnership between the main Italian association of blood donors (Associazione Volontari Italiani del Sangue - AVIS) and some Romanian Orthodox communities in Italian regions such as Emilia-Romagna and Abruzzo to encourage the growth of blood donations (La Nuova Ferrara 2018; Centro 2018). Moreover, the Romanian Orthodox churches seem to become venues that support electoral campaigns in many Italian cities. For example, in the last municipal elections held in Padua (2017) the candidates of the main political parties presented themselves to the Romanian community in the parish of the Orthodox church (but outside the place of worship). The Mayor of Rome, Giovanni Alemanno, a member of a centre-right coalition and a former adherent of a far-right political youth movement, participated in the celebrations of the Orthodox Easter at the Romanian monastery in Rome in 2013 (Alemanno 2013).

This attitude of the BOR in Italy, with its orientation towards promoting an encounter with the host context, may be identified also with respect to the country's dominant religion. This also appears evident in a reflection that emerged in a long interview conducted in April 2017 with Father Costin Spiridon, director of the Romanian Diaspora in the World at the Romanian Patriarchate in Bucharest:

> The Romanian parishes in Italy have a definitely positive relationship with the Catholic dioceses in the peninsula; no particular tensions are present. We are willing to learn and acquire pastoral practices from the Catholic Church, such as those concerning the pastoral ministry of young people and social assistance. The experiences of the Romanian diasporas in countries with a Catholic tradition have in fact encouraged certain reflections here in Romania.

From these words an 'official' reflexive position of the BOR seems to emerge regarding the religious sphere in the host context. This 'programmatic' orientation obviously meets with resistance in the Orthodox Church in Romania and abroad and organizational limitations in the diaspora parishes. However, this position seems to favour a transnational dissemination of *new cultural hybrids* between the two countries. As

Bishop Siluan confirmed in a long interview, in fact "some good initiatives that have developed here have subsequently been adopted in Romania and, likewise, some of those developed there have then been adopted in our diocese".

The orientation of the reflexive position seems to influence the definition of the 'style' of a parish and, that is, the cultural orientation of parish life. Although each of the four organizational styles of Orthodox parishes established by Hämmerli (2011: 9) emphasize different aspects of the settlement of an Orthodox community in a host environment, they are not to be construed as 'pure'[9]. They should be observed in terms of nuances, and might overlap with each other within the same parish. The first style, the most traditional in the orthodox world, is the 'contemplative' approach, which is typical of "parishes centred on the liturgical life of their members. All Eastern Orthodox parishes coalesce around the liturgy, since this is the primary reason why they exist; but there are some other characteristics that are prominent in 'contemplative' parishes, in particular their reluctance to discuss and attempt to resolve social issues. This does not translate into a lack of empathy with the dilemmas and problems that affect society" (Hämmerli 2011: 9). As we have shown in this chapter, the Romanian Orthodox parishes seem to have developed a dual path (concerning socio-cultural space and social-assistance) oriented towards social issues. We may thus identify a transition from a 'contemplative' style to a 'community-builder' style (Giordan, Guglielmi 2018). This style "results in special attention being paid by parish leaders and priests to church members as a group, and to their common problems and needs (…). The latter develop not only as providers of 'spiritual goods', but also as community centres that offer various socially oriented services, e.g., counselling, libraries, entertainment and cultural activities, thereby stimulating institutional and social integration. The targeted groups are women, young people and the elderly. Some of the 'community builder' parishes orient their activities towards integration and one of them has even formalized this aim by mentioning it in its legal statutes" (Hämmerli 2011: 9). In this organizational change of the parishes an indicative element appears to be the passage from the formulation of responses with respect to issues of the faithful of a mainly theological and spiritual nature to discussing

[9] Hämmerli (2014: 126-127) subsequently defines these styles in a slightly simplified way. In this section we will use only the first two, avoiding the 'locally-oriented' style and examining the 'networker' style in the penultimate section of this chapter.

and solving concrete problems that cause collective concern in relations between the migrant population and the host society.

Furthermore, this style seems appropriate to address and elaborate the social, cultural and religious differences that a church in diaspora encounters in the cultural environment of the new host society. As in the case of the reflexive position per se, it seems to favour the capacity of a religious community of immigrants to contend with modern phenomena typical of a Western (host) society that is theologically criticized and yet accepted as a 'field of play'. Initially, this style seems limited to the resolution of issues of a pragmatic nature related to the immigrant status of the faithful, but subsequently it seems to come into play also in the social and cultural diversity that characterizes the new host reality (for example, in the processes of secularization and in those relating to the pluralization of faiths). This style thus seems to emerge not only as a reflexive phenomenon, but also in a 'progressive' form. It appears to stem from material issues, in which it is useful to solve the concrete problems of the faithful, and other issues that concern the activity of a diaspora religion and aim at the attainment of a better mission of the church present in a society which differs from that of the homeland.

This process of religious glocalization seems to occur also through the decentralising of responsibility from the Patriarchate to the diaspora, another aspect of the in-depth settlement of the diaspora religion in the host context. In the year 2017 the Romanian Orthodox Church inaugurated in Rome a small faculty of Orthodox theology which may be attended by Romanians who want to acquire a degree in theology in the diaspora or who wish to become priests. The faculty is located in the Pontifical Oriental Institute, which we were able to visit for reasons related to our research in June 2018. It is moreover one of the most prestigious pontifical academic institutions committed to the study of religions in the Eastern world. It was founded in 1917 at the request of Benedict XV and is managed by the Jesuit order (S.I.). The aim of the Romanian project is to establish a pole within the diaspora in Western Europe where future priests may study, developing a training program that will provide a perspective suitable for serving in the diaspora. It appears that this decentralization follows a trend that has been developing for many years in the Romanian Diocese in Italy, which follows the various phases of establishment of its clergy. In fact, in the BOR in Italy the ordination to the priesthood and the previous examination that has be taken by graduates in theology in order to be invited to perform

priestly functions in a diocese occur in Italy and one of the examinations is administered in Italian. Subsequently, through a personal interview with the ordained candidates, the bishop selects his priests, who are consecrated in an Orthodox church of the diocese in the diaspora. This path appears to delineate a process of religious glocalization that facilitates the training of glocal priests, in particular through the valorization of religious personnel whose career began in the host context.

As highlighted in a previous research (Ihlamur-Öner 2014), this change occurs "despite resistance within the Church against greater involvement in the social sphere, with the argument that 'the social doctrine sounds too Western'", even though at the same time "this structural adaptation process has implications also for the mother church and its social standing and doctrine" (2014: 36). In this regard, from the historical point of view Romanian theology has been able to deal with modernity and the West, not only in terms of rejection but also critically valorising some of its elements. For example, it appears that this path may be principally identified in the theological inheritance of Father Dumitru Stăniloae. His work represents a creative development of the Orthodox patristic and liturgical tradition that has established a dialogue with modern thought, and is thus relevant for contemporary Orthodox churches (Staab 2012; Bordeianu 2013)[10]. We have examined the theological legacy of Stăniloae as an indigenus element of the BOR on account of the fact it became an established point of reference in the historical development of the Romanian Church through the twentieth century and it is deeply rooted in the Latin character and nature of Romanian Christian Orthodoxy.

Among his most important theological developments he conceived the concept of 'open sobornicity'. Stăniloae took the theological view of 'sobornost' one step further and in 1971 presented this new concept as an instrument which might foster ecumenism. He believed that during Pentecost the Holy Spirit infuses a common way of thinking in those who come to believe, making them understand one another despite all the differences of expression which may exist among them. This common way of thinking symbolizes the unity in diversity that the Church should reflect, because those who have received the same understanding preserved their distinctive languages (Turcescu 2002:

[10] Moreover, the ecumenical vision of Stăniloae should be interpreted as ambivalent as throughout his life he would periodically shift from an open and accepting stance to a position of closure towards the other Christian churches (Robertson 2002).

475-476; see Stăniloae 1980). Turcescu (2011) analyzed the scope of this concept in the dialogue between different Christian theologies:

> In 'open sobornicity' every theological system is welcomed as offering some valid theological insight and contributing to a better understanding of the whole revealed divine reality and of the whole human reality. New ways to express the divine reality appear as complementary rather than contradictory. Through openness to others, one's understanding is enriched, and a more symphonic, although not uniform, understanding of the divine reality is achieved. Nevertheless, the weaknesses of each system must be criticized, because no system is capable of comprehending the entire divine reality (2011: 476).

Moreover, the Romanian theologian Bordeianu (2013) presented the concept of 'spiritual intercommunion', a further theological approach introduced by Stăniloae[11], and examined the adequacy of such a theological perspective in favouring encounters between East and West and their respective Christian churches:

> How is open sobornicity implemented concretely, here and now, when the East does not have Eucharistic communion with the West? Stăniloae answers that it is through 'spiritual intercommunion', a form of intercommunion that consists in study, common prayer, and action among Christians. This intercommunion leads to open sobornicity because, through its exercise, "the Holy Spirit multiplies the 'connections' among Churches, [connections] through which their life in Christ may be transmitted from one Church to another, thus becoming more and more alike." In his own special way, despite his occasional polemical tone, Stăniloae was considerably open to the West (Bordeianu 2013: 246).

This vision seems to preserve a reflexive attitude towards the Western world and towards other Christian churches, which, as stated by Stăniloae, "nowadays must be enriched with the spiritual values actualized by Western Christians" (Bordeianu 2013: 245). It would appear that this vision may be partly identified also in some recent Romanian theological research focusing on Stăniloae, which behind his main concepts, perceive an '(in)voluntary ecumenis' pursued both knowingly and unknowingly (Bordeianu 2013), a profound Orthodox vision with respect to the model of nationalism (Clark 2013) and an Orthodox path to face the challenges of globalization (Untea 2017).

As mentioned previously, this position arises within a reflection on the part of the Romanian Orthodox theologians on the role of Romania that is founded and is centred on

[11] For a more in-depth reflection on this concept, see also Turcescu (2002a: 101).

its Latin character within the Orthodox world, a reflection which, however, has never been concluded. Therefore, we may view this position in sociological terms with an indigenous element within a glocal religious framework. Although from the methodological point of view it is quite complicated to shift from a theological to a sociological perspective, we maintain that this theological vision is an essential aspect of the orientation of the Romanian diocese in its establishment in Italy. In this respect it seems to facilitate the creation of cultural hybrids between Christian churches and socio-cultural realities and would appear to be particularly powerful in the condition of an Orthodox diaspora in a Western, Catholic country such as Italy.

3.3 Missions of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

The glocal trajectories described in the two previous sections are incardinated in the two main missions of the BOR in Italy (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 325-367). They appear to 'encompass' and 'go beyond' the usual mission of a diaspora religion. Generally, a diaspora religion will be engaged, more or less precariously, in religious activities and assistance provided to the respective community of immigrant adherents to the faith, starting from the offer of a place of aggregation. As shown by Ebaugh and Chafetz (1999: 599), migrant religious organizations generally play a role that differs from that in the traditional homeland, and they act as both religious and community centres. Also in the subject of our study the primary mission is in fact that of establishing *Romanian Orthodox parishes as community centres*. The Orthodox parish is a social space where Romanian immigrants can meet, speak in their native language, exchange information regarding employment or satisfy other basic needs, share problems and find solutions, make new friends and not lose touch with Romania. A Romanian adherent of the Orthodox faith who is resident in the parish of Mestre states that some Romanians also appear at the church with the sole intention of seeking help for their needs:

Like this we met each other, we have found jobs, we have found houses, we have exchanged you know. “The laws, have you heard of this law, that one”. And this helps a lot. We… for us… the Church is very important because the first thing you know is our religion… we meet each other, we find each other, friends. Look I was sick. Do you know how much they have helped me? They have helped me, they took me to the hospital; they have helped me with money. Do you know they have helped me, they have brought food. I went to the hospital; they have taken me to a house with the car for free. They came to see me at the hospital. They have also bought me meat, also milk, also fruit, also vegetable…many of these things. Because we met each other in the Church. Because otherwise where? (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 327).

The Romanian parishes thus meet the needs of the faithful in religious, social and cultural terms and attention is also paid to their material life. The parishes become community centres which deal with various aspects of the life of adherents to the faith, and have the objective of “the formation and the conservation of what it often refers to as *Românitate* (Romanianness) or the essence of being Romanian” (Rogobete 2004: 285).

The other mission is to establish *Romanian Orthodox parishes as places where the national and religious identities may be reinforced*. This mission is quite common in the national churches and in particular in those belonging to the Orthodox tradition, in which there is an overlap of the national and religious identity. The latter trajectory in fact seems deeply rooted also in the history of Romanian Orthodoxy (Gillet 1997[12]). For this purpose in order not to lose this dual national and religious identity Father Babula, who serves in the Romanian Orthodox parish of Ivrea, for example organized a special school for youths:

Our mission is to maintain the Romanian spirit and Romanian culture. For this purpose there is a new school where it is possible to learn the Romanian language, because children who go to Italian schools forget Romanian. They can learn some history, some geography and something about religion... the Orthodox religion. At school they are also exposed to the Catholic religion (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 338).

This construction and/or maintenance of the national identity by the BOR in Italy also involves the ethnic identity of the Romanian population, and is related to the socio-cultural context of the host country (i.e., shared Latin character or Latin origins). Political and religious ‘enemies’ in the history of one’s country may thus also become elements

[12] In this case, we can refer again to the Romanian national anthem: “Priests, lead with your crucifixes, for our army is Christian, the motto is Liberty and its goal is holy”. These rhymes seem to suggest the scope of the overlapping between national belonging and religious affiliation in the Romanian history.

conducive to a greater or less significant bond with the new context. In this regard it is interesting to consider ideas recorded by Ihlamur-Öner (2009: 349) and presented by Father Lupăştean of the Romanian Orthodox parish of Trento at the inaugural meeting of a local Romanian association in March 2008:

We should not be ashamed of who we are. We should not be ashamed of that... of our country. We should not be ashamed of nothing, of our language. We have to say loudly who we are, where do we come from. Our history is a history of more than, if I am not wrong, that started three thousand years ago and later evolved. A very tormented history between… two kings… Let's not forget whose name has been mentioned before, Vlad Tepes, if he did not stop the Turks today, we would be speaking Turkish. This is history, not an invention.

The Romanian national identity is affirmed with a sense of pride. It is historically constructed, relating it to those 'enemies' who do not belong to the Orthodox religion, and who are culturally distant from the dominant religion of the host country. Again, the national aspect seems to be a central element in the process of religious glocalization and appears to influence both the establishment of the diaspora religion in the host country and the promotion of cultural hybrids. This form of religious glocalization in fact sets the (national) borders of this Orthodox community and facilitates the creation of a congregation of followers of the faith. It thus retains a central place in the two main missions of this diaspora religion of a national church[13].

Furthermore, as shown above, the reflexive position of the Romanian Orthodox parishes towards the host environment seems to emphasize the national aspect of this diaspora religion as a form of glocalization. This reflexive position establishes these parishes as institutional points of reference at the local level for the Romanian population and its association, but also for Italian religious, political and social actors. These parishes may be defined, perhaps a little generously, as 'little Romanias' commited to providing religious and material assistance to the Romanian population abroad, and to the unofficial representation of Romania at local level in the host country.

With regard to this tie between the national aspect and the missions of the Romanian Orthodox Church abroad, Father Vasile once again stress the scope of the temporal factor.

[13] It seems appropriate to specify, according to Turcotte, a basic sociological configuration of the national church: "The national Church is characterized by a concentric synthesis of religion, nation, culture and society, in alliance with other social authorities. The socio-religious body it constitutes presents features similar to those of a system's organic whole. Its composition may be described as plural and animated by an esprit de corps" (2012: 1).

As in the case of the Romanian language and the vernacular aspect previously addressed by Father Gabriel, the national dimension will tend towards changes in the next decade: "In our region, Emilia-Romagna, and also in our diocese, a cultural activity focused on Romania has been developed. It concerns the planning of festivals and events that regard music, poetry, theater belonging to the Romanian history and culture. However, these activity compared to the Faith are in a second plane, they are less important. In my opinion, what is most important is that in the future our faithful will remain Orthodox. For example in the United States, the third and fourth generation of Romanians do not feel that much more Romanian, but they certainly feel Orthodox. Probably in 15 years, I will have to celebrate the Mass in Italian in my parish, since today Romanian children speak mainly this language. The nationality of the faithful will thus become the Italian one, and the Romanian nationality will become increasingly blurred".

In these missions the priests are the protagonists of the settlement of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy and, that is, the glocalization of this Eastern religious tradition in a Western country. The transformed duties of the Orthodox priest, which we may view as increasingly similar to those of a Catholic priest, on the one hand appear to represent the fulcrum of a glocal clerical status and on the other hand may be seen as some of the principal channels through which the religious glocalization of the diaspora occurs. The observations of Father Matei of the Mestre-Venezia parish (recorded by Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 352) appear to fully highlight the challenge of a glocal clergyman, who has to handle and cope with the new cultural context and must 'discern' the negotiation of cultural customs and traditions[14]:

> Yes, there are other duties but the way of thinking, the way of acting is a little different, even if the Mother [Church] is the same, the organization is a little like back home as we said. But being in contact here, having many many new things that you do not have that people see that our youth, kids live in an Italian Catholic world, they start thinking with their categories, living and acting like them. Then you have to adjust yourself, understand also this way of living, this way of acting. With the Church you have to be at the same level, at the same phase because if not, if you do things, let's say the things you were doing back home, they are not not very normal. There are things you should not do here and to and [if] you do them, you are called anachronistic, you are backwards, you have stayed like this. I do not know. So the Church has to do but always unless it is a sin. This is the norm that you have to follow. They can, if they want to organize a day a meeting to sing, that they sing, that they dance, that they do something, something together.

[14] The verb 'to discern' has the same connotation apparent in the previous interview with Bishop Siluan.

In these observations it is suggested that 'sin' is a first indication to discern the most evident activities that change the life of a parish in the diaspora. However, a second indication is provided by communion and a community spirit, which the new adaptation should favour among the faithful. In this testimony the sociological significance of a diaspora religion as a glocal religion seems to be clearly evident. In fact, it does not describe a relationship between a foreign religion and an external environment but rather a religious community internally modified by the mentality and cultural patterns of the host context. The priest is at the helm of some of these processes that unite religious universalism with local particularism and can establish some of the features of the new cultural hybrid. Other processes, however, remain ungovernable and occur unexpectedly at the places of worship and in the lives of the faithful.

These dynamics seem even more powerful in the case of glocal clerics who are 'educated' and ordained directly in the new country. We may consider the case of Father Nicolae Secita, who founded the Romanian Orthodox parish of Mestrino (PD). Father Secita has been living in Italy for 15 years. He worked for more than 10 years as a gas station attendant while he was studying remotely at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Alba Iulia, periodically returning to Romania to take exams. He began and continued to serve as a deacon in the parish of Padua until he was ordained and undertook his mission in the new community. Every Sunday at the parish of Mestrino there are about a hundred faithful present at the church services, and at least 30 children attend catechism. This allows Father Nicolae to dedicate himself completely to his priestly mission. As he referred to us in a long interview in May 2018, over time he has had occasion to appreciate the pastoral work and assistance of Catholics, especially with respect to children, and he has decided to adopt it in his parish:

> Nowadays, in the Orthodox church we must also think of children and activities involving art, music and films. In our parish next to the church we have set up a room with musical instruments (drums, guitar and a piano), learning from the methods of the Catholic parish. With children we must be thoughtful and caring and we should try to understand their perspective; many of them were born here and it is as if they were Italian, while others have been exposed to the strong experience of immigration. When you know them individually, the more traditional methods, such as face-to-face lessons, may be adopted.

This testimony once again shows how the religious glocalization of Romanian Christian Orthodoxy is rooted in the Italian context, and how the national aspect does not solely represent a 'barrier' between immigrants and the new context, as certainly often happens, but also a form of religious glocalization that can deeply penetrate the situation and generate a form of hybridization. In fact, the birthplace of children and their cultural references, which strongly influence the definition of their national identity, are factors considered by the glocal priest to better pursue his religious mission.

3.4 Glocal and Transnational Ties of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy

In this section we examine the case of a powerful glocal tie of the Orthodox Church in America. As mentioned previously the OCA is the only church in diaspora that has become an indigenous church in a Western country. It is a jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox diaspora in North America that was granted the status of autocephaly and became a local church in the 1970s. This religious glocalization took place through long-term indigenization processes, in which the life of this religious community abroad was hybridized with the socio-cultural environment of the host country. The hybridization process involves not only the presence of habits, cultural attitudes or the value system of a religious community in a new environment (as analyzed in previous sections and which, in the imagination, we would usually associate with the engendering of a cultural hybrid) but it can also link the settlement of a religious community in diaspora with the civil and/or political history of the host country. In this case, we can identify glocal ties and, that is, links that merge a specific historical element of the identity of a diaspora religion with an element of the identity of the host country or an episode of the civil and/or political history of the host country with an element of a religious community in the diaspora. These glocal ties can be reflected through a ritual, on a special occasion or by means of a symbol.

We propose the historical case of a glocal tie that developed at the St. Nicholas Cathedral of the OCA in Washington. In this regard, an initial Russian Orthodox community was established in this city in 1930, some of the members of which were political refugees who had been persecuted in the motherland. In the early days of this community, the parish was founded with the idea that eventually they would build a

memorial church, following the Russian tradition of perpetuating the memory of victims of wars, battles and other historic events, which, in this case included the Russian revolution and World War I. Since 1950, Russian Orthodox communities across the country contributed to the fund-raising efforts of the local congregation and in 1955 the foundations of the new cathedral were completed, while the actual construction work began in 1961 and the St. Nicholas Cathedral was consecrated in the following year.

The new church was formally established on May 1963 as the National War Memorial Shrine. The purposes of this sanctuary were modified in the first years of its establishment. It was initially dedicated to military victims of the First World War but it was subsequently also dedicated to the memory of victims of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and, finally, to members of the Orthodox faith who died in the Second World War. The cathedral is also dedicated to preserving the memory of members of the armed forces of the United States from Orthodox parishes throughout the country. On Memorial Day, the federal holiday dedicated to the remembrance of those who died while serving in the country's armed forces, currently observed every year on the last Monday of May, the names of deceased members of the armed forces of the United States who were also members of the Orthodox church are read during the liturgy. A list of names containing biographical details, information on military careers and the religious affiliation of the subject concerned (the Orthodox jurisdiction in the United States) is available on the Cathedral website.

The process of religious glocalization is interesting as the hybridization appears to precede an *aggiornamento* of the juridical position of this diaspora religion. In fact, the OCA became an indigenous church and acquired the status of autocephaly in 1970, but at least 5 years earlier this diaspora religion dedicated a cathedral of its own to the Orthodox faithful who had fought in the host country's army. It appears that a sociological perspective makes it possible to identify glocal trends beyond the canonical perspective of this Orthodox diaspora. This glocal tie forms part (or, rather, might be a stage) of the process of indigenization of the Russian Orthodox diaspora in the US. It should be interpreted as a path involving the national aspect of this religious community within the four key processes of hybridization. Father Valery Shemchuk, who serves as a priest at the aforementioned cathedral, told us in a long interview conducted in October 2017 how this opened attitude probably could have been favoured by the reflexive position that had

distinguished this religious community since the early years of the twentieth century. In particular, it appears that this view may be identified in the early years of the service of Tikhon of Moscow (1865-1925), who was head of the Russian Orthodox Church in America from 1898 to 1906, before becoming a patriarch of the ROC from 1917 to 1925. He was raised to the sainthood in 1989. According to Father Shemchuk, he promoted the use of English together with the Russian language in the liturgies and in the life of the communities, and contributed towards the development of social initiatives in Orthodox parishes, such as programs aimed at combating alcoholism.

Is it possible to identify similar processes on the part of Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy? Are glocalization processes identifiable between the history of Italy and the activity of the Romanian Orthodox Church? We can indicate three cases in which a fusion of an episode of Italian history and of Romanian history occurs within the settlement of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy. Every year, three Romanian Orthodox parishes in the provinces of Udine, Treviso and Rovigo respectively organize a *parastas*, a solemn memorial service for the dead in the Orthodox tradition, at a military cemetery where soldiers who died in the First World War are interred. The Friuli-Venezia Giulia and the Veneto regions were important theatres of war in this conflict and the Italian front was located in this general area. Those dreadful conflicts are in fact still remembered today by the local population, also with public rituals and ceremonies (Isnenghi 1993). A Romanian Orthodox community celebrates the Orthodox liturgy in the Austro-Hungarian cemetery of Palmanova, one of the main military cemeteries in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region. The cemetery houses the remains of more than 17,000 soldiers, mostly from the area of Gorizia, and two large mass graves, where more than 13,000 bodies of unnamed fighters are buried, including Romanian citizens. In the Veneto region a Romanian Orthodox community celebrates this liturgy at the Military Shrine of Monte Grappa, one of the main military mausoleums of the First World War. It contains the remains of 22,950 soldiers and is divided into two sectors, where Austro-Hungarian (10,295) and Italian (12,615) combatants are interred. Again, in the Veneto region, at the end of May the Romanian Orthodox parish of Rovigo celebrates a liturgy at the Ossuary of the Rovigo cemetery in memory of the Romanian soldiers from Bucovina who died in the First World War and whose remains are interred there (Rovigo Oggi 2017). In the regions of northern Italy there are probably other cases of Romanian Orthodox rituals held to commemorate

those who died in the First World War. Such another case occurs in Nuremberg, and is arranged by the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Germany (Anghel 2018).

As in the case of the OCA in the United States, in the BOR in Italy the country of the diaspora religion also participated in the same global conflict as the host country, and this may certainly facilitate the fusion of the historical trajectories. In the case of the OCA, this glocal tie developed within its processes of indigenization, and is expressed through the construction of a sanctuary as the glocal symbol of its settlement. However, in the case of the BOR this tie has developed within glocal processes that do not seem to alter its ethnic and national identity. The fact that a diaspora religion honours its fallen soldiers in a cemetery of the host country seems indicative of the depth of its religious glocalization.

The glocal ties of a diaspora religion can also be developed at the transnational level, and in particular in the religions that assume the traits of a transnational religion. In this scenario, in the main Orthodox jurisdictions, it is possible to identify institutional forms of transnationalism among the parishes of the diaspora and the church in the motherland, and forms of transnational religious practices among the Orthodox faithful that relate to their religious sphere (Levitt 2007).

In the previous sections we have already referred to the transnational ties of the church in the diaspora in its organization and its leadership. We have thus examined, in religious and social activities, some institutional forms of transnationalism between the parishes in diaspora and the church in the motherland. In this section we will focus on the transnational trajectories in the everyday life of the faithful and of the priests and, that is, on the forms of transnational religious practices mentioned earlier. In the in-depth interviews conducted during our research, many transnational religious practices have emerged among the faithful. These practices appear to be facilitated by the strong transnational character of Romanian immigration in Italy, which induces the Orthodox faithful to live their religion between the two countries. Furthermore, in some cases Romanian clerics seem to favour these practices to satisfy the religious needs of the faithful who have to cope with geographical restrictions and material issues. Occasionally, these practices appear to facilitate the creation of a cultural hybrid that blends with the host environment and its tradition religion. The research of Ihlamur-Öner (2009, 2014) also identifies many of these phenomena. For example, an interesting case

is that in which the religious practice of a member of the Romanian Orthodox parish of Trento, as in the case of the commemoration of the dead, appears to assume a transnational character even if it occurs completely in the host country:

> I went to my priest to confess. "Father, listen I am in Italy more than a year and once a year in Romania. What can I do to pray for me, for my family, even for the dead ones?" There are many. For example, to have tranquility even after the death. And he has told me this. If you know someone who has died in Italy, go to this tomb and pray as you pray. There are many old people who have died here. They are buried in the cemetery in Trento. Whenever I feel the need, I go there. And I tell you the truth that when I have problems I go there, it always helps me. You can say that it is faith (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 374-375).

This case concerns the religious sphere of a faithful and reveals a very intimate aspect of her life. On the other hand other forms of transnational religious practices may involve more concrete and material issues which develop at the grass-roots level and in the daily life of the faithful, close to but not within the scope of the institutional channels of the parishes (even including, for example, the blessing of cars and vans of the faithful before they start off on their journeys between Romania and Italy (Cingolani 2009: 233)). There are many different types of situations, such as the collection of token sums of money by small groups of followers of the faith for the construction of new places of worship in the parishes in Romania or to help in organising the return to their village of the body of a fellow Orthodox countryman from their own diaspora parish or to help their region affected by natural disasters, such as floods (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 375-376). In other cases, fund-raising can take place through the purchase of icons and religious products from monasteries in Romania, which are then resold in the diaspora to support the survival of these religious groups (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 376-377). Sometimes this assistance occurs in the opposite direction, and the priests from Romania join the diaspora religion to offer some of their skills, such as the traditional manual construction of churches and chapels (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 376). For instance, this is the emblematic case of the place of worship of the parish of Abano Terme: the construction works began on November 11th 2016, after the rite of the laying of the first stone headed by the Bishop Siluan at the beginning of the same month - and attended by around 500 faithful, and ended in December 24th of the same year: the next night in the new church the Romanian community celebrated Christmas Mass. For the construction works, 5 professional

workers arrived from Romania, who erected the church in just 40 days with the help of around 50 volunteer parishioners. In the near future, as Father Costel told us in an interview, artists will come from Romania to Abano with the 'blessing' of the Patriarchate to decorate the church with frescoes. This will be another special moment of encounter between Orthodox countrymen and the parishioners. Finally, these transnational ties also involve the mobility of priests. Romanian Orthodox faithful who come to Italy to visit their relatives may also be accompanied by monks or priests, who in turn may also have relatives or a spouse in Italy (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 377). A further situation that may arise involves the exchange of clergymen: when a Romanian Orthodox priest returns to his hometown on holiday for two weeks in the summer, another priest from Romania will come to Italy to replace him (Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 378).

Such a scenario allows us to describe Romanian Orthodox Church as a transnational religion (in particular in our case study which concerns the trajectories between the church of origin and its diaspora in Italy). This condition is not due solely to the positions and guidelines of the Patriarchate, but also to the orientation of parishes in the diaspora in Italy. Hämmerli (2011) defines this type of approach in the parishes as a 'networking style': the 'inter-ethnic networking' style "describes parishes that focus on building co-ethnic transnational ties (...). All ethnic Eastern Orthodox parishes are involved in co-ethnic transnational ties at the level of the West European diocese to which they belong or with ecclesiastical institutions in the homeland. Although these activities may appear as limiting the parishes to their ethnic church networks, they also give them the opportunity to compare different diasporic contexts and share solutions to certain difficulties" (2011: 10). This transnational scenario seems to have developed very quickly and powerfully with the entry of Romania into the EU (as suggested by the data on migration flows discussed in the second chapter), with respect to a post-communist period in which Romanian Orthodox Church was still establishing initial, rather fragile transnational religious ties (Cingolani 2009: 260).

3.5 From the Romanian Patriarchate to its Italian Diaspora: Church-State Relations, Europe, and Ecumenism

In this section we examine the positions of the Romanian Orthodox Church with respect to its diasporas in Western Europe. The orientations of the church are defined with respect to three main issues which will be discussed separately, highlighting their interconnections. In the case of the BOR, the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy has generated a glocal path enriched by particular characteristics of the host context.

The first issue concerns Romanian Church-state relations. In fact, the question of the Romanian diaspora seems to represent a priority in the agenda of the Romanian Patriarchate, but remains an equally important subject for the Romanian state. As we have seen, the BOR is not only the institution most deeply rooted in the social fabric in the motherland; it is also that which is most important in the Romanian communities abroad. The missions of the Orthodox parishes in the Romanian diaspora in Italy are thus linked to certain national interests of the Romanian state and form part of the 'domestic' dynamics of Church-state relations.

As mentioned above, the Romanian state pays great attention to the needs and the growth of the BOR in the diaspora. Pursuant to Law No. 142/1999, the Romanian State is committed to supporting the Romanian Orthodox Church abroad, with a view to maintaining its linguistic, cultural and religious identity. Some members of the clergy serving in the diaspora - generally the bishops - are awarded a salary which categorises them as officials in the diplomatic sphere (Tavala 2010). The Romanian state has also bought properties for the Romanian Orthodox dioceses in Europe and in Australia. For example, it purchased the monastery which is the seat of the Romanian Orthodox Diocese of Italy near Rome in 2008, as well as a church in Brussels and another in New Zealand. It has also conceded to the BOR a property near Paris which has now become the headquarters of the Metropolia for Western Europe (Tavala 2010: 101-102). The Romanian Patriarchate and the Department of Policies for Relations with Romanians Abroad, an internal department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, recently signed a new cooperation agreement. The two institutions are committed to intensifying joint efforts to support at the cultural and spiritual levels Romanian communities outside the country, especially through the state funding of new projects (from the construction of new places of worship to the support of personnel working in the dioceses) (Nedelcu 2014).

In a manner parallel to this cultural and religious commitment, the BOR seeks to unite the Romanian faithful in the diaspora through its role as the main point of reference for Romainians resident abroad. Following the example of the Serbian and Russian churches, in 2010 the Romanian Orthodox Church invited Romanians from all over the world to leave the parishes of other Orthodox autocephalous churches. The Patriarchate issued an appeal to "those persons who are, without blessing, in other sister Orthodox Churches or in non-canonical church structures to restore their direct communion with their Mother Church under the canonical jurisdiction of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church" (BOR 2010). Thanks to the presence of this 'Romanian unity and dignity', Romanian faithful should return to the Romanian Orthodox parishes. The patriarch added that this choice may be seen as an addressing for the future development of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora: "We are confident that this attitude envisaging a Romanian Orthodox resurrection and reconciliation will consolidate and intensify the pastoral-missionary, social-philanthropic and cultural-educational ministry of the Romanian Orthodox Church everywhere, reinforcing at the same time a Romanian Orthodox sense of dignity through the liberation of some adherents to the faith who see themselves as 'searchers of canonical shadows' among strangers" (BOR 2010).

This sort of mission which the Romanian State has 'negotiated' with the BOR abroad 'encourages' the Romanian Patriarchate to assume a reflexive or, in any case, a well-considered position with respect to the host contexts. As Grigorita points out (2010), from the canonical point of view the Romanian Orthodox Church abroad is based on an administrative organization founded on a form of *ecclesiastical autonomy* (2010: 98) guaranteed by the statute and by the functioning of the church itself. This autonomy acquired by the metropolises in Western countries is assigned only to ecclesiastic groups located abroad, and should be construed in practical terms. The BOR in fact concedes a good degree of autonomy to its diaspora and this is based on a 'practical spirit' within a framework of harmonious relations.

The BOR diocese in Italy thus receives support and assistance from the Romanian state for its public requirements[15]. The national interests of the Romanian state are in harmony

[15] As noted by Bratosin and Ionescu (2009), Patriarch Daniel has been publicly acclaimed by the Romanian government for his commitment to assist the Romanian communities spread throughout Europe: "In his anniversary speech on the occasion of the enthronization of the Patriarch, the President of Romania expressly stated the political role of the Romanian Orthodox community in the European Union: "The organizing of new dioceses and parishes in the diaspora, from Spain to Australia and Sweden, in Italy has

with the BOR's missions in Italy as referred to in the previous section (*Romanian Orthodox parishes as community centres*; *Romanian Orthodox parishes as places where the national and religious identities may be reinforced*). In accordance with the vision of the Romanian state, the churches are engaged in the constitution of 'little Romanias' and in the provision of spiritual and material assistance to the Romanian population abroad.

Among these national interests, that which is probably most obvious is of an economic nature. The Romanian diaspora in Italy is integrated into the economic fabric of the peninsula, and has an important influence on the economic results produced by the immigrant population in the country. The Romanian economy focuses on domestic care-giving services and construction work (Perrotta 2011), and in recent years has been extended to other sectors. In 2015 the remittances of Romanians in Italy amounted to € 871.621, corresponding to 16% of total remittances occurring in Italy. In 2016, these amounted to € 777,110, or 15.3% of the total remittances in the country. Romania is the country with the largest levels of remittance received from Italy, while the second very distant state is Bangladesh (435.333 Euro in 2015 and 486.559 Euro in 2016) (Luatti 2017: 32). Moreover also in these economic processes, the transnational ties that distinguish Romanian immigration play a key role in the creation of companies in the motherland thanks to the skills acquired in Italy and the commercial channels operating between the two countries (Cingolani 2009).

The BOR in Italy also transfers to Romania various funds that are used by the church of origin, as is evident in the data supplied by the diocese in Rome. In 2014 the BOR in Italy sent a total of 52,061 Euro to the Central Missionary Fund of the Romanian Patriarchate (which is also involved in activities such as the construction of the Nation Cathedral in Bucharest). Furthermore, an overall sum of 28,255 Euro was transferred to support the Metropolia in Paris, and a total of 14,509 Euro was provided for the Central Missionary Fund of the Episcopate together with a further 17,945 Euro for the support of missionary activities.

---

represented a priority emphasized in this first year of your Holiness's patriarchate. I must underline the importance of the existence of these parochial centres abroad in forming the Romanian communities, and in strengthening their connection to the Romanian country, traditions and realities. This new presence abroad also befits the role which the Romanian Orthodox Church may have in Europe, as it constitutes the largest Orthodox community in Europe" ("Mesajul preşedintelui României, Traian Băsescu, cu prilejul aniversării întronizării Preafericirii Sale Daniel, Patriarhul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Palatul Patriarhal, 30 septembrie 2008")" (2009: 17).

Although they are certainly positive, relations with the Italian state on the other hand are not as harmonious as those with the state of Romania. The BOR acquired legal recognition from the Italian state in 2011, but negotiations aimed at reaching a final agreement are still ongoing. Moreover, the Romanian immigrant population seems to participate rather timidly in the political life of the country. Research carried out on participation in municipal elections on the part of Romanian citizens in the Tuscany region has shown that their turnout is very low (Berti, Valzania 2018).

Worthy of note is the birth in 2010 of the political party 'Identitatea Romaneasca - Partito dei Romeni d'Italia'[16]. The objective of this party is to "develop and stimulate the cohesion and the cultural, social and political integration of the Romanian community in Italy" with "a view to obtaining a gradual and constant improvement of the living conditions of the Romanian community in Italy". It has not been successful among Romanian immigrants in Italy, although some of its members have been elected as municipal councillors, as indeed other Romanian citizens have been elected as councillors in the municipal bodies of important Italian cities. In its statute it is affirmed that "the Party is inspired by and expressly refers to the values of Christianity and recognizes as fundamental the moral and religious principles expressed by the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church and proposes to reaffirm the value of religious devotion and spirituality in society". This perspective is interesting because, as we shall see later, it appears to be similar (also considering its many references to Europe) to the position of the BOR with respect to Orthodox-Catholic relations.

Europe is a central topic in the current main narrative of the Romanian Orthodox Church, and also in that of the leadership of its Italian diaspora. Since the 1990s, the attitude of the BOR towards Romania's entry into the European Union has been positive, albeit maintaining a certain reserve which over time has generated tension. The future of the country is in fact linked to its membership of the European Union, which can help to improve the serious economic and social conditions deriving from the post-communist period, and also assist in the funding of urban construction and infrastructures, accompany the transition to a democratic political order and promote technological and scientific development. Considering these aspects, in 1995 Patriarch Teoctist claimed that

---

[16] Information concerning this political party may be found in its website: http://www.identitatearomaneasca.it/it/statut.html (Accessed: 28 May, 2018).

“there can be no European house without the beauty and wealth of Orthodoxy” (Stan, Turcescu 2007). A year later, the patriarch again insisted that his country was worthy of acceptance into the larger European family, because “with our church, culture and faith, we have been a part of Europe ever since we became Christians” at the beginning of the first millenium” (Stan, Turcescu 2007). Following this vision, in the year 2000 the Christian churches in Romania, also together with the Jewish community, signed a joint document, stating that the entry of Romania into the EU represents on the one hand a chance for the country to receive help from Europe and on the other an opportunity to make its own contribution to the European project in cultural and spiritual terms (Declaration 2000).

From the very beginning the leadership of the BOR accepted that it would be impossible to refuse Romania’s accession to the EU. On account of the position assumed by the church it entered into a state of conflict with the process favoured by the great majority of the Romanian population, and such a stance made it highly unpopular. However, a part of the clergy of the BOR publicly expressed its dissent and a sense of malaise with respect to the European project. This is mainly due to two reasons: the economic conditions which Romania has to comply with in order to respect the requirements of the EU are considered disproportionate and more severe with respect to those imposed on other candidate countries in Eastern Europe; European and Western values and lifestyles are interpreted as corrupt by the Orthodox faith, and some European reforms seem to distort the typical balance between religion and the state in the Eastern Orthodoxy (Stan, Turcescu 2007). However, this faction of the clergy does not reject the idea that the borders of the EU may be extended to include Romania, and most of the Romanian Orthodox clergy - especially the group close to the patriarch - maintain a positive position. Banica (2006) notes that European integration represents one of those ‘signs of the times’ that the BOR has been able to accept, opting for a ‘realistic’ strategy in coping with the political situation.

This position of the Patriarchate seems to be similar to that of the Patriarch Daniel, elected at a time (September 2007) not long after Romania’s entry into the EU. As soon as he was elected patriarch, in a climate of enthusiasm and trust expressed by the Romanian population with respect to the European Union, he stated that “Romania has long developed as a bridge between the East and the West. Such a synthesis is the

Romanian Orthodox Church itself, uniting in its own identity the Eastern Orthodox spirituality with the Western Latin spirituality" (Daniel 2008: 169). In Daniel's perspective Romania is recognized as having always been a part of the European continent, and the Romanian Latin character and nature is seen as a Western religious component within an Eastern religious frame. This *hybrid* vision proposed by Patriarch Daniel with respect to the spirituality of Romanian Orthodoxy and its role in the European context[17] can be better understood by examining the biography of the Patriarch. A good part of his religious career was in fact spent in the West. Before initiating his service as a bishop he had spent more than ten years studying and teaching in academic institutions in Western Europe, mainly in France, Germany and Switzerland[18].

As previously mentioned, this 'realist' strategy led the BOR - as in the case of other Romanian Christian churches[19] - to soon develop an institutional approach to the EU. In 2005 the Holy Synod of the BOR decided to establish the Permanent Office of the Romanian Orthodox Church to the European Institutions in Brussels, which became operational in 2007[20]. Since 2010, the Permanent Office of the BOC has been a member of the Committee of the Representatives of Orthodox Churches to the European Union (CROCEU). Moreover, in recent years it seems that the BOR has begun to reflect on its contribution to the European project (for example see Şelaru, Vlaicu 2013; Gavriluţă, Dima, Mihalache 2016).

The gap between the position of enthusiastic adherence to the European project and a certain reserve towards European and Western values seems to gradually widen in the later stages of European integration. The reforms which the EU has invited to the state of

[17] The affirmation of the Patriarch Daniel seems to reflect the well-known statement of Dumitru Stăniloae. However, recognizing a Western component in Romanian spirituality seems to go beyond the more calibrated and moderate vision of Romanian Orthodoxy as a bridge between the West and the East.

[18] He was born in 1951 in a village in Western Romania on the border with Hungary and Serbia. After his theological education at the University of Sibiu and a period (1974–1976) in which he followed doctoral courses at the Theological Institute in Bucharest he continued his studies abroad. He spent two years studying at the Protestant Theology Faculty of the University of Human Studies in Strasbourg, and another two years at the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the Albert Ludwig University of Freiburg in Germany. In the period 1980–1986, he served as lecturer at the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey (Switzerland), and from 1986–1988 he was the adjunct director of the same institute. In 1987 he entered the monastic life at the Sihăstria Monastery in Romania and assumed the name Monk Daniel and in 1992 he started teaching theology at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University of Iași. In March 1990 Daniel was ordained as suffragan bishop of the Archbishopric of Timișoara, and three months later he was appointed as the Metropolitan of Moldova and Bukovina.

[19] For a more in-depth analysis of the ecumenism and activity of Christian churches in European integration reference may be made to Leustean (2014a) and Mudrov (2016).

[20] Website of the Permanent Office in Brussels: https://www.romorth.eu (Accessed: May 28, 2018).

Romania to effect concerning Church-state relations, human rights and religious freedom are among the main points of political conflict in the process of European integration, and also the pinnacle of the socio-cultural conflict with respect to the European institutions, which, by no mere chance, is led by the BOR. We will evaluate this growing tension in the next chapter, however at this point we will simply draw attention to the European attitude of the BOR and at the same time to the cultural and religious divide which since the early stages of European integration has been a cause of malaise. This division later became the matrix of conflicts brought to the attention of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) and the European Court of Justice (ECJ).

The European theme is central to the current main narrative on the ecumenism of the BOR and in particular in its relations with the Catholic Church. A long-term historical interpretation suggests that the BOR seems to be among the most active Orthodox churches in the ecumenical commitment, capable of cooperating with the Catholic and Protestant worlds. Although it has maintained its historical divergences with the Vatican and political and ecclesial issues have remained open (such as the restitution of properties confiscated during the communist era from the Romanian Greek Catholic Church), from the historical point of view the BOR has maintained, also during the communist dictatorship, a less critical position within the ecumenical organizations with respect to that of other Orthodox Christian churches (Hintikka 2000, 2003)[21]. This ecumenical perspective of the BOR continued in the years following the end of the Cold War and is still manifested today with a certain 'pride' (Hintikka 2003).

In accordance with this view, in October 2002 the Patriarch Teoctist visited the Holy See for the second time. His stance revealed a focus on the common mission of Christian churches within societies transformed by secularization and the processes of globalization. He stated that "if in the past the importance given to the missionary aspect had as its goal the promotion and defence of the confessional identity, today the need for a common testimony of all Christians is much more evident" (2002). After almost twenty years, the vision of the Patriarch Teoctist and, that is, the priority of a common front of Christian churches (or at least of the Catholic and Orthodox churches) against social changes that may facilitate a decline of religion appears to be still relevant and reflected

[21] A similar perspective can be identified historically in the ecumenical commitment to teaching and research in Orthodox theological institutions in Romania (Pavel 2014).

in the symbol of Europe. As suggested by Payne and Kent (2011), in fact, relations occurring between Catholics and Orthodox in Europe may be defined as a sort of 'alliance of the sacred' aimed at curbing the processes of secularization. This phenomenon seems to represent a 'common enemy' that has brought these two religious traditions closer together in recent decades, and which has had a strong impact on ecumenical relations. Furthermore, the development of Orthodox-Catholic relations focusing on the 'Christian roots' of Europe seems to exclude some religions from the history and culture of the European religious landscape. In particular, this development appears to reduce the weight of the Jewish tradition in the European context and promote a sort of opposition to the growth of the Muslim minority in the Old continent and the possible accession of Turkey to the European Union.

According to Patriarch Daniel, the defence of Christian Europe is framed within the tension that characterizes the relationship of some Christian traditions with the contemporary world and its modern phenomena. In fact, in Daniel's opinion in Europe "there is also a certain tension between tradition and modernity, a loss of traditional Christian values, a painful instability of the family, a conflict between generations and much agnosticism and individualism, doubled by sectarianism, proselytism, and religious fundamentalism" (Payne, Kent 2011: 56; also see Daniel 1992). Daniel (2008) believes that the European mission of Christian churches may be "a response to the secularism that has emerged from the process of modernization and liberalism". As mentioned, in this ecumenical vision of the BOR Europe seems to hold a great symbolic value, in which its vision of a socio-cultural and religious project is emphasized more than its conception of a political project. For example, at the seat of the Romanian Patriarchate in Bucharest the main hall was renamed 'Europa Christiana' (Christian Europe). This strong symbolic choice highlights the adhesion of Romanian Orthodoxy to the European project and the space reserved for Europe in its ecumenical vision, and at the same time seeks and wishes to achieve cultural and religious homogeneity in the Old Continent. Moreover, this seems to be the main vision adopted in relation to which both recent developments concerning Orthodox contact with the Catholic Church and also events concerning international religious terrorism may be considered[22].

---

[22] An article of the Press Office of the Romanian Patriarchate that commented on the assassination of Father Jacques Hamel, the 86-year-old parish priest of a parish near Rouen in France who was killed during the Divine Liturgy by Muslism terrorists, was issued under the title 'A Symbolic Attack on the Christian

This European and ecumenical position of the BOR has an effect on the life of the Romanian Orthodox diasporas in Western Europe. It facilitates a hybridization between the Christian churches and acquires specific characteristics linked to the local socio-cultural environment, such as the socio-graphic balance of Christian traditions in the host context (an example may be found in the case of Germany, where the Catholic and Protestant churches have about the same percentage of followers).

Regarding the case of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy, as stated by Father Costin Spiridon, the head of the Romanian Diaspora in the World at the Romanian Patriarchate in Bucharest, the relations of the Romanian diocese in Italy with the Catholic Church are very positive. In a long interview conducted in April 2017 Spiridon stated that on the one hand the Patriarchate appreciates the willingness of the Italian Catholic dioceses to lend their places of worship to the Romanian communities. On the other hand, the Romanian diocese in Italy is committed to serving only its own countrymen; its mission does not comprise 'proselytism' and the promotion of conversions among Italian Catholics. The bases of this relationship, as Father Costin points out, were established together with Pope John Paul II in the nineteen-nineties and still follow the path that was initially traced.

The narrative concerning a Christian Europe seems to be the one mainly used by the BOR in Italy in its relationship with the Catholic Church. Thanks to an analysis of Bishop Siluan's public speeches in the media and of the interviews gathered in the research, we identify this narrative as the essential one[23]. It indicates the thousand years of history shared by Catholics and Orthodox Christians as a basis and common heritage upon which to build the relationship between a religious majority and a religious minority, and as a socio-cultural space for hybridization between the traditional religion and a diaspora religion in a foreign country. With respect to his relationship with Catholics, Father Nicolae Secita, a priest of the Romanian Orthodox parish of Mestrino, who was interviewed in April 2018 said,

---

Identity of Europe'. The press release is available at: http://patriarhia.ro/a-symbolic-attack-on-the-christian-identity-of-europe-9014-en.html (Accessed: May 28, 2018).

[23] For instance, this main narrative seems to be identifiable in three interviews of Bishop Siluan on Italian television channels; available at the URL:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=89O9cw1I-hA; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FcAZfqpeUHM; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NNV8X9nB734 (Accessed: September 20, 2018).

I think that nothing happens by chance, and that our contribution in Italy may be important for Christianity. In this experience of the diaspora I see divine providence at work; we are here to let others know about the other side of Christianity. It is important that Orthodox Christians and Catholics continue to acquire greater familiarity with each other and, above all, to defend the sacred dimension in our lives and our Christianity in Europe. For example, in my parish we collaborate extensively with the Catholic parish. During the parish festival at Mestrino [organized every summer by the Catholics] an evening is dedicated to the Romanian community, allowing us to present our religion, our customs and our food. In January at my church I celebrated the Orthodox Vespers entirely in Italian, and I invited the Catholic priest and parishioners.

It appears possible to identify in these words, illustrating an ecumenical experience in the diaspora, a reflection of the narrative previously referred to which focuses on defending the ‘sacred’ against secularization and protecting Christianity across the European continent.

Furthermore, the priests of the BOR in Italy participate in commissions and local ecumenical bodies in Catholic parishes and in ecumenical events organized every year, usually at Christmas, Easter and during the Week for Christian Unity. Moreover, the diaspora condition seems to have also fostered an ecumenical dialogue among the Romanian churches. On 23 January each year, the date of the national festival of the Union of Romanian Principalities and the day on which the birth of Romania is celebrated, the BOR in Italy, the Romanian Greek Catholic Church in Italy and the Romanian community of the Catholic Church unite at a place of worship to celebrate a liturgy together. Every year they gather in a church belonging to a different Christian tradition and perform a liturgy, attended by the embassy and other Romanian institutions in Italy and in which the sermon is performed by the two guest churches.

Finally, focusing on the Romanian Orthodox faithful in Italy at the grass-roots level we have not identified cases of intolerance towards followers of the Catholic faith. However, in an interview which we conducted in June 2017 Father Viorel Ioniţă, the Romanian Orthodox delegate at the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva since the nineteen-seventies and former Director of the Conference of European Churches (CEC) claimed that such a phenomenon does exist and may be identified in a minority of Romanian adherents to the faith in Italy:

Romanians are an open and tolerant people, and our Latin character certainly plays a role in this. However, there are still episodes of resistance on the part of minority and radical factions linked to certain monastic environments. In the diaspora, the faithful are even more open as they live abroad in a different cultural reality. In any case a form of fundamentalism exists there too, in particular because of some spiritual fathers in Romania who tell their followers that when they return to the diaspora they may be contaminated by intermingling with the environment. This is a small and limited phenomenon, but it still exists.

In such a situation the transnational character of Romanian migration and that of Romanian Orthodoxy seems to play a key role, and seems to be based on the small anti-ecumenical fringes pertaining to the world of Romanian Orthodox monasticism. Besides reflecting the religious attitude of some of the faithful, this phenomenon assumes the form of a transnational religious practice. In fact, it affects the religious sphere of the faithful and seems to reveal another facet of religious glocalization; the fear of these monks seems to be that of a hybridization of the Romanian Orthodox faithful with the new host context and a possible encounter between religious universalism and local particularism.

Conclusion: Reframing Social Activity and Social Teaching in Orthodoxy

In the sections of this chapter we have emphasized the main role of a form of religious glocalization within the settlement of the BOR in Italy (in the first section we dealt with vernacularization, in the second indigenization, in the third nationalization, and in the fourth transnationalism). In the last section we have shown how three issues (Church-state relations, Europe and Ecumenism) influence the establishment of the diaspora religion and involve the forms of religious glocalization.

In the first section we saw how the quantitative data relating to the religious activity of the BOR 'exceed' the usual values recorded with respect to a church in diaspora and reveal a certain degree of stability of this immigrant religious community in Italian society. Furthermore, we have shown that there is a hybridization of several aspects of the religious activity of this diaspora religion with the host country and its dominant religion (in the vernacular aspect, in practices and in the religious sphere of the faithful, and in spiritual capital). In the second section we examined the social activity of the BOR and we have seen how it has elaborated new paths in the Orthodox tradition (the creation of a true socio-cultural space, the structuring of social-assistance activities). These

changes seem to have taken place in parallel with the establishment of the reflexive position of the church and of the organizational style of the parishes oriented towards the new environment. These glocal developments define and in a certain sense 'realize' the missions of this diaspora religion *(the Romanian Orthodox parishes as community centres; Romanian Orthodox parishes as places where the national and religious identities may be reinforced),* involving in particular its national dimension (third section). To conclude, this path of settlement seems to favour the establishment of cultural hybrids, which are (at least in part) defined by the Romanian clerics, the main protagonists of religious glocalization.

In the fourth section we analyzed the glocal ties of the BOR in Italy, and we focused on those relating to the host country and on transnational relations. We have seen how the BOR has favoured the definition of a transnational religion, favouring the establishment of institutional forms of transnationalism in the diaspora parishes. Furthermore, the transnational forms of religious practices of the Orthodox faithful have been strengthened by the transnational character of Romanian immigration and its Latin character shared with Italy (and, that is, by the specific characteristics of the Italian situation). Finally, in the last section indicated how Church-state relations appear to influence the definition of the religious glocalization of a diaspora, and may influence the definition of its mission. With regard to the second issue, we examined the positive, albeit ambivalent position of the BOR towards the European Union. Regarding Ecumenism, we identify a certain ecumenical attitude in the history of the BOR, especially when it is compared to those of the other churches in the Orthodox world. Its principal narrative on Orthodox-Catholic relations and, that is, concerning 'Christian Europe' should be interpreted in the light of this historical perspective. With regard to the subject of our study it seems to favour hybridization and the creation of cultural hybrids in the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy.

In this section we examine the transnational trajectories of social activity and social education in Orthodox Christianity. The deacon Ionuţ Mavrichi, who works at the Romanian Patriarchate, has a strong interest in the international relations of the BOR. He was awarded a doctorate from Durham University in the United Kingdom, and spent long periods in Italy attending various academic institutions. As he told us in a long interview in March 2017 during his experience in Italy he appreciated the ability of the Catholic

Church to organize and establish public welfare activities throughout the country and develop channels through which it might interact with the social world. This Italian heritage, shared also by other priests of the Romanian diaspora who were interviewed (see also Ihlamur-Öner 2009: 334-336), seems to have penetrated some Orthodox parishes in Romania. The relationship with the Catholic communities in the diaspora - as transpired from interviews at the Romanian Patriarchate - seems to have encouraged in the BOR a reflection on the possible development of social activity. This reflection also regards the relationship between the church and society and the world of associations, starting from the experience of the Catholic world and of its lay organizations that focus on social issues. A recent case in Romania, following the collapse of communism in that country and to which Father Ionuţ adheres, is that of the Pro Vita Association. This initial organized structure of the Pro Vita movement, established in Romania on 15 May 1990, was founded by a teacher (Ioan Alexandru) and a priest (Father Nicolae Tănase). The main lines of action proposed are the defence of rights of the unborn child, the education of young people with respect to matters concerning life and the family according to the Christian moral ideals, and a lobby in favour of pro-vita and pro-family legislation.

Father Costin Spiridon, the current director of Romanian Orthodox Diaspora in the World at the Romanian Patriarchate, studied for a few years at the academic centre run by the Order of Dominican Friars (O.P.) in Bari. As he revealed to us in a long interview in April 2017, he argues that the typical pastoral practices of the Catholic world, which Romanian Orthodoxy is currently rediscovering, are not foreign to the Orthodox tradition. According to Father Costin, "the Romanian Church is trying to resume practices that are not really foreign to its history. They existed, but they were discouraged or blocked during the communist period and thus a certain type of pastoral activity was abandoned". Father Costin recounted that the communist dictatorship forced the Orthodox communities to "take refuge" inside their places of worship, which was not conducive to developing an attitude of interaction with society. Although this statement may seem to be a sort of justification, ethnographic observation at a parish in Bucharest has showed how each activity occurs within the nave of the church (from the liturgy to meetings of the parishioners, care and services, catechesis for children, the practice of the sacraments and community meals). Such customary practices, which seem very distant from the Catholic world, would certainly appear to be influenced by the legacy of the communist period and

the scarcity of economic resources. However, a sociological and theological perspective typical of the Orthodox world may be identified in these activities. In fact, social activities are usually arranged at times almost corresponding to that of the liturgy (before, after or, as in the case of the *diakonia*, even during the liturgical events), ensuring to the liturgy a central value in Orthodox tradition and discouraging the development of more structured activities at other times in the life of the community.

In contemporary Romanian social and political life, in which, unlike during the era of President Nicolae Ceauşescu, an important (if not a predominant) role has been assigned to the BOR, the challenge seems to be that of 'investing' some of these 'energies' outside the nave of the church. This challenge for the BOR concerns the foundation of real centres for pastoral and social assistance in the dioceses, perhaps in the larger parishes or in specific buildings, and the definition of practices that may be autonomously carried out by the parishes (offering guidelines that will avoid errors and may motivate the less active parishes).

This delay of Orthodoxy in the development of social practices appears to stem from certain theoretical assumptions of Eastern Orthodox doctrine. Makrides in fact argues that "the lack of a systematic social teaching in Orthodox Christianity relates to the way this religious tradition encountered modernity and faced its challenges" (2013: 299). In this regard, we may refer to the career of Radu Preda, whom we interviewed in June 2017. Preda is an associate professor of social theology at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj Napoca, and was the founder and director of the Romanian Institute for inter-Orthodox, inter-confessional and inter-religious studies (INTER) at the same university. During his doctorate, he spent long periods carrying out research in Germany, France and Italy, in particular at the Ruprecht-Karl University in Heidelberg (from 1995 to 1999). This allowed him to study social theology, a discipline which in those years - and even today - has not yet developed in Romania. He attempted to facilitate the academic institutionalization of social theology at university level in Romania and the development of a social doctrine in Romanian Orthodoxy. Preda elaborated the studies he undertook in Germany and in the Catholic world and attempted to find an adequate placement for such subjects in the Orthodox world. He focused on the intervention of Orthodox churches in the social sphere and at the same time analyzed

historical-social phenomenas and theological questions (Preda 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2010b, 2011).

The process of institutionalization of social theology in Romania is still ongoing, and a debate on its contents is still underway. The Bologna process of June 1999, which tended to harmonize university studies in the EU, obliged the Romanian academic theological institutions to modify their organization, which led to the creation of an initial department of social theology. This 'exogenous factor' facilitated a formal change, which should be accompanied by a disciplinary reflection on the part of scholars close to the BOR. As Preda points out, Orthodoxy did not follow the same historical path that was followed by Western religions in terms of its relationship with modernity. Orthodox Christianity did not systematically address the challenges arising during the Renaissance and it did not render its religious discourse subject to discussion with respect to post-scholastic philosophy and natural sciences, and this certainly did not favour the organic development of a social doctrine in the church and, subsequently, an academic theological reflection oriented towards the societal reality. However, historically it did not only assume a negative position towards modernity; it elaborated profound theoretical visions that made it possible to follow the development of nation states and to criticize secularization.

Within this ambivalent position and this 'failing' of Orthodoxy with respect to modernity, according to Preda it should take a further step forward and, that is, fostering a transition "from social work to Orthodox social theology":

> Finally, we get to the matter of completing social work with a social theology or, in other words, of completing practice with vision and charity with mission. We can state that, in the context of irreversible modernity and of the manner in which human beings, society and the state from countries with Orthodox majorities have meanwhile become part of this project that is unique in its own way, the matter of a contribution from the part of a specialized theology to the social project is based on solid grounds (Preda 2013: 766-767).

As we have shown, at present there appears to be an *aggiornamento* of the social activity and social teaching of the Romanian Orthodox Church. This double practical and theoretical trajectory seems to have been facilitated by the processes of religious glocalization matured in the settlement of Orthodox diasporas in predominantly Catholic

countries and by the processes of hybridization generated in the motherland by religious personnel who have studied abroad. These social remittances imported into Romania from Italy and Western Europe have assumed the features of cultural hybrids, which, also in the cases/stories analyzed in this section, as in the previous section dedicated to the liturgy, attempt to negotiate the relationship of this religious tradition with modernity.

Chapter 4
Orthodox Christianity, Modernity, and Human Rights

Orthodoxy, however, needs the Christian West, its demanding and exacting strictness and its experience of the modern world to overcome the historical sins of the East and to become fully aware of its message and service. In return, it has some treasures that may be shared. Not having experienced the internal conflicts and controversies of Western Christianity, it may in fact have a beneficial role - moreover in a manner that is both selfless and self-purifying - in that «ecumenism in time» (Georgij Florovsky) which should allow Christians to discover, from this side of the schisms, their common biblical and ecclesial roots. (...) Nonetheless - and we should insist on this point - today the Orthodox churches of the Eastern countries are experiencing, in a manner not entirely unlike the evolution of Islam, a violent crisis of integrism. (...) As may be seen, the whole problem lies in the relationship between Orthodoxy and modernity - and post-modernity. The responsibility of members of the Orthodox church in the diaspora is thus even greater. In fact they are often able to use the heritage of wisdom and beauty of the Tradition to engage in the quests of our time.

Olivier Clément (2005: 137, 139)

Introduction

Olivier Clément is a French atheist who, after a long period of spiritual research, converted to the Orthodox Christianity at the age of thirty. Until his death in 2009 he published about thirty books on the history and spirituality of Orthodox Christianity, and was engaged in bearing witness to the life of the Orthodox Church in France. He is probably the best known lay Orthodox theologian in Western Europe and the best known Orthodox leader in France on account of his attempts to establish a dialogue with the Catholic world. In this regard, he concluded his work *The Orthodox Church*, originally published in 1961 and now in its seventh edition (2002), tracing possible convergences between Eastern Orthodoxy and the Christian churches in the West (Catholic and Reformed). He claimed that the Eastern Christian world needs the Western Christian world, and vice versa. Among the reasons for the East's need for the West, he recalls its need to measure itself against a new dimension and its phenomena. In other words, as

Clément insists, an attempt to resolve its relationship with modernity appears to remain an essential issue for Orthodox Christianity. This point seems to be very important in his view. For example, in a subsequent work he stated that in the Orthodox world, differing from Western Christianity, since the fifteenth century there has been a lack of a real cultural and intellectual space in which integral knowledge of an 'intelligent heart' was not often unconsciously transmitted in the dim light of iconostasis (2011: 110).

We believe that Clément's observation, which is presented at the beginning of this chapter, reflects a part of the sociological hypothesis of our research: the diaspora of Eastern Orthodoxy in Western Europe and its interaction with the predominant Catholic faith (or with Protestantism) in the host countries may foster changes and some forms of *aggiornamento* of Orthodoxy in its relationship with the modern world. The 'research of our time' and the 'beauty of Tradition' referred to at the end of this long quotation do not represent two exclusive analytical categories; on the contrary they represent an opportunity for an encounter and a space for hybridization. In fact, this vision concerns the glocalization of a religious tradition within a socio-cultural context which differs from the original context and in which some modern phenomena are more evident.

In the first section we examine the relationship between Orthodox Christianity and modernity and our intention is to define from a sociological point of view the main points of tension and the encounter between these two units. In the second section we focus on the Orthodox Christian position with respect to human rights. Our aim is to emphasize a sociological perspective and to examine the various theories on human rights elaborated by theologians and the churches which form part of this religious tradition. In the latter perspectives we seek similarities and differences with respect to the previously analyzed Orthodox position in relation to the modern world. Human rights are in fact a 'product' of modernity (and of the West), and human rights in particular appear to become the target of certain recent tensions existing between some religious traditions and the contemporary world; various adaptations of religions with respect to global processes would also seem to have an effect in this regard. This research path allows us to elaborate the sociological framework that encompasses or within which we may find multiple interactions in the relationship between religion and modernity, and in that between religion and human rights. In this way we will proceed to examine in a thorough manner the nexus between religion, modernity and human rights.

In the third section we focus on the position of the Romanian Orthodox Church with respect to human rights. We start from a historical and sociological analysis of Church-state relations in Romania during the communist period and of the development of Romanian Orthodoxy in the post-communist period. Subsequently we define the legal framework that currently regulates religious freedom and religious pluralism in the country. Finally, in the last section we examine from the glocal perspective recent trajectories of religions in the global scenario. In the main religions these trajectories appear to facilitate socio-cultural changes both within and outside their traditional territories and an increase in the number of challenges to be faced which represent opportunities to follow the paths of profound processes of modernization.

4.1 The Question of Modernity: Eastern and Western Perspectives

The relationship between religion and modernity is a classic theme in the sociology of religion, which has never lost interest in the sociological debate thanks to its ability to emphasize negotiations occurring between religions and the contemporary world (Pollack, Rosta 2017). This issue is characterized by social scientific positions which over time have followed also very different directions, often starting from the different sociological framework with which the concept of modernity is defined. In this regard, some social scientists interpret the concept of modernity with a perspective that is more flexible and open than that of the past, which totally reforms certain premises of the relationship between the modern world and religion. The latter were established having as a principal point of reference only the centuries-old conflict of Christianity in Western Europe.

The concept of modernity and the sociological framework of its interactions with religion should in fact take into account both the historical and cultural roots of the modern project in Western Europe and a current broad and multiple vision that does not establish a normative modernity in the socio-cultural, political and economic realm. For this reason, from the historical point of view the socio-cultural definition of modernity has never been entirely shared within the Western world (since the first half of the twentieth century there has been no lack of important anti-modern criticisms in these countries), and the experience of communism in the USSR and the Soviet bloc

represented an attempt to propose an alternative model of socialist modernity with respect to the Western vision.

Again, with regard to the sociological examination of the relationship between modernity and religion Casanova (1994) provides an in-depth overview of the manner in which the theory of secularization preserves different assumptions concerning this relationship and how the overlap of these components has facilitated misleading interpretations by social scientists. Other important research (Said 1978; Turner 1994; Asad 1993, 2003) on the other hand reveals how some social scientific categories deemed to be universal in actual fact appear adequate only for an analysis of the Western socio-cultural context. As previously mentioned, until the end of the last century many social scientists used the socio-cultural model and the historical experience of Protestantism and Catholicism as their sole point of reference, neglecting socio-cultural trajectories and the relationship with the contemporary world of religions in other parts of the world. In fact, it is no coincidence that the most important recent sociological theories on modernity try to frame the processes of modernization by emphasizing a 'multiple' (Eisenstadt 2003) or 'global' (Featherstone 2002) perspective.

Focusing on the case of Orthodox Christianity, as Makrides states (2012a: 257) the whole issue of relations between the Eastern Orthodoxy and modernity has become prominent in the wake of the collapsing of the former communist bloc, which included several countries (for example Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia) with a historically founded and predominant Orthodox Christian tradition. As Prodromou states (2004b) and as we mentioned in the first chapter, the experiences and memories of the communist regime are still alive within the Orthodox churches and they tend to cause a deficit in the institutional capital that is necessary to face contemporary challenges and for the acceptance of various socio-cultural elements of modernity. This legacy has been made more complicated and difficult to manage also because of the difficult political transition occurring in the nineteen-nineties and the serious economic crisis that hit these countries.

These recent historical developments in the countries with an Orthodox majority, which we might almost define as trends according to the long-term perspective that usually distinguishes the historical study of religions, are parallel and inter-dependent with respect to the position that Orthodoxy has developed towards modernity in previous

centuries. As Makrides (2012b) points out, from a contemporary social-scientific and cultural-historical perspective, Orthodox Christianity seems to be related with respect to its structure and doctrine to a pre-modern approach and vision. This attitude would appear to become more evident within the tensions that arise in its engagement with some contemporary issues, such as cultural diversity, religious pluralism and scientific developments. If the other two Christian traditions - Catholicism and Protestantism - have adopted over the last few centuries both religious reforms and adaptations with respect to changes occurring in the contemporary world, the Orthodox tradition seems to be firmly anchored to the points of reference of the early church, the first ecumenical councils and of the teachings of the Fathers of the Church. It appears that this main doctrinal reference oriented towards the 'past' is considered a source of pride within Eastern Orthodoxy, while Orthodox churches form their identity mainly expressing a sense of faith towards tradition that they have been able to maintain throughout the centuries. Again, as Makrides (2012b) states, reference to the past on the part of this religion seems to favour the constitution of an Orthodox traditionalism that influences the interaction of Orthodoxy with socio-cultural reality and in the transposition of contemporary changes:

> The purpose of this continuous quoting was to justify traditionalist policies and orientations and to condemn various attempted changes or innovations. Characteristically enough, we are not talking here about religious and theological contexts alone. The same holds true for secular contexts as well, which were equally influenced by this kind of Orthodox traditionalism. The question is whether there is an intrinsic connection between the Orthodox and social traditionalism or if these are simply parallel and coincidental phenomena. The Orthodox usually try to find pertinent answers or solutions with reference to a normative and binding past, which is somehow regarded as a panacea beyond time and space. It appears, however, that there was indeed a strong interplay between Orthodox and social traditionalism in certain historical periods, although always in relation to the overall conditions of the time and numerous other factors (2012b: 21).

From a historical point of view it seems quite feasible to delineate in many fields and issues the trajectories of Orthodox Christianity that are very different from those of Western Christianity. Regarding the current socio-cultural trajectories of this Orthodox traditionalism, in a recent study, Djankov and Nikolova (2018) show how deep-rooted theological differences between Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Protestantism, affect life satisfaction and other attitudes of those with a Christian faith in Europe. Comparing these three different Christian traditions, they find that those that are faithful belonging to

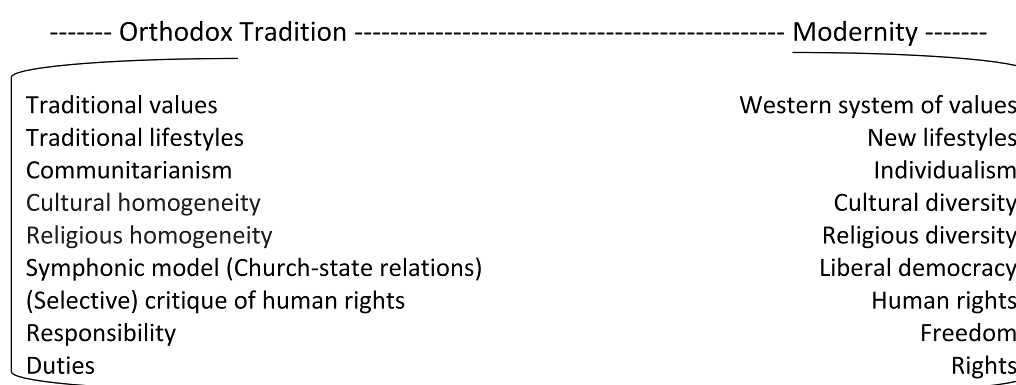
Eastern Orthodoxy have less social capital and prefer old ideas and safe jobs. In addition, those that are Orthodox faithful approve of left-leaning political preferences and stronger support for government involvement in the economy. This study indicates the reach and temporal continuity of religious beliefs in contemporary societies, even in those that are largely secularized.

As Makrides (2012a) hypothesizes, the historical trajectory probably most evident concerns the encounter of Western Christianity and Orthodox Christianity with the model of modernity of Western Europe. This issue seems to be the main point through which these two Christian tradition develop and strengthen their religious position towards modernity over the centuries. From the historical and socio-cultural perspective other different attitudes of these two religious traditions in addressing certain historical-political events and modern phenomena which have favoured a progressive identification and 'demarcation' of their positions are added to this principal difference. As we have already noted (Guglielmi 2017), the main social scientific research that deals with this point seems to be that of Roudometof (2014). It investigates the public role and the socio-cultural forms assumed by Orthodoxy in various contexts within the historical framework of globalization. Examining Eastern Orthodoxy from the historical and sociological points of view, Roudometof hypothesized a model of four distinct glocalizations (*vernacularization*, *indigenization*, *nationalization* and *transnationalization*) offering concrete examples that involve such a fusion between religious universalism and local particularism. This approach of this research is in harmony with the glocal perspective of our own research, and allows for a sociological analysis characterized by a long-term historical vision suitable for the study of the relationship between religion and modernity. In this way, in fact, the tensions of Orthodoxy towards the principal model of modernity and its hybridizations with some of its socio-cultural phenomena can be studied, focusing on both the past (the millennial historical development of Eastern Orthodoxy) and on the current situation (its recent changes in the religious landscapes), and also on their discontinuity/continuity.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the study of the relationship of this religion with modernity should try to abandon a conflict scenario, preferring one that will also emphasize possibilities for adaptation, encounters and forms of *aggiornamento*. Furthermore, this scenario should abandon both a vague portrait of Orthodoxy as an

inflexible religious system and also favour a broad and non-Eurocentric vision of modernity. However, one should not ignore or underestimate the fact that historically in the countries with an Orthodox majority the Western model of modernity has always been generally viewed as an external phenomenon, sometimes introduced within these territories by foreign actors with different socio-cultural features. Following this vision, the reasons underlying the elaboration on the part of the Orthodox world of theoretical positions regarding a closure with respect to the main features of the model of modernity developed in Western Europe and its phenomena seem to be comprehensible; these characteristics are substantially rejected in a much more limited way in the domestic life of these countries. Makrides identifies 17 elements that are more readily accepted in Latin Christianity with respect to the Orthodox Christianity, and which seem to fully underline the tensions that characterize the links between East and West (2012a: 260-262). Following this theoretical hypothesis, we have selected (see Figure 9) some sociological patterns relating to the encounter between Eastern Orthodoxy and modernity with a particular focus on socio-cultural differences. Expressing this schematically, in this figure, which must be interpreted accepting its function as a summary and its partial nature, our intention is to highlight the principal key elements that articulate and influence the theoretical discourses and (probably with minor and less evident trajectories) socio-cultural realities of the two respective units with different degrees of intensity.

Fig. 9. Socio-cultural key elements of Eastern Orthodoxy v. Modernity



These key elements should be explored from a theological perspective to grasp their impact within the Eastern Orthodoxy doctrine. We refer to the research of Kalaitzidis (in Romanian 2010; in Italian 2016) for a broad theological vision with respect to the

relationship developed over the centuries between this religion and modernity, and we refer to Yannaras for an in-depth theological view of Greek Orthodoxy with respect to the West (2007). In our own research, which pertains to the field of the sociology of religion, we limit ourselves to briefly describing these key elements as the main points of socio-cultural tension of Eastern Orthodoxy with respect to the Western world.

The first criticality appears to be represented by the system of Western values, which on the one hand 'overwhelm' traditional values and on the other legitimize lifestyles centred on individualism that undermine the values of the family and traditional authority. In contrast with the individualistic view of the West the Orthodox world opposes a community approach, which emphasizes a sense of responsibility rather than individual freedom. According to the Orthodox vision, recognizing in an indiscriminate manner the individual's rights by focusing on freedom can lead to the legitimization of every kind of moral conduct and disobedience with respect to the will of God. In fact, in Orthodox Christianity, as we shall see later, human rights are selectively criticized and only partially accepted.

For this reason, the issue of the 'complicated' relationship between Orthodoxy and freedom does not seem to persist only at the individual level, but also at the collective level: Orthodox Christianity apparently does not feel at ease with democracy, and the same may be said of its relationship with diversity and pluralism, whether this occurs within a cultural or religious sphere. The same clear separation between church and state, typical of the model of modernity of Western Europe, is not well accepted in the Orthodox world, which, according to the Byzantine tradition, sustains in Church-state relations a close cooperation between the two powers.

In this position of the Orthodox world it seems possible to identify an attempt to develop a form of modernity *sui generis*. This develops through both a general critique of the main model of modernity and also different visions and experiences at the local level in the countries with an Orthodox majority. In the year 2000 the Russian Orthodox Church in fact published the document *The Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church* (2000) which appears to summarize both of these perspectives (general and local). By means of an authoritative endeavour unprecedented in Eastern Orthodoxy this work clearly describes the relationship of this church with new trends in the Western world, and its recent socio-cultural phenomena. The document moreover appears to

delineate, considering its ability to offer a systematic Orthodox Christian vision of the contemporary world, a perspective widely shared within the entire Orthodox milieu. Therefore, the analysis of this work appears to make it possible to adequately establish the main points of this attempt to develop a modern project according to an Orthodox perspective.

As Agadjanian claims (2003: 332-333), the principal concept adopted by the Russian Orthodox Church to explain the process of degradation in the world is that of irreligious anthropocentrism. According to this view, the progressive realization of the Western model of modernity apparently alienated people from the Creator and encouraged a rationalist vision aimed at eliminating the space traditionally reserved for religion in people's lives. Furthermore, according to Orthodox doctrine, humanism is not a sufficient and adequate element to reproduce an ethical foundation. As previously stated, it considers harmful a person's freedom construed as 'self-will' and as beyond the norms of religious morality. These socio-cultural trends that tend to distance people from God and the church are just a few of the many in today's secularized world. The Russian Orthodox Church thus refuses to recognize, with a vision we might define as anti-modern, "a world order in which the human personality, corrupted (*pomrachenny*) by sin, is placed at the centre of everything" (Osnovy 2000: XIV.4)[1].

Again, as stated by Agadjanian (2003: 233-235), the theological frame of this discourse is very ecclesiocentric as the church should embody a central role in the life of the people, and should help the latter to 'live' a system of values and a lifestyle oriented towards God. It would seem that the Russian Orthodox Church is perceived as a social body, an inclusive institution but distinct from the rest of society and separated from other actors. It also seems to be perceived as a majority that follows the Creator within a largely apostate society. This defensive position of Russian Orthodoxy seems to interpret the rest of the world as an increasingly inimical environment, in which it operates and claims to be the exclusive representative of the 'divine'.

Finally, in the text the concept of 'human dignity' is often referred to, and in a lesser way also that of 'uniqueness of personality'. These concepts are used to preserve and to

[1] Russian Orthodoxy thus seems to reject the modern project of Western countries as well as its most recent 'form' identified in globalization. As previously mentioned, it bases its vision on the theological concept of 'apostate anthropocentrism', which seems common in Christian and anti-modern discourses and can find a foundation in anti-Enlightenment thought.

protect the ‘sacred’ guarded within human beings and its diversity threatened by a secularized and standardizing model of modernity. And if an individual person must be protected from unification, this defensive attitude also seems to apply to an individual community. Indeed,

> what is this community that needs to be protected? It would be more understandable to see here a direct concert about church itself, the hierarchy, the institution that is trying to escape a growing marginality. But the church understands itself as a tradition, and thus links itself to the whole of *traditional* culture, which is also a *national* culture. Thus, the church associates itself with the *nation*, and it is *this* durable link that it ties to save in the conflict of diversity versus unification (Agadjanian: 2003: 237).

As the document often indicates, in this Orthodox view of the contemporary world there seems to be a conflict or perennial tension that divides the ‘sacred’ from the profane world, the traditional socio-cultural model and that of the contemporary world, the changes in religiosity favoured by secularization and a conservative and defensive religious position, the national culture (local, and with which the Orthodox Church is identified and associated) and the unifying culture one of globalization. These tensions seem to indicate an incompatibility, which we have analyzed briefly with respect to its main points, focusing on those most useful for our sociological analysis, which opposes the secularized world with the attempt to experiment with an Orthodox modernity *sui generis*.

4.2 Human Rights in an Orthodox Christian Perspective

Since the first confrontation with universal rights, the theologians of Eastern Christianity have identified a conflict between Orthodox thought and the modern conception of human rights. Social scientific literature identifies two main opposing positions of these theologians in the debate on this subject (Makrides 2012c; Stoeckl 2014). The first vision is that of Bishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos) (1929-) of Tirana, Durrës and all of Albania, presented in an article published in 1984, and was later republished with a new and more critical initial part in the early years of this century (2003). Yannoulatos claims that the legal instruments of human rights are not exhaustive or definitive, and reflect the moral and cultural status of a given historical period; in any case the focus is on principles far

from those of the Orthodox tradition. According to Anastasios, in fact, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasizes rights without linking them to respective duties, probably also because of its approval after the Second World War (1948). This historical event facilitated in Western countries and with respect to the non-state actors of international relations the political will to establish democratic guarantees and fundamental rights. Such a vision evidently underestimates the propensity of human nature towards sinning, and apparently presents an imbalance oriented towards the freedom of individuals to the detriment of their responsibilities. The second vision, however, is that hypothesized by Christos Yannaras (2004), one of the most authoritative philosophers and theologians of the Orthodoxy faith and in the Hellenic world. Yannaras maintains that the historical experience in ancient Greece and in Byzantium must be regarded as very different from that of Western Christianity. According to Yannaras, in Byzantium and in Eastern Christianity its members recognized each other and in a certain sense they recognize each other today, not as holders of individual rights but as part of a collective space of rights. Thus, following this vision, individual rights were created in the West to protect people from a power outside of them, while in the *polis*, and even today, ideally in countries with an Orthodox majority, human rights were/are collectively construed as placing power within the community.

As we have seen, these two main positions range from a selective critique and a partial acceptance of human rights marked by the demand for a re-balancing of the same that will consider religious morality, to a complete rejection of human rights based on a different historical and religious experience in the territories of Eastern Orthodoxy. The document *The Bases of the Russian Orthodox Teaching on Dignity, Freedom and Human Right* approved by the Russian Orthodox Church in 2008 (Osnovy 2008) preserves an ambivalent perspective which comprises both of these positions (Makrides 2012c; Stoeckl 2014). This is the most authoritative official document on human rights approved in the Orthodox world, and as in the case of the Russian document entitled *The Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church* (2000) on the Orthodox vision of the modern world, it laid the foundations of the view of this religious tradition on human rights and has been partially implemented by other Orthodox churches.

The Russian Orthodox position on this topic stems from a debate within the church that began with the publication of the document previously analyzed (Osnovy 2000) and

from a reorganization and resetting of the internal components of this religious institution (Stoeckl 2014). As Agadjanian (2010) claims, this document was the outcome of decade-long discussions reflected in a number of previous texts: from the late 1990s the notion of 'human rights', or what we may call the 'human rights discourse', was used increasingly frequently in the publications and discussions of the ROC establishment. In the analysis of this document, Agadjanian (2010) maintains that it is mainly based on the elaboration and 'harmonization' according to an Orthodox Christian perspective of three key concepts: human dignity, freedom and human rights[2]. The first chapter, *Human dignity as a religious and ethical category*, in fact highlights how the theological concept of human dignity is the 'indication' suitable to select human rights that respect moral norms and thus preserve "human nature in its fullness except for sin" (I. 1) with respect to those which on the other hand create a distance between us and the Creator. In the document this concept is linked to that concerning morality or moral norms, and completes the Orthodox vision regarding behaviour deemed to be Christian on the part of all persons. This religious discourse is used as an ethical category to establish proper conduct within legally recognized freedoms:

According to the Orthodox tradition a human being preserves his God-given dignity and grows in it only if he lives in accordance with moral norms because these norms express the primordial and therefore authentic human nature not darkened by sin. Thus there is a direct link between human dignity and morality. Moreover, the acknowledgement of personal dignity implies the assertion of personal responsibility (Osnovy 2008: I. 5).

This set of moral norms is founded on the sacred texts and the doctrine of Orthodox Christianity, and is preserved by the church itself: observance of the same allows us to live a good life as the norms set forth "in the divine revelation reveal God's design for human beings and their calling" (I 3). The second chapter, *Freedom of Choice and Freedom from Evil*, focuses on the different dynamics that the freedom of the individual may assume. The self-determination of a free individual may in fact remove that person

[2] Our research is carried out in the field of the sociology of religion, so we shall not engage in an in-depth study of the theological debate on the subject. For a theological reflection on the concepts of human dignity, freedom and morality within the Orthodox vision on human rights, and which renders them subject to a form of tension with respect to the different Western vision, reference may be made to Brüning (2012, 2013, 2016).

from the image of God; particularly if the individual does not respect moral norms and falls into sin. Therefore, as we shall see in the following quotation, "freedom of choice is not an absolute or ultimate value, and God has put it at the service of human well-being" (II. 1):

> The weakness of the human rights institution lies in the fact that (?) while defending freedom (αὐτεξουσίον) of choice, it tends to increasingly ignore the moral dimension of life and freedom from sin (ἐλευθερία). The social system should be guided by both freedoms, harmonizing their exercise in the public sphere. One of these freedoms cannot be defended while the other is neglected. Free adherence to goodness and truth is impossible without freedom of choice, just as a free choice loses its value and meaning if it is made in favour of evil (Osnovy 2008: II. 2).

In this chapter of the document, the Russian Orthodox Church trusts there will be a 'harmonization' of human rights according to a Christian vision: the concept of 'harmonization' is also referred to in the following sections, such as to define one of the main subjects of the document. However, in parallel with this critical position or selective critique of human rights, the church states that "while recognizing the value of freedom, the Church affirms that this freedom will inevitably disappear if the choice is made in favour of evil. Evil and freedom are incompatible" (II. 2). In the third chapter, *Human rights in a Christian world view and in the Life of Society,* the church in fact maintains a closed position and a general denial of human rights, which are rejected whenever they conflict with the culture, religion, and identity of the national state.

> From the point of view of the Orthodox Church the political and legal institution of human rights can promote the good goals of protecting human dignity and contribute to the spiritual and ethical development of the personality. To make it possible the implementation of human rights should not come into conflict with God-established moral norms and traditional morality based on them. One's human rights cannot be set against the values and interests of one's homeland, community and family. The exercise of human rights should not be used to justify any encroachment on religious holy symbols, things, cultural values and the identity of a nation. Human rights cannot be used as a pretext for inflicting irretrievable damage on nature (Osnovy 2008: III. 5).

According to this view, human rights appear to be identified as an external subject we may not enter into conflict with on the basis of the tradition and interests of the country. This position seems to be characterized by a community approach, in which the Orthodox

church identifies it-self with the history and the socio-cultural tradition of a national community. As we have already seen in the analysis of the Russian Orthodox vision on the modern world (Osnovy 2000), the church associated with and would like to 'embody' the tradition and identity of a nation. In this world, it enters into conflict with an external phenomenon (the model of modernity of Western Europe or human rights) that threatens to change the socio-cultural, religious, and political balance within the national territory.

Finally, the penultimate chapter, *Human dignity and freedom in the system of human rights*, appears to develop an Orthodox elaboration of the various categories of human rights, outlining their 'harmonization' oriented towards Christian doctrine:

> There are various traditions of interpretation of rights and freedoms and national peculiarities in implementing them. The modern system of human rights is widely accepted and has a tendency for even greater specification. There is no commonly accepted classification of rights and freedoms. Various legal schools unite them in groups according to various criteria. The Church, by virtue of her basic calling, suggests considering rights and freedoms in the perspective of their possible role in creating favourable external conditions for the improvement of personality on its way to salvation (Osnovy 2008: IV. 1).

In this chapter the main categories of rights are listed and analyzed (IV. 2. The right to life; IV. 3. Freedom of conscience; IV. 4. The freedom of expression; IV. 5. The freedom of creative work; IV. 6. The right to education; IV. 7. Civil and political rights; IV. 8. Socio-economic rights; IV. 9. Collective rights), and greater space is reserved, as is customary in the documents of the Christian churches, to the rights of life (IV.2). In this elaboration of human rights within a Christian vision, there appears to be an absence of the category of juridical rights that protect the faithful from the state and the abuse of public power[3]. This lack seems to suggest the typical 'soft' approach of Orthodoxy towards political power and the state and some current dynamics of Church-state relations in Russia. Moreover, the last category of rights elaborated in the chapter and, that is, collective rights, still seems to reflect a position of general rejection of human rights marked by a community approach. The latter category of rights seems to be discussed separately and opposed to individual rights, and appears as supportive of a defence of Orthodox tradition associated with the national tradition and culture. In particular, it

[3] In the support of this category of rights on the part of citizens the religious factor seems to play a role (Ziebertz 2017).

follows the assumption that "the rights of an individual should be destructive for the unique way of life and traditions of the family and for various religious, national and social communities" (IV. 9).

A position of the Orthodox Churches on human rights was also developed in the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, which was held in Crete in June 2016. Although only ten of the fourteen jurisdictions of the Orthodox Communion participated in this Council, given the historical significance of the event, the organization of which lasted over 60 years, we consider the approved documents as central in the actual religious teaching of the Orthodox world. In this regard, an Orthodox view on human rights is presented in the document *The Mission of the Orthodox Church in Today's World* (2016d), and proposed again with a more general perspective in the two documents preceding the six thematic documents, i.e., *Encyclical of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church* (2016a), and *Message of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church* (2016b). The following extract from the *Message of the Holy and Great Council* seems to adequately summarize the position adopted towards human rights:

> The Orthodox Church does not become involved in politics. The voice of the church remains distinct but also prophetic, as a beneficial intervention for the sake of man. Human rights today are at the center of politics as a response to the social and political crises and upheavals, and seek to protect the citizen from the arbitrary power of the state. Our Church also adds to this the obligations and responsibilities of the citizens and the need for constant self-criticism on the part of both politicians and citizens for the improvement of society. And above all she emphasises that the Orthodox ideal in respect of man transcends the horizon of established human rights and that "greatest of all is love", as Christ revealed and as all the faithful who follow him have experienced. She insists also that a fundamental human right is the protection of religious freedom - namely, freedom of conscience, belief, and religion, including, alone and in community, in private and in public, the right to freedom of worship and practice, the right to manifest one's religion, as well as the right of religious communities to religious education and to the full function and exercise of their religious duties, without any form of direct or indirect interference by the state (Pan-Orthodox Council 2016b: 10).

In this document human rights are criticized because they emphasize the freedom of the person, underestimating the duties of the same and therefore they require a re-orientation that will take into account the Christian doctrine and thereby including duties with the rights referred to. At the same time, alongside this critique of fundamental rights

Orthodox churches require greater protection of human rights regarding religious freedom at the individual and community level. Furthermore, unlike the previously analyzed Russian document, churches recognize the juridical rights of persons with respect to the power of the state.

This vision seems to be characterized by a selective critique and a partial acceptance of human rights marked by the demand for a rebalancing that will take religious morality into due consideration. In fact, in the *Mission of the Orthodox Church in Today's World* the human rights discourse is defined or constructed with the main issues already discussed in this section and, in particular, with that typical of the conflict between freedom and responsibility. With respect to this vision, it seems interesting to note also that the Orthodox Christian churches claim that it is precisely an abuse of freedom (which creates a distance between us and the image of God) that can lead to the violation of human rights of persons, minorities and religions (2016d: B.2). It would thus appear that the Orthodox churches adopt the language and logic of human rights. Following this vision, the Orthodox churches invoke their human right to be able to profess their teachings in the public sphere (2016d: E3).

On the other hand, in the Encyclical, the document in which human rights are most frequently referred to, as in the case of the Russian document (Osnovy 2008) the first category of human rights that is recognized and implicitly deemed to be the most important is that of the right to life ("The right to be born is the first of human rights" (2016a: 12, and 18)). This document promotes the typical Orthodox vision of Church-state relations, which identifies in the 'symphonic' relationship between powers a way to protect human dignity, human rights and social justice (2016a: 16). However, in the document there is a further desire to attain greater protection of religious freedom (2016a: 16), human rights are criticized by moving within a conflict between freedom and duties that passes from the individual to the community level:

The approach to human rights on the part of the Orthodox Church centers on the danger of individual rights falling into individualism and a culture of "rights". A perversion of this kind functions at the expense of the social content of freedom and leads to the arbitrary transformation of rights into claims for happiness, as well as the elevation of the precarious identification of freedom with individual license into a "universal value" that undermines the foundations of social values, of the family, of religion, of the nation and threatens fundamental moral values. Accordingly, the Orthodox understanding of man is opposed both to the arrogant apotheosis of the individual and his rights, and to the humiliating debasement of the human person within the vast contemporary structures of economy, society, politics and communication. The tradition of Orthodoxy is an inexhaustible source of vital truths for mankind. No one has honoured man and cared for him as much as the God-man Christ and his Church (2016a: 16).

This argument was also analyzed earlier in the Russian document and shows how the Orthodox churches are associated with the history and tradition of a respective national community. Again, they perceive themselves as threatened by an external subject such as individual rights, which may change the socio-cultural and religious order they aim to 'embody' in a national territory.

Finally, not only Russian Orthodoxy and the Pan-Orthodox Council have developed Orthodox perspectives on human rights; the Orthodox churches themselves at the local level - especially the Greek and Romanian churches - have also done so. Although official documents on this issue have not been approved, the political agenda of governments and some issues in the public debate have led some churches to elaborate a public discourse on human rights or at least some related issues (for example, with regard to the Greek case see Payne (2003); the Bulgarian case Evstatiev, Makariev and Kalkandjieva (2015); and the Georgian case, reference may be made to Zviadadze (2015)).

4.3 Human Rights in the Romanian Orthodox Perspective

During the communist dictatorship, Church-state relations were not characterized by a relationship between equals, but rather by a 'state-dominated marriage'. Religious leaders must negotiate their religious activity and the freedom of their church (Stan, Turcescu 2000). We can argue that the symphony did not work, i.e. the concept of the Byzantine tradition, which provides for cooperation between church and state for the common good of the population. Despite this state-dominated co-operation, the church was not entirely

protected against persecution and repression. The Romanian state allow it to have a small number of theological schools, journals, and above all to exercise some sacraments in the civil life of the country. Also, it permitted a great number of places of worship, and a monopoly of religion through the repression of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church.

During the post-communist period, there was an attempt by the BOR, especially on the part of the patriarch Teoctist, to reconstruct a public image after collaborating with the regime. Among the most important initiatives, there were the liturgies dedicated to political activists murdered by the regime, or the resignation of the patriarch Teoctist (the last one during the dictatorship) then rejected by the Holy Synod. In addition, the BOR organized some initiatives to tie itself more closely to Romanian nationalism, thus becoming a social reference for political parties. These practices seemed to work, and in a few years the BOR became the social actor with respect to which the highest degree of confidence was expressed on the part of the population (more than the state, political parties and military corps), this being an attitude also due to the religious revival in the country after decades of religious repression (Tomka 2011).

However, religious feeling and a sense of devotion was present in Romania even during the communist period, although it was practised in a very complex scenario. In the post-communist period, it was practised within a democratic context, finding its role in the public space and becoming freely rooted in Romanian society. For instance, during the dictatorship the tie between Orthodoxy and Romanian nationalism was very close. With regard to the communist period, Rogobete hypothesizes that the BOR developed "nationalism as an ecclesiological foundation" (2004), a "religious nationalism" which was later used strategically by the Patriarchate during the transition phase.

In the post-communist era, the activities of the BOR in relation to in public affairs seemed to focus on a limited number of issues, in some cases controversial and still current: religious education in public schools, abortion and contraception, and homosexuality. In recent years, the BOR focused on the same issues that mobilized it in the 1990s: religious education in public schools (Stan, Turcescu 2005b), abortion and family planning, and the question of homosexuality (Stan, Turcescu 2005a; Stan 2010). Within these three issues, the BOR's engagement with Romanian society saw some intolerant attitudes and attempts to influence the political world through privileged relations with the state.

After the year 2000, Patriarch Daniel promoted a policy of autonomy and collaboration between church and state. According to Stan and Turcescu (2010), this religious development was due to the familiarity of the patriarch with the German model of Church-state relations and his experience of teaching in Western countries. In our opinion, the two scholars seem to underestimate the role played by the law on religious freedom, which legally prohibits the pre-existing dynamics of Church-state relations. However, unlike the previous patriarch, the BOR does not seek to obtain privileges from the state by forcing democratic legislation or a formally guaranteed leadership position. Rather, it acts like a social actor that autonomously collaborates with the state in welfare activities. In this regard in October 2007 Patriarch Daniel signed with the state the protocol on 'Cooperation in the Social Sector'. This agreement aims to simplify procedures regarding church-state collaboration in social projects, especially for the poor and children. Moreover, in October 2007 a second partnership established a protocol of collaboration regarding health and spiritual care.

The perspective outlined by Stan and Turcescu can be summarized by the title of their research: "The Romanian Orthodox Church: From Nation-Building Actor to State Partner" (2012). Despite the fact that since 2007 there has certainly been a change in the relations between the church and the state, and we would once again draw attention to the effect of the Law on Religious Freedom on these new dynamics, we believe it is not realistic to downplay the role of the BOR in defining a national identity. The historical and theological Orthodox trajectories in the country have a close tie with nationalism, and this anchors the Romanian national identity to the religious one. In this regard the issue of the construction of the Cathedral of the Nation in Bucharest is a great example (Stan, Turcescu 2006a, 2006b): the controversial history of its project (and symbol) points to the Romanian link that connects political, national, and religious identities.

After more than a year of debate in December 2006 the Romanian parliament approved Law 489/2006 on Religious Freedom and the Status of Religious Denominations. As Andreescu argues (2008), this law engendered a state of conflict between the state and the BOR. Before this legal framework the regulation of Church-state relations in the country was rather 'foggy'. It was based formally on Decree 177 adopted by the communist regime, and informally on a balance that ensured a 'serene existence' for religious groups. The pressure of European institutions, as well as that of internal politics,

emerged after the constitutional reform (2003) provided this important change. In fact, the previous law contained some possible violations of religious freedom of the religious groups and associations and therefore it is unconstitutional.

Religious freedom is defined in chapter I. Article 1 states that "the Romanian State observes and guarantees the fundamental right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion for any individual in the territory of Romania under the Romanian Constitution and the international treaties Romania is a party to". This article represents a big step forward with respect to the previous law, which does not consider freedom of thought and freedom of conscience. In addition, the second paragraph of the same article defines religious freedom and prohibits religious discrimination: "No one shall be prevented from adhering to a religious belief or joining a religious group; no one will be coerced into adopting a religious belief or joining a religious faith". Article 2 defines freedom of religion: "Freedom of religion includes the right of every individual to adhere to or to embrace a religion, to manifest this position individually or collectively, in public or in private, through practices and rituals specific to that denomination, and also through religious education, as well as the freedom to preserve or to change one's religion", while the next paragraph clarifies the right not to participate in any religion.

Chapter 2 regulates a central issue and distinguishes religious organizations according to three types of institution: recognized religious denominations (*cultees*), religious associations that enjoy legal personality (*asociaţii religioase*) and religious groups without a legal identity (*religious groupuri*). Recognized religious confessions are autonomous with respect to the state and operate in accordance with national and canonical law. Article 8 defines denominations as "legal subjects of public utility". The law recognizes this status with respect to the 18 denominations that have already benefited in this sense, but sets a threshold for organizations that will want to achieve this status in the future (Secretariat 2015). It can be reached through a government decree followed by a ministerial proposal and at the request of associations that "provide guarantees of sustainability, stability and public interest". Moreover, a religious association presented as a must represent at least 0.1% of the Romanian population (but it seems that many recognized denominations do not really meet this requirement). Religious associations represent a new legal category introduced by law. These are legally recognized subjects comprising Romanian citizens or residents who "become associated with the purpose of

manifesting a religious faith". To obtain this status a group must become registered in the Register of Religious Associations (*Registrul asociaţiilor religioase*), providing basic information. The association must have at least 300 members, while according to Romanian law a simple association requires three members. In 2015, there were 23 religious associations in the country (Secretariat 2015). Religious groups without a legal identity fail to meet the latter conditions. However, as Vlas (2012) points out, although all the major religious denominations are recognized as *culte*, they opposed the law during and after its approval. In fact, they argue that protection of the religious freedom of minorities is still very fragile. In addition, the question of the property that was not returned to the Romanian Greek Catholic Church plays an important role in this debate.

What is the position that the Romanian Orthodox Church developed towards human rights within this socio-cultural context and the legacy of these Church-state relations? As stated by Preda (2012: 312-313), in the years during which Romania entered the EU a real debate on human rights can not be identified in the country from either a theological or a political perspective. The agenda of the public debate is focused on more 'concrete' issues, and there seem to be no conditions for discussing topics that focus more on theoretical assumptions and ideal views. Furthermore, this sort of 'pragmatism' - as Preda claims - seems to distinguish the perspective on the basis of which the main issues in the Romanian public debate are addressed.

Parallel to this situation, after Romania's entry into the EU, a change in the public discourse of the BOR on human rights may be identified. The Romanian Orthodox perspective shifts from a closed position and a general rejection of human rights to a position of openness characterized by a selective critique and a partial acceptance of human rights. Preda (2012) identifies one of the main signs of this change in the speech given by the Patriarch Daniel in December 2008 on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. The following quotation from this discourse highlights some orientations within this recent Romanian Orthodox perspective:

> The Declaration is important to the Orthodox Church as it marks a turning point in the history of the dignity and values of human beings. After all, the right to life, freedom of consciousness, of expression and of religion and right to education are all imperatives, which pave the way to the social subject of the Orthodox Church, a subject that articulates an ethical stabilization of human rights on the basis of a real theological anthropology. This is what contemporary theologians refer to as the 'social thought' or even the 'social doctrine' of the church because the latter, even if is orientated to the 'time realization', is supposed to seal the bond with history. From this point of view the mission of the Church is to protect the world creation seen as a 'gift of God'. The dignity of human beings represents the right to existence, to freedom and the social right of the community, which can be found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Orthodox anthropology, concordant with the idea that is human being is unique and destined to a transcendent life. The human being is not a single entity in a social entity framework: this transcendent dimension awards the human being with a priceless and eternal value for the communion of holy People of the Divine Trinity. (...) The real tension between individual human rights and social-common can be overstepped if these fundamental rights are put into conformity with moral and spiritual values. That is to say, formal rights must be completed with moral and spiritual human dignity. A course of the world, a vision of a person who is able to take free decisions, closely linked to the dignity of each person's vision. But the dignity of human freedom it is conditioned by its ethical foundation, first of all responsibility (Daniel 2008: 15-16)[4].

In this view the Romanian Orthodox Church (in the words of its patriarch) focuses more on the right to life and religious freedom, as is generally the case in the visions of the other Christian churches. Again, in this case, as in the document approved by the Russian Orthodox Church and in those approved by the Pan-Orthodox Council of Crete, the BOR appears to envisage a 'harmonization' of human rights according to a Christian Orthodox anthropological vision. This position of a selective critique of human rights calls for a rebalancing that will take into account the concept of human dignity and that of morality based on the communion with God. Moreover, from a detailed reading of the entire discourse some points of tension between Romanian Orthodoxy and the modern world seem to emerge that are similar to those analyzed in the first two sections of this chapter. Again, in this case they seem to be confirmed as fundamental points of reference in the Orthodox position with respect to human rights: the conflict between freedom and responsibility and that between rights and duties, the discrepancy between an individualist and a community approach, the different conception of the dignity of a human being.

At the beginning of the new Millennium it appears possible to identify some initial Romanian Orthodox reflections on human dignity, on the link between church and society

[4] Translated from Romanian.

and on current changes in the socio-cultural context in the thought of Patriarch Daniel (Daniel 2001: 142, 144-150, 175-181, 188-189). After almost two decades, these theoretical paths seem to have found a small space within the official theology of the Romanian Patriarchate (Ioniţă 2013). As Preda confirmed in a long interview in May 2017, in fact in recent years the theological debate in Romania on these topics seems to have changed. In particular, an initial debate on human rights seems to have arisen within the Romanian Orthodoxy, albeit in an initial form. It still appears to be characterized by overly general positions, which should go deeper and take into greater account the particular dynamics of Romanian history and society.

In this regard, Grigore (2016) argued that "contrary to the Russian Orthodox Church, the Romanian Orthodox Church adopts a less systematic and programmatic strategy on human rights. Its stance is characterized by pragmatism with a specific goal depending on different contexts and themes, starting with bioethics and ending with problems regarding abuses perpetrated against minorities and migrants" (2016: 137). In fact, according to Grigore (2016: 147-148) the BOR seems to place the more general concept of God's love at the centre of his discourse on human dignity. This Christian theological category appears to discourage a polarization between a performative likeness with respect to God and a loss with respect to sin as referred to in the previous paragraph. The Romanian Orthodox Church thus seems to present a 'lighter' and less performative theological stance than that of the Russian Orthodox Church. Furthermore, it seems to apply its religious vision on human rights to specific concrete cases, avoiding the encouragement of a theological discussion centred on religious principles and values that bring the church into conflict with the modern world and human rights. This dual orientation on the one hand seems to shift the conflict from the theoretical level to that of an answer provided for various challenges and life situations, while on the other hand it would appear to favour a 'dilution' of the religious position of the BOR capable of moderating friction with respect to society.

In conclusion, Romanian Orthodoxy currently focuses its vision on human rights on problems related to bio-ethical issues, such as abortion, euthanasia or pre-implantation genetic diagnosis (PGD). Following the perspective of Grigore (2016) and that of Preda, it appears to have a systematic but also a rather concrete and pragmatic approach to human rights. Its management of subjects seems more 'situational', and seems to lack a

theoretical vision elaborated in an internal debate. It would rather appear to adopt a theological reflection centred on themes without a dogmatic explanation, and which may also assume characteristics that seem to be secular (such as the use of the concept of 'respect' in relation to the 'sense of humanity' of a human being).

4.4 The Globalization and/of Religion: New Challenges for Orthodoxy and Human Rights

The research question of this study stems from the consideration that "the long-term adaptation of religion to society... is one of the most significant general features of the history of religion(s) and certainly of the analysis of religion" (Robertson 1994: 128; in Cohen 2008). This vision aims at emphasizing the scope of the forms of adaptation of religions in the contemporary world and their socio-cultural changes in facing the phenomena of modernity. In particular, it seems to assume a significant degree of relevance, starting from the second half of the last century, when the debate on secularization seemed to indicate the disappearance of religion, underestimating the adaptation of religion and its integration in the different spheres of social reality (Casanova 1994).

This vision is linked to the recent debate on the possibility of elaborating a theoretical model for the socialization of human rights norms in every specific society. Among the most significant models we would draw attention to that developed by Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999). This model hypothesizes by means of a constructivist approach three phases of socialization, a process whereby human rights norms become internalized, "so that external pressure is no longer needed to ensure compliance" (Risse, Sikkink 1999). On the other hand, some recent studies, in contrast with this vision, highlight the role of the cultural factor in the transposition and effectiveness of human rights, and the 'sterility' in promulgating human rights norms without an accompanying cultural change[5]. Indeed, as Marsh and Payne point out, "we should not expect that all nations will accept the norm as understood in the West, and cultural differences may preclude the adoption of the

[5] Among these recent studies on human rights we would refer, for example, to those that adopt the minimalist theory. It has identified in the moral and cultural plurality in the various countries one of the main reasons that makes the effectiveness of human rights difficult (Douzinas 2000; Ignatieff 2003; Rawls 2001).

norm's Western interpretation" (2007: 684). Furthermore, as Witte and Green argue, human rights "have little cogency in communities that lack the ethos and ethic to render human rights violations a source of shame and regret, restraint and respect, confession and responsibility, reconciliation and restitution" (2012a: 5).

As we mentioned in the first chapter, and as Obadia (2010) claims, the relationship between religion and globalization is characterized by a dual process: on the one hand, religion changes when it addresses phenomena linked to globalization and, on the other hand, religion becomes globalized by spreading and establishing itself outside its traditional territories. In the first case (*globalization and religion*) the dynamics of globalization favour the change of religions within their traditional territories as they have to face new modern phenomena and an unprecedented socio-cultural diversity. In the second case however (*globalization of religion*) the spread of religions outside their traditional territories facilitates the establishment of new cultural hybrids through the encounter with the socio-cultural environment and the dominant religion of the host country. In both cases, the relationship between religion and culture seems central to the understanding of recent changes in the religious landscapes of the different continents, within a framework that sees the global and local scenario as interdependent.

In these recent trajectories, the increase in socio-cultural changes and challenges concerning their undertaking of profound paths of modernization seems to be identifiable in the main religions. Following this vision, the glocal theory seems adequate to examine the hybridization arising both from contamination and from the tensions triggered by the cultural factor that distinguishes the relationship between religions and human rights. The model of the four forms of glocalization hypothesized by Roudometof (2014) seems to be suitable for studying these hybridizations present at various levels in different political, social and religious groups. These four analytical categories (*indigenization*, *vernacularization*, *nationalization* and *transnationalization*) allow for a sociological reading of historical parables and the current changes of religions with respect to human rights, starting from these main paths or poles that generate hybridization processes.

We will examine these cultural hybrids, focusing on both their religious dimension and on their interaction with human rights. Firstly, we focus on transformations occurring within religious landscapes favoured by socio-cultural phenomena engendered by the processes of globalization (*globalization and religion*). In this new condition of global

pertinence, human rights are one of these main phenomena: we focus on their dissemination across the globe and in the universe of religions. By no mere chance, human rights have been defined by some social scientists as a sort of new ‘secular religion’ (Reader 2003) and as the protagonists of a form of globalization (‘globalization of human rights’ in Marsh and Payne (2007)). In this regard, they question certain habits and practices of religious institutions through situations of interaction and bottom-up experiences among faithful. These poles of encounter of human rights with religions are *multiple* because of the *plurality* that characterizes this phenomenon and its fundamental importance assumed in the modern world: national, international and transnational movements for the respect of internal human rights, external or bordering on religious traditions; the growth of pressure groups within religions that embrace the cause of fundamental rights, often of a minority group; the central position assumed by human rights in the agenda of political actors in the national and international arena accompanied by progressive interaction with religions; human rights as a basic condition in intergovernmental and supranational inter-state agreements, such as a constraint for countries that want to join the European Union - with a progressive involvement of religions in the organs of these institutions and in these agreements; the dissemination of human rights within and at the margins of the academic world and public education considered as points where an encounter is possible and where an intellectual confrontation may occur between religions, especially for the latest generations of followers of a faith.

Moreover, we wish to distance ourselves from a perspective that studies the transnational movements of migrants through the theory of multiple modernity (Tambiah 2000)[6]. In our study of the diasporas religions in the West, we would rather emphasize that human rights are a modern and western ‘product’ as is the new context of the host country. Precisely this condition can favour in the diaspora religions a socio-cultural tension with respect to the legacy of their historical relationship with modernity (*globalization of religion*). Therefore, their establishment in the host environment and their religious glocalization could go hand in hand (or in any case show links) with changes in their position and attitude towards human rights.

[6] This perspective hypothesizes that, in compliance with certain conditions, some different communities generate alternative forms of modernity suited to a self-conscious minority located in an area of diversity and recognized difference (Tambiah 2002).

In this regard, as we noted in the first chapter, Martin (2005: 834) suggests that a tendency characterizes the critical view of the three monotheistic world religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) with respect to human rights. When a particular creed becomes a major influence in a country it will tend to criticise human rights, while in cases where a religion represents a minority group it will tend to have a 'softer' position towards human rights, even requesting that certain categories of the same be respected. Generally, in the diaspora condition religions pass from a state of religious majority to one of religious minority, often passing from a stance whereby the paradigm of human rights is ignored to embracing it more readily.

Returning to the case of the Eastern Orthodoxy, some scholars (Makrides 2012a: 265; Preda 2013) identify precisely in the phenomenon of Orthodox diasporas through the twentieth century in the various territories of North America, Western Europe and Australia one of the interactions with modernity accepted by this religion. Starting from the early experience of the Orthodox diasporas outside their countries of origin, a negotiation of some points of the historical relationship of this religion with the West seems to have arisen with a re-elaboration in Orthodox terms of some socio-cultural developments typical of the modern era. In fact, returning to the subject of our study, it seems possible to identify historical experiences of Orthodox Christian diasporas in Western countries that have changed the attitude of those involved in such phenomena towards human rights and religious pluralism. As Stoeckl points out (2014: 9-11), for example as early as 1978 the Standing Conference of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in the Americas, a body representing the principal Orthodox jurisdictions in the United States, published a document recognizing the value and importance of human rights. In fact, during the Cold War period the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America and the Russian Orthodox Church abroad repeatedly adopted human rights statements at its religious and laity congresses; and, often in the Russian case, having particular reference to the violation of religious freedom in the Soviet Union (Harakas 1984). This condition led Witte (1996) to argue that Orthodox Churches located in the West (we would prefer to limit ourselves to North America) joined the cause of the human rights paradigm. In Western Europe, however, we can identify a more positive attitude towards human rights and religious pluralism on the part of the Russian Orthodox diaspora in France at the time when the 'iron curtain' still existed. Furthermore, as Makrides states

(2012a: 265), the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood was raised in the first place by Orthodox Christians in the diaspora who felt they could identify with changes occurring in the Protestant churches in the host countries, such as Germany and the United Kingdom, and had started to reflect on these developments (Hopko 1999; Behr-Sigel, Ware 2000).

Finally, this change in the position of the Orthodox diasporas towards human rights seems to be identifiable also at a theoretical level. For example, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which is a religious minority in that country (Turkey) and is characterized by a large diaspora present in most Western countries (especially in the United States) has assumed a strong stance in defence of the environment. This issue relating to human rights has become a central topic also in ecumenical relations with the Catholic Church and the patriarch Bartholomew I has been given the nickname of "the green Patriarch" (Chryssavgis 2012). Further to this, focusing more closely on the past, Orthodox theology in Western Europe in the 20th century represents yet another interesting case. The experience of the revolution and the subsequent Bolshevik regime in Russia emphasized the value of freedom, especially for the first generation of theologians who had emigrated. Furthermore, in theological research it promotes an engagement that focuses on the principal respective representatives between the thought of the Paris School (with a more modern orientation and politically liberal) and the Neo-Patristic Synthesis (more traditionally oriented and politically conservative) (Noble, Noble 2013; and, for a broader perspective Noble, Bauerova, Noble, Parushev 2015).

Returning to the case of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the global processes involving the religious sphere, as analyzed above, have encouraged the emergence of new challenges within the Romanian territory and abroad. Therefore, we focus on two cases that reveal some points of tension in the relationship of Romanian Orthodoxy with modernity (and with human rights) in the motherland and in the diaspora in Italy.

In the first case, we focus on a phenomenon of modernity, i.e. a resettlement of the socio-religious institution: the unionization of priests (Guglielmi 2017b). This phenomenon is common in Protestant churches and represents a stance in the framework of the relationship between the religious institution and clergy that is widespread in the main religions in Western countries and represents one of the first attempts in the Orthodox world (*globalization and religion*). It is a modern phenomenon because it

concerns the crisis of total authority within a religious institution, the growth of individualism and the negotiation of boundaries between the 'sacred' and the secular. Moreover, it also covers an important human rights issue, which is that of guaranteeing freedom of association within a religious institution, and also concerns some categories of the human rights of priests, such as social and economic rights. In this case reference is made to the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights of 2013 ('Sindicatul Păstorul Cel Bun' cf. Romania', ECtHR, Application no. 2330/09), to which the union has been published in 2008 after the Romanian state refused to recognize its legal status (with the support of the Romanian Orthodox Church). Reading the program of the 32 priests and 3 workers of the Archdiocese of Craiova, we find that they adopted the paradigm and the logic of human rights (ECtHR 2013): they seem to breach the boundaries that affect the religious world from the secular one through human rights issues and the secular slogan 'we want the same rights'[7]. Besides, in this trial the governments of some Orthodox countries (Greece, Georgia, Moldova), as well as the Archdiocese of Craiova and the Russian Orthodox Church, are present as 'third parties'. In analyzing their positions, we find in the positions of these Orthodox actors the same selective criticisms of Orthodox Christianity towards modernity and human rights discussed in this chapter (liberal Church-state relations v. Orthodox Church-state relations, rights v. duties, freedom v. responsibility; individual v. community).

The second case concerns the relationship between Romanian Orthodoxy and homosexuality, a hot issue subject to an in-depth analysis on the part of social scientists with respect to the particular nature of Romanian historical trajectories relating to the LGBTQI community (Ramet 2006, Spina 2015; Stan, Turcescu 2005a; Stan 2010; Tarta 2015). In fact, until 2002 the penal code in force in Romania criminalized homosexuality in accordance with the provisions of article 200, which was abolished in 2001 and ceased to be applied the following year. Thanks to the great pressure exercised by the European institutions, which had to contend with the opposition of the Romanian Orthodox Church, this regulation was repealed to respect the constraints necessary for Romania to access the European Union, such as ratification of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights. In this regard, the second case study concerns the story of Dimitri Bica. Bica is the first

[7] These clerics and faithful do not use the term human rights, but that of fundamental rights, and often they link this concept to that of dignity, as is usual in the religious discourse relating to human rights.

monk in the history of Romanian Orthodoxy to have publicly declared his homosexuality, and in just a few months in Romania this resulted in media coverage that rapidly assumed international relevance. After a period of great controversy and a ‘trial’ period at an Orthodox monastery to reflect on his personal situation, Bica decided to leave the homeland and the Romanian Orthodox Church and go to live in Italy. In this country he was granted refugee status for humanitarian reasons, and he tried to build a new life. Furthermore, he participated in events organized by LGBTQI associations to continue his battle for the recognition of homosexuality in the Orthodox world (Gubbini 2006). He is currently the Eparch of Brescia and Vicar General with the name of S.E. Avondios at the Metropolis of Aquileia within the Orthodox Archdiocese of Milan and Lombardy. In this case, it seems interesting to note how Bica entered the ‘religious market’ of the Orthodox Christian panorama in Italy, and assumed a position as a clergyman in a non-canonical Orthodox church. The story of Bica shows how the *globalization of religion* allowed this dissident of the BOR to continue his religious career, availing himself of one of the opportunities afforded by the religious glocalization of Orthodox Christianity in Italy. This link between the local and the global levels in the religious sphere seems to favour the mobility of clergymen among the Orthodox jurisdictions in various contexts and countries, to the point of facilitating the definition of cultural hybrids that are generally rejected in the Orthodox world.

Conclusion: An Assessment

In the first paragraph of this chapter we analyzed the relationship between Orthodoxy and modernity. We have identified some patterns present in encounters and socio-cultural key elements which at the sociological level are more related to the tensions occurring in the relationship between this religion and the main Western model of modernity. As Fokas (2012) suggests, the theory of secularization seems to be an adequate key allowing for the analysis of this current relationship, which is also characterized by adaptations within the Orthodox world. Following the main positions of social scientists, Martin (2011) recently hypothesized that there is a distinct Eastern European version of secularization, and a version that is particular to Orthodoxy. He traces a ‘common Eastern European pattern’ of secularization in which the main shared point is an ethno-religiosity that has

been historically favoured by an external state or religious enemy. This ‘Orthodox cultural bloc’ opposes the assimilation of secularization processes from Western Europe and, in particular, those favored by the European Institution. In this regard, Molokotos-Liederman (2009) hypothesizes a ‘selective secularization’ in the Orthodox territories, continuing to support the idea of a specificity of Orthodoxy with respect to the traditional development of the modern project. Berger (2005), on the other hand, offers a different view with respect to the previous stances. In his vision, the countries of Eastern Europe are facing the question of pluralism, based on their membership or their relationship with the European Union, and also political and legal action that promotes a ‘secular culture’. Therefore, the European institutions seem to favour, adopting a secular approach, a change in the role of religion in society and in the relations between the church and the state, with respect to which Orthodox Christianity is unlikely to remain unaffected.

In the second section we examined the position of Orthodoxy with respect to human rights, reconstructing the two main individual positions of the theologians and the two main official stances developed by the churches. From a primarily sociological perspective we have seen how the main points elaborated by the Orthodox world in opposition to human rights seem to correspond to those that characterize the stressful situation occurring between this religion with modernity. Fig. 9 in the first section indicates about a dozen socio-cultural key elements of the Orthodox tradition that seem to constitute the tensions of this religion with both of these units. However, as stressed several times, nor is there an absence of adaptations and re-elaborations on the part of the Orthodox world, such as patterns of encountering. Considering once again the Russian Orthodox Church, this being the jurisdiction that has gone to the greatest lengths to develop an official position on human rights, as in the case of its relationship with the contemporary world, various important ‘contaminations’ with human rights may be identified. Apart from obvious points of conflict, the Russian Orthodox Church in fact seems to have embraced the human rights paradigm:

> In engaging in this act of self-assertion, the authors of the Orthodox 'human rights concept' cannot avoid drawing upon the constituent elements of the liberal secular ethos; they cannot avoid using the very language of rights. Thus, ironically, and in a similar way to various other critics of the human rights idea from the West and other parts of the world, despite mounting the most virulent criticism, in the end the Orthodox critics, volens nolens, do accept and master this language of rights, the 'rights talk', in order to express their own tradition in terms of, and according to the rules of, the discourse they criticise. (…) They become – and they want to become – a part of the semantic universe even though they criticise and reject its foundations. I see in the whole project this paradoxical 'acceptance-through-refusal' (Agadjanian 2010: 105).

This quotation seems to fully describe the clash that Russian Orthodoxy (and not only this Orthodox jurisdiction) is facing with this phenomenon of modernity: in its religious position towards human rights the same key elements that define its selective critique of modernity appear to be identifiable. It is also possible to identify some adaptations and negotiations that favour its encounter or an 'acceptance-through-refusal' of the paradigm and of the language of human rights (and even before those of the contemporary world as an operational field of the religious mission)[8].

This reflection may allow us to develop a general rule. It seems very difficult to investigate the relationship of a religion with human rights sociologically without dealing with its relationship with modernity, considering that human rights are a basic need or a structural element of the modern world, and a 'product' or phenomenon of modernity. Likewise, it seems difficult to analyze the relationship of a religion with the modern world without facing a human rights issue because as previously mentioned human rights are a structural element that regulates its daily life. This interdependence between modernity and human rights seems to be present to a greater extent in the study of religions, as both of these two units are generally discussed or opposed by traditional religions (probably centuries ago there was a greater focus on the former, while today the latter is more strongly reflected on). To conclude, it seems that the social scientific study of religion and human rights lies within the question of religion and modernity. We may argue that these sociological insights indicate the scope of the nexus of religion, modernity and human rights. In the case of Eastern Orthodoxy, the relationships between this particular

[8] For example, in the document approved by the Pan-Orthodox Council on today's mission of the Orthodox Church it is stated that it operates in the modern world "in the spirit of respecting human rights and equal treatment of all" (2016s: E.3).

religion and modernity and that between this religion and human rights seem to share some specific patterns and issues, such as forms of adaptation and negotiation.

In the third chapter we analyzed the position of the Romanian Orthodox Church with respect to human rights. Finally, in the last section (4) we placed it among the contemporary processes of globalization affecting the world of religions. In the Romanian Orthodox position with respect to human rights its practical and pragmatic character seems to emerge, and this appears to be in continuity with what we established in chapters 2 and 3 relating to the settlement of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy. This particular aspect thus seems to distinguish the religious positions and the orientations of the Romanian Patriarchate on various topics and challenges, which range from its diasporas in Western countries to the development of a new pastoral approach, and including the issues of human rights and religious pluralism.

Therefore, this last consideration regarding the engagement of Romanian Orthodoxy with the contemporary world seems to suggest that we should return to an examination of its historical-theoretical relationship with modernity (which we partly neglected in the third section). In this regard Staab (2012) focuses on the relationship with modernity and the West in the writings of Dumitru Stăniloae and Nichifor Crainic (1889-1972). We have already introduced the first historical figure in the first pages of our work, while the second is a famous writer, theologian and Romanian poet, known for being an well-known racist, ideologue and a far-right politician; one of the main Romanian fascist and anti-Semite ideologues (Clark 2012). In their visions an Orthodox perspective seems to emerge which in some respects may be defined as modern. Although generally rejecting the intellectual stances of Western Europe, it seems to welcome some of their visions and face some of their modern challenges thanks to the sort of analytical link or ‘bridge’ between East and West represented by the Latin character within Romanian Orthodoxy:

In summary, we can characterize the positions of both of them as at least in certain respects anti-modernist; but neither of them totally rejects modernity itself. They both have an openly expressed traditionalist view which reveals itself at the same time as anti-democratic and anti-western, or at least as very critical of contemporary cultural and political developments in Western Europe. In detail, their relation to Western Europe is somewhat ambiguous: for both of them, Latinity is a part of the Romanian identity, while they also view Romanian religion and culture as coined by the Byzantine Orthodox tradition. (…) In spite of their polemical assaults against some agents of modernization, the argumentations of both men can be regarded from another angle as modern. These so-called 'traditionalist' theologians were not only dealing with typical problems of modern societies such as pluralism and unemployment, they also borrowed modern ideas for their argumentations. These ideas stemmed from modern spiritual, intellectual and political movements such as Slavophilism, idealism, phenomenology and *Lebensphilosophie*, as well as from corporatism, fascism and national socialism. Besides this, we should mention that Stăniloae can be counted among the first Romanian promoters of the neo-Patristic school. In conclusion we may say that Stăniloae was not less modernist than his concept of Orthodoxy (Staab 2012: 327-328).

Continuing this theoretical path, Bordeianu (2013) analyzes Stăniloae's theology, focusing on ecumenism. He wonders whether it is possible that Orthodox theologians would be able to introduce new categories that are not found in the Fathers of the church, adopting categories that originate in other Christian churches. This question seems to investigate the thought of the Romanian theologian from a different perspective and to integrate that referred to above. Bordeianu states that

Stăniloae constructively used Western insights to reach new depths of Orthodox theology. As previously stated, even concepts that are not of Orthodox origin can be incorporated into Orthodox ecclesial tradition, as long as they are consonant with Scripture and tradition, concerned with a personal encounter with God, and balance cataphatism with apophatism. Rather than being perceived as the foe, the West becomes the friend that helps the East develop its own legacy. East and West acknowledge the revealing work of God in each other, a revelation that extends beyond the patristic era (2013: 251).

Concluding his research, Staab (2012) hopes that further studies on the historical and theological position of Romanian Orthodoxy with respect to modernity may be undertaken. As

probably such an investigation would also shed more light on the above-mentioned self-image of Romanians as mediators between East and West, for which the self-image of a Latin-Oriental synthesis which we have been considering in this article looks like a prerequisite. If it turned out that other Orthodox Churches adopted modernist or Europeanist views from western thinkers via the works of Romanian authors, this stereotype would at least partly be confirmed (2012: 331).

In this regard, the theologian Noble, again referring to on the life and the theological legacy of Stăniloae, seems to provide an initial indication with respect to the question launched by Staab:

Their transposition of Orthodoxy to the western categories of thought alienated theology from spirituality, from liturgy, and from a lived experience of the church; and in that whole generations of the Orthodox clergy from their own roots. The Romanian Orthodox church was perhaps even more vulnerable to this practice, as it was Latin by language and culture and the Westernization therefore felt more 'natural'. But for Staniloae there was also a possibility for Romanian Orthodoxy to accept the role of a bridge the other way round, to communicate different theological and spiritual roots to Western Christians and to share with them a common concern of how to drink from Christian roots in the modern secular world (2007: 207).

Therefore, the practical and pragmatic position of Romanian Orthodoxy towards the challenges of the modern world may have developed thanks also to the maintenance of a tie with Latinity and the development of a Latin character on the part of this national religious tradition. In fact, this Latin character seems to have played a role as a sort of analytical link that has favoured the transmission of some modern and Western theoretical views in the thought of the main Romanian Orthodox theologian and generally in the field of the religious position of the BOR.

Chapter 5
Researching Human Rights Issues in the Romanian Orthodox Diaspora in Italy

Today, on the other hand, all this has changed. Our Orthodoxy is a little island in the midst of a world which operates on totally different principles - and every day these principles are changing for the worse, making us more and more alienated from it. Many people are tempted to divide their lives into two sharply distinct categories: the daily life we lead at work, with worldly friends, in our worldly business, and Orthodoxy, which we live on Sundays and at other times in the week when we have time for it. But the world-view of such a person, if you look at it closely, is often a strange combination of Christian values and worldly values, which really do not mix. The purpose of this talk is to see how people living today can begin to make their world-view more of one piece, to make it a whole Orthodox world-view.

Father Seraphim Rose of Platina, Living the Orthodox World-View (1982)

Introduction

Father Seraphim Rose (1934-1982) was an American monk of the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia and co-founder of the St. Herman Alaskan monastery in Platina, California. He is probably the most emblematic figure of Orthodox (autochthonous) monasticism in the US. Venerated by the Orthodox faithful on account of his profound spirituality, the sense of which is disseminated through his many writings and translations, his reservations with respect to the ecumenical movement and his radical positions towards the modern world sometimes led him into conflict with prominent figures in the Orthodox world. In his views presented at the beginning of this chapter there is an outline of the experience of a religious community settled in a country with a different value system and a different traditional religion. In his own words, the conflict among the Orthodox faithful between the experience during the liturgy on Sunday and that of everyday life appears very tangible. Although today many religions may perceive themselves as 'islands', progressively isolated from the socio-cultural environment by the processes of secularization and a remodelling of the role of religion in society, these

words seem to delineate in particular the dynamics that occur among the faithful of an Eastern religious tradition in a Western country. According to the vision of Father Rose this situation, which is paradoxically reminiscent of that of a diaspora religion, leads the faithful towards a 'strange combination' (we would prefer the term *hybrid*), combining the Orthodox perspective with the different views of pertinent socio-cultural realities. This type of discourse, albeit quite customary nowadays, would not have been deemed as such forty years ago in countries with an Orthodox majority in Eastern Europe. These words thus appear adequate to highlight certain tensions that the Orthodox faithful of a diaspora in a Western country may experience today within their religious glocalization. In particular, in this chapter we will focus on forms of hybridization occurring between the faithful, both on Sundays during the liturgy and in everyday life, combining values and habits exported from the mother country with those of the host country.

In this chapter we present a study of the Orthodox diaspora in a gender perspective and identify certain negotiations of differences and also hybridization with the new socio-cultural context through the experiences of migrant women. In the process of our presentation, firstly, our intention is to designate emerging sociological approaches towards the analysis of Orthodoxy and gender through the application of existing theoretical perspectives in the sociology of religion and recent empirical studies on women's experiences in Orthodoxy (section 1). We will apply the theoretical framework on religion and gender introduced by Woodhead (2007), which establishes four types of positioning on the part of religion in relation to gender order as well as the previously mentioned sociological discourse of Makrides (2012a) on Orthodoxy's relationship with modernity. We will apply a gender perspective while analyzing specific experiences of women in migration through the application of sociological dimensions of a diaspora religion. The religious experience of female followers of the Orthodox faith is conceptualized at the individual level, considering the hybridization of familiar or domestic contexts and that of society in the host country.

After a description of the religious situation in the Veneto region and of our case study of the Romanian Orthodox parish in Padua (section 2) we will present the results of fifteen in-depth interviews conducted with Romanian Orthodox women. We consider separate elements of the differences between the Romanian and Italian gender orders on the basis of a comparison of the female perception of Romanian and Italian societies and families,

as well as strategies for their levelling based on the female experience of migration and their religiosity. In this chapter, we focus on three human rights issues and these are developed in separate sections.

Initially (section 3.1), a brief analysis is presented relating to the official position of the Romanian Orthodox Church on gender order in the family and in the life of the church. With the data from our interviews we will analyze some peculiarities of Romanian families in Italy, and especially their transnational nature (section 3.2). We assess the evolution of the concept of the Orthodox family due to the migration processes and settlement in a new social-cultural environment, and the emergence of transnational ties in Romanian families in Italy. In particular, we focus on the role of men and women in this kind of family, the women's perception of the new society and changes in their religious orientation and feelings. Furthermore, we focus on the attitudes of Romanian Orthodox women towards the gender order within the Romanian Orthodox Church (section 3.3). This empirical part of the research indicates the initial findings on the female perspective regarding gender order in the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy.

In the fourth section, we focus on the positions and attitudes of Romanian Orthodox women towards rights to life, especially on the three issues of abortion, euthanasia and the death penalty. Finally (section 5), we focus on the positions and attitudes of Romanian Orthodox women towards religious diversity.

As emerges from this chapter, the binary divisions of the private and public, traditional and modern, secular and religious dimensions have been subject to a particular critique from the gender perspective in the modern world and have emphasized the necessity of hybrid approaches (section 1). An analysis of female leadership and the religious experiences of women, the family, intimacy and their professions in overlapping relationships is considered with respect to the interrelation of these topics with a view to examining hybrid trajectories in human rights issues (sections 3, 4, and 5).

5.1 Research on the Orthodox Diaspora in a Social Scientific Gender Perspective

Religion and gender have much in common when they come to terms with modernity. The experiences of women's encounters with modernity could be extrapolated to religion. At the same time, women's experiences of religion could duplicate these tendencies if

religious tradition does not address the issues of modernity with respect to internal structural processes (Herzog, Braude 2009). As Casanova (2009) points out, “religious gender politics worldwide has become one of the most important issues facing global humanity”, addressing among the other issues an “enormous gap between the norm of gender equality and the appalling reality of unequal worth, unequal status, and unequal access to resources and power” at worldwide level (2009: 38). The ways in which religions respond to issues of gender equality challenges religious authority and also engender various patterns of religious engagement with modernity (Casanova 2009).

While Orthodox theologians and official Orthodox Church documents (as is customary in Christian churches) state that women and men “equally receive the gifts and virtues bestowed by the Holy Spirit” and are “equal bearers of the divine image and human dignity” (Seraphim 2015), social scientists consider the concept of gender equality in terms of power relations, recognition, female subjectivity, and the practice of emancipation. These two ways of approaching gender equality may be considered by sociologists from the “progressive” and “problematic” perspectives (Nash 2015): they may be defined as an engagement between the idealistic/normative/aspirational perspectives of religion traditions vs. critical views and an orientation towards claiming rights to equality in social studies.

In fact, in the Christian theological perspective gender equality assumes a positive meaning prescribed by the divine order generally through a hierarchy of male leadership. On the other hand, sociological and gender studies critically assess gender differences and related discrepancies, underlying that they are embedded in the social fabric due to social and economic inequalities, unequal access to political power, as well as sacred power. Social scientists problematize gender inequalities and seek ways to eradicate them. Regardless of whether or not gender equality in societies or communities is viewed in theological, socio-political or human rights perspectives, a particular gender order is elaborated within each of them. The application of a gender perspective to the religious domain shows how the realm of the divine, as in the human dimension, structures religious discourse and religious practices with the rhetoric of difference and power (Castelli 2001: 4).

An analysis of religion and gender through the specific lenses of the sociology of religion is a quite recent perspective and the absence of gender sensitivity has restricted

the vision of the discipline (Woodhead 2007). At the same time, gender issues became a heated topic in the Catholic Church, Protestantism, Judaism, and Islam, while in Eastern Orthodoxy they are not a subject of profound concern in institutional discourses and religious communities[1]. The current issues of 'women in worship' or 'in chanting' (Salapatas 2015), or those of deaconesses, the ordination of women, and practices related to 'women's impurity' (Sotiriu 2004, 2010) seem to be limited only by the internal domain of church practices and involve a modest debate. Women try to solve some of these issues themselves in accordance with their sensitivity and moral authority, and positive dynamics may be seen at the level of common everyday practice when ordinary women "disregard church rules and establish new practices more favourable to them" (Sotiriu 2004: 503). Furthermore, particular spaces and authority that may be assumed by women have been recently recognized and defined by the religious institution itself within the activities of the Orthodox Church. For instance, in the Russian case the educational authority of women, recognized by the clergy and the laity who are initiated to religion, stems from a consensual recognition of their professionalism. The secular social status of women teachers creates diversity on the part of religious authority, but does not challenge the male monopoly over the priesthood (Ladykowska, Tocheva 2013).

The social scientific approach allows for the construction of particular narratives on religion based on the experiences of women, suggesting specific perspectives towards modernization processes and challenges for religious traditions. Theorizing the gender perspective, Woodhead (2007) introduces discourses in the sociology of religion which might be sensitive to gender differences related to the "secularizing effect of societalization, functional differentiation and rationalization" (2007: 578). In applying the gender perspective to the modernization process, Woodhead presents an example of how it becomes possible to distinguish male and female models of urbanization in the industrial development of the last century, highlighting the role of paid labour as a catalyst of modernization. For instance, the historical analysis of women's status in Orthodoxy, on the example of Russian Orthodoxy, illustrates how gender issues might not be simply reduced to the issue of the ordination of women but connected to a comprehension of the

[1] For a discussion on women's equality in the ecumenical Orthodox Christian movement, see Liveris (2005).

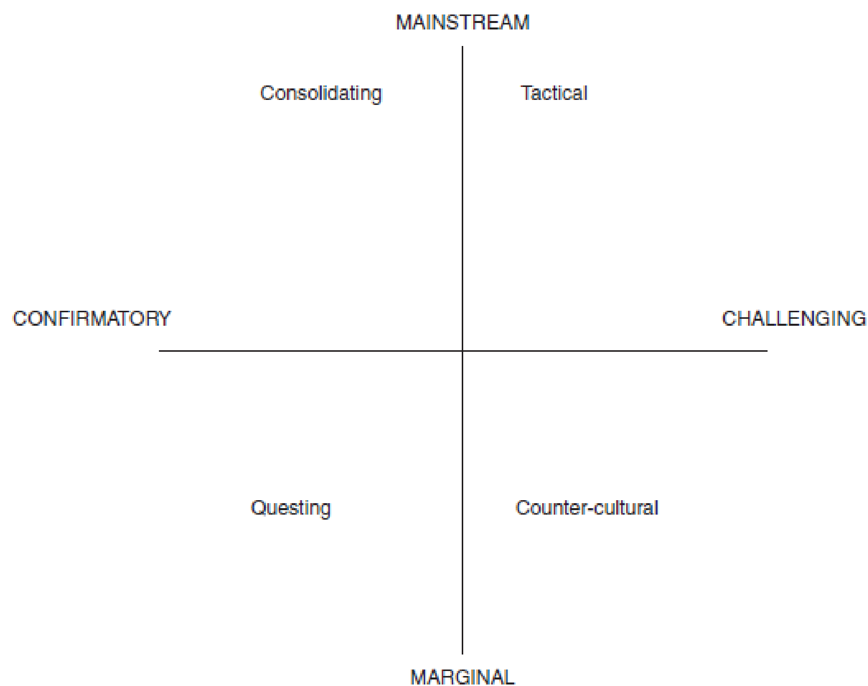
role of women in wider society from the middle of the 19th century (Beliakova, Beliakova, Jemchenko 2011).

Focusing on the case of Romanian Orthodoxy, Bucur (2011) argues, however, that the role of rural women and socio-economic conditions are more central for the continuity of religiosity in post-communist Romania than the growing public presence and authority of the BOR within the context of liberalization of religious life and greater religious freedom (2011: 29). Drawing attention to the more significant number of nuns with respect to the number of monks in the period 1938-1957, Bucur explains this difference referring to the challenges of modernization for rural women and alternative strategies for their empowerment and in indicating the presence of "some problems of adjustment of the rural population to the communist regime's economic and social policies" (Bucur 2011: 39). He noted that such a situation made a difference in educational and economic opportunities for women that "pushed them and their families in the direction of a different decision, especially for those who were deeply religious" (Bucur 2011: 39). In general, referring to the pattern of religiosity in Orthodox Romania, Bucur argues that the activity of women is a central aspect in the development of religiosity and its continuity. All of these aspects construct the female pattern of religiosity which has affected the current maintenance of religiosity in Romania.

Considering that religions exist "in a particular structural relation to the gender order of society" (Woodhead 2007: 569), Woodhead suggested two perspectives that would permit a clearer comprehension of their relationship. She distinguishes religion's *situation* in relation to gender which explains "the way religion is situated in relation to the existing distribution of secular power" from religion's *strategy* in relation to gender which covers the dimension of "the way religion is mobilized in relation to the existing distribution of secular power" (Woodhead 2007: 569). Expressing this basically, as we can see in Scheme 1, Woodhead draws a vertical axis which ranges from a 'mainstream' to a 'marginal' religion and a horizontal axis which starts with religion as 'confirmatory' and shifts to religion as 'challenging'. 'Mainstream' religion is an integral part of the existing distribution of power in society and socially respectable. 'Marginal' religion exists at more of an angle with respect to the social and gender order, and will therefore be treated as socially deviant by those who accept the dominant distribution of power. 'Confirmatory' religion seeks to legitimate, reinforce, and sacralise the existing

distribution of power in society, particularly the existing gender order, whilst 'challenging' religion seeks to ameliorate, resist or change this order. This schema suggests the four main ways in which religion (as a distribution of power) may relate to gender (as a distribution of power) – and hence four main 'types' of religion's position in relation to gender (Woodhead 2007: 569).

Scheme 1. Positioning of Religion in Relation to Gender



This typology does not assume that there is necessarily a static single 'gender order' in a society, for the unit of analysis may vary from a nation-state to a region. It is, however, assumed that within such a unit there will at any one time be a prevailing distribution of power between genders which can be labelled 'mainstream', and alternatives to it which are currently 'marginal'. This typology directs attention not only towards gender orders in society, but also to the gender order(s) inherent in a religion or religious group. In order to investigate the latter it is necessary to pay attention not only to cultural factors, such as teachings and visual representations, but to the entire inner panorama of a religion (Woodhead 2007: 569). Following this hypothesis, she defines four main types of religious positioning in relation to gender order. First of all, religion can be integral with respect to the existing gender order, and can serve to reproduce and

legitimate gender inequality for those who practice the religion and those who fall within its penumbra ('consolidating'). Secondly, religion can be integral with respect to the existing gender order, but can be used to provide access to power from 'inside' and use it in ways which may be subversive with respect to the existing gender order ('tactical'). Thirdly, religion may be marginal with respect to the existing gendered distribution of power, but used as a means of access to that power from the outside, without necessarily intending to disrupt the distribution of that power ('questing'). Finally, religion may be situated in a marginal relation to the gendered distribution of power, and may be used to try to contest, disrupt and redistribute that distribution ('counter-cultural') (Woodhead 2007: 569).

For Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe, the consolidating strategy is more common and favours more or less homogenous gender regimes, as we will see in the third section in which we focus on the religious doctrine of the BOR on this issue.

Regarding our case study, the analysis of migration processes of female believers in religious communities abroad through the sociological lenses of a diasporic model has various advantages. It informs us about specific experiences of women who have emigrated described in a 'gender and religion' perspective through the application of sociological dimensions of the diaspora. As we noted in the first chapter, Cohen (2008) introduces the concept of a 'diaspora religion or religion in diaspora': this sociological concept covers the issues of lifestyles and the way of negotiating relationships between the homeland and the host countries. The aforementioned diasporic model also covers various aspects of migrant women's lives and makes it possible to explore their identity, attitudes, values, belongings and networks, depicting how "the boundaries of exclusion and inclusion, and self and others" (Salih 2000: 323) are negotiated in the various contexts of women's lives. Along with that, in the condition of migration, the diaspora religion may be seen as the space for religious change simultaneously with the desire to be more authentic Orthodox faithful and to preserve one's own religious tradition merging with opening spaces for tensions regarding gender order.

However, the developing perspective of research regarding gender and religion has still not paid attention to the Orthodox women's migration experience in the diaspora. The studies on Muslim diaspora may be seen as forefront research, theorizing and elaborating the discourse of the diaspora and gender today for other religious traditions.

Due to the heated debates on Muslim women's vulnerability and religious freedom, especially around the veiling issue in Europe, Muslim migrant women's experiences become mostly analyzed in terms of both religious continuity and religious change. Not only the diversity of identities in various geographical locations came into the focus of recent research conducted on the Muslim diaspora, but also how religious identities "interact with, produce, reproduce and rework other significant markers of identity such as gender" (Hopkins, Kwan, Aitchison 2007: 2).

Various approaches deriving from migration studies, feminism studies, postcolonial discourses and ethnographic research sharpen their methodologies with respect to the study of Muslim women in the diaspora. The analysis of women's networks and their sense of belonging and friendship, safe personal leisure spaces and ways of redefining Muslim identities in new socio-cultural contexts characterized also as 'risk societies' (Green, Singleton 2007) or research on women's leadership in the Muslim diaspora (Ahmed 2010) along with many other projects have contributed to the interdisciplinary studies of women's experience and paths in diaspora research.

Starting from these research studies on Muslim migrant women's experiences and considering the Eastern Orthodox diaspora and gender research, we have to be aware that when different jurisdictions cohabit within the same territory, there will be a challenge facing the monopolism of a national/institutional church perspective with respect to the role of women. This question is added to the (possible) religious changes generated by the settlement of the Orthodox diasporas (i.e., religious glocalization and the issue of multiple jurisdictions) in the host context. As we will see in the interviews conducted with Romanian followers of the Orthodox faith, in our research study we may differentiate migrant Orthodox women's attitudes relating to a new social environment on the basis of three main non-exclusive paths, considering the perspective of religious institutions (organizational diaspora issues, social teaching of the church), the community (choice of a parish, domestication in the community) and the experiences of individual believers (for example, with regard to the attendance of liturgies in various parishes) (Thorbjørnsrud 2015b).

5.2 Case Study: the Romanian Orthodox Parish of Padua

The Veneto is one of the Italian regions with the highest population of immigrants, and an area in which the Romanian community is more securely rooted from the historical point of view. A sociographic analysis of this region seems to confirm the processes of religious diversification and pluralization of the Christian traditions described at the national level in the first chapter. In particular, in this new religious scenario within the region the migratory processes seem to have had various effects on the Catholic dioceses in the Veneto, presenting within the Catholic parishes the challenge of an 'evangelical proclamation' in a multi-religious context (Castegnaro, 2014). Moreover, as previously mentioned, this challenge also seems to be linked to changes relating to migration within the Catholic communities. Among the more recent changes we note, for example, the significant number of foreign followers of the faith who regularly attend the Sunday liturgy or the growing participation of faithful immigrant in certain activities related to a so-called popular religious dimension[2].

Within this growing religious diversity and pluralization of Christian traditions, we focus on the case of the Romanian Orthodox parish of Padua dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul (*Parohia Ortodoxă Română Sfinţii Apostoli Petru şi Pavel din Padua*). In 2000 Father Gheorghe Verzea was officially ordained by the Metropolitan Iosif of Paris as the priest of the Romanian Orthodox parish in Padua. In the previous decade, however, a Romanian Orthodox monk, who had come to Italy to study and had created an initial Romanian Orthodox community, already lived in the city. Over the last decade, following the experience of this particular parish, those of Mestrino, Treviso and Bassano were directly created and, indirectly, also those in other cities in the Veneto. This parish is attended every Sunday by almost 250 faithful, at least one hundred of whom in a stable manner. As indicated by the data presented in the third chapter on the religious activity of the BOR in Italy, this is one of the largest and most active Romanian Orthodox parishes in the Italian peninsula. For this reason, the province of Padua is characterized by its high level of Romanian immigration, and to the extent that according to data provided by the Italian National Statistics Institute (ISTAT) in 2017 it represented a third of the local

[2] 4.2% of foreign citizens attend the Sunday liturgy in the Patriarchate of Venice (Castegnaro 2006: 60), while the number of foreign followers of the faith who participated in the pilgrimage on the occasion of the opening of the tomb of St. Anthony in Padua in 2010 was 13,000, 6.6% of the total number of pilgrims (Castegnaro 2012: 111).

immigrant population (33.8%) and a quarter of that in the entire Veneto region (25.2%). In fact, in the province of Padua there are also the Romanian Orthodox parishes or communities of Abano, Mestrino, Limena, Este and Monselice, Camposampiero, Piove di Sacco and a second community in Padua.

According to the ISTAT, in 2017 there were 670,975 Romanian migrant women in Italy, corresponding to 57.4% of the total number of Romanian migrants (1,168,552). While the majority of Romanian male immigrants in Italy are involved in the construction sector, women are mostly employed as domestic or care workers. Among Eastern European female migrants in Italy the proportion of Romanian women involved in the care-worker sector is the largest. Due to this fact, the phenomenon of Romanian *badanti* (caregivers) has received particular attention on the part of researchers, but the religious aspects of these caregivers' lives have still not been adequately studied (Maioni, Gallotti 2016; Caselgrandi, Rinaldi, Montebugnoli 2013; Vietti 2010; Catanzaro, Colombo 2009). Therefore, focusing on Romanian Orthodox women allows us to investigate a neglected (religious) aspect of a major phenomenon in Padua and in the Italian peninsula (given that many of the interviewees work as carers) and develop a particular bottom-up perspective of a recent socio-cultural development in the Italian context.

Furthermore, studying women within Orthodox Christianity allows for an analysis of some issues neglected in the religious studies of social scientists until a few decades ago, and an emphasis on the socio-cultural and religious foundations of occurrences of inequality less evident between the genders. Our empirical study represents an attempt to describe the dynamics of Romanian Orthodox families in the diaspora in Italy, and a search for answers to questions relating to the experience of women with respect to the perception of gender differences in family relationships. We are also interested in the position of Romanian Orthodox women regarding society in Italy, and their understanding of the Orthodox tradition regarding gender order and its connection with the perception of a new socio-cultural and religious context.

At the same time, the Italian model of interaction between religion and modernity differs entirely from that of Romanian female faithful in the homeland. In our study, it is considered according to Diotallevi's theory on the specificities of the Italian socio-religious environment (1999, 2001). Diotallevi presents a hypothesis about the Italian socio-cultural and religious situation which undermines the classical theories of the

sociology of religion. According to his framework, Italian Catholicism developed an original model of religious modernization through a strategy that secularization theorists and religious market would not consider possible. Diotallevi develops the idea that since the 19th century and throughout the 20th century the Italian Catholic Church has actually applied strategies to expand and diversify its religious services, contributing to high internal competition in the church (1999: 182-183). In addition, according to Diotallevi, we may argue that in Italy the secularization process has been accompanied by relatively high rates of a religious presence at various social levels (1999: 70). The analysis of the activity of religious practice, religious identification and religious mobilization shows the viability of religion. He emphasizes that during some historical processes, Italian Catholicism faced the problem of modernizing the country (industrialization, changing lifestyles), attempting to develop an "Italian way of effecting religious modernization". The Catholic Church in Italy intervened directly in leading the modernization processes and, where possible, presented a 'defensive' strategy (1999: 61-62). This made it possible to 'amortize' tensions and sharp 'fractures' inherent in the clash between Catholicism and modernity. In addition, the participation of the Italian Catholic Church in some modernization processes contributed to internal organizational changes that weakened its (even symbolic) conflict with the modern world.

5.3 Gender Issues

We divide this section into three subsections that follow a thematic order. This framework favours an understanding of the glocal processes, and of the interdependence of the human rights issues.

5.3.1 The Romanian Orthodox Perspective Towards Family and Gender Order

As we have shown (Giordan, Guglielmi, Breskaya 2018), the current position of the Romanian Orthodox Church on gender can be basically defined by the official position of Patriarch Daniel. At the same time, as the Romanian theologian Preda emphasizes (2012: 294), official documents of the Russian Orthodox Church are also important to comprehend the position of other Orthodox churches because they first identified the

public position of Eastern Orthodoxy regarding socially significant issues of our time. We refer to some provisions of *The Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church* (2000) to understanding the general Orthodox view about gender order, and also presenting the position of the Romanian Orthodox Church. In the tenth section of the Russian document (2000) *Personal, Family and Public Morality* the theological vision and sacred value of marriage are reconstructed, beginning with the writings of the Church Fathers. This section also discusses various critical problems affecting the lives of families in the modern context and in the recent socio-cultural changes:

> While appreciating the social role of women and welcoming their political, cultural and social equality with men, the Church opposes the tendency to diminish the role of a woman as a wife and mother. The fundamental equality of the sexes does not annihilate the natural distinction between them, nor does it imply the identity of their callings in the family and in society. (…) These views of course do not relate to the despotism of a husband or the slavery of a wife, but deal with supremacy in responsibility, care and love. (...)
>
> Representatives of some social movements tend to diminish and sometimes even deny the importance of marriage and the institution of the family, focussing primarily on the socially significant activities of women including those incompatible or not very compatible with a woman's nature (such as hard manual labour). Demands are often heard that men and women should be made artificially equal in every field of human activity. The Church, however, sees the calling of woman not in the mere emulation of a man or in competition with him, but in the development of all her God-given abilities, including those peculiar only to her nature. Without focusing on the distribution of social functions alone, Christian anthropology concedes to women a higher place than that afforded to them in contemporary irreligious beliefs. The desire to remove or minimise the natural differences in the social field is alien to the church mentality. Sexual, social and ethnic distinctions do not obstruct the path to salvation offered by Christ to all people (Osnovy 2000: X. 5).

The structuring of the division between the sacred reality of the family and the role of women is not considered in the categories of the 'gap' with the present, but in the context of the existence for the church of some negative phenomena of the modern world. In this document, the gap between the sacred and the secular is given a specific interpretation: the church's position is confronted with negative social processes, 'propaganda of vice', and the media and products of mass culture. In this 'defensive' position, the Russian Orthodox Church supports the value of the patriarchal model in the family and believes that a woman should assume the role of a wife and mother. Moreover, the ROC reminds

its followers of the distinction between the vocation of males and females within the family and in society, according to the different capacities afforded to the two genders by nature itself.

A more detailed position of the Romanian Orthodox Church on family life can be found in several official speeches of Patriarch Daniel regarding issues such as the crisis of traditional society and same-sex marriages. In his speech 'The Family in the Contemporary European Context', Patriarch Daniel speaks about the current crisis situation in Europe and considers important issues the family has to contend with:

> both in Romania and throughout Europe, the Christian family is facing an economic crisis (poverty, unemployment, uncertainty with respect to the future, emigration etc.), a moral crisis (libertinism, abortion, divorce, abandonment of children, domestic violence, juvenile delinquency, human trafficking etc.), and a spiritual crisis (sectarianism, fanaticism, religious proselytism etc.). The family is also in a fragile and difficult situation because the traditional family model itself is considered by some to be outdated or obsolete. We live in a context dominated by an individualistic and secularizing mentality, not seeking holiness of life through prayer, the birth of children and their upbringing in the Christian faith. Today there is an increasing number of those who see marriage as a simple contract or a partnership between two people of different genders or of the same gender. But social partnerships or cohabitation between persons cannot be deemed as corresponding to the traditional family and any attempt against its traditional identity is an artificial innovation which cannot bear the name of the natural reality from which it stems. Therefore, the dilution of traditional family values or the removal of differences between this family and other types of unions, in the name of human rights and equality, undermine the natural family as the foundation of human society (Daniel 2014).

It is important to note that the traditional values and discourses of secularization and individualism are perceived by the Romanian Orthodox Church as contradictory. In this perception, tradition and modernity oppose each other with the help of references to the sacred and divine authority. It is claimed that "the family is a sacred reality" that goes beyond the family community in its "cooperation with God", both in the Christian tradition and in all monotheistic religions. Denoting the gap between the sacred and the profane, tradition and modernity and in describing the economic crisis, Patriarch Daniel used the sociological concepts of poverty, unemployment, uncertainty and migration. The moral crisis on the one hand appeals to the religious rhetoric of selective criticism towards human rights (related to modernity and secularization) and on the other hand relates to a series of social issues that include even domestic violence and human trafficking.

Indeed, on International Children's Day (June 1, 2016) Patriarch Daniel spoke about the role of parents in the process of raising children, and he draws attention to the need to create a harmonious relationship among family members. In this discourse there is also a description of the position of the contemporary family in society:

> In today's secularized society, lying in economic, moral and social crisis, in which the Christian family faces severe problems of a financial and social, moral and spiritual nature, the protection, promotion and consolidation of the sacred institution of the family founded on the perennial evangelical values must represent a constant mission of the Church and a responsibility of society as a whole (Daniel 2016b).

Again, Patriarch Daniel calls for the support of the traditional family and emphasizes that, contrary to recent socio-cultural and religious changes, "forms of social partnership or cohabitation between people can not be regarded as a traditional family" (Daniel 2017). Following this reasoning, the role of a woman in a Christian family is above all that of wife and mother, and these responsibilities should not be compromised by the exercise of a freedom focussing more on a personal fulfilment or ambitions that may lead to a sinful condition. As in the case of the Russian document (Osnovy 2000), the BOR supports the value of the patriarchal model in the family and the distinction between the 'callings' of males and females in the family and in society (for a sociological view on this issue, see Cordoneanu 2012).

Continuing to focus on the link between religion and society, Oprica (2008) claims that "current patterns of gender inequality in Romania are strongly correlated with a resurgent traditionalism in society" (2008: 33). Following these recent social trends, according to Oprica (2008) the Orthodox Church in Romania produces patterns of female servility which "induces an egregious disrespect and disregard for the rights of women on the part of those who are devout Orthodox believers" (2008: 34).

Moreover, as Stan (2010) points out, this gender order envisaged in society by the Romanian Orthodox Church may also be identified within the life of the church:

Orthodox theologians underscore the importance of women in the life of the congregation, reflecting the Virgin Mary's privileged relationship with Jesus and the Apostles. But besides the more active role the wives of the Orthodox priests sometimes intervene in the life of the parish by providing informal counselling to other women in times of joy, need, doubt and despair. The women's role in the Orthodox Church structure remains confined to that of nuns and novices living their lives in cloistered monasteries. (…) According to canon law, ordained priests must maintain their marital status all their life, a condition that prohibits unmarried priests to ever marry and married priests to divorce. The church cannot prohibit the wife of a priest to seek divorce, although it may encourage her to reconsider her decision (Stan 2010: 39).

This gender order and this ‘circumscribed’ role or participation of women in church leadership, as in parish life and in the relationship with the ‘sacred’, is delineated within the sacred canons of Orthodoxy (in this regard, for a theological view, see Salapatas 2015). However, examining the link between religion and society, we may identify a socio-cultural heritage in the theological position of the BOR towards women in society and in the church, and we will briefly analyse the view of Anca Lucia Manolache (1923-2013). A Romanian Orthodox theologian who had carried out her studies during the communist period, following the end of communism she published a work entitled *Problematica Feminină in Biserica lui Hristos: A Capitol de Antropologie Creştină* (Feminine Problematics in the Church of Christ: A Chapter on Christian Anthropology) (1994)[3]. As summarized by Turcescu (2018), she claims that Orthodox theology did not further develop the “two poles” that represent the human person, i.e. an anthropology of man and woman. She claims the time has come for the BOR to address women’s issues, given that at that time the social sciences had already raised the question of women’s rights.

According to Manolache, the conservative mentality of the Romanian clergy and laity was favoured by a widespread rural society in the former and also contemporary Romania: attitudes and gender order in this society’s model explained the continuous presence of misogyny in the Romanian Orthodoxy. Following this vision, women have a role complementary to that of man, with this role being a minor one. Presenting this

[3] As referred by Turcescu (2018), she was arrested by the communist authorities in 1959. After her release from prison she became a doctoral student of theology under the supervision of Father Dumitru Stăniloae. She was one of the few women who studied theology at that time, also because with the advent of communism in 1946 women could not teach religion in public schools. In 1964 she was hired to work at the Romanian Orthodox publishing house in Bucharest.

religious masculine view, she recalls a view expressed by Romanian Orthodox theologians in 1976 in which it is claimed that a "woman should be satisfied with her motherhood, with her duty to educate children, and with providing the best conditions for a man's success in public life and his development". While inside the BOR, always as a legacy of this masculine attitude, Manolache notes that women can only aspire to be administrative employees or realize their vocation as nuns.

To conclude, and following the scheme proposed by Woodhead (2007), Romanian Orthodoxy seems to assume a position with respect to gender order which we may establish as consolidating. This gender order, determined and promoted by the religious tradition in Orthodox Christianity, seems to have been favoured by certain characteristics of the socio-cultural reality in Romania.

5.3.2 Framing Gender Order in the Romanian Orthodox Transnational Families

The interviews reveal a scenario in the families of this diaspora religion in Italy that seems to follow that of the Romanian transnational families (Ducu, Telegdi-Csetri 2016; Ducu 2017). According to Shih (2015: 1), "transnational families are families whose members are separated physically between two or more nation-states but maintain close ties and relationships. [These] (…) families face many of the same challenges as immigrant families but also unique difficulties. Both immigrant and transnational families must learn to adapt to the new culture, learn a new language, locate suitable and affordable housing, seek employment, and adjust to the educational and social systems in the host country. However, transnational families must also cope with family separation and associated difficulties". In the interviews, the context of a transnational family repeatedly appeared, and women described the way in which they would spend their free time, creating new social ties with other Romanian women in the host society and obviously living in their own religious sphere.

This scenario that emerged in the research is fluid and heterogeneous; in a metaphorical sense each family unit would appear to develop different transnational 'geometrical' characteristics, not only in terms of the 'angles' but also considering the intensity with which it lives its situation. The sociological concept of a transnational family serves as an adequate point of reference for analyzing the structure of such

families, which may return to their homeland for a reunification with family members (while possibly leaving other relatives in Italy) for several months and several times a year. Indeed, daily communications in these transnational relations seem to be facilitated and characterized by the vast array of information media now made available by technology[4].

The topic that emerged most frequently in interviews with Romanian Orthodox women (on 14 different occasions) concerns the difference between the more individualistic orientation in Italian society and the more community-based approach in Romanian society[5]. The typical social system of Western countries is characterized by a greater freedom of subjects and a competitive lifestyle based on the goal of improving one's condition. The community-orientated vision on the contrary is associated with a more supportive and collaborative dimension, in which the culture and traditions of a population are a central aspect. Maria, who is 54 years old, came from a village in the Moldova region. Although she works as a caregiver in a small village in the province of Padua, a location rather similar to the place where she grew up where her mother still lives, she referred to a greater sense of collective belonging perceived in her motherland. She explains how deeply she perceives "a hint of indifference and detachment between people and a scarcity of opportunities to share moments with one's neighbours or spend time together in a community".

The issue of individualism is a debated topic in Eastern Orthodoxy and it is interpreted as a tendency of modernity similar to the processes of secularization; suffice it to consider the attention paid to this phenomenon in the Encyclical of the Pan-Orthodox Council of Crete in 2016 (Pan-Orthodox Council 2016a). However, Eugenia, who recently reached the age of 60 and is originally from Transylvania, points out how this communitarian

[4] Miller and Madianou create the concept of polymedia (2012) in recognition of the way most people today use a wide variety of communication media, and particularly in familiar transnational communication. Among the collected interviews, we propose two different stories that highlight this phenomenon. Mrs. Dana, a forty-year-old Romanian woman, married to an Italian, reports how using a mix of three social media, each one with its specific function, she can talk to her mother weekly, and to check her health daily. The latter, almost seventy, has rather quickly 'converted' to the use of technology to live within the transnational relationships. Instead, Mrs. Anichei, whose husband has always remained to live in a village near the Romanian city of Oradea, explains with enthusiasm how the transnational marriages today are all in all 'bearable', thanks to the social media that allow them to chat and see each other even for more hours a day.

[5] The tension between individual and community, as an element of difference compared to the country of origin, is also identified in an anthropological research on the Romanian diaspora in Turin (Cingolani 2009: 128-130).

lifestyle, rather than being founded on a religious doctrine, is a legacy of the Romanian communist period (as is partially suggested also by Rogobete (2004)). Starting from the memories of her youth, she refers to the role of religion while defining this attitude and focuses on the effects of the organization of political and social life during the regime.

The Italian society described in the interviews generally presents the system of Western values, which, on the one hand, overwhelm 'traditional values' and on the other hand drastically undermine family values. In the interviews with the Romanian Orthodox women individualism is in fact perceived first of all within Italian families, characterizing both the life of a couple and their relationship with their children. Elena, a widow who has been working in Italy as a caregiver for ten years, says: "Here the spouses are more independent, however in some cases they are also less united. In the families in which I have worked - as far as I could see - for example, spouses and their children do not even go to see their parents together. They visit them separately, and not as a well-united family as would normally occur in Romania. And often each spouse regularly goes to visit only his own parents". On the other hand, Alexandra, a university student and daughter of a mixed Italian-Romanian couple, says: "My father is Italian and married my mother, who is Romanian. If I had grown up in an Italian family, we would have been less united as a family. While if I had grown up in a Romanian family, seeing the experience of my mother's sisters, we would have probably been more united, but we would have lived a little more to the day economically, planning our life less, taken one day at a time"[6].

Another topic that transpired concerns the 'kindness' present in Italy; it seems that in a condition of widespread wellbeing and lower social conflict the relationships between people are more cordial. An attitude initially also identified by the interviewees in society and then identified also within family units concerns the phenomenon of domestic violence. In particular, comparing the Italian situation with the Romanian experience, where strong socio-political instability and serious economic difficulties have certainly favoured cases of violence on the part of husbands with respect to their wives since the 1990s. For example Ionela, who is 22 years old, has been in Italy since 2013 and is a student at the university, spoke about her religion: "It seems to me that the Orthodox faithful do not often divorce in the diaspora, even though marriages in which one of the

[6] Moreover, in most interviews the individual-community issue appears to also affect the education of children, and it is seen as an issue to be dealt with in their education in Italy.

two partners lives in their country of origin may be those most prone to divorce. In Italy I have not seen cases of domestic violence in the Orthodox families that I have known, whereas in Italian society on the other hand I think I have seen a certain reversal in the state of affairs: here men have to please women, who know exactly what they want". Finally, changing perspective but still considering this subject, in another qualitative interview conducted during field research in Romania, a young student of theology from Bucharest who would like to become a priest and who has lived in the Orthodox diaspora in Italy, assumed the Italian experience of kindness as a model for his future pastoral activity.

The third topic that emerged in the interviews is that of the relationship between rights and duties, which can also be indicated as the relationship between freedom and responsibility. One-third of interviewees note the significance of these relations. This issue is one of the main points of tension between Orthodox Christianity and modernity, and more recently parts of its selective criticism towards human rights (suffice it to consider once again the Encyclical of the Pan-Orthodox Council of Crete (Pan-Orthodox Council. 2016a)). This controversial 'culture of rights' is linked to the previous polarization between the individual and community. Anca is 34 years old and comes from Baya Mare. Since 2004 she has been living in Padua and works as a nurse in the hospital in the city. Apart from the aforementioned doctrinal documents, she also perceives in her religious experience as a Romanian female follower of the Orthodox faith a connection between these two topics: "I think that with respect to the questions of freedom and duties a vision of the community and the religious concept of communion are very important. The communion is linked to morality and indicates attitudes you can not have. Thus the relationship between freedom and duty is supported by religion, and by a sense of guilt with respect to God. The community also controls your attitudes, ascertaining whether or not they coincide with correct moral conduct, and they will often judge you without knowing. (...) For example, I can not receive Holy Communion because I am divorced, and I could never receive it in my community. While here [in Italy] religion sometimes seems to be a game... some time ago the daughter of an Italian friend of mine even said that in her opinion divorce was a sacrament".

Moreover, it does not only concern the freedom of the subject and the opportunity to choose different lifestyles, but also the space of women in society. For example, as

reported by Michela, who has been resident in Italy since 2008 and presently lives with a new Italian partner: "Generally in Italy, a woman has more freedom to express herself and also more mobility. In Romania in some cases, especially in the countryside, women are still submissive". This reflection continues when she explores the modalities of real feminine autonomy as practiced in one's own free time. It is built on paths based on the personal choice of one's activities: these should be spent in solitude, or in small groups, even mixed ones, and not together with other women within activities defined in a community lifestyle. Although Romania is described as a country undergoing change, notably in cities, "a greater freedom of expression is permitted with respect to women in Italy, where they have more opportunities to try to discover who they are. (…) In Romania, especially in my village, I spent my free time only in religious groups and developing friendships linked to them…".

The perspective of rights and duties is interesting also for a study of daily life within the family unit. In Romania, albeit in a scenario of change and differentiation that mainly affects the youngest generations, the predominant family model still seems to be patriarchal. The woman is assigned the entire load of housework, in addition to part-time or full-time work, while the man focuses only on his professional activity. This situation must be seen in a multi-faceted scenario: the experiences of the interviews form part of a varied narrative in which there is no lack of 'willing' husbands or the interviewees speak about painful and problematic family stories. Regarding the Italian context of the diaspora, it seems that there is a kind of greater balance in the distribution of domestic work, both in the reports of Italian families and in the cases of couples in mixed marriages or new relations, either with Romanian or Italian citizens. The model of the patriarchal family seems to be outdated in Italian families and no longer present also in the new Romanian couples. Monica, who has been in Italy since 2011, expressed a certain degree of astonishment when she reported how "in some cases here men even do the ironing"[7].

On this occasion we saw how the youngest interviewees (three faithful) perceived a more serious sense of religious morality in Romanian society, linked to a set of obligations and prohibitions based on the respect of some religious and moral rules, and

[7] Furthermore, the combination of freedom and responsibility seems to affect also the education of children. It accompanies the previous issue of individualism, as explained by Maria: "Here children are often spoilt and do not develop their autonomy. In the past they helped more at home and also had many more responsibilities, which helped them prepare for life. Now there is too much freedom and wellbeing, and they remain immature. However, due to the economic crisis life has become harder for young people…".

which limited their independence in various ways during their adolescence and during their stays in Romania. It is even perceived in the diaspora condition: for example, Gabriela, a university student engaged to an Italian boy and in Italy for 12 years reports: "My Romanian uncles here in the Italian diaspora speak badly of me because I live with my boyfriend before marrying. And my father jokes about the fact that my partner does not have the classic macho chivalry that is found in Romania". The interviewees belong to the youngest generations and this seems to suggest some changes in the religious identity of the young Romanian Orthodox Christians in Italy. As highlighted in a recent research (Ricucci 2017), they live their faith with an approach that is common in the 'millennial' generation, characterized by contradictory dynamics and attitudes and marked by certain dynamic paths with respect to their participation in the rites and their link to the religious institutions. For young Romanian people in Italy the religious culture of the parish – and simply considering the female practice of covering one's head during the liturgy – may be perceived differently in the context of the Italian religious culture. Moreover, the status of an immigrant may hamper the process of integrating religious and national identities for young people. As Orthodox Christians, they consider it necessary to emphasize that they are Romanians, but in everyday life, even under the pressure of their families, they realize the obligation to show that they are Italian[8].

Finally, some young Romanians already perceive themselves as 'children' of the host country. They are Italian in terms of their socialization and foreigners if we consider their passport. They grew up attending an Italian school but in a family that may be strongly

---

[8] The relationship with the 'sacred' of the last generations is slowly becoming a topic of debate in the Romanian Orthodox Church, just as the processes of secularization and the question of transmission of the faith to the new generations are apparently becoming increasingly central issues in the country. Usually, the transmission of the faith was assigned to the family and religion would be studied further at school. Currently, this social-cultural mechanism seems to be entering a phase of uncertainty. For this reason, the BOR seems to have established a new pastoral path, favoured - as mentioned above - also by the experiences of the Romanian Orthodox diasporas in Catholic countries. For example, it appears that the organization of the International Orthodox Youth Meeting has been following this direction since 2013. In this religious event, young Romanian Orthodox Christians meet in a Romanian city to discuss and pray together with some delegations of young people from other Orthodox churches. Marius Ciulu was the general coordinator of the fourth edition which was held in Bucharest in 2016, and which recorded the participation of about 2,500 young faithful. As he told us in a long interview in June 2017, he interprets this initiative "as a new adaptation of the Orthodox tradition to the reality of young people". However, this religious event is still in the initial stages, and far from becoming an international and key event in the Orthodox world. Finally, also in this case, it seems possible to identify the 'transposition' of an experience already consolidated in Catholicism to Romanian Orthodoxy. This Orthodox event seems to some extent a legacy of the World Youth Day (WYD) launched by Pope John Paul II in 1985, which over the years has become a religious event capable of attracting the participation of 3,000,000 young people (for a sociological study of these religious events we refer to Cipolla, Cipriani (2002); Garelli, Camoletto (2003); and Cipriani (2008)).

associated with the country of origin. Elena, 22 years old, says: “when I go to the Orthodox service in Italy I have an ambivalent feeling. On the one hand, it seems I am attending the church where my grandparents live and that is still the typical idea of a Sunday morning for my mother. On the other hand, I know that my life is here and I never think of returning to Romania in the future”.

It would appear from these interviews, as the priest of this Romanian Orthodox parish also suggests, that the diaspora condition favours a questioning of the gender order and the division of roles in the family. The difficulties and stress caused by the condition of migrants seem to become a factor that results in a new distribution of family duties, and thereby a negotiation of a new order. Moreover, changes and a new equilibrium would appear to be favoured also by the condition of a transnational family, in which the female or male family members may also spend months with other family members in Romania. Following Woodhead’s scheme (2007), the experiences and attitudes of the female Romanian Orthodox faithful seem to reflect a religious position regarding gender order which we may frame as consolidating. However, as mentioned above, the diaspora status appears to question the gender order, the distribution of domestic tasks and the division of roles, as well as the organization of free time within the family. It would appear to do so perhaps in a more direct manner with respect to the changes generated by the relationship of the faithful with the host context. These negotiations seem to favour a new distribution of power, in which Romanian Orthodox women can act tactically to gain access to power from ‘inside’. As Woodhead (2007) clarifies, “whereas consolidating forms of religion accept, reinforce and sacralize the dominant gender order - and vice versa - tactical forms work within such orders but push beyond them” (2007: 573). In fact, this diverse distribution of power within Romanian Orthodox families in the diaspora seems to modify the gender order with respect to some issues and to favour the creation of certain areas of female autonomy in which women can act tactically so as to acquire greater influence over the order gender.

Moreover, as often emerges from the interviews, sometimes the indigenous dimension (Romanian Latin character) and very often the vernacular aspect (the Romanian language forms part of the neo-Latin language group) favour a faster and deeper interaction with the society of the host context. In particular, the vernacular dimension seems to favour encounters with Italian families and Italian colleagues in the workplace on the part of the

female Romanian Orthodox faithful (this is probably one of the main reasons for the size of the Romanian diaspora in the Italian peninsula[9]). The indigenous dimension also seems to occasionally promote in the female Romanian Orthodox faithful the idea of preserving in their religious values an attitude towards tolerance which is more marked than in other Orthodox churches and has been elaborated in national religious history, as well as maintaining some common elements with the new socio-cultural host context (as we have already seen in chapter 3, and we will see in the next section on religious pluralism).

5.3.3 The Empowerment of Women in Romanian Orthodoxy

Examining the topic of the position assigned to women within Orthodox Christianity, we initially asked the Romanian Orthodox female faithful a rather general question and, that is, whether the church should favour greater participation or a more active role for women in the life of the church. Among the women whom we interviewed, 11 out of 15 responded in negative terms, stating that they did not feel the need to be more involved in the leadership of the parish and in the 'administration' of 'sacred'. This fact seems to indicate a trend widely shared among Romanian Orthodox women; in order to perceive themselves as valorized they do not feel the need for a change in the religious organization to which they belong. Subsequently, we investigated two issues relating to this topic that Sotiriu (2004) identifies as "contested masculine spaces" in Orthodox Christianity.

First of all, we asked Romanian Orthodox female faithful whether they are in favour of having the diaconate extended to include women. The question of the ordination of deaconesses propounded by a small movement recently established within the Orthodox world appears to probably represent the greatest hypothetical reform (also of a symbolic nature) in the relationship of women with the 'sacred' in this religion[10]. Such a reform would appear to establish an evident path for the empowerment of women in Orthodox Christianity, which might correspond to a greater presence of the female faithful in lay

[9] For example, Michela from Iasi, married to an Italian and with a daughter from a previous marriage to a Romanian man, described to us the fluidity of these two languages within the family: "I brought my daughter here [to Italy] when she was a child and I have always spoken in Romanian to her. Instead I speak Italian to my husband. He has not yet learned the Romanian language even though he has known me for 15 years. My daughter speaks in Romanian with me, and in Italian with my new husband. The languages are very similar...".

[10] At the moment the question of the ordination of women to the priesthood does not yet appear on the agenda of minorities and the feminist branch within or on the fringes of the Orthodox world.

assemblies and of nuns in clerical assemblies, parishes and the dioceses. In fact, as Sotiriu points out: “Although the theological schools have recently undergone a process of ‘feminization’, since more and more women are now studying theology and an increasing number of women are included in the academic staff, very few of these women have voiced a concern regarding their participation in the priesthood” (2004: 500). Sotiriu (2004) notes that the debate on the issue has focused on the preservation and the continuity of the Orthodox tradition rather than on the role of women in contemporary society and on the recent religious changes[11]:

> To this effect, the focal point of related discussions has not been so much on the women’s path to priesthood, but rather on the women’s position in the early church, their role as deaconesses and the potential restoration of that order. As a result, the issues have been debated mostly through a scriptural and historical perspective rather than through a contemporary and critical one. Hence, Orthodox theologians of both sexes are quick to point out that women receive in the church an equal amount of reverence to men as martyrs, saints and even *isapostoloi* (equal-to-the apostles) and that there hardly exists a day in the ecclesiastical calendar without celebrating the memory of at least one of these remarkable women. In this context, references are frequently made to the Church Fathers as supporting the ontological unity of mankind and egalitarianism between men and women mainly at the eschatological level. Above all, such theologians evoke the exalted position occupied by the *Theotokos* (the Mother of God). She is venerated above all saints and provides the main model for the ministry and role of women both in the church and in society. It is worth noting that the Mother of God is revered as the ‘new Eve’, representing sanctified humanity through obedience to God’s will (2004: 501).

Albeit with various simplifications and arguments that are sometimes not completely clear, the faithful interviewed reflected this position. They stated that they are opposed to the ordination of deaconesses, considering it a reform that is unnecessary to enhance the role of women within the church. Daniela, who is 39 years old and comes from Galati, has been in Italy for 17 years. Her husband arrived in the Veneto 7 years before her, and now they live and work in the province of Padua together with their children, who were born in Italy. She pointed out that: “An Orthodox woman must demonstrate her faith in other contexts; she must be recognized for her behaviour in the parish and in everyday life. I do not need a pedestal to present myself, and I do not need to be stand on the altar

[11] For a theological study of this debate references may be made to Vassiliadis, Papageorgiou and Kasselouri-Hatzivassiliadi (2017), and Sonea (2017).

to feel valorized". Michela responded, saying that: "The Lord Jesus chose his apostles, and they were all men. He gave St. Peter a mission in the church, and established a certain order which we must follow. This order has always been the same for 2,000 years, so why should we change it now?". The gender order Michela referred to is defined by and forms part of the sacred canons and the tradition of Orthodoxy, which was reflected in these answers. In the responses, in fact, the aim is to identify a form of continuity between the past and the present within Orthodox Christianity and to emphasize the value of the preservation of traditions and of the observance of the norms established in ecumenical councils and by the Fathers of the Church.

These answers seem to find resonance in a sociological research on the ordainment of women in evangelical churches in the US (Chaves 1999). Chaves shows that formal institutional rules about ordination are best understood as symbolic gestures in favour of or in opposition to gender equality. Internal factors in the religious institution, such as having a source of religious authority that is considered superior to modern principles of equal rights, also explain why some denominations ordain women much earlier than others. Therefore, in the case of our own study it seems that we may again recognise the conflict between modernity and tradition and between the secular and the 'sacred' which we noted in the previous section. These conflicts are 'dramatizations' of tensions within Eastern Orthodoxy, which also in this issue underline how this religious tradition is oriented towards a pre-modern approach.

The second issue concerns Mount Athos, commonly known as the 'Holy Mountain'. It is an important centre of Orthodox Christian monasticism on a mountain and in a peninsula in north-eastern Greece, and it is governed as an autonomous polity within the Greek Republic. Mount Athos hosts 20 monasteries under the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. It has been inhabited since ancient times and is known for its nearly 1,800 years of continuous Christian monastic traditions - there are evidence solely from the 8th century onwards. Currently, over two thousand monks from Greece and many other countries with an Orthodox majority live at Athos, isolated from the rest of the world. A part of the media and a part of the political world recognise this religious reality for one of its main characteristics: according to tradition, access to women is forbidden. As stated by Sotiriu (2004), in recent decades this prohibition has caused tension between the Greek Orthodox world and some political groups in the European institutions:

> On 14 January 2003 the European Parliament voted a non-binding resolution contesting the prohibition against women entering the Mount Athos peninsula and called for its revocation (Article 98). The so-called 'avaton' is viewed by many female Euro-deputies, notably those of northern origin, who were the first to raise the issue, as an encroachment upon European human rights legislation. The monastic community and the Greek State were quick to respond to what was in this case perceived as a common threat: the European Union (2004: 506).

Moreover, because of this prohibition against women having access to the 'Holy Mountain' some tensions have arisen also in the Greek political world:

> Concerning the Greek women's stance on this controversial issue, the Euro-Deputy Anna Karamanou was the only one who voted in favour of lifting the prohibition on female visitors to Athos. She is currently the strongest advocate of such a position as well as of women's ordination. She argues (2003) that the ban on women was established a thousand years ago, in the period of the 'dark Middle Ages' and reflects the social conditions of the time. This cannot be valid under the currently prevailing perceptions of human rights and gender equality, she says. This prohibition also contrasts with the message found in the Gospels. The monks' appeal to tradition is an 'alibi' for treating even their own mothers as 'children of a lesser God'. Fotini Pipili, a prominent journalist, also accepts these views and was the first to demand that the issue be debated in the Greek parliament. She argued that the current restoration of the monasteries of Mount Athos was achieved using the money of European taxpayers of both sexes and thus women cannot be excluded any longer (2004: 507).

We asked a group of female Romanian Orthodox faithful to express themselves on the matter, and none of the respondents perceived the prohibition against women having access to Mount Athos as a problem and, likewise, none of these subjects felt that women should enter the site in the future. Generally, the answers provided in the interviews have as their implicit objective that of guaranteeing the preservation and continuity of the religious tradition, without considering today's socio-cultural changes. The majority of the female interviewees calmly admitted that they are unaware of the reasons for this prohibition, but accept it positively because access to this religious site is established and defined by tradition. According to some Romanian Orthodox women they are responsible for becoming informed with respect to this situation, perhaps by talking to their priest, and thus they may comprehend the reasons underlying this choice. In this regard, Cintia, an interviewee who has been in Italy for almost 10 years, provided an answer which, in addition to aiming at preserving the Orthodox tradition, added the aspect of a possible

‘temptation’ conveyed by the faithful and female clerics with respect to male monks: “Some time ago I read - and I don’t remember where - that a Greek female parliamentarian launched a protest aimed at allowing women to gain access to Mount Athos. This initiated a debate on the issue in Greece, and I also began to formulate various questions. I think it is right for us women not to go up to the mountain. If this is the way things have been for centuries, there are certainly good reasons for it to be so. The monks live there and they have their own lifestyle... if women have not been there for centuries, why should we go there now? Women tend to attract, and there they follow a very rigid set of rules; the mountain is a place of work and prayer... so why should we disturb their thoughts? It might happen that a woman who visits the site is scantily dressed...”.

Also in this case we note that the responses are oriented ‘towards the past’ and aim at supporting the preservation and continuity of the Orthodox tradition. In particular, it seems that the female followers of the faith recognize a religious authority that is considered superior to modern principles of equal rights. Furthermore, a female Orthodox woman indicated the Virgin Mary as the protector of the ‘Holy Mountain’; in this situation she thus finds a role and a (theoretical) space reserved for women in this religious reality. As we saw in the interviews of the Romanian female faithful in this section, this answer suggests a second orientation that is more focused on a religious and spiritual message, and thus theoretical (which in chapter 3 we noted as typical in Orthodoxy) [12].

This defence on the part of women of the Orthodox tradition - also with regard to the points where it provides for a patriarchal order - conceals various tensions which, for example, may be noted in an examination of life in the parish. If we consider the blessing of the faithful at the end of the liturgy, we note that according to tradition men receive their blessing before women, and if a man arrives late he may pass the women and move directly to the head of the queue and receive his blessing first. This religious ritual, which is highly regarded by the faithful after the sacrament of communion, seems to reiterate the gender order established within the religion as well as the patriarchal approach of Orthodoxy to family life. Father Verzea told us in a long interview in March 2018 that

[12] In this regard, the response given to the question by Ionela, a young Orthodox woman, seems to clarify the question: “I find that the teaching of the Orthodox churches concerning women is satisfactory as it has a more theological and spiritual nature and not necessarily connected to the material world. I highly appreciate religious reasoning concerning how a woman may be satisfied with her condition as a female”.

one Sunday he had to remind some female faithful to respect this rule as some of them were not well disposed to allowing men who arrived after them to pass in front of them in the line in order to receive the blessing.

We asked the female Romanian Orthodox faithful to comment on this particular rule regarding the ritual and to inform us about their experience of this practice in the parish. From the answers of the women who were interviewed we noted that the majority were in favour of this norm. However, some distinctions were not lacking. For example, Daniela stated: "I do not agree with this rule. I think that the community aspect is more important; we should all stand in the queue respectfully, without considering our gender". Another woman added that this rule "seems rather exaggerated as we can all receive the blessing anyway without having to maintain this order". Tinca, a faithful who approves of this rule, stated that she does not care about these things. When asked what role she would envisage for women in the Orthodox faith, she smiled and said: "Women have an important place in Orthodoxy; we need only remember that women gave birth to all of the saints".

During the ethnographic observation of the liturgy we were able to observe that many males, usually about 40 years old, stood at the end of the queue after the women without claiming their right to stand at the head of the line as guaranteed by the tradition. We in fact also observed some men, usually older and over 50, go to the head of the line quickly and receive the blessing without causing any controversy or surprise. We can not claim that these tensions are due to the condition of diaspora or the effects of the relationship of the female faithful with the host context as currently similar phenomena may also occur in some Orthodox parishes in Romania (perhaps in those located in the main cities). However, according to the view of Father Verzea collected in the aforementioned interview, the strongest contestations have occurred on the part of women who do not attend parish activities very often (and who therefore find it hard to recognize a religious authority considered superior to modern principles of equal rights), and "female faithful who have been contaminated by [Western] thoughts related to the host context". On the other hand, in women who approve of this norm we have often identified a response oriented towards a religious and spiritual vision that *theoretically* assigns a role and a space to women in a *practically* masculine gender order.

Consequently, we can not propose an in-depth hypothesis with respect to such a situation and may only indicate some tensions relating to this ritual and identify small religious changes in the gender order which, above all, seem to involve the younger generations of Orthodox faithful. We may suggest how these cases seem to emphasize the distance between *theory* and *practice* with respect to the gender order and female participation in the Orthodox Christian religion:

> In Orthodoxy there is a sharp distinction between theory and practice; in the latter, women may find a complementary egalitarianism ingratiating an ideology that symbolically affirms their submission to male power and authority. Such theories may prove that women lack no agency or suffer from a kind of 'false consciousness' by emulating the conservative religious models on offer, it would be misleading to think that such models are the only ones in society and in the cultural dimension, though they still remain the dominant ones. The sexual dimorphism offered by images of the 'daughters of Eve' and 'Mothers of God' runs parallel or at best is hidden under those offered by modernity (Sotiriu 2004: 502; see also Sotiriu 2010).

Therefore, following the scheme of Woodhead (2007), the attitudes of the Romanian Orthodox faithful seem to reflect a religious position regarding the gender order that we may view as consolidating. However, in this 'gap' occurring between theory and practice with respect to certain points various moments of tension arise which might be used in a tactical manner by the female faithful in the life of the parish. As in the case of the gender order in the blessing of the faithful, the small group of female Romanian Orthodox 'dissidents' "can never fatally undermine the prevailing distribution of power, for to do so would be to undermine the source of power to which they seek greater access. Since such a stance is most likely to emerge within a religious group rather than give rise to a religion as such" (Woodhead 2007: 573).

This case study appears to incidental and irregular, considering that the gender order in the parishes seems fairly well-defined. The women in fact are active in the parish 'Ladies Committee' that takes care of social assistance and prepares meals for the holidays. In addition, they have developed two initiatives we may consider as comprised within the sphere of female activities: cooking food every Sunday which will be sold at the end of the liturgy to raise funds for the parish and visiting, in turn, those faithful suffering from health problems. The members of the 'Parish Council', however, and the leaders of the various sectors of religious and social activities of the parish are mainly men.

5.4 Rights to Life

The official document approved by the Russian Orthodox Church *The Bases of the Russian Orthodox Teaching on Dignity, Freedom and Human Rights* (Osnovy 2008) proposes a sort of 'manifesto' of rights to life according to a Christian vision. This document creates a sort of 'harmonization' of this category of human rights following an Orthodox vision, and establishing a Christian 'conception' of rights relating to human life. In particular, in the entire document greater space is reserved for this category of rights, which is implicitly considered the most important, as is customary in the documents of Christian churches (for example, see the encyclical of the Pan-Orthodox Council (Pan-Orthodox Council 2016a)). We may now analyze an extract from the Russian document:

> The right to life. Life is a gift of God to human beings. (…) Orthodoxy does not accept terrorism and condemns it as armed aggression and criminal violence, as in all other forms of a criminal deprivation of human life.
>
> At the same time, life is not restricted to temporal limits in which the secular worldview and its legal system place the individual. Christianity testifies that temporal life, precious in itself, acquires a fullness and absolute meaning in the perspective of eternal life. Priority therefore should be given not to the efforts to preserve temporal life by all means but to the desire to order it in such a way as to enable people to work together with God for preparing their souls for eternity. (...)
>
> At the same time the Church condemns suicide since those who commit it do not sacrifice themselves but reject life as a gift of God. In this connection the Church cannot accept the legalization of so-called euthanasia and, that is, assistance given to those who wish to die, which is actually a combination of murder and suicide.
>
> The right to life should imply the protection of a human life from the moment of its conception. Any intrusion in the life of a developing human personality is a violation of this right. Modern international and national legal acts seal and protect the life and rights of the child, adults and senior citizens. The same logic of protection of human life should be applied from the moment of conception to birth. (...)
>
> While admitting that the death penalty was acceptable in the time of the Old Testament and there are no instructions aimed at abolishing it 'either in the Holy Scripture of the New Testament or in the Tradition or in the historical legacy of the Orthodox Church', we cannot fail to recall that 'the Church has often taken upon herself the duty to intercede for those condemned to death, requesting mercy or a mitigation of their punishment' (The Russian Orthodox Church's Basic Social Concept, IX. 3).
>
> Defending human life, the Church, whatever society's attitude to death penalty may be, is called upon to fulfil this duty of intercession (Osnovy 2008: IV. 2).

The document shows that this category of human rights comprises and regulates multiple issues. The most evident is probably that concerning the defence of life from the moment of conception, which thus relates to the issue of abortion. In this section we will also pose the three issues that we will analyse within the scope of the organic vision of the rights and duties concerning human life as developed by Eastern Orthodoxy, and which seems to have embraced the paradigm of human rights, albeit retaining divergent content. However, this Orthodox view of rights to life should not be considered as a recent perspective; it is based on the writings of Christian theologians of the first millennium and for centuries it has been an essential part of religious morality established by Orthodoxy.

Sexuality and sexual behaviour were subjects of great interest in the early period of the Christian religion, the teachings of which inspired the Orthodox Churches. Most of the declarations of the early Church deal with abortion, adultery and fornication, and most of them condemn and severely punish these sexual practices. The theologian Stan (2010) reconstructs the main positions of the Church Fathers on sexuality, sustaining that Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (330-379 CE), was the first Church father to view all abortions as morally reprehensible:

> A woman who deliberately destroys a fetus is answerable for murder. And any fine distinction between its being completely formed or unformed is not admissible among us. In this case it is not only the being about to be born who is vindicated, but the woman in her attack upon herself; because in most cases women who make such attempts die. The destruction of the embryo is an additional crime, a second murder, at all events if we regard it as done with intent. The punishment, however, of these women should not be for life, but for the term of ten years. And let their treatment depend not on mere lapse of time, but on the character of their repentance (Basil the Great, "Three Canonical Letters" 2; Stan 2010: 41).

Starting from this assertion of a complete condemnation of abortion, during the various phases of the history of the church other theologians have faced this issue. We may identify various perspectives in their reasoning, as in the case of issues related to sexuality discussed in the ecumenical councils and established in the sacred canons (again, for a brief overview reference may be made to Stan (2010: 40-42)). Recently, some Orthodox churches have published official documents in which they assume a position on abortion. These churches seem to have recognized that today a continual reference to canon law is no longer sufficient. The first jurisdiction to develop an official position on the subject

was the Russian Orthodox Church, through the aforementioned document *The Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church* (Osnovy 2000). In section XII, *Problems of Bioethics*, abortion is referred to as a serious sin and categorized as homicide: "Since ancient times the Church has viewed deliberate abortion as a grave sin. The canons equate abortion with murder. This assessment is based on the conviction that the conception of a human being is a gift of God. Therefore, from the moment of conception any encroachment on the life of a future human being is criminal" (Osnovy 2000: XII. 2). The reflection in the document continues by addressing issues such as the responsibility of the physicians who practice abortion, the responsibility of the husband or father, the use of contraceptives and the various personal conditions under which a woman may choose to have an abortion. This seems to be the most complete official Orthodox document on the subject.

In 2001 the National Consultative Commission of the Romanian Orthodox Church on Issues of Bioethics was founded and, in the university centres, four local Commissions of Bioethics were created. Referring to their proposals, the Holy Synod of the BOR issued three documents referring to the transplantation of organs, abortion and euthanasia (Iloaie 2009). In July 2005 the BOR approved a document on abortion (BOR 2005) and recognized that today the constant reference to ecclesiastical law was no longer sufficient. Moreover, the number of abortions occurring in the country since the nineteen-nineties had been very high, and this became one of the main issues regarding which the BOR was mobilized in the public sphere (Stan, Turcescu 2010, 2012). The aforementioned Romanian document begins by presenting a reconstruction of the position on abortion in the history of the church, tracing a theological and religious continuity that continues to the present day and which recognizes in the violation of this right one of the greatest sins in the eyes of God. The document explains in seven points the effects and trajectories generated by abortion which lead to sin:

Abortion and all abortive practices are serious sins because:

. A human being is consequently killed;

. The woman's dignity is affected;

. They risk maiming the woman's body, as well as sickening or causing the premature death of the mother or of the young woman.

. If the mother's life is really in danger due to pregnancy or birth, priority should be given to the woman's life, not because her life has a greater value in itself, but due to her relations and responsibilities towards other persons who depend on her.
. In the event a genetic investigation reveals the unborn child will be abnormal, the advice provided is to give birth to the child, observing his right to life, but the decision belongs to the family, after the physician and father confessor have informed them of all the moral implications and maintenance requirements. All these matters should be resolved from the perspective of saving a handicapped being and its presence in the life of every person and in that of the community.
. The risk of abortion because of rape or incest must be avoided first of all at the level of education, teaching people not to commit such sins. In the case of pregnancy, the child will be born and adopted, depending on the particular situation.
. Abortion can never be morally justified by the economical state of the family, by disagreements between partners, by the effect on the career of the future mother or on her physical appearance (BOR 2005).

These points indicate the manner in which such issues should be addressed, and clarify the well-determined position of the BOR on this subject. An analysis of the other parts of the document appears to once again indicate a gap between a sacred reality within the Orthodox church and sin as it is now considered in the secularized world. This sort of division between the 'sacred' and the profane evidently forms part of the same narrative that distinguishes the Romanian Orthodox documents analyzed previously (also those analyzed in the section on the family and gender order). Within this narrative the condemnation of the BOR extends to methods of contraception:

Unfortunately, the abortive (and contraceptive) practices are a reality of the contemporary secularized world. In the name of immediate 'happiness' and comfort, generations of people are killed and the young woman – a mother or not – dies. The Church cannot be indifferent to this tragic reality maintained by institutions sometimes referred to as 'charitable, humanist or even as 'medical' bodies.
The contemporary secularized society justifies abortion in various ways and usually from a medical and social point of view. Having lived in the world, the Church has a realistic approach but cannot be superficial in regard to the reasons concerning the tendencies to justify abortion (BOR 2005).

The assumption on the part of Orthodox women of contraceptive medicines, i.e., hormone-based contraceptive pills, is indicated as a serious sin on a par with abortion. Moreover, as in the case of abortion, these contraceptive pills are the cause of deaths and unknown consequences for a woman's body. This view indicates that the position of the BOR on the subject is radical and yet at the same time less thorough and organic (and,

that is, existing within a theological framework that questions the modern world) than that of the Russian Orthodox Church.

We asked Romanian Orthodox women to express their opinion on abortion, and they all declared they were against it. Furthermore, in at least three cases these women admitted that they had given birth to a child whose conception had not been planned and that they had refused to consider the option of an abortion. The arguments presented in the responses of the Orthodox faithful concern the gravity of the sin perpetrated as a consequence of this practice and its violation of the human dignity of women and the child within the womb. For example, a young girl named Oana stated: “I might even die of hunger, but I would never give up my child. We talk a lot about the rights of women. What about those of a child? Who talks about them? We must realize that a person will be killed”.

In the answers provided no arguments emerged that were related to the condition of diaspora and to the socio-cultural dynamics of the new host context. The answers mainly concerned the ethical sphere of the women who follow the Orthodox faith and respect the moral conduct established by their religious tradition. The only reservations expressed with respect to the position of the BOR concern cases in which women may experience health problems during pregnancy or death during childbirth. These reservations (or partial acceptance of abortion) are recognized in the aforementioned document of the Russian Orthodox Church[13].

Finally, we sought the interviewees’ opinions concerning two other topics, both of which have been tackled by the Romanian Orthodox Church and are referred to in the manifesto on the right to life of the ROC which was analyzed above (Osnovy 2008: IV. 2). The first subject was that concerning euthanasia[14]. As mentioned earlier, the Romanian Orthodox Church has also published a document on this issue to reinforce its position (BOR 2016). Following a reconstruction of the phenomenon of euthanasia, starting from

[13] The document *The Social Concept* states: “In case of a direct threat to the life of a mother if her pregnancy continues, especially if she has other children, lenience is recommended in the pastoral practice. The woman who has interrupted a pregnancy in this situation shall not be excluded from the Eucharistic communion with the Church provided she has fulfilled the canon of Penance assigned by the priest who takes her confession” (Osnovy 2000: XII. 2).

[14] A position (and a condemnation) relating to euthanasia assumed by the Russian Orthodox Church may also be found in Osnovy 2000: XII. 8. Moreover, the Bioethics Committee of the Church of Greece drew up an official document on euthanasia comprising 54 basic articles which was approved by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece in November 2002 (GOC 2002).

views concerning the practice in ancient times and then referring to specific specialist literature, in this document it is stated that:

> Regardless of its form, euthanasia is the expression of a secularized mentality which claims that man has the right to dispose of his own life or that of another person. Euthanasia is the expression of the hedonist and utilitarian ethics which do not consider the meaning of sufferance.
> Christianity does not exclude sufferance. This is a reality which Christ, our Saviour, has not denied or suppressed, but which he accepted. To be a Christian means to participate in the life of Christ, to make His light your light and His life your own life. Thus, while following Christ through your sufferance, you participate in a way in the sufferance and Passion of Christ. Christ, our Saviour did not assume sufferance in a futile way. Therefore, there is no useless sufferance. In its absurd character (and paradoxically) it has a meaning for patients and for those close to them, a significance which we cannot always decipher. But this meaning exists. In the same way Christ's sufferance had a meaning, namely His Resurrection, so our sufferance has its own meaning: it is a truly redeeming experience when related to Christ.
> Whether active or passive, euthanasia is an act against God. Man can be involved in no attempt on his own life or on that that of a fellow being as this would constitute an attempt against the sovereignty of God (BOR 2016).

Again, in this document the Romanian Orthodox narrative that emphasizes a division and a conflict between the 'sacred' and the profane may be identified. Specifying the concept of sufferance in Christian thought, it refers to the meaning of sufferance in our life, stemming from the torment of Christ on the cross and thereby defining euthanasia as a sin and "an act against God".

All Romanian Orthodox women declared their disapproval of euthanasia. The responses concerned a mortal sin represented by this act and a violation of human dignity. In the answers provided no arguments emerged that were related to the condition of diaspora and to the socio-cultural dynamics of the new host context. For example, Anca claimed: "If you are born, there will be a final moment ... you do not know why, nor may you decide to be born. You can not decide when and where you may want to die, and you can not anticipate the journey that God has determined for you".

Finally, some of the interviewees were asked to comment on the death penalty, the last issue dealt with under rights to life. In this case, only negative judgements were expressed by the Romanian Orthodox women, and a return of the death penalty in Romania or Italy was not advocated. In the answers provided no arguments emerged that were related to the condition of diaspora and to the socio-cultural dynamics in the new host context. The

orientation emerging from the responses tended to emphasize more a religious and spiritual message (such as “man can not take away what has been granted by God”), and reports of criminal activity and serious examples of injustice upon which an approval of this punishment may be based were not referred to. As also emerged in the two previous questions, the answers of the Orthodox women are more oriented towards a religious message rather than the difficulties of everyday reality.

By way of a conclusion, the positions of the Romanian female Orthodox faithful on these three issues seem to correspond to the BOR position on the rights to life. Furthermore, the religious position towards the gender order of the Romanian women who follow the Orthodox faith within this category of rights seems to belong to the consolidating position (Woodhead 2007). Above all in the case of abortion, in the answers there may have been arguments that support or advocate - or at least contest - religious morality in relation to the self-determination of women with respect to their own bodies. The absence of this type of argument in the answers of the women suggests their acceptance (or a lack of interest, as it is not considered a problem) of the gender order present in some points of the Christian Orthodox perspective on the rights to life.

5.5 Religious Pluralism

The question of a comprehension of religious freedom in Orthodox thought does not seem to be concluded in any way at all, although the process of the ‘globalization of religions’ mentioned in the previous chapter has rendered the issue increasingly significant. As stated earlier, Orthodox Christianity presents a form of resistance against the acceptance of cultural and religious diversity. The main reason for this attitude probably lies in an identification of this religion with the nation in which it is historically rooted, and whose culture and tradition it intends to represent, identifying itself as an essential part of its history. For this reason, it presents various difficulties in accepting other religious minorities within the national territory, especially when they claim a role of their own in the history and society of that country.

For a long time Orthodox theologians have questioned the doctrinal foundations of Orthodox Christianity with regard to its relation with other religions (for an overview on the positions sustained by the main Orthodox theologians on religious diversity see

Ladouceur (2017)). Moreover, given the growing relevance of the issue, some official documents were recently published by some Orthodox churches on inter-Christian dialogue and inter-religious dialogue (as in the case of the document approved by the Russian Orthodox Church *Basic Principles of Attitude to the Non-Orthodox* (ROC 2000), and that of the Pan-Orthodox Council *Relations of the Orthodox Church with the Rest of the Christian World* (Pan-Orthodox Council 2016e)). Within the sphere of this series of positions, Payne (2017) proposes that developed by the theologian and Orthodox bishop Zizioulas:

He believes that the appropriate perspective which Orthodoxy should assume with respect to other religions is that which would facilitate a dialogue with them. "Such dialogue must be constructive and cannot be an interreligious form of communication in the absence of religious conviction". He continues, "Dialogue goes beyond mere tolerance. It involves a recognition that others or those who are different from us do exist, not simply in order to exist - which is what tolerance implies - but to exist as someone who has something to say to me, which I have to listen to seriously and relate to my own convictions, and judge according to and in the light of these convictions" (Payne 2017: 621; quotation by Zizioulas 2010: 398).

Zizioulas claims that for the Orthodox churches the comprehension of religious freedom and, consequently, of religious pluralism in the political and socio-cultural life of the various countries may be fostered by certain premises. According to Zizioulas a religious community that is the protagonist of a slow process of integration in a territory and is characterized by a deeply-rooted identity and religious conviction should favour attitudes of tolerance and dialogue in its engagement with Eastern Orthodoxy. Following this vision, the relationship of Orthodox churches with other Christian traditions and religions should not focus on proselytism; nor should this occur in the affirmation of their historical tradition. As the theologian Vassiliadis suggests, this "can only happen in a close and creative cooperation and truthful dialogue" (1998: 23-24).

The diaspora condition of the BOR seems to present a situation suitable to 'experiment' with some of the premises suggested by Zizioulas. As previously mentioned, the mission of the BOR in Italy does not provide for proselytism but merely aims at serving its own national community. Furthermore, the Romanian Orthodox Church is not interested in representing historically (and exclusively) the Orthodox Christian tradition in the Italian peninsula. Finally, the specific characteristics of the Italian situation (including the size of the Romanian diaspora in Italy) facilitate the

possibility of a long and massive presence of this religious community of immigrants within the territory of the host country and many opportunities for cooperation and dialogue with the population of the new country that belongs to another Christian tradition. An example is provided by the testimony of Michela, a follower of the Romanian Orthodox faith:

> I have nothing to say against Muslims, but I feel very distant from them because above all they are not Christians. I see no point in common with my own religion; they are like two parallel paths that do not cross each other.
> My father always said to me, "you were born into the Orthodox faith and you must die as an Orthodox Christian!". He advised me to remain within my own group, and not to spend time with young people from other churches. However, inside of me I feel a strong connection with my roots, so when I came to Italy I felt no sense of detachment with respect to my culture. My Romanian Orthodox roots are strong, and they are firmly present in the history of my family. I am now remarried with an Italian who is a Catholic, like all the rest of his family, and sometimes I do frequent Catholic circles. But I did not feel torn away, and I think it's right for us all to be together. When I go back to Romania, however, I try to receive the sacraments, I go to confession and communicate, and I believe this helps me keep these roots alive for when I return to Italy.

In these words we see how the overlapping of religious and national identities will favour the stability of the socio-cultural and religious profile of Romanian Orthodox woman (her socio-cultural and religious homeland's heritage) in the religious glocalization of the diaspora. Furthermore, the profound religious identity of the faithful immigrant woman allows for a 'clear' interaction with the faithful of the traditional religion of the host country. In the interview, for example, she speaks about the manner in which her Italian husband began to practice fasting during the Catholic lent, learning from her own practice of fasting to prepare for the Orthodox Easter.

Daniela, a Romanian faithful who is almost 40 years old, told us about how her experience in Italy changed her perspective on relationships with people of other religions:

My generation in Romania grew up with a mentality which induced us to stay away from other religions, because one day we might have converted. Many priests - also important and authoritative clerics - said we should not frequent those who were not followers of the Orthodox faith and that we should not even pray for people of other religions. Living here, I have understood that it is not right to keep this distance and that it is right to pray also for the faithful of other religions, especially when they are in difficulty. It is good to be friends, without any detachment...

During Christmas and at Easter I wear traditional Romanian clothes, and it is an honour to wear them so far away from home, and to feel where my roots are. We also sing our Christmas carols, just as we used to in Romania - the Colindă - visiting various houses: an activity that you Catholics call the 'Stella'. However, instead of doing it district by district, we take the car and do it in different towns where our Romanian relatives live.

This story seems to indicate how the experience of immigration and the settlement in the new host context has facilitated in this Romanian faithful a change in her attitude towards other religions. The Colindă carol-singing practice, which sees the participation of the children of these Romanian Orthodox families, is significant as it represents a particular non-institutional occasion for a religious encounter between Romanians and Italians.

Anka, instead, has always considered herself a tolerant Orthodox Christian who is open to other religions and finds the reasons for this attitude also in the Latin character of Romanian Orthodoxy: "I believe that my tolerance is a gift provided by my faith and by my religion. It is a gift of the Romanian religious feeling, which has a Latin character and lends itself to welcoming and accepting others. Furthermore, our religious attitude is that of a population of migrants". These words seem to point out once again that the Latin character of the Romanian Orthodox identity seems to be occasionally idealized and considered by some Romanian faithful and clerics as a socio-cultural and religious foundation capable of conveying attitudes we might generally define as tolerant.

Finally, the interview with a young lady called Ionela shows the effects of the so-called majority-minority nexus (Martin 2005): the transition from the status of being a member of a religious majority to that of adhering to religious minority on the part of a Romanian Orthodox woman may prompt her to more readily embrace the paradigm of human rights:

When I was in my own country I had everything I needed to live my faith, and I was able to have access to my religion. Everything was working well, and I wanted to defend my religion, which I felt was mine. Now that I'm in Italy and I see people who want to defend what is theirs, I have changed my mind. Last year I was not able to attend Mass for two months, and I suffered because of this. This made me reflect and think that all people have the right to make their own choices and adhere to their religion, and they should be helped to live their faith in situations where it becomes difficult to access their religion.

The testimonies seem to be characterized by different experiences and narratives, however it seems possible to identify some common religious and socio-cultural elements that come into play in the situation of the immigrants and in their relationship with the host context. From the interviews, it emerged all female Orthodox faithful have suffered minor episodes of racism. However, none of the interviewees have ever suffered any discrimination due to their religious affiliation. This seems to suggest the presence of religious tolerance in Italy and positive relations between Catholics and Orthodox faithful. This also seems to confirm the tendency of the Italian media and probably of Italians in general to identify Orthodox Christians with their nationalities and not with their religious traditions, which does not occur in the case of Islam (Giordan 2013a, 2013b).

Moreover, this attitude oriented towards an encounter appear to acquire a certain intensity with respect to the Catholic Church, and seems to preserve attitudes towards the other religions and especially towards Islam that are not so strong. In fact, none of the Orthodox faithful who were interviewed expressed a critical or intolerant attitude towards the Catholic Church, acknowledging it as a 'sister church'. However, such a strong feeling of openness is not identifiable with respect to non-Christian religious traditions, with fear and suspicion emerging in relation to religions that "want to impose their culture and their rules".

Meanwhile, the experience in the diaspora in a different socio-cultural context seems to have promoted in some faithful a reflection on the absence of true social doctrine in the Romanian Orthodox Church. These faithful recognize the *diakonia* of Orthodoxy, i.e. its mission of solidarity and material assistance provided to people, however, living in Italy, they perceive action that is more organized, solidarity and greater public engagement dealing with social issues in the Catholic Church. This reflection occurs with some reservations about the experiences of the Catholic world and observing possible

criticalities in the Orthodox world, such as drawing the church away from its spiritual mission. For example, Elena, who is married to an Italian Catholic and arrived in Italy at the end of the nineteen-nineties, says: “It is true that in Italy the Catholic Church is more used to helping the poor, but this may also have some limits because you cannot help too much; you should encourage certain people to change. Moreover, speaking too much about social problems, there is the risk of not speaking sufficiently about God and of losing one’s religious feeling and the central importance of prayer”.

It seems that the experience of the diaspora religion in a Western country has favoured in some faithful a reflection on the possibility of a greater structuring and the thematization of social issues in the Romanian Orthodox Church, with a ‘mirroring’ in the experiences of their Catholic ‘brothers’. In this regard, one of the main reasons for the absence of a social doctrine in Orthodox Christianity is to be found in the way in which it has related and is relating to modernity (Makrides 2013). In our case study, it seems interesting that the female faithful identify mainly in a lack of economic resources the reason for a lack of any provision of services organized to help the poor in the BOR, comparing this situation with the different ‘mentality’ (or absence of a ‘mentality’ that may lead to a real form of organization) regarding social assistance in Orthodoxy (as revealed in the interviews with Daniela and Anka). With great sensitivity, Michela emphasizes differences between Catholics and Orthodox Christians, indicating the different ‘mentality’ of Orthodoxy with respect to this topic[15]:

> The Catholic Church has a stronger missionary approach and does more to help the poor, both in Italy and in its missions around the world. We Orthodox Christians are more interested in people’s souls and in spiritual matters. However, our churches also carry on their own missionary activities, creating orphanages and canteens for example, and generally provide assistance. But we are different... in our country there are two very important periods that precede Easter and Christmas; you know about our Lent! In these two periods, we must commit ourselves to carrying out more missionary activities in our lives, to help more. This is a difference between us and the Catholics, and we have been like this for two thousand years.

[15] Returning to Makrides (2013), a ‘mentality’ characterized by a pre-modern approach.

Conclusion: Rethinking Human Rights in the Orthodox Diaspora?

A growing interest in an analysis of Orthodox Christianity and its approach to gender issues fosters new analytical frames and methodologies for the study of modernization processes within a religious tradition and wider society through women's experiences, empowerment, religiosity, and attention to women's issues in Orthodoxy in general. A gender-informed sociological perspective brings a new understanding with respect to well-established concepts in the sociology of religion and, namely, religiosity, religious socialization, religious practices and everyday religion. The study of Orthodox Christianity from a gender perspective has a lot to learn from studies of other religious traditions, and there is a possibility of identifying the symptoms of ongoing change occurring within the domain of a religious tradition and in society in general.

This theoretical view is applied in our research to 'designate' two social contexts of migrant Orthodox Romanian women for two purposes. Firstly, we have identified the narratives of women's experiences regarding their social, cultural, and political attitudes and orientations during their encounter with the new socio-cultural context of Italian society, while at the same time they retain contact with the culture of their homeland. Secondly, we have presented a content analysis of interviews, trying to consider how contending with a new socio-cultural and religious condition may create a new gender perspective for women who have to live in various challenging situations as regards their personal, family, and religious life.

Gender perception and the experience of living in the host society, which is mainly based on and developed through involvement in the Italian family environment (through employment in families, as well as the creation of mixed marriages) largely reproduces the institutional position of the Romanian Orthodox Church. At the same time, the female perception and an articulation of differences indicate dynamics of the processes that occur and denote the most problematical points of tension between religion and modernity, both at the individual and at institutional levels. The perception of the host society, described through narratives regarding freedom of expression, free time, self-realization, personal choice and mobility is contrasted with narratives relating to fewer opportunities for Romanian Orthodox women in the home society (especially in the villages).

Describing Italian society and Italian family life and comparing the same with Romanian reality, referring to our knowledge of the institutional position of Romanian

Orthodoxy regarding gender order and the existing gender practices in Romanian families, we note that the female perspective of defining a gender order differs from the institutional view. If the institutional position of the Romanian Orthodox Church on gender order can be described with the help of Woodhead's scheme (2007) as a consolidating position in this regard, in some cases the perspective of Romanian Orthodox women in the diaspora can be described as tactical. In the latter religious position towards gender order, the aim of women is not to change the existing order, but to improve their own condition and well-being. At the same time, the critical perception of the values of individualism on the part of Romanian women in Italy reproduces the rhetoric of the Romanian Orthodox Church in its opposition to individualism and traditional values related to a specific gender order.

In these socio-cultural analyses it appears possible to conclude that the diaspora condition calls into question the gender order and the division of roles within the family: the difficulties imposed by the immigrant condition seem to become a factor which above all renegotiates the distribution of duties within the family. However, this challenge is experienced by women in the context of a transnational family, which to some extent underscores the dynamics of gender order in the situation of a weakening of the intensity of family ties.

The particular aspects of the perception among Orthodox women of the values of 'individualism and community', 'freedom and responsibility' in the two societies point to the complex interaction of political, socio-religious, geographical and age factors in analyzing these socio-cultural oppositions. The situation of the diaspora creates certain conditions for finding and 'smoothing out' the tensions in these processes. The socio-religious perspective of understanding religion in the diaspora in relation to its theological perspectives allows us to analyze the question of religiosity in the various generations, the model of negotiations between the native and host societies and also allows for the study of the diaspora as a "locality of paradoxical, de-centered and hybrid identities" (Cohen 2008; in Hämmerli 2010: 99).

Regarding women's empowerment in Romanian Orthodoxy, the experiences and attitudes of the Romanian Orthodox faithful seem to express a religious position on gender order which we may define as consolidating. However, in the 'distance' that separates *theory* and *practice* in Orthodox thought there appears to be a growth of tensions

that can be tactically oriented in the life of the parish, as in the case of the gender order established by tradition in the blessing at the end of the liturgy. As already indicated by other scholars, the interviews seem to confirm that the Altar and Mount Athos remain the "last bastions of masculinity" in Orthodoxy (Clark, 2000: 4; Sotiriu 2004: 508): their (symbolic) value in Orthodoxy promotes among the faithful a vision oriented towards the past, which principally aims at preserving and prolonging or continue the Orthodox tradition, also recognizing a religious authority that is considered superior to modern principles of equal rights. Furthermore, as Cordoneanu states: "At the social level the noticeable opposition between the Orthodox woman's system of values and that of the secularized social milieu does not degenerate into conflicts" (2014: 208).

Regarding the rights to life, the religious positions and attitudes of Romanian Orthodox women seem to be in harmony with the position of the BOR regarding this category of human rights. We have seen that the positions of the Romanian Orthodox women concerning three issues (abortion, euthanasia and the death penalty) seem to correspond to the position of the BOR, in particular with responses more oriented towards a religious and spiritual message and linked less strongly to the complexity of reality (as also occurs in the responses referred to in the previous section). Furthermore, especially in the case of abortion, the interviews with the female Romanian Orthodox faithful appear to belong to the consolidating religious category insofar as gender order is concerned. They might have revealed - but in fact did not present - arguments in support of the principle of self-determination of women with respect to their body.

Finally, with regard to cultural and religious diversity, we have seen that none of the interviewed believers expressed a critical or intolerant attitude towards the Catholic Church, acknowledging it as a 'sister church'; however, such a strong degree of openness is not identifiable towards non-Christian religious traditions. The diaspora condition of the BOR seems to be a suitable situation to 'experience' some of the premises for developing a positive attitude towards religious diversity in the Orthodox communities, especially through opportunities for dialogue and cooperation. The experience of immigration and settlement in the new host context seems to have favoured in the Romanian Orthodox faithful a change in their attitude towards other religions, both through encounters involving followers of different religions and through the majority-minority nexus. Meanwhile, the experience in the diaspora in a different socio-cultural

context seems to have promoted in some faithful a reflection on the absence of a true social doctrine in the Romanian Orthodox Church. In particular, it is generated in day-to-day life and with a 'bottom-up' perspective through interaction with the Catholic parishes.

Following a glocal perspective and using the model of the four forms of hybridization hypothesized by Roudometof, the interviews with Romanian Orthodox women show that in some cases the indigenous aspect (the Romanian Latin character) and very often the vernacular one (the Romanian language) favour a more rapid and more profound encounter with the society of the host context. In particular, it occasionally seems that the indigenous aspect promotes in the female Romanian faithful the idea of preserving in the tradition of Romanian Orthodoxy a particular attitude towards tolerance and acceptance, as well as some socio-cultural elements shared with Italy. Furthermore, we have identified in several interviews how the national dimension favours the ongoing existence of the religious profile of the female faithful in the religious glocalization of the diaspora: there is mutual support between these two elements and identities which keep the faithful centred on the socio-cultural and religious heritage of their homeland. These three forms of hybridization act within a transnational dimension (or perhaps, more appropriately, a religious framework), which, as we have shown in our research, strongly influences the activity of the BOR and the daily life of the Romanian Orthodox families.

As the analysis of the interviews shows, the female experience of being in the diaspora makes them think about the values of individualism and the community and social doctrine as the status of the immigrants may be associated with a greater insecurity and dependence on social policy, deriving from both the state and religious tenets. The socio-religious perspective also allows for a differentiation of various levels of relations in a religious diaspora, which can also encourage reflection on human rights. In this regard, it is worth noting the case of the Orthodox diasporas in the US (Roudometof 2014b: 130-134). In the 1990s, Greek Orthodox third and fourth-generation immigrants founded the Orthodox Christian Laity (OCL) movement, which unites their basic activities. This organization requires a complete separation of the Orthodox church from the Greek community, the participation of laity in the election of clerics, the inclusion of women in high and very visible positions in religious rituals and the creation of an autocephalous American Orthodox Church.

It does not seem impossible to imagine that the future generations of Romanian Orthodox faithful in Italy may undertake a similar path. They might establish an Orthodox women's institution which, in its agenda, with an approach differing from the traditional stance of Orthodoxy, would deal with such issues as human rights, gender order and religious pluralism. For the moment, such a scenario appears to be entirely hypothetical and a distant possibility, however over the next thirty years the trajectories of religious glocalization of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora and the socio-cultural and religious attitudes of the next generations of Orthodox women will suggest the feasibility of a similar scenario in the Italian peninsula.

Conclusions

In this section we will summarize the hypotheses and results that have emerged in our research. In chapter 1 we defined the theoretical frame of the thesis and the objectives of the research. First of all we defined the main sociological perspective within which our work was developed, *religion and human rights*. Subsequently, we defined the principal positions of social scientists on the subject of *Orthodox Christianity and human rights*, identifying some limitations and critical aspects of the main lines of research (our work may be seen as comprised within the last and most recent category of these areas of research).

Furthermore, we defined the second debate our research forms a part of, which is that concerning the Orthodox diaspora in Western countries. We seek to focus on *the sociological perspective* rather than *the canonical perspective* relating to the phenomenon of the Orthodox diaspora in the Western countries. Our studies form part of that area of sociological research that highlights the presence of new trends and socio-cultural changes within the Orthodox churches in Western Europe. Then, in the fourth section we defined the frame according to which we studied the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy, elaborating the paradigm of *diaspora religions as glocal religions*. In particular, in our research we used the four forms of glocalization theorized by Roudometof (*vernacularization*, *indigenization*, *nationalization*, and *transnationalism*) as key analytical concepts suitable for analyzing this diaspora religion and describing its processes of hybridization.

Finally, we defined the objectives of our research. In our opinion, the case of Romanian Orthodoxy in the Italian peninsula has made it possible to draw attention to signs of recent trends in socio-religious landscapes. In our study, the socio-cultural processes are not enclosed within the condition of a church in diaspora or in that of a local church. The challenge of our research has been precisely that of analyzing the *glocal aspects of this diaspora religion* which cause a profound change in some points of its tradition and create a new *cultural hybrid*. We refer to the relationship of the diaspora

religion with the main issues of modernity such as human rights: issues that concern the structural (and unresolved) relationship of Orthodox Christianity with the contemporary world.

In chapter 2 we initially outlined recent developments of religious diversity in Italy, indicating its particular nature favoured by the social and cultural central position maintained by the Catholic Church within the secularization processes. This situation is facilitated by the migratory flows and promotes *a religious diversification and a pluralization of Christianity*; it should be noted that most immigrants in Italy are Christian and almost a third of this population follow the Orthodox faith. Subsequently, we highlighted from the historical point of view the sociological discontinuity, starting from the social and political changes of the end of the last millennium in the presence of the main Orthodox jurisdictions in Italy.

Furthermore, in the third paragraph we observed how from the demographic point of view *Orthodoxy vies for the position as the second most practised religion in Italy*, and this occurs thanks to the great Romanian diaspora and the significant migratory flows from Eastern Europe. In this scenario we argue that the redistribution of national groups within the aforementioned jurisdictions seems to assume the traits of a *glocal puzzle*. In this situation, socio-political and canonical tensions of the motherland and of the international Orthodox church appear to merge with typical elements of the host country and of the diasporic condition. In this scenario, we examined the historical development of Romanian Orthodoxy in Italy and outlined the Latin character of these faithful in terms of its ethnic or indigenous identity. The Latin culture and language of the Romanian population seems to have facilitated the phenomenon of the great migration towards Italy, and the cultural closeness or *shared Latin character* between the two countries seems to have favoured the religious glocalization of the BOR in the Italian peninsula.

Further investigating the case of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy, and thus entering deeply into the subject of our study, we considered the places of worship of the Romanian diaspora, elaborating the concept of *religioscapes.* We identified *four main profiles of places of worship* which presented quite evident differences; each place is in fact characterized by elements that involve the four forms of religious glocalization and seem to favour the creation of new cultural hybrids. These glocal dynamics, which promote the hybridization of places of worship and of adherents of the faith in the host

society and with the dominant religion, seem to operate also in the Orthodox liturgies and in the phenomenon of attendance of followers of the Orthodox faith at the Catholic liturgies. In this regard we focused on the religious body of the diaspora, which we defined as a *glocal clergy*. It provides a sort of vocation oriented towards the encounter between religious universalism and local particularism, and a certain threshold of tolerance towards cultural hybrids. The activity of the priests is in fact linked on a daily basis to the processes of glocalization and the missions of a religious community of immigrants.

In chapter 3 we emphasized the main role of each form of religious glocalization within the settlement of the BOR in Italy (in the first section we dealt with vernacularization, in the second indigenization, in the third nationalization, and in the fourth transnationalism). In the last section we indicated how three issues (*Church-state relations*, *Europe*, and *Ecumenism*) have an influence on the establishment of the diaspora religion and involve the forms of religious glocalization.

Initially, we noted how the quantitative data relating to *the religious activity of the BOR* exceed the usual figures characterising a church in diaspora. We also noted that a hybridization involving several aspects of the religious activity of this diaspora religion has occurred with respect to the host country and its dominant religion (in the vernacular dimension, in the practices and in the religious sphere of the faithful, and in terms of spiritual capital). Subsequently, we examined *the social activity of the BOR* and saw how it has elaborated new paths in the Orthodox tradition (*the creation of a socio-cultural space*, *the structuring of pastoral and social-assistance activities*). These changes seem to have taken place in parallel with the establishment of the *reflexive position* of the church and the organizational style of the parishes oriented towards the new environment. These glocal developments define the missions of this diaspora religion *(the Romanian Orthodox parishes as community centres; Romanian Orthodox parishes as places where the national and religious identities may be reinforced),* involving especially its national dimension. In particular, this path of settlement seems to favour the establishment of cultural hybrids, which are defined by the Romanian clerics, the protagonists of the religious glocalization.

Moreover, we analyzed the glocal ties of the BOR in Italy and focused on those relating to the host country and transnational relations. We saw how the BOR has favoured the

definition of a transnational religion, favouring the establishment of *institutional forms of transnationalism* in the diaspora parishes. The *forms of transnational religious practices* of the Orthodox faithful on the other hand have been strengthened by the transnational character of Romanian immigration and the Latin character it shares with Italy. Finally, we referred to the manner in which Church-state relations appear to influence the definition of the religious glocalization of the diaspora religion and may influence the definition of its mission. The Romanian Orthodox position towards Ecumenism also seems to influence the processes of religious glocalization of its diaspora in a country with an orthodox tradition such as Italy. Its main narrative on *Orthodox-Catholic relations*, i.e., that of a *Christian Europe*, seems to promote the hybridization and creation of cultural hybrids in the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy.

In chapter 4, we initially analyzed *the relationship between Eastern Orthodoxy and modernity*. We have identified some patterns present in encounters and socio-cultural key elements which at the sociological level are more related to the tensions occurring in the relationship between this religion and Western modernity. Subsequently, we examined the position of *Orthodox Christianity with respect to human rights*, defining the two main individual positions of theologians and the two main official stances developed by the churches. From a mainly sociological perspective we have seen how the main points elaborated by the Orthodox world in opposition to human rights seem to be the same ones that characterize the friction of this religion with respect to modernity: the patterns characterizing encounters that occur and key socio-cultural elements of the Orthodox tradition indicated in Fig. 9 (Makrides 2012a) appear to constitute the tension generated in this religion with respect to both units. However, as repeatedly emphasized, an adaptation and re-elaboration on the part of the Orthodox world with respect to certain aspects and paths of modernity are not absent, and this religious tradition seems to have embraced the paradigm of human rights.

This reflection has allowed us to develop a general rule. It seems very difficult to investigate the relationship of a religion with human rights sociologically without dealing with its relationship with modernity, considering that human rights are a basic need or a structural element of the modern world; or in other words a ‘product’ or phenomenon of modernity. Likewise, it seems difficult to analyze the relationship of a religion with modernity without facing a human rights issue because, as previously mentioned, human

rights form a structural element that regulates the daily life of the faithful. This *interdependence between modernity and human rights* seems to be present to a greater extent in the study of religions, as both of these two units are generally discussed or opposed by traditional religions (probably centuries ago there was a greater focus on the former, while today there is a greater reflection on the latter). We may therefore argue that such sociological insights indicate the scope of *the nexus religion, modernity, and human rights*.

Finally, we analyzed the position of the Romanian Orthodox Church with respect to human rights. We placed this stance among the contemporary processes of globalization which concern the religious world. In the Romanian Orthodox position with respect to human rights its *practical character* seems to emerge, and this appears to be in continuity with what we established in chapters 2 and 3 with respect to the settlement of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy. This particular aspect thus appears to distinguish the religious position and orientations of the Romanian Patriarchate with regard to various topics and challenges.

In the last chapter, we presented a qualitative study that involved 15 female Romanian followers of the Orthodox faith from the parish of Padua. Describing Italian society and the Italian family, which is compared with the Romanian reality, on the basis of our experience and knowledge of the institutional position of Romanian Orthodoxy regarding *gender order and the existing gender practices in Romanian Orthodox families*, we note that the female perspective in defining the gender order differs from the institutional view. If, referring to scheme 1 (Woodhead 2007), the institutional position of the Romanian Orthodox Church on gender order may be described as a *consolidation* of the religion's position on gender order, in some cases the perspective of Romanian Orthodox women in the diaspora may be described as *tactical*. In the latter religious position towards a gender order women do not wish to modify the existing situation but would aim at improving their condition and well-being with respect to the same. The particular character of the perception of the values of 'individualism and community' and 'freedom and responsibility' in the two societies among Orthodox women indicates the complexity of the socio-cultural contexts. In these socio-cultural analyses it appears possible to conclude that *the diaspora condition calls into question the gender order and the division of roles within the family*: the difficulties imposed by the immigrant condition appear to

become a factor which above all renegotiates the distribution of duties within the family. However, this challenge is experienced by women in the context of a *transnational family*, which to some extent underscores the dynamics of the gender order in the situation where the intensity of family ties is weakened.

Regarding *women's empowerment in Romanian Orthodoxy*, the experiences and attitudes of the female Romanian Orthodox faithful seem to reflect a religious position on gender order which we may define as *consolidating*. However, in the 'distance' that separates *theory* and *practice* in Orthodox thought there appears to be a growth of tensions that can be tactically oriented by Orthodox women in the life of the parish, as in the case of the gender order established by tradition in the blessing at the end of the liturgy. Regarding *rights to life*, the religious positions and attitudes of the female Romanian Orthodox faithful seem to be in harmony with the position of the BOR as regards this category of human rights (in particular, with respect to the three issues of *abortion*, *euthanasia* and the *death penalt*y). Moreover, the interviews with the Romanian Orthodox women seem to pertain to the *consolidating* religious category when the gender order is debated. Finally, with regard to cultural and religious diversity we have seen that the BOR diaspora condition seems to be a situation where it becomes possible '*to experiment*' with some of the conditions for developing a positive attitude towards *religious pluralism* in the Orthodox communities. The experience of immigration and settlement in the new host context seems to have favoured in the female Romanian Orthodox faithful a change in their attitude towards other religions, both through *encounters involving followers of different religions* and through *the majority-minority nexus*. Meanwhile, the experience in the diaspora in a different socio-cultural context seems to have promoted in some believers a reflection on the *absence of a true social doctrine* in the Romanian Orthodox Church. In particular, it is generated in day-to-day life and with a 'bottom-up' perspective through interaction with the Catholic parishes.

As stated at the beginning of our thesis, this research question involves above all two main changes of traditional religions in modernity. Their diffusion outside the traditional territory (the so-called 'going-global' effect) and their having to deal with phenomena usually extraneous to their socio-cultural context. The transnational processes connect a diaspora religion with the church of origin, and in our case some Romanian Orthodox 'results' that have developed in Italy may have been exported to other diasporas or to the

motherland. Levitt (2001) coined the concept of ‘social remittance’ to describe these *transnational religious flows*. In our research it has emerged that these transnational processes have inaugurated paths of *aggiornamento* in relation to specific issues in Romanian Orthodoxy. As we have shown, there seems to be a current reworking of the *social activity and social teaching* of the Romanian Orthodox Church and also of deep reflections on some customary practices in the *Orthodox liturgy*. These trajectories seem to have been favoured by the processes of religious glocalization matured in the establishment of Orthodox diasporas in predominantly Catholic countries, and by the processes of hybridization generated in the motherland by religious personnel who have studied abroad.

In chapter 1, we generally refer to two main theories relating to the adaptation of a diaspora religion to its settlement in the new socio-cultural environment. In the first view (Roudometof 2014), an Orthodox church becomes local when it accepts *the religious pluralism* of the host country and contributes towards its ‘religious market’ by accepting its *cultural norms*. In our research, it appears that the Romanian Orthodox Church, rather than accept the cultural norms of the host country, holds a cultural proximity to them. As previously mentioned, this proximity is firstly of a vernacular nature, then of a historical and indigenous one. This cultural proximity, in conjunction with the particular parables of these two Christian traditions in the Italian peninsula, favour a hybridization of the BOR with the Italian society and Catholicism. The effects of the Orthodox Christian diasporas on Italian Catholicism, however, are still to be investigated. A possible theme, probably a hot topic, could concern changes in the opinion of the Italian Catholic faithful towards the mission of married priests; while another one more related to the religious sphere could concern the ‘rediscovery’ by some faithful of practices (neglected by Western Christianity) focused on spirituality and the heritage of the primitive church. Analysing these contaminations between Catholics and Orthodox, it is interesting to note that they occur despite the fact that the BOR in Italy is not interested in entering the so-called Italian ‘religious market’ (if one exists). As stated before, this diaspora religion is not focused on the conversions of Italian faithful or in representing exclusively Orthodox Christianity in Italy.

This scenario seems to find some foundations in the vision with an ethnographic bias developed by Levitt (2007). In the research, changes in *the normative structure* of the

religious community seem to be identifiable, and these impact on the values and the notions of behavior. These changes seem to be interconnected with *the systems of practice* of the religious community, concerning the actions and procedures of the diaspora religion related to the new context. This set of changes does not seem to follow a clear pattern, a defined trajectory, a top-down program of the bishop and priests or a plan of action shared among the faithful. This mix of governed and ungoverned, planned and unexpected processes have different features and depths in the various spheres concerning the religious institution and the everyday life of the faithful - as we will see in the next paragraph - while maintaining a sort of continuity along the research.

