

The Architecture of the British Christian Right: A Case Study in Political Capture

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Tommy Robinson recently declared himself so inspired by the Christian devotional scenes at the packed memorial event for Charlie Kirk in Arizona, that he, too, would be heading to Church soon. Flush from his recent 150,000-strong rally replete with Christian crosses, Christian iconography, and Biblical quotes, to some spiritual entrepreneurs his seeming change of heart may already be proof that that gathering was evidence of his personal conversion in prison, and Christian revival in the nation.¹

Robinson's deft move brings such optimists further into his camp, while pulling the rug from underneath a flock of mostly metropolitan Christian *bien penseurs* horrified by his very existence. This latter group had earnestly written to national newspapers, or winsomely commentated in concerned tones on the mainstream broadcast media that emerging social forces have more often tended to abjure. Having invested much energy over the last decades on tiny groups within the churches thinking religiously and speculatively about 'society' without harnessing the social sciences, they had missed the escalating scale of the empirical and atomising political storm about them.²

Arguing that the rise of 'Christian' Nationalism was a new *theological* crisis that they would have to defend the church from, they uncovered their lack of attention most especially to the political sciences which had been laying this crisis bare for some time. For neither is Nationalism that claims to be 'Christian' of this kind new, nor can any resistance to its most outrageous forms be left to theologians or church leaders alone, and most especially not to those who have debated 'political' questions in Church to date without drawing on any political science.³

¹ www.christiantoday.com/news/disuniting-the-kingdom-an-open-letter-to-evangelical-signatories-of-the-anti-unite-the-kingdom-letter

² As examples of this strand see M. Brown et al (2014), *Anglican Social Theology: Renewing the vision today* (London: Church House); E. Phillips, A. Rowland & A. Daughton, eds (2021), *T&T Clark Reader in Political Theology* (London: Continuum)

³ See point 2 references plus A. Rowlands (2021), *Towards a Politics of Communion : Catholic Social Teaching For Dark Times* (London: Bloomsbury) ; also F. Davis (2022), 'The Crisis in British Christian Social Thought: evidencing the need for a new 'empirical political theology'', *Theology* 125:5, 335-344.

The Radical Right has always been a broad constellation. It has often had varieties of ‘Christianity’ at its heart. It has long been internationalised.⁴ It has long included those who miss Britain’s colonies, those who yearn for an Anglosphere, those who want to regain a ‘proud past’ that itself is imagined outside the ebb and flow of empirical history.⁵ It has developed striking abilities to adapt to new contexts and techniques.⁶ Reflecting its adaptive eclecticism, at times cutting across and through all of these strands, are the neo-liberal advocates of a Hayekian small state paradise where social justice is ‘a will o’ the wisp’.⁷

For example, South Africa’s apartheid regime relied for its moral claims on a legitimisation in Calvinist convictions. Its leaders were often ‘prayerful’, churchgoing men, concerned in their Afrikaner variants to sustain what they saw as their ‘unique covenant’ with God under a sacred canopy of patriotic duty and service. Important to them was a sense of uniqueness and of being a unique pilgrim, even Hebrew-like, people in God’s eyes. When they did not go to church, they still knew which church they did not go to. With names like Kruger and Verwoerd, they mobilised against ‘foreign’ threats such as ‘communism,’ ‘liberalism’, and, when Catholic bishops insisted on mixed race schools, the ‘Roomes gevaar’ (Roman threat). National and racial and religious purity was important to them. So were diplomatic relations with Israel and Taiwan.⁸

Since the South African freedom election of 1994, the South African Statistics Authority estimates that at least 550,000 white South Africans have scattered across the planet. Some suggest it is almost double that number. Championed by South African émigré Elon Musk,

⁴ R. Abrahamsen & M. C. Williams, ‘Radical Right Dystopias in the Global Culture Wars’, *Global Studies Quarterly*, 5:1, January 2025; and J. S. Butler (2006), *Born Again: The Christian Right Globalised* (London: Pluto Press).

