

# Political Science 2004: Religion and Politics

University of Missouri, Fall 2021

Instructor: Michael D. Wales  
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Office: Professional Building 206

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Class Hours: M/W/F 10-10:50 am  
Office Hours: T/Th 1-3 pm

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Do not discuss politics or religion in general company. You probably would not convert your opponent, and he will not convert you. To discuss those topics is to arouse feeling without any good result.

—"Etiquette in Conversation," *Iowa Liberal*, 1879

I never considered a difference of opinion in politics, in religion, in philosophy, as cause for withdrawing from a friend.

—Thomas Jefferson to William Hamilton, April 22, 1800

## Course Description

Religion remains an important force in both domestic and international politics despite many predictions that its influence should have waned. At the same time, political and social movements continue to challenge the role that religion plays in public life. This class will explore how religion and politics influence each other, including explanations of religion as a source of identity, as a guide to moral and political decision making, and as an aspect of culture that can promote or inhibit cooperation. Over the course of the semester students will consider questions such as:

- Why do Evangelical Protestants tend to vote Republican and Mainline Protestants tend to vote Democratic?
- Is democracy compatible with Islam?
- How do governments balance religious liberty with LGBTQ rights and other competing values?
- Does religion do a better job of promoting peace than causing conflict?

The course will be divided into two general sections: religion and politics in the United States and religion and international politics. The section on American politics will deal with religion and political behavior, trends and patterns in religious affiliation and religiosity, and how public policy can impact religious communities. The class will also deal with normative debates over the proper role of religion in public life from the American founding through today. The section on international politics will discuss the role of religion in foreign policy, conflict and political violence, and differences between states in areas such as religious freedom, political culture, relationships between religious groups and the state, and religiosity.

## Required Materials

Wald, Kenneth D. and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2018. *Religion and Politics in the United States*. 8th ed. London: Rowman and Littlefield.

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

Students should also download the iClicker Cloud app on their preferred device they plan to bring to class.

## Course Objectives

This class will present an overview of the intersections between religion and politics. One semester is insufficient to cover all aspects of this topic or to give equal time to all religious traditions and political arrangements. The primary goal is to familiarize students with some of the existing literature on the topic and help them engage in critical thinking about the interplay between religion and politics in our world today. By the end of the semester, successful students will:

1. Develop an appreciation for the role religion plays in American political thought;
2. Understand how different religious and political identities influence both political and religious behavior;
3. Consider the role religion plays in promoting both conflict and reconciliation between countries;
4. Recognize the differences between how governments regulate religious activity;
5. Examine ways in which religion and politics can resemble each other.

## Course Structure

### Class Structure

This will be an in-person class in a traditional lecture format, but I intend to have plenty of discussion as well. Given the sensitive nature and strong opinions religious and political beliefs arouse, I will make an effort to be respectful and avoid causing offense to any student. In order to create an environment conducive to discussion, it will be incumbent upon all students to show myself and their colleagues respect as well. This means both trying to avoid making hurtful statements, but also giving your classmates the benefit of the doubt and not seeking out offense. Avoiding discussions on difficult topics may alleviate discomfort in the short term, but often only deepens divides in the long term.

Attendance will not be required *per se*, but missing class without providing prior notice will negatively effect students' grades.

### Assessments

There will be four different types of graded assignments and assessments in this class.

- **40%** of your grade will be determined by two exams (20% each). The first will be a midterm exam that covers content related to American politics, and the second will be during the final exam period and will cover international politics.

- **35%** of your grade will be determined by a research paper on a relevant topic of your choice. The grading may be broken down into sub-components with different due dates such as a paper proposal and annotated bibliography. Further instructions will be provided later.
- **15%** of your grade will be determined by a small group presentation on a major religious tradition. The goal of this presentation is to enhance the religious literacy of the presenters and the rest of the class and to facilitate understanding of how religious and political cultures interact.
- **10%** of your grade will be determined by short in-class quizzes over the lectures and assigned readings.

Late work will be accepted for out-of-class assignments with a 10% penalty for each day the assignment is late. In-class assignments cannot be made up. If circumstances require you to miss an exam, alert the instructor as soon as possible to arrange alternative accommodations. Documentation may be required to avoid late penalties for exams. See the COVID-19 statement below for additional guidance on that issue.

