

**Boston University
Department of International Relations**

**IR/RN 561
Religion and International Relations
Semester 1: 2007-2008**

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office hrs: noon – 1 p.m. T, W, Th
class: 10 a.m. – 1 p.m. M

Course Description & Objectives. The global resurgence of religion in world affairs that began during the late-20th century and into the start of the third millennium has been one of the most intellectually intriguing and politically startling phenomena of the modern era. Indeed, the multiple manifestations of religion at the sub-state, inter-state, and transnational levels in contemporary international relations have generated a radical re-evaluation of longstanding scholarly research and associated policy strategies that were based on the notion of the decline, if not outright death, of religion in the modern world. In short, scholar-practitioners of international relations, and more generally, in the social sciences, have been forced to consider the authenticity, nature, and implications of the survival and/or revival of religion in global affairs. As a part of these debates, scholar-practitioners of international relations have begun to reconsider the definition of modernity itself.

Therefore, this seminar will explore the role of religion in contemporary international relations as part of a broader inquiry into the problematic of what constitutes the common core of modernity. Through an examination of both scholarly literatures and policy debates, the course will consider the possibility that the modern project as a uniform pattern of secularization—understood as religious decline, religious privatization, and the structural-functional separation of religious and temporal spheres—is being replaced. Instead, it may be more theoretically robust and practically meaningful to talk of multiple modernities, defined by a set of common, core elements but differentiated by differences in the intensity, locus, and arrangements of religion in the public sphere and vis-à-vis the state, as well as by national and regional histories.

Above all, this course is designed from the perspective of international relations theory and practice: in other words, students are introduced to religion as it affects the systematic, comparative analysis of the origins of the modern system of international relations. Consequently, the course will not deal with theological issues, except where these might be relevant to our investigation of the core issues in the course. These core issues can be broken down as follows: the constitutional and legal relationship between religion and the state; the organization, regulation and transformation of religion in public life; the links between religion and nationalism; historical-institutional factors that shape the ideas and actions of religion in international relations; democracy and religious human rights; religion and conflict versus religion and peace.

Course Requirements & Grading. The course is a seminar, and is designed to encourage optimal results in terms of weekly classroom discussion, critical inquiry,

and original scholarship. The weekly reading assignments average 100-125 pages. The lecture portion of the seminar will build on, rather than simply summarize the readings. Consequently, the overall success of the seminar depends on students' informed, active participation in discussion: specifically, students are expected to conduct a thorough preparation of each week's readings and to demonstrate their command of the readings through regular participation in class discussion.

The grade composition of the course is as follows: weekly class participation (20%); mid-term essay exam (25%); final-term essay exam (25%); site assignment (10%); in-class media presentation (20%). Please note that weekly attendance has an effect on the student's grade, since class participation is an important contribution to the grade. Grades are calculated on a 100-point scale, converted to letter grades as follows:

93-100 A	90-92 A-	87-89 B+	83-86 B	80-82 B-
77-79 C+	73-76 C	70-72 C-	60-69 D	Below 60 F

Mid-Term Essay Exam. This essay exam require students to view a film, *The Mission*, in class, after which they will write an in-class essay that responds to questions about the film. The film will draw on the theoretical and operational issues that will have been covered in the first part of the course. Students should view the film as a cultural product that contributes to and shapes thinking and action on issues of religion and international relations. Questions will be distributed in class prior to the viewing of the film.

Final-Term Essay Exam. This essay exam will follow the same format as the mid-term essay. In this case, the film is *Before the Rain*, and will draw on the full range of theoretical and operational issues that we have discussed throughout the semester with regard to the links between international relations and religion. As with the mid-term essay, students should also view the film as a cultural product that contributes to and shapes thinking and action on issues of religion and international relations.

Site Assignment. As a way of understanding—or, at the least, gaining exposure to—various religious traditions that appear in readings and discussion during the course, students will be required to make a site visit to a local religious institution of their choice, drawing from one of the world's five major religions. The Greater Boston area is home to a plethora of religious traditions and institutions, so students can select their site depending on accessibility by foot, public transportation and/or car. By these modes of transportation, there are sites for all of the world's five major religions—various Christian (Catholic, multiple Protestant denominations, various Orthodox jurisdictions), Jewish (orthodox, conservative, reform), Muslim (Shi'ite and Sunni, from various ethnic perspectives), Hindu, and Buddhist sites.