⁵ See R. Abrahamsen et al (2024) *The World of the Right : Radical Conservatism and the Global Order* (Cambridge: CUP) and T. Mitchell (2002), *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

⁶ A. Kingdon & A. Winter, ‘Digital Reconstruction: A Critical Examination of the History and Adaptation of Ku Klux Klan Websites’, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Sept 2024; 39:17-18.

⁷ R. Plant & K. Hoover (2014), *Conservative Capitalism in Britain and the United States* (London: Routledge).

⁸ T. A. Borer (1998), *Challenging the State: Churches as Political Actors in South Africa 1980-1994* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press); P. Kearney (2009), *Guardian of the Light. Denis Hurley: Renewing the Church, Opposing Apartheid*, (London: A&C Black); S. Brouwer, P Gifford & S. D. Rose (1997), *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (London: Routledge). Also presentation at King’s College, London, July 2025, by Professor Rita Abrahamsen, in part referencing her upcoming monograph on Afrikaner politics, which was foregrounded at this seminar: ‘Global Right, Global White: South Africa in the political imaginary of the radical right’, Fellows’ Seminar, Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study.

who spoke at Tommy Robinson's recent rally, President Trump has launched a new visa scheme for 'endangered' members of this 'at risk' group.⁹

Another Kruger has used the language of religious exceptionalism recently while deploying a globalised method of concern for a unique 'Christian nation'. Echoing earlier South African cadences, and at moments incredibly similar to Jair Bolsonaro's maiden speech as Brazilian President, on 17th July 2025 Danny Kruger MP explained in the UK Parliament that 'the Jewish and the Christian God is a God of nations' and that England was 'created consciously on the basis of the Bible and the story of the Hebrew people' which existed 'under the Christian shield'.¹⁰ England, deliberately England in Kruger's narrative, would need to purge itself of the variants of the ideological forces that had ruined its ethics in the twentieth century, with 'wokeness' not being a strong enough term to capture the moral dilapidation at hand.

Implicitly, but strongly, belittling any recognition of British nonconformity, maritime and mining innovations, and their opening of 'the nation' to the Scottish Enlightenment and the world, his speech went internationally viral. While presented on conservative outlets as the lonely voice of a Christian prophet in an uncaring parliament, it was in significant regard a brilliantly executed message of appreciation – across an ocean – to the US Vice President J.D. Vance, with whom Kruger soon after met in the English countryside as part of meetings facilitated by George Osborne. This hyper active globalisation of action is not new.

In 1989 and thereafter, at the suggestion of Raymond Plant (University of Southampton), I attended events at the Institute of Economic Affairs in London where, among other Christian luminaries, American Conservative Catholic Michael Novak spoke. There was talk of the need of a 'long march through the institutions', social justice being 'another word for envy' and the need for a shift on both sides of the Atlantic to the neo-liberal Right.

A year later, in 1990, Tim Montgomerie, now of Reform UK, established the Conservative Christian Fellowship (CCF). From the outset, the CCF had close links with those from the US Conservative Right.¹¹

⁹ Refugee Admissions Program for South Africans - U.S. Embassy & Consulates in South Africa

¹⁰ <https://share.google/oc7Vwc2cATQu7HMN9>

¹¹ [A new fab four | WORLD](#)

The same year Fr Robert Sirico founded the Acton Institute in Michigan as a Catholic neo-liberal think tank, funded in its early stages by evangelicals.¹² Acton has subsequently invested much energy in training leaders for the future from East Africa in its world view, and even opened a Rome office specifically, its Director, Kishore Jabalyan, once told me, to seek to influence the curricula and values of those colleges training the future global leaders of the Catholic church.¹³ Many Catholic Bishops and Anglican scholars have spoken at their events, including those that have gone on to speak at the ARC Conference described below. British based Bishop Kenneth Nowakowski is among them,¹⁴ while Margaret Thatcher's Head of Policy and doyen of the Institute of Economic Affairs, Lord Griffiths of Fforestfach, has often written and spoken for Acton too.¹⁵

Meanwhile, in Eastern Europe after 1989, a vast eco system of next generation Right leaning leadership development schemes flowered.

