## **Religion and Politics**

POS 652 Final version

Professor Warner, Ph.D. Phone: 480-965-5201

Office: School of Politics & Global Studies, Coor 6738 Office Hours: Mondays 4-5pm and by appointment

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course meets Coor Hall 6601 Seminar Room, 6th Floor, Mondays 1:30-4pm

This graduate seminar is an analysis of the complicated, and often conflictual relationship between major religious faiths, religious activists and the 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 religion and the state; religion's role in conflict; 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 20th and 21<sup>st</sup> century politics and society. This course does not claim to provide a survey of religion and politics for all major world religions, or other religions.

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

#### **Requirements:**

1) attend class, constructively participate in discussions, and do paper presentation (15% of final grade)

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

- -presence in class. Attendance at ALL course meetings is required, and excusable only by illness with a note from a medical authority or for court/police issues, also excusable only with a note from the relevant judicial or law enforcement authority. Missing more than 2 classes, even with excuses, is grounds for being assigned an E for the course.
- -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, intelligible 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. Your cell phone &/or pager must be in "off" or "silent" mode. Refrain from text messaging or using other social media while in class, unless instructed to do so. If your behavior disrupts the educational process, as defined by me, the instructor, in the seminar, I will initiate the process to have you removed from the course with a grade of "W" or "E" (See SSM 201-10). If you arrive to class late &/or leave before class is dismissed 3 times during the semester, you will receive a grade of "E" for the course. The counting of late arrivals, early leavings starts with the January 29, 2016 class. You will receive written feedback half way through the course on your participation grade up to that point.

Research paper presentation: On the last day of class, you will give a 10 minute presentation of your paper, leaving 5 minutes for questions.

2) One presentation on the readings for one week. (15% of final grade)

You are expected to identify the main issues and questions (methodological, empirical, theoretical) in the readings. You are not expected to answer those questions alone—that is the task of the entire class. You should expect to spend NO MORE than 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 "answers" do the works propose, how do the works advance our social science understanding of religion and politics, how do the works contrast with or complement each other, how are they situated in relation to a relevant broader literature, and what research methods do they use to answer the questions they pose? Assume everyone has read the assigned readings. Therefore, **do not turn your presentation into a rehash of what each author argued/said**—that should be only a brief part of your presentation. Instead, **think critically about the issues raised** by the works, including any methodological issues.

You also must pay attention to the format and organization of your presentation: have a very brief introduction perhaps setting the works in a broader context and/or highlighting a key issue and then indicate what you'll cover in your presentation. You need not pick up on every point in every reading—focus on some issues of interest. Try to have transitions as you move from one sub-topic or work to another, and have a conclusion which perhaps raises new questions. Pay attention to making eye contact with your audience, being audible and not reading strictly from a set of notes. You are welcome to use transparencies or Power Point and/or the whiteboard.

You must also prepare a list of 4-5 questions which the entire class may discuss (we may not get to all of them). I and class members may raise other questions. You should post that list of questions by 5pm (Arizona time) the Sunday night prior to the seminar meeting, on the course blackboard under announcements &/or use email to send the

questions to everyone. Sending the questions late will result in a serious downgrading of your grade for this part of the assignment. The questions, related to the week's readings, should not be overly long or complicated. Do not read them out during your oral presentation. You may refer to one or two during your presentation, but do not just do a rote reading of the questions.

15 minutes passes quickly: please practice your talk with a timer. I will cut you off if you go over 15 minutes.

If you would like to use Power Point for your presentation, because of the room we are in you will need to figure out how to use it. The "back office" personnel should be able to assist.

