

SOC 8: Religion and Contentious Mobilization

This is a draft proposal, any comments and/or critiques are more than welcome.

Overview

- **Course Organizer:** Teije Hidde Donker, td402@cam.ac.uk

- **Lecturers:**
 - Teije Hidde Donker, td402@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Manali Desai, md644@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Katie Gaddini, kg393@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Hazem Kandil, hk376@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Beth Singler, bvw20@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: David Lehmann, adl1@cam.ac.uk

- **Aims and objectives of the paper:**

At the end of this paper students have the ability to critically

 - differentiate, compare and assess key debates and core concepts in A) studies on the sociology of religion and B) social movements and contentious politics. These include, but are not limited to, concepts and debates around the formation of religion in public life, (post-)secularization and the secular; and social movements and contentious politics.
 - relate these debates to sociological discussions on globalization, gender and (the social implications of) media and technology.
 - assess how the mobilization of religion intersects with the above issues through exploring historical and contemporary examples of contentious mobilization in the US, Europe, Middle East and Asia.

- **Course content:** From Narendra Modi's use of Hinduism in nationalist mobilization, Jihadist movements in the Syrian civil war and European right wing movements referring to a Christian heritage: religion is a divisive topic in contemporary societies today and a crucial component of contentious mobilization around the globe. In this course we explore the ways in which religious beliefs, practices and objects are used in contentious mobilization and how their use intersects with broader social conflicts today.

We first explore how, historically, contention regarding religion in public life emerged with the emergence of modern nation states. We relate this historical exploration to analytical debates regarding social movements and the sociology of religion. We then, on the one hand, place these debates in relation to more general sociological questions related to gender, minority rights and

technology. On the other, we critically assess their utility by applying them to debates on contemporary cases of mobilized religion in the US, Europe, Middle East and Asia.

Structure of the paper: The paper is split into three lecture series.

- **Series I: The Sociology of Religion and Social Movement Studies**
 - 5 two-hour lectures in Michaelmas.
 - Lecturer: Teije H. Donker.
- **Series II: Religion and Contemporary Social Conflicts**
 - 3 two-hour lectures in Michaelmas.
 - Lecturers: Katie Gaddini, Hazem Kandil
- **Series III: Case Studies of Mobilized Religion**
 - 6 two-hour lectures in Lent.
 - Lecturers: Manali Desai, David Lehmann, Teije H. Donker.
- **Revision session**
 - 1 two-hour lecture in Easter.
 - Lecturer: Teije H. Donker.

- **Mode of teaching and supervision arrangements:** This course is taught in fourteen two-hour lectures in Michaelmas and Lent (a total of 28 hours). There is an additional revision session in the Easter term. Required readings are starred.

- **Mode of assessment:** The paper will be examined by a three-hour paper at the end of the year. Candidates will be required to answer three questions.

Reading List

Series I: The Sociology of Religion and Social Movement Studies

In this first series of lectures we explore the historical development of debates in the sociology of religion and social movement studies. In doing so, we critically assess how notions of ‘secularization’, ‘public religion’ and ‘Islamism’ emerged in particular social, political and academic contexts. We conclude with a discussion on possible future approaches to the study of religion and contentious mobilization. In each topic, we use case studies related to Islam and Muslim majority countries to critically assess these academic debates.

Topic 1: Mobilized Religion and Secularization: Concepts and Realities - 10 October 2018

Part I

1. * van Dam, *The Struggle For Power in Syrian: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996). Esp. Chs. 1-3.
2. Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
3. Khayr Al-Din al-Tunisi, “The Surest Path,(English Translation of Aqdam Al-Masalik Fi Marifat Ahwal Al-Mamalik by Leon Carl Brown, under the Title The Surest Path) Cambridge, Massachusetts” (Harvard University Press, 1967).
4. * Kenneth Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Esp. Chs. 1-4.
5. Edward Webb, “The ‘Church’ of Bourguiba: Nationalizing Islam in Tunisia,” *Sociology of Islam* 1, no. 1–2 (2013): 17–40.
6. Robin Yassin-Kassab and Leila Al-Shami, *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War* (Pluto Press, 2018). Esp. Ch. 1.

