

SOC 8: Religion and Contentious Mobilization

Version: 9 August 2019

Overview

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

- **Lecturers:**
 - Teije H. Donker, td402@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Katie Gaddini, kg393@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Lea Taragin-Zeller, lz378@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Rashmi Singh, rs845@cam.ac.uk
 - Guest lecturer: Rin Ushiyama, ru210@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 concepts and debates around the formation of religion in public life, (post-)secularization and the secular; and the use of religion in social movements and contentious politics.
 - assess how the use of religion in social movements and contentious politics intersects with issues related to gender, media, