

Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen  
Institut für Politikwissenschaft (IfP)  
Thomas J. Altmeppen, M.A., M.A.

Sommersemester 2015

**Seminar on “Politics and Religion:  
Normative Challenges and Empirical Puzzles”**

<b>Start:</b>	13 April 2015	<b>Office:</b>	Institute of Political Science
<b>Time:</b>	Mondays, 10:15-11:45		Melanchthonst. 36 (R 118)
<b>Room:</b>	Forum Scientarum (R 1.3)	<b>Office hours:</b>	Wednesdays, 14:00-16:00

This is a seminar on **empirically-oriented political theory** with an emphasis on **the study of religion** in the subfield of **comparative politics**. It is primarily aimed at MA students (MAFIP, MADRE, CMEPS) and those who are enrolled in a “Lehramt”-programme (WPO or GymPO). Please note that the participation of advanced BA students and students from other disciplines than political science is possible and welcome, but subject to the availability of spare places.

---

If you have any questions, please send me an email [REDACTED]

---

## I. General Information

In recent years, it has become increasingly popular to claim that we are currently witnessing “the deprivatization of religion” (Casanova) and “the desecularization of the world” (Berger). Contrary to earlier predictions that religious beliefs are irretrievably doomed to wither away, religions did not cease to exist, but still continue to wield considerable influence on public life. Against this backdrop, the interdisciplinary study of religion has turned into one of the fastest growing and controversial fields in the social sciences and humanities because what is at stake is essentially the classical Western idea of a thoroughly secular modernity (cf. Schwinn, 2013). In political science, however, research on religions has been given surprisingly little attention, especially when compared to sociology (cf. Kettel, 2012). It was only lately that the discipline rediscovered its long-lost, Tocquevillian interest the study of “Faith in Politics” (Bellin, 2008), resulting, for example, in the establishment of a new APSA journal on “Politics and Religion” and, just recently, in the publication of “An Introduction to Religion and Politics” (Fox, 2013). In light of this trend, the seminar seeks to introduce, contextualise, and discuss major themes and theories in the small, but growing subfield of comparative research on politics and religion. Please note that this is **not another seminar on political Islam or religious fundamentalism**.

## II. Course Overview

Roughly speaking, this seminar is divided into two large parts. Once we have settled the basic questions (sessions 1-2), we will first contextualise the study of religion and politics by taking a look at key contributions to ongoing debates about the secularisation paradigm (session 3-6). Afterwards, we will then slice the multi-faceted relationship between religion and politics into a couple of small, conceptually neat pieces (sessions 7-14) which allow for separate analyses.

No	Date	Themes & Theories
<b>1</b>	13/04	Introduction: What's at stake? What Is Religion? What Is Politics?
<b>2</b>	20/04	How to Study Religion: Methodology & Epistemology
<b>Secularisation – Secularity – Secularism</b>		
<b>3</b>	27/04	The Arrival of a New Paradigm? The Market Theory of Religion
<b>4</b>	04/05	Secularisation: Still Alive? – The Old Paradigm Reconsidered
<b>5</b>	11/05	“Postsecular Society” (Habermas) vs. “Secular Age” (Taylor)?
<b>6</b>	18/05	Religion in Politics: Drawing the Line with Michael Walzer
<b>Disentangling the Nexus of Religion and Politics</b>		
<b>7</b>	01/06	Religion & Democracy (I): Strict Separation or Twin Tolerations
<b>8</b>	08/06	Religion & Democracy (II): Political Parties & Policy Making
<b>9</b>	15/06	Political Culture (I): “Civil Religion in America” by Robert N. Bellah
<b>10</b>	22/06	Political Culture (II): The Relationship of Religion and Nationalism
<b>11</b>	29/06	Religious Actors (I): The Political Economy of Religion
<b>12</b>	06/07	Religious Actors (II): Analysing Religions as Social Movements
<b>13</b>	13/07	Repression of Religions (I): The Argument of “God’s Century”
<b>14</b>	20/07	Repression of Religions (II): “Why Governments Repress Religion”

