

Political Science 395: Religion and Politics  
Northwestern University  
Spring 2016

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Scott Hall 208  
Office Hours: Monday 1 – 3

## **COURSE OVERVIEW**

This course examines the relationship between religion and politics across the world. “Religion,” as defined in the course, refers not only to formal theological creeds but also to the social beliefs, organizations and subcultures associated with various religious communities. The principal aim of the course is to understand how religion affects politics (and *vice versa*) rather than to explore the moral questions raised by the interaction of these two forces. It is organized around four overarching questions: 1) What explains the degree of separation between church and state? 2) How do religious beliefs and practices affect tolerance and attitudes towards redistribution? 3) Are democratic regimes harder to sustain given some religious traditions or institutions? and 4) Under what conditions do religious differences form the basis of party politics and other forms of collective action? This course will discuss these salient questions and identify examples through case studies across the developed and developing world to shed light on the controversies.

Using knowledge and skills gained in the course, students will each put together a research paper on any element of religion and public life.

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- 1.) Identify the core tenants of existing theoretical literature and empirical research.
- 2.) Analyze patterns and interactions between the religious and the political, and how the porous boundaries between the sacred and the secular make it possible for beliefs and practices in one area to affect the other
- 3.) Theorize the role of religion in politics and use this framework to analyze a range of concrete cases and challenges in contemporary politics, both in the U.S. and across the world.
- 4.) Evaluate recent research on the role of religious actors, institutions and ideologies in policy-making, state-building, regime outcomes (democracy and authoritarianism), collective action and violence.
- 5.) Develop independent research and writing skills

### **Method of Assessment and Timing/Deadlines:**

- Class Participation: 20%
- Weekly Reading Summaries (as assigned): 10%
- Class Presentation on Supplementary Case Study Material: 15% of final grade
- Assignments for Preparation of Final Paper: 15%
- Presentation of Final Paper to Class: 10%
- Final Paper: 30%

Students are expected to attend ALL classes, to complete all assigned readings and assignments on time, and to actively participate in class discussion. Classes will typically involve relatively little lecture – the goal of the seminar is to engage your analysis on and reflection surrounding these topics - so students should be prepared to contribute. In discussing such a sensitive topic as

religion, it is important that we respect views different from our own. As part of that respect, keep in mind that the class is not intended as a place for proselytizing or conversion. It is important that we respect both those who have religious faith and those who do not. If your own views are so sensitive that they cannot bear scrutiny, you may want to consider another class. Keep in mind, however, that this is a course about politics and we are interested in religion primarily as it affects public life.

In each meeting, I expect that you have done the reading in advance and come prepared to debate the readings and engage productively. An effective way to prepare for discussion and synthesize your readings for later reference is to prepare a page or two of notes in advance, to clearly state the main arguments of each reading and how the central arguments are demonstrated with empirical evidence, as well as questions that may arise, critiques of this approach, and linkages to other topics and readings discussed in the course. Active and well-prepared participation is expected, as is attendance at all class meetings. Missing class will result in an 0 for that session unless the instructor agrees to permit the student to complete a 3-page single spaced written assignment to substitute for the participation grade; the topic and due date will be provided by the instructor. Generally, a student will not be permitted to make up for missing class more than twice.

Students will be involved in two formal presentation and research activities – 1.) in class presentation of a supplementary topic for a given week, and 2.) an individual research project.

1. Student class presentations will consist of a 20 minute lecture and guided discussion for the group on a topic related to the week's theme, extending the class discussion in a new direction. For example, discuss the topic at hand in a particular case country study that we have not covered, provide a summary of an existing cross-national data analysis, conduct an analysis of relevant critiques of the materials we are discussing in class, or discuss a related thematic subject area. (Some preliminary ideas include: religion and gender in politics; the global rise of Pentecostalism; Liberation Theology and its impact on democratization in Latin America; Fundamentalism: What and Why? , etc). This presentation must be based on research and readings above and beyond the assigned required materials. The student will select the week they wish to present, the supplementary topic they wish to explore and prepare a visual and verbal presentation to engage their fellow students in the discussion (powerpoint or a handout for the class are useful visual guides to the material you will be presenting). Professor Riedl will be available for reference suggestions and topic guidance following your request. Presenters should clearly describe how their research relates to the seminar's focus, interpret the significance of the findings for the class, lay out evidence that supports this interpretation as well as challenges it, and note what questions arise from this in-depth investigation. Students should also prepare relevant questions to lead class discussion following their presentation.

Grading Criteria for Presentations:

1. Effective communication of materials to the class
2. Breadth and depth of independent research
3. Leading and fielding discussion questions
4. Added value and clear linkage to the week's topic

2. Students are required to prepare an individual research paper (10 single-spaced pages Maximum, 12 point font, 1 inch margins; more concise is fine). This will involve choosing a topic near the start of the quarter, researching the topic using books, scholarly articles, and other primary and secondary sources (not listed on the syllabus). The goal of this paper is to present an argument, collect or acquire data (qualitative or quantitative), analyze the data, and draw

conclusions from the results. We will schedule a one-on-one meeting to discuss ideas, sources, methods and data. I have structured the syllabus to provide short weekly assignments to aid your progression in identifying a research question selecting an empirical strategy, identifying sources, and preparing the argument (combined, these are worth 15% of the final grade). The papers is due on the first day of Exam Week (by 5 p.m. via email to the Professor). Please note that all student work must fully cite any quoted materials and sources used. Students must adhere to the university's academic integrity policy and completed research papers will be analyzed electronically for plagiarism. Late work will be penalized with a half letter grade/day deduction.

Additionally, each student will present their research to the class in week 9 of the term and this presentation is worth 10% of the student's grade. This activity will resemble a research colloquium, in which each student will have 10 minutes to concisely describe their research question, their findings, and the implications of their work to the audience.

There are a number of resources that may help in the research and writing process. NuWrite (<http://www.nuwrite.northwestern.edu/>) includes resources on research proposals, literature reviews, among other topics. The Writing Place (<http://www.writing.northwestern.edu/>) is a resource for individualized writing help and may be of use.

The following 5 elements are essential elements to a strong research paper:

- Make a sustained, coherent argument (with an introductory paragraph stating that argument)
- Define terms, use them appropriately
- Use relevant empirical details
- Use at least 6 outside sources (and remember citations for all references).
- Strong analytical analysis (a critique of and engagement with the literature, not merely a summary).

On all papers and in class discussion, I will be looking for: thorough understanding and command of the materials presented in lectures and readings, original critical analyses of those materials, and an attempt to think about how those ideas make sense of particular country cases or experiences in the real world.

## **COURSE OUTLINE**

### **Week 1: Religion as a Political Resource**

***Due: Bring two news stories to class that discuss religion in politics (in the U.S. or in any other country).***

We will discuss in class core questions for the term:

### **Week 2: Social and Political Causes of Religious Belief and Practice**

**Readings:**

Stark, Rodney, and Roger Finke. 2000. *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Chapter 5.

Weber, Max. 1958. The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism. In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Iannaccone, Laurence R. "Why Strict Churches Are Strong." *American Journal of Sociology* 99, no. 5 (1994): 1180-211.

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

Peel, J.D.Y. 2002. Gender in Yoruba Religious Change. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32 (2):136-66.

**Week 3: Separation of Church and State**

**Due: One paragraph description of proposed research question. Describe the question's theoretical and substantive importance.**

**Readings:**

Iannaccone, Laurence R., Roger Finke, and Rodney Stark. 1997. Deregulating Religion: The Economics of Church and State. *Economic Inquiry* 35 (2):350-364

McCleary, Rachel M., and Robert J. Barro. "Religion and Economy." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20, no. 2 (2006): 49-72.

Gill, Anthony James. 2008. *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2

Kuru, Ahmet T. 2007. Passive and Assertive Secularism: Historical Conditions, Ideological Struggles, and State Policies toward Religion. *World Politics* 59 (4):568-594.

**Select ONE of the following empirical cases:**

- Buehler, Michael. 2008. Shari'a By-Laws in Indonesian Districts: An Indication for Changing Patterns of Power Accumulation and Political Corruption. *Southeast Asia Research* 16 (2):165-195.
- Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. 2003. Supping with the Devil: The Mouride Brotherhood and the Senegalese State. In *Symbolic Confrontations: Muslims Confronting the State in Africa*. New York: Palgrave.
- Tessler, Mark. 2010. Religion, Religiosity and the Place of Islam in Political Life: Insights from the Arab Barometer Surveys. *Middle East Law and Governance* 2:221-252.
- Thachil, Tariq. 2009. Neoliberalism's Two Faces in Asia: Globalization, Educational Policies, and Religious Schooling in India, Pakistan, and Malaysia. *Comparative Politics* 41 (4):473-494.

**Week 4: Attitudes Toward Redistribution**

**Due: Two paragraph description of how your question answers a lingering puzzle/question (i.e. what is the contribution of your research?).**

**Readings:**

Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. (skim chapter 4, except for Calvinism section)

Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2006. The Political Economy of Religion and Social Insurance in the United States, 1910–1939. *Studies in American Political Development* 20 (Fall):132-159.

Huber, John D., and Piero Stanig. "Church-State Separation and Redistribution." *Journal of Public Economics* 95, no. 7-8 (2011): 828-36.

De La O, Ana L. , and Jonathan A. Rodden. "Does Religion Distract the Poor?: Income and Issue Voting around the World." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4 (2008): 437-76.

