

## **Religion and Politics**

POS 591

Fall 2002

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This graduate seminar is an analysis of the fascinating, complicated, and often conflictual relationship between major religious faiths, religious activists and the secular state in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Among the topics to be covered are: secularization theory and its problems; religion as a cultural or attitudinal variable in politics; the rationality of religion, organized religions and their activists; the bases for conflicts between Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and the state; the terms of reconciliation and collaboration; the conditions under which religion is politicized, and religion becomes the basis of a political movement or party; and the means by which organized religions and/or their adherents seek to maintain an influence in 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century politics and society.

One of the goals of this course is to achieve a better understanding of the above topics. A second goal is to assess some of the scholarship in the field, which ranges in approach from rational choice and economic theory to values and attitudinal emphases to institutionalist. A third goal is to exercise and develop your analytical and communication skills.

### **Requirements:**

--attend class and participate in discussions (25% of final grade)

The positive criteria by which you are evaluated are as follows:

-presence in class

-preparation-your contribution demonstrates you carefully read the readings and understand the key points

-quality of argument: you contribute accurate, relevant evidence with sound and insightful reasoning

-quality of expression: your contribution is clear, concise, audible and directed to your peers

-contribution to the discussion: you listen to others' comments, build upon their ideas, respond to them, respectfully critique them, and/or ask constructive questions

Negative criteria that will lower your grade include:

-unresponsiveness

-disruptiveness: you disrupt discussion with social chatter, your contribution is unrelated to the current discussion and is distracting, you are insensitive to others, you attempt to dominate the conversation, or you arrive to class late or leave early.

–lead one seminar meeting. (15% of final grade)

The seminar discussion leader is expected to identify the main issues and questions (methodological, empirical, theoretical) in the readings. The discussion leader is not expected to answer those questions alone—that is the task of the entire class. In leading a discussion, you should expect to spend NO MORE than 10-15 minutes at the beginning of the seminar presenting the readings in a critical fashion: what are the main questions arising from the articles/books, what are the main problems, how do the works contrast with or complement each other? You must also prepare a list of 5-8 questions which the entire class may discuss, and a one page summary of the main points of the readings. You must give that list and summary to me on Monday morning, the day of the seminar (either in my office, or in my mailbox in Matthews Center). Given the size of the seminar, most of the time you will be a “co-” discussant. In that case, please do decide between the two of you who will cover which readings.

**Choose one of the following options:**

1. –Write 3 short papers during the semester. (20% each of final grade)

The short papers should be, each, about 6-8 pages double-spaced. I will ask you to choose the weeks, but you must do one of the papers in the first 8 weeks of the semester, and one in the last 8 weeks. The papers are due on the Monday of the seminar, no later than 4pm. The object of the papers should be to identify the central issues that the assigned readings of the week address, to locate the principal authors’ positions vis-à-vis those issues, and to comment critically on the state of the debate and the value of the individual contributions to it. You should keep the following questions in mind: What are the central issues at stake in this literature? What are the principal arguments of the works under study? What does each contribute to our understanding of the topic in question, or to the broader topic of “religion and politics”? What are the main theoretical or empirical strengths or weaknesses of the major studies? How valuable and viable is the theory that each proposes? Is the empirical evidence appropriate and convincing? In short, you are writing a brief review essay. It should go beyond summary of the readings toward critical commentary and a discussion of the issues that unite the works. Or, the paper may be a position paper, positing and supporting an explanation of a phenomenon.

Prose and style matter. Be focused, terse and selective, and USE SPELL CHECK and do your own, non-computer dependent PROOFREADING.

2. -Write a research paper on a topic to be arranged (60% of the final grade)

This should be on a substantive and/or theoretical question or set of questions which are related to the topics covered in the course, and approximately 25-35 pages in length, using a variety of academic sources and data. Prose and style matter. Be focused, terse and selective, and USE SPELL CHECK and do your own, non-computer dependent PROOFREADING.

The research paper is due in my office by 5pm on Dec. 16th, 2002.

-Be aware that if you slack off in the last few weeks of the course because you have finished the papers and have led two class discussions, your participation grade will plunge and have a deleterious effect on your course grade.

-in all activities and work pertaining to this class, you are required to adhere to the University Student Academic Integrity Policy.

