

## **Religion and Politics in the Developing World**

POLI 139, Fall 2019

MWF 11:45am – 12:50pm

Heafey 129

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Office Hours:  
Tuesday 10am-12pm  
Thursday 2-4pm  
and by appointment

This political science course is designed for three complementary and overlapping purposes. First, it is an upper-division comparative politics course that treats the political effects of religion in various developing world cultures, societies, and political systems. Second, it constitutes a course in Religion, Culture, and Theology 2 (see below for learning objectives) for the Core. Third, it has been approved as part of the Religion and Politics pathway for the Core.

By the end of the course, students should be able to

- understand variation in the effects of religion and religious groups on political behavior and institutions around the world
- formulate explanations for political phenomena that are consistent with empirical variation
- compare and contrast religious politics across countries and across religions

### **This course fulfills the Religion, Theology & Culture 2 Requirement in the Core Curriculum**

Goals: Critical Thinking, Complexity, Religious Reflection

Objectives: Students will

- 2.1 Analyze complex and diverse religious phenomena. (Complexity; Critical Thinking).  
*(readings, exams)*
- 2.2 Integrate and compare different approaches to a coherent set of religious phenomena. (Complexity; Critical Thinking). *(quizzes, review essay)*
- 2.3 Clarify beliefs in light of their critical inquiry into the religious dimensions of human existence. (Reflection; Critical Thinking). *(case comparison, review essay)*

**This course is also a part of the Pathway in Politics and Religion.** Be aware that if you plan to use this course as part of your pathway you need to save a piece of work to submit online.

## Course requirements:

### 1. Attendance (5% of final grade)

I will take attendance at the beginning of every class. Please notify me in advance if you will miss class because of religious observance, participation in university-sponsored events, or other university-approved reasons for absence. I will calculate this grade as the percentage of classes that you attended, excluding excused absences. I will overlook one unexcused absence.

### 2. Participation (5%)

This class offers frequent opportunities for participation. Each week is built around an important scholarly article (or book) in the field of religion and politics. I will frequently ask you to analyze these articles in the context of in-class discussions. These discussions are your opportunity to weigh in with your opinions! Each week I will circulate questions to guide the discussion; you can also use these to guide your reading. I encourage everyone to participate during class discussion. Not only will I award participation credit, but speaking up and sharing your opinion is a skill that takes practice. Please take advantage of this opportunity to develop a very useful skill.

I will evaluate participation based on consistency, thoughtfulness, courteousness, and effort, among other things. Please note that I define participation broadly to include my interaction with students during class, at office hours, and by email.

### 3. Reading quizzes (10%)

Each week, a reading quiz will ask you to answer one of the week's reading questions (which I will have previously circulated—see point 2, above). Most quizzes will take place on Wednesday, a few on Friday. The quizzes will earn a score of 1 if I am convinced that you did the reading, and a zero otherwise. At the end of the quarter, I will sum the scores and divide by ten, the total number of quizzes. You may make up any quiz for any reason by submitting responses to the full set of reading questions. More details on make-up policy are available on the course website.

### 4. Map quiz (5%)

During week 2, there will be a map quiz that asks you to locate on a map each of the country cases, their capital cities, and other important geographical features. I will circulate the locations ahead of the quiz for your reference.

5. Review essay (15%)

Students will write one review essay that synthesizes two or three scholarly articles in order to answer one of the two big questions posed in this course. Broadly speaking, in this assignment you will compare and contrast the answers that different articles pose in response to one of the course's overarching questions. The due date for the review essay depends on the question that you choose to address. Review essays addressing Part 1 of the course are due on Monday, October 28, and Part 2 on Friday, December 6.

6. Case comparison (20%)

Students will write a comparative paper, based on scholarly sources, that compares the political role of religious groups across countries or religions. For the purposes of this assignment, you may define religion broadly. You can choose groups that practice the major world religions, heterodox sects within those religions, or smaller groups that practice less well-known religions.

I highly encourage everyone to discuss their paper with me in person. You may attend my office hours or email me to arrange an appointment. In addition, I invite you to email me a paper proposal (consisting of topic/religion/country) by Monday, October 21. I will award participation credit to everyone who does so.

The case comparison is due on Monday, November 11.