Part II

7. Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (New York: Doubleday, 1969). Esp. Introduction, Chs. 1, 5.
8. Mark Chaves, “Secularization as Declining Religious Authority,” *Social Forces; a Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation* 72, no. 3 (March 1994): 749–74.
9. * Karel Dobbelaere, *Secularization: An Analysis at Three Levels* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2002). Esp. Part I, Ch 1; Part II.
10. Thomas Luckmann, “The Structural Conditions of Religious Consciousness in Modern Societies,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6, no. 1/2 (March 1979): 121–37.
11. Rodney Stark, “Secularization, R.I.P.,” *Sociology of Religion* 60, no. 3 (September 1999): 249–73.
12. Bryan R. Wilson, “Reflections on a Many-Sided Controversy,” in *Religion And Modernization: Sociologists And Historians Debate The Secularization Thesis*, ed. Steve Bruce (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 195–210.

Essay questions

1. Are views on modernity and secularization in sociology related?

2. Is the ‘secularization thesis’ applicable to non-western countries? Support your argument with an empirical case.

Topic 2: The Religious Awakening: ‘Post-secularisms’ compared - 17 October 2018

Part I

1. Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007). Esp. Chs. 1, 6.
2. Roxanne Leslie Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). Esp. Chs. Hassan Al-Banna, Said Qutb, Zaynab al-Ghazali.
3. * Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). Esp. Chs. 1, 2.
4. Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). Esp. Chs. 1, 5, Conclusion.
5. 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* 31, no. 3 (August 1999): 371–99.

Part II

6. Nancy T. Ammerman, *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives* (Oxford University Press, 2006). Esp. Chs. Introduction, Conclusion.
7. Eileen Barker, *New Religious Movements: A Practical Introduction* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1995).
8. * José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Esp. Chs. 1, 2, 8.
9. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005). Esp. Chs. 1, 7.
10. Jonathan Fox, *A World Survey of Religion and the State* (Cambridge University Press, 2008). Esp. Chs. 1, 2.
11. Charles Y. Glock and Robert N. Bellah, *The New Religious Consciousness* (University of California Press, 1976).
12. * Philip S. Gorski and Ateş Altınordu, “After Secularization?,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2008): 55–85.
13. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Essay questions

1. Do we live in a postsecular world?
2. What does the ‘resurgence of religion’ tell us about the changing position of religion in public life? How does this apply to non-European contexts?

Topic 3: Authority, Identity, Knowledge: Religion and Social Change - 24 October 2018

Part I

1. Yesim Arat, *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy: Islamist Women in Turkish Politics* (SUNY Press, 2012).
2. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). Esp. Chs. 1, 4.
3. Şerif Mardin, “Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes,” *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 2 (January 2005): 145–65.
4. * Cihan Tuğal, *Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009). Esp. Introduction, Chs. 1 - 4.
5. * Jenny Barbara White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Esp. Introduction, Chs. 1, 2, Conclusion.

Part II

6. * Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). Esp. Introduction, Chs 1, 2.
7. John R. Bowen, “Secularism: Conceptual Genealogy or Political Dilemma?,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, no. 03 (June 2010): 680–94.
8. Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (Rutgers University Press New Brunswick, NJ, 2000). Esp. Chs. 1, 2.
9. Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War?: Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Esp. Introduction, Chs. 1, 2.
10. * Saba Mahmood, “Secularism, Hermeneutics, and Empire: The Politics of Islamic Reformation,” *Public Culture* 18, no. 2 (2006): 323–47.
11. Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, eds., *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011). Esp. Chs. of Charles Taylor, Habermas, Judith Butler and Cornel West.