In fact following specifically the glocal religious perspective, and adopting *the model of the four forms of hybridization* hypothesized by Roudometof, it seems that the four key concepts (*vernacularization*, *indigenization*, *nationalization*, and *transnationalism*) have revealed various similar trajectories throughout our research project. In particular, the indigenous aspect (the Romanian Latin character) and, to a greater degree, the vernacular one (Romanian language) have favoured a more rapid and more profound encounter between the Romanian Orthodox faithful and the society of the host context. Furthermore, it seems that the indigenous aspect promotes in the faithful and in the leadership of the BOR in Italy the idea of preserving a particular attitude towards tolerance and acceptance (elaborated culturally in the history of Romanian Orthodoxy) as well as certain elements shared with the Italian context. Furthermore, we have seen how the national dimension favours the preservation of the socio-cultural and religious profile of the faithful in the religious glocalization of the diaspora; there is a form of mutual support between the national and the religious identity which keeps the missions of the diaspora religion ‘centred’ and retains for the faithful the heritage of their motherland. These three forms of hybridization have an effect in a transnational dimension, which, as we have shown in our research, strongly influences the planning of the activity of the BOR and the daily life of the Romanian Orthodox families.

Chapters 2 and 3 indicate an unprecedented path of the BOR in Italy, which in some points appears to develop forms of *aggiornamento* (or at least religious changes) with respect to the Orthodox tradition. These changes seem to be due to (1) the religious position and orientations of the diaspora religion, characterized by a reflexive and even progressive approach, which, with a ‘practical spirit’, addresses increasingly strategic

issues in the organization of the diocese and in the life of its communities, and (2) a religious position and orientations of the church in the motherland that seems to favour within a 'European design' glocal paths of the Romanian Orthodox diasporas in Western Europe. This 'momentum' seems less decisive in addressing issues concerning human rights, such as gender order, rights of life and religious pluralism. However, as revealed in chapter 5, Romanian Orthodoxy doctrine, an aspect of the Orthodox tradition that directly defines the lifestyle of the faithful, seems more oriented towards a *religious and spiritual message* and is thus characterized by a certain distance between *theory* and *practice*. It seems that some religious changes have occurred on the part of Orthodox women linked mainly to effects of the relationship with the host country; nevertheless, the reflective approach that characterizes the settlement of this diaspora religion seems to be less profound in the doctrinal sphere. In any case, this approach definitely remains present in the lives of the female followers of the faith who on a daily basis live the *processes of hybridization* in a Western society that is more secularized than that found in Romania and in their close contact with the Italian Catholic families (if they have not formed a family with a follower of the Catholic faith).

These reflections allow us to offer a final sociological observation about the nexus between the concept of Orthodox tradition and the religious glocalization studied in this research. In this regard, we may refer to the views of the North American Orthodox theologian John Anthony McGuckin, who belongs as a priest to the jurisdiction of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in the US, and wrote about the sense of tradition in Orthodox Christianity:

> One of the most commonly used phrases in the theological vocabulary of the Orthodox is 'The Holy Tradition'. In former times this notion had some resonance with Western Catholics, but perhaps a little less in the present era of extensive theological and cultural changes affecting Roman Catholicism. For Protestants, the term usually brought to mind many of the reasons for which they had originally challenged Latin Catholicism in the Reformation era, accusing it in several instances with corrupting the biblical tradition of Christianity in favour of its own 'customs and traditions' (…).
> The Orthodox do not understand the concept of tradition in that way. For the Eastern Christian tradition is the gateway to the theology of revelation. It may be the case that some of the less educated Orthodox equate the tradition with everything that happens in church as they currently experience it (for better or worse, good practice or bad) and so may be unable to discern the difference between the incidental customs of their national churches and the universal tradition of the apostolic faith, which is a matter transcending any

difference of custom and forming the essence of what Orthodoxy is universally. However, this does not change the fact that Orthodox faith teaches that the Holy Tradition is something far different from 'the customs of men' about which Jesus spoke so disparagingly. Orthodoxy considers the Holy Tradition as the essence of the life-saving Gospel of Christ brought to the world through the church by the power of the Holy Spirit of God. The tradition is, theologically speaking, how the Spirit is experienced within the Church of Christ as the charism of Truth.

Tradition in this sense is not something that is past-looking only (obsessed with traditions and precedents). It bases its claims to authenticity on the fact that it reflects the words of Christ in the here and now, faithful to his own Spirit; but as much as it looks towards the past and stands in unbroken continuity with it, thus 'passing on' the Gospel of life (which is the root meaning of the word 'tradition'), it also looks to the future. The tradition represents the Spirit's energetic proclamation of the Gospel and its way of energizing the church's worship and knowledge of God in the present generation, and for future generations to come. The Orthodox, therefore, understand the Holy Tradition to be venerable and hallowed from times past, but to be essentially charismatic, and alive, and full of the power and freshness of the Spirit of God, concerned with bringing new generations to Christ until the end of time: one of the basic functions of his earthly church (McGuckin 2008: 90-91).

This reflection fully explains, according to a theological vision, the concept of tradition in Orthodoxy. In these observations it seems apparent that the work of scholars who dedicate their time to the sociology of religion resembles the vision of the 'less educated' Orthodox, who frame the Orthodox tradition, focusing on symbols, practices, and rituals. Fascinated by the customs and habits of national cultures, perhaps combined with those of the new country that provides a home for communities that belong to this religion, the latter may also either omit or not fully understand the less visible foundations that make up the universal tradition of Orthodoxy. Through a closer examination, however, these comments seem to suggest that the theory of religious glocalization follows the theological development traced by McGuckin. The glocal perspective focuses in fact on the 'energy' and the 'spirit' that gives strength to a traditional religion, this being a view which, elsewhere, McGuckin clearly expresses using the concept of a 'living tradition' (McGuckin 1998). In our research, the development of new tonalities in this 'energy' occurs within the processes of hybridization of the faithful with the host socio-cultural context and, likewise, glocal clerics act on the 'spirit' that is stirred and may move in

unprecedented directions, such as those leading towards the debate regarding certain human rights issues[1].

Again, following McGuckin, the tradition in the Orthodox Church must preserve a charismatic and salvific character, and this should be done by speaking “the words of Christ in the here and now”. The latter statement seems to fully sum up the value assigned to the cultural aspect by the theory of glocalization in the study of religions. In this “essence of the life-saving Gospel of Christ brought to the world through the church” it in fact combines the local and the global level of religious faith in times of great migrations and poses the current question of changes occurring in the religious feelings of the younger generations. This recent condition appears to suggest the (Western and European) in-depth evolution of a religious tradition which may no longer be appropriately referred to as solely Eastern. Moreover, the religious changes analyzed in the research and the scope of religious glocalization of the Romanian Orthodox diaspora in Italy seems to deeply affect the socio-cultural and religious boundaries of *Romanitate* (or ‘Romanianness’) in a transnational, European, and – probably - a more ecumenical perspective.

[1] As stated in the previous chapter, the Orthodox Christian Laity (OCL) movement in the US is probably the most recent case within an Orthodox diaspora in a Western country to change its position towards the Church-state relations, religious pluralism, and human rights. In this case, the ‘spirit’ doesn't move in completely ‘unprecedented directions’ compared to the previous experiences of Orthodox diasporas (as shown in chapter 4), but it certainly represents a ‘break’ in the global scenario of this religion. Moreover, it represents a conflictual step towards the indigenization of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

Note

Some sections of this thesis rework and update sections of various earlier publications. These are listed below. I would like to thank their publishers.

Guglielmi, Marco. 2018. Un'Indagine sul Cristianesimo e sull'Immigrazione Cattolica in Veneto. *Studia Patavina*, LXV(2): 329-342.

Guglielmi, Marco. 2018. Globalization and Orthodox Christianity: A Glocal Perspective. *Religions*, 9(7): 1-10.

Giordan, Giuseppe, and Marco Guglielmi. 2018. Be Fruitful and Multiply… Fast! The Spread of Orthodox Churches in Italy. In *Congregations in Europe*. Edited by Jörg Stolz, and Christophe Monnot (pp. 53-69). New York: Springer.

Giordan, Giuseppe, Guglielmi, Marco, and Olga Breskaya. 2018. Gender Order and Romanian Orthodox Women in Italy: A Socio-Religious Perspective. *Gosudarstvo, religiia, tserkov' v Rossii i za rubezhom*, 36(2): 221-247.

Giordan, Giuseppe, and Marco Guglielmi. 2017. Ortodossia Cristiana, Modernità e la Questione dei Diritti Umani: Prospettive Teoriche. *Religioni e società*, 87(1): 41-49.

Guglielmi, Marco. 2017. Globalizzazione e Ortodossia Cristiana. Una nuova categoria di ricerca. *Religioni e società*, 87(1): 127-131.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my *magister* prof. Giuseppe Giordan for all he taught me as an academic and as a man. Furthermore, I would like to thank prof. Siniša Zrinščak for his lucid and in-depth teachings that helped me in this project and to grow as a sociologist of religion. Finally, I would like to thank prof. Costantin Preda for introducing me to Orthodox Christianity and Romanian spirituality; without whose generosity I couldn't have had an understanding of this gorgeous religious tradition and this magnificent country.

I would like to thank for the support and assistance also the professors, researchers, and staff members of the Human Rights Center of the University of Padua, starting from its director prof. Marco Mascia and, with particular gratitude, my colleague Olga Breskaya.

To conclude, special thanks goes to my family for always being close to me.

References

Primary Sources

Basil the Great. *Three Canonical Letters*, Loeb Classical Library, III, pp. 20–23.

Benedict XVI (Ratzinger). 2011. *Migration and the New Evangelization*. Messaggio per la Giornata mondiale del Migrante e del Rifugiato. Vatican, September 21. Avaiable at URL: https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/messages/migration/documents/hf_ben-xvi_mes_20110921_world-migrants-day.html (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

BOR. 2005. *Abortion*. National Consultative Commission of the Romanian Orthodox Church on Issues of Bioethics, Bucharest. Available in English at URL: http://patriarhia.ro/abortion-6038-en.html (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

BOR. 2010. *Appeal to Unity and Romanian Dignity*. Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Bucharest, February 11. Available in English at URL: http://www.aoiusa.org/appeal-to-unity-and-romanian-dignity (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

BOR. 2016. *Euthanasia*. National Consultative Commission of the Romanian Orthodox Church on Issues of Bioethics, Bucharest. Available in English at URL: http://patriarhia.ro/euthanasia-6022-en.html (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Daniel (Ciobotea). 2008a. Drepturile Omului – Responsabilitate Pentru Demnitate. *Drepturile Omului*, *18*(4), 15-16.

Daniel (Ciobotea). 2014. *Family in the Current European Context*, Official site of the Romanian Patriarchate. Bucharest, May 16. Available in English at URL: http://patriarhia.ro/family-in-the-current-european-context-7583-en.html (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Daniel (Ciobotea). 2016a. *Simbolism Teologic*. Avaiable in Romanian at URL: http://www.catedralaneamului.ro/index.php/simbolism-teologic (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Daniel (Ciobotea). 2016b. Christian Family is a Blessing of the Love of God for *Humanity*, Official site of the Romanian Patriarchate. Bucharest, June 1. Available in English at URL: http://patriarhia.ro/christian-family-is-a-blessing-of-the-love-of-god-for-humanity-8915-en.htm (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Daniel (Ciobotea). 2017. *Patriarch Daniel of Romania Urges Support for the Traditional Family*, News Agency Basilica.Ro, February 15. Available in English at URL: http://basilica.ro/en/patriarch-daniel-of-romania-urges-support-for-the-traditional-family (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Declaration. 2000. *The Declaration of the Religious Cults in Romania* (The State Secretariat for Cults), Bucharest.

ECtHR. 2013. *Sindicatul "Păstorul cel Bun" v. Romania*, Application no. 2330/09, July 9. European Court of Human Rights, ECtHR.

GOC. 2002. *Basic Positions On the Ethics of Euthanasia*. The Bioethics Committee of the Church of Greece, Athens. Available in English at URL: http://orthodoxrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Euthanasia.pdf (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

ISMU. 2016. *Immigrati e Religioni in Italia: Gli Ortodossi Sono più Numerosi dei Musulmani.* Report. Avaiable at URL: http://www.ismu.org/2016/07/in-italia-ortodossi-piu-numerosi-dei-musulmani (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

John Paul II (Wojtyła). 1999. *Holy Father's Address in His Visit to the Patriarchal Cathedral of Bucharest*. Bucharest, May 7. Avaiable at URL: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/travels/1999/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_07051999_bucarest-cathedral.html (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Johnson, Todd M., and Brian J. Grim. 2014. Religious Traditions. In *World Religion Database: International Religious Demographic Statistics and Sources*, edited by Todd M. Johnson, and Brian J. Grim. Leiden: Brill. Avaiable at URL: http://www.worldreligiondatabase.org/wrd_default.asp (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Osnovy. 2000. *Osnovy sotsialnoi kontseptsii Russkoi Pravoslavnoi tserkvi* ['The Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church']. The Russian Orthodox Church, Department for External Church Relations, Moscow. Available in English at URL: https ://mospat.ru/en/documents/socialconcepts (Accessed: May 28, 2018).

Osnovy. 2008. *Osnovy uchenia Russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi o dostoinstve, svobode I pravakh cheloveka* ['The Bases of the Russian Orthodox Teaching on Dignity, Freedom and Human Rights']. The Russian Orthodox Church, Department for External Church Relations, Moscow. Available in English at URL: https://mospat.ru/en/documents/dignity-freedom-rights (Accessed: May 28, 2018).

Pan-Orthodox Council. 2016a. *Encyclical of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church*. Official Documents of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, Crete, June. Available in English at URL:

https://www.holycouncil.org/-/encyclical-holy-council?_101_INSTANCE_VA0WE2pZ4Y0I_languageId=en_US (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Pan-Orthodox Council. 2016b. *Message of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church*. Official Documents of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, Crete, June. Available in English at URL:

https://www.holycouncil.org/-/message?_101_INSTANCE_VA0WE2pZ4Y0I_languageId=en_US (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Pan-Orthodox Council. 2016c. *The Orthodox Diaspora.* Official Documents of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, Crete, June. Available in English at URL: https://www.holycouncil.org/-/diaspora (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Pan-Orthodox Council. 2016d. *The Mission of the Orthodox Church in Today's World*. Official Documents of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, Crete, June.

Available in English at URL: https://www.holycouncil.org/-/mission-orthodox-church-todays-world?_101_INSTANCE_VA0WE2pZ4Y0I_languageId=en_US (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Pan-Orthodox Council. 2016e. *Relations of the Orthodox Church with the Rest of the Christian World*. Official Documents of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, Crete, June. Available in English at URL: https://www.holycouncil.org/-/rest-of-christian-world (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

ROC. 2000. *Basic Principles of Attitude to the Non-Orthodox*. The Russian Orthodox Church, Department for External Church Relations, Moscow. Available in English at URL: https://mospat.ru/en/documents/attitude-to-the-non-orthodox/ (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Secretariat. 2015. State Secretariat for Religious Affairs. *State and Religions in Romania*. Bucharest: State Secretariat for Religious Affairs.

Rose, Seraphim. 1982. Living the Orthodox World-View. *The Orthodox Word*, *18*(4), July-August, 160-176. Available at URL: http://orthodoxinfo.com/praxis/rose_wv.aspx (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Seraphim, Metropolitan of Johannesburg and Pretoria. 2015. *The Role of Women in the Church.* Orthodox Research Institute. Avaiable at URL: http://www.orthodoxresearchinstitute.org/articles/misc/seraphim_role_of_women.htm Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Teoctist. 2002. *Discorso del Patriarca Teoctist.* Visita del Patriarca della Chiesa Ortodossa Romena, Sua Beatitudine Teoctist. Rome, October 12. Avaiable in Italian at URL: http://www.vatican.va/latest/documents/teoctist_spe_20021012_it.html (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Zizioulas, Joannis. 2008. *Il Contributo della Teologia Ortodossa Occidentale*. Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe Saint-Serge, Paris, February 10. Available in Italian at URL: http://www.esarcato.it/archivio_testi/theologica/teologia_ortodossa_occidentale.pdf (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Secondary Sources

Agadjanian, Alexander. 2003. Breakthrough to Modernity, Apologia for Traditionalism: the Russian Orthodox View of Society and Culture in Comparative Perspective. *Religion, State and Society*, *31*(4), 327-346.

Agadjanian, Alexander. 2010. Liberal Individual and Christian Culture: Russian Orthodox Teaching on Human Rights in Social Theory Perspective. *Religion, State and Society*, *38*(2), 97-113.

Ahmed, Fauzia Erfan. 2010. Globalization and Women's Leadership in the Muslim Diaspora: An Intersectional Analysis. In *Muslim Diaspora in the West: Negotiating*

Gender, Home and Belonging, edited by Haideh Moghissi, and Halleh Ghorashi (pp. 23-39). Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate.

Ališauskienė, Milda, and Olga Breskaya. 2017. Sociologizing Religious Freedom: Comparative Study of Attitudes Among Young People in Belarus and Lithuania. *Religioni e società*, *87*(1), 71-80.

Alzati, Cesare. 2011. L'Ortodossia nello Spazio Romeno e il Significato della Sua Presenza in Italia per la Comunione tra le Chiese. In *L'Ortodossia in Italia: Le Sfide di un Incontro*, edited by Gino Battaglia (pp. 171-198). Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane.

Ambrosini, Maurizio. 2016. Protected But Separate. International Immigrants in the Italian Catholic Church. In *Migration, Transnationalism and Catholicism: Global Perspectives*, edited by Dominic Pasura, and Marta Bivand Erdal (pp. 317-335). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Andreescu, Liviu. 2008. Romania's New Law on Religious Freedom and Religious Denominations. *Religion, State and Society*, *36*(2), 139-161.

Antohi, Sorin. 2002. Romania and the Balkans: From Geocultural Bovarism to Ethnic Ontology. *Tr@nsit online*, *21*. Avaiable at URL: http://www.iwm.at/transit/transit-online/romania-and-the-balkans (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Banchoff, Thomas, and Robert Whutnow. 2011a. Introduction. In *Religion and the Global Politics of Human Rights*, edited by Thomas Banchoff, and Robert Whutnow (pp. 1-21). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Banchoff, Thomas, and Robert Whutnow, eds. 2011b. *Religion and the Global Politics of Human Rights*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Banica, Mirel. 2006. Teofil Tia. Biserica Ortodoxa Romana: Reflexii, Analize, Problematizări [review], November 1. Available at URL: http://grupareaaproape.wordpress.com/2006/11/01/despre-europa-altfel (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Battaglia, Gino, ed. 2011. *L'Ortodossia in Italia: Le Sfide di un Incontro*. Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane.

Bauerova, Katerina. 2015. Mystery of Divine-Human Cooperation in Freedom and Creativity: An Example of Liturgical Life from the Russian Diaspora in France. In *Approaching the Threshold of Mystery: Liturgical Worlds and Theological Spaces*, edited by Joris Geldhof, Daniel Minch, and Trevor Maine (pp. 155-165). Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet.

Becker, Howard S. 1998. *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think about Your Research While You're Doing It*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Behr-Sigel, Elisabeth, and Kallistos Ware, eds. 2000. *The Ordination of Women in the Orthodox Church*. Geneva: WCC Publications.

Beliakova, Elena, Nadezhda Beliakova, and Elena Jemchenko. 2011. *Zhenshchina v Pravoslavii (Woman in Orthodoxy)*. Moscow: Kuchkovo pole.

Beliso-De Jesús, Aisha. 2014. Santería Copresence and the Making of African Diaspora Bodies. *Cultural Anthropology*, *29*(3), 503-526.

Berger, Peter. 2005. Orthodoxy and Global Pluralism. *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, *13*(3), 437-448.

Berti, Fabio, and Andrea Valzania. 2018. Tra Astensionismo e Disincanto: La mancata Partecipazione al Voto dei Cittadini Romeni in Toscana. *Mondi Migranti*, (1), 87-106.

Berzano, Luigi, and Andrea Cassinasco. 1999. *Cristiani d'Oriente in Piemonte*. Torino: L'Harmattan Italia.

Beyer, Peter. 2006. *Religions in Global Society*. London and New York: Routledge.

Beyer, Peter. 2007. Globalization and Glocalization. In *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, edited by James A. Beckford, and N. J. Demerath III (pp. 98-117). Los Angeles: Sage.

Beyer, Peter, and Lori Beaman, eds. 2007. *Religion, Globalization and Culture*. Leiden: Brill.

Berger, Peter. 2005. Orthodoxy and Global Pluralism. *Demokratizatsiya: the Journal of PostSoviet Democratization*, *13*(3), 437–447.

Bianchi, Enzo. 1974. *Pregare la Parola. Introduzione alla «Lectio divina»*, Torino: Gribaudi.

Billington, James. 1994. The Case for Orthodoxy. *New Republic*, *210*(22), 24-28.

Blau, Judith, and Mark Frezzo, eds. 2011. *Sociology and Human Rights: A Bill of Rights for the Twenty-First Century*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Bordeianu, Radu. 2013. (In)Voluntary Ecumenism: Dumitru Staniloae's Interaction with the West as Open Sobornicity. In *Orthodox Constructions of the West*, edited by George E. Demacopoulos, and Aristotle Papanikolaou (pp. 240-255). New York: Fordham University Press.

Bratosin, Stefan, and Mihaela Alexandra Ionescu. 2009. Church, Religion and Belief: Paradigms for Understanding the Political Phenomenon in Postcommunist Romania. *Journal for the Study of Religions & Ideologies*, *8*(24), 3-18.

Breskaya, Olga, Giordan, Giuseppe, and James T. Richardson. 2018. Human Rights and Religion: A Sociological Perspective. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. First published: August 14, 2018. https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12544

Brunsma, David L, ed. 2015. *Expanding the Human in Human Rights: Toward a Sociology of Human Rights*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

Brunsma, David L., Iyall Smith, Keri E., and Brian K. Gran. 2013a. Introduction. In *The Handbook of Sociology and Human Rights*, edited by David L. Brunsma, Keri E. Iyall Smith, and Brian K. Gran (pp. 1-9). London and New York: Routledge.

Brunsma, David L., Iyall Smith, Keri E., and Brian K. Gran, eds. 2013b. *The Handbook of Sociology and Human Rights*. London and New York: Routledge.

Brüning, Alfons. 2012. "Freedom" vs. "Morality" - On Orthodox Anti-Westernism and Human Rights. In *Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights*, edited by Alfons Brüning, and Van der Zweerde Evert (pp. 125-152). Leuven: Peeters.

Brüning, Alfons. 2013. Different Humans and Different Rights? On Human Dignity from Western and Eastern Orthodox Perspectives. *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue*, *23*(2), 150-175.

Brüning, Alfons. 2016. Orthodox Theology in Dialogue with Human Rights: Some Considerations on Current Themes, Problems, and Perspectives. *Exchange*, *45*(4), 382-398.

Brüning, Alfons, and Evert van der Zweerde, eds. 2012. *Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights*. Leuven: Peeters.

Bucur, Maria. 2011. Gender and Religiosity among the Orthodox Christians in Romania: Continuity and Change, 1945-1989. *Aspasia*, *5*(1), 28-45.

Butticci, Annalisa. 2016. *African Pentecostals in Catholic Europe: The Politics of Presence in the Twenty First Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Campbell, Van Pelt G. 2007. Religion and Phases of Globalization. In *Religion, Globalization and Culture*, edited by Peter Beyer, and Lori Beaman (pp. 281-304). Leiden: Brill.

Cannuyer, Christian. 1994. *I Copti*. Schio, VI: Interlogos.

Carnevale, Davide Nicola. 2018a. I Cristianesimi Ortodossi in Emilia Romagna: Una mappatura. In *I monoteismi in Emilia Romagna*, edited by Assemblea Legislativa Emilia Romagna (pp. 75-120), Bologna: Centro Stampa Regionale.

Cartocci, Roberto. 2011. *Geografia dell'Italia Cattolica*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Casanova, José. 1994. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Casanova, Jose. 2009. Nativism and the Politics of Gender in Catholicism and Islam. In *Gendering Religion and Politics: Untangling Modernities*, edited by Hanna Herzog, and Ann Braude (pp. 21–52). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Caselgrandi, Nadia, Alfonsina Rinaldi, and Alessandro Montebugnoli, eds. 2013. *Se Due Milioni vi Sembran Pochi: Colf e Badanti nella Società Italiana di Oggi*. Roma: Carocci.

Castegnaro, Alessandro, ed. 2006. *Fede e Libertà. Indagine sui Frequentanti le Messe Festive nel Patriarcato di Venezia*, Voll. 2. Venezia: Marcianum Press.

Castegnaro, Alessandro. 2012. Ricerca. In *Toccare il Divino. Lo Strano Caso del Pellegrinaggio Antoniano*, edited by Ugo Sartorio, and Andrea Castegnaro (pp. 105-170). Padova: EMP.

Castegnaro, Alessandro. 2014. L'Annuncio Evangelico in un Contesto Multireligioso: I Dati di una Indagine Catechistica Diocesana, Illusione o Gioia?. In *Far Risuonare il Vangelo: Catechesi, Catechisti, Catechismi: Dati da un'Indagine Socio-Religiosa nel Vicentino*, edited by Antonio Bollin (pp. 77-101). Padova: EMP.

Castelli, Elizabeth A., ed. 2001. *Women, Gender, Religion: A Reader*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Catanzaro, Raimondo, and Asher Colombo, eds. 2009. *Badanti e Co: Il Lavoro Domestico Straniero in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Chaillot, Christine, ed. 2005. *Histoire de l'Église Orthodoxe en Europe Occidentale au 20ème Siècle*. Białystok: Orthdruk.

Charles, Taylor. 2007. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chaves, Mark. 1999. *Ordaining Women: Culture and Conflict in Religious Organizations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chryssavgis, John, eds. 2012. *On Earth as in Heaven: Ecological Vision and Initiatives of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Cingolani, Pietro. 2009. *Romeni d'Italia: Migrazioni, Vita Quotidiana e Legami Transnazionali*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Cingolani, Pietro. 2011. Torino, Romania: Un Viaggio negli Spazi Urbani dell'Immigrazione Romena. In *Torino: Luoghi Urbani e Spazi Sociali*, edited by Maria Carmen Belloni (pp. 53-65). Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.

Cionchin, Afrodita Carmen. 2006. Rapporti fra Comunità Romena e Società Italiana: Forme dell'Integrazione. In *Cultura Romena in Italia: 80 Anni dalla Creazione della Prima Cattedra di Lingua Romena a Roma: Proceedings of the Italo-Romanian Conference, 27–28 March 2006* (pp. 143-211). Bucharest: Institutul Cultural Român.

Cipolla, Costantino, and Roberto Cipriani, eds. 2002. *Pellegrini del Giubileo*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Cipriani, Roberto. 2008. "Giubileo e Chiesa". In *Dai Dati alla Teoria Sociale: Analisi di un Evento Collettivo*, edited by Roberto Cipriani, and Gianni Losito (pp. 11-28). Roma: Anicia.

Clark, Roland. 2012. Nationalism and Orthodoxy: Nichifor Crainic and the Political Culture of the Extreme Right in 1930s Romania. *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, *40*(1), 107-126.

Clark, Roland. 2013. Nationalist and Trinitarian Visions of the Church in the Theology of Dumitru Stăniloae. *Studii Teologice*, *13*(2), 207-225.

Clark, Victoria. 2000. *Why Angels Fall: A Journey through Orthodox Europe from Byzantium to Kosovo*. London: Macmillan.

Clément, Olivier. 2002. *L'Église Orthodoxe*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Clément, Olivier. 2005. *La Chiesa Ortodossa*. Brescia: Queriniana.

Clément, Olivier. 2011. *Il Respiro dell'Oriente: Il Volto dell'Ortodossia nella Storia*. Bose (BI): Qiqajon.

Cohal, Alexandru L. 2014. *Mutamenti nel Romeno di Immigrati in Italia*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Cohen, Robin. 2008. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge.

Cordoneanu, Felicia. 2012. *Condiția Socială a Femeii în Ortodoxia Contemporană Românească*. Iași: Lumen.

Cordoneanu, Felicia. 2014. Identitary Character and Social Hypostases of Christian-Orthodox Femininity. *Procedia*, 137, 205-210.

Daniel (Ciobotea). 1992. Challenges for Orthodoxy in a Changing World. *The Ecumenical Review*, *44*(2): 207-208.

Daniel (Ciobotea). 2001. *Confessing the Truth in Love: Orthodox Perceptions of Life, Mission and Unity*. Iasi: Trinitas.

Daniel (Ciobotea). 2008b. The Orthodox Church and the New Europe: Ecumenical Experience and Perspectives. In *Truth and Morality: The Role of Truth in Public Life*, edited by Wilhelm Dancă. Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.

Demacopoulos, George E., and Aristotle Papanikolaou, eds. 2016. *Christianity, Democracy, and the Shadow of Constantine*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Diotallevi, Luca. 1999. *Religione, Chiesa e Modernità: Il Caso Italiano*. Roma: Borla.

Diotallevi, Luca. 2001. *Il Rompicapo della Secolarizzazione Italiana: Caso Italiano, Teorie Americane e Revisione del Paradigma della Secolarizzazione*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.

Djankov, Simeon, and Elena Nikolova. 2018. Communism as the Unhappy Coming. *Policy Research Working Paper 8399, World Bank Group: Development Economics Office of the Chief Economist*. Washington. Available at URL: http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/303241522775925061/pdf/WPS8399.pdf (Accessed: September 18, 2018).

Douzinas, Costas. 2000. *The End of Human Rights: Critical Legal Thought at the Turn of the Century*. Oxford: Hart.

Ducu, Viorela, ed. 2017. Special Issue: Transnational Family Research – Methodological Challenges. *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, *11*(1).

Ducu, Viorela, and Áron Telegdi-Csetri, eds. 2016. *Managing "Difference" in Eastern-European Transnational Families*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Durandin, Catherine. 2000. Perché il Papa Piace ai Romeni. *Limes: Rivista Italiana di Geopolitica*, 1.

Ebaugh, Helen Rose, and Janet Saltzman Chafetz. 1999. Agents for Cultural Reproduction and Structural Change: The Ironic Role of Women in Immigrant Religious Institutions, *Social Forces*, *78*(2), 585-612.

Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah, ed. 2000. *Multiple Modernities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah. 2003. *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities*. Leiden: Brill.

Evstatiev, Simeon, Makariev, Plamen, and Daniela Kalkandjieva. 2015. Christianity, Islam, and Human Rights in Bulgaria. In *Religion and Human Rights. An International Perspective*, edited by Hans-Georg Ziebertz, and Gordan Črpić (1-17). Cham: Springer.

Featherstone, Mike. 2002. *Global Modernities*. London: Sage.

Featherstone, Mike, Lash, Scott M., and Roland Robertson, eds. 2002. *Global Modernities*. London: Sage.

Flanagan, Kieran. 1991. *Sociology and Liturgy: Re-presentations of the Holy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Flick, Uwe. 2009. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Fokas, Effie. 2012. ‘Eastern’ Orthodoxy and ‘Western’ Secularization in Contemporary Europe (with Special Reference to the Case of Greece). *Religion, State and Society*, *40*(2-3), 395-414.

Frezzo, Mark. 2014. *The Sociology of Human Rights*. Cambridge: Polity.

Garelli, Franco. 2006. *L'Italia Cattolica nell'Epoca del Pluralismo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Garelli, Franco. 2011. *Religione all'Italiana. L'Anima del Paese Messa a Nudo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Garelli, Franco. 2016. *Piccoli Atei Crescono. Davvero una Generazione senza Dio?*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Garelli, Franco, and Ferreo Camoletto, eds. 2003. *Una Spiritualità in Movimento: Le Giornate Mondiali della Gioventù, da Roma a Toronto*, Padova: EMP.

Garelli, Franco, Guizzardi, Gustavo, and Enzo Pace, eds. 2003. *Un Singolare Pluralismo: Indagine sul Pluralismo Morale e Religioso degli Italiani*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Gavriluţă, Nicu, Dima, Nicolae, and Sorin Mihalache. 2016. *Religie şi Violenţă în Europa Seculară: Dialoguri Trinitas TV*. Bucarest and Iaşi: Editura Trinitas, Patriarhiei Române şi la Editura Universităţii Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iaşi.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gillet, Olivier. 1997. *Religion et Nationalisme: L'Idéologie de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine Sous le Régime Communiste*. Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles.

Giordan, Giuseppe. 2009. Conversion As Opposition. In *Conversion in the Age of Pluralism*, edited by Giuseppe Giordan (pp. 243-262). Leiden: Brill.

Giordan, Giuseppe. 2010. Towards a Common Sense Religion? The Young and Religion in Italy. *Implicit Religion*, *13*(3), 261-274.

Giordan, Giuseppe. 2013a. La Costellazione delle Chiese Ortodosse. In *Le Religioni nell'Italia che Cambia*: *Mappe e Bussole*, edited by Enzo Pace (pp. 13-29). Roma: Carocci.

Giordan, Giuseppe. 2013b. A World in Motion: The Plurality of Orthodox Churches in Italy. In *Testing Pluralism, Globalizing Belief, Localizing Gods*, edited by Giuseppe Giordan, and William H. Swatos (pp. 57-74). Leiden: Brill.

Giordan, Giuseppe. 2015. Orthodox Christianity in Italy: Historical Continuity and Social Discontinuity. *Religion, State and Society*, *43*(3), 262-275.

Giordan, Giuseppe. 2016. Grande e Santo, Salvo Imprevisti: Il Sinodo Panortodosso tra Geopolitica e Religione. *Religioni e Società*, *85*(2), 61-70.

Giordan, Giuseppe, and Marco Guglielmi. 2017. Ortodossia Cristiana, Modernità e la Questione dei Diritti Umani: Prospettive Teoriche. *Religioni e società*, *87*(1), 41-49.

Giordan, Giuseppe, and Marco Guglielmi. 2018. Be Fruitful and Multiply… Fast! The Spread of Orthodox Churches in Italy. In *Congregations in Europe*, edited by Jörg Stolz, and Christophe Monnot (pp. 53-69). Cham: Springer.

Giordan, Giuseppe, Guglielmi, Marco, and Olga Breskaya. 2018. Гендерный порядок и румынские православные женщины в Италии: социо-религиозная перспектива [Gender Order and Romanian Orthodox Women in Italy: A Socio-religious Perspective]. *Государство, религия, церковь в России и за рубежом* [*State, Religion and Church in Russia and Worldwide*], *36*(2), 221-247.

Giordan, Giuseppe, Possamai, Adam, and Siniša Zrinšcak, eds. 2017. Religions and Human Rights: Special Issue. *Religioni e società*, *87*(1).

Giordan, Giuseppe, and Siniša Zrinšcak, eds. 2019. *Global Eastern Orthodoxy: Religion, Politics, and Human Rights*. Cham: Springer (forthcoming).

Giulianotti, Richard, and Roland Robertson. 2007. Forms of Glocalization: Globalization and the Migration Strategies of Scottish Football Fans in North America. *Sociology*, *41*(1), 133-152.

Green, Eileen, and Carrie Singleton. 2007. 'Safe and Risky Spaces': Gender, Ethnicity and Culture in the Leisure Lives of Young South Asian Women. In *Geographies of Muslim Identities: Diaspora, Gender and Belonging*, edited by Cara Aitchison, Peter Hopkins, and Mei-Po Kwan (pp. 109–125). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Grigore, Mihai-D. 2016a. "Orthodox Brothers": Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, National Identity, and Conflict between the Romanian and Russian Orthodox Churches in Moldavia. In *Christianity and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Europe: Conflict, Community, and the Social Order*, edited by John Carter Wood (pp. 91-110). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Grigore, Mihai-Dumitru. 2016b. Positionen zu den Menschenrechten in der rumänischen Orthodoxie. In *Christentum und Menschenrechte in Europa. Perspektiven Und Debatten in Ost Und West*, edited by Vasilio N. Makrides, Jennifer Wasmuth, and Stefan Kube (137-148). Brussels: Peter Lang.

Grigorita, Georges. 2010. La Pastorale des Immigrants Dans l'Église Orthodose Réflexions Sur la Base de l'Actuel Statut d'Organization et de Fonctionnement de l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine. *L'Année canonique*, *52*, 71-98.

Guglielmi, Marco. 2017a. Globalizzazione e Ortodossia Cristiana. Una Nuova Categoria di Ricerca. *Religioni e società*, *87*(1), 127-131.

Guglielmi, Marco. 2017b. *Orthodox Christianity, Modernity and the Question of Human Rights*. Paper presented at International Conference Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR), Washington. 13/10/2017.

Marco Guglielmi. 2019. Essay in Global Orthodoxy (forthcoming).

Gvosdev, Nikolas. 2000. *Emperors and Elections: Reconciling the Orthodox Traditon with Modern Politics*. Huntington: Troitsa Books.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2006. Religion in the Public Sphere. *European Journal of Philosophy*, *14*(1), 1-25.

Hamilton, Malcolm. 2011. Rational Choice Theory: A Critique. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, edited by Peter B. Clarke (pp. 116–33). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harja, Alina, and Guido Melis. 2010. *Romeni: La Minoranza Decisiva per l'Italia di Domani*. Soveria Mannelli, CZ: Rubettino.

Hayden, Robert M., and Timothy D. Walker. 2013. Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, *81*(2), 399–426.

Hämmerli, Maria. 2010. Orthodox Diaspora? A Sociological and Theological Problematization of a Stock Phrase. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, *10*(2-3), 97-115.

Hämmerli, Maria. 2011. Les Dimensions Plurielles de L'Intégration des Communautés Orthodoxes en Suisse. *National Research Programme 58: Religion, the State and Society: Final research report*.

Hämmerli, Maria. 2014. How do Orthodox Integrate in their Host Countries? Examples from Switzerland. In *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation*, edited by Maria Hämmerli, and Jean-François Mayer (pp. 115-131). Farnham: Ashgate.

Hämmerli, Maria, and Jean-François Mayer. 2014a. Introduction. In *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation*, edited by Maria Hämmerli, and Jean-François Mayer (1-26). Farnham: Ashgate.

Hämmerli, Maria, and Jean-François Mayer, eds. 2014b. *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Harakas, Stanley. 1982. Human Rights: An Eastern Orthodox Perspective. *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, *19*(3), 13-24.

Henkin, Louis. 1998. Religion, Religions, and Human Rights. *Journal of Religious Ethics*, *26*(2), 229-239.

Herbel, Oliver D. 2014. *Turning to Tradition: Converts and the Making of an American Orthodox Church*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Herzog, Hanna, and Ann Braude. 2009. Untangling Modernities: Introduction. In *Gendering Religion and Politics: Untangling Modernities,* edited by Hanna Herzog, and Ann Braude (pp. 1–21). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hintikka, Kaisamari. 2000. *The Romanian Orthodox Church and the World Council of Churches: 1961-1977*. Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Society.

Hintikka, Kaisamari. 2003. The Pride and Prejudice of Romanian Orthodox Ecumenism. In *Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Europe*, edited by Jonathan Sutton, and William Peter van den Bercken (pp. 455-462). Leuven: Peeters.

Hopkins, Peter E., Kwan Mei-Po, and Cara Carmichael Aitchison. 2007. Introduction: Geographies of Muslim Identities. In *Geographies of Muslim Identities: Diaspora, Gender and Belonging*, edited by Cara Aitchison, Peter Hopkins, and Mei-Po Kwan (pp. 11–29). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hopko, Thomas, eds. 1999. *Women and the Priesthood*. New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Hovorun, Cyril. 2016. Humanitarianism and the Churches in Ukraine. *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, *14*(1), 43-50.

Hovorun, Cyril. 2017. Is the Byzantine 'Symphony' Possible in Our Days?. *Journal of Church and State*, *59*(2), 280-296.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Hynes, Patricia, Lamb, Michele, Short, Damien, and Matthew Waites, eds. 2012a. The Sociology of Human Rights: Special Issue. *Sociology*, *46*(5).