# 3). Research paper:

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

This research paper should be on a substantive and a theoretical question or set of questions which are related to the themes covered in the course, and approximately 25-35 pages in length, using a variety of academic sources and data. You may have as an empirical subject a religion that is not covered by the course, provided your analysis builds on themes in the course. The paper needs to clearly set out its argument (your argument) and explain how it will demonstrate that argument, make appropriate use of methods and evidence. The research questions must be situated in the relevant literature and scholarly debate. You must explain how the research will contribute to that literature and debate, explain why the research question is significant, and also work to test rival hypotheses or arguments. The paper should show careful and thoughtful preparation and make use of extensive reading from academic non-assigned sources, and utilize data as needed. You must give me via the course Blackboard a two page outline of the proposed topic and likely sources no later than 5pm Arizona time on Feb. 29, 2016. This should be structured as a "sentence outline". Instructions will be given ahead of time about the format for the outline. Failure to meet that deadline will result in an E for the course. It is preferable that you discuss with me, ahead of the Feb. 29 deadline, the topic you are thinking of working on. I've set the class date of Feb. 15 aside as a day for each of you to meet with me individually in class time to discuss your paper ideas. The paper must be original work in this course (not re-cycled or modified from a present or past course; see also section on Academic Dishonesty), and make appropriate reference to and use of some of the works assigned for this course.

Use 12 point font and 1 inch margins, and double-space the text. Follow the APSA style guide that is posted under Course Information on Blackboard, and for further detail, consult the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Prose and style matter. Be focused, concise, articulate, intelligible, and USE SPELL CHECK and do your own, non-computer dependent PROOFREADING. ASU has numerous free resources available to help you with your writing (including tutoring.asu.edu/graduate). Also, if you are citing a religious text in your paper, be sure to follow guidelines in this article: Ron E. Hassner, "How to Cite a Sacred Text", *Politics and Religion*,6 (2013): 844-861, and in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please also read the "Avoiding Plagiarism

Guide" that is under Course Information on Blackboard.

The research paper is due in the course Blackboard electronic SafeAssign drop box by 5pm Arizona time on May 2, 2016. Late papers, including after the 5pm deadline but on May 2, will lose one full letter grade per day (starting with May 8 after 5pm).

4) One 500 word review of the readings for a week of your choosing that is NOT the week you do a presentation (10% of course grade), to be turned in at the beginning of class (hard copy) the day of the seminar that covers those readings.

# ACADEMIC DISHONESTY, including plagiarism and inappropriate collaboration or cheating, is not tolerated!

In the "Student Academic Integrity Policy" manual, ASU defines "'Plagiarism" [as] using another's words, ideas, materials or work without properly acknowledging and documenting the source. Students are responsible for knowing the rules governing the use of another's work or materials and for acknowledging and documenting the source appropriately." You can find this definition at: https://provost.asu.edu/index.php?q=academicintegrity

Academic honesty is expected of all students in all examinations, papers, laboratory work, academic transactions and records. The possible sanctions include, but are not limited to, appropriate grade penalties, course failure (indicated on the transcript as a grade of E), course failure due to academic dishonesty (indicated on the transcript as a grade of XE), loss of registration privileges, disqualification and dismissal. For more information, see http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity.

Note the following from the webpage of the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication: "Students most often get into trouble when they cut and paste information from the Internet. There are two main ways to avoid this and other kinds of plagiarism:

- 1. Quote and attribute. Use the exact words in quotation marks and include who said it or wrote it.
- 2. Paraphrase and attribute: Use your own words, but still include who said it or wrote it." (http://cronkite.asu.edu/about/plagiarism.php, consulted Jan. 10, 2016)

There are severe sanctions for cheating, plagiarizing and any other form of dishonesty. Please see the Student Code of Conduct and Student Disciplinary Procedures. Any incident will result in the student receiving a failing grade (E or possibly an XE – failure for academic dishonesty) for

the course. All work must be yours and it must be original to this class. If you have questions about this, please ask me.

## **Incompletes**

Strongly discouraged and granted only in emergency situations. At the time of the request for an Incomplete, you also must be in good standing (B or above) in this course. If there is an emergency situation, a grade of I will be granted contingent upon signing of a contract of work due, with a deadline. A grade of I will not be assigned if you simply stop coming to class. In that case, a grade of E will be assigned.

### **Readings**

While books at the ASU bookstore are listed as "required", purchasing them is up to you. Almost all of the readings are available via ASU's electronic journal subscriptions or its library catalogue (e-books). You are not expected to read any of the recommended readings for a particular seminar. They are listed in case you want to look further into a particular topic.

Unless otherwise noted, books available at the ASU campus bookstore:

Anthony Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar*. Univ. of Chicago Press.1998. ISBN: 0-226-29385-8. paper. e-book on ASU library on-line

Anthony Gill, *Political Origins of Religious Liberty*. 2008. Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-0-521-61273-9. paper; also e-book at library

Carolyn Warner, *Confessions of an Interest Group*. Princeton Univ Press, 2000. ISBN: 0-691-01026-9. paper. Also as e-book on ASU library on-line

Eli Berman, *Radical, Religious and Violent: The New Economics of Terrorism*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009. Cloth. Also as e-book on ASU library on-line

Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided By Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe.* Harvard University Press. 2007. paperback ISBN 9780674034730 Also as ebook on ASU library on-line

Ron. E. Hassner, *War on Sacred Grounds*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 2009. Cloth ISBN: 978-0-8014-4806-5 Also as e-book on ASU library on-line.

Anna Gryzmala-Busse, *Nations Under God*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. Paper: 9780691164762; e-book at library

Karrie Koesel, *Religion and Authoritarianism*, Cambridge University Press 2014 paper. 978-1-107-68407-2

Jonathan H. Ebel, *G.I. Messiahs. Soldiering, War, and American Civil Religion*. Yale University Press, 2015. paper: 978-0300176704

Bruce Lincoln, *Holy terrors: thinking about religion after September 11*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. cloth: 0226481921 NOT available as an ebook through ASU.

Ani Sarkissian, *The Varieties of Religious Repression. Why governments restrict religion*. Oxford University Press, 2015. cloth 978-0199348084. NOT available as an ebook through ASU.

**Disability Accommodations:** Qualified students with disabilities who will require disability accommodations in this class are encouraged to make their requests to me at the beginning of the semester either during office hours or by appointment. **Note:** Prior to receiving disability accommodations, verification of eligibility from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) is required. Disability information is confidential.

**Establishing Eligibility for Disability Accommodations:** Students who think they will need disability accommodations in this class but have not registered with the Disability Resource Center (DRC) should contact DRC immediately. Their office is located on the first floor of the Matthews Center Building. DRC staff can also be reached at: 480-965-1234 (V), 480-965-9000 (TTY). For additional information, visit: <a href="www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc">www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/ed/drc</a>. Their hours are 8:00 AM to 5:00 PM, Monday through Friday.

**Please Note:** This document is a course syllabus, not a legal contract. It is a good-faith outline of course requirements and expectations. Note, however, that specific readings and seminar topics are subject to alteration and emendation during the course of the semester. While such changes will be announced during seminars, it is each student's sole responsibility, in the event of absence, to ascertain whether or not such alterations have been made.

Week 1, Jan. 11. Organizational Session

Week 2, Jan. 18, Martin Luther King Holiday, University Closed, No Class

Week 3, Jan. 25 The Study of Religion in Social Science and some Definitions

Émile Durkheim, *The elementary forms of the religious life: a study in religious sociology*, (London: George Allen & Unwin), 1915, pp. 23-47 (end of chapter, pagination may vary depending on edition). Available on line at various locations and various formats: including <a href="https://archive.org/details/elementaryformso00durkrich">https://archive.org/details/elementaryformso00durkrich</a> (pdf, or screen views of the book), and <a href="http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/41360">http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/41360</a>

Bruce Lincoln, 2003. *Holy Terrors. Thinking about religion after 9/11*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. NOT available as ebook via ASU. On course reserve.