Essay questions

1. How do religion and the production of knowledge relate?
2. How do conflicts about the position of religion in ‘public’ life put into question boundaries between what is public and private? Support your argument with an empirical case.

Topic 4: Social Movement Studies and Religion - 31 October 2018

Part I

1. Asef Bayat, “Islamism and Social Movement Theory,” *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 6 (September 2005): 891–908.
2. Jarret M. Brachman, *Global Jihadism: Theory and Practice* (Routledge, 2008). Esp. Chs. 1, 2.
3. Euben and Qasim Zaman, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden*. Esp. Chs. Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Nadia Yassine, Bin Laden.
4. Thomas Hegghammer, “Jihadi-Salafis or Revolutionaries? On Religion and Politics in the Study of Militant Islamism,” in *Global Salafism: Islam’s New Religious Movement*, ed. Roel Meijer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

5. * Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Approach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004). Esp. Foreword, Introduction, Chs. 1, 4, 5, 11, Conclusion.

Part II

6. * Ronald Aminzade et al., *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Esp. Chs. 1, 2, 6.
7. Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam, *A Theory of Fields* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Esp. Ch. 1.
8. James M. Jasper, "A Strategic Approach to Collective Action: Looking for Agency in Social-Movement Choices," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 9, no. 1 (2004): 1–16.
9. Nelson A. Pichardo, "New Social Movements: A Critical Review," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (January 1997): 411–30.
10. Francesca Polletta, *It Was like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). Esp. Chs. 1-3, 7.
11. Christian Smith, *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Essay questions

1. Are concepts from social movement studies useful in the analysis of religious movements? Support your argument with an empirical case.
2. How do studies on social movements reflect understandings of what religion is in public life?

Topic 5: Relational Sociology: Religion and Contentious Mobilization in the 21st Century - 7 November

Part I

1. Teije Hidde Donker, "Sacred as Secular: State Control and Independence of Mosques in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia," *Politics and Religion*, n.d.
2. Christopher Phillips, "Sectarianism and Conflict in Syria," *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (February 1, 2015): 357–76.
3. Sirma Bilge, "Beyond Subordination vs. Resistance: An Intersectional Approach to the Agency of Veiled Muslim Women," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 31, no. 1 (2010): 9–28.
4. Beverly M. Weber, "Gender, Race, Religion, Faith? Rethinking Intersectionality in German Feminisms," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 22, no. 1 (2015): 22–36.

Part II

5. Penny Edgell, "A Cultural Sociology of Religion: New Directions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012): 247–65.
6. Andrew L. Whitehead and Joseph O. Baker, "Gendering (Non) Religion: Politics, Education, and Gender Gaps in Secularity in the United States," 2016, <https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/re8sk/>.
7. * Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford University Press, 1998). Esp. Chs. 1, 5.

8. Nick Crossley, *Making Sense of Social Movements* (Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002). Esp. Ch. 9.
9. Teije Hidde Donker, *Mobilized Religion: Islam, State and Social Fields*, n.d. Draft Introduction.
10. * Terry Rey, *Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy* (Routledge, 2014). Esp. Chs 3, 4.

Essay questions

1. Are 'Islamist' movements a local, national or global phenomenon?
2. How does the mobilization of religion intersect with other social conflicts? Support your answer with an empirical example.

Series II: Religion in Contemporary Social Conflicts

In this second series of lectures we critically relate discussions explored in previous topics to debates on state power, gender, ethnicity and technology. We do this by discussing how religion intersects with revolutionary change, how debates on gender intersect with religious revivalist movements and how technological advances both hinder and support contentious expressions of religion in public life today.

