

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
JPR364H1F – Religion and Politics in the Nation State
Fall 2023

Instructor: Faisal Kamal
Email: faisal.kamal@mail.utoronto.ca
Class Time: Monday 3:00-5:00pm
Office Hours: Monday 5:00-6:00pm, SS 3058

TA Grader: Paul Kim (Study of Religion)
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Course Description

This course will engage with contemporary debates on religion and politics in the context of the nation-state in our post-9/11 world and will do so comparatively across a wide range of contexts. 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 other contexts where such a framework is more likely to be contested. We will explore themes that include secularization, religious pluralism and tolerance, human rights regimes, the idea of “civil religion,” the impact of religion on party politics, blasphemy, the formation of identity and political community, the legal and political regulation of sometimes-competing claims based on religious faith, gender, and sexuality, and religious activism. Case studies will be drawn from a wide variety of contexts.

Course Objectives:

This course will allow you to:

- Think about the dynamic relationship between religion and politics
- Learn how states manage, interact with, and accommodate religion
- Get a deeper understanding of various state-religion settlements and how social and political actors shape religious politics
- Analyze and think comparatively across cases and countries

Course Website:

This course uses Quercus. It is your responsibility to regularly check Quercus for any announcements. All readings and course materials will be available there and most of the assignments will also be submitted via Quercus.

Grading and Evaluation:

Assignment Type	Weight	Due Date
Response Pieces x6 (5% each)	30%	Ongoing
Midterm Test (in class)	35%	October 23 rd
Movie/Documentary Analysis	35%	December 4 th
TOTAL	100%	

Response Pieces:

Students will write six (6) response/reflection pieces. They are meant to be brief and should be framed as a direct response to the prompt or question that will be provided to you.

The responses will be due by 2:59pm on Monday before class (schedule below) and should be submitted to Quercus. The responses should be a maximum of two double-spaced pages. The goal is to get you to think about the readings.

Students can also opt to write a seventh response piece. If you missed an opportunity to submit a response paper in the previous weeks, you may submit a seventh one to make up for it. If you have already submitted six but would still like to submit an extra one, your best 6 out of 7 marks will count towards the final grade. **Extensions cannot be granted for responses.**

Schedule:

Response 1 due on September 25th by 2:59pm.

Response 2 due on October 2nd by 2:59pm.

Response 3 due on October 16th by 2:59pm.

Response 4 due on October 30th by 2:59pm.

Response 5 due on November 13th by 2:59pm.

Response 6 due on November 20th by 2:59pm.

Optional Response 7 due on November 27th by 2:59pm.

Midterm:

The midterm will be held in-person in our lecture room. Its main purpose is to assess your understanding and analysis of key concepts and theoretical approaches on various issues and themes involving religion and politics. It will also include questions that ask you to compare the relationship between religion and politics across states and societies. The test will be divided into two parts. The first part will consist of a mandatory question that all students must answer. The second part will give you an option of four questions and you will have to select and answer two of them. In total, the midterm is based on answering three (3) essay-style questions.

Movie/Documentary Analytical Essay:

Pick one of the six films for review:

- The Funeral Murders (2018) directed by Vanessa Eagle
- Spotlight (2015) directed by Tom McCarthy
- In the Name of God (1992) directed by Anand Patwardhan
- Inherit the Wind (1960) directed by Stanley Kramer
- Four Lions (2010) directed by Chris Morris
- Inside Rajneeshpuram, Town Hall (1982) by KATU News + Rajneeshpuram OPB (if you pick the one on Rajneeshpuram, the essay would be based on the two videos included above)

You will write an analytical essay based on one of the six movies/documentaries above. All movies are freely available online through Robarts Library and YouTube (links on Quercus). The essay should be 6 to 8 (maximum) double-spaced pages (excluding any bibliography). This essay is not supposed to be a summary or synopsis of the film. Rather, you are required to draw connections between the film and at least two course readings and one reading from a supplemental list that will be provided. The purpose is to analyze how the themes and issues in the film illuminate or explain the concepts, theories, and debates in the readings and the lectures. You can also discuss how the film disrupts or problematizes some of the concepts or themes in the readings. The essay is due on December 4th by 11:59pm EST on Quercus. More detailed instructions will be provided on Quercus.