Eva Bellin, "Faith in Politics: New Trends in the Study of Religion and Politics," *World Politics* 60/2 (Jan. 2008): 315-47.

Mark Chaves, "Rain Dances in the Dry Season: Overcoming the Religious Congruence Fallacy" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (2010), 49/1: 1-14

podcast: Stephen Prothero, "God is Not One: Religious Tolerance in an Age of Extremism," Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict, Oct. 21, 2013. You need to go to this website: https://csrc.asu.edu

Scroll far down to the section on bottom left "stay up to date", click on "podcast" and then when that opens in iTunes, scroll down until you find the talk (Oct. 21, 2013). You may skip the first 2 or so minutes in which Prof. Linell Cady announces other events. You may quit when it gets to the Question and Answer section (at 48 minutes).

#### recommended:

Kenneth D. Wald, Adam L. Silverman and Kevin S. Fridy. 2005. "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8:121–43.

Robert J. Wuthnow, "Taking Talk Seriously: Religious Discourse as Social Practice" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (2011) 50/1: 1-21

Kenneth D. Wald and Clyde Wilcox, "Getting Religion: Has Political Science Rediscovered the Faith Factor?" *American Political Science Review* 100 (2006): 523-529.

Justin L. Barrett, "Why Santa Claus is not a God" *Journal of Cognition and Culture* (2008) 8: 149-161.

Anthony Gill, "Religion and Comparative Politics" *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 117-38

Pascal Boyer, Religion Explained: the evolutionary origins of religious thought New York: Basic Books: 2001.

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

Justin L. Barrett, "Cognitive Science of Religion: Looking Back, Looking Forward" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (2011) 50/2: 229-239.

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

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

Joshua Mitchell. "Religion is Not a Preference" *Journal of Politics* 69/2 (May 2007): 351-362.

# Week 4: Feb. 1 Secularization Theory

Philpott, Daniel. 2000. "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations." *World Politics* 52: 206-245.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular* Cambridge University Press 2004, chs 1-4, 10. ASU library e-book

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

Anthony Gill and Erik Lundsgaarde, "State Welfare Spending and Religiosity: a cross-national analysis," *Rationality and Society* 16/4 (2004): 399-436.

Carolyn M. Warner and Stephen G. Walker. "Thinking about the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis." *Foreign Policy Analysis*. (2011) 7: 113-135.

Anna Gryzmala-Busse, Nations Under God. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

#### recommended

Denis Lacorne, Religion in America: A Political History, Columbia Univ. Press 2011.

Timothy Shah and Daniel Philpott, "The Fall and Rise of Religion in International Relations" in Jack Snyder, ed. *Religion and International Relations Theory* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2011, pp 24-59

Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. "Secularism and International Relations Theory" in Jack Snyder, ed. *Religion and International Relations Theory* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2011, pp 60-90

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/

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\_ Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

# Week 5, Feb. 8 Religion and Rational Choice Theory

Laurence Iannaccone, "Sacrifice and Stigma" *Journal of Political Economy* 100/2 (1992): 271-291.

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

Anthony Gill, Rendering Unto Caesar, Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1998.

Lisa Blaydes and Drew A. Linzer, "The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam" *World Politics* 60/4 (July 2008): 576-609

recommended:

Timur Kuran. *The Long Divergence. How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press

Robert Ekelund, Robert F. Hébert and Robert D. Tollison, "An economic model of the Medieval Church Usury as form of rent seeking" *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 5/2 (Fall 1989): 305-331

Roger Finke and Rodney Stark. 1989. "How the Upstart Sects Won America, 1776-1850" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28:27-44.

Laurence Iannaccone, "Introduction to the Economics of Religion," *Journal of Economic Literature* 36/3 (Sept. 1998): 1465-1495.

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

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.

Timur Kuran, "The Economic Ascent of the Middle East's Religious Minorities: The Role of Islamic Legal Pluralism." *Journal of Legal Studies*, 33 (June 2004): 475-515.