**The first part** of the seminar is aimed at assessing both the normative underpinnings and the empirical adequacy of the secularisation paradigm. Starting from the finding that “secularism *qua* political project and secularization *qua* sociological theory both find themselves in an increasingly defensive and even beleaguered posture” (Gorski/Altınordu, 2008: 57), we will try to examine whether we are really confronted with the resurgence of politically salient religions or, rather, just beginning to overcome a secularist bias which has long prevented students from

taking religion(s) seriously when researching political life in modern times. This little excursus into the sociology of religion and the field of political philosophy is a prerequisite for anyone who seeks to avoid the trap of (re-)producing grand narratives about the fate of religion. Otherwise, it is impossible to determine whether scholars of political science are empirically right in asserting that “God is winning in global politics” (Sha/Toft, 2006: 43) and that “if there ever were an award for the most durable, yet outdated, theoretical perspective in the social sciences, secularization theory would be the winner, or at least a close runner-up” (Gill, 2001: 119).

**The second part** of this seminar is dedicated towards exploring major themes and theories in the comparative study of religion and politics. Beginning with some critical remarks on the relative merits of secularism as an analytical concept (session 7), we will try to understand **how scholars of comparative politics try to make sense of religion in political life**. The focus of the seminar is thus not on particular faith traditions, but rather, more generally, on identifying the various levels and channels of interaction between religion and politics in modern times.

---

### III. Introductory Literature

**Bellin, Eva** (2008): “Faith in Politics: New Trends in the Study of Religion and Politics”, *World Politics*, 60 (1), pp. 315-347.

**Fox, Jonathan** (2013): *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

**Gill, Anthony** (2001): “Religion & Comparative Politics”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4, pp. 117-138.

**Gorski, Philip S., and Ates Altnordu** (2008): “After Secularization?”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34, pp. 55-85.

**Kettel, Steven** (2012): “Has Political Science Ignored Religion?”, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 45 (1), pp. 93-100.

**Shah, Timothy Samuel, and Monica Duffy Toft** (2006): “Why God Is Winning”, *Foreign Policy*, 155 (4), pp. 39-43.

**Schwinn, Thomas** (2013): “Zur Neubestimmung des Verhältnisses von Religion & Moderne: Säkularisierung, Differenzierung und multiple Modernitäten“, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 65 (1), pp. 73-97.

## IV. Learning Outcomes

On successful completion of this MA-level seminar about the relationship between politics and religion (“Normative Challenges and Empirical Puzzles”), participating students will be able to

- reflect on issues of methodology and epistemology in the social scientific study of religion;
- distinguish between demand-side- and supply-side-arguments in the sociology of religion;
- evaluate normative and empirical contributions to the debate about religion and modernity;
- go beyond common wisdom in critically discussing the nexus of religion and democracy;
- examine different strands of literature in the comparative study of religion in political life;
- identify shortcomings, blind spots, and open questions (i.e., avenues for further research).

It should go without saying that this seminar remains **in many regards a tentative attempt** at making sense of religion in politics. Accordingly, the themes and theories are exemplary only.



Over the course of the term, we will see that “religion” can be an explosive and highly controversial issue. Please make sure that you always participate in a respectful, considerate, and sensitive manner!



---

## V. Course Requirements

Since this seminar is open to students from all degree programmes, it is beyond the capacity of your lecturer to take a look at each and every module handbook of the University of Tübingen. **Hence, you are strongly urged to raise your voice early if you have any formal questions.**

In order to pass this seminar and to be awarded a “Schein” (worth 6 ECTS points), students are expected to **miss no more than two sessions** and to **fulfill the three following requirements:**

- (a) to prepare the mandatory readings for all sessions & to actively participate in class (10%);
- (b) to write a short response paper (2-3 pages) which comments on one of the sessions (20%);
- (c) to pass the take-home-exam (72 h) that will be held at the end of the summer term (70%).

Please note that each requirement and assignment must be passed separately (with a grade of at least **4.0**). Further information on (b) and (c) will be provided on additional instruction sheets.

## VI. Literature

All mandatory readings will be available on **ILIAS**, the online learning management system of the University of Tübingen (password for this seminar: XXXXXXXXXX). Since the texts can be very different from one another, it is advisable to **read** them **in order of appearance**, respectively.

### 1<sup>st</sup> session (13/04/2015): Introduction: What Is Politics? What Is Religion?

What Is Politics? (Please note that this list is exemplary only and, thus, anything but exhaustive!)

