

SYLLABUS
Religion and International Relations
IR/RN561, TX874

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Fall 2013: Wed. 2-5pm in CAS B25A
Office Hours: T/R 3-5pm, 156 Bay State Rd., #403

One of the main methodological problems in writing about religion scientifically is to put aside at once the tone of the village atheist and that of the village preacher, as well as their more sophisticated equivalents, so that the social and psychological implications of particular religious beliefs [and organizations] can emerge in a clear and neutral light. And when that is done, overall questions about whether religion is “good” or “bad,” “functional” or “dysfunctional,” “ego-strengthening” or “anxiety-producing,” disappear like the chimeras that they are, and one is left with particular assessments, and diagnoses in particular cases.

– Clifford Geertz, 1973, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 123.

Course Description: Despite the scientific predictions of modernization theorists, the heartfelt longings of secularists, and the deliberate neglect of structural realists, religion has not withdrawn from the world’s political stage. To the contrary, religion continues to shape individual values, social organizations, state institutions, and international relations. This has led to a re-evaluation of long-standing research programs that were based on the assumption that religion would either decline or disappear altogether. Scholars of world politics are now struggling to articulate a vision for the role of religion in public life, in the policies of states, and in global politics. This course is part of that process.

Course Objectives: By drawing on readings from international relations (IR), comparative politics (CP) and anthropology, this course will begin charting a path toward understanding the place of religion in contemporary world affairs. The outcome of this class will not be a new paradigm for IR, nor will it be a unified theory of the role of religion in politics. Rather, by the end of the course, students should possess:

- A historical understanding of the contingent nature of the Westphalian system and its ideational progeny: sovereignty, nation-states, realism, and liberal internationalism.
- A critical perspective on secularization and modernization theory.
- A descriptive understanding of select twentieth century religious-political movements.
- A theoretical grasp of key concepts in IR and CP.
- A set of causal hypotheses about the role of religious actors in democratization, political party formation and moderation, war, and humanitarianism.

By the end of the course, students should have the vocabulary and knowledge to discuss the role of religious actors in world politics. This skill will be obtained through writing, critical thinking, and seminar discussions, and should be useful both inside and outside the classroom.

Required Texts: The following books are required for the class and may be purchased at the BU bookstore or online. Article and chapter-length readings can be accessed through the course Blackboard site.

Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007)

Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013)

Toby Mattheisen, *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring that Wasn't* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013)

Robert Opello and Stephen Rosow, *The Nation-State and Global Order: A Historical Introduction to Contemporary Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004)

Carrie Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013)

Recommended:

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)

John M. Owen, *Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510-2010* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010)

Daniel Philpott, *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Timothy Samuel Shah, Alfred Stepan and Monica Duffy Toft, eds. *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Jenny B. White, *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2013)

Course Requirements

Participation (15%): The course will be run as a seminar. This format requires students to attend regularly, read diligently, and participate actively in class discussions.

Response Papers (5 x 5% = 25%): Student will write five short (2-3 pages, double-spaced, 1 inch margins) analytical response papers (RP) over the course of the semester. I will provide the paper prompt one week before they are due on **9/18, 10/16, 10/30, 11/20, and 12/4.**

Midterm Exam (20%): One 4-5 page take-home essay exam will be given at the end of class **10/2** and returned via email by **noon on 10/4.**

Final Exam (Undergraduates Students: 40%): The final exam is a take-home essay, 7-8 pages in length. The exam will be handed out at the end of class on **12/11** and must be returned via email by **noon on 12/18**.

Research Paper (Graduate Students: 40%): In lieu of a final exam, graduate students are required to write a 20-page research paper. Students must meet with me the week of **October 23** to present an abstract and preliminary list of sources. Papers are due via email by **noon on 12/18**.

Late Work: Late submission of assignments will penalize your grade by incurring an automatic full-grade deduction per day beginning with the assignment deadline. Make up examinations will be granted only in exceptional cases.