7. Exams (40%)

Two non-cumulative exams will cover all course material, including lectures, discussion, and assigned reading. I will administer exams during class; they will take the entire period. They will combine short-answer questions that address the specifics of particular cases, and essay questions that ask students to formulate arguments about the major topics of the course. Essay questions will be circulated in advance. Please bring green books.

## Course policies:

### Electronic devices

Laptop computers are powerful tools for learning if used appropriately. However, I reserve the right to ask students to put them away if I believe that they are distracting students from classroom activities. Smart phones, by contrast, have less functionality for typing and research, and more potential for distraction. Please leave them at home.

### Late assignments

Students, like faculty, juggle many responsibilities, which is why it's so important to meet your deadlines! Nevertheless, I am willing to negotiate extensions, but you must approach me before the assignment is due, not after. Otherwise, late work will incur penalties worth one-sixth of a letter grade per day (e.g. the grade is reduced from a B+ to a B after two days).

### Academic integrity

The Academic Integrity pledge is an expression of the University's commitment to fostering an understanding of – and commitment to – a culture of integrity at Santa Clara University. The Academic Integrity pledge, which applies to all students, states:

*I am committed to being a person of integrity. I pledge, as a member of the Santa Clara University community, to abide by and uphold the standards of academic integrity contained in the Student Conduct Code.*

Students are expected to uphold the principles of this pledge for all work in this class. For more information about Santa Clara University's academic integrity pledge and resources about ensuring academic integrity in your work, see [www.scu.edu/academic-integrity/](http://www.scu.edu/academic-integrity/).

### Office of Accessible Education (formerly Disabilities Resources)

If you have a documented disability for which accommodations may be required in this class, please contact the Office of Accessible Education, Benson 1, as soon as possible to discuss your needs and register for accommodations with the University. If you have already arranged accommodations through Disabilities Resources, please discuss them with me during my office hours within the first two weeks of class. The full university policy is available at [www.scu.edu/oea](http://www.scu.edu/oea).

### Accommodations for pregnant and parenting students

Santa Clara University provides reasonable accommodations to students who are pregnant, have recently experienced childbirth, and/or have medical needs related to childbirth. Pregnant and parenting students can often arrange accommodations by working directly with their instructors, supervisors, or departments, or by requesting accommodations through Disability Resources.

### Discrimination and sexual misconduct (Title IX)

Santa Clara University upholds a zero-tolerance policy for discrimination, harassment and sexual misconduct. If you (or someone you know) have experienced discrimination or harassment, including sexual assault, domestic/dating violence, or stalking, I encourage you to tell someone promptly. For more information, please consult the University's [Gender-Based Discrimination and Sexual Misconduct Policy](#) or contact [Belinda Guthrie](#). Reports may be submitted online through the [Office of Student Life](#) or anonymously through [EthicsPoint](#)

### In-class recordings

The University has a new policy prohibiting in-class recordings “without the knowledge and consent of all recorded parties,” except in cases of approved disability accommodations. The full policy is in the [Student Conduct Code](#) (p. 13).

**Course schedule**  
(Subject to change)

**Week 1: Introduction**

- Monday, September 23**                      Introductions
- Beech, Hannah, Dharisha Bastians and Kai Schultz. 2019. "Religious Minorities Across Asia Suffer Amid Surge in Sectarian Politics," *New York Times*, April 21.
- Wednesday, September 25**                      Approaches to the study of religious politics
- Gill, Anthony. 2001. "Religion and Comparative Politics", pp. 117-130.
- Friday, September 27**                      A simple model of religious conflict
- Gargan, Edward. 1992. "Peril to the Indian State: A Defiant Hindu Fervor," *New York Times*, December 8.

**PART ONE**

Why do religious groups sometimes conflict and other times coexist?

**Week 2: Religious riots in India**

- Monday, September 30**                      Background
- Brass, Paul. 1997. *Theft of an Idol*, Chapter 7 pp. 214-219, 226-237, 240-251.
- Wednesday, October 2**                      *Mass of the Holy Spirit; no class*
- Friday, October 4**                      **Map quiz**
- Institutionalized riot systems
- Brass, Paul. 1997. *Theft of an Idol*, pp. 251-253 and Chapter 8 pp. 284-288.

