

Religion, the State and Governance in the 21st Century

University of Denver Religion in International Relations Curriculum Project

Curriculum Modules

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The following curriculum material is intended to provide a broad overview of the issues concerning the interaction of religion, states and governance in contemporary politics. The material is divided, broadly, between a set of theoretical modules and a series of case studies. There are numerous case studies, drawn from a variety of regions and traditions. The intention is to allow individual instructors to identify the cases of interest to them, and to pull material from the various modules as they deem appropriate. At the end of this document is additional material for further research and syllabi development.

1. Theory

- a. Modernization Theory and Secularization Thesis
 - i. Casanova, Jose, *Public Religion in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), Chapters 1 & 2.
 - ii. Peter L. Berger, "The Process of Secularization," in *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Random House, 1967), pp. 105-125.
 - iii. Steve Bruce, ed., *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
 - iv. Linnell Cady and Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, eds., *Comparative Secularisms in a Global Age* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)
- b. The Resurgence of Religious Politics: Theory and Debates
 - i. Peter Berger, "The De-secularization of the World: A Global Overview," in *The Descularization of the World*.
 - ii. David Little, "Belief, Ethnicity, and Nationalism," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* I,2 (March, April 1995).
 - iii. Mark Juergensmeyer, "The New Religious State," *Comparative Politics*, July 1995.
 - iv. Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, "Theorizing the Religious Resurgence," *International Politics*, 2007.
 - v. Scott Hibbard, *Religious Politics and Secular States: Egypt, India and the United States* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), Chapters 1 and 2.
 - vi. Daniel Philpott, "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion," *The American Political Science Review*(August, 2007)

Additional Material

7. Samuel Huntington "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.
 8. Fouad Ajami, "The Summoning," *Foreign Affairs*, Fall, 1993.
- c. Religion, Tolerance and Democracy

- . John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed. James Tully (particular emphasis upon pp. 1-11 in introduction, and pp. 23 - 40 of the text).
- i. Stanley Fish, "Liberalism and Secularism," *New York Times*, September 2, 2007.
- ii. "Rethinking Religious Tolerance: A Human Rights Approach," in David Little and David Chidester, *Religion and Human Rights: Toward an Understanding of Tolerance and Reconciliation* (Atlanta: Emory Humanities Lectures, 2001)
- iii. Alfred Stepan, "Religion, Democracy and the Twin Tolerations," *Journal of Democracy*, October 2000.
- d. Secularism and its Critics
 - . Charles Taylor, "Modes of Secularism" in Rajeev Bhargava, *Secularism and Its Critics* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).
 - i. Nicki Keddie, "Secularism and its Discontents," *Daedalus* 2003.
 - ii. Ashis Nandy, "The Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Toleration," in Bhargava, ed., *Secularism and Its Critics*
 - iii. Madan, T.N., "Secularism in Its Place," in Bhargava, *Secularism and its Critics*.

Additional Material

4. T.N. Srinivasan, ed., *The Future of Secularism* (Oxford University Press, 2009)
 2. **Case Studies**
 - a. Israel
 - . Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity: The Secular Religious Impasse* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000)
 - i. Sultan Tepe, *Beyond Sacred and Secular: Politics of Religion in Israel and Turkey* (Stanford University Press, 2008)
 - ii. Ken Wald, "The Religious Dimension of Israeli Political Life," in Jelen and Wilcox, eds., *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Chapter 5).
 - iii. Ehud Sprinzak, "Extremism and Violence in Israel: The Crisis of Messianic Politics," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1998
 - iv. Clive Jones, "Ideo-Theology and the Jewish State: From Conflict to Conciliation," *British Journal of Middle East Studies*, May 1999
 - v. Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky, "The Religious Background of Rabin's Assassination," in *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*.
 - vi. Ian Lustick, *For the Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1988)

Additional Material

7. 60 Minutes: Religious vs. Secular State in Israel
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wQqOxprjEHQ&feature=related> (Part 1)
 - <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bJPRT069D9w&feature=related> (Part 2)
 - 8. Frontline Documentary: Israel's Next War? <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/israel>
 - 9. Religion and State in Israel Blog: <http://religionandstateinIsrael.blogspot.com/>
 - 10. The Israel Democracy Institute resource material on Religion, Nation and State: <http://www.idi.org.il/sites/english/ResearchAndPrograms/Religion%20and...>
 - b. Saudi Arabia
 - . Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban, eds., *Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State* (Westview Press, 2008)
 - i. Madawi al-Rasheed, ed., *Kingdom without Borders: Saudi Arabia's Political, Religious and Media Frontiers* (Columbia University Press, 2009)
 - ii. Madawi Al-Rasheed, "Saudi Arabia post 9/11: History, Religion and Security," *Middle East Studies* (January 2007)

