University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Department for the Study of Religion

JPR 364Y RELIGION AND POLITICS
Syllabus September 2009 - April 2010

Thurs. 12-2, UC 163

INSTRUCTORS:

Ruth Marshall — Departments of Religion & Political Science
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Teaching Assistant:

THEMES:

This course will engage with contemporary debates on religion and politics in our post-9/11 world, and will do so comparatively across a wide range of contexts around the globe. The emphasis will be on understanding the evolving relationship between religion and politics in liberal democracies, and examining challenges facing democratic politics from the religious sphere, both in the West, where secular liberalism is the dominant framework for discussing these questions, and in Latin America, Africa, India, and the Middle East, where such a framework is more likely to be contested. The themes we will explore include secularization, religious pluralism and tolerance, human rights regimes, the idea of "civil religion," the impact of religion on party politics, the formation of identity and political community, the legal regulation of sometimes-competing claims based on religious faith, gender, and sexuality, and the rise of transnational religious networks and advocacy – evangelical Christianity and radical Islam in particular. Some of the readings will speak to such themes in abstract theoretical terms; others will focus on contemporary political debates; still others will examine specific cases in which religious issues are at issue in politics.

JPR 364Y is jointly offered by the departments of Political Science and Religion, and will draw students from both spheres, in addition to some who are enrolled primarily in other programs. All are welcome, though students registered in the class should be prepared for a multidisciplinary approach. Some of the reading and classroom discussion will be lodged within the political science mainstream; other parts of the syllabus drawing on ideas and literature in the study of religion and its related disciplines.

REQUIREMENTS:

1. Reading Assignments — Two, 2nd due by noon, Nov. 5th — Max 500 words each — Weight: 10%
   Students are to choose two topics (up to the topic assigned for Nov. 5th) , and by noon of the day of the lecture on that topic they are to submit a short comparative summary of the core arguments of the readings assigned for that day. Each comparative summary must be no longer than 500 words.

2. First Essay — Due Thursday, Nov. 26th, 2pm — Max. 3000 words — Weight: 20%
   Topic guidelines to be discussed in class and information posted on course web site.

3. December Exam — December examination period — Weight: 20%

Test structure and guidelines to be discussed in class.

4. Second Term: Five responses of 200 words max. (each) to questions, posted on the Discussion Forum in Blackboard, and participation in class discussion. Weight: 10%

5. Second Essay Due Thursday, Mar. 25th, 2pm Max. 3500 words Weight: 20%
Guidelines to be set out in class and posted on course web site

6. Final Test Thursday, April 1st 12:15-2:00pm East Hall, UC Weight: 20%
A series of questions will be handed out two weeks before the end of class, from which a random selection will be made for the test.

WRITING ESSAYS:
Clear, well-organized, and articulate writing is an indispensable feature of the analytical process, and this course assumes that you are prepared to work on improving your capacity to communicate in prose. The Political Science Department's web site (www.chass.utoronto.ca/polsci) includes, a "Writing at U of T" link on the left side of the home page, a brief guide to essay writing (authored by Rayside), as well as a link to a vast array of university-wide resources – at the "plagiarism" link. Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will be dealt with accordingly. Students must read the University's "How not to Plagiarize" document, http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html, and are encouraged to discuss with the instructors if they are unsure of what constitutes plagiarism or academic dishonesty. Each college also has a writing workshop.

SUBMITTING ESSAYS:
Essays may be submitted only in hard copy (not by email). You should ensure that you have a hard copy or an electronic copy of all work submitted, and you are strongly advised to retain the rough work, notes, and draft material that went into the essay. Essays should normally be submitted in class. If that is not possible, in the first term, they should be passed through the mail slot in Rayside's office door (UC 158). In the second term, essays not handed in during class should be submitted to be date-stamped by Marilyn Colaco, Room 310, Department for the Study of Religion, Jackman Humanities Building, 170 St. George St.

Where possible, essays should be printed double-sided.

Late essays will NOT be accepted: assignments handed in late will be returned unmarked with a grade of zero assigned. Rare exceptions may be granted to students who have faced serious medical or other emergencies, and who have substantial and convincing documentation fully accounting for the length of delay.

WEB SITE & EMAIL:
The course will have a Blackboard web site, on which the syllabus, announcements, relevant media reports, and other items will be posted. You MUST have a valid UTOR email and are expected to consult Blackboard regularly. Blackboard will be an important tool in the second term, when students will be using the Discussion Forum to post responses to questions to be discussed in class.

Everyone on the instructional team will be prepared to respond to a reasonable number of e-mails, but not necessarily right away. Each of us receives a considerable volume of messages, and you should not assume that yours in particular requires urgent attention. Questions asking for information that is available on the course syllabus or Blackboard will not be answered. Matters that require a substantive answer, such as the development of term paper topics, or personal difficulties should be addressed during office hours.

