

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

JPR 364Y RELIGION AND POLITICS
Syllabus September 2012-April 2013

Thurs. 12-2, UC 163

INSTRUCTORS:

Ruth Marshall	Departments of Religion & Political Science Jackman Humanities Building (170 St. George St.), room 300 978-0241 ruth.marshall@utoronto.ca
David Rayside	Dept. of Pol. Science & Bonham Centre for Sexual Diversity Studies University College, room 158 978-8087 david.rayside@utoronto.ca Office Hours: Tuesday, 2:15-3:00; Wednesday, 9:30-11:30
T.A.s:	First Term: Second Term:

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:

First Term:

1. Reading Assignments Two, maximum of 1000 words each Total Weight: 10%
1st is to be completed for the readings associated with one week from Sept. 20th to Oct. 11th. The second must be for one week’s readings linked to classes from Oct. 18th to Nov. 8th. In both cases, each assignment is due at the beginning of the class to which the readings are associated. See below for more information.

2. Major Essay Due Thursday, Nov. 22nd, 2pm Max. 3000 words Weight: 20%
Students are encouraged to develop their own essay topics. They should take up some question or argument with reference to the intersection of religion and politics in the contemporary period. They may focus on one particular setting (country, region, institution) or compare two or three – though it is important to keep the topic focussed and manageable. Submitting a two or three sentence topic proposal to the instructor and T.A., well in advance of the deadline, is strongly advised.
3. December Test December examination period Weight: 20%
A series of questions will be handed out on in early December, from which a random selection will be made for the test itself, to be held in the formal examination period administered by the Faculty of Arts and Science.

Second Term:

4. Five Reading Blogs of 150 words minimum (each) posted on the Discussion Forum in Blackboard, and participation in class discussion. Weight: 10%
5. Second Major Essay Due Thursday, Mar. 28th, 2pm Max. 3500 words Weight: 20%
As in the first term, students will develop their own essay topics. Topics should take up a question or argument with reference to the intersection of religion and politics in the contemporary period, preferably with a focus on the themes, regions and/or issues covered in the second term. Papers may be more theoretically or empirically oriented, comparative or single-issue/country based. Topics should be focused and manageable, and students are strongly encouraged to consult the instructor well in advance of the deadline for help in focusing and developing their topic.
6. Final Test Thursday, April 4th 12:15-2:00pm Location TBA 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.

FIRST TERM READING ASSIGNMENTS:

Each of you is responsible for submitting two short papers, each one of them a critical comparative analysis of the readings associated with a single week's topic. There is no fixed way of executing a critical comparative analysis. Some may wish to provide brief summaries of each article and then a comparison of their core arguments at the end. Others may opt for a more integrated comparative analysis from the outset. The first of these two assignments must be on the readings for a single class between Sept. 20th and Oct. 11th (inclusive). The second must be on readings for a class between Oct. 18th and Nov. 8th (inclusive). **Each of these assignments must be submitted in printed form (not electronic) by the beginning of class for which the readings are assigned. Late submissions will not be marked.**

SECOND TERM – READING BLOGS

In the second term, the class will be divided into two groups, which will take turns posting reading blogs on the Discussion Forum in Blackboard, beginning in Week 2 (Jan. 17). Please see the syllabus for the schedule and Blackboard to know which group you have been assigned to. Your blogs are to be reflections on the week's designated readings, and your entries must demonstrate (1) an understanding of the assigned readings and (2) an attempt to situate those readings within the framework of that week's theme or topic. Do not simply summarize the readings, but rather draw out what you think are the important points or questions they raise. You can respond to your peers, ask questions, and bring insights from other courses or personal experiences. Entries are not limited in length, and if you want you can make more than one, but each posting should be **no less than 150 words**. You aren't required to use a formal style, but please proofread your entries and don't use text or chat-'ese'. 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 their responses. Your responses are to be posted **by 5 pm on the Wednesday evening before class**. Five responses are required during the term and students **must** post in their allotted week. **Late postings will NOT be graded.**

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. There are many resources on campus to help build writing skills, and the Political Science Department has a guide to essay writing (authored by Rayside), which will be posted on the course Blackboard site. 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.

