

# POS 6292: RELIGION AND POLITICS

University of Florida

[Dr. Kenneth Wald](#)

Email: [kenwald@polisci.ufl.edu](mailto:kenwald@polisci.ufl.edu)

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Department of Political Science  
318 Anderson Hall  
392-0262, Ext. 267  
Hours: Monday, 3:00-5:00, Wednesday,  
1:00-5:00 or by appointment

Monday, 5th-7th periods  
11:45-2:45  
Matherly 3  
Section 8386

**Subject:** Once considered an archaic force, destined to wither away as nations underwent rapid economic development, religion has instead gained renewed interest as a factor in contemporary political life. This seminar introduces the major social scientific theories of religion and applies them to understanding the interaction between religion and political life. The focus is on the explanatory value of such theories in understanding mass political behavior. The course is thus (1) intended primarily as a review of relevant literature, (2) focused on behavioral rather than normative questions, and (3) conceived as a comparative enterprise.

**Course Format:** The course will include a mixture of lectures and student-led discussion. Your grade will have four components:

(1) The first of these, accounting for 10%, will be based on your leadership of discussion about an assigned block of readings (typically 6 articles/chapters). You may sign up for any of the weekly sessions beginning September 18th. (In weeks with longer reading lists, the material will be split among discussion leaders.) In leading class discussion, you will be asked to identify major themes, focus on conceptual weaknesses and problems, discuss methodological approaches, suggest alternative formulations, tie individual studies to larger theoretical traditions, and otherwise provide context and assessment of the material. You will be graded on your preparation, the thoughtfulness of your questions, and the quality of the discussion you provoke. Students who are leading discussion sessions should plan on meeting with me well before class to review plans.

(2) For another 50% of the grade, you will be asked to prepare a paper that is due in final form on Friday, December 8th. There are two options: (a) a topical literature review organized around some theme or subject relevant to the seminar or (b) an empirical paper relevant to religion and politics. Some possible themes for the literature review could include African-American religion and politics, religion and politics in a particular country, region or tradition, the role of religion in violent conflict, the concept of fundamentalism, religion and abortion, the political role of clergy, etc. The review, which may be conceptual, empirical or

theoretical, should cover at least three scholarly books or fifteen journal articles or some combination of those. In considering an empirical paper, there are a large number of data sets available for secondary analysis through either [ICPSR](#) or [ARDA](#) as well as in an archive of machine-readable studies I've obtained from the Roper Center. Depending on your interests, you may wish to replicate an existing study with new data or address a question or issue that has occurred to you independently. Whatever your choice of options, **the subject of your paper must be approved by me in advance**. I have reserved the final two class periods of the semester for oral presentations of your preliminary findings.

(3) The third component, worth 30%, is a take-home examination to be administered at mid-semester. It will include a number of essay questions about the readings and course material for the seminar.

(4) That leaves 10% of your grade to be determined by the quality of your participation. I pay more attention to quality than quantity but students who miss class will not do well on this component.

If you have any disabilities that might affect your capacity to fulfill these requirements without accommodation, please let me know early in the semester. For questions about UF policy, contact the [Disabilities Resource Center](#).

**Readings:** I have ordered copies of the following books from Goerings bookstore at 1717 NW 1st Avenue (gbswest@bellsouth.net):

Daniel Pals, *Eight Theories of Religion*. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press, 2006. [Thanks to OUP, the hardback edition of this book will be sold at the paperback price of \$38.95.]

Christian Smith, ed. *Disruptive Religion: the Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism*. Routledge, 1996.

David S. Gutterman, *Prophetic Politics: Christian Social Movements and American Democracy*. Cornell University Press, 2005.

Americanists might also want to skim my *Religion and Politics in the United States* (5th edition, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Most of the readings are available on-line through the link that is indicated. If you find an article with a broken link, please inform me by email as soon as possible. For access to most online articles, you will be required to be logged in to the UF Library through Gatorlink, [VPN](#) or a [proxy server](#). Book chapters will be available through the [ERES](#). To access that, go to the link, log in with either your Gatorlink or library ID number, look me up in the instructor list, and click on the page for this course. Again, let me know of any problems you encounter so I can fix them.