## **Readings**

While some books are listed as “required” at the bookstores, purchasing them is up to you. All have been placed on reserve, except Terror in the Mind of God 2002 and Inside Al-Qaeda, which ASU’s library does not own (it has the 2000 edition of Terror). Many of the readings are available from web sites on-line, including via ASU’s electronic journal subscriptions. For the other readings, I will provide photocopies a week in advance, in Sheryl Durlak’s office, which you may “check out” at your convenience. As a group, you may find it useful to organize that situation further. It is likely that the readings will be reduced in various weeks, and that there will be some changes to the materials as we proceed, as I find other sources.

Books available at the ASU campus bookstore:

Kalyvas, The Rise of Christian Democracy

Juergensmeyer, The New Cold War?

Gill, Rendering Unto Caesar

Esposito, Islam and Democracy

Warner, Confessions of an Interest Group

To be purchased wherever available: Rohan Gunaratna, Inside Al-Qaeda

Books available at the Student Book Center:

Gilles Kepel, Allah in the West

Mark Juergensmeyer, Terror in the Mind of God

McGarry and O’Leary, Explaining Northern Ireland

Laitin, Hegemony and Culture

## **Other Materials**

I will also be distributing, as appropriate, news articles for us to consider, and we may be viewing parts of some films/documentaries.

***Aug. 26***

*Introduction and Organization*

**Sept. 2**

*No meeting—Labor Day observed.*

**Sept. 9**

*Understanding Religions*

Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural Symbol" in Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, (Basic Books, 1973) pp. 87-125. On reserve at Hayden.

Anthony Gill, "Religion and Comparative Politics" Annual Review of Political Science 4 (2001): 117-38. Available on his web site (under research). <http://faculty.washington.edu/tgill/Research.htm>

José Casanova, Public Religions in the Modern World. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 11-66. On reserve at Hayden

Mark Juergensmeyer, The New Cold War? Pp. 26-41

**Sept. 16**

*Secularization Theory*

Rodney Stark and Laurence R. Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion v. 33, n. 2 (1994): 230-252.

Laurence R. Iannaccone, PRPES WORKING PAPER #10--Looking Backward: A Cross-National Study of Religious Trends, 4/25/02. On line at <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>

Toby Lester, "Oh, Gods!" The Atlantic Monthly, 289/2 (Feb. 2002), pp. 37-45.

Mark Juergensmeyer, The New Cold War? Pp 1-25.

Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, PRPES WORKING PAPER #2--Beyond Church and Sect: Dynamics and Stability in Religious Economies, Date: 9/19/01. On line at <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>

José Casanova, Public Religions in the Modern World, ch. 3 or 4 or 5 (your choice).

Robert J. Barro and Rachel M. McCleary, PRPES WORKING PAPER #12. Religion and Political Economy in an International Panel, Date: 5/2/02. On line at <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>

**Sept. 23**

*Religion as a Cultural Value and Attribute in Politics*

Anthony Gill, "Religious Values" paper presented at the 1999 APSA meeting; available at: <http://faculty.washington.edu/tgill/Research.htm>

S.P. Huntington, (1993) "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs Summer, pp 22-49

Rodney Stark, "Gods, Rituals, and the Moral Order" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, December 2001, 40/ 4, pp. 619-636. On line at ASU.

Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values" American Sociological Review 65 (Feb. 2000): 19-51.

David D. Laitin, Hegemony and Culture, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, pp. 1-20, 23-75, 109-135, 136-169.

**Sept. 30**

*Religion as a Cultural Value and Attribute in Politics continued*

McGarry and O'Leary, Explaining Northern Ireland, ch.1, 6

"Political Values and Religious Cultures: Jews, Catholics and Protestants" 1967 Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion

Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper, (2002) "Religion and Politics in a Secular Europe: Cutting Against the Grain" forthcoming in Ted Jelen and Clyde Wilcox, eds. Religion and Comparative Politics: The One, the few and the many Cambridge University Press. Manuscript.

Carolyn M. Warner and Manfred W. Wenner, PRPES WORKING PAPER #18--Organizing Islam for Politics in Western Europe, 7/2/02. Available at <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>

Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon, "Why Islam is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States" Politics & Society 77/1 (March 1999): 5-38. On line via ASU.