**Week 3: Peaceful accommodation in Nigeria**

- Monday, October 7**                      Explaining variation
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus & Muslims in India*, Chapter 1, pp TBA.
- Wednesday, October 9**                      Nigeria's constitutional convention
- Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture*, Preface, pp. ix – xi, and Chapter 1, pp. 1-12, 16-20.
- Friday, October 11**                      The sources of religious identity
- Von Tunzelmann, Alex. 2017. "Who Is to Blame for Partition, Above All, Imperial Britain," *New York Times*, August 18.

**Week 4: Islamic State**

- Monday, October 14**                      The power of belief?
- Wood, Graeme. 2015. "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*
- Wednesday, October 16**                      What is ISIS?
- Cole, Juan. 2015. "How 'Islamic' Is the Islamic State?" *The Nation*

**Friday, October 18** The Rohingya

- Beech, Hannah. 2017. “‘No Such Thing as Rohingya’: Myanmar Erases a History,” *New York Times*, December 2.
- “How the Rohingya Escaped,” *New York Times*, Interactive Feature, December 21, 2017; <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/12/21/world/asia/how-the-rohingya-escaped.html> (*This interactive multimedia feature includes disturbing images and is therefore OPTIONAL.*)

**Week 5: Persecution in Myanmar**

**Monday, October 21** Buddhist nationalism

- International Crisis Group. 2017. “Buddhism and State Power in Myanmar,” Asia Report No. 290, September 5, pp. i-ii, 3-15, 20-24.

**Wednesday, October 23** Why the Rohingya?

- Jones, Lee. 2017. “A better political economy of the Rohingya crisis,” *New Mandala*, September 26.

**Friday, October 25** Exam #1

**PART TWO**

Why do religious groups support some authoritarian regimes but oppose others?

**Week 6: The Catholic Church and the Argentine military junta**

**Monday, October 28** Review essay #1 due

Church, mosque, etc. and state relations

- Reading TBA

**Wednesday, October 30** Authoritarianism in Catholic Latin America

- Sims, Calvin. 1995. “Argentina tells of dumping ‘Dirty War’ captives into sea,” *New York Times*, March 13.

**Friday, November 1** “Complicity with the devil”

- Gill, Anthony. 1998. *Rendering Unto Caesar*, Chapter 6.

**Week 7: Liberation theology in El Salvador**

**Monday, November 4** Oscar Romero (film)

- Brown, Robert McAfee. 1993. *Liberation Theology: An Introductory Guide*, Chapter 1.

**Wednesday, November 6** El Salvador’s civil war

- Klaiber, Jeffrey, S.J. 1998. *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy in Latin America*, Chapter 9, pp. 168-171, 173-178, 181-183, 184-192.

**Friday, November 8** Explaining variation

**Week 8: The Iranian revolution**

**Monday, November 11**

**Case comparison due**

Islam and regime type

- Masoud, Tarek. 2015. "Has the Door Closed on Arab Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy*

**Wednesday, November 13**

Secular dictators, religious opposition

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2000. "Commitment problems in emerging democracies: The case of religious parties," *Comparative Politics*

**Friday, November 15**

Documentary film TBA

- Ghannouchi, Rached. 2016. "From Political Islam to Muslim Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October.

**Week 9: The democratic opposition in Indonesia**

**Monday, November 18**

Revolutionary Islam in Iran

- Reading TBA

**Wednesday, November 20**

Islam and Indonesia's New Order

- Hefner, Robert. 2000. *Civil Islam*, Chapter 7, pp. 180-213.

**Friday, November 22**

Comparing Iran and Indonesia

**Thanksgiving Week: No class**

**Week 10: The limits of religious pluralism in Indonesia**

**Monday, December 2**

Indonesia's new democracy

- Pinault, David. 2017. "Extremists, 'X-Men,' and an Ex-Governor: A Cautionary Tale from Jakarta," *Commonweal*, July 7.
- "6 Die in Indonesia Riots, Widodo Says He Won't Allow Unrest," *The Associated Press*, May 21, 2019.

**Wednesday, December 4**

Limited pluralism in Indonesia

- Menchik, Jeremy. 2014. "Productive Intolerance: Godly Nationalism in Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, pp. TBA.

**Friday, December 6**

**Review essay #2 due**

Exam review

**Exam #2**

**Monday, December 9**

**1:30 – 4:30pm**