

Government 1815
Fall 2006

Religion and International Politics

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Class: Tuesday, Thursday 11:30 – 1:00
Location: Emerson Hall 108
Office Hours: Tuesday 1-2, Thursday 1-2
and by appointment

Course Description

This course introduces students to the major social science theories of religion. We look at the explanatory value of these theories for various aspects of politics: institutions and structures, political parties, civil society and social movements, conflict, and economic development. What effect does religion have on politics within and across societies? How effective are current theories in adequately explaining the interplay between religion and political life? The course encourages a dialogue on different methodological approaches to the study of religion and politics. This includes looking at area studies approaches and those who prefer a rational choice approach.

Requirements

Class participation: 20%
Three papers: 80% (8 to 10 pages)

Three papers will be written on forthcoming topics to be discussed in class. They will be analytical in nature, rather than descriptive or historical. The purpose of the papers is to think through your ideas on the readings and to present reasoned arguments in favor, against, or undecided. The format of the papers is standard social science style and citation method (*University of Chicago Style Manual*).

The third paper will weigh 30% of your grade, more than the other two (each 25%). The third paper will be your findings of administering the World Values Survey religion questions. Part of your third paper is to present your findings in class.

Overview of the Course

The purpose of this seminar is to learn about and discuss contemporary approaches to the study of religion, their relevance and application to actual cases. The readings are a mix of theory and applied work, case studies and quantitative analysis. We will trace some of the arguments historically and view their development as empirical context changes over time. We will look at recent approaches to religion and see if they are more economical in terms of explaining how religious beliefs and institutions affect political developments/outcomes and vice-versa (two-way causation).

Readings

All articles are on the course website which you can access with your ID number and password. The three books that are required reading are available at the COOP. They are:

Sivan, Emmanuel. 1990. *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*. Enlarged Edition. Yale University Press.

Sidney Tarrow, 2003. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Especially Chapters 7, 8, and 11.

Rittner, Carol, John K. Roth and Wendy Whitworth (eds.). 2004. *Genocide in Rwanda: Complicity of the Churches?* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Aegis in association with Paragon House). Preface, Introduction, Chronology, Chapters 1 - 3; Chapter 10; Chapter 14, Chapter 16.

Syllabus

September 19: Introduction

How do we define religion? Where do we begin our investigation?

*Religion, religion. Oh there's a thin line between
Saturday night and Sunday morning. Here we go now.
All right altar boys.*

*Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa
Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.*

Where's the church, who took the steeple?

Religion's in the hands of some crazy ass people.

Television preachers with bad hair and dimples,

The God's honest truth is, it's not that simple.

It's the Buddhist in you, it's the Pagan in me,

It's the Muslim in him, she's Catholic ain't she?

It's that born again look, it's the WASP and the Jew

Tell me what's goin on, I ain't got a clue! Jimmy Buffet, 1993

September 21 and 26: Explaining Religion: Methodological Approaches to the Study of Religion

What is religion? Is it an ideology, a cultural phenomenon, a rational activity, a psychological-emotional state? What are the different methodological approaches to the study of religion and why does each approach come up with different definitions of religion? Are they compatible? Contradictory?

1. Williams, Rhys. H. 1996. "Religion as Political Resource: Culture or Ideology?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 35 (4): 368-378.
2. Sherkat, Darren E. and Christopher G. Ellison. 1999. "Recent Developments and Current Controversies in the Sociology of Religion." *Annual Review of*

Sociology 25: 363-394.

3. Iannaccone, Laurence, Rodney Stark and Roger Finke. 1998. "Rationality and the 'Religious Mind'." *Economic Inquiry* 36 (July): 373-389.
4. Sharot, Stephen. 2002. "Beyond Christianity: A Critique of the Rational Choice Theory of Religion from a Weberian and Comparative Religions Perspective." *Sociology of Religion* 63 (4): 427-454.
5. Davie, Grace. 2004. "New Approaches to the Sociology of Religion: A Western Perspective." *Social Compass* 51 (1): 73-84.
6. Lambert, Yves. 1999. "Religion in Modernity as a New Axial Age: Secularization or New Religious Forms." *Sociology of Religion* 60 (3): 303-333.