Topic 6: AI, Robotics and Spirituality in the 21st Century - Beth Singler - 14 November

Part I

1. Eileen Barker, *The Making of a Moonie* (B. Blackwell, 1984).
2. Susan J. Palmer, *Aliens Adored: Rael's UFO Religion* (Rutgers University Press, 2004).
3. Hugh B. Urban, *The Church of Scientology: A History of a New Religion* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

Part II

4. Nick Bostrom, "Superintelligence: Paths, Dangers, Strategies" (Oxford University Press Oxford, 2014).
5. Robert M. Geraci, *Apocalyptic AI: Visions of Heaven in Robotics, Artificial Intelligence, and Virtual Reality* (Oxford University Press, 2012).
6. Ray Kurzweil, *The Singularity Is Near* (Gerald Duckworth & Co, 2010).
7. From Zygon, Journal of Religion and Science, December 2012, Volume 7, Issue 4:
 - a. Hava Tirosh-Samuels, "Transhuman as a Secularist Faith," *Zygon* 47, no. 4 (December 20, 2012): 710–34.
 - b. Robert M. Geraci, "Video Games And The Transhuman Inclination," *Zygon* 47, no. 4 (December 20, 2012): 735–56.
 - c. James J. Hughes, "The Politics of Transhumanism and the Techno-Millennial Imagination, 1626--2030," *Zygon* 47, no. 4 (2012): 757–76.
 - d. Ronald Cole-Turner, "The Singularity and the Rapture: Transhumanist and Popular Christian Views," *Zygon* 47, no. 4 (December 20, 2012): 777–96.

Essay question

1. Essay questions TBD

Topic 7: Religion and Gender, Ethnicity, Intersectionality - Katie Gaddini - 21 November

Part I

1. * Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* (Harvard University Press, 2013). Ch 1: 'Do Muslim Women (Still) Need Saving?'
2. Lila Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women," *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 1 (February 1990): 41–55.
3. Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (Yale University Press, 1992).
4. * James A. Beckford and Nicholas Jay Demerath, *The SAGE Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (SAGE, 2007). Ch: 'Gender Differences in Religious Practice and Significance' by Linda Woodhead.
5. Wendy Brown, "Civilizational Delusions: Secularism, Tolerance, Equality," *Theory & Event* 15, no. 2 (2012).
6. * Saba Mahmood, "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival," *Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (May 2001): 202–36.
7. Joan Wallach Scott, *The Fantasy of Feminist History*, vol. 11 (Duke University Press Durham, NC, 2011). Ch: Sexularism: on secularism and gender equality

Part II

8. * Orit Avishai, "'Doing Religion' In a Secular World: Women in Conservative Religions and the Question of Agency," *Gender & Society: Official Publication of Sociologists for Women in Society* 22, no. 4 (August 1, 2008): 409–33.
9. Clare Chambers, *Sex, Culture, and Justice: The Limits of Choice* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008). Ch: Introduction & Chapter 1
10. Kelly H. Chong, "Negotiating Patriarchy: South Korean Evangelical Women and the Politics of Gender," *Gender & Society: Official Publication of Sociologists for Women in Society* 20, no. 6 (December 1, 2006): 697–724.
11. Lara Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern* (Princeton University Press, 2006). Ch: Introduction, CH 7
12. * Carolyn Pedwell, "The Limits of Cross-Cultural Analogy: Muslim Veiling and 'Western' Fashion and Beauty Practices," in *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity*, ed. Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 188–99.
13. Anne Phillips, "Religion: Ally, Threat or Just Religion?," in *A Debate on the Public Role of Religion and Its Social and Gender Implications*, ed. José Casanova and Anne Phillips (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Geneva, 2009), 39–58.
14. * James V. Spickard, Shawn Landres, and Meredith B. McGuire, *Personal Knowledge and Beyond: Reshaping the Ethnography of Religion* (NYU Press, 2002). Ch: Against Univocality: Re-reading Ethnographies of Conservative Protestant Women by Julie Ingersoll