Hynes, Patricia, Lamb, Michele, Short, Damien, and Matthew Waites. 2012b. Editorial Foreward. *Sociology*, *46*(5), 787-796.

Hynes, Patricia, Lamb, Michele, Short, Damien, and Matthew Waites, eds. 2014. *New Directions in the Sociology of Human Rights*. London and New York: Routledge,

Ignatieff, Michael. 2003. *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry: New Edition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ihlamur-Öner, Suna Gülfer. 2009. *The Romanian Orthodox Churches in Italy: The Construction of Romanian-Italian Transnational Orthodox Space*. PhD Thesis, University of Trento, Trento, Italy.

Ihlamur-Öner, Suna Gülfer. 2014. Romanian Orthodox Churches in Italy: The Construction of the Romanian-Italian Transnational Orthodox Space. In *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration, Settlement and Innovation*, edited by Maria Hämmerli, and Jean-François Mayer (pp. 29-50). Farnham: Ashgate.

Iloaie, Ştefan. 2009. Ethics and life. The Documents of the Romanian Orthodox Church on Bioethics. *Revista Romana de Bioetica*, *7*(2), 18-29, 86-97.

Ioniţă, Viorel, ed. 2013. *Orthodox Theology in the 20th Century and Early 21st Century: A Romanian Orthodox Perspective*. Bucarest: Basilica.

Isnenghi, Mario. 1993. *La Grande Guerra*. Firenze: Giunti.

Joas, Hans. 2013. *The Sacredness of the Person: A New Genealogy of Human Rights*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Kalaitzidis, Pantelis. 2010. *Orthodoxie si Modernitate: O Introducere*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Eikon.

Kalaitzidis, Pantelis. 2016a. Baptismal and Ethno-cultural Community: A Case Study of Greek Orthodoxy. In *Beyond the Borders of Baptism: Catholicities, Allegiances, and Lived Identities*, edited by Michael L. Budde (pp. 141-167). Eugene, OR: Cascade Publishing Company.

Kalaitzidis, Pantelis. 2016b. *Nel Mondo Ma Non del Mondo: Sfide e Tentazioni della Chiesa nel Mondo Contemporaneo*. Bose (BI): Edizioni Qiqajon.

Kapalò, James A. 2014. Mediating Orthodoxy: Convert Agency and Discursive Autochtonism in Ireland. In *Orthodox Identities in Western Europe: Migration,*

Settlement and Innovation, edited by Maria Hämmerli, and Jean-François Mayer (pp. 229-250). Farnham: Ashgate.

Karpov, Vyacheslav, Lisovskaya, Elena, and David Barry. 2012. Ethnodoxy: How Popular Ideologies Fuse Religious and Ethnic Identities. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *51*(4), 638–655.

Kazarian, Nicolas. 2015. The Orthodox Church in France facing French secularism ('laïcité'). *Religion, State and Society*, *43*(3), 244-261.

Kishkovsky, Leonid. 2004. Orthodoxy in America: Diaspora or Church? *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, *24*(3), 35-46. Available in English at URL: http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1532&context=ree (Accessed: September 4, 2018).

Kravchenko, Elena. 2018. Becoming Eastern Orthodox in Diaspora: Materializing Orthodox Russia and Holy Rus'. *Religion*, *48*(1), 37-63.

Krawchuk, Andrii, and Thomas Bremer, eds. 2016. *Churches in the Ukrainian Crisis*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Krindatch, Alexi. 2011. *Atlas of American Orthodox Churches*. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press.

Ladykowska, Agata, and Detelina Tocheva. 2013. Women Teachers of Religion in Russia: Gendered Authority in the Orthodox Church. *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions*, 162, 55-74.

Ladouceur, Paul. 2016. The Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church. *Oecuménisme/Ecumenism*, *51*, 198-199, 18-39.

Ladouceur, Paul. 2017. Religious Diversity in Modern Orthodox Thought. *Religions*, 8, 77, 1-13.

Leustean, Lucian N. 2014a. *The Ecumenical Movement and the Making of the European Community*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Leustean, Lucian N., ed. 2014b. *Orthodox Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Southeastern Europe*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Leustean, Lucian N. 2018. Eastern Orthodoxy, Geopolitics and the 2016 'Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church'. *Geopolitics*, *23*(1), 201-216.

Levitt, Peggy. 2001. *The Transnational Villagers*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Levitt, Peggy. 2007. *God Needs No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing American Religious Landscape*. New York: The New Press.

Levitt, Peggy, and Nadya B. Jaworsky. 2007. Transnational migration studies: Past developments and future trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *33*(1), 129–156.

Liveris, Leonie B. 2005. *Ancient Taboos and Gender Prejudice: Challenges for Orthodox Women and the Church*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Luatti, Lorenzo. 2017. Rimesse: Ancora un Anno "No". In *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas-Migrantes 2017* (pp. 26-33). Roma: Edizioni Idos.

Madsen, Mikael Rask, and Gert Verschraegen, eds. 2013. *Making Human Rights Intelligible: Towards a Sociology of Human rights*. Oxford, Portland: Hart.

Maioni, Raffaella, and Maria Gallotti, eds. 2016. *Viaggio nel Lavoro di Cura: Chi Sono, Cosa Fanno e Come Vivono le Badanti che Lavorano nelle Famiglie Italiane*. Roma: Ediesse.

Makrides, Vasilios N. 2012a. Orthodox Christianity, Modernity and Postmodernity: Overview, Analysis and Assessment. *Religion, State and Society*, *40*(3-4), 248-285.

Makrides, Vasilios N. 2012b. Orthodox Christianity, Change, Innovation: Contradictions in Terms? In *Innovation in the Orthodox Christian Tradition? The Question of Change in Greek Orthodox Thought and Practice*, edited by Trine Stauning Willert, and Lina Molokotos-Liederman (pp. 19-50). London and New York: Routledge.

Makrides Vasilios N. 2012c. *Die Menschenrechte aus orthodox-christlicher Sicht. Evaluierung, Positionen und Reaktionen*. In *Schwierige Toleranz. Der Umgang mit Andersdenkenden und Andersgläubigen in der Christentumsgeschichte*, edited by Delgado Mariano, Leppin Volker, and Neuhold David (pp. 293-320). Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg - W. Kohlhammer Verlag.

Makrides, Vasilios N. 2013. Why Does the Orthodox Church Lack Systematic Social Teaching?, *Skepsis: A Journal for Philosophy and Interdisciplinary Research*, 23, 281-312.

Makrides, Vasilios N. 2019. Essay in Global Orthodoxy (forthcoming)

Makrides, Vasilios N., Wasmuth, Jennifer, and Stefan Kube, eds. 2016. *Christentum und Menschenrechte in Europa. Perspektiven Und Debatten in Ost Und West*. Brussels: Peter Lang.

Mona, Mamulea. 2008. Religion, Ecumenism and Cultural Identity: A Romanian Controversy of Modern Period. In *Itinerario e il Contenuto del Formare Ecumenico* (pp. 110-119). Venezia: Istituto di Studi Ecumenici S. Bernardino.

Manolache, Anca. 1994. *Problematica feminină în Biserica lui Hristos*. Timişoara: Editura Mitropoliei Banatului.

Marienstras, Richard. 1989. On the Notion of Diaspora. In *Minority Peoples in the Age of Nation-States*, edited by Gérard Chaliand (pp. 119–25). London: Pluto.

Mastagar, Mariana. 2006. Icons and the Immigrant Context. *Fieldwork in Religion*, *2*(2), 146-159.

Marcu, Alexandru. 1940. *Il Rinascimento Romeno e l'Italia in Cerca della Latinità dei Romeni*. Bucarest.

Márquez Reiter, Rosina, and Luisa Martín Rojo, eds. 2015. *A Sociolinguistics of Diaspora: Latino, Practices, Identities, and Ideologies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Martikainen, Tuomas. 2013. *Religion, Migration, Settlement: Reflections on Post-1990 Immigration to Finland*. Leiden: Brill.

Martin, David. 2011. *The Future of Christianity: Reflections on Violence and Democracy, Religion and Secularization*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Martin, Paul J. 2005. The Three Monotheistic Religions and International Human Rights. *Journal of Social Issues*, *61*(4), 827-845.

Marsh, Christopher. 2004. The Ambivalent Role of Orthodoxy in the Construction of Civil Society and Democracy in Russia. In *Burden or Blessing? Russian Orthodoxy and the Construction of Civil Society and Democracy*, edited by Christopher Marsh (pp. 1-8). Boston, MA: Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs, Boston University.

Marsh, Christopher, and Daniel Payne. 2007. The Globalization of Human Rights and the Socialization of Human Rights Norms. *Brigham Young University Law Review*, (3), 665-688.

Marsh, Christopher, and Daniel Payne. 2012. Religiosity, Tolerance and Respect for Human Rights in the Orthodox. World. In *Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights*, edited by Alfons Brüning, and Evert van der Zweerde (pp. 201-214). Leuven: Peeters.

Marzano, Marco. 2012. *Quel Che Resta dei Cattolici: Inchiesta sulla Crisi della Chiesa in Italia*. Milano: Feltrinelli.

McGuckin, John Anthony. 1998. Eschaton and Kerygma: The Future of the Past in the Present Kairos: The Concept of Living Tradition in Orthodox Theology. *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, *42*(3–4), 225-71.

McGuckin, John Anthony. 2008. *The Orthodox Church: An Introduction to its History, Doctrine, and Spiritual Culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

McMylor, Peter, and Maria Vorozhishcheva. 2007. Sociology and Eastern Orthodoxy. In *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, edited by Ken Parry (pp. 462-479). Ames, Iowa: Blackwell.

Miller, Daniel, and Mirca Madianou. 2012. *Migration and New Media: Transnational Families and Polymedia*. London and New York: Routledge.

Molokotos-Liederman, Lina. 2009. Greece: Selective Secularization and the Deprivatization of Religion?. In *Secularism, Women and the State: the Mediterranean World in the 21st Century*, edited by Barry A. Kosmin and Ariela Keysar (pp. 41–56). Hartford: Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture.

Morawska, Ewa. 2014. Glocalization Effects of Immigrants' Activities on the Host Society: An Exploration of a Neglected Theme. In *European Glocalization in Global Context*, edited by Roland Robertson (pp. 103-128). London and New York: Palgrave McMillan.

Morini, Enrico. 2002. *Gli Ortodossi: L'Oriente dell'Occidente*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Morozzo della Rocca, Roberto. 1997. *Le Chiese Ortodosse: Una Storia Contemporanea*. Roma: Studium.

Mudrov, Sergei A. 2016. *Christian Churches in European Integration*. New York and London: Routledge.

Nash, Kate. 2015. *The Political Sociology of Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noble, Ivana. 2007. Doctrine of Creation within the Theological Project of Dumitru Staniloae. *Communio*, *XLIX*(2), 185-209.

Noble, Ivana. 2016. The Future of the Orthodox Diaspora - An Observer's Point of View. *St. Vladimir's Teological Quarterly*, *60*(1-2), 171–188.

Noble, Ivana, and Tim Noble. 2013. Orthodox Theology in Western Europe in 20th Century. *EGO: European History Online*, 1-19. Available at URL: https://d-nb.info/104373564X/34 (Accessed: April 26, 2018).

Noble, Ivana, Bauerova, Katerina, Noble, Tim, and Parush Parushev. 2015. *The Ways of Orthodox Theology in the West*. New York: St Vladimirs Seminary Press.

Obadia, Lionel. 2010. Globalization and the Sociology of Religion. In *The New Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Religion*, edited by Bryan S. Turner (pp. 477-497). Oxford, MA: Blackwell.

Offutt, Stephen, and Grant Miller. 2016. Transnationalism. In *Handbook of Religion and Society*, edited by David Yamane (pp. 525-545). New York: Springer.

Oprica, Vlad. 2008. Gender Equality and Conflicting Attitudes Toward Women in Post-Communist Romania. *Human Rights Review*, 9, 29-40.

Pace, Enzo. 2007. A Peculiar Pluralism. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, *12*(1), 86-100.

Pace, Enzo. 2011a. The Socio-cultural and Socio-religious Origins of Human Rights. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, edited by Peter B. Clarke (pp. 432-450). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Pace, Enzo. 2011b. *Vecchi e Nuovi Dei: La Geografia Religiosa dell'Italia che Cambia*. Milano: Paoline.

Pace, Enzo. 2013a, Achilles and the Tortoise. A Society Monopolized by Catholicism Faced with an Unexpected Religious Pluralism. *Social Compass*, *60*(3), 315–331.

Pace, Enzo, ed. 2013b. *Le Religioni nell'Italia che Cambia: Mappe e Bussole*. Roma: Carocci.

Pace, Enzo. 2017. The Progressive Role of Religions in Advancing Human Rights Paradigm: a Sociological Perspective. *Religioni e società*, *87*(1), 32-40.

Pacini, Andrea. 2000. *Le Chiese Ortodosse*. Torino: Elledici.

Parlato, Vittorio. 2012. La legge n. 126 del 2012 relativa ai rapporti tra Italia e Sacra Arcidiocesi Ortodossa d'Italia e Malta. *Stato, Chiese e pluralismo confessionale. Rivista telematica 36*, 1-19.

Payne, Daniel P. 2003. The Clash of Civilizations: The Church of Greece, the European Union and the Question of Human Rights. *Religion, State and Society*, *31*(3), 261-271.

Payne, Daniel P. 2007. Nationalism and the Local Church: The Source of Ecclesiastical Conflict in the Orthodox Commonwealth. *Nationalities Papers*, *35*(5), 831-852.

Payne Daniel P. 2017. Towards an Orthodox Understanding of Religious Freedom: An Exploration of the Theological Resources for Engaging Religious Pluralism. *Journal of Church and State*, *59*(4), 608–625.

Payne, Daniel P., and Jennifer M. Kent. 2011. An Alliance of the Sacred: Prospects for a Catholic-Orthodox Partnership against Secularism in Europe. *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, *46*(1), 41-66.

Pavel, Aurel. 2014. Ecumenical Dialogue in the Perspective of the Romanian Orthodox Church. In *Orthodox Handbook on Ecumenism: Resources for Theological Education*, edited by Pantelis Kalaitzidis, Thomas FitzGerald, Cyril Hovorun, Aikaterini Pekridou, Nikolaos Asproulis, Guy Liagre, Dietrich Werner (pp. 365- 373). Oxford: Regnum Books.

Perego, Giancarlo, and Gianromano Gnesotto. 2010. Immigrati e Religioni: Preminenza degli Ortodossi e Dibattito sulle Moschee. In *Dossier Statistico Immigrazione Caritas-Migrantes 2010* (pp. 204-211). Roma: Edizioni Idos.

Perrotta, Domenico. 2011. *Vite in Cantiere: Migrazione e Lavoro dei Rumeni in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Petro, Nicolai. 1995. *The Rebirth of Russian Democracy: An Interpretation of Political Culture*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Piovano, Adalberto. 2001. Gli "Altri" Cristiani in Italia: Gli Ortodossi. In *Religioni in Italia: Il Nuovo Pluralismo Religioso*, edited by Fabio Ballabio, and Brunetto Salvarani (pp. 73-88). Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.

Pnevmatikakis, Vassilis. 2013. La Territorialité de l'Eglise Orthodoxe en France, Entre Exclusivisme Juridictionnel et Catholicité Locale. *Carnets de géographes*, *6*.

Pollack, Detlef, and Gergely Rosta. 2018. *Religion and Modernity: An International Comparison*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pollis, Adamantia. 1987. The State, the Law, and Human Rights in Greece. *Human Rights Quarterly*, *9*(4), 587–614.

Pollis, Adamantia. 1993. Eastern Orthodoxy and Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, *15*(2), 339-356.

Pollis Adamantia. 2003. Greece: A Problematic Secular State. In *The Secular and the Sacred: Nation, Religion, and Politics*, edited by William Safran (pp. 155-168). London: Frank Cass.

Pop, Ioan-Aurel. 1999. *Romanians and Romania: A Brief History*. New York: East European Monographs.

Pop, Ioan-Aurel. 2014. I romeni e il ricordo di Roma. *Bollettino di Numismatica - Studi e Ricerche*, *2*, 27-40.

Preda, Radu. 2008. *Semnele Vremii: Lecturi social-teologice*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.

Preda, Radu. 2009a. *Comunismul: O Modernitate Eșuată*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.

Preda, Radu. 2009b. *Cultura Dialogului: Pledoarii & Exerciții*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.

Preda, Radu. 2010a. *Ortodoxia & Ortodoxiile*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.

Preda, Radu. 2010b. *Revenirea lui Dumnezeu: Studii Social-teologice*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.

Preda, Radu. 2011. *Uniatismul: Fenomen Social și Interogație Teologică*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon.

Preda, Radu. 2012. Human Rights and Their Reception in Orthodoxy – A Romanian Perspective. In *Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights*, edited by Alfons Brüning, and

Van der Zweerde Evert (pp. 293-313). Leuven: Peeters.

Preda, Radu. 2013. Orthodox Social Theology: Prolegomena to an Eastern Perspective on Today's World. In *Orthodox Theology in the 20th Century and Early 21st Century: A Romanian Orthodox Perspective*, edited by Viorel Ioniţă (pp. 726-770). Bucharest: Basilica.

Prodromou, Elizabeth. 2004a. Negotiating Pluralism and Specifying Modernity in Greece: Reading Church–State Relations in the Christodoulos Period. *Social Compass*, *51*(4), 471–485.

Prodromou, Elizabeth. 2004b. The Ambivalent Orthodox. *Journal of Democracy*, *15*(2), 62-75.

Radu, Michel. 1998. The Burden of Eastern Orthodoxy. *Orbis*, *42*(2), 283-300.

Ramet, Sabrina P. 2006, The Way We Were – and Should be Again? European Orthodox Churches and the "Idyllic Past". In *Religion in an Expanding Europe*, edited by Timothy A. Byrnes (pp. 148-175). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ravegnani, Giorgio. 2004. *I Bizantini in Italia*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Rawls, John. 1997. The Idea of Public Reason Revisited. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, *64*(3), 765-807.

Rawls, Jonh. 2001. *The Law of Peoples. With "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited"*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Reader, John. 2003. The Discourse of Human Rights -- a Secular Religion?. *Implicit Religion*, *6*(1), 41-51.

Reati, Fiorenzo. 2009. *La Chiesa Ortodossa: L'Altro Sole*. Pisa: ETS.

Ricucci, Roberta. 2017. *Diversi dall'Islam: Figli dell'Immigrazione e Altre Fedi*. Bologna: Il Mulino

Rimestad, Sebastian. 2015. The Russian Orthodox Church in Western Europe: One or Many?, *Religion, State and Society*, *43*(3), 228-243.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. The Socialization of International Human Rights Norms Into Domestic Practices: Introduction. In *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, edited by Thomas Risse-Kappen, Stephen C. Ropp, Kathryn Sikkink (pp. 1-38). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas, Ropp, Stephen C., and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roberson, Ronald G. 2002. Dumitru Stăniloe on Christian Unity. In *Dumitru Stăniloae: Tradition and Modernity in Theology*, edited by Lucian Turcescu (pp. 104-125). Iași, Romania; and Palm Beach, US: Center for Romanian Studies.

Robertson, Roland. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Robertson, Roland. 1994. Religion and the Global Field. *Social Compass*, *41*(1), 121-135.

Rogobete, Silviu. 2004. Morality and Tradition in Postcommunist Orthodox Lands: On the Universality of Human Rights, with Special Reference to Romania. *Religion, State and Society*, *32*(3), 275-297.

Roudometof, Victor. 2013. The glocalizations of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *16*(2), 226-245.

Roudometof, Victor. 2014a. Forms of Religious Glocalization: Orthodox Christianity in the Longue Durée. *Religions*, *5*(4), 1017–1036.

Roudometof, Victor. 2014b. *Globalization and Orthodox Christianity: The Transformations of a Religious Tradition*. London and New York: Routledge.

Roudometof, Victor. 2014c. The Glocalizations of Christianity in Europe: A Global-Historical Perspective. In *European Glocalization in Global Context*, edited by Roland Robertson (pp. 62-81). London and New York: Palgrave McMillan.

Roudometof, Victor. 2015a. Mapping the Glocal Turn: Literature Streams, Scholarship Clusters and Debates. *Glocalism: Journal of Culture, Politics and Innovation*, *3*, 1-21.

Roudometof, Victor. 2015b. Orthodox Christianity as a Transnational Religion: Theoretical, Historical and Comparative Considerations. *Religion, State and Society*, *43*(3), 211-227.

Roudometof, Victor. 2015c. The Glocal and Global Studies. *Globalizations*, *12*(5), 774-787.

Roudometof, Victor. 2015d. Theorizing Glocalization: Three interpretations. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *19*(3), 391-408.

Roudometof, Victor. 2015e. Special Section: Orthodox Christianity in Western Europe. *Religion, State, and Society*, *43*(3).

Roudometof, Victor. 2016a. Globalization. In *Handbook of Religion and Society*, edited by David Yamane (pp. 505-524). New York: Springer.

Roudometof, Victor, eds. 2016b. Glocal Religions: Special issue. *Religions*, *6*(4).

Roudometof, Victor. 2016c. *Glocalization: An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge.

Safran, William. 1991. Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora*, *1*(1), 83-99.

Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.

Salapatas, Dimitris. 2015. The Role of Women in the Orthodox Church. *Zeitschrift des Instituts für Orthodoxe Theologie der Universität München*, 2, 177–194.

Salih, Ruba. 2000. Shifting Boundaries of Self and Other: Moroccan Migrant Women in Italy. *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, *7*(3), 321–335.

Scholte, Jan Art. 2000. *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. London and New York: Palgrave McMillan.

Schubert, Lara K. 2009. Harmonizing Particularity of Religions and Universality of Human Rights: Critique of Traditional 'Top Down' Approach and Proposed Alternative. *Religion & Human Rights*, *4*(1), 25-40.

Selaru, Sorin, and Patriciu Vlaicu, eds. 2013. *Misiunea Sacramentală a Bisericii în Contextul European*. București: Editura Basilica.

Shih, Kristy Y. 2015. Transnational Families. In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Family Studies*, edited by Constance L. Shehan. London: Wiley-Blackwell. Available at URL: http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781119085621.wbefs177/pdf (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Shi-Xu. 2010. The Chinese Discourse of Human Rights and Glocalization. In *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*, edited by Nikolas Coupland (pp. 426-447). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sjöborg, Anders, and Hans-Georg Ziebertz, eds. 2017. *Religion, Education and Human Rights: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. New York: Springer.

Slagle, Amy. 2011. *The Eastern Church in the Spiritual Marketplace: American Conversions to Orthodox Christianity*, DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.

Slembrouck, Stef. 2011. Globalization: Theory and Migration. In *The SAGE Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, edited by Ruth Wodak, Barbara Johnstone, and Paul Kerswill (pp. 153-164). London: Sage.

Sonea, Cristian. 2017. The Issue of Women Ordination: A Challenge for Orthodox Theology in the 21st Century. *Teologia*, *70*(1), 31-45.

Sotiriu, Eleni. 2004. Contested Masculine Spaces in Greek Orthodoxy. *Social Compass*, *51*(4), 499–510.

Sotiriu, Eleni. 2010. 'The Traditional Modern': Rethinking the Position of Contemporary Greek Women to Orthodoxy. In *Orthodox Christianity in 21st Century Greece: The Role of Religion in Culture, Ethnicity and Politics*, edited by Vasilios N. Makrides, and Victor Roudometof (pp. 131-153). Farnham: Ashgate

Staab, Nicolai. 2012. Anti-Modern without being Non-Modern? Attitudes to Modernity in the Writings of Nichifor Crainic and Dumitru Stăniloae in the Interwar Period. *Religion, State and Society*, *40*(3-4), 316-335.

Stan, Lavinia. 2010. Eastern Orthodox Wiews on Sexuality and the Body. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *33*(1), 38-46.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2000. The Romanian Orthodox Church and Post-communist Democratization. *Europe-Asia Studies*, *52*(8), 1467-1488.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2005a. Religion, Politics and Sexuality in Romania. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 57(2), 291-310.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2005b. Religious Education in Romania. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, *38*(3), 293-424.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2006a. Politics, National Symbols and the Romanian Orthodox Cathedral. *Europe-Asia Studies*, *58*(7), 1119-1139.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2006b. *Religion and Politics in Post-Communist Romania*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2007. Orthodoxy and EU Integration: Opportunity or Stumbling Block? Paper presented at *The Society for Romanian Studies Conference*, Constanta, June 25-28.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2010. The Romanian Orthodox Church and Democratization: Twenty Years Later. *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, *1*(2), 144–159.

Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu. 2012. The Romanian Orthodox Church: From Nation-Building Actor to State Partner. *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, *25*(2), 401-417.

Stăniloae, Dumitru. 1980. *Theology and the Church*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

Stark, Rodney. 1994. Rational Choice Theories of Religion. *Agora*, *2*(1), 1-5.

Stearns, Peter N. 2010. *Globalization in World History*. London and New York: Routledge.

Stepan, Alfred C. 2000. Religion, Democracy, and the "Twin Tolerations". *Journal of Democracy*, *11*(4), 37-57.

Stoeckl, Kristina. 2011. European Integration and Russian Orthodoxy: Two Multiple Modernities Perspectives. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *14*(2), 217–233.

Stoeckl, Kristina. 2012. European Integration and Russian Orthodoxy: Two Multiple Modernities Perspectives. In *Multiple Modernities and Postsecular Societies*, edited by Kristina Stoeckl, and Massimo Rosati (pp. 97-114.). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Stoeckl, Kristina. 2014. *The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights*. London and New York: Routledge.

Stoeckl, Kristina. 2016. Moral Argument in the Human Rights Debate of the Russian Orthodox Church. In *Democracy, and the Shadow of Constantine*, edited by George E. Demacopoulos, and Aristotle Papanikolaou (pp. 11-30). New York: Fordham University Press.

Spina, Nicholas. 2015. The Religious Authority of the Orthodox Church and Tolerance Toward Homosexuality. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *63*(1), 37-49.

Sutton, Jonathan, and Wil van den Bercken, eds. 2003. *Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Europe*. Leuven: Peeters.

Talal, Asad. 1993. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Talal, Asad. 2003. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Talalay, Mikhail. 1998. Ortodossia Russa in Italia. *Religioni e società*, *30*, 90-98.

Tambiah, Stanley J. 2000. Transnational Movements, Diaspora, and Multiple Modernities. *Daedalus*, *129*(1), 163-194.

Tambiah, Stanley J. 2002. Vignets of Present Day Diaspora. In *Identity, Culture and Globalization*, edited by Eliezer Ben-Rafael, and Yitzhak Sternberg (pp. 327–336). Leiden: Brill.

Tarta, Mihai. 2015. European Culture Wars: Sexual Nationalism between Euro-Christian and Euro-Secular Civil Religion in Poland and Romania. In *Religious and Sexual Nationalisms in Central and Eastern Europe: Gods, Gays and Governments*, edited by Srdjan Sremac, and R. Ruard Ganzevoort (33-51). Leiden: Brill.

Tavala, Emanuel. 2010. Financing Religious Communities in Romania. In *Financing of Churches and Religious Societies in the 21° Century*, edited by Michaela Moravčíková, and Eleonóra Valová (pp. 100-104). Bratislava: Institute for State-Church Relations.

Thorbjørnsrud, Berit Synøve. 2015a. Who is a Convert? New Members of the Orthodox Church in Norway. *Temenos*, *51*(1), 71-93.

Thorbjørnsrud, Berit Synøve. 2015b. The Problem of the Orthodox Diaspora: The Orthodox Church between Nationalism, Transnationalism, and Universality. *Numen*, 62, 568–595.

Tiaynen-Qadir, Tatiana. 2017. Glocal Religion and Feeling at Home: Ethnography of Artistry in Finnish Orthodox Liturgy. *Religions*, *8*(2), 1-14.

Tomka, Miklós. 2011. *Expanding Religion: Religious Revival in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Tucu, Liana Corina. 2013. La Latinità nei Rapporti Italo-Romeni: In Margine ad un Convegno Tenutosi a Fondi (LT). *Quaderni Coldragonesi*, *4*, 119-128.

Turcescu, Lucian. 2002a. Eucharistic Ecclesiology or Open Sobornicty. In *Dumitru Stăniloae: Tradition and Modernity in Theology*, edited by Lucian Turcescu (pp. 83-103). Iași, Romania; and Palm Beach, US: Center for Romanian Studies.

Turcescu, Lucian. 2002b. Introduction. In *Dumitru Stăniloae: Tradition and Modernity in Theology*, edited by Lucian Turcescu (pp. 7-14). Iași, Romania; and Palm Beach, US: Center for Romanian Studies.

Turcescu, Lucian. 2011. Sobornicity. In *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology,* edited by Ian A. McFarland, David A. S. Fergusson, Karen Kilby, and Iain R. Torrance (pp. 475-476). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turcescu, Lucian. 2018. A Woman's Lonely Voice in the Romanian Orthodox Church: Introducing Anca Monalache. *Orthodoxy in Dialogue*, May 24. Available at URL: https://orthodoxyindialogue.com/2018/05/24/a-womans-lonely-voice-in-the-romanian-orthodox-church-introducing-anca-manolache-by-lucian-turcescu (Accessed: August 8, 2018).

Turcotte, Paul-André. 2012, The National Church as a Historical Form of Church-type. Elements of a Configurative Theorization. *Social Compass*, *59*(4), 525–538.

Turner, Bryan S. 1994. *Orientalism, Postmodernism and Globalism*. London: Routledge.

Turunen, Maija. 2012. Official and Unofficial Voices of the Russian Orthodox Church: Analyzing Human Rights in Official Documents and Personal Interviews. In *Orthodox Christianity and Human Rights*, edited by Alfons Brüning, and Evert van der Zweerde (pp. 237-249). Leuven: Peeters.

Untea, Ionut. 2017. Service and Pro-Existence in the Thought of the Romanian Theologian Dumitru Staniloae: A Path for the Orthodox Church Facing the Challenges of Globalization. *Religions*, *8*(5), 1-17.

Valdman, Traian. 2001. L'Ortodossia in Italia. Intervista a un protagonista: Traian Valdman. In *Religioni in Italia: Il Nuovo Pluralismo Religioso*, edited by Fabio Ballabio, and Brunetto Salvarani (pp. 89–94). Bologna: Editrice Missionaria Italiana.

van der Ven, Johannes A., and Hans-Georg Ziebertz, eds. 2012. *Tension Within and Between Religions and Human Rights*. Leiden: Brill.

van der Ven, Johannes A., and Hans-Georg Ziebertz, eds. 2013. *Human Rights and the Impact of Religion*. Leiden: Brill.

Vassiliadis, Petros. 1998. *Eucharist and Witness: Orthodox Perspectives on the Unity and Mission of the Church*. Geneva: WCC Publications; Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press.

Vassiliadis, Petros. 2018. *Liturgical Renewal and The Orthodox Church*. Avaiable at URL:
https://www.academia.edu/3581957/LITURGICAL_RENEWAL_AND_THE_ORTHODOX_CHURCH?auto=download (Accessed: May 3, 2018).

Vassiliadis, Petros, Papageorgiou, Niki, and Eleni Kasselouri-Hatzivassiliadi, eds. 2017. *Deaconesses, the Ordination of Women and Orthodox Theology*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Vertovec, Steven. 2000. Religion and Diaspora. Paper presented at the conference on *New Landscapes on Religion in the West*, School of Geography and the Environment, University of Oxford, September 27-29.

Vertovec, Steven. 2009. *Transnationalism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Vianello, Francesca. 2009. *Migrando Sole: Legami Transnazionali tra Ucraina e Italia*. Milano: Franco Angeli.

Vietti, Francesco. 2010. *Il Paese delle Badanti*. Milano: Meltemi.

Vlas, Natalia. 2012. Who could Challenge Democracy? The Law on Religious Freedom – An Expression of Romanian Democracy?. *Europolis*, *6*(2), 177-197.

Webster, Alexander F.C. 1993. *The Price of Prophecy: Orthodox Churches on Peace, Freedom, and Security*. Washington: Ethics and Public Policy Center.

Wigglesworth, Kevin. 2010. Statistics of Orthodox Christianity in Canada. *The Canadian Journal of Orthodox Christianity*, *5*(1), 28-48.

Winchester, Daniel. 2015. Converting to Continuity: Temporality and Self in Eastern Orthodox Conversion Narratives. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *54*(3), 439-460.

Witte, John. 1996. Law Religion and Human Rights. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, *28*(1), 1-31.

Witte, Jonh, and Christian M. Green. 2012a. Introduction. In *Religion and Human Rights: An introduction*, edited by Jonh Witte, and Christian M. Green (pp. 3-24). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Witte, Jonh, and Christian M. Green. 2012b. *Religion and Human Rights: An introduction*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Woodhead, Linda. 2007. Gender Differences in Religious Practice and Significance. In

The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion, edited by James Beckford, and N.J. Demerath III (pp. 566–587). Los Angeles: Sage.

Yang, Fenggang. 2006. The Red, Black, and Gray Markets of Religion in China. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *47*(1), 93-122.

Yannaras, Christos. 2004. Human Rights and the Orthodox Church. In *The Orthodox Churches in a Pluralistic World: An Ecumenical Conversation*, edited by Emmanuel Clapsis (83-89). Geneva: WCC Publications.

Yannaras, Christos. 2007. *Orthodoxy and the West: Hellenic Self-Identity in the Modern Age*. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press.

Yannoulatos, Anastasios. 2003. *Orthodoxy and Human Rights*. In *Facing the World: Orthodox Christian Essays on Global Concerns* (49-78). Geneva: WCC Publications.

Zabaev. Ivan. 2017. Humility, Dignity and Economy: Contemporary Russian Orthodox Church Practices and the Logic of Human Rights. Paper presented at Conference *Global Orthodoxy. Religion, Politics, and Human Rights*, Human Rights Centre, University of Padova, May 12.

Ziebertz1, Hans-Georg. 2017. Religion as a Predictor for the Support of Judicial Human Rights? An Empirical Study among German Youth of Different Religious Affiliation. *Journal of Empirical Theology*, *30*(2), 164-197.

Ziebertz, Hans-Georg, and Gordan Črpić, eds. 2015. *Religion and Human Rights: An International Perspective*. New York: Springer.

Zizioulas, John D. 2010. *The One and the Many: Studies on God, Man, the Church, and the World Today*. Alhambra, CA: Sebastian Press.

Zviadadze, Sophie. 2015. Georgian Orthodox Church and Human Rights: Challenges to Georgian Society. In *Religion and Human Rights: An International Perspective*, edited by Hans-Georg Ziebertz, and Gordan Črpić (45-60). Cham: Springer.

Online Newspapers and Press

Alemanno, Gianni. 2013. *Festeggiamenti della Pasqua Ortodossa Romena*, May 12 [press release]. Avaiable at URL: http://duepuntozero.alemanno.it/2013/05/12/festeggiamenti-della-pasqua-della-diocesi-ortodossa-romena (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Anghel, Gheorghe. 2018. A fost oficiată o slujbă de pomenire pentru 15 eroi români din primul război mondial, descoperiţi recent în cimitirul din Nürnberg. *Basilica*, 30 May [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://basilica.ro/a-fost-oficiata-o-slujba-de-pomenire-pentru-15-eroi-romani-din-primul-razboi-mondial-descoperiti-recent-in-cimitirul-din-nurnberg (Accessed: June 1, 2018).

Brunetto, Claudia. 2009. I romeni: “Non siamo criminali”. *La Repubblica*, May 20 [article]. Avaiable at URL:

http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2009/05/20/romeni-non-siamo-criminali.html (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Cuzzocrea, Monica. 2016. Le religioni in visita alla Chiesa ortodossa romena. *La Settimana tutti i giorni*, October 28 [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://www.lasettimanalivorno.it/le-religioni-in-visita-alla-chiesa-ortodossa-romena (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Diocesi di Padova. 2016. *Concerto di Natale con canti della tradizione ortodossa romena*, December 8 [press release]. Avaiable at URL: http://www.diocesipadova.it/cs-257-concerto-natale-canti-della-tradizione-ortodossa-romena (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Gubbini, Cinzia. 2006. Storie. Un difficile «coming out» nell'Europa dell'est. «Io, prete e gay in fuga dalla Romania». *Il Manifesto*, June 18 [article]. Available at URL:

https://www.gay-forum.it/topic/22614-la-coraggiosa-storia-di-padre-avondios-e-la-splendida-realt%C3%A0-del-lazzaretto (Accessed: May 30, 2018).

Mazzotti, Giorgia. 2004. Laurentiu: vi racconto i mille ortodossi della mia chiesa. *Gazzetta di Mantova*, January 25 [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://ricerca.gelocal.it/gazzettadimantova/archivio/gazzettadimantova/2004/01/25/NL1PO_NL101.html (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Monza. 2016. *Visita alla Chiesa Ortodossa*, April 10 [letter]. Avaiable at URL: http://www.icviacorreggiomonza.gov.it/visita-alla-chiesa-ortodossa (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Nedelcu, Marius. 2014. Cooperare pentru sprijinirea românilor din diaspora. *Lumina*, January 16 [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://ziarullumina.ro/cooperare-pentru-sprijinirea-romanilor-din-diaspora-88091.html (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Orlando, Roberto. 2016. Torino, ecco la chiesa degli ortodossi romeni: una meraviglia tutta di legno. *La Repubblica*, September 21 [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://torino.repubblica.it/cronaca/2016/09/21/foto/torino_ecco_la_nuova_chiesa_degli_ortodossi_romeni_una_meraviglia_tutta_di_legno-148276253/1/# (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

Roggero, Alessio. 2011. *Intervista. Padre Claudiu parla della comunità ortodossa presente nella diocesi di Albenga-Imperia* [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://www.webdiocesi.chiesacattolica.it/cci_new/s2magazine/moduli/ultimora/index.jsp?idCategoria=296&id=24223&ordina_per=DESC (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

2014. «Costruire un nuovo rapporto con i romeni». *Il Tirreno: Edizione di Pisa*, September 22 [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://iltirreno.gelocal.it/pisa/cronaca/2014/09/22/news/costruire-un-nuovo-rapporto-con-i-romeni-1.9980140 (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

2016. I novemila fedeli di padre Gheorghe. *Il Mattino di Padova*, February 9 [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://mattinopadova.gelocal.it/padova/cronaca/2016/02/09/news/i-novemila-fedeli-di-padre-gheorghe-1.12929156 (Accessed: April 7, 2018).

2017. Gli eroi della Bucovina a fianco degli italiani. *Rovigo Oggi*, 27 May [article]. Avaiable at URL: http://www.rovigooggi.it/articolo/2017-05-27/gli-eroi-della-bucovina-a-fianco-degli-italiani/#.WxKkq58zbIU (Accessed: June 1, 2018).

2018. Avis, dopo i musulmani i donatori ortodossi. *La Nuova Ferrara*, January 29 [article]. Available at URL: http://lanuovaferrara.gelocal.it/ferrara/cronaca/2018/01/29/news/avis-dopo-i-musulmani-i-donatori-ortodossi-1.16412880 (Accessed: October 20, 2018).

2018. Donazione di sangue Progetto di Avis, romeni e ortodossi. *Il Centro*, March 16 [article]. Available at URL: http://www.ilcentro.it/chieti/donazione-di-sangue-progetto-di-avis-romeni-e-ortodossi-1.1860224 (Accessed: October 20, 2018).