- iii. Madawi al-Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- iv. Khaled Abou el Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists* (Harper Press, 2007)
- v. Robert Lacey, *Inside the Kingdom: Kings, Clerics, Modernists, Terrorists and the Struggle for Saudi Arabia* (New York: Viking, 2009)

Additional Material:

- 6. Frontline Documentary: *The House of Saud* <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/>
 - 7. Frontline: *Saudi Time Bomb?* <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/>
 - c. Turkey
 - . Cemal Karakas, *Turkey: Islam and Laicism - Between the Interests of the State, Politics and Society* (Peace and Research Institute Frankfurt, 2007).
 - i. Sultan Tepe, *Beyond Sacred and Secular: Politics of Religion in Israel and Turkey* (Stanford University Press, 2008)
 - ii. Hakun Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 2005)
 - iii. Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. (Routledge, 1998)
 - iv. Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey*. (Princeton University Press, 2002).
 - v. Marvine Howe, *Turkey: A Nation Divided Over Islam's Revival*(Basic Books, 2004)
 - vi. Christopher de Bellaguie, "Turkey at the Turning Point?" *New York Review of Books*, October 25, 2007.*

Additional Material:

- 7. Ataturk and Turkish Secularism <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rN1a9Px25-A> (Part 1) <http://www.youtube.com/user/AlJazeeraEnglish#p/search/19/93dg9uQ7qRg> (Part 2)
 - 8. 2008 Al-Jazeera's Inside Story: Secularism in Turkey <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nUhMRaI-1rI&feature=related>
 - 9. 2008 Riz Khan Roundtable on Turkey and Islam: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2_QErCLMs2E&feature=channel
 - 10. 2007 PBS Newshour Report with supporting video: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/jan-june07/turkey_5-09.html
 - 11. LinkTV Story on the media coverage of Turkey's Headscarf Ban: [http://www.linktv.org/video/2658/turkeys-headscarf-battle" target="_blank](http://www.linktv.org/video/2658/turkeys-headscarf-battle)
 - d. Egypt
 - . Sami Zubaida, "The Quest for the Islamic State: Islamic Fundamentalism in Egypt and Iran," in *Zubaida, Islam, The People and the State: Essays on Political Ideas and Movements in the Middle East* (I.B. Tauris, 1995)
 - i. Alexander Flores, "Secularism, Integralism and Political Islam: The Egyptian Debate," in *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*, ed. By Joel Beinin and Joe Stork (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).
 - ii. Najjar, Fauzi M., "The Debate on Islam and Secularism in Egypt," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Spring 1996.
 - iii. Denis Sullivan and Sana Abed-Kotob, *Islam in Contemporary Egypt: Civil Society versus the State* (Lynne Rienner Press, 1999)
 - iv. Salwa Ismail, "Religious Orthodoxy as Public Morality: The State, Islamism and Cultural Politics in Egypt", *Critique*, Spring 1999
 - v. Malika Zeghal, "Religion and Politics in Egypt: The Ulema of Al-Azhar, Radical Islam and the State (1952-94)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, August 1999

- vi. Minority rights and the limits of free expression
 1. Max Rodenbeck, "Witch Hunt in Egypt," *The New York Review of Books*, November 16, 2000.
 2. Saad Eddin Ibrahim, *The Copts of Egypt* (London: Minority Rights Group Report, 1996).
 3. George Sfeir, "Basic Freedoms in a Fractured Legal Culture: Egypt and the Case of Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid," *Middle East Journal*, vol 52, Summer 1998,

Additional Material:

- 7. Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Egypt, *Islam and Democracy: Critical Essays* (American University in Cairo Press, 2002)
 - 8. Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh* (University of California Press, 2003)
 - 9. Salwa Ismail, *Rethinking Islamist Politics: Culture, The State and Islamism* (I.B. Tauris, 2006)
 - 10. PBS Story on Religion and Sectarianism:
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/religion/jan-june10/egypt_03-04.html
- e. France
 - . Yolande Jansen, "Laïcité, or the Politics of Republican Secularism," in Hent de Vries and Lawrence E. Sullivan, eds., *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), pp. 475-493
 - i. John Bowen, *Why The French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, The State and Public Space* (Princeton University Press, 2008)
 - ii. Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil* (Princeton University Press, 2007)
 - iii. Jonathan Laurence, *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France* (Brookings Institution, 2006)
 - iv. Olivier Roy, *Secularism Confronts Islam* (Columbia University Press, 2007)
 - 5. Al-Jazeera: Religion and Secularism in France:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yUQOABA1DLg> (Part 1)
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZTUIs45YUOg> (Part 2)
 - 6. PBS Newshour Report on French Headscarf Ban
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/jan-june04/scarves_3-08.html
 - 7. NPR Report on Separation of Church and State in France
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1554443>
- f. The United States
 - . Religion and American Politics
 1. Kenneth Wald, *Religion and Politics in the United States* (Rowen and Littlefield, 2006)
 2. Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," in *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditionalist World* (University of California Press, 1991)
 3. Ted G. Jelen, *To Serve God and Mammon: Church-State Relations in American Politics* (Westview Press, 2000)
 4. Noah Feldman, *Divided By God: America's Church State Problem* (Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2006)
 5. Hunter, James Davison, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991)
 6. John C. Green, James Guth and Corwin Schmidt, *Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front* (Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 1996).
 7. Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers: The Religious Right in American Politics* (Boulder, Westview Press, 1996)

8. Lawrence Davidson, "Christian Zionism as a Representation of American Manifest Destiny," *Critique: Critical Middle East Studies*, Summer 2005

Additional Material:

9. Garry Wills on mediating the Church State Divide:
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=14986005>
10. NPR Fresh Air Interview with Steven Waldman on the Founding Fathers and Religious Liberty
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=100755359>
11. Pastor John Hagee on National Public Radio's Fresh Air:
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6097362>

g. India

. The State and Religion

1. Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1997).
2. Sunil Sahu, "Religion and Politics in India," in Jelen and Wilcox, eds., *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Chapter 11)
3. Ashutosh Varshney, "Contested Meanings: Indian National Unity, Hindu Nationalism and the Politics of Anxiety," *Daedalus* 122 (1993)
4. Zoya Hasan, "Changing Orientation of the State and the Emergence of Majoritarianism in the 1980's," in K.N. Panikkar, ed., *Communalism in India: History, Politics and Culture* (Delhi: Manohar, 1991).
5. Bose, Sumantra, "Hindu Nationalism and the Crisis of the Indian State: A Theoretical Perspective," in Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, eds., *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: State and Politics in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
6. Human Rights Watch, "We Have No Orders to Save You: State Participation and Complicity in Communal Violence in Gujarat," *Human Rights Watch Report*, May 2002

i. Indian Secularism

1. Stanley Tambiah, "The Crisis of Secularism in India," in Bhargava, ed., *Secularism and its Critics*.
2. Madan, T.N., "Secularism in Its Place," in Bhargava, *Secularism and its Critics*.
3. Nandy, Ashis "The Politics of Secularism and the Recovery of Religious Toleration," in Bhargava, ed., *Secularism and Its Critics*
4. Sumit Ganguly, "The Crisis of Secularism in India," *Journal of Democracy*, Fall 2003.

Additional Material:

5. Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement in India* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1996).
6. Varadarajan, Siddharth, ed., *Gujarat: The Making of a Tragedy* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002).
7. Das, Veena, ed., *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990).

h. Pakistan

- . Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005)
- i. Vali Nasr, "Pakistan, 1977-1997: Islamization and the Restoration of State Power," in *The Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

- ii. Vali Nasr, "Islam, the State and the Rise of Sectarian Militancy in Pakistan," in Christophe Jaffrelot, ed., *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation?* (New York: Zed/Palgrave Books, 2002).

William Dalrymple, "A New Deal in Pakistan," *New York Review of Books*, April 3, 2008. Stephen Cohen, "The Nation and State of Pakistan," *The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2002. Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: The United States and the Failure of Nation Building in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia* (Viking, 2008)

- i. Iran
 - . Sami Zubaida, "The Quest for the Islamic State: Islamic Fundamentalism in Egypt and Iran," in Zubaida, *Islam, The People and the State*
 - i. Shahrough Akhavi, "The Clergy's Concepts of Rule in Egypt and Iran," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Sage, November 1992).
 - ii. Hamid Algar, ed., *Islam and Revolution I: Writings and Declaration of Imam Khomeini* (Mizan Press, 1981)
 - iii. Nikki Keddi, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution, Updated Edition* (Yale University Press, 2006)
 - iv. Christopher de Bellaigue, "The Struggle for Iran," *New York Review of Books*, December 16, 1999
 - v. Daniel Brumberg, *Reinventing Khomeini: The Struggle for Reform in Iran* (University of Chicago Press, 2001)
 - vi. Abdokarim Soroush, *Reason, Freedom, and Democracy in Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2000).
 - vii. Mahmoud Sadri, "Sacral Defense of Secularism: The Political Theologies of Soroush, Shabestari and Kadivar," *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* (Winter 2001)
 - viii. Vali Nasr, *The Rise of the Shia: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future* (W.W. Norton and Co., 2007)
 - ix. Ray Takveh, *Guardians of the Revolution: Iran and the World in the Age of the Ayatollahs* (Oxford University Press, 2009)