September 28, October 3: Secularization or Religious Variation?

Modernity and post-modernity are big topics when it comes to religion. What is meant by "modernity"? "Post-modernity"? The secularists contend that modernity is replacing religion, making it obsolete. Empirical evidence bears out that as a country modernizes participation in formal religion declines. By contrast, fundamentalism is on the rise in developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and newly industrialized countries such as South Korea. Anglicans in Africa outnumber their counterparts in Britain; Mormons in Latin America outnumber their counterparts in the U.S. Why is this geo-religious shift happening? Rodney Stark accounts for these changes by arguing for what he calls "*religious variation*." By this Stark means that when religious participation declines in one area, it increases in others (water balloon effect). This means that there is a relatively stable level of religious commitment in the world over time. Is Stark correct? What do his critics say?

7. Stark, Rodney. 1999. "Secularization: RIP." *Sociology of Religion* 60 (3): 249-273.
8. Bruce, Steve. 2001. "Christianity in Britain, R.I.P." *Sociology of Religion* 62(2):191-203.
9. Keddie, Nikki R. 1998. "The New Religious Politics: Where, When, and Why do "Fundamentalisms" Appear?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, 4 (October): 696-723.
10. Ferguson, Niall. 2004. "Economics, Religion and the Decline of Europe." *Economics Affairs* (December): 37-40.
11. Kim, Andrew E. 2000. "Korean Religious Culture and its Affinity to Christianity: The Rise of Protestant Christianity in South Korea." *Sociology*

of Religion 61 (2): 117-133.

October 5: Religion and Economic Development

This is a sub-topic under “Religion and Modernity,” one that we explored last class. This class we examine the work of scholars who look at the two-way causation: The effects of religion on economic development and the impact of economic development on religion.

R.H. Tawney was the first scholar to point out the need for investigation into the two way causation:

“Why insist that causation can work in only one direction? Is it not a little artificial to suggest that capitalist enterprise had to wait, as Weber appears to imply, till religious changes had produced a capitalist spirit? Would it not be equally plausible, and equally one-sided, to argue that the religious changes were themselves merely the result of economic movements?”

R. H. Tawney, Foreword, “1930 edition of Max Weber’s The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.)

12. McCleary, Rachel and Robert Barro. 2006. “Religion and Economy.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20, 2 (Spring)
13. Lehrer, Evelyn. 2004. “Religion as a Determinant of Economic and Demographic Behavior in the United States.” *Population and Development Review* 30, 4 (December): 707-726.
14. Inglehart, Ronald and Wayne Baker. 2000. “Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values.” *American Sociological Review* 65, 1 (February): 19-51.

October 10 & 12: Islam and Modernity

What are some arguments in favor of Islam’s ability to bridge the gap between religion and politics? What is Muslim Exceptionalism? What is the dynastic theory of change? Why did Islamic fundamentalist movements arise in the late 20th Century? In political theory, a positive correlation is posited between economic development and democratic forms of governance. Can Islam be viewed as primarily promoting an autocratic/patriarchal form of governance? Low levels of economic development? What about levels of educational attainment? Or, the gender gap in education? In the articles that you read for this week, what theories do the authors advance? What empirical evidence do they give to support their arguments?

15. Moaddel, Mansoor. 2002. "The Study of Islamic Culture and Politics: An Overview and Assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology* (28): 359-386.
16. Kuran, Timur. 1997. "Islam and Underdevelopment: An Old Puzzle Revisited." *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* (153):41-71.
17. Benhabib, Seyla. 2002. "Unholy Wars." *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* 9 (1): 34 – 45.
18. Fish, Steven. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55 (October): 4-37.
19. Sivan, Emmanuel. 1990. *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*. Enlarged Edition. Yale University Press (Book COOP).

