Media Speech on Atheism a Study Case in Arabic Channels' Talk Shows

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Abstract

Despite that atheism phenomenon or the denial of the existence of God is not new in Arab Islamic history, many atheist groups and movements were elevated in more than one era in the Islamic times, including a number of leading philosophers such as Abu Bakr Al-Razi, Al-Farabi and Ibn Rushd [11]. The growth of the Arab world's atheism phenomenon between 2000-2020 has been largely linked to modern media, namely digital media and television channels, which have allowed new atheists and young generations to freely express their views and openly reveal their own atheism, a matter Arab audience are not used to [21]. Considering the increasing attention given to Islam by the New Atheists in their books and through their various media, as well as the unlimited access the public now has to such content on the Internet, it should be of no surprise that atheistic beliefs are on the rise in Muslim countries and are being promulgated covertly if not openly [2].This study aims at building a vision of atheism in the Arab-Islamic world through a revealing the features of the media speech on atheism and atheists in television talk shows many Arabic-speaking channels, which will provide knowledge about the concept of atheism and the image presented by the mass media on atheism and atheists. The image atheists reflect about themselves, the strategies they present to prove their existence and survival, hence, the concepts, expressions, and images presented by the counterparties. This study depends on the perspective of descriptive social studies from the qualitative perspective, by analyzing the speech of a group of Arab television channels that offer talk shows allocating the phenomenon of atheism and host atheists in debates. The results showed that although the television programs broadcasted in this phase cannot be separated from the context of the official campaign against atheism, it was clear that there was a clear polarization in the editorial policies of television channels that reflected the contradictions of official political speech in Arab countries between official religious calls to confront the phenomenon of new atheism on the one hand and the confrontation with religious extremism on the other.

Keywords: Atheism; Media; Islam; TV; Religion; Talk shows; Hate speech.

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1. Introduction

The world is witnessing a new wave of atheism, and religious extremism on the other hand, which means a global cultural shift that returned religion to the center of public discourse. The main supporters of this contemporary movement have launched an ideological charge against all religions alike, describing it as illogical and extremely harmful [24].

This new wave of atheism seems to have focused particularly on Islam. In the past, the criticisms of religion and God in the West were generally directed against Jewish and Christian rituals, but one of the main features that make the new atheism "new", is in its charge against religion, Islam is not ignored, but the spread of the Phenomenon of atheism in the Muslim world is at the heart of the debate [1].

However, the question of the spread of atheism in contemporary Arab societies is still complex, uneasy, and not subject to the principle of freedom of belief and conscience. Conservative Arab society does not accept publicly atheist people who acknowledge themselves as atheists, even though it accepts individuals not practicing religious teachings. In some Arab countries, the publicity of atheism is illegal and subject to punishment as an insult to religion [7].

Atheism beliefs are increasing in Arab and Islamic countries and are published privately, if not publicly. Although it is difficult to find statistics that measure the growing numbers of self-declared atheists in Muslim countries, a 2012 "Gallup" poll reported that in Saudi Arabia, the first home of Islam; 5% of the population is atheists, and 19% of the population are non-religious [25].

In the 2012 "Pew Forum" survey in more than 230 countries, "Atheism" became the third "religion" in terms of number in the world after Christianity and Islam. The study found that the lowest atheism rates exist in the Middle East, where they do not exceed 2% (2 million and 100 thousand) out of billion and 100 million atheists in the world's total, notably the largest number of believers are still in the Middle East [18].

According to an independent research survey by the Arab Barometer Network in the Middle East and North Africa regions for BBC Arabic, in which more than 25,000 people from ten countries participated in addition to the Palestinian territories in late 2018 and the spring of 2019, it has been found that since 2013, the rate of those who described themselves as "non-religious" arose from 8% to 13% [4].

One third of Tunisians and one quarter of Libyans describe themselves as atheist, while in Egypt the size of this group has doubled, and quadrupled in Morocco. Al Azhar Religious Foundation (the largest religious institution in the Sunni Muslim world) indicated that in 2014 there is only 2,293 atheists in the Arab world, including 866 Egyptian atheists [1].