By 1991, Michael Novak had established one such annual initiative in Poland, in part supported by George Weigel of the neo-Conservative US Ethics and Public Policy Center, headquartered in America. It was, Weigel told me, immensely successful in nurturing the talent of the Right in Eastern Europe.¹⁶

Theorising this particular perspective in a much-overlooked essay, Weigel, prominent in the US media, himself wrote that his was not a Traditionalist Catholicism but a deliberate attempt to infuse future Roman Catholic thought and social perspectives with the moral superiorities of the neo-conservative American way. This, he argued, would be a distinctive global contribution for Americans wanting to shape how the legacy of the Second Vatican Council should be understood and implemented within and beyond the church.¹⁷

The largest ongoing annual East European leadership development gathering, starting out with links to the early idealism of Fidesz in Hungary, is still supported by members of Viktor Orbán's now more conservative team. It offers a heady, and at some levels broad, mix that

¹² [Our Mission & Core Principles | Acton Institute](#)

¹³ Interview with Kishore Jabalyan.

¹⁴ ["Shared Horizons": An Interfaith Event Held at the Cathedral of the Holy Family in London | Acton Institute](#)

¹⁵ [Brian Griffiths | Acton Institute](#)

¹⁶ [The Tertio Millennio Seminar on the Free Society - Ethics & Public Policy Center](#)

¹⁷ See G. Weigel (1995) in M. J. Weaver & R. Scott Appleby (1995), *Being Right: Conservative Catholics in America* (Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press).

brings together open-minded mostly Protestant Christians seeking insight and inspiration with focused political activists intent on the capture of social institutions.¹⁸

Thus, from Kenneth Leech's question as to whether there was a 'new religious fascism' in 1981,¹⁹ to Sara Diamond's study of a global Christian Right in 1989,²⁰ through Diana Stone and Andrew Denham's voluminous output on think tanks,²¹ and on to more recent scholarship of 'the world of the right' interlocking, highly organised and well-funded networks with deliberate designs on Christian resources, footfall, institutions, cultural imagery and 'civilisational' leverage have been in plain sight for those who would look. The current moment is in these regards a full flowering of all that these movements have worked for.²² They have hardly merited a mention until this year in worthy British Christian quarters.

Lacking a critique in the political sciences especially, contemporary Christian leaders caught up in lament about such Right-wing success have not seen or appreciated (let alone admired) its sophistication. They are joined by most mainstream journalists, who had discounted the salience of religion as 'over' altogether. One noble Christian think tank even tried to put analysts off the scent by publishing a report arguing that there was *no* Religious Right rising in the UK.²³

Similarly, the bulk of British Christian social activists and commentators have instead been locked in defending or debating a traditional centralising welfarism that finally collapsed out of sight in many coastal – and most post-industrial – communities during the Blair years. This lack of a *politics* of renewal also meant that these church leaders missed the rising forces of a Right within their own communities, who had no intention of 'disagreeing well' nor accepting that 'we are all Christians but just disagree on policy options', as though intense moral projects stopped beyond mere beliefs.²⁴ Too often steeped only, if at all, in a political *theory* theology, they have never looked – or been trained to look – in the political science of budgets, institutions, networks, demonstrable power, the Right's own talk about itself nor social evidence. This has blinded them.

¹⁸ Bálványosi Nyári Szabadegyetem és Diáktábor – Bálványosi Nyári Szabadegyetem és Diáktábor

¹⁹ K. Leech (1981), *The Social God* (London: Sheldon).

²⁰ S. Diamond (1989), *Spiritual Warfare: the politics of the Christian Right* (London: Pluto Press).