## Schedule:

**Week 1** (August 28) - Orientation and Overview

**Week 2** (September 4) - CLASS CANCELLED BECAUSE OF LABOR DAY

**Week 3** (September 11) - Social Science Approaches to Religion (note that you have two weeks to read this material)

### Core Theories & Concepts

Pals, *Eight Theories*, chaps. 2 (Freud), 3 (Durkheim), 4 (Marx), 5 (Weber), 8 (Geertz)

[Larry Iannaccone](#), "Voodoo Economics: Reviewing the Rational Choice Approach to Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34 (March, 1995), 76-88

### Conceptualizing and Defining Religion

[Richley H. Crapo](#), "Grass-Roots Deviance from the Official Doctrine: A Study of Latter-Day Saint (Mormon) Folk-Beliefs," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 26 (December, 1987), 465-486.

[Adam B. Cohen et al.](#), "Social Versus Individual Motivation: Implications for Normative Definitions of Religious Orientation," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 9 (2005), 48-61

[Kenneth D. Wald and Corwin E. Smidt](#), "Measurement Strategies in the Study of Religion and Politics," chap. 2 in *Rediscovering the Religious Factor in American Politics*, eds. David C. Leege and Lyman A. Kellstedt, (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1993), 26-49.

### Political Science Perspectives

[Kenneth D. Wald and Clyde Wilcox](#), "Has Political Science Rediscovered the Faith Factor?" *APSR* 100 (2006, forthcoming)

[Kenneth D. Wald](#), Adam Silverman and Kevin Fridy, "Making Sense of Religion in Public Life," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005), 121-143.

**Week 4** (September 18) - Cultural Models I: Theoretical Perspectives [**Disc. Elzey, Scharr**]

Guterman, *Prophetic Politics*, chaps. 1-2

[Aaron Wildavsky](#), "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation," *APSR* 81 (1987): 3-21.

David Snow and Robert Benford, "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, eds Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 133-155

[Ann Swidler](#), "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986), 273-286.

[David Leege](#), Kenneth Wald, Brian Krueger and Paul Mueller, *Politics of Cultural Differences* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), chaps. 3-4, pp. 55-116.

[Leigh S. Shaffer and Steve Verrastro](#), "The Quasi-Theory of Godlessness in America: Implications of Opposition to Evolution for Sociological Theory," *Sociological Viewpoints* 21 (2005), 73-85

**Week 5** (September 25) - Cultural Models II: Case Studies of Religion and Political Conflict [**Disc. Haroon**]

Gutterman, *Prophetic Politics*, chaps. 3-5

Nash, Rituals of Resistance in Bolivia (chapter 4 in Smith)

Nepstad, Popular Religion in Nicaragua and Salvador (chapter 5 in Smith)

[Galia Sabar Friedman](#), "The Power of the Familiar: Everyday Practices in the Anglican Church of Kenya (CPK)," *Journal of Church and State* 38 (1996), 377-395.

**Week 6** (October 2) - Organizational Theories (resource mobilization) [**Disc. Monroy**]

Morris, Black Church in the Civil Rights Movement (chapter 1 in Smith)

Salehi, Islamic Insurgency in Iran (chapter 2 in Smith)

[James Findlay](#), "Religion and Politics in the Sixties: The Churches and the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *Journal of American History* 77 (1990): 66-93.

[Janine Clark](#), "Social Movement Theory and Patron-Clientelism: Islamic Social Institutions and the Middle Class in Egypt, Jordan and Yemen," *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (2004), 941-68.

[Gregory A. Smith](#), "The Influence of Priests on the Political Attitudes of Roman Catholics," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44 (2005), 291-306

[Sidney Verba et al.](#), "Race, Ethnicity and Political Resources: Participation in the United States," *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (1993): 453-497.

**Week 7** (October 9) - Structural Theories (political opportunity structure) [**Disc. Moon**]

Borer, Church Leadership in South African anti-apartheid movement (chapter 6 in Smith)

[Timothy Byrnes](#), *Catholic Bishops in American Politics*, chaps. 3-4 (pp. 35-67)

[Paul Froese](#), "After Atheism: An Analysis of Religious Monopolies in the Post-Communist World," *Sociology of Religion* 65 (2004), 57-75.

[Christian Smith and Liesl Haas](#), "Revolutionary Evangelicals in Nicaragua," *JSSR* 36 (1997), 440-454.

[Ronald Kaye](#), "The Politics of Religious Slaughter of Animals: Strategies for Ethno-Religious Political Action," *New Community* 19 (1993), 235-250.

[Esther Kaplan](#), "Follow the Money," *Nation*, November 1, 2004, 20-3

**---Midterm will be distributed on October 16 and is due back in class on October 23rd---**

**Week 8** (October 16) - Individual-Level Psychological and Sociological Factors [**Disc. Taylor**]

[Gordon Allport and James Ross](#), "Personal Religious Orientation and Prejudice," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 5 (1967): 432-443.