SECOND TERM - POSTING IN DISCUSSION FORUM ON BLACKBOARD:
In the second term, the class will be divided into two groups, which will take turns responding to questions about the readings posted on the Discussion Forum in Blackboard, beginning in Week 2 (Jan. 14). Five

responses are required during the term and students must post in their allotted week. **Students must post their response of no more than 200 words to the question by noon on the Wednesday before class. Late postings will NOT be graded.** In responding to the question, students are expected to critically engage with the material, not simply sum up the readings and issues of the week. Students are encouraged to respond and engage with their peers' postings and previous discussions in formulating their responses, with a view to creating a dynamic, ongoing debate about the issues. All students, regardless of whether it is their week to post, are to read the postings of their peers before class and must come to class ready to present their views and actively discuss the questions and their responses.

CLASS ATTENDANCE:
Lectures and classroom discussion will not simply replicate the reading. They will often assume that you have covered the reading material, and go beyond the issues or descriptive material covered in it. In some cases there will be specific questions worth exploring in more detail; in others there will be substantial updates to be provided. The mid-term test and final examination will treat what is covered in class (from whatever source) and required reading as equally important. In the second term, students will be expected to participate in active class discussion through the presentation of and responses to weekly postings on the Discussion Forum in Blackboard. Students who do not attend class or participate can expect to see their grade suffer for this portion of the evaluation.

Late arrivals and early departures are disruptive and discourteous, though occasionally students are held up at a previous class, and are unavoidably a couple of minutes late. Students who routinely have to arrive late for class or leave early should not register for this course.

TEXTS:
A course pack is available through Canadian Scholars Press, 180 Bloor Street West, suite 801 (9-5pm). Readings NOT included in the course pack are marked "ol" if available on line, and "ws" if posted on the course web site. Materials drawn from academic journals and designated "ol" are available through the U of T library site by finding the "electronic resource" listing under the journal title. Books from which course pack articles are drawn will usually contain other material worthy of your attention, and are available on short term loan at Robarts Library.

READING LIST:
All reading listed under each topic is required reading. In addition to the items listed below, newspaper or magazine articles may be posted on the course web site and treated as required reading. Films and guest lectures are integral to the course, and material discussed in them considered on a par with regular lectures and required reading. Unless otherwise indicated, each bolded topic will represent approximately one week.

FIRST TERM (David Rayside)

Course Overview; Secularization in the "West" Sept. 9

ol Peter Berger, "Secularization Falsified," *First Things* #180 (February 2008), pp. 24-29.

cp Joan Wallach Scott, "Secularism," pp. 90-123 in *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton University Press, 2007)

Religious Pluralism and the Challenges in Recognizing Difference Sept. 17

cp Joseph H. Carens and Melissa S. Williams, "Muslim Minorities in Liberal Democracies: The Politics

of Misrecognition," pp. 157-86 in *The Challenge of Diversity: Integration and Pluralism in Societies of Immigration*, ed. Rainer Baubock, Agnes Heller, and Aristide Zolberg (Avebury, 1996).

cp Rainer Bauböck, "If You Say Multiculturalism is the Wrong Answer, Then What Was the Question You Asked? *Canadian Diversity* 4,1 (Winter 2005): 90-93

cp Will Kymlicka, "The Uncertain Futures of Multiculturalism," *Canadian Diversity* 4,1 (Winter 2005): 82-85

Catholic Politics in Europe Sept. 24

ol J. Bryan Hehir, "The Old Church and the New Europe: Charting the Changes," pp. 93-116 (especially 101-16), in *Religion in an Expanding Europe*, ed. Timothy A. Byrnes and Peter J. Katzenstein (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

cp Martin Conway, "The Age of Christian Democracy," pp. 44-67 in *European Christian Democracy*, ed. Thomas Keselman and Joseph A. Buttigieg (University of Notre Dame Press, 2003)

cp Kees van Kersbergen, "The Distinctiveness of Christian Democracy," pp. 31-47 in *Christian Democracy in Europe*, ed. David Hanley (Pinter, 1994).

Muslim Europe and Anti-Immigrant Politics Oct. 1

cp Jorgen Nielsen, "European Muslims in a New Europe?" pp. 153-74 in *Muslims in Western Europe*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004)

ol Salwa Ismail, "Muslim Public Self-Presentation: Interrogating the Liberal Public Sphere," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 41, 1 (January 2008): 25-29.

cp Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 63-64, 78-89.

ol Peter van der Veer, "Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and the Politics of Tolerance in the Netherlands," *Public Culture* 18, no. 1 (2006): 111-25.