Explanation of Letter Grades: <http://www.bu.edu/reg/grades/explanation-of-grades/>

Special Needs: If you have any special needs or circumstances, such as a learning disability or health concern, please do not hesitate to speak with me and we can discuss suitable accommodations and assistance.

Academic Misconduct: Plagiarism and cheating are serious offences and will be punished in accordance with BU's Academic Conduct Code:
<http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>

Electronic Communications in Class: Please close all email accounts, cell phones, instant messaging programs, homing pigeons, and any other communication devices for the duration of class. These are serious distractions to the instructor and your fellow students.

Dates and Readings

September 4 **Our Framework**

Key terms: comparative politics, tradition, international relations, secularism, sovereignty

Talal Asad, 1986. "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam," *Occasional Papers Series* (Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies).

Daniel Philpott, 2009. "Has the Study of Global Politics Found Religion?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, 183–202.

September 11 **Historical Contingency and Moral Authority**

Key terms: nation-state, empire, feudalism, territorial sovereignty, civil society, moral authority

Opello and Rosow, *The Nation-State and Global Order*, Introduction - ch. 3 (1-74).

Rodney Bruce Hall, 1997. "Moral Authority as a Power Resource," *International Organization* 51:4, 591-622.

September 18 The Peace of Westphalia [RP due]

Key terms: reformation, modernity, sovereignty

Opello and Rosow, *The Nation-State and Global Order*, ch. 4-7 (77-163).

Daniel Philpott, 2000. "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," *World Politics* 52:2, 206-45.

September 25 Beyond Westphalia

Key terms: colonialism, nation-state, post-modernity, deterritorialized politics

Opello and Rosow, *The Nation-State and Global Order*, ch. 8-12 (167-280).

John Gerard Ruggie, 1993. "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations," *International Organization* 47: 1, 139-174.

Jeff Haynes, 2001. "Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics," *Third World Quarterly* 22: 2, 143-158.

Jack Snyder, "Introduction," in Jack Snyder, ed. *Religion and International Relations Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-23.

Recommended:

John D. Carlson and Erik C. Owens, "Reconsidering Westphalia's Legacy for Religion and International Politics" in John D. Carlson and Erik C. Owens, eds. *The Sacred and the Sovereign: Religion and International Politics* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2003), 1-19, 28-37.

October 2 After Secularization [Midterm distributed, due 10/4 at noon]

Key terms: secularization, privatization, differentiation, decline of belief, nationalism

Rodney Stark, 1999. "Secularization, R.I.P.," *Sociology of Religion* 60:3, 249-273.

José Casanova, 2006. "Rethinking Secularization: A Global Comparative Perspective," *The Hedgehog Review* Spring/Summer, 7-22.

Talal Asad, "Secularism, Nation-State, Religion," in *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 181-201.

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, "Varieties of Secularism," and "Religious Resurgence," in *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 23-45, 134-146.

October 9 Religion and Democracy

Key terms: separation of religion and state, democracy, modernization, twin tolerations

Jonathan Fox, 2006. "World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century," *Comparative Political Studies* 39:5, 537-569.

Alfred Stepan, 2000. "Religion, democracy, and the "twin tolerations," *Journal of Democracy*, 11:4, 37-56.

Alfred Stepan, Juan J. Linz and Yogendra Yadav. "Comparative Theory and Political Practice: Do We Need a 'State-Nation' Model as Well as a 'Nation-State' Model?" *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 1-38.

Leonardo A. Villalón, 2010. "From Argument to Negotiation: Constructing Democracy in African Muslim Contexts," *Comparative Politics* 42:4, 375-393.

Recommended:

Arzoo Osanloo, 2006. "The Measure of Mercy: Islamic Justice, Sovereign Power, and Human Rights in Iran," *Cultural Anthropology* 21:4, 570-602.

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

October 16 Religion, Women, and Gender [RP due]

Key terms: public sphere, counter-public, public/private distinctions, da'wa, gender

Charles Hirschkind, 2001. "Civic Virtue and Religious Reason: An Islamic Counter-Public," *Cultural Anthropology* 16:1, 3-34.