## Grading Policy

The Mizzou grading system is based on a four-point scale. The grade value for each letter grade in this class is as below. Scores will be rounded to the nearest whole number.

Grading Scale		
Grade	Low %	High %
A	95	100
A-	90	94
B+	87	89
B	84	86
B-	80	83
C+	77	79
C	74	76
C-	70	73
D+	67	69
D	64	66
D-	60	63
F	0	59

## Course Policies

For University policies and support resources, please click the Support & Policies link in the course menu on Canvas.

## Use of Canvas

While this class is currently not an online course, it will utilize Canvas extensively. Most students no doubt have had both positive and negative experiences with Canvas, and we will aim to have mostly positive experiences in this class.

## Class Etiquette

Your instructor and fellow students wish to foster a safe learning environment. All opinions and experiences, no matter how different or controversial they may be perceived, must be respected in the tolerant spirit of academic discourse. You are encouraged to comment, question, or critique an idea but you are

not to attack an individual. Our differences, some of which are outlined in the University's nondiscrimination statement, will add richness to this learning experience. Please consider that sarcasm and humor can be misconstrued, especially in online interactions, and generate unintended disruptions. Working as a community of learners, we can build a polite and respectful course ambiance.

## **Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

University standards prohibit cheating, plagiarism, and sabotage. Those caught engaging in such academic misconduct will receive a zero on the assignment and may be subject to further disciplinary action.

## **Recording Prohibition**

University of Missouri System Executive Order No. 38 lays out principles regarding the sanctity of classroom discussions at the university. The policy is described fully in section 200.015 of the Collected Rules and Regulations. In this class, students may not make audio or video recordings of course activity, except students permitted to record as an accommodation under section 240.040 of the Collected Rules. All other students who record and/or distribute audio or video recordings of class activity are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020 of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters.

Those students who are permitted to record are not permitted to redistribute audio or video recordings of statements or comments from the course to individuals who are not students in the course without the express permission of the faculty member and of any students who are recorded. Students found to have violated this policy are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020 of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters.

## **Intellectual Pluralism**

Below is the University's statement on intellectual pluralism: *The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the departmental chair or divisional director, the director of the Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities, or the MU Equity Office.*

## **Intellectual Property**

All course materials, including, but not limited to, the syllabus, course assignments, study guides, learning guides, online lecture videos and content, and lab book (i.e. course pack) are property of the instructor and University and may not be shared online or distributed in any manner to others. Students are prohibited from posting course materials or notes online and from selling notes to or being paid for taking notes by any person or commercial firm without the express written permission of the professor teaching this course. Doing so will constitute both an academic integrity violation and a copyright violation. Violations of copyright laws could subject you to civil penalties and criminal liability. Violations of academic integrity may subject you to disciplinary action under University policies.