**Caramani, Daniele** (2008): “Introduction to Comparative Politics”, in: Caramani, Daniele (ed.): *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford UP. pp. 1-23.

**Easton, David** (1965): *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*. New York: John Wiley. pp. 1-33.

**Easton, David** (1957): “An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems”, *World Politics*, 9 (3), pp. 383-400.

What Is Religion? (Please note that this list is also exemplary only and anything but exhaustive!)

**Asad, Talal** (2001): “Reading a Modern Classic: W. C. Smith’s ‘The Meaning and End of Religion’”, *History of Religions*, 40 (3), pp. 205-222.

**Beckford, James A.** (1999): “The Politics of Defining Religion in A Secular Society: From Taken-For-Granted Institution to Contested Resource”, in: Platvoet, Jan G., and Arie L. Molendijk (eds.): *The Pragmatics of Defining Religion: Contexts, Concepts and Contests*. Leiden: Brill. pp. 23-40.

**Braun, Willi** (2000): “Religion”, in: Braun, Willi, and Russell T. McCutcheon (eds.): *Guide to the Study of Religion*. London: Continuum. pp. 3-20.

**Hildebrandt, Mathias, and Manfred Brocker** (2008): “Der Begriff der Religion: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven“, in: Hildebrandt, Mathias, and Manfred Brocker (eds): *Der Begriff der Religion: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag. pp. 9-29.

**McKinnon, Andrew M.** (2002): “Sociological Definitions, Language Games, and the ‘Essence’ of Religion”, *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 14 (1), pp. 61-83.

**Pollack, Detlef** (1995): “Was ist Religion? Probleme der Definition”, *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft*, 3 (2), pp. 163-190.

- Introvigne, Massimo** (1999): “Religion as Claim: Social and Legal Controversies” in: Platvoet, Jan G., and Arie L. Molendijk (eds.): *The Pragmatics of Defining Religion: Contexts, Concepts and Contests*. Leiden: Brill. pp. 41-72.
- Smith, Jonathan Z.** (1998): “Religion, Religions, Religious”, in: Taylor, Mark C. (ed.): *Critical Terms for Religions Studies*. Chicago: The Chicago UP. pp. 269-284.
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell** (1991 [1962]): *The Meaning and End of Religion*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Spiro, Melford E.** (1966): “Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation”, in: Banton, Michael (ed.): *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. London: Tavistock. pp. 85-126.
- Willems, Ulrich** (2011): “Religion”, in: Badie, Bertrand, Dirk Berg-Schlosser, and Leonardo Morlino (eds.): *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, Vol. 7. London: Sage. pp. 2259-2261.

**2<sup>nd</sup> session (20/04/2015): How to Study Religion: Methodology & Epistemology**

Mandatory readings:

- McCutcheon, Russell T.** (2005): “General Introduction”, in: McCutcheon, Russell T. (ed.): *The Insider/outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. London: Continuum. pp. 1-11.
- Knott, Kim** (2005): “Insider/Outsider Perspectives”, in: Hinnells, John R. (ed.): *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 259-273.

Further recommendations:

- Berger, Peter L.** (1974): “Some Second Thoughts on Substantive versus Functional Definitions of Religion”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 13 (2), pp. 125-133.
- Porpora, Douglas V.** (2006): “Methodological Atheism, Methodological Agnosticism and Religious Experience”, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 36 (1), pp. 57-75.
- Stringer, Martin D.** (2002): “Introduction: Theorizing Faith”, in: Arweck, Elisabeth, and Martin D. Stringer (eds.): *Theorizing Faith: The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Ritual*. Birmingham: The University of Birmingham Press. pp. 1-20.

Mandatory readings:

**Stark, Rodney** (1999b): “Secularization, R.I.P.”, *Sociology of Religion*, 60 (3), pp. 249-273.

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

Further recommendations:

**Finke, Roger, and Laurence R. Iannaccone** (1993): “Supply-Side Explanations for Religious Change”, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 527 (1), pp. 27-39.

**Iannaccone, Laurence R., Rodney Stark, and Roger Finke** (1998): “Rationality and the ‘Religious Mind’”, *Economic Inquiry*, 36 (3), pp. 373-389.