First Paper due Thursday, October 12 by 5:00pm

October 17 & 19: Church and State: Religious State, State Religion, and Variations thereof

Should there be a separation of church and state? Why? Why not? On what issues? Does disestablishment encourage religious pluralism? Religious tolerance? Why do some states such as Mozambique become sacralized? Why do other states co-opt and secularize religion?

20. Adam Smith. 1937. *The Wealth of Nations*. Edited, with an introduction, notes, and marginal summary and an enlarged index by Edwin Cannan (New York: The Modern Library). Pp. 740-751.
21. Hume, David. 1993. *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion and Natural History of Religion*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by J. C. A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Read, *The Natural History of Religion*, Introduction through Chapter XV.
22. Morier-Genoud, Eric. 2000. "The 1996 'Muslim Holidays' Affair: Religious Competition and State Mediation in Contemporary Mozambique." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26, 3 (September): 409-427.
23. Moustafa, Tamir. "Conflict and Cooperation between the State and Religious Institutions in Contemporary Egypt." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, 1 (February): 3-22.
24. Gill, Anthony. 1999. "Government Regulation, Social Anomie, and Protestant Growth in Latin America: A Cross-national Analysis." *Rationality and Society* 11 (3): 287-316.

October 24 & 26: Religion as Social Capital

Religion serves as an organizational tool for social movements. Sociologists and political scientists argue that religion is part of civil society, no different from other forms of social capital such as gardening clubs or sports teams. We will discuss the implications of treating religion as a form of social capital versus conceptualizing it as a distinct type, namely, religious capital. As Rodney Starke and Roger Finke point out, one need only read about the rise of the nonconformist religions in Britain (1700s) and the early United States to see how the organization of a religion is integral to a religion paradigm shift in a society.

25. Stark, Rodney and Roger Finke. 2002. "Beyond Church and Sect: Dynamics and Stability in Religious Economies." In Ted G. Jelen (ed.), *Sacred Markets, Sacred Canopies: Essays on Religious Markets and Religious Pluralism* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield).
26. Sidney Tarrow, 2003. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Especially Chapters 7, 8, and 11. (Book at COOP).
27. Greenberg, Anna. 2000. "The Church and the Revitalization of Politics and Community." *Political Science Quarterly* 115, 3 (Autumn): 377-394.
28. Munson, Ziad. 2003. "'My Life is My Argument': Reconceptualizing Religion in Understanding Social Activism." Unpublished manuscript.

October 31, November 2: Religion as Social-Political Mobilization

Religion serves a basis for political activism, mobilizing people to become political or politicized. What aspects of religion lend itself to political mobilization? Why, in some cases, does this take the form of contentious politics?

29. Fields, Karen E. 1982. "Christian Missionaries as Anticolonial Militants." *Theory and Society* 11: 95-108.
30. Guzman, Elsa and Christopher Martin. 1997. "Back to Basics Mexican Style: Radical Catholicism and Survival on the Margins." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 16 (3): 351-366.
31. Moen, Matthew C. 1998. "The New Christian Right in the Twenty-First Century." In Anson Shupe and Bronislaw Misztal (eds.), *Religion, Mobilization, and Social Action*. (Westport, CT: Praeger).
32. Rozell, Mark J. and Clyde Wilcox. 1996. "Second Coming: The Strategies of the New Christian Right." *Political Science Quarterly* 111, 2 (Summer): 271-294.

33. McVeigh, Rory and David Sikkink. 2001. "God, Politics, and Protest: Religious Beliefs and the Legitimation of Contentious Tactics." *Social Forces* 79 (4): 1425-1458.

November 7 & 9: Religious Beliefs and Organized Politics

34. Djupe, Paul. 2000. "Religious Brand Loyalty and Political Loyalties." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39 (1) March: 78-89.
35. Hansen, Thomas Blom. 2002. "Predicaments of Secularism: Muslim Identities and Politics in Mumbai." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. 6, 2 (June): 255-272.
36. Kalyas, S.N. 2000. "Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties." *Comparative Politics* 32 (4): 379 – 398.
37. Taylor, Julie. 2006. "Prophet Sharing: A Model of Regime-Clerical Relations in Muslim Countries." Unpublished manuscript.