Essay question

1. Is religion inherently oppressive toward women? Support your argument with theoretical and empirical case studies.

Topic 8: Islamism and Revolution - Hazem Kandil - 28 November

Part I

1. Raymond William Baker, *Islam Without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists* (Harvard University Press, 2009).
2. Tarek Masoud, *Counting Islam: Religion, Class, and Elections in Egypt* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
3. Eric Trager, *Arab Fall: How the Muslim Brotherhood Won and Lost Egypt in 891 Days* (Georgetown University Press, 2016).
4. Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement - Updated Edition* (Princeton University Press, 2015).
5. Hamid Algar, *Roots of the Islamic Revolution in Iran* (New York: Islamic Publications International, 2001).
6. Michael Axworthy, *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic* (Oxford University Press, 2013).
7. Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent: The Ideological Foundation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran* (Routledge, 2017).
8. Hamid Dabashi, *Shi'ism: A Religion of Protest* (Harvard University Press, 2011).
9. Nikki R. Keddie and Yann Richard, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (Yale University Press, 1981).

Part II

1. * Hazem Kandil, *Inside the Brotherhood* (John Wiley & Sons, 2014). Esp. Chs. 3, 4, 5.
2. * Hazem Kandil, *The Power Triangle: Military, Security, and Politics in Regime Change* (Oxford University Press, 2016). Esp. Chs. 4, 5.
3. Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movements and the Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).
4. Nathan J. Brown, *When Victory Is Not an Option : Islamist Movements in Arab Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).
5. Wael Hallaq, *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament* (Columbia University Press, 2012).
6. Shadi Hamid, William McCants, and William Faizi McCants, *Rethinking Political Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2017).
7. Robert W. Hefner, *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism, Contestation, Democratization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Essay question

1. Is Islamism a revolutionary ideology?

Series III: Case Studies of Mobilized Religion

In this third series of lectures we explore six case studies of contemporary mobilized religion. We use these cases to critically assess how the contentious mobilization of religion intersects with other social conflicts in practice. We assess, for instance, the position of religion at different levels of analysis (transnational, national and local) different regions (US, Europe, Asia, Middle East) and different religions (Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and Islam).

Topic 9: Evangelical Populism in the United States - Teije Donker - 23 January

Part I

1. Darren Dochuk, *From Bible Belt to Sunbelt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics, and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011).
2. James Davison Hunter, *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity* (Rutgers University Press, 1983).
3. Mark D. Regnerus and Mark Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit: Sex & Religion in the Lives of American Teenagers* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007).
4. Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Baker Books, 2005).
5. Michael P. Young, *Bearing Witness Against Sin: The Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Part II

6. Chip Berlet and Matthew N. Lyons, *Right-Wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (Guilford Publications, 2018).
7. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).
8. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (Yale University Press, 1989).
9. Christian Smith, *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism* (London: Routledge, 1996)
10. Robert D. Woodberry, "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy," *The American Political Science Review* 106, no. 2 (May 2012): 244–74.
11. Robert Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches* (University of California Press, 2009).

Essay question

1. Why did Evangelical Conservatism emerge as powerful political movement in the US?

Topic 10: Hinduism and Ethno-Nationalism in India - Manali Desai - 30 January

Part I

1. Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Yale University Press, 2003). Esp chps 9-11.
2. Paul R. Brass, *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* (University of Washington Press, 2011). Esp. chps 1, 13, 16
3. Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India* (Princeton University Press, 1999). Esp. chps 1,3-5.
4. Christophe Jaffrelot, *Hindu Nationalism: A Reader* (Princeton University Press, 2009). (Some interesting primary texts for background reading).

Part II

5. Sikata Banerjee, "Armed Masculinity, Hindu Nationalism and Female Political Participation in India: Heroic Mothers, Chaste Wives and Celibate Warriors," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8, no. 1 (2006): 62–83.
6. Dibyesh Anand, "Anxious Sexualities: Masculinity, Nationalism and Violence," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9, no. 2 (May 23, 2007): 257–69.
7. Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion, and Cultural Nationalism* (Orient Blackswan, 2003).
8. Paola Bacchetta, *Gender in the Hindu Nation: RSS Women as Ideologues*, vol. 1 (Women Unlimited, 2004).
9. Thomas Blom Hansen, "Recuperating Masculinity: Hindu Nationalism, Violence and the Exorcism of the Muslim 'Other,'" *Critique of Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (1996): 137–72.