Republican "Laïcité" in Turkey and the Question of Europe Oct. 8

ol M. Hakan Yavuz, "Islam and Europeanization in Turkish-Muslim Socio-Political Movements," pp. 225-32, 238-55 in *Religion in an Expanding Europe*, ed. Timothy A. Byrnes and Peter J. Katzenstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

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

Christian Politics in the United States Oct. 15

cp Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Impact of Religion," pp. 74-89 in *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada*, by Lipset (New York: Routledge, 1990)

cp Clyde Wilcox and Carin Larson, "Introduction: The Christian Right in Context," pp. 1-26; and pp. 69-77 in *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*, 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview, 2006)

cp Mark A. Knoll, *God and Race in American Politics: A Short History* (Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 156-75

America's Culture War? Reproduction and Sexuality Oct. 22

cp Faye Ginsberg, "Conclusion," pp. 212-221 in *Contested Lives: The Abortion Debate in an American Community*, by Ginsberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

cp Morris Fiorina, Samuel Abrams, and Jeremy Pope, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*, 2nd ed. (New York: Pearson Longman, 2006), chaps. 1-2.

ws Clyde Wilcox article on Evangelical Christianity in *Religion, Sexuality, and Politics in Canada and the United States*, ed. David Rayside and Clyde Wilcox (forthcoming)

Canadian Faith Communities, Identity Development, and Political Engagement Oct. 29

cp John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "Bearing Witness: Christian Groups Engage Canadian Politics Since the 1960s," pp. 113-28 in *Rethinking Church, State, and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and America*, ed. David Lyon and Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: U. of T. Press, 2000)

cp Robert K. Burkinshaw, "Native Pentecostalism in British Columbia," pp. 142-70 in *Canadian Pentecostalism*, ed. Michael Wilkinson (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009)

cp Paul Eid, "The Arab Presence and Identity in Canada," pp. 3-18 in *Being Arab: Ethnic and Religious Identity Building Among Second Generation Youth in Montreal*, by Eid (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007)

Canadian Political Parties and Religious Alignment Nov. 5

cp Chris Cochrane, Neil Nevitte, and Steve White, "Value Change in Europe and North America: Convergence or Something Else?" pp. 53-79 in *Growing Apart? America and Europe in the 21st Century*, ed. Jeff Kopstein and Sven Steinmo (Cambridge University Press, 2007)

cp Neil Nevitte and Chris Cochrane, "Value Change and the Dynamics of the Canadian Partisan Landscape," pp. 255-75 in *Canadian Parties in Transition*. 3rd ed. Alain Gagnon and Brian Tanguay (Broadview Press, 2007) [with update]

ws David Rayside, "Conservative Christianity, Sexual Diversity, and the Conservative Party's Fragile Coalition," in *Religion, Sexuality and Politics in Canada and the United States*, ed. David Rayside and Clyde Wilcox (forthcoming)

[Reading break] Nov. 12

Public and Policy Response in Quebec and the Rest of Canada Nov. 19

ol/ws Gerard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Final Report, Consultation Commission on Accommodation

Practices Related to Cultural Differences – Abridged Version," Government of Quebec, 2008

Constitutional Law in Canada and the United States Nov. 26

cp Bruce Ryder, "The Canadian Conception of Equal Religious Citizenship," pp. 87-109 in *Law and Religious Pluralism in Canada*, ed. Richard Moon (UBC Press, 2008).

cp Ted Jelen, "From Christian America to Free Exercise," pp. 78-102 in *To Serve God and Mammon: Church-State Relations in American Politics*, by Jelen (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000).

Hate Crimes, Schooling, and Other Unresolved Issue Areas Dec. 3

cp Christian Smith, with David Sikkink, "Evangelicals on Education," pp. 129-59 in *Christian America? What Evangelicals Really Want*, by Christian Smith (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 2000)

ol Stephen L. Newman, "Liberty, Community and Censorship: Hate Speech and Freedom of Expression in Canada and the United States," *American Review of Canadian Studies* (Autumn 2002).

ws Stephen Boissoin, "Homosexual Agenda Wicked," *Red Deer Advocate*, 17 June 2002

See also: Richard Moon, *Report to the Canadian Human Rights Commission Concerning Section 13 of the* ***Canadian Human Rights Act*** *and the Regulation of Hate Speech on the Internet* (October 2008), pp. 1-9, 13-17, 19-25 (www. chrc-ccdp.ca/publications/report_moon_rapport/toc_tdm-en.asp)

SECOND TERM (Ruth Marshall)

The Ambivalence of the Sacred **Jan. 7**

cp Talal Asad, "Religion, Nation-State, Secularism," in *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia,* ed. Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 178-196.

cp Scott Appleby, "Beyond the End of an Argument," in *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), pp. 25-56.