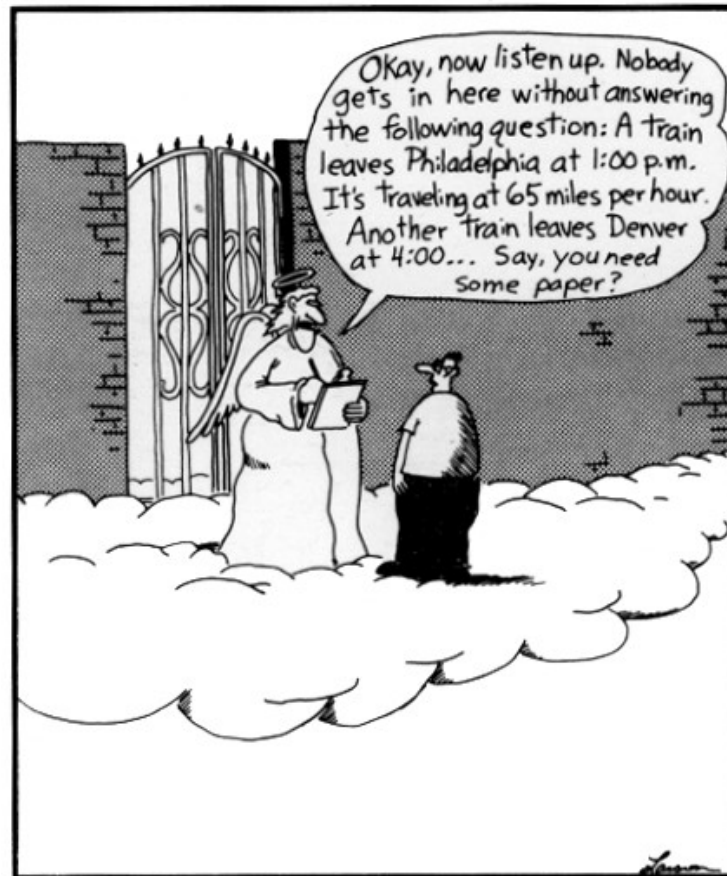
## **ADA Compliance and Accommodation**

If you anticipate barriers related to the format or requirements of this course, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need to make arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please let me know as soon as possible.

If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please establish an accommodation plan with the MU Disability Center, S5 Memorial Union, 573-882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations. For other MU resources for persons with disabilities, click on "Disability Resources" on the MU homepage.

## Show Me Renewal COVID-19 Guidelines

As of now, this course will be taught as an in-person class. University policies may require students to miss classes for reasons related to COVID-19 protocols or other illnesses. Reasonable accommodations will be made for students required to miss class, specific to the students' situations. In all cases, for student who miss class but not assignments, the best way to stay caught up is to do the assigned reading. As with any excused absence, students must inform the instructor before missing an assignment to avoid penalties. This includes in-class quizzes and group presentations. Other University policies such as mask requirements will also be in force in the class, and will lapse if and when the University removes them.



Math phobic's nightmare

## Course Schedule

The schedule of weekly readings and assignments is tentative and subject to change. Assigned readings besides the Wald and Calhoun-Brown or Toft, et al. books should be posted on Canvas. Some of the readings come from academic journals in political science and other fields, and can be quite dense and technical. In most cases students should focus on the big picture ideas put forward rather than methodology and jargon.

### Week 01, 08/23 - 08/27: Introduction

- Introduction: no readings Aug. 23
- Defining Religion
  - Cavanaugh, William T. 2012. "What is Religion?" In *Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research*, Michael C. Desch and Daniel Philpott, eds. Report of the Working Group on International Relations and Religion of the Mellon Initiative on Religion Across the Disciplines.
  - O'Laughlin, Michael. 2016. "Should Courts Get to Define Religion?" *The Atlantic*, May 3. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/05/how-do-the-courts-define-religion/480903>.
- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, Chapter 1

### Week 02, 08/30 - 09/03: Religion in the United States

- Religion in the United States
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 2
  - Campbell, David E., Geoffrey C. Layman, John C. Green, and Nathanael G. Sumaktoyo. 2018. "Putting Politics First: The Impact of Politics on American Religious and Secular Orientations." *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(3): 551-565.
  - Burge, Ryan. 2019. "American Religion in 2030." *Religion in Public*, October 24. <https://religioninpublic.blog/2019/10/24/american-religion-in-2030>.
- American Political Culture
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 3
  - Herold, Aaron L. 2015. "Tocqueville on Religion, the Enlightenment, and the Democratic Soul." *American Political Science Review*, 109(3): 523-534.
  - Bellah, Robert N. 1967. "Civil Religion in America." *Daedalus*, 96(1): 1-21.

### Week 03, 09/06 - 09/10: Church and State Issues

- Labor Day: no class September 6th
- Religion and State
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 4
  - Sikkenga, Jeffrey. 2012. "Government Has No 'Religious Agency': James Madison's Fundamental Principle of Religious Liberty." *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(3): 745-756.
  - Dallas, Kelsey. 2021. "Religion at the Supreme Court: What happened this year and what's coming next year?" *Desert News*, July 6.

**Week 04, 09/13 - 09/17: Mobilization**

- Mobilization
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 5
  - Verdeja, Ernesto. 2012. "International Political Theology." In *Religion and International Relations: A Primer for Research*, Michael C. Desch and Daniel Philpott, eds. Report of the Working Group on International Relations and Religion of the Mellon Initiative on Religion Across the Disciplines.
- Political Action
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 6
  - Wolsey, Rogher. 2012. "Progressive Christianity isn't Progressive Politics!" October 4. <https://progressivechristianity-isnt-progressive-politics>.
  - Esmer, Yilmaz and Thorleif Pettersson. 2007. "The Effects of Religion and Religiosity on Voting Behavior." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds. London: Oxford University Press.