It is clear that media changes in the Arab world had given a lot of space to the spread of atheism. The emergence of several groups on social media with the dawn of the new century and the presence of electronic existence continues to increase as more than 60 pages on Facebook proclaim atheism. Among them were "the Dawn of Atheism in the Arab World", "Arab Atheists Union" and "Arab Atheists' Statistics", in addition to the nerve that

TV channels showed in allocating talk shows to host atheists and discussing them [12].

2. Subject and study methodology

2.1. *Methodology and Tools for Data Collection and Analysis*

This study depends on the perspective of descriptive social studies from the qualitative perspective, by analyzing the speech of a group of Arab television channels that offer talk shows allocating the phenomenon of atheism and host atheists in debates. The study seeks to reveal the intellectual characteristics and system of beliefs and perceptions of three categories:

1. *Atheists hosted by TV channels in talk shows.*
2. *The counterparts refusing atheism from different currents.*
3. *Media, represented by TV channels and presenters who usually direct the dialog.*

2.2. *Data collection Tools*

In the first phase, the study was based on data collection to gather information about the features of this phenomenon in cultural and media space. In the second applied phase, 15 TV episodes were identified from three Arab TV channels, including TV debates on atheism.

This study is based on the Speech Analysis tool, where the speech is the perception or stance of a person, a group, or intellectual, religious, or cultural current on a public issue. The speech thus reflects the ideas and ideology of individuals and groups. The speech analyzed enabled from an understanding of the features of the ideas prevailing at some point, the features of the media content on a given issue, and from an understanding of the intellectual and ideological reactions to what the media offer as in the intellectual responses represented on the phenomenon of atheism and the stance regarding it.

This study will depend on a set of tools for discourse analysis as following:

Major or central thesis: defining the main idea on which the discourse is based in each issue, where the researcher has identified the main issues presented by the discourse in the three levels.

The path of proof or evidences "Argentum": This tool issued as follows:

A. Monitoring the evidences presented from the speech levels to prove each thesis.

B. Monitoring evidences that emerges in the form of historical, religious, political, examples or other.

C. Allocating apparent reasons that made this current take a stance.

Analysis of the actors: This tool will be used to identify the forces of the speech presented by television channels about the phenomenon of atheism, and acknowledging the salient features of these forces and to analyze the features and roles that the speech has labeled on these forces.

Literature View: Debate on Atheism and Media

The new wave of atheism has drawn attention to atheism in the Muslim world and developing a debate on Islam and atheism. It is noted that the philosophers who founded this worldwide atheist wave were affected by the events of September 11 in the United States of America, and attacked mostly the Islamic beliefs [2]. The philosophers including Sam Harris, the author of "The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason", Richard Dawkins, the Professor of Biology at the University of Oxford, who published his bestselling book *The God Delusion* in 2006, and Christopher Hitchens who wrote "God is not Great: How Religions Poisons everything" in 2007. Philosophers and researchers have renewed responses on the relationship of Islam with the new wave of atheism, specifically in the relation of religion with morality and science with morality [19].

The rise of public debate on atheism in the Arab world is linked to the increase of the spread of digital media. There is no doubt that the emerging of atheists in the Arab region from the shadows and increasingly talking about them is a result of the emergence of various groups on social media networks, which paid attention to the expansion of atheist and media researches [17].

For New Atheism, Islam represents both types of threats (premodern and postmodern). As a religion founded on faith, it is a 'premodern' threat to scientific modernity, and it illustrates the progressive evolution of human societies, with Islamic societies representing barbarism and the West representing civilization. But it also represents the 'postmodern' threat in that the New Atheists believe that epistemic relativism and cultural pluralism have paradoxically rendered the West incapable of effectively dealing with the threat posed by radical Islam…Islam, indeed, is the most important element in the New Athe-ists' construction of an ideal of Western civilization [22].

The landscape of modern atheism now features a growing group of Muslim atheists. These ex-Muslims have begun to disseminate material that attempts to either undermine or reform the Islamic worldview through various means. As we shall see, their arguments often resemble or are modelled on those put forward by the New Atheists. Given the current media frenzy for anti-Islamic propaganda, any such individuals have already received a good deal of exposure and fame; they are perceived as emboldened individuals who were not convinced by the rational basis of the Islamic worldview, and thus made the courageous decision to leave the Muslim community. Because of this portrayal and their first-hand experience of having been a Muslim, they are immediately treated as (if not explicitly labelled as) experts on Islam and presented to non-Muslims as authorities in their ex-religion [13].