Remapping the World: Islam and the 'New World Order' *Group 1 posts* **Jan. 14**

ol Saba Mahmood, "Secularism, Hermeneutics and Empire: The Politics of Islamic Reformism", *Public Culture*, 18, 2, 2006. pp. 323-347.

cp Olivier Roy, "Remapping the World: Culture, Civilization and Strategy," in *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2002), pp. 326-340.

ol Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance", *The Nation*, October 22, 2001. http://www.thenation.com/doc/20011022/said

The War on Terror *Group 2 posts* **Jan. 21**

ol Bryan Turner "Sovereignty and Emergency: Political Theology, Islam and American Conservatism," *Theory, Culture, Society* 19, 4 (2002): 103-19.

ol David Kaplan, "Hearts, Minds, and Dollars In an Unseen Front in the War on Terrorism, America is Spending Millions...To Change the Very Face of Islam" *U.S. News and World Report*, April 25, 2005.

ol Explore the following 2 websites: http://www.obsessionthemovie.com/ http://www.obsessionwithhate.com.

Political Islam *Group 1 posts* **Jan. 28**

cp Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na`im, "Introduction: Why Muslims Need a Secular State" in *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a* (Boston: Harvard UP, 2008) pp. 1-44

cp Olivier Roy "Introduction" in *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) pp. 1-27

ol Adam Seligman "Particularist Universalism: A Response to Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na`im," *Common Knowledge* 11, 1 (2005): 81-88. Special Issue -- "Symposium: Talking Peace with Gods"

The Ethico-Political Geography of Jihad *Group 2 posts* **Feb. 4**

cp Faisal Devji, "Effects Without Causes," *Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity*, (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2004), pp. 1-32.

ws Olivier Roy, "The Modernity of an Archaic Way of Thinking: Neofundamentalism", *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, pp. 232-89.

cp Ayman al-Zawahiri "Advice to the Community to Reject the Fatwa of Sheik Bin Baz Authorizing Parliamentary Representation (Excerpts)," in *Al-Qaeda in its Own Words*, ed. G. Kepel and J.-P. Milelli (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard U. Press, 2008), pp. 182-192.

Post-Revolutionary Religion and Politics in Iran *Group 1 posts* **Feb. 11**

cp Fariba Adelkah, "Introduction: A Political Earthquake", and "A New Public Space for Islam", *Being modern in Iran* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1999) pp. 1-8, and pp. 105-138.

ol Farzin Vahdat "Religious Modernity in Iran: Dilemmas of Islamic Democracy in the Discourse of Mohammad Khatami" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 25.3 (2005) 650-664

ol Fred Dallmayr "Religion, Democracy, and Iran: A Modest Proposal" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27.3 (2007) 503-508

ol See Blackboard for articles and media on the 2009 elections.

The Future of Secular Democracy in India *Group 2 posts* **Feb. 25**

cp Anuradha Dingwaney Needham and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan, "Introduction," in *The Crisis of Secularism in India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) pp. 1-43

ol Collection of blogs on Mumbai, on the SSRC's website, *The Immanent Frame*: http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/category/mumbai-1126/

Religion and the Politics of Gender *Group 1 posts* **Mar. 4**

cp Saba Mahmood "The Subject of Freedom" *The Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). pp. 1-39.

ol Anne Motley Hallum "Taking Stock and Building Bridges: Feminism, Women's Movements, and Pentecostalism in Latin America" *Latin American Research Review* 38.1 (2003) 169-186

ol R. Hackett, "Power and Periphery: Studies of Gender and Religion in Africa" *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 12(1), 2000, pp. 238-244.

The Media and Global Religious Publics *Group 2 posts* **Mar. 11**

cp Patricia Birman "The Future in the Mirror: Media, Evangelicals and Politics in Rio de Janeiro" in B. Meyer, A. Moors (eds.) *Religion, Media and the Public Sphere*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006) pp. 52-72.

cp Charles Hirschkind, "Cassette Ethics: Public Piety and Popular Media in Egypt" in B. Meyer, A. Moors (eds.) *Religion, Media and the Public Sphere*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006) pp. 29-51.

Transnational Pentecostalism in Nigeria *Group 1 posts* **Mar. 18**

cp Ruth Marshall, Chapter 3, "*Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, in press). 92-127

cp Balogun, J. O. *Redeemed from the Clutches of Satan: Former Head of Seven Secret Cults Now an Evangelist*. Lagos: Noade Nigeria, n.d.

Commerce with Invisible Worlds: Political Modernity in South Africa *Group 2 posts* **Mar. 25**

cp Adam Ashforth "Witchcraft, Violence and Justice," in *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 243-278.

ol J. Comaroff and J. L. Comaroff, "Alien-Nation: Zombies, Immigrants and Global Capitalism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, 4 (2002): 779–805.

Final Test - April 1 (no kidding!)