

Updated Version

July 3, 2016

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL 381H1 S
TOPICS IN POLITICAL THEORY: RELIGION AND POLITICS

Tuesday and Thursday, 12-2 pm
SS 1070

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Office hours: Tuesdays, 2-4 pm

Course objectives and description

Political scientists thought that religion would wane as a result of modernization and economic developments. Yet religion has “returned” and is today more salient than ever. From the West to the Middle East and Asia, religious actors and institutions have become increasingly important participants in public debates, discourse and policy-making. This course is an introduction to the main topics and debates in the literature on religion and politics in developing and developed countries. This is not a course on theology or belief systems. It looks at how we theorize the role of religion in politics and how politics takes into account “religion” and religious actors. The course first looks at the definitions and explanations of broad phenomena like secularization, religious freedoms, fundamentalism, and violence. In the second half, the course looks at the ways in which states engage with religious institutions and actors, play the “religious” card and how, in return, religious actors pressure the state into adopting a religious agenda. The goal of this course is to offer the student theoretical and conceptual tools to make sense of religiously driven current events in a global context.

Format

Classes will mainly have a lecture component, but will also have a discussion component. Students will be asked to draw on the required readings to assess theories and concepts covered during the lectures. Students are thus expected to do the required readings as they will support the discussion and complement the lectures. Student engagement with the required readings will also be evaluated (see below). The lectures will map and discuss the different theories and concepts for each given theme.

Marking scheme

Pop quiz on readings (5 best/6 x 10%).....	Random dates.....	50%
Midterm Test	July 19, 2016	25%
Final Test.....	August 4th, 2016	25%

Pop quiz on readings

There will be 6 short pop quizzes on the readings at the beginning of class on dates of the instructor's choice. You will have 10 minutes to answer a short question about one of the required readings of the week. Questions will resemble these:

- How does the author define secularism?
- What are the three main components of religious freedoms?

You can use your HANDWRITTEN reading notes (see below), but not the article or your computer to answer the question. If you are late, you will have less time to answer. No exceptions.

Midterm Test, July 19, 2016

The midterm test will cover the first half of the course. It will have two parts. The first will consist of short answer questions. Short answer questions could ask you to define a concept or list the factors associated with a phenomenon in a paragraph. The second part will consist of essay questions. Essay questions will ask you to compare and contrast theories or discuss a specific case in light of a theory. Lectures and readings will be evaluated along with the required readings.

Final Test, August 4, 2016

The final test will cover the second half of the course and will also be made up of short answer and essay questions. The short-answer questions could ask you to define a concept or list the factors associated with a phenomenon in a paragraph. The essay questions will ask you to compare and contrast theories or discuss a specific case in light of a theory. Lectures and readings will be evaluated.

Reading Notes

I strongly encourage you to keep good notes of your reading. The quizzes, midterm test and final exam will, among other, test your understanding of the readings' argument and key concepts. You are free to bring your notes in class. You CAN use your HANDWRITTEN notes for the quizzes, but NOT for the mid-term or final test. The notes, however, will be extremely useful while studying for both tests. Here is a suggested format for the notes and should hold on a single page (typed):

1. *Thesis*: what main message is the author trying to convey?
2. *Arguments*: what are the main points supporting his/her main argument?
3. *Key concepts*: definition of key term used (e.g. democracy, secularism, fundamentalism, etc.).
4. *Evidence*: cases analyzed by the author and observations used to support the arguments and thesis.

Readings

The required readings will be available on blackboard. Most recommended readings are available at Robarts, but not in the Course Reserve section.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

Blackboard

Blackboard is used for this course. You will need your UTORid and password. Logon at <http://portal.utoronto.ca>. For help and information, please contact: blackboard@utoronto.ca.

Do not direct your Blackboard specific questions to the instructor. I am unable to provide support for the web-based software. There are special services that you should consult. It is your responsibility to access the course page regularly to check for announcements, broadcasts, etc.

Course outline

I. Separation of Church and State

Class 1 – June 28, 2016 - Introduction / Modernization and secularization

Objectives: What are the different meanings of secularization? Why is modernization and economic development thought to bring secularization?

Required Reading

Casanova, José. "The Secular and Secularisms" *Social Research*, 76(4), pp. 1049-1066

Suggested Readings

Casanova, José. 2011. "The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms". In Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer and Jonathan VanAntwerpen. *Rethinking Secularism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chadwick, Owen. 1975. *The Secularization of the European Mind in the 19th Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swatos, William H. and Kevin J. Christiano. 2000. "Secularization Theory: The Course of a Concept". In William H. Swatos and Daniel V.A. Olson (eds). *The Secularization Debate*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Philpott, D. (2009), "Has the Study of Global Politics Found Religion?", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12: 183-202.

Wald, K. D. and Wilcox, C. (2006), 'Getting religion: has political science rediscovered the faith factor?', *American Political Science Review*, 100(4): 523-29.