**Week 05, 09/20 - 09/24: Opinion and Action**

- Public Opinion
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 7
  - Mattingly, Terry. 2020. "Covering 'mainline' faith: Why do the old Protestant churches get so much news ink? *GetReligion*, April 16. <https://www.getreligion.org/getreligion/2020/4/13/covering-mainline-faith-why-do-those-old-protestant-churches-get-so-much-news-ink>.
- Conservative Political Action
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 8
  - Gaskins, Ben, Matt Golder, and David A. Siegel. 2013. "Religious Participation and Economic Conservatism." *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(4): 823-840.
  - Mead, Walter Russell. 2006. "God's Country?" *Foreign Affairs*, 85(5), 24-43.

**Week 06, 09/27 - 10/01: Political Action**

- No class Oct. 1: lectures and discussion board on Canvas instead.
- Centrist Political Action
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 9
  - Read Part II (pages 32-43) of United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. 2019. "Forming Consciences for Faithful Citizenship: A Call to Political Responsibility from the Catholic Bishops of the United States."
- Liberal Political Action
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 10
  - Rubin, Debra. 2017. "Why do Jews usually vote Democratic? It's in their DNA." *New Jersey Jewish News*, November 13.
  - King, Jr, Martin Luther. 1963. "Letter from Birmingham Jail [Abridged]." April 16.

**Week 07, 10/04 - 10/08:** Religion, Sex, and Public Life

- Gender and Sexuality
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 11
- Religion and Public Life
  - Wald and Calhoun-Brown Chapter 12
  - Hamid, Shadi. 2021. "America Without God." *The Atlantic*, March 10.
  - Stetzer, Ed. 2014. "The Role of Faith in Public Life." *The Exchange*, February 18. <https://www.christianitytoday.com/of-faith-in-politics.html>.

**Week 08, 10/11 - 10/15:** Exam and Introduction to Religion and International Politics

- October 11: Exam 1
- Religion in the World
  - Toft, Philpott, and Shah Chapter 1
- Religion and Comparative Politics
  - Gill, Anthony. 2001. "Religion and Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4: 117-38.
  - Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2012. "Why Comparative Politics Should Take Religion (More) Seriously." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15: 421-442.

**Week 09, 10/18 - 10/22:** Religion and International Relations

- Religion and IR
  - Haynes, Jeffrey. 2021. "Religion and International Relations: What Do We Know and How Do We Know It?" *Religions*, 12: 328-342.
  - Vermeil, Edmond. 1932. "Religion and Politics in Alsace." *Foreign Affairs*, 250-264.
- Religion and International Politics
  - Toft, Philpott, and Shah Chapters 2-3
  - Fox, Jonathan and Deborah Flores. 2009. "Religions, Constitutions, and the State: A Cross-National Study." *The Journal of Politics*, 71(4): 1499-1513.
  - McClendon, Gwyneth and Rachel Beatty Riedl. 2021. "Using Sermons to Study Religions' Influence on Political Behavior." *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(5): 779-822.

**Week 10, 10/25 - 10/29:** Democratization and Development

- Democracy
  - Toft, Philpott, and Shah Chapter 4
  - Evans, Michael S. 2014. "Religion and Political Decision Making." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 53(1): 145-163.
  - Hoffman, Michael and Amaney Jamal. 2014. "Religion in the Arab Spring: Between Two Competing Narratives." *The Journal of Politics*, 76(3): 593-606.
- Economic Development



- Berger, Peter L. 2010. “Max Weber is Alive and Well, and Living in Guatemala: The Protestant Ethic Today.” *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, 8(4): 3-9.
- Marshall, Katherine. 2012. “Religion and Development.” In *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*, Timothy Samuel Shah, Alfred Stepan, Monica Duffy Toft, eds. London: Oxford University Press.

#### Week 11, 11/01 - 11/05: Political Violence

- Terrorism
  - Toft, Philpott, and Shah Chapter 5
  - Appleby, R. Scott. 2012. “Religious Violence: The Strong, the Weak, and the Pathological.” *Practical Matters*, 5: 1-25.
  - Cavanaugh, William T. 2014. “Religious Violence as Modern Myth.” *Political Theology*, 15(6): 486-502.
- Civil War
  - Toft, Philpott, and Shah Chapter 6
  - Isaacs, Matthew. 2017. “Faith in Contention: Explaining the Salience of Religion in Ethnic Conflict.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(2): 200-231.