**Oct. 7**

*Religion and Rationality*

Robert B. Ekelund Jr. et al, Sacred Trust: The Medieval Church as an Economic Firm New York: Oxford , 1996, "How the Church Profited from the Crusades" , pp. 131-151.

Laurence Iannaccone, "Why Strict Churches are Strong" American Journal of Sociology, 99/5 (1994): pp. 1180-1211. Available on JSTOR.

Laurence Iannaccone, "Sacrifice and Stigma" Journal of Political Economy 100/2 (1992): 271- available on JSTOR.

McGarry & O'Leary, Explaining Northern Ireland, ch. 7

Carolyn M. Warner, Confessions of an Interest Group, chs 1-2, 7

Anthony Gill, Rendering Unto Caesar. The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998, chs. 3 & 4

**Oct. 14**

*Religion and the Political Economy*

Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism ch1 "Religious Affiliation and Social Stratification"

Henri Gooren, "Catholic and Non-Catholic Theologies of Liberation: Poverty, Self-Improvement, and Ethics Among Small-Scale Entrepreneurs in Guatemala City" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 41/1 (2002): 29-45 .

Charles F. Keyes, "Buddhist Economics and Buddhist Fundamentalism in Burma and Thailand" in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds, Fundamentalisms and the State V. 3, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 367-409.

Francis G. Castles, "On religion and public policy: Does Catholicism make a difference?" European Journal of Political Research 25 (1994): 19-40.

Goeran Therborn, "Another way of taking religion seriously. Comment on Francis G. Castles" European Journal of Political Research 26 (1994): 103-110.

PRPES WORKING PAPER #21--The Economic Ascent of the Middle East's Religious Minorities: The Role of Islamic Legal Pluralism **Authors:** Timur Kuran **Date:** 8/5/02. Available at: <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>

**Oct. 21**

*Religion, Education and the State*

"Religion in Schools" CQ Researcher (on line at ASU and in Sheryl's office), Jan 12, 2001, 11/1, pp 1-24.

Kimberly J. Morgan, "Forging the Frontiers between State, Church, and Family: Religious Cleavages and the Origins of Early Childhood Education and Care Policies in France, Sweden, and Germany" Politics & Society 30/1 (March 2002): 113-148. On line at ASU.

Kathleen Sheldon, "I Studied with the Nuns Learning to Make Blouses" International Journal of

African Historical Studies 31/3 (1998): 595-625. Access is through JSTOR.

Jarmo Houtsonen "Traditional Qur'anic Education in a South Moroccan Village" International Journal of Middle East Studies 26 (1994): 489-500. Access is through JSTOR

**Oct. 28**

*Religion and the State*

Anthony Gill and Arang Keshavarzian, "State Building and Religious Resources: An Institutional Theory of Church-State Relations in Iran and Mexico" Politics & Society 27/3 (Sept. 1999): 431-465. On line at ASU.

Anthony Gill, Rendering Unto Caesar Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chs 1-2, 5-6.

Stephen Denney, "The Catholic Church in Vietnam" In Pedro Ramet, ed., Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies (Duke Univ Press, 1990), ch. 12, pp. 270-295.

Simon Schama, Citizens (1989), pp. tba.

**Nov. 4**

*Religion and the State*

Saurabh Sanghvi, "Crouching Tiger: Falun Gong Rising" Harvard International Review 23/3 (Fall 2001), pp 7-10, and various articles. (In Sheryl's office)

Adam Gopnik, "The First Frenchman" The New Yorker (Oct. 7, 1996): 44-48. In Sheryl's office.

Warner, Confessions of an Interest Group, ch. 3

Diego Gambetta The Sicilian Mafia. The Business of Private Protection (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1993) pp. 5-7. In Sheryl's office.

Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, Paths of Emancipation Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, ch8, In Sheryl's office.

R.T. Naylor, Wages of Crime, (Cornell Univ. Press, 2002), pp. 164-84. In Sheryl's office.

Mark Juergensmeyer, the New Cold War?, ch. 4.

**Nov. 11—no class, Veterans' Day Observed**

**Nov. 18**

*Religious Extremism and Political Violence*

Caroline Ford “Forum: Religion and Violence in Nineteenth-Century France. Violence and the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century France” in French Historical Studies, Vol. 21, No. 1. (Winter, 1998), pp. 101-112. Available in Sheryl’s office

OR

Maureen Flynn: “Mimesis of the Last Judgment: The Spanish Auto de fe” Sixteenth Century Journal, Vol. 22, No. 2. (Summer, 1991), pp. 281-297. In Sheryl’s office.