Saba Mahmood, "Chapter Two: Topography of the Piety Movement," *The Politics of Piety: The Islamist Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 40-78.

Rachel Rinaldo, 2008. "Envisioning the Nation: Women Activists, Religion and the Public Sphere in Indonesia," *Social Forces* 86:4, 1781-1804.

Suzanne Brenner, 2011. "Private Moralities in the Public Sphere: Democratization, Islam, and Gender in Indonesia," *American Anthropologist* 113: 3, 478-490.

October 23 Religion and Social Movements [Meetings w/graduate students]

Key terms: moderation-inclusion, social movements, political party formation

Rofesky Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, ch. 1-4 (1-95).

Kathleen Collins, 2008. "Ideas, Networks, and Islamist Movements: Evidence from Central Asia and the Caucasus," *World Politics* 60:1, 64-96.

October 30 Religion and Political Parties [RP due]

Key terms: moderation-inclusion, institutions

Rofesky Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, ch. 5-9 (96-288).

Stathis N. Kalyvas, 1998. "From Pulpit to Party: Party Formation and the Christian Democratic Phenomenon," *Comparative Politics*, 30:3, 293-312.

Recommended:

R. William Liddle and Saiful Mujani, 2007. "Leadership, Party, and Religion: Explaining Voting Behavior in Indonesia," *Comparative Political Studies* 40:7, 832-857.

November 6 Sectarianism

Key terms: sectarianism, authoritarianism, clientalism, social welfare, ethnic entrepreneurs

Toby Mattheisen, *Sectarian Gulf: Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and the Arab Spring that Wasn't* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

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

November 13 Religion and Civil War

Key terms: assimilation, cooperation, polarization, pogrom, secession, religious organizations

Diana Dumitru and Carter Johnson, 2011. "Constructing Interethnic Conflict and Cooperation: Why Some People Harmed Jews and Others Helped Them during the Holocaust in Romania," *World Politics* 63:1, 1-42.

Jeffrey S. Kopstein and Jason Wittenberg, 2011. "Deadly Communities: Local Political Milieus and the Persecution of Jews in Occupied Poland," *Comparative Political Studies* 44:3, 259 – 283.

Giovanni Capoccia, Lawrence Saez and Eline de Rooil, 2012. "When State Responses Fail: Religion and Secessionism in India 1952–2002," *The Journal of Politics* 74:4, 1010–022.

Michael C Horowitz, 2009. "Long Time Going: Religion and the Duration of Crusading," *International Security* 34: 2, 162–193.

Recommended:

Indra De Soysa and Ragnhild Nordås, 2007. "Islam's Bloody Innards? Religion and Political Terror, 1980-2000," *International Studies Quarterly* 51:4, 927-943.

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

M. Steven Fish, Francesca R. Jensenius and Katherine E. Michel, 2010. "Islam and Large-Scale Political Violence: Is There a Connection?" *Comparative Political Studies* 43:11, 1327-1362.

November 20 Religion and Suicide Bombing [RP due]

Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

November 27 No Class - Thanksgiving Break!

December 4 Humanitarianism [RP due]

Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

David Rieff, "The Wrong Moral Revolution: On Michael Barnett," *The Nation*, October 5, 2011.

**December 11 Sacred Economies, Cosmopolitanism, and Time
[Final exam distributed at the close of class]**

José Casanova, 2011. "Cosmopolitanism, the clash of civilizations and multiple modernities," *Current Sociology* 59:2, 252-267.

James Hoesterey, 2012. "Prophetic Cosmopolitanism: Islam, Pop Psychology, and Civic Virtue in Indonesia," *City & Society*, 24:1, 38-61.

Ron E. Hassner, 2011. "Sacred Time and Conflict Initiation," *Security Studies* 20:4, 491-520.

December 18 Final exam and graduate student papers due at noon