#### Week 12, 11/08 - 11/12: Conflict, Reconciliation, and Moving Forward

- Interstate Conflict
  - Toft, Philpott, and Shah Chapter 7
  - Abramson, Yehonatan. 2013. “Culture, Religion, War, and Peace.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  - Klug, Brian. 2011. “A Higher Road to Peace: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Battle for Judaism.” *Peace and Change*, 36(4): 527-540.
  - Glazer, Rebecca A. 2018. “How Religion Influences Peacemaking.” *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 25(2).
- Recommendations for Going Forward
  - Toft, Philpott, and Shah Chapter 8

#### Week 13, 11/15 - 11/19: Human Rights and Foreign Policy

- Religion and Human Rights
  - Barnett, Michael. 2012. “Where is the Religion? Humanitarianism, Faith, and World Affairs.” In *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*, Timothy Samuel Shah, Alfred Stepan, Monica Duffy Toft, eds. London: Oxford University Press.
  - Marshall, Katherine. 2013. “Human Trafficking: Faith in Action in Cambodia.” Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs Policy Brief, 5: 1-4.
- Foreign Policy
  - Warner, Carolyn M. and Stephen G. Walker. 2011. “Thinking about the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis.” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 7: 113-135.
  - Winter, Ofir and Yoel Guzansky. 2020. “Islam in the Service of Peace: Religious Aspects of the Abraham Accord.” Institute for National Security Studies Insight, 1379: September 6.

- Albright, Madeline and Bill Woodward. 2006. *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers. (Excerpts on Canvas)
- Landow, Charles and James McBride. 2021. "Moving Past the Troubles: The Future of Northern Ireland Peace." *The Council on Foreign Relations*, April 23. <https://www.cfr.org/background/moving-past-troubles-future-northern-ireland-peace>

**Week 14, 11/22 - 11/26:** Thanksgiving Break

- No classes

**Week 15, 11/29 - 12/03:** Religion and the State

- Religious Freedom
  - Fox, Jonathan. 2014. "Religious Freedom in Theory and Practice." *Human Rights Review*, 16(1): 1-22.
  - Philpott, Daniel. 2020. "Ignore the optics. Trump's executive order could jump-start the cause of global religious freedom." *America Magazine*, June 9. <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2020/06/09/trump-executive-order-global-religious-freedom>.
  - Hall, Mark David. 2008. Review of the book *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty*, by Anthony Gill. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 77(1): 165-169.
  - King, Matthew Taylor. 2020. "The Gospel According to Xi." *The Wall Street Journal*, June 4.
  - Wales, Michael D. 2021. "Religious Freedom for Everybody, Everywhere, All the Time? An Evaluation of the International Religious Freedom Act." Presented at the International Studies Association Midwest Annual Conference, St. Louis.
- Religion as Politics
  - Grewal, Sharan, Amaney A. Jamal, Tarek Masoud, and Elizabeth R. Nugent. 2019. "Poverty and Divine Reward: The Electoral Advantage of Islamist Political Parties." *American Journal of Political Science*, 63(4): 859-874.
  - Wilson, Erin K. 2014. "Theorizing Religion as Politics in Postsecular International Relations." *Politics, Religion, & Ideology*, 15(3): 347-365.

**Week 16, 12/06 - 12/10:** Politics as Religion

- Politics as Religion
  - Gentile, Emilio. 2006. *Politics as Religion*. Trans. George Staunton. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Introduction on Canvas)
  - Morson, Gary Saul and Morton Schapiro. 2021. "Gary Saul Morson and Morton Schapiro on Minds Wide Shut." <https://press.princeton.edu/ideas/gary-saul-morson-and-morton-schapiro-on-minds-wide-shut>
  - Woodhouse, Leighton. 2021. "Fanatics: Politics has become a religion." <https://leightonwoodhouse.substack.com>
  - Garreau, Joel. 2010. "Environmentalism as Religion." *The New Atlantis*, Summer, <https://www.thenewatlantis.com> as-religion.
- Dec. 10: Reading Day

**Week 17, 12/13 - 12/17:** Final Exam

- Final Exam: Dec. 16, 3-5pm