Richard and Smith expressed that the phenomenon of the increased media interest in atheism was not limited only to social networks and digital media, but also featured in long-standing daily newspapers as *The Times,* which compared the coverage of the newspaper in the sixties of the last century to the first decade of XXIcentury. The study revealed that, despite the increase in liberal trends in newspapers' treatment of atheism, the traditional stereotype has not been erased, as the word atheist continues to raise fears of threatening religious values in some geographical regions and media [20].

The increased media attention seems to have more favorable treatment of atheist groups, while atheists have been further misunderstood and opposed as a result of the increased focus on them [5]. The growing link between the great growth of atheism and media, specifically digital media, cannot be separated from the political influence expressed by the theoretical frameworks established to interpret the relationship between religion and media in the contemporary world and identifying the wars of cultures and the growth of extremism in the world [9].

In 2011, the now-defunct Kurdish news agency AK news published a survey finding that 67 percent of Iraqis believed in God and 21 percent said God probably existed, while 7 percent said they did not believe in God and 4 percent said God probably did not exist. Today, the information revolution fueled by the internet, the freedoms released by the Arab Spring, the growing power of sectarian religious parties and the rise of the harsh orthodoxy of the Islamic State have all fueled growing unbelief in God and traditional religions, said atheists and others [16].

Christians are also subject to the region's harsh laws much like their Muslim peers—and should they conflict with those laws, the punishments are no less severe. In 2012, 27-year-old Alber Saber, an Egyptian Christian-turned-atheist blogger, was sentenced to three years in jail for creating a Facebook page called "Egyptian atheists," and for other online activities that the Egyptian authorities claimed were exhorting people to atheism. Amnesty International called Saber's sentence "an outrageous assault on freedom of expression" [23].

New theoretical frameworks take a different direction in interpreting the relationship between religion and media having many interpretations of traditional social theories that established our understanding of the relationship between religion and media, such as secularism, neo-secularism and rational choice While contemporary realities, such as the growth of declared atheism in media, support some of the new secular theses on the media role in reducing the social status of religion, the same context has made these means a tool in the hands of religious thought suppliers and in increasing the scope of the role of religions outside the original narrow religious sphere, as in contemporary political Islam and in the uninterrupted attempt to make media a tool to transfer religion from private to public sphere [8].

Religion and empathy are closely linked, and all forms of religious expressions in media are sealed by emotional influence. Visual and audio media (film, television, etc.) fill their hours with a huge number of people in an endless attempt to evoke the senses, where these senses reach very deep areas of the human in a way media violates human privacy [15].

In the study of Mina Ramirez, which surveyed a large amount of data for about 540 million Facebook and Instagram users from English-speaking countries, showed that the youth interests in the world are related to cinema and technology sectors, i.e. entertainment and wasting or consumption. These interests are their core values that they derive more than religion (Catholic) at a rate of 4%. The results of the study suggest that 10 influencers the youth derive their values from are mostly from other sectors, except for Pope Francis who is their number one. However, Pope Francis is the only Catholic figure and other religious figures, such as the Dalai Lama, the Islamic theologian Yusuf Al.Qaradawi, and the Protestant pastor Brian Houston [15].

As religions involve diversity, which may carry a varied and multilateral conflict, non-religion is also very diverse and includes broader groups such as humanity, indifference, secularism, agnosticism, non-religion, anti-religions, and atheism [26]. The new media environment is providing non-religion with great opportunities and potential for participation, as well as transforming consumers to content producers. In this context, the importance to link ideas of (the technological imperative) that says tools create ideas, and the spread of atheism, considering that a future perspective claims that technological imperative leads to a change in our perception of the universe and nature towards the prospect of the end of religions and ideologies in the world [3]. New media play a central role in this presentation. Although there are broad currents that do not follow the thesis of the technological imperative, digital technology and its media applications have contributed to the creation of an environment conducive to the growth of atheism among followers of all religions [6].

The digital media environment, which allowed for the publicity of atheism, has also contributed in granting the traditional media, first and foremost television, and more audacity in dealing with atheism.

In the Study of (Matthew Thomas) which examined the opportunities offered by digital technology to new atheist groups in the Islamic world. This technology has contributed to the creation of a collective identity among these groups and has given them protection in the freedom to criticize religion, as well as to share their experiences [12].