Mockabee, Stephen T. , Kenneth D. Wald, and David C. Leege. 2009. Is There a Religious Left?: Evidence from the 2006 and 2008 ANES. *Working Paper*.

Kahl, Sigrun. 2005. "The Religious Roots of Modern Poverty Policy: Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Protestant Traditions Compared." *European Journal of Sociology* 46:1: 91-126.

McClendon, G. and Riedl, R.B. "Empowering Activism, Attenuating Demand for Equality: Citizen Preferences in Nairobi, Kenya". Working Paper.

## **Week 5: Tolerance**

***Due: Identification of six sources on your topic not listed on the syllabus. Two page literature review that summarizes these relevant sources and their relation to your research question.***

### ***Readings:***

Clingingsmith, David Lawrence, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, and Michael Kremer. 2008. Estimating the Impact of the Hajj: Religion and Tolerance in Islams Global Gathering. *Working Paper, Harvard Kennedy School*

Gibson, James L. 2009. The Political Consequences of Religiosity: Does Religion Always Cause Intolerance? *Working Paper*.

Putnam, Robert D., David E. Campbell, and Shaylyn Romney Garrett.2010. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010., Chapters 9 and 14.

Charles Marsh. ***God's Long Summer: Stories of Faith and Civil Rights***. Princeton University Press, 1997.

Menchik, J. *Tolerance Without Liberalism: Islam, Indonesia, and Modern Muslim Democracy*. Book Manuscript, Chapter 1.

## **Week 6: Political Regimes**

***Due: Data plan / Empirical strategy – what types of evidence will you use in your paper? (Both qualitative and quantitative are acceptable). Describe how you plan to use the evidence to support your preferred answer.***

### **Readings:**

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2000. Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties. *Comparative Politics* 32 (4):379-399.
- Fish, Steven. 2002. Islam and Authoritarianism. *World Politics* 55 (1):4-37.
- Stepan, Alfred. 2001. The World's Religious Systems and Democracy: Crafting the Twin Tolerations In *Arguing Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Somer, Murat. 2011. Does It Take Democrats to Democratize? Lessons From Islamic and Secular Elite Values in Turkey. *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (5):511-545.

### **Week 7: Religion and Party Politics**

#### **Readings (Select ONE Region):**

##### Europe:

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1-2 & 5
- Minkenberg, Michael "Party Politics, Religion and Elections in Western Democracies." *Comparative European Politics* 8, no. 4 (2010): 385-414.

##### United States:

- Layman, Geoffrey. 2001. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics* New York: Columbia University Press. Chapters 1 & 3.
- Hout, Michel, and Claude S. Fiser. 2002. Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations. *American Sociological Review* 67 (2):165-190
- Putnam, Robert D., David E. Campbell, and Shaylyn Romney Garrett. 2010. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Chapters 11 and 12.

##### Middle East:

- Wickham, Carrie Rosefsky. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapters 1, 5-6, and 7.
- El-Ghobashy, Mona. 2005. The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37 (3):373-395.

- Kurzman, Charles, and Ijlal Naqvi. "Do Muslims Vote Islamic?" *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 2 (2010): 50-63.

- 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.

##### Latin America:

- Patterson, Eric. 2004. "Different Religions, Different Politics? Religion and Political Attitudes in Argentina and Chile," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 43(3):345-362.

Boas, Taylor, and Amy Erica Smith – “Religion and the Latin American Voter”. In Ryan Carlin, Matthew Singer, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, eds., *The Latin American Voter*

Asia:

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

Pepinsky and Welborne (2011) “Piety and Redistributive Preferences in the Muslim World” *Political Research Quarterly* 64 (3): 491 – 505.

Chhibber and Sekhoun “The Asymmetric Role of Religious Appeals in India”. Working Paper.

Wilkinson, Steven *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Chapter 1.

## **Week 8: Social Movements & Sectarian Violence**

***Due: Outline of research paper***

Trejo, Guillermo 2009. Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico. *American Political Science Review* 103 (3):323-342

Harris, Fredrick C. 1999. *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapters 2-3, 6 and 8.

Sectarian Violence – Select ONE of the following:

Hutchinson, Sharon E. 2005. Spiritual Fragments of an Unfinished War. In *Religion and African Civil Wars*, edited by N. Kastfelt. London: C. Hurst.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2006. Religion as a Cause of Terrorism. In *The Roots of Terrorism* edited by L. Richardson. New York: Routledge.

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

Jha, Saumitra. 2008. Trade, Institutions and Religious Tolerance: Evidence from India. *Stanford GSB Working Paper* 2004.

## **Week 9: PRESENTATIONS**

**PAPERS DUE MONDAY of Exam Week, by 5 pm via email to Prof. Riedl**