**Iannaccone, Laurence R.** (1995): “Voodoo Economics? Reviewing the Rational Choice Approach to Religion”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 34 (1), pp. 76-89.

**Iannaccone, Laurence R.** (1991): “The Consequences of Religious Market Regulation: Adam Smith and the Economics of Religion”, *Rationality and Society*, 3 (2), pp. 156-177.

**Iannaccone, Laurence R.** (1990): “Religious Participation: A Human Capital Approach”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 29 (3), pp. 297-314.

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

**Stark, Rodney, and Roger Finke** (1992): *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP.

**Stark, Rodney, and Laurence R. Iannaccone** (1994): “A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the ‘Secularization’ of Europe”, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 33 (3), pp. 230-252.

**Stark, Rodney** (1999a): “Atheism, Faith, and the Social Scientific Study of Religion”, *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 14 (1), pp. 41-62.

**Warner, R. Stephen** (2002): “More Progress on the New Paradigm”, in: Jelen, Ted G. (ed.): *Sacred Markets, Sacred Canopies: Essays on Religious Markets and Religious Pluralism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 1-30.

#### 4<sup>th</sup> session (04/05/2015): Secularisation: Still Alive? – The Old Paradigm Reconsidered

##### Mandatory readings:

**Bruce, Steve** (2002): “The Poverty of Economism or the Social Limits on Maximizing”, in: Jelen, Ted G. (ed.): *Sacred Markets, Sacred Canopies: Essays on Religious Markets and Religious Pluralism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 167-186.

**Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart** (2006): “Sellers or Buyers in Religious Markets? The Supply and Demand of Religion”, *Hedgehog Review*, 8 (1-2), pp. 69-92.

**Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart** (2004): *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge UP. pp. 13-27.

##### Further recommendations:

**Bruce, Steve** (2010): “Secularization”, in: Turner, Bryan S. (ed.): *The New Blackwell Companion to the Sociology of Religion*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing. pp. 125-140.

**Bruce, Steve** (1999): *Choice and Religion: A Critique of Rational Choice Theory*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

**Chaves, Mark, and Philip S. Gorski** (2001): “Religious Pluralism & Religious Participation”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, pp. 261-81.

**McKinnon, Andrew** (2011): “Ideology and the Market Metaphor in Rational Choice Theory of Religion: A Rhetorical Critique of ‘Religious Economies’”, *Critical Sociology*, 39 (4), pp. 529-543.

**Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart** (2015): “Are High Levels of Existential Security Conducive to Secularization? A Response to Our Critics”, in: Brunn, Stanley D. (ed.): *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics*. Vol. V. Dordrecht: Springer. pp. 3389-3408.

**Pollack, Detlef** (2011): “Still Alive: Das Säkularisierungsparadigma”, in: Liedhegener, Antonius, Andreas Tunger-Zanetti, and Stephan Wirz (eds.): *Religion, Wirtschaft, Politik: Forschungszugänge zu einem transdisziplinären Feld*. Zürich: Pano. pp. 41-60.

**Pollack, Detlef** (2003): *Säkularisierung: Ein moderner Mythos? Studien zum religiösen Wandel in Deutschland*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.



**5<sup>th</sup> session (11/05/2015): “Postsecular Society” (Habermas) vs. “Secular Age” (Taylor)?**

(a) Mandatory Readings: Jürgen Habermas on Religion and Politics in a Postsecular Society

**Habermas, Jürgen** (2008): “Notes on Post-Secular Society”, *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 25 (4), pp. 17-29.

**Habermas, Jürgen** (2006): “Religion in the Public Sphere”, *European Journal of Philosophy*, 14 (1), pp. 1-25.

(b) Mandatory Readings: Charles Taylor on Religion, Politics, and Western Secularity

**Taylor, Charles** (2007): *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP. pp. 1-22.

**Taylor, Charles** (2011): “Western Secularity”, in Calhoun, Craig, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (eds.): *Rethinking Secularism*. New York: Oxford UP. pp. 31-53.

**Taylor, Charles** (2014): “How to Define Secularism”, in: Stepan, Alfred, and Charles Taylor (eds.): *Boundaries of Toleration*. New York: Columbia UP. pp. 59-78.