3. Study Results

The analysis of the speech covered 15 Arabic talk shows episodes during 2019 and 2020 of Egyptian, Lebanese and Iraqi television channels (Egypt: Al. Hayat and Al. Nahar, Lebanon: Al. Jadeed and Lebanese TV, and Iraq Al. Sharqiyya channels). The duration of each episode ranged from 20 to 50 minutes). Forms of content presentation in the talk shows varied between the direct dialogue between two guests, one representing the Islamic religious position and the other representing the atheist or non - religious attitude, or the presence of a guest representing the Islamic religious current and receiving phone calls or recordings of those who represent the atheist current.

Speech of Atheism

The analysis of the speech of atheism presented by the researched Arab television channels included the point of views of a group of 16 persons, including 14 males and 2 females, and the moderators were 3 females and 9 males, most of whom were young and from a variety of educational backgrounds classified for the purposes of this study into three educational backgrounds; humanities, social sciences, and literature, science and technology, and, religious and forensic sciences.

The results of monitoring during 2019 and 2020 the most prominent theses by presence and frequency were illustrated in this group's speech with three theses arranged from present as follows:

First: Beliefs: Negating the idea of God's existence. This thesis occupied the broader field of atheism on television channels and was repeated about 29 times as a main thesis. The ideas presented by this thesis

highlighted the lack of scientific evidence of the existence of the Creator, that faith is based on imitation, and rejecting the principle of causality (the first cause) which considers the laws of reason are the laws of existence. This speech considers that, if the principle of causality is necessary, comprehensive and absolute, then God himself must be a subject to this principle, which is, of course, rejected by religious faith and contradict the concept of God as an absolute in terms of the concept regardless of its own realistic beyond the mind.

The atheistic speech on TV channels goes on to present multiple paths of argument to prove that there is no creator of the universe, most notably: God has not done any sensory miracle to indicate that he exists once and for all. All religions are historical narratives. God has not intervened with his prodigal ability to solve any problem on earth, so how does he deliver manna "the food of paradise" to Israelites to convince them of His existence and leave the children of Africa to die of hunger and thirst?. Wouldn't it be better for God to step in, prove his existence, and help heal AIDS patients or feed Africa's starving people and thirst them?

In the context of evidence and proofs to prove this thesis, the speech provides a set of evidence that denies the existence of the Creator and confirms that it is the laws of nature that guide the universe and nothing else.

In view of the analysis, which repeated the thesis of denying the idea of a creator of the Universe, it became clear that the speech was based primarily on philosophical references about 12 times, divided by traditional philosophical references and modern philosophy, and then relying on scientific references about 9 times and historical references 8 times.

Second, Worship: This thesis order is second for appearance in the atheism speech on Arab television channels. The most prominent ideas of this thesis are the contradiction and the futility of worship, the mocking of religious practices, the stereotypes of worship and its association with tradition.

The speech provided a series of evidence and arguments for this thesis, most notably that this deity is supposed to be perfect in his qualities and does not need any of his creatures in any way whatsoever. Therefore, God does not need any of his creatures' worship or glorification, nor any of their deeds and behaviors, and all that God demands is only for his sake, so creation is not a sufficient reason to worship. For creation must have a superior goal, and the absence of a goal makes the creation process vain. The speech offers another series of arguments that restore worship to imitation, cloning as Prayer exists, and pilgrimages exist in pre-divine faiths.

The reference views on which the speech was based are divided into three references. First; historical reference which repeated 12 times, philosophical reference; repeated 6 times, and religious reference (for contrasts); repeated 3 times.

Third, Ethics and religion; this thesis came third in order of attendance in the speech of atheism. It was repeated 14 times and highlighted the refusal to associate morality with religion and to determine what was right and wrong. Nature is unbiased, not evil nor good, and careless to what human suffer. Ethics is a trick created by strong people to weaken the weak people.

The speech of atheism in the researched television content presents a series of evidence provided to justify these

theses. Most highlighted is that God is not necessary for the establishment of a moral order, and human beings can build moral norms that establish the foundations of justice, truth and good. Morality is an engineering created by human, which is an illusion that our genes have deceived us to make us cooperate. It has no outside ground on which to base. Morality is the product of evolution, and this speech reviews examples of contradiction in morality from Islamic history in dealing with prisoners in the first wars of Islam, in dealing with women, and contradictions in certain moral provisions in Quran and other heavenly books.