²¹ See for example, D. Stone (1997), *Capturing the Political Imagination: Think Tanks and the Policy Process* (London: Routledge).

²² R. Abrahamsen *et al* (2024), *World of the Right: Radical Conservatism and Global Order* (Cambridge: CUP).

²³ Walton, op. cit.

²⁴ Davis op. cit.

Take Dr James Orr, Associate Professor of Philosophy of Religion at Cambridge, and today working on the launch of a new Reform-minded think tank, the Centre for A Better Britain. Orr hopes this new venture will mirror in impact for the UK what the Heritage Foundation has made possible in America.²⁵ When I visited the Heritage Foundation in early 2005, the team advised me that Michael Howard, then Tory leader, was a backsliding ‘crunchy’ Conservative, and that they were ‘looking, and seeking to see develop...something deeper...in the next British Generation...as we hope for here’.²⁶ Today they are at the heart of the MAGA revolution.

Orr, a Wykehamist, rose towards prominence at the McDonald Centre for Theology, Ethics and Public Life, Oxford, under the mentorship of Christian theological ethicist, Professor the Lord (Nigel) Biggar. Biggar, a gifted scholar of intense integrity, is a Conservative. He has written in defence of war, and an acclaimed and contested defence of the virtues of British colonialism. After initial despondency he has said that ‘being cancelled for his pro colonial views was the best thing that ever happened to him.’²⁷

At home, Orr and his wife have built a conference-cum-retreat-cum study centre named *The Moorings*, where photos that evidence friendships with Vice President J. D Vance are in sight. *The Moorings*, meanwhile, brings together an eclectic flow of meals, debates, and right-leaning visitors from across the planet, but especially the US ‘MAGA’ Right.²⁸

James Orr is also a leading figure in the ‘National Conservatives’, which is housed at the Edmund Burke Foundation which he chairs. The ‘National Conservatives’ have staged events in Brussels, Washington DC, and the UK, with Nigel Farage a regular alongside and, at various stages, Jacob Rees Mogg and Danny Kruger. Between these parts of the Right, and the world of Tommy Robinson’s dominion, there is ever growing symbiosis, as Robinson’s rally and other media output have demonstrated.²⁹

²⁵ BBC Radio 4 – ‘Radical’ with Amol Rajan: ‘Britain’s New Right: Could Reform Replace The Tories?’ (James Orr)

²⁶ University of Warwick Business School delegation, February 2005.

²⁷ Pro-Empire historian Nigel Biggar: Being cancelled has worked out fantastically for me

²⁸ See The Moorings As Benedict Option - Rod Dreher's Diary and The Abbess of The Moorings - Rod Dreher's Diary and Perverted liberalism has led to neo-Marxism, perverted patriotism may yet lead to neo-fascism.

²⁹ TOMMY ROBINSON: Unexpected vehicle for truth? a CATHOLIC take on his interview with the Petersons and Shock and Orr: Meet the Farage-Supporting 'Philosopher King' of British Authoritarianism – Byline Times

Interviewing Orr on Radio 4 in August, Amol Rajan had never heard of his new Centre's main financial backers, to date namely David Lilley and Mark Thompson.³⁰ Both principled and able men, Lilley is a former major donor to the Conservatives, and Thompson to Liz Truss's leadership campaign. Both made their name in the city, and have known Nigel Farage since his early days at the metal markets.