Second Paper due Thursday, November 16 by 5:00pm

November 14 & 16: Religion Usurping the State and Beyond

In some situations, religion becomes the primary provider of public goods, of legitimacy. How does this come about? Why are people willing to let religion be the government?

38. Walaszek, Zdzislaw. 1986. "An Open Issue of Legitimacy: The State and the Church in Poland." *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 483, Religion and the State: The Struggle for Legitimacy and Power. (January): 118-134.
39. Eli Berman, 2003. " Hamas, Taliban and the Jewish Underground: An Economist's View of Radical Religious Militias." NBER Working Paper #10004 (September).
40. Wald, Kenneth and Michael D. Martinez. 2001. "Jewish Religiosity and Political Attitudes in the U.S. and Israel." *Political Behavior* 23, 4 (December): 377-397.

November 21 & 28: Religion and Political Tolerance

Why are some communities and societies tolerant of religious traditions whereas others are not? In Poland, the movement Solidarity, with the support of the Roman Catholic Church, became so well-organized and strong that it set up a de facto parallel government. By contrast, in Nazi Germany the Nazi Party co-opted and then usurped the role of the Lutheran Church. In Poland, religion took on the

role of politics. In Nazi Germany, politics usurped the role of religion. Why has this not happened in China, where a strong state ideology exists?

41. Sikkink, David and Mark Regnerus. 1996. "For God and Fatherland: Protestant Symbolic Worlds and the Rise of German National Socialism." In Christian Smith (ed.), *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism* (New York: Routledge).
42. Genizi, Haim. 1993. "The Plight of Christian Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945." In Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share: The Admission and Resettlement of Displaced Persons, 1945-1952*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press), Chapter 1.
43. Froese, Paul and Steven Pfaff. 2001. "Replete and Desolate Markets: Poland, East Germany, and the New Religious Paradigm." *Social Forces* 80 (2) December: 481-507.
44. Gjuraj, Tonin. 2000. "A Stable Ecumenical Model? How Religion Might Become A Political Issue in Albania." *Eastern European Quarterly* XXXIV (1) March: 21-49.

Thanksgiving holiday November 23 – 26.

December 5 & 7:

Religious Freedom and Political Violence? or Religious Violence and Political Freedom?

Are religion and violence interconnected? Do you agree with the view that religion was created to tame violence but this can only be done by employing violence? Why are religious terrorists more dangerous than secular terrorists? How much does socio-economic background and current economic conditions enter in as a motivating factor for violence? Does ethnic identity enter into religious violence more than cultural identity?

45. Rapoport, David. 1991a. "Some General Observations on Religion and Violence." *Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence* 3 (3): 118-139.
46. Hoffman, Bruce. 1995. "'Holy Terror': The Implications of Terrorism Motivated by a Religious Imperative." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (18): 271-284.
47. Sprinzak, Ehud. 2000. "Rational Fanatics." *Foreign Policy* 120 (September-October): 66-73.
48. Rittner, Carol, John K. Roth and Wendy Whitworth (eds.). 2004. *Genocide in Rwanda: Complicity of the Churches?* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Aegis in association with Paragon House). Preface, Introduction, Chronology, Chapters 1 - 3; Chapter 10; Chapter 14, Chapter 16 (Book COOP).

December 12, 14, 19: Presentations of World Values Survey Findings

Third and final paper due Tuesday, December 19.

RESOURCES

Internet Websites

<http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/religion>

<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/> US Department of State International Religious Freedom reports

<http://religiousmovements.lib.virginia.edu/welcome/welcome.htm>

<http://www.adherents.com>

<http://www.barna.com>

<http://www.thearda.com>

<http://www.denison.edu/~djupe/relpol/> (American Political Science Religion and Politics website)

http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/hauser/research/religioncolloquium_fall2002.htm

(Hauser Center Joint Program on Religion and Public Life)

Journals to Consult

The Sociology of Religion

Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion

Comparative Politics

Theory and Society

American Sociological Review

Journal of Contemporary Religion

Social Forces