The reference views adopted by the speech are distributed between philosophical references; repeated 8 times, references from historical examples; repeated 3 times, and scientific references repeated 3 times.

Religious Speech

The analysis of Islamic religious discourse presented by the Arab television channels researched included the views of a group of 16 persons, including 14 males and 2 females, most of whom are of middle age or elderly and mostly from educational backgrounds belonging to the religious and legal sciences.

The religious speech was mostly a response to the thesis of atheistic speech, i.e., what the first raises is what constitutes the content of religious discourse.

First, Beliefs; The thesis of the existence of the Creator repeated about 36 times as the main and most present thesis in Islamic religious discourse on television channels. The most notable ideas included in this thesis is the existence of causal or exculpatory evidence and mental evidence that each product has a creator, and thus the impossibility of not having a creator of the universe and existence demonstrates the Creator. It is not necessary for human to see things in order to believe in them, but to touch their effects, and the speech emphasizes that this is what science and the laws of physics go to. The soul does exist, but it is invisible, and the mind exists, but it is invisible.

Islamic religious speech echoes the arguments and evidences which Islamic speech calls mental, transitory and auditory evidence, including that the frequency of news in multiple and different nations of the appearance of good people who tried to guide human beings, and those were the messengers sent by one God, at different times and in various places, all of whom knew the qualities of good, justice and the fight against injustice. They were all subject to oppression, and every one of them believes in his predecessor, the last is Mohammad who said he believes in all messengers.

The speech considers the existence of evil in itself as evidence of the Creator's existence, and belief in the Creator's existence is consistent with human nature. Human is born in his own sense in search of the Creator.

In the light of the analysis of the elements of the Creator's Proof thesis, it was revealed that it belonged to four basic references, namely, philosophical reference, repeated about 14 times, Islamic religious reference, repeated about 10 times, and historical reference; repeated 8 times, and scientific reference repeated 4 times.

Second, Worship: This thesis comes in the second order in the amount of its appearance in Islamic religious

speech in confrontation with atheistic speech on Arab television channels. It has been repeated 33 times and summed up that worship is a collector name for all that God loves and satisfies as sayings, internal and apparent actions; Prayer, zakat, fasting, pilgrimage, honesty, integrity, the obedient of parents, the fulfilment of vows, the order of favor, the prevention of denial, the jihad of the infidels and dissenters, and the charity of the neighbor, the orphan, the poor, the passenger, servants, and animals, and the prayers, reading, all in favor of human.

Islamic speech argues the legitimacy of worship in the face of atheistic speech that it is in the interests of the human person. (It is the permanent connection of God in every saying, action or feeling; Human beings worship God where he is directed to God. Therefore, worship is life). The speech believes that people are forced to worship a particular creator. The human soul has a subjective need for an idol to worship, an idol to which it is related and works on its satisfaction. All the nations whose history has been studied by scholars found idols to be worshiped, indicating an innate trend in worship.

The thesis of the need to worship in Islamic religious speech, as reported on television channels, goes back to three basic references, most notably religious reference; repeated 16 times, historical reference; repeated 9 times, and philosophical reference; repeated 8 times.

Third, Ethics and religion: Islamic religious speech has responded to the thesis of atheistic speech that denies the link between religion and morality or that does not give religion moral status in the third order. This thesis has been repeated about 29 times.

Islamic religious speech linked that denial of the existence of God and morality is a denial of the existence of an objective basis of morality, which means that human beings lack any moral reference to regulate their lives and to establish moral facts on which settled life can be built.

The evidence presented by Islamic speech argues that empirical science has an objective ethical system, but it is revealed as it is, and it does not research beyond the physical world, so the field of ethics is not related to the field of empirical science. God has placed ethical concepts in human genes; i.e. Instinct, for human to be able to receive divine messages. The speech also argues that Islam has not made morality merely an abstract behavior, but rather a worship on which human being is rewarded, and a space for competition among believers. The speech has also given a realistic view of the moral and religious basis, since morality is the basis for the rise and prosperity of nations and its decline is the basis for the collapse of nations.

The religious origin thesis of morality in Islamic speech in counter to the thesis of atheism is based on three basic religious references. The religious reference repeated 13 times, historical reference; repeated 11 times, and philosophical reference; repeated 5 times.