Further recommendations:

**Berg-Sørensen, Anders** (2013): “Introduction”, in: Berg-Sørensen, Anders (ed.): *Contesting Secularism: Comparative Perspectives*. Farnham: Ashgate. pp. 1-13.

**Calhoun, Craig, Eduardo Mendieta, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen** (2013): “Editors’ Introduction”, in: Calhoun, Craig, Eduardo Mendieta, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (eds.): *Habermas and Religion*. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp. 1-26.

**Calhoun, Craig, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen** (2011): “Introduction”, in: Calhoun, Craig, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (eds.): *Rethinking Secularism*. New York: Oxford UP. pp. 3-30.

**Casanova José** (2013): “Exploring the Postsecular: Three Meanings of ‘the Secular’ and their Possible Transcendence”, in: Calhoun, Craig, Eduardo Mendieta, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (eds.): *Habermas and Religion*. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp. 27-48.

**Endreß, Martin** (2012): “Säkular oder Postsäkular? Zur Analyse der religiösen Konturen der Gegenwart im Spannungsfeld der Beiträge von Jürgen Habermas und Charles Taylor“,

in: Endreß, Martin, Hans-Joachim Höhn, Thomas M. Schmidt, and Oliver Wiertz (eds.): *Herausforderungen der Modernität*. Würzburg: Echter Verlag. pp. 213-238.

**Gorski, Philip S., David Kyuman Kim, John Torpey, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen** (2012): “The Post-Secular in Question”, in: Gorski, Philip S., David Kyuman Kim, John Torpey, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (eds.): *The Post-Secular in Question: Religion in Contemporary Society*. New York: SSRC / New York UP. pp. 1-22.

**Habermas Jürgen** (2010): “Ein neues Interesse der Philosophie an der Religion? Zur philosophischen Bewandnis von postsäkularem Bewusstsein und multikultureller Weltgesellschaft“ (interview conducted by Eduardo Mendieta), *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 58 (1), pp. 3-16.

**Habermas, Jürgen, and Charles Taylor** (2011): “Dialogue“ (moderated by Craig Calhoun), in: Mendieta, Eduardo, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (eds): *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere*. New York: Columbia UP. pp. 60-69.

**Koenig, Matthias** (2011): “Jenseits des Säkularisierungsparadigmas? Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Charles Taylor”, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 63 (4), pp. 649-673.

**Maclure, Jocelyn, and Charles Taylor** (2011): *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP.

**Spohn, Ulrike** (2015): “A Difference in Kind? Jürgen Habermas and Charles Taylor on Post-Secularism”, *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, 20 (2), pp. 120-135.

**Warner, Michael, Jonathan VanAntwerpen, and Craig Calhoun** (2010): “Editor’s Introduction”, in: Warner, Michael, Jonathan VanAntwerpen, and Craig Calhoun (eds): *Varieties of Secularism in a Secular Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP. pp. 1-31.

#### **6<sup>th</sup> session (17/05/2015): Religion in Politics: Drawing the Line with Michael Walzer**

##### Mandatory readings:

**Walzer, Michael** (1998): “Drawing the Line: Religion and Politics”, *Soziale Welt*, 49 (3) pp. 295-307.

**7<sup>th</sup> session (01/06/2015): Religion & Democracy (I): Strict Separation or Twin Tolerations**

Mandatory readings:

**Stepan, Alfred** (2000): “Religion, Democracy, and the ‘Twin Tolerations’”, *Journal of Democracy*, 11 (4), pp. 37-57.

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

Further recommendations:

**Fetzer, Joel S., and J. Christopher Soper** (2005): *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany*. New York: Cambridge UP.

**Fox, Jonathan** (2015): *Political Secularism, Religion, and the State: A Time Series Analysis of Worldwide Data*. New York: Cambridge UP.

**Fox, Jonathan** (2008): *A World Survey of Religion and the State*. New York: Cambridge UP.

**Fox, Jonathan, and Shmuel Sandler** (2003): “Regime Types & Discrimination against Ethno-religious Minorities: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of the Autocracy-Democracy Continuum”, *Political Studies*, 51 (3), pp. 469-489.

**Grim, Brian J., and Roger Finke** (2006): “International Religion Indexes: Government Regulation, Government Favoritism, and Social Regulation of Religion”, *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, 2.