## Week 6, Feb 15, Paper Conferences, no class

individual meetings to be arranged

#### Week 7, Feb. 22, Religion's intractability?

Ron E. Hassner, War on Sacred Grounds 2009. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press

Atran, Scott and Jeremy Ginges. 2012. "Religion and Sacred Imperatives in Human Conflict,"

Science 366/6083: 855-857.

Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion." *American Political Science Review*. 101/3 (August): 505-526.

Monica Duffy Toft, "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War," *International Security* 31 (4) (Spring 2007), pp. 97-131.

#### recommended:

Alcorta, Candace S. and Richard Sosis. 2013. "Ritual, Religion and Violence: An Evolutionary Perspective." *Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, eds. Mark Juergensmeyer, Margo Kitts, Michael Jerryson, pp. 571-596. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jeremy Ginges, Ian Hansen and Ara Norenzayan, "Religion and Support for Suicide Attacks" *Psychological Science* 20/2 (2009): 224-230

# Week 8, Feb. 29 Religion and Conflict I \*\*Paper Outlines Due Feb. 29. turn in on Blackboard by 5pm AZ time

Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007.

Kniss, Fred. 1996. "Ideas and Symbols as Resources in Intrareligious Conflict: The Case of American Mennonites" *Sociology of Religion* 57/1, 7-23.

Christopher Duncan, 2013. Violence and Vengeance: Religious Conflict and its Aftermath in Eastern Indonesia Ithaca: Cornell University Press, ch 1, ASU e-catalogue.

#### recommended

Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

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

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

### Week 9, March 7 Spring Break

## Week 10 March 14 Religion and Conflict II

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

Grim, Brian J. and Roger Finke. 2007 "Religious Persecution in Cross-National Context: Clashing Civilizations or Regulated Religious Economies?" *American Sociological Review* 72: 633-658.

Eli Berman, Radical, Religious and Violent Cambridge: MIT Univ. Press, 2009

Steven L. Neuberg, Carolyn M. Warner, Stephen A. Mistler, Anna Berlin, Eric D. Hill, Jordan D. Johnson, Gabrielle Filip-Crawford, Roger E. Millsap, George Thomas, Michael Winkelman, Benjamin J. Broome, Thomas J. Taylor, Juliane Schober. "Religion and Intergroup Conflict: Findings from the Global Group Relations Project." *Psychological Science* 25/1 (2014): 198-206

#### recommended:

Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture* University of Chicago Press. On reserve at Hayden.

Barker, David C., Jon Hurwitz and Traci L. Nelson. 2008. "Of Crusades and Culture Wars: 'Messianic' Militarism and Political Conflict in the United States." *Journal of Politics* 70/2: 307-322.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart "Islamic culture and democracy: testing the "clash of civilizations" thesis." *Comparative Sociology* 1/3-4 (2002), 235-263.

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

Timothy Shah and Daniel Philpott, "The Fall and Rise of Religion in International Relations" in Jack Snyder, ed. *Religion and International Relations Theory* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2011, pp 24-59

Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. "Secularism and International Relations Theory" in Jack Snyder, ed. *Religion and International Relations Theory* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2011, pp 60-90

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/

Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War?* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993

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 Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press.

## Week 11, March 21 Religion and the State

Anthony Gill, *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press 2008.

Karrie J. Koesel, Religion and Authoritarianism. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Ani Sarkissian, *The Varieties of Religious Repression. Why governments restrict religion*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

#### recommended:

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.

Steven Wilkinson, "Which group identities lead to most violence? Evidence from India" in Stathis N. Kalyvas, eds, *Order, Conflict and Violence* (2008): 271-300. ASU library e-book

Lisa Blaydes and Eric Chaney, "The Feudal Revolution and Europe's Rise: Political Divergence of the Christian West and the Muslim World before 1500 CE". *American Political Science Review* 107/1 (Feb. 2013): 16-34.