Media Speech

Refers to the speech of the media in television talk shows. This includes the editorial policy of these programs and their orientation, which are reflected in the preparation and production process, the selection of guests, the identification of topics, discussion topics, questions, and the orientation of the presenters who usually direct the

dialogue. Although the talk show presenters are not part of the dialogue as appeared in results, studies have found the most prominent media theses repeated in the media speech during these talk shows are:

1- Television channels did not present such talk shows on the basis of freedom of belief. Overall, it was found that out of 15 television episodes spread over 3 channels, the basis for the dialogue in nine episodes was to raise awareness among society and draw attention to the gravity of atheism and the corruption of atheists. The presenter reiterates the goal of dialogue in this context. Three episodes were vague and unclear about the program's presentation, and three episodes the presenter stressed that the basis of the program was freedom of belief.

2- Overall, television channels did not provide equal opportunities to present views between religious and atheistic speeches through both time and context. Analysis results showed that 4 episodes provided equal chances in term of time to view their opinions, where 11 episodes were in favor of religious discourse.

3- The presenters of talk shows which provided greater opportunities for religious discourse and were mostly biased followed a range of methods in managing the dialogue between the parties, repeated as follows:

● The representatives of the atheist speech were limited to presenting the thesis or a question at a specific time and opening up the broader scope for the religious side.

● The atheist guests in 6 episodes did not participate in the dialogue in the studio, but the interviews were recorded and broadcasted. It is clear that the interviews were being edited in advance.

● Audience access to comments and questions through telephone calls, and all questions and comments were in favor of religious discourse.

● The presenters object to insults made by some callers on the phone against atheists on the basis that this is not the morality of Islam.

4- Talk shows presenters who were more professional and offered equal opportunities to both sides of the dialogue followed methods such as:

● Equal time between the two sides to present their theses and arguments.

● Returning guests to the topic of the dialogue whenever someone is out of context.

● Emphasis by the presenter on freedom of belief and that the role of the program is to present the two perspectives.

● All the guests from both sides were hosted in the studio.

4. Discussion

The results of the analysis of a group of television channels dealing with the phenomenon of atheism in the Arab world during 2019 and 2020 show that there have been significant changes in Arab media engagement with the phenomenon of atheism. Most notably changes are the shift of media attention, in recent years, from mere Internet presence, mostly created by atheists themselves, to traditional media, especially television channels that have long been refusing to address this phenomenon.

The general trends of the television channels examined have shown that this development is in the light of three

key factors;

First; The campaign against the phenomenon of new atheism in the Arab world launched by religious institutions in both Saudi Arabia and Egypt under the topic of protecting society. Second, the development of media and television attention to the phenomenon of atheism has been linked in conjunction with an unprecedented increase in extremism, which peaked in the middle of the second decade of this century. Third; professional considerations in dealing with atheism in the Arab television media remain limited and mostly poor.

The dealing of television channels with the phenomenon of atheism in the last decade did not constitute a fertile ground for religious pluralism in the Arab media or for respect for freedom of belief. Most of the contents that introduced atheism, as indicated in the study, clearly stated that their aim was to protect society from this category and did not come from freedom of belief or respect for religious pluralism.

The new atheist discourse has provided the main source of criticism of religiosity. In addition, still, more often than not, atheism is positioned in opposition to religiosity whenever it is discussed or covered in the media. In spite of the fact that there is a socially liberal orientation within the leading institutions of media in the Arab countries, the long-standing and prevailing stereotype about the atheist has not been effaced and indeed has been reinforced in some ways with the increased publicity surrounding atheism. In short, misunderstandings persist, with the word atheist still evoking fears of a threat to religious values in some geographic regions and media outlets.

Most television channels have relied on methods that lead to a conflict between clergy and atheists, in which the victor is the clergy, and creating more exclusion for groups that already feel excluded and socially excluded by clergy and religious institutions that do not solve the problem. Hence, it is useless to exclude those who feel excluded in the first place.

The Arab television media still lacks a religious television press capable of providing an environment conducive to religious pluralism or providing professional guarantees for the protection of freedom of belief. Overall, television media, which attracts a wide audience in the Arab world, employs Political objectives that serve the traditional political and religious strata that dominate political and religious institutions.

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