AND

Thomas F. Madden, A Concise History of the Crusades Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999. Pp. 1-38, in Sheryl’s office. Compare w/ Ekelund et al, “How the Church profited from the Crusades”

skim: Tim Severin, “Retracing the First Crusade”, National Geographic 176/3 Sept. 1989. In Sheryl’s office.

B. A. Dobratz, “The Role of Religion in the Collective Identity of the White Racialist Movement” Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, June 2001, 40/ 2, pp. 287-302. Available on line at ASU.

Catherine McNichol Stock, Rural Radicals: Righteous Rage in the American Grain. Cornell Univ Press, 1996, pp. 121-163. In Sheryl’s office.

## **Nov 25**

*Religious and Political Intolerance and/or Accomodation*

Gilles Kepel, Allah in the West, pp. 79-233

Edward W. Said, Orientalism, pp. 1-73, 113-123

Michael Janofsky, “Public or Mormon Plaza? Battle Splits Salt Lake City” New York Times 27 Oct. 2002

Sarah Lyall “Rights Panel for Europe Stirs Anger in Britain” New York Times, 6 May 1998

Christopher Hitchens, “The Stupidest Religion” Free Inquiry Magazine 21/4

Alan Riding, “French Author Acquitted of Charges for Anti-Islam Comment” New York Times 23 Oct. 2002

Thomas Cahill, “The One True Faith: Is It Tolerance?” New York Times 3 Feb. 2002

Marlise Simons, “Did VW Mock the Gospel? French Bishops Sue” New York Times Feb. 1998

Marlise Simons, "Behind the Veil: A Muslim Woman Speaks Out" New York Times 9 Nov. 2002

Ian Buruma, "Poland's New Jewish Question" New York Times Magazine, v. 34 Aug. 3, 1997

recommended:

Anthony Gill, "Political origins of religious liberty". Working paper, available on his web site <http://faculty.washington.edu/tgill/Research.htm>

## **Dec. 2 *Religious Extremism and Political Violence* Part II**

Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, PRPES WORKING PAPER #17--Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? , 7/1/02 available at: <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>

Mark Juergensmeyer, The New Cold War?, review chs 1-2, read chs 3 and 6.

Rohan Gunaratna, Inside Al-Qaeda, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002., chs 1 & 3

Bernard Lewis, "Religious Coexistence and Secularism" in Islam and the West, ch 1. In Sheryl's office.

John L. Esposito and John O. Voll, , Islam and Democracy, skim pp 3-77; chs 7 & 8.

Sally Denton, "What Happened at Mountain Meadows?" American Heritage Oct. 2001.

Recommended:

Laurence Iannaccone, PRPES WORKING PAPER #16--Religious Extremism: The Good, the Bad, and the Deadly, 6/30/02 available at: <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>

## **Dec. 9**

*Organized Religion and Politics--interest group activities*

Carolyn M. Warner, Confessions of an Interest Group, ch. 7

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties," Comparative Politics, 2000 32/4, pp. 279-299.

Title: PRPES WORKING PAPER #22--Democratization in Post-Colonial Societies: The Long-Term Influences of Religion and Colonial Governments **Authors:** Robert D. Woodberry **Date:** Tuesday, September 10, 2002. available at: <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/programs/prpes/>.

Michelle Chin, Adam L. Warber, Phillip Hardy, "Compassionate Free-Riding: How Church Organization Structure Affects the Development of Civic Skills" manuscript. via e-mail

recommended:

Steigenga and Coleman, "Protestant Political Orientations and the Structure of Political Opportunity: Chile, 1972-1991" Polity 27 (1995): 465-482. Not on-line

John Conway, "The 'Stasi' and the Churches: Between Coercion and Compromise in East German Protestantism, 1949-1989" Journal of Church and State v 36 # 4 (Fall, 94), pp. 725-745

John C. Green, Mark J. Rozell, Clyde Wilcox, "Social Movements and Party Politics: The Case of the Christian Right" Journal for the Scientific Study of Church and State 40/3 (2001): 413-426.

Ted Daniels, ed. A Domsday reader: prophets, predictors, and hucksters of salvation. New York: NYU Press, 1999.