**Kuru, Ahmet T.** (2009): *Secularism and State Policies toward Religion: The United States, France, and Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

**Pickel, Gert** (2011): “Demokratie, Staat und Religionen: Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft und Religion“, in: Liedhegener, Antonius, Andreas Tunger-Zanetti, and Stephan Wirz (eds.): *Religion, Wirtschaft, Politik: Forschungszugänge zu einem transdisziplinären Feld*. Zürich/Baden Baden: Pano/Nomos. pp. 275-303.

**Stepan, Alfred** (2001): “The World’s Religious Systems and Democracy: Crafting the ‘Twin Tolerations’”, in: Stepan, Alfred (ed.): *Arguing Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford UP. pp. 213-255.

Mandatory readings:

**Grzymala-Busse, Anna** (2015): *Nations under God: How Churches Use Moral Authority to Influence Policy*. Princeton: Princeton UP. pp. 1-21, 22-60, 329-344.

**Schwedler, Jillian** (2011): “Can Islamists Become Moderates? Rethinking the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis”, *World Politics*, 63 (2), pp. 347-376.

Further recommendations:

**Altınordu, Ateş** (2013): “The Rise and Transformation of German Political Catholicism (1848-1914) and Turkish Political Islam (1970-2011)”, *KZfSS*, 65, Supplement 1, pp. 383-408.

**Brocker, Manfred, and Mirjam Künkler** (2013): “Religious Parties: Revisiting the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis: Introduction”, *Party Politics*, 19 (2), pp. 171-186.

**Hannegraaf, Marcel, and Caelesta Braun-Poppelaars** (2011): “Conceptualizing Religious Advocacy: Religious Interest Groups and the Process of Public Policy Making”, in: Haynes, Jeffrey, and Anja Henning (ed.): *Religious Actors in the Public Sphere: Means, Objectives, and Effects*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 132-148.

**Henning, Anja** (2012): *Moralpolitik und Religion: Bedingungen politisch-religiöser Kooperation in Polen, Italien und Spanien*. Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag.

**Henning, Anja** (2011): “Conclusion: Religious Actors in the Public Sphere. Patterns and Perspectives”, in: Haynes, Jeffrey, and Anja Henning (ed.): *Religious Actors in the Public Sphere: Means, Objectives, and Effects*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 213-227.

**Madeley, John** (2011): “Acta Non Verba: Typifying Europe’s Religious Political Parties”, in: Haynes, Jeffrey, and Anja Henning (ed.): *Religious Actors in the Public Sphere: Means, Objectives, and Effects*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 14-31.

**Ozzano, Luca** (2013): “The Many Faces of the Political God: A Typology of Religiously Oriented Political Parties”, *Democratization*, 20 (5), pp. 807-830.

**Schwedler, Jillian** (2006): *Faith in Moderation: Islamist Parties in Jordan and Yemen*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

**Tepe, Sultan** (2008): *Beyond Sacred and Secular: Politics of Religion in Israel and Turkey*. Stanford: Stanford UP.

**9<sup>th</sup> Session (15/06/2015): Political Culture (I): “Civil Religion in America” by Robert N. Bellah**

Mandatory readings:

**Bellah, Robert N.** (1967 [2005]): “Civil religion in America”, *Daedalus*, 96 (1), pp. 1-21.

**Gorski, Philip S.** (2011): “Barack Obama and Civil Religion”, *Political Power and Social Theory*, 22. pp. 179-214.

Further recommendations:

**Bellah, Robert N.** (1978): “Religion and Legitimation in the American Republic”, *Society*, 15 (4), pp. 16-23.

**Gorski, Philip S.** (2011): “Civil Religion Today”, *The ARDA Guiding Papers Series*.

**Haberski, Raymond Jr.** (2012): *God and War: American Civil Religion since 1945*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP.

**Roof, Wade C.** (2009): “American Presidential Rhetoric from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush: Another Look at Civil Religion”, *Social Compass*, 56 (2), pp. 286-301.

**10<sup>th</sup> Session (22/06/2015): Political Culture (II): The Relationship of Religion and Nationalism**

Mandatory readings:

**Brubaker, Rogers** (2012): “Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches”, *Nations and Nationalism*, 18 (1), pp. 2-20.