[James M. Glaser](#), "Toward an Explanation of the Racial Liberalism of American Jews," *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (1997), 437-458.

[Nana Tuntiya](#), "Fundamentalist Religious Affiliation and Support for Civil Liberties: A Critical Reexamination," *Sociological Inquiry*, 75 (2005), 153-176  
Williams and Blackburn, Operation Rescue (chapter 8 in Smith)

[Kristi Andersen](#), "Sources of Pro-Family Belief," *Political Psychology* 9 (1988): 229-243

[Ann Page and Donald Clelland](#), "The Kanawha County Textbook Controversy: A Study in Alienation and Lifestyle Concern," *Social Forces* 57 (1978): 265-281

**Week 9** (October 23) - Contextual and Group Influence (social networks, interpersonal influence) [**Disc. Hanna, Hersh**]

[Kenneth D. Wald](#), Dennis Owen and Samuel S. Hill, "Churches as Political Communities," *American Political Science Review* 82 (1988): 531-548

[Jerome Himmelstein](#), "The Social Bases of Antifeminism: Religious Networks and Culture," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25, no. 1 (1986): 1-15.

[Michael Welch and David Legee](#), "Dual Reference Groups and Political Orientations: An Examination of Evangelically Oriented Catholics," *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (1991): 28-56.

[P. Kurien](#), "Religion, Ethnicity and Politics: Hindu and Muslim Indian Immigrants in the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24 (2001), 263-293.

[David Campbell](#), "Acts of Faith: Churches and Political Engagement," *Political Behavior* 26 (2004), 155-80:

**Week 10** (October 30) - Religion and Globalization [**Disc. Marion**]

[Jeff Haynes](#), "Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics," *Third World Quarterly* 22 (2001), 143-158

[Kevin Warr](#), "The Normative Promise of Religious Organizations in Global Civil Society," *Journal of Church and State* 41: (1999), 499-524

[Peter H. Hägel and Pauline Peretz](#), "States and Transnational Actors: Who's Influencing Whom? A Case Study in Jewish Diaspora Politics during the Cold War," *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (2005), 467-493.

[Kenneth Wald and Michael Martinez](#), "Jewish Religiosity and Political Attitudes in the United States and Israel," *Political Behavior* 23 (2001), 377-397.

[Larissa Baia](#), "Rethinking Transnationalism: Reconstructing National Identities among Peruvian Catholics in New Jersey," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 41 (1999), 93-110

[Kenneth D. Wald](#), "Homeland Interests in Hostland Politics: Politicized Ethnic Identity among Middle Eastern Heritage Groups in the United States," 2006, unpublished

**Week 11** (November 6) - Religion, State and Nation [**Disc. Scalera**]

[Jonathan Fox](#), "World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century," *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (2006), 537-69

[Charles M. North and Carl R. Gwin](#), "Religious Freedom and the Unintended Consequences of State Religion," *Southern Economic Journal* 71 (2004), 103-17

[Michael Angrosino](#), "Civil Religion Redux," *Anthropological Quarterly* 75 (2002), 239-67

[Ivan Iveković](#), "Nationalism and the Use and Abuse of Religion: The Politicization of Orthodoxy, Catholicism and Islam in Yugoslav Successor States," *Social Compass* 49 (2002), 523-36

[Michael Sells](#), "Crosses of Blood: Sacred Space, Religion, and Violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Sociology of Religion* 64 (2003), 309-31

**Week 12** (November 13) - Religious Fundamentalism and Anti-Democratic Orientations [**Disc. Blanco, Smith**]

[Charles S. Liebman](#), "Extremism as a Religious Norm," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22 (1983): 75-86

Aho, Popular Christianity and Extremism (chapter 9 in Smith)

[Mark Juergensmeyer](#), "Christian Violence in America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 558: (July 1998) 88-100.

[Joel S. Fetzer](#), "Religious Minorities and Support for Immigrant Rights in the United States, France, and Germany," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37 (1998), 41-49.

[Stathis N. Kalyvas](#), "Democracy and Religious Politics: Evidence from Belgium," *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (1998) 292-320. (WL).

[Newton J. Gaskill](#), "Rethinking Protestantism and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America," *Sociology of Religion* 58 (1997), 69-91.

**Week 13** (November 20) - Paper presentations I

**Week 14** (December 4) - Paper presentations II