Class 2 – June 30, 2016 - Secularization and Religious Liberties

Objectives: Is secularization a linear process or is it leading to different outcomes in different countries? What is religious liberty and how do we measure it? Why countries have different types of religious freedom regimes?

Required Reading

Fox, Jonathan. 2006. "World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century" *Comparative Political Studies*, 39:5, pp. 537-69

Kuru, Ahmet T. 2007. "Passive and Assertive Secularism: Historical Conditions, Ideological Struggles, and State Policies toward Religion" *World Politics*, 59, pp. 568-94

Suggested Readings

Casanova, José. 1994. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Casanova, José. 2006. "Religion, European Secular Identities, and European Integration," in Timothy A. Byrnes and Peter J. Katzenstein (eds). *Religion in an Expanding Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 64-92

Fox, Jonathan and Shmuel Sandler. 2005. "Separation of Religion and State in the Twenty-First Century: Comparing the Middle East and Western Democracies". *Comparative Politics*. 37(3). pp. 317-335

Gill, Anthony. 2005. "The Political Origins of Religious Liberty: A Theoretical Outline" *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, 1(1), pp. 1-35

Monsma, Stephen V. and Christopher Soper. 1997. "Chapter 7. Church and State in Pluralistic Democracies". In *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Democracies*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

II. The "Return" of Religion

Class 3 – July 5, 2016 – Religion and Nationalism

Objectives: why has religion made a comeback? Has religion ever disappeared? How does religion contest or (re)articulate notions such as nationalism?

Required Reading

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2010. "The Global Rise of Religious Nationalism" In *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 64:3. Pp. 262-73.

Barr, Michael D., and Anantha Raman Govindasamy. "The Islamisation of Malaysia: Religious Nationalism in the Service of Ethnonationalism." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 64.3 (2010): 293-311.

Suggested Readings

Berger, Peter L. 1999. "The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview" In Peter L. Berger (ed) *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans.

Casanova, José. 1994. "The Deprivatization of Modern Religion". *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Stark R, Iannaccone LR. 1994. "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the "Secularization" of Europe". *Journal of Scientific Study of Religion*. 33(3). pp. 230– 52.

Class 4 – July 7, 2016 – Religion and Fundamentalism

Objectives: What is fundamentalism? What explains fundamentalism?

Required Readings

Almond, Gabriel A., Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby. 1995. "Fundamentalism: Genus and Species," in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds. *Fundamentalisms Comprehended: The Fundamentalism Project*, volume 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 399-424.

Keddie, Nikki R. "The new religious politics: where, when, and why do "fundamentalisms" appear?." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40.04 (1998): 696-723.

Suggested Readings

Almond, Gabriel A., Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby. 1995. "Explaining Fundamentalisms," in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds. *Fundamentalisms Comprehended: The Fundamentalism Project*, volume 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 425-444.

Armstrong, Karen. 2011. *The battle for God: A history of fundamentalism*. Ballantine Books.

Emerson, Michael O., and David Hartman. 2006. "The rise of religious fundamentalism." *Annual Review of Sociology*. pp. 127-144.

Iannaccone LR. 1997. "Toward an economic theory of 'fundamentalism.'" *Journal of Institutional Theory of Economy*. 153. pp. 100–16

Lawrence, Bruce B. 1989. *Defenders of God: the fundamentalist revolt against the modern age*. Harper Collins Publishers.

Sivan, Emmanuel. 1995. "The Enclave Culture," in Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds. *Fundamentalisms Comprehended: The Fundamentalism Project*, volume 5. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 11-68.

Class 5 - July 12, 2016 – Religion and State Making

Required Reading

Ahmad, Aisha. 2015. "The security bazaar: business interests and Islamist power in civil war Somalia." *International Security* 39.3: 89-117.

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War making and state making as organized crime." *Violence: A reader*. New York: New York University Press

Class 6 – July 14, 2016 – Midterm Test

III. Religion and the State: Threat or Resource?

Class 7 – July 19, 2016 – Religion and State Power

Objectives: How do states manage religious groups? Which strategy do states chose – cooperation, co-optation, competition or repression? Why?

Required Reading

Gill, Anthony. 1998. "An Economic Model of Church-State Relations." In *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Koesel, Karrie J. 2014. "Introduction" In *Religion and Authoritarianism: Cooperation, Conflict, and the Consequences*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Suggested Readings

Gill, Anthony, and Arang Keshavarzian. "State building and religious resources: An institutional theory of church-state relations in Iran and Mexico." *Politics and Society* 27 (1999): 431-465.

Moustafa, Tamir. 2000. "Conflict and cooperation between the state and religious institutions in contemporary Egypt." *International Journal Middle East Studies* 32(1). pp. 3-22.

Matthews, Bruce. 1993. "Buddhism under a military regime: the iron heel in Burma." *Asian Survey*. pp. 408-423.

Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. 2001. "Introduction: Defining the Problem". *Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 3-28

Class 8 – July 21, 2016 – Religion and Opposition Movements

Objectives: When does religion become a social movement? How do religious actors challenge political systems?

Required Reading

Casanova, José. 2001. "Civil Society and Religion: Retrospective Reflections on Catholicism and Prospective Reflections on Islam". *Social Research*. 68:4, pp. 1041-80

Wickham, C. R. 2002. "Introduction". In *Mobilizing Islam : religion, activism, and political change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press. pp. 1-20

Suggested Readings

Albrecht, Holger. 2005. "How can opposition support authoritarianism? Lessons from Egypt." *Democratization* 12.3. pp. 378-397.

Gill, Anthony. 1998. "Chapter Two: A Brief History of Church-State Relations in Latin-America", In *Rendering unto Caesar: the Catholic Church and the state in Latin America*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 17-46

Ismail, Salwa. 2006. "The Study of Islamism Revisited." *Rethinking Islamist politics: Culture, the state and Islamism*. New York, NY: IB Tauris, 2006.

Kepel, Gilles. 2000. "Islamism Reconsidered: A Running Dialogue With Modernity" *Harvard International Review*. Summer. 22-7.

McCarthy, Stephen. "Overturning the alms bowl: the price of survival and the consequences for political legitimacy in Burma." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 62.3 (2008): 298-314.

Roy, Olivier. 1994. "Introduction" in *The Political Failure of Political Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

Wiktorowicz, Quintan. 2004. "Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory." Quintan Wiktorowicz. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington: IN: Indiana University Press. 1-35.

Class 9 – July 26, 2016 – Religion and Democracy

Objectives: Are religion and democracy compatible? How does democracy alter religious actors' strategies?

Required Reading

Schwedler, Jillian. "Can Islamists become moderates? Rethinking the inclusion-moderation hypothesis." *World Politics*. 63.02 (2011): 347-376.

Bayat, Asef. 2007. Islam and Democracy: The Perverse Charm of an Irrelevant Question. In *Making Islam democratic: Social movements and the post-Islamist turn*. Stanford University Press pp. 1-15

Suggested Readings

Anderson, John. 2003. "Catholicism and democratic consolidation in Spain and Poland." *West European Politics* 26(1). pp. 137-156.

Hwang, Julie Chernov. "When parties swing: Islamist parties and institutional moderation in Malaysia and Indonesia." *South East Asia Research*. 18.4 (2010): 635-674.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "Commitment problems in emerging democracies: The case of religious parties." *Comparative Politics* (2000): 379-398.

Kalyvas, Sathis N. and Kees van Kersbergen. 2010. "Christian Democracy". *Annual Review of Political Science*. 13. pp. 183-209

Ozzano, Luca. "The many faces of the political god: a typology of religiously oriented parties." *Democratization* 20.5 (2013): 807-830.

Stepan, Alfred C. (2000) "Religion, democracy, and the "Twin Tolerations"." *Journal of democracy* 11.4: 37-57.

IV. Religion and Violence

Class 10 – July 28, 2016 – Sectarianism

Objective: Why and when does democracy foster communalism? How do non-religious interests politicize religion?

Required Reading

Brass, Paul. 2011. "Explaining Communal Violence." *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Washington: University of Washington Press

Wilson, Ian. 2014. "Morality Racketeering: Vigilantism and Populist Islamic Militancy in Indonesia." in Khoo Boo Teik, Vedi R. Hadiz, and Yoshihiro Nakanishi. *Between Dissent and Power: The Transformation of Islamic Politics in the Middle East and Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Recommended Readings

Bertrand, Jacques and Alexandre Pelletier. (forthcoming). "Violent Monks in Myanmar: scapegoating and the contest for power."

Brass, Paul R. 1997. *Theft of an idol: Text and context in the representation of collective violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic conflict and civil society: India and beyond." *World politics* 53.03. pp. 362-398.

Class 11 – August 2, 2016 – Religion and Terrorism

**** Guest lecturer: Professor Aisha Ahmad (University of Toronto)**

Objectives: What is religious violence? What explains religious violence? Is religious violence “religious”?

Required Readings

Ahmad, A. (2016). “Going Global: Islamist Competition in Contemporary Civil Wars.” *Security Studies*, 25(2), 353-384.

Pape, Robert A. 2005. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” In *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York, NY: Random House

Recommended Readings

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2006. “Religion as a Cause of Terrorism.” Louise Richardson (ed). *The Roots of Terrorism*. New York & London: Routledge. pp. 133-70

Gurr, Ted Robert. 2006. “Economic Factors” In Louise Richardson (ed). *The Roots of Terrorism*. New York & London: Routledge. pp. 85-101

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2003. “Chapter 7. Theatre of Terror” In *Terror in the mind of God: The global rise of religious violence*. San Francisco: University of California Press.

Class 12 – August 4, 2016 – Final Test