Lilley was known in the city as part of a 'God Squad', with the now Lord Michael Farmer, with whom he founded Red Kite Investments. Farmer is a conservative evangelical and reportedly a member and regular preacher at St Helen's Bishopsgate in London, whose members play an active leading role in resisting liberal positions on sexual orientation and relationships in the Church of England.³¹ Its former Director told me that Farmer generously supported the Conservative Christian Fellowship when it was led by Brexiteers, and media reports suggest also that he made gifts to the Vote Leave campaign. At the Centre for Social Justice, he also backed the now Baroness Philippa Stroud, who will reappear via the UAE headquartered Legatum Institute at 'the Alliance for Responsible Citizenship' below.³²

Farmer's son George converted to Roman Catholicism. Then, having met at the UK launch of Charlie Kirk's Turning Point, he married fellow Catholic, reportedly a conspiracy theorist, conservative commentator and 'free speech' activist, Candace Owen. Charlie Kirk and conservative broadcaster Larry Elder were at the wedding.³³

Internationally, Kirk's work benefitted from millions in support from US tech billionaire Robert Shillman, who in turn has funded Tommy Robinson.³⁴

Baroness Stroud, with Sir Paul Marshall, is a 'founding partner' in the establishment of an even more global 'Alliance for Responsible Citizenship' (ARC), led jointly with Jordan Peterson.³⁵ Its speaker lists are a who's who of the parliamentary, nationalist, and extra parliamentary global Right and Radical Right, and its audiences (and speakers) are often adorned with clerical collars – among whom I have met those who thought they were at a

³⁰ [BBC Radio 4 - Radical with Amol Rajan, Britain's New Right: Could Reform Replace The Tories? \(James Orr\)](#)

³¹ See https://everything.explained.today/Michael_Farmer%2c_Baron_Farmer/ and [Michael Farmer talks at St Helen's, Bishopsgate](#). See also [Diocese of London respond to St Helen's Bishopsgate commissioning controversy](#) and [CofE bishops have walked away from the authority of God's word. We can no longer walk with them | Opinion | Premier Christianity](#)

³² See [Boris, Brexit and the Hedge Funds \(Part 2\) – Bella Caledonia](#) and [Mr Copper pipes up in the fight for troubled families](#)

³³ [Who Is Candace Owens' Husband? All About George Farmer](#)

³⁴ [US cash turned Tommy Robinson into the poster boy of UK f...](#)

³⁵ [Alliance for Responsible Citizenship – The Legatum Group](#)

‘spiritual event’ to hear a particular preacher, rather than a political one seeking fundamental social change.

The picture that emerges is not simply a network of groups with overlapping membership and interest but a highly organised, exceptionally well-funded movement which coalesces around a clear conception about how their understanding of Christianity should be expressed in politics. That they will occasionally find common cause with, or draw in, Christians who do not share those political perspectives is not in doubt, but this should not obscure their fundamental aims.

Justin Welby is an example of a figure who is not a ‘Christian Nationalist’ but whose work and faith, because so accommodated to marketisation, headcount metrics and the language of mission by a venture capital-like backing from London of ‘resource churches’ in the capital and regions has extended the pace at which the churches have become de – politicised and so both ‘at risk’ from the new forces about it, and increasingly unable to read their own emerging political capture. He has been joined here with an ever-increasing flow of activity that while talking of the ‘social’ has refused to offer a sustained critique of capitalism and open markets over the last decade.³⁶

Excavating the complex matrix of inter-personal, financial and ideological relations that underpins this eco system requires a further article. A short survey reveals, however, that Helen Orr, James Orr’s wife (and hero of MAGA writers such as Rod Dreher), has lived much of her life deep in the heart of elite ecclesiastical, political and familial Christian - and at times ultra-conservative - networks. It also reveals that James Orr has participated in ‘live conversations’ with Welby ally Bishop Graham Tomlin at Paul Marshall’s ‘*Unherd Club*’.³⁷ Tomlin was Dean of St Mellitus College, Holy Trinity Brompton (HTB), from 2007-2015, and led the St Paul’s Theological Centre/Institute from 2005-15. All of these have benefitted from Marshall’s active support, were once the spiritual home of James Orr who this year has championed HTB at length, and have now trained 25% of the Church of England’s recent clergy³⁸

³⁶ See, for example, [Research - Theos Think Tank - Understanding faith. Enriching society](#). Also M. Cartledge, S. Dunlop, H. Buckingham (2019), *Megachurches and Social Engagement Public Theology in Practice* (Leiden: Brill).