Course Readings:

Readings will be available on Quercus. This is a reading-intensive course. The expectation is that you will prepare for the lecture beforehand.

Course Policies

Email

- You can email me at faisal.kamal@mail.utoronto.ca with questions and queries. If your question requires a detailed response, office hours might be more suitable.
- Must include JPR364 in the subject line.
- Please allow 48 hours for a response, Monday to Friday.

Late Essays and Penalties

Late essays will be subject to a late penalty of 2% per day (including weekends) of the total marks for the assignment. If you anticipate problems meeting the essay deadline, please get in touch with me right away and do not wait until the end of term.

Extensions on Essay

Extensions are granted to account for circumstances that may prevent students from submitting essays on time. Extensions need to be requested in advance and will only be granted PRIOR to the due date. If you encounter any challenges, please get in touch with me. The key is to get in touch sooner rather than later and not wait until the last minute (or after the deadline/due date has passed). Essays submitted after the extension has lapsed will incur the normal late penalty outlined above. Extensions granted are final. **No extensions can be granted for response papers.**

Missed Term Test

Students who miss a term test will be assigned a grade of zero for that test unless they are granted special consideration. If you miss a term test due to an unforeseen circumstance, illness, or other extenuating reason (see the list of valid reasons in the Absence Declaration policy), please email me right away (within 24 hours after the test was scheduled). You should follow the Faculty of Arts and Science updated [Absence Declaration](#) policy. This requires you to declare an absence on ACORN. After this, you must email me directly and provide one of the following:

- Absence declaration via ACORN
- U of T Verification of Illness or Injury Form
- College Registrar's letter

- Letter of Academic Accommodation from Accessibility Services

To repeat, after following the absence declaration rules, you must email me separately and provide the appropriate form(s) listed above within 24 hours of missing the test. It is not enough to declare absence on ACORN. Make-up tests will be at the discretion of the instructor. The date, time, and location will be set by the instructor. Missing a make-up test will result in a zero grade.

Grade Appeals

Students are welcome to inquire about their grades and how they can improve. Ideally, this should be done during office hours. If, however, you would specifically like to appeal the mark, the following rules should be followed. First, wait at least 48 hours after the specific mark was released. Second, please email me a written submission of a maximum of 200 words explaining any error that was made while assessing your assignment. This doesn't guarantee a higher mark, but it allows for a rereading of your assignment. Marks cannot be contested after two weeks have lapsed since the releasing of the marks for the assignment you want to be reconsidered.

Policy on the use of Ouriginal for plagiarism detection

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>)

If you do not wish to participate in this, you will need to email me your essay along with your notes that you used to prepare for it.

Keeping Records

I strongly recommend keeping an electronic and physical copy (and back them up on other drives) of all course work, including all response papers and essays, until all marks have been finalized and posted on ACORN.

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity

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>.

Plagiarism can take several forms. In academia, we are in the business of producing and sharing knowledge. Knowledge creation takes the form of ideas, whether at the level of writing essays, working in labs, or discovering gravity. When you plagiarize, you are in effect not giving credit to individuals who came up with ideas and the hard work that went behind them.

Ignorance is not a defense against plagiarism. I highly recommend that you familiarize yourself with the principles of Academic Integrity: <https://www.academicintegrity.utoronto.ca/>.

Accessibility

I am happy to accommodate diverse learning styles. Accessibility Services at the University of Toronto provide a number of supports and accommodations for students with accessibility needs. You should book an appointment with an advisor. There are multiple ways to reach them, such as their [website](#) or email: accessibility.services@utoronto.ca

Health and Wellness

Students can access a wide range of programs and services to support their health and wellbeing. Many of these programs are listed at:
<https://studentlife.utoronto.ca/department/health-wellness/>

For Students - U of T

- U of T Health & Wellness uoft.me/5EB
- 416-978-8030
- Support if Students are Feeling Distressed uoft.me/5EC
- U of T My Student Support Program (My SSP) uoft.me/5ED
- Community Safety Office communitysafety.utoronto.ca/ 416-978-1485
- U of T Safety & Support safety.utoronto.ca/

Schedule and Readings

Lecture 1: September 11

Introduction – Approaching the Study of Religion and Politics

Euben, Roxanne Leslie. 1999. *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 2)

Lecture 2: September 18

The Rise of the State in Historical and Religious Perspective

Grzymała-Busse, Anna Maria. 2023. *Sacred Foundations: The Religious and Medieval Roots of the European State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Introduction and Chapter 3)

Schmitt, Carl. 2005. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Translated by George Schwab. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (Chapters 1 and 3).