**Gorski, Philip S., and Gülay Türkmen-Derviřođlu** (2013): “Religion, Nationalism, and Violence: An Integrated Approach”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 39, pp. 193- 210.

Further recommendations:

**Juergensmeyer, Mark** (1993): *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Van der Veer, Peter** (2013): “Nationalism and Religion”, in: Breuilly, John (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford UP. pp. 655-671.

## 11<sup>th</sup> Session (29/06/2015): Religious Actors (I): The Political Economy of Religion

### Mandatory readings:

**Gill, Anthony** (1994): "Rendering unto Caesar? Religious Competition and Catholic Political Strategy in Latin America, 1962-79", *American Journal of Political Science*, 38 (2), pp. 403-425.

### Further recommendations:

**Gill, Anthony** (2008): *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty*. New York: Cambridge UP.

**Gill, Anthony** (2002): "A Political Economy of Religion", in: Jelen, Ted G. (ed.): *Sacred Markets, Sacred Canopies: Essays on Religious Markets and Religious Pluralism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 115-132.

**Gill, Anthony** (1998): *Rendering unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago UP.

**McKinnon, Andrew M.** (2011): "Ideology and the Market Metaphor in Rational Choice Theory of Religion: A Rhetorical Critique of 'Religious Economies'", *Critical Sociology*, 39 (4), pp. 529-543.

## 12<sup>th</sup> Session (06/07/2015): Religious Actors (II): Analysing Religions as Social Movements

### Mandatory readings:

**Wald, Kenneth D., Adam L. Silverman, and Kevin S. Fridy** (2005): "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8, pp. 121-143.

### Further recommendations:

**Burns, Gene, and Fred Kniss** (2013): "Religion and Social Movements", in: Snow, David A., Donatella Della Porta, Bert Klandermans, and Douglas McAdam (eds.): *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. Vol. 3. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 694-716.

**De Juan, Alexander, and Andreas Hasenclever** (2009): "Das Framing religiöser Konflikte: die Rolle von Eliten in religiös konnotierten Bürgerkriegen", in: Busmann, Margit, Andreas Hasenclever, and Gerald Schneider (eds.): *Identität, Institutionen, Ökonomie: Ursachen innenpolitischer Gewalt*. PVS-Sonderheft, 43. Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. pp. 178-205.

**Willems, Ulrich** (2004): "Religion und soziale Bewegungen: Dimensionen eines Forschungsfeldes", *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen*, 17 (4), pp. 28-41.

**13<sup>th</sup> Session (13/07/2015): Repression of Religions (I): The Argument of "God's Century"**

Mandatory readings:

**Philpott, Daniel** (2007): "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion", *American Political Science Review*, 101 (3), pp. 505-525.

Further recommendations:

**Fox, Jonathan** (2014): "Is It Really God's Century? An Evaluation of Religious Support and Discrimination from 1990 to 2008", *Politics and Religion*, 7 (1), pp. 4-27.

**Tamandonfar, Mehran, and Ted G. Jelen** (2014): "Conclusion: Quasi-Establishment and Its Alternatives: Notes for a General Theory of Religious Identity and Religion/Regime Relations", in: Tamandonfar, Mehran, and Ted G. Jelen (eds.): *Religion and Regimes: Support, Separation, and Opposition*. pp. 241-252.

**Toft, Monica Duffy, Daniel Philpott, and Timothy Samuel Shah** (2011): *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

**14<sup>th</sup> Session (20/07/2015): Repression of Religions (II): "Why Governments Repress Religion"**

Mandatory readings:

**Sarkissian, Ani** (2015): *The Varieties of Religious Repression: Why Governments Repress Religion*. New York: Oxford UP. pp. 1-49, 181-193.

Further recommendations:

**Fox, Jonathan** (2012): "State Religion and State Repression", in: Seiple, Chris, Dennis R. Hoover, and Pauletta Otis (eds.): *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Security*. London: Routledge. pp. 182-192.

**Grim, Brian J, and Roger Finke** (2011): *The Price of Freedom Denied: Religious Persecution and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

**Koesel, Karrie J.** (2014): *Religion and Authoritarianism: Cooperation, Conflict, and the Consequences*. New York: Cambridge UP.