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 Prof. Rayside's office door (UC 158). In the second term, essays **must** be submitted during class and **in person**. Students not able to do so must make prior arrangements with Professor Marshall concerning the submission of their paper, or provide a documented reason why they were unable to submit. Failure to do so will result in the paper not being graded. 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 especially 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.

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 the University of Toronto Bookstore (corner St. George and College). 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.

Accessing online readings through Robarts Library is generally straightforward, but there are a couple of tricks. For journal articles, one effective route is to use the main catalogue, enter the name of the JOURNAL, and then opt for "journal title" in the drop-down list. When you get the list of library holdings, click on to the entry that indicates "electronic resource" and then find the year and issue. In a few cases, it may be difficult to gain access to the full text of the article you are seeking, but mostly that can be resolved by trying again and opting for another source for the electronic resource (where there is more than one portal for a particular journal). For articles in edited books, use the same catalogue starting point, enter the title of the book (if that does not work, use one of the editors), select "title" from the drop down list, choose the "electronic resource" listing from the holdings, and then find the particular article.

FIRST TERM (David Rayside)

Course Overview: Secularization in the “West”

Sept. 13

- ol Peter Berger, “Secularization Falsified,” *First Things* #180 (February 2008), pp. 24-29.
- cp Charles Taylor, “Introduction,” subsection 1 (pp. 1-4), in *A Secular Age* (Harvard University Press 2007).

Religious Pluralism and the Challenges in Recognizing Difference

Sept. 20

- cp Joseph Carens & Melissa 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 Bauböck, Agnes Heller, & Aristide Zolberg (Avebury, 1996).
- ww 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
- ww Will Kymlicka, “The Uncertain Futures of Multiculturalism,” *Canadian Diversity* 4,1 (Winter 2005): 82-85

Catholic Politics in Europe

Sept. 27

- cp Martin Conway, “The Age of Christian Democracy,” pp. 44-67 in *European Christian Democracy*, ed. Thomas Kselman and Joseph A. Buttigieg (University of Notre Dame Press, 2003)
- ol Kees van Kersbergen, “The Christian Democratic Phoenix and Modern Unsecular Politics,” *Party*

- Politics* 14, 3 (2008): 259-79
- cp Vít Hloušek and Lubomír Kopeček, "The Christian Democrats: Between Adaptation and a Struggle for Survival," chap. 7 in *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties: East-Central and Western Europe Compared*, by Vít Hloušek and Lubomír Kopeček (Ashgate, 2010), pp. 131-37, 142, 149-54.
- cp Thomas Rourke, "Roman Catholic Social Thought," *Encyclopedia of Political Science*, ed. George Thomas Kurian (CQ Press, 2011), pp. 1485-87

Republican "Laïcité" in France and Turkey

Oct. 4

- 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)
- cp Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton University Press, 2007), chap. 3 (pp. 90-123).
- cp Ahmet Kuru, "Analyzing Secularism," chap. 1 in *Secularism and State Policies Toward Religion: The United States, France, and Turkey* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 6-37.

Faith and Social Change in the Global South: Focus on Latin America

Oct. 11

- ol Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, rev. ed. (Oxford University Press, 2007), chap. 1 (pp. 1-17).
- cp Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, *Politics of Latin America*, 4th (Oxford University Press, 2012), chap. 6 (pp. 130-48).
- cp Anna Peterson, Manuel Vasquez, and Philip Williams, "Introduction: Christianity and Social Change in the Shadow of Globalization," pp. 1-18 in *Christianity, Social Change, and Globalization in the Americas*, ed. Anna Peterson, et al. (Rutgers University Press, 2001).

Christian Politics in the United States

Oct. 18

- cp Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada*, (Routledge, 1990), pp. 74-89.
- cp Robert Putnam and David Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us* (Simon & Shuster, 2010), chap. 1 (pp. 1-36)

Faith and America's Culture Wars?