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France, 1870-1914* Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1976, pp 339-376 (chs 19-20)

Roderic Ai Camp, Crossing Swords: Politics & Religion in Mexico New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997.

Kuru, Ahmet T. 2008. "Secularism, State Policies, and Muslims in Europe: Analyzing French Exceptionalism" *Comparative Politics* 41/1 (Oct.): 1-20.

"Religion and Politics in Japan" in Ted Jelen and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective* Cambridge Univ. Press 2002.

Tamir Moustafa, "Conflict and Cooperation between the State and Religious Institutions in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32 (2000), pp. 3-22.

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

Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, Paths of Emancipation Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press,

## Week 12, March 28 Organized religions and democracy

Stathis Kaylvas, "From Pulpit to Party," Comparative Politics 30/3 (April 1998): 293-312.

Carolyn M. Warner. 2000. Confessions of an Interest Group\_Princeton University Press

Robert Woodberry, "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 106/2 (May, 2012): 244-74.

Jillian Schwedler, "Can Islamists Become Moderate?" World Politics (April 2011) 63/2: 347-76

#### Recommended:

Sultan Tepe, "Religious Parties and Democracy: A Comparative Assessment of Israel and Turkey," *Democratization* 12/3 (June 2005): 283-307.

Francis G. Castles, "On religion and public policy: Does Catholicism make a difference?" <u>European Journal of Political Research</u> 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.

Robert D. Woodberry and Timothy S. Shah, "Pioneering Protestants," <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, 15/2 (April 2004): 47-61.

Janine A. Clark, "The Conditions of Islamist Moderation: Unpacking Cross-Ideological Cooperation in Jordan," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 38 (2006), pp. 539-560.

Jillian Schwedler, "Democratization, Inclusion, and the Moderation of Islamist Parties," *Development* 50 (1) (2007), pp. 56-61.

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

Miriam Fendius Elman and Carolyn M. Warner. 2008. "Democracy, Security and Religious Political Parties: a framework for analysis." *Asian Security*, 4/1: 1-22.

Steven Wuhs, "Inclusion and Its Moderating Effects on Ideas, Interests and Institutions: Mexico's Partido Accion Nacional" *Party Politics* (2013)

## Week 13 April 4

#### no regular class meeting

work on paper, professor available in 6738 for consultation

#### Week 14 April 11 Religion and the Provision of Public Goods

Bulbulia, Joseph and Richard Sosis. 2011. "Signalling Theory and the evolution of religious cooperation." *Religion* 41/3 (Sept.): 363-388.

Carolyn M. Warner, Ramazan Kilinc, Christopher W. Hale, Adam B. Cohen, Kathryn A. Johnson, "Religion and Public Goods Provision: Experimental and Interview Evidence from Catholicism and Islam in Europe," *Comparative Politics*, 47/2 (Jan. 2015): 189-209

Melani Cammett and Sukriti Issar "Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon" *World Politics*, 62/3 (2010), 381-421

McBride, Michael. 2007. "Club Mormon. Free riders, monitoring, and exclusion in the LDS church" *Rationality and Society* 19/4: 395-424.

#### Recommended:

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.

Eli Berman and David Laitin. 2008. "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model" *Journal of Public Economics*, 92: 1942-1967.

## Week 15 April 18 Religion and the Military

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Solider and the State: Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957, 464-466.

Jonathan H. Ebel, *G.I. Messiahs. Soldiering, War, and American Civil Religion*. Yale University Press, 2015.

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# Week 16, April 25 Research paper presentations

The research paper is due in the course Blackboard electronic SafeAssign drop box by 5pm Arizona time on May 2, 2016.

#### **Additional Sources:**

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Iannacone, Laurence R. and Eli Berman (2006). "Religious Extremism: the good, the bad, and the deadly." *Public Choice* 128/1-2, 109-129

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John F. McCauley, 2014. "The Political Mobilization of Ethnicity and Religion in Africa." American Political Science Review 108, 4: 801-816

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