Students should make every effort to visit the site during a time of worship and, if possible, students should try to speak with members of the worshipful community and/or with the religious leader responsible for that community.

Students must write a five-page essay (double-spaced, one-inch margins, 12-point font) that narrates and analyzes those aspects of the site visit that seemed most compelling for the problematics explored in this course. Please pay careful attention to this point: students should aim to write an essay that explains how the site visit either elucidated ideas in the course or, conversely, how the site visit was affected by the ideas explored in the course. This essay can be written in nearly any style, but the essay should make the religion represented in the site visit accessible to the reader and listeners. The essay should be written as an analytic reflection.

Students must post their essays to the website by 19 October by 2 p.m. Late postings will be penalized by a half-grade deduction per day, beginning promptly at 2 p.m. on the due date. The web address is <http://courseinfo.bu.edu>.

Reading Assignments and In-Class Media Presentations. All reading assignments are available on the website at <http://courseinfo.bu.edu>.

Students will be required to make an in-class presentation of media readings that address the topic on the syllabus for that week. Each student will be required to make one presentation during the course of the semester: sign-ups for presentations will occur in class on Week 2 (17 September) and will begin Week 3 (24 September 2007). Students will be required to select a cluster of media readings (open selection, from newspapers, popular magazines in IR and/or religion, or websites/blogs. The readings can deal directly and indirectly with matters of religion and IR (e.g. scandals within churches; jihadi debates about textual sources of support for violence; conversion competition amongst and within faith traditions; domestic legislation dealing with prayer in schools, faith-based organizations; etc., etc.) and can deal with a single country, multiple countries, international organizations. However, there must be demonstrated coherence to the reading selection.

The media readings must be posted to the website (<http://courseinfo.bu.edu/>) by Sunday, between noon and 7 p.m., on the day preceding your in-class presentation: this is a requirement and is factored into the grade for the presentation. Because critical response to the presentations is essential to the utility of this exercise, the professor will call at random on students to respond to the presentation; this assumes, therefore, that all students will have conducted a thorough reading of the media readings for discussion with presenter the next day.

The number of readings selected will depend on the presenting student, whose main task is to present—within a strict 15-minute timeframe—the readings in a way that deconstructs and analyzes them for their direct relevance to the topic of the day on the syllabus—it may well be that the student makes the connections, where they are not obvious, by elucidating the sub-text or hidden messages in the media readings. The goals of these presentations are: a. to integrate real-world events into the topics of the course, in order to demonstrate the relevance and applicability of the course to contemporary matters in international relations and religion; b. to demonstrate how media construct, shape, interpret, as well as report and narrate and inform, matters of religion and world affairs (this may involve both analysis of topic and discourse, and it might also involve discussion of financial and other support, readership, etc., of the sources selected); and c. to help students develop the public speaking skills necessary

to make compelling arguments about contemporary matters of religion and world affairs.

Absences and Late Work. Students are expected to attend all class sessions and to submit work on a timely basis, unless documentation is given excusing an absence or late submission for medical, religious or personal reasons, or for official university business. Students must notify the instructor as soon as possible (preferably, in advance) of the reason for the absence.

Key Dates

19 October 2007 (Tuesday). Web-post essay from site visit.

22 October 2007. Mid-Term Essay Exam.

17 December 2007. Final-Term Essay Exam.

WEEKLY MEETINGS

Week One: 10 September 2007. Introduction to the Course

Week Two: 17 September 2007. Problems of Inquiry and Objects of Analysis: Survival or Revival? Secularism, Fundamentalism, Pluralism? Modernity, Modernities, Anarchy?

Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?" in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 22-49.

Berger, Peter L. "The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview," in Peter L. Berger, ed., *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999): 1-18.