Oct. 25

- cp Morris Fiorina, Samuel Abrams, and Jeremy Pope, *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*, 3rd ed. (Longman, 2011), chaps. 1-2.
- cp Robert Putnam and David Campbell, *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us* (Simon & Shuster, 2010), chap. 15 (pp. 516-47)

Muslims in Europe and North America

Nov. 1

- cp Jorgen Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh University Press, 2004), pp. 153-74
- ol Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, *Muslim Women in America* (Oxford University Press, 2006), chap. 1 (pp. 3-20)
- ol David Rayside, "Muslim American Communities' Response to Queer Visibility," *Contemporary Islam* 5, 2 (2011): 109-34

Religious Diversity and Public Response in Quebec and the Rest of Canada

Nov. 8

- ws Gerard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Final Report, Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences – Abridged Version," Government of Quebec, 2008, Introduction; Sections IV-VII (pp. 5, 35-89)
- ol Marie McAndrew, "The Muslim Community and Education in Quebec: Controversies and Mutual Adaptation," *International Migration and Integration* 11 (2010): 41-58

- cp Itrath Syed, "The Great Canadian 'Shar'ia' Debate," in *Islam in the Hinterlands: Muslim Cultural Politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmin Zine (UBC Press, 2012), pp. 61-91.

Canadian Faith Communities and Political Alignment

Nov. 15

- ol Jonathan Malloy, "Between America and Europe: Religion, Politics, and Evangelicals in Canada," *Politics, Religion and Ideology* 12, 3 (2011): 317-33.
- ol Goldy Hyder, "Gaining the Political Support of Minorities in Canada," *Canadian Issues* (Summer 2005), pp. 46-48.
- ws David Rayside, "Moral Conservatism and Ontario Party Politics," in *Conservatism in Canada*, ed. James Farney and David Rayside (University of Toronto Press, forthcoming)

Constitutional Law in Canada and the United States

Nov. 22

- 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 "Appendix A & B," in *Faith, Politics, and Sexual Diversity in Canada and the United States*, ed. David Rayside and Clyde Wilcox (UBC Press, 2011), pp. 375-84

Hate Crimes and Other Unresolved Issue Areas

Dec. 1

- ol Kathleen Mahoney, "Hate Speech, Equality, and the State of Canadian Law," *Wake Forest Law Review* 44 (2009): 321-51.
- ww Janet Epp Buckingham, "Discrimination on the Basis of 'Creed' Under the *Ontario Human Rights Code*," *Diversity Magazine* 8:3 (Summer 2010): 45-48.
- ws Stephen Boissin, "Homosexual Agenda Wicked," *Red Deer Advocate*, 17 June 2002

SECOND TERM (Ruth Marshall)

Thinking Secularism between the West and the 'Rest'

Jan. 10

- cp Talal Asad, "Free Speech, Blasphemy and Secular Criticism" in *Is Critique Secular? Blasphemy, Injury and Free Speech*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 20-63.
- cp Olivier Roy "Islam and Secularization," Chapter 2 of *Secularism confronts Islam*. (Columbia U. Press, 2007) pp. 37-64.

Islam, Law and State

Group 1 posts

Jan. 17

- 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* (Harvard UP, 2008) pp. 1-44.
- cp Robert Hefner, "Introduction," *Shari'a Politics: Islam, Law and Society in the Modern World* (Indiana U. Press, 2011) pp.1-46.
- 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 (Harvard U. Press, 2008), pp. 182-192.

Globalized Islam and the New Religious Publics

Group 2 posts

Jan. 24

- cp Olivier Roy, "The Modernity of an Archaic Way of Thinking: Neofundamentalism," *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, pp. 232-89.
- cp Dale F. Eickelman & Armando Salvatore. "Muslim Publics," Chapter 1 of *Public Islam and the Common Good*. (Brill, 2006) pp. 3-24.