³⁷ [Pascal vs Descartes: Where did the Enlightenment go wrong? - UnHerd Club](#)

³⁸ See [Christianity, culture wars and J.D. Vance: a conversation with James Orr | The Spectator](#) and [The hard right is claiming the cross – and true Christians should not allow it | Polly Toynbee | The Guardian](#)

For clarity, the overlap of Unherd, St Mellitus, Holy Trinity Brompton, *The Spectator*, GB News at various stages, has been significantly bankrolled or supported by Sir Paul Marshall. Marshall also resources the Sequoia Trust, whose trustees at the Charity Commission include another Old Etonian, Sir William Shawcross, also a sometime trustee of the neo conservative – and hostile to Muslims – Henry Jackson Society.³⁹

Marshall also, or so the relevant charities told me at the time, pump primed Danny Kruger's prison and (extremely innovative) children's works during the latter's periods away from what Kruger has condemned as the 'centrist' horrors of David Cameron's Coalition government.⁴⁰ Today, Marshall's active sponsorship of ARC gives him additional global reach alongside his ownership of GB News and the Spectator and support for UnHerd and ministries associated with Holy Trinity Brompton.

It is important to stress the difference between the strategic funding of the developing 'Christian' Nationalist and wider Right ideology and institutions by Marshall and the role of other (even wealthier) Conservatives who give generously to church organisations without pursuing a narrow ideological purpose.

Roman Catholic peers Lords Bamford and Spencer (of Alresford), for example, are both reportedly wealthier than Sir Paul Marshall. Both have supported the Conservative Party and associated think tanks. However, when it comes to religion they have both been keener in public to back the under-stated educational and contemplative missions of the English Benedictine Congregation (EBC) and particularly two of its seven monasteries.⁴¹ Much less inclined to market talk, methodological individualism, or venture-capital-like discourses of 'the resource church', the EBC, according to my forthcoming study of their annual reports at the Charity Commission, dwarfs the impact and reach of charities and churches backed by Sir Paul Marshall across the fields of educational service, pastoral care, jobs created, visitors welcomed, reach to the poor and ecological renewal, all while avoiding Marshall's form of 'relevance', populism and 'improvement'.⁴²

³⁹ See [THE SEQUOIA TRUST - 1163457](#) (accessed 11 October 2025) and [UK: NGOs Condemn appointment of William Shawcross and announce civil society-led review of Prevent - Amnesty International](#)

⁴⁰ On Steve Baker's podcast, September 2025.

⁴¹ See [New era dawns for top college | The Northern Echo](#) and [Worth School, New Sixth Form Centre – Synergy LLP](#) and the annual reports of abbeys filed at the charity commission. Both these gifts, and an earlier one to support the now closed St Benet's Hall are, at the Charity Commission, intimately linked to the relevant monastic accounts.

⁴² F. Davis (2024), 'Accounting for Monasticism: An empirical comparison of HTB and the EBC', paper to Liverpool Anglican Cathedral Learning Community. Forthcoming in print.

The contrasting ecosystem of the neo-liberal Right and the Radical Right, then, is different even if at moments aligned: it is capacious, often has (or gives the impression of having) ecclesial leadership blessing, reinvents long held social doctrines, moves between sectors in a blur, and is gathering about it a younger generation of highly skilled ‘Christian’ movers and shakers to add to its claimed disenfranchised base. In swathes of this ecosystem ‘Christianity’ is fluid and can be used, at times, as a proxy for ‘white people’ or the ‘white race’ in the same way that racists often use ‘Muslim’ as a proxy for brown or blackness. In other parts it wants to reject or ignore other versions of even traditional Conservative Christianity as not being rapacious (or in its own like) enough. Veteran Democrat Presidential Advisor Rev Jim Wallis has called it a ‘false white Gospel’.⁴³

And yet in congregation after congregation, and in ‘Church and society’ debate after debate, the narrative will still be that there are no ‘politics’ in play in worship or church life. With the rare exception of Luke Bretherton, recently returned to Britain from America himself to become the new Regius Professor of Moral Theology at Oxford and close to Citizens UK, in this realm ‘politics’ is something that comes later, as something to be worked out after ‘faith’, most often in input advocacy to the scripts of parliamentary legislation and debate (that so many distrust completely).