Essay question

1. Why has Hindu nationalism turned to violence as a political strategy?
2. How is masculinity inscribed in Hindu nationalism?

Topic 11: Catholicism and Far Right Mobilization in Poland - Teije Donker - 6 February

Part I

1. Robert Brier, "The Roots of the 'Fourth Republic': Solidarity's Cultural Legacy to Polish Politics," *Eastern European Politics and Societies: EEPS* 23, no. 1 (February 1, 2009): 63–85.
2. Janet Jacobs, *Memorializing the Holocaust: Gender, Genocide and Collective Memory* (I.B.Tauris, 2010).
3. Krzysztof Jasiewicz, "'The Past Is Never Dead': Identity, Class, and Voting Behavior in Contemporary Poland," *Eastern European Politics and Societies: EEPS* 23, no. 4 (August 12, 2009): 491–508.
4. Sarah L. de Lange and Simona Guerra, "The League of Polish Families between East and West, Past and Present," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 42, no. 4 (December 1, 2009): 527–49.
5. Brian Porter-Szucs, *Faith and Fatherland: Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland* (Oxford University Press, 2011).
6. Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-Communist Poland* (University of Chicago Press, 2009).

7. Maryjane Osa, "Creating Solidarity: The Religious Foundations of the Polish Social Movement," *Eastern European Politics and Societies: EEPS* 11, no. 2 (March 1, 1997): 339–65.

Part II

7. Rogers Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no. 1 (2012): 2–20.
8. Siniša Malešević, *Nation-States and Nationalisms: Organization, Ideology and Solidarity* (Polity, 2013).
9. Michael Minkenberg, "From Pariah to Policy-Maker? The Radical Right in Europe, West and East: Between Margin and Mainstream," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 21, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 5–24.
10. Robert J. Wuthnow, "Taking Talk Seriously: Religious Discourse as Social Practice," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50, no. 1 (March 2, 2011): 1–21.

Essay question

1. Does religion facilitate exclusionary nationalism? Support your argument in reference to contemporary Poland.

Topic 12: Culture and Religion in France - Olivier Roy (TBA) - - 13 February

Part I

1. TBD

Part II

1. TBD

Essay question

1. Essay questions TBD

Topic 13: Shas in Israel - David Lehman - 20 February

Part I

1. TBD

Part II

1. TBD

Essay question

1. Essay questions TBD

Topic 14: Sunnism and Jihadism in the Syrian Uprising - Teije Donker - 27 February

Part I

1. Adam Baczko, Gilles Dorronsoro, and Arthur Quesnay, *Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).
2. Cole Bunzel, "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State" (The Brookings Institution, 2015).
3. van Dam, *The Struggle For Power in Syrian: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996).
4. Benjamin Thomas White, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).
5. Yassin-Kassab and Al-Shami, *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War*. Yassin-Kassab, Robin, and Leila Al-Shami. Esp. Chs 4-6.
6. Radwan Ziadeh, "The Islamist Movement in Syria: Historical, Political and Social Struggle," in *The Sociology of Islam: Secularism, Economy and Politics*, ed. Tugrul Keskin (Ithaca Press, 2011).

Part II

7. Geneive Abdo, *The New Sectarianism: The Arab Uprisings and the Rebirth of the Shi'a-Sunni Divide* (Oxford University Press, 2017).
8. Roel Meijer, *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).
9. Christopher Phillips, "Sectarianism and Conflict in Syria," *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (February 1, 2015): 357–76.
10. Teije Hidde Donker, "Between Rebels and Uprising: Intersecting Networks and Discursive Strategies in Rebel Controlled Syria," *Social Movement Studies*, n.d.

Essay question

1. Is the Syrian uprising 'Islamic'?