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

Moral Geographies of Terror and Jihad *Group 1 posts* **Jan. 31**

- cp Faisal Devji, "Effects Without Causes," *Landscapes of the Jihad: Militancy, Morality, Modernity*, (C. Hurst and Co., 2004), pp. 1-32.
- cp Talal Asad, Introduction and Chapter 1. *On Suicide Bombing* (Columbia U. Press, 2007) pp. 1-38.
- cp Mahmood Mamdani, "Introduction" *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, The Cold War and the Roots of Terror* (Three Leaves Press, 2005) pp. 3-61
- ol Edward Said, "The Clash of Ignorance," *The Nation*, October 22, 2001.
<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20011022/said>

Religion and the Politics of Security: Winning Hearts and Minds *Group 2 posts* **Feb. 7**

- ol Saba Mahmood, "Secularism, Hermeneutics and Empire: The Politics of Islamic Reformism," *Public Culture*, vol. 8, issue 2, 2006. pp. 323-347.
- 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. <http://www.usnews.com/usnews/news/articles/050425/25roots.htm>
- ol Kevin O'Neill "Delinquent Realities: Christianity, Formality and Security in the Americas". *American Quarterly*, vol. 63, issue 2, 2011. pp. 337 – 365

The Future of Secular Democracy in India *Group 1 posts* **Feb. 14**

- cp Anuradha Dingwaney Needham and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan, "Introduction," in *The Crisis of Secularism in India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) pp. 1-43
- cp Christian Jaffrelot. "The 2002 Pogrom in Gujarat : The Post-9/11 Face of Hindu nationalist Anti-Muslim Violence", in Hinnels, John R. and R. King (eds), *Religion and violence in South Asia. Theory and practice*, London et New-york, Routledge, 2007, pp 172-192.
- ol Rajeev Bhargava "What is Secularism for?" Available online at.
www.law.uvic.ca/.../WhatisSecularismforPreSeminarReading.pdf

Global Christianity: The Charismatic Revolution *Group 2 posts* **Feb. 28**

- ol *Spirit and the Power: A 10 Country Survey of Pentecostals*, Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, October, 2006. pp 5-67.
http://pewforum.org/uploadedfiles/Orphan_Migrated_Content/pentecostals-08.pdf
- cp Ruth Marshall, Andre Corten, "Introduction," *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (Indiana U. Press, 2001) pp. 1-21

Evangelical Christianity and Politics in Latin America *Group 1 posts* **Mar. 7**

- cp Paul Freston, Introduction *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. 3-36.
- cp Kevin O'Neill, Introduction, Chapter Six, *City of God: Christian Citizenship in Postwar Guatemala*. (U. California Press, 2009)

The Media and Christian Religious Publics*Group 2 posts***Mar. 14**

- 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*, (Indiana University Press, 2006) pp. 52-72.
- ol Ruth Marshall “Mediating the Global and the Local in Nigerian Pentecostalism”, *Journal of Religion in Africa* vol. 28, issue 3, 1998. Available at:
http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/ruthmarshall/?page_id=2
- cp Balogun, J. O. *Redeemed from the Clutches of Satan: Former Head of Seven Secret Cults Now an Evangelist*. Lagos: Noade Nigeria, n.d.

Witchcraft and Political Modernity in Africa**Group 1 posts****Mar. 21**

- cp Peter Geschiere “Introduction: Witchcraft as a Political Discourse” *The Modernity of Witchcraft* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997)
- cp Peter Geschiere “On Witch Doctors and Spin Doctors: The Role of ‘Experts’ in African and American Politics” in B. Meyer, P. Pels eds. *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).
- ws Rosalind Shaw, “Robert Kaplan and “Juju Journalism” in Sierra Leone’s Rebel War: The Primitivizing of an African Conflict” in B. Meyer, P. Pels eds. *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003) (available on Blackboard)

Justice, Rights and the Problem of Universality *Final Essay Due* *Group 2 posts***Mar. 28**

- ol The Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam. Available at:
<http://www.oic-oci.org/english/article/human.htm>
- ol Richard Amesbury. “Inter-Religious Declarations of Human Rights: Grounding Rights or Constructing ‘Religion’?”. *Religion and Human Rights* vol. 5 (2010) pp. 43–64.
- cp Adam Ashforth “Witchcraft, Violence and Justice,” in *Witchcraft, Violence and Democracy in South Africa* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 243-278.

FINAL TEST**April 4**