Otis, Pauletta. "Religion and War in the Twenty-first Century," in Robert A. Seiple and Dennis R. Hoover, eds., *Religion & Security: The New Nexus in International Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2004): 11-24.

Owens, Erik C., "Conclusion: Sovereignty after September 11: What Has Changed?," in Carlson, John D. and Owens, Erik C., eds., *The Sacred and the Sovereign: Religion and International Politics* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2003): 265-276.

Philpott, Daniel. "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations," in *World Politics* 55.1 (2002) 66-95.

Week Three: 24 September 2007. The Westphalian Moment: International Relations, Religion, and Modernity

Philpott, Daniel. "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," in *World Politics* 52 (January 2000): 206-245.

Carlson, John D. and Owens, Erik C., "Introduction: Reconsidering Westphalia's Legacy for Religion and International Politics," in Carlson, John D. and Owens, Erik C., eds., *The Sacred and the Sovereign: Religion and International Politics* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2003): 1-39.

Paul Griffiths. "Religious Allegiance and Political Sovereignty: An Irreconcilable Tension?" in Carlson, John D. and Owens, Erik C., eds., *The Sacred and the Sovereign: Religion and International Politics* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2003): 247-255.

Dallmayr, Fred. "Sacred Nonsovereignty," in Carlson, John D. and Owens, Erik C., eds., *The Sacred and the Sovereign: Religion and International Politics* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2003): 256-266.

Philpott, Daniel. "Review Article: Usurping the Sovereignty of Sovereignty?" in *World Politics* 53.2 (2001) 297-324.

Week Four: 1 October 2007. Theoretical and Normative Support for Westphalia: the Theory of Secularization

Martin, David. *A General Theory of Secularization* (London, England: Oxford University Press, 1979): 12-99.

Cox, Harvey. "The Biblical Sources of Secularization," in Harvey Cox, *The Secular City*, 25th anniversary edition (New York: Collier Books, 1990): 15-32.

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd. "The Political Authority of Secularism in International Relations," in *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 10(2), 2004: 235-262.

Bruce, Steve. "The Curious Case of the Unnecessary Recantation: Berger and Secularization," in Woodhead, Linda with Paul Heelas and David Martin, *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2001): 87-100.

8 October 2007: holiday, no class

Week Five: 9 October 2007 (Tuesday). Critical Reflections on Classical Theory (Part I)

Casanova, Jose. "Secularization, Enlightenment, and Modern Religion," and "Private and Public Religions," in Jose Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): 11-39; 40-74.

Marty, Martin E. "Our Religio-Secular World," in *Daedalus*, Vol. 132, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 42-48.

Hervieu-Leger, Daniele. "The Twofold Limit of the Notion of Secularization," in Linda Woodhead, ed., *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2001): 112-125.

Week Six: 15 October 2007. Critical Reflections on Classical Theory, Part II.

Keddie, Nikki R. "Secularism and Its Discontents," in *Daedalus*, Vol. 132, No. 3 (Summer 2003): 14-30.

Keddie, Nikki R. "Secularism and the State: Towards Clarity and Global Comparison," in *New Left Review*, Vol. 226 (November/December 1997): 21-40.

John Keane. "Secularism?" in David Marquand and Ronald L. Nettle, eds., *Religion and Democracy* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000): 5-19.

Connolly, William E. "Introduction: Refashioning the Secular" and "Chapter 1: the Conceits of Secularism," in *Why I Am Not a Secularist* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 1-18, 19-46.

Week Seven: 22 October 2007. Mid-Term Essay Exam. In-Class Film: *The Mission*

Week Eight: 29 October 2007. Religion and Democracy (Ideas and Institutions).

Stepan, Alfred. "Religion, Democracy, and the 'Twin Tolerations,'" in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, no. 4 (October 2000): 37-57.

Elshtain, Jean Bethke. "Against Liberal Monism," in *Daedalus*, Vol. 132, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 78-79.

Ammerman, Nancy T. "Religious Choice and Religious Vitality: The Market and Beyond," in Lawrence A. Young, ed., *Rational Choice Theory and Religion* (New York: Routledge, 1997): 119-132.