The related and frantic growth of (often franchised) micro social action projects in local churches, at the expense of all sustained social critique or commitment to active citizenship, has only compounded this depoliticization and blindness to the social forces now within and about.

In this way the Radical Right is built up, both by its own agency and by depoliticised unwitting collaborators, who have been advised even by leading Labour Christian figures that *theologically* their volunteering is purer than anything offered by the state.⁴⁴ Religious claims like these mirror the traditional neo-liberal project.⁴⁵ Combined with ‘research’ reports using colonial style classifications of citizens by name, and entrepreneurial conference curation, businesses such as the Good Faith Partnership LLP and its associated charities⁴⁶ and a think tank like Policy Exchange have become part of a strand in Labour seeking to profit from the

⁴³ J. Wallis (2024), *The False White Gospel: Rejecting Christian Nationalism, Reclaiming True Faith, and Refounding Democracy* (New York: St Martin’s Essentials).

⁴⁴ S. Wells, R. Rook & D. Barclay (2017), *For Good: The Church and the Future of Welfare* (Norwich: Canterbury Press).

⁴⁵ R. Plant (2012), *The Neo-Liberal State* (Oxford: OUP)

⁴⁶ <https://goodfaith.org.uk/>

radical Right's rise, so delegitimizing – or at least severely diluting – any claim to their own neutrality or progressive radicalism in the process.⁴⁷

When Tommy Robinson goes to church, he may just find a good deal of it that he likes: nice people who do not know who he or the rest of the Radical Right are or what they represent. Good folk frustrated by a 'secular' society they cannot trust. Kind people shorn of political sensibilities. Worthy people thinking they are free of party bias while actually today being immersed in the new politics that is replacing it.

Some he meets will hear him asking about God and rejoice, not knowing that behind his enquiry lies a political zeal the like of which they will never have encountered. Looking strategically about the place he will sense how being there can bridge his supporters further across the rivers of the Right and Radical Right at some of their widest touching points, alongside Reform, the National Conservatives, and the longstanding coalition of groups who have longed for this time.

Whoever thinks that such violent neutrality is today a source of crisis for the churches needs to change their toolkit and their field of enquiry. If theology provided no early warning system to those who have just noticed such a crisis, then it needs a rigorous political science to build its capabilities, capacity and resistance. Of course some will rejoice in these times.

In the old days of apartheid some churches were entirely complicit. To others, those being mistreated would cry in vain that the churches were 'just passing by' and worthily 'clobbering' the oppressed 'with kyries'.⁴⁸

As Tommy Robinson kneels to pray with the constellations of the Right's forces, revitalised and stretching out before him, his 'conversion' exciting a certain kind of churchgoer in their innocence, those who care for healthy civic societies, which include healthy churches, should best be aware of the likely theft of symbols and texts – and murder of valuable civic habits – now upon them.

⁴⁷ For Policy Exchange see, for example, B. Cox, D Goodhart and E. Kaufman (2022), *Whatever happened to integration?* (London: Policy Exchange) . On classification and colonial manipulation of ethnic and religious affiliations see D. Posner (2012), *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (Cambridge: CUP). See also [Christ and Country In Our Politics | Webinar Tickets, Wed 3 Dec 2025 at 17:30 | Eventbrite](#) and other upcoming events.

⁴⁸ [Just A Passerby - Oswald Mbuyiseni Mtshali | African Soulja](#)

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