Additional Material:

1. Three Different Views of the 30 Years of Islamic Republic in Iran
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EQ8V9_3TdTE
2. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EHEynnldZDE&feature=related>
3. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wNo9ZKcZKTY&feature=related>

3. Additional Case Studies

- a. China
 - . Yoshiko Ashiwa and David Wank, eds., *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China* (Stanford University Press)
 - i. Human Rights Watch, *China: State Control of Religion* (HRW 1997)
 - ii. NPR: Rising Tide of Christianity in China
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=128546334>
- b. Sri Lanka:
 - . Stanley Tambiah, *Buddhism Betrayed: Religion, Politics and Violence in Sri Lanka* (University of Chicago Press, 2010)
 - i. David Little, *Sri Lanka: The Invention of Enmity* (USIP Press, 1993)
- c. Former-Yugoslavia
 - . David Little and Donald Swearer, eds., *Religion and Nationalism in Iraq: A Comparative Perspective* (Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions, 2006).

- i. Michael Sells, *A Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
- ii. Paul Mojzes, *Yugoslav Inferno: Ethnoreligious Warfare in the Balkans* (New York: Continuum Press, 1994).

Further Reading and Resources

Books

1. Robert Fatton, Jr., and R.K. Ramazani, eds., *Religion, State and Society: Jefferson's Wall of Separation in Comparative Perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)
2. Ahmet T. Kuru, *Secularism and State Policies Toward Religion: The United States, France and Turkey* (Cambridge University Press, 2009)
3. Nader Hashemi, *Islam, Secularism and Liberal Democracy: Toward a Democratic Theory for Muslim Societies* (Oxford University Press, 2009)
4. Muhammad Saïd al-Ashmawy, (Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, ed.), *Against Islamic Extremism: The Writings of Muhammad Sa'id al-Ashmawy* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998)
5. Ted Jelen and Clyde Wilcox, *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, the Few and the Many* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
6. Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton University Press, 2007)
7. Abdullahi an-Naim, *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a* (Harvard University Press, 2010)
8. L. Carl Brown, *Religion and State: The Muslim Approach to Politics* (Columbia University Press, 2000)
9. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)
10. Stephen Monsma and Christopher Soper, *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Democracies* (Rowan and Littlefield, 2008)
11. Michael Warner, Jonathan Van Antwerpen, Craig Calhoun, *Varieties of Secularism in a Secular Age* (Harvard University Press, 2010)
12. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Harvard University Press, 2007)
13. John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (Columbia University Press, 2005)
14. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford University Press, 2003)
15. William Connolly, *Why I am not a Secularist* (Minnesota University Press, 2000)

Articles/Reports/Chapters

- *Global Restrictions on Religion, Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life*, December 2009.
 - Eva Bellin, "Faith in Politics: New Trends in the Study of Religion and Politics," *World Politics* (January 2008)
 - Ahmet T. Kuru, "Passive and Assertive Secularism: Historical Conditions, Ideological Struggles and State Policies Toward Religion," *World Politics* (July 2007)
 -
- Jonathan Fox, "World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century," *Comparative Political Studies* (Sage, 2006)
- Mark Juergensmeyer, "The New Religious State," *Comparative Politics* (July 1995)
 - Nader Hashemi, "Inching Towards Democracy: Religion and Politics in the Muslim World," *Third World Quarterly* (June 2003)
 - John Voll, "Fundamentalism in the Sunni Arab World: Egypt and Sudan," in Marty and Appleby, *Fundamentalisms Observed*.

Other

- Social Science Research Council's program on Religion and the Public Sphere <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/the-immanent-frame-blog/>
- Syllabi on Religion and Politics <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/syllabi>
- Other Material from Georgetown's Berkley Center <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources>
- The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life <http://pewforum.org/religion-politics/>
- Institute for Religion, Culture and Public Life, Columbia University <http://ircpl.org/>