Timothy Samuel Shah. "Making the Christian World Safe for Liberalism: from Grotius to Rawls," in David Marquand and Ronald L. Nettle, eds., *Religion and Democracy* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 121-140.

Philpott, Daniel. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion," in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, no. 3 (August 2007): 505- 522.

Monsma, Stephen V. and Soper, J. Christopher. *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Democracies* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1997): 1-15.

Week Nine: 5 November 2007. Religion, Human Rights, and International Relations

Durham, W. Cole, Jr. "Perspectives on Religious Liberty: A Comparative Framework," in Johan D. van der Vyver and John Witte, Jr., eds., *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Legal Perspectives* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000): 1-44.

Little, David. "Religious Human Rights': Methodological Foundations," in Johan D. van der Vyver and John Witte, Jr., eds., *Religious Human Rights in Global Perspective: Legal Perspectives* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000): 45-77.

Appleby, R. Scott. "Serving Two Masters? Affirming Religious Belief and Human Rights in a Pluralistic World," in John D. Carlson and Erik C. Owens, eds., *The Sacred and the Sovereign* (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press, 2003): 170-195.

12 November 2007—Holiday, no class.

Week Ten: 19 November 2007. Religion and Diplomacy” Statecraft and Foreign Policy

Hackett, Rosalind I.J., Silk, Mark, and Hoover, Dennis, eds., *Religious Persecution as a U.S. Policy Issue* (Hartford, CT: Center for the Study of Religion in Public Life): 1-17.

Johnston, Douglas, and Cox, Brian. "Faith-Based Diplomacy and Preventive Engagement," in Douglas Johnston, ed., *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003): 11-29.

Walzer, Michael. "Can There Be a Moral Foreign Policy?," in E.J. Dionne, Jr., Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Kayla Drogosz, eds., *Liberty and Power: A Dialogue on Religion & U.S. Foreign Policy in an Unjust World* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004): 34-52.

Hehir, Brian. "Religion, Realism, and Just Intervention," in E.J. Dionne, Jr., Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Kayla Drogosz, eds., *Liberty and Power: A Dialogue on Religion & U.S. Foreign Policy in an Unjust World* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2004): 11-33.

Prodromou, Elizabeth H. Legislating International Religious Freedom in Contemporary International Affairs: Perception and Reality in the Changing Role of Religion in US Foreign Policy," policy paper.

Week Eleven: 26 November 2007. Religion and Violence: Religious War and Terrorism

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): "Terror and God": 3-15; "Soldiers for Christ": 19-43; "Zion Betrayed": 44-59; and "Islam's 'Neglected Duty'": 60-83.

Jenkins, Philip. "The Politics of Persecuted Religious Minorities," in Robert A. Seiple and Dennis R. Hoover, eds., *Religion & Security: The New Nexus in International Relations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2004): 25-36.

Keddie, Nikki. "The New Religious Politics: Where, When, and Why Do 'Fundamentalisms' Appear?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 40, no. 4 (Oct. 1998): 696-723.

Toft, Monica Duffy. "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War," in *International Security*, Vol. 31, no. 4 (Spring 2007): 97-131.

Toft, Monica Duffy. "Issue Indivisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War," in *Security Studies* 15, no. 1 (January-March 2006): 34-69.

Week Twelve: 3 December 2007. Religion and Globalization

Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber. "Dehomogenizing Religious Formations, in Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and James Piscatori, eds., *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997): 243-261.

Eisenstadt, S.N. "Multiple Modernities," in *Daedalus*, Vol. 129, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 1-29.

Jenkins, Philip. "The Christian Revolution," in *The Next Christendom: the Coming of Global Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 1-14.

Juergensmeyer, Mark, ed. *Global Religions: An Introduction* Oxford: Oxford University, 2003): "Religion in Global Perspective," 95-109; "Antiglobal Religion," 110-123; "The Global Future of Religion," 124-132.

Week Thirteen: 10 December 2007. Final class. No readings. Summation of course.

17 December 2007. Final-Term Essay: Before the Rain. 10 a.m.