Lecture 3: September 25 (response paper #1)

Secularization

Taylor, Charles. 2007. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. (Introduction)

Mahmood, Saba, and Peter G. Danchin. 2014. “Immunity or Regulation? Antinomies of Religious Freedom.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 113 (1): 129–59.

Kahn, Paul W. 2016. “The Jurisprudence of Religion in a Secular Age: From Ornamentalism to Hobby Lobby.” *The Law & Ethics of Human Rights* 10 (1): 1–30.

Lecture 4: October 2 (response paper #2)

Challenges of Religious Pluralism and Tolerance

Fish, Stanley. 1997. "Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking about Hate Speech." *Critical Inquiry* 23 (2): 378–95.

Berger, Benjamin L. 2015. *Law's Religion: Religious Difference and the Claims of Constitutionalism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (Chapter 2)

****NO CLASS ON OCTOBER 9 – Thanksgiving Holiday****

Lecture 5: October 16 (response paper #3)

Nationalism, Religion, and Identity

McGarry, John, and Brendan O'Leary. 1995. "Five Fallacies: Northern Ireland and the Liabilities of Liberalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (4): 837–61.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2021. *Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 5).

Beaman, Lori G. 2013. "Battles Over Symbols: The 'Religion' of the Minority Versus the 'Culture' of the Majority." *Journal of Law and Religion* 28 (1): 67–104.

Lecture 6: October 23

Midterm (In-class)

Lecture 7: October 30 (response paper #4)

Conflicting Rights: Individual vs. Group Rights

Sullivan, Winnifred Fallers. 2020. *Church State Corporation: Construing Religion in US Law*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 2)

McCrudden, Christopher, and Brendan O'Leary. 2013. "Courts and Consociations, or How Human Rights Courts May De-Stabilize Power-Sharing Settlements." *European Journal of International Law* 24 (2): 477–501.

****READING WEEK – NO CLASSES NOVEMBER 6 to 10****

Lecture 8: November 13 (response paper #5)

Religious Activism and Mobilization

McIvor, Meadhbh. 2020. *Representing God: Christian Legal Activism in Contemporary England*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Introduction)

Stolzenberg, Nomi M, and David N Myers. 2021. *American Shtetl: The Making of Kiryas Joel, a Hasidic Village in Upstate New York*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Schonthal, Benjamin. 2016. "Securing the Sasana through Law: Buddhist Constitutionalism and Buddhist-Interest Litigation in Sri Lanka." *Modern Asian Studies* 50 (06): 1966–2008.

Lecture 9: November 20 (response paper #6)

The Politics of Religion, Gender, and Sexuality

- Scott, Joan Wallach. 2018. *Sex and Secularism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Johnson, Paul, and Robert M. Vanderbeck. 2017. "Sacred Spaces, Sacred Words: Religion and Same-Sex Marriage in England and Wales." *Journal of Law and Society* 44 (2): 228–54.

Lecture 10: November 27

Religious Parties and Religious Politics (optional response #7)

- Kogacioglu, Dicle. 2004. "Progress, Unity, and Democracy: Dissolving Political Parties in Turkey." *Law & Society Review* 38 (3): 433–61.
- Whitehead, Andrew L., and Samuel L. Perry. 2020. *Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press. (Introduction and Chapter 2).

Lecture 11: December 4 (Movie/Documentary Essay due)

Civil Religion

- Bellah, Robert N. 1967. "Civil Religion in America." *Daedalus* 96 (1): 1–21.
- Ruud, Arild Engelsen. 2022. "Bangabandhu as the Eternal Sovereign: On the Construction of a Civil Religion." *Religion* 52 (4): 532–49.

Lecture 12: December 7th (make up class for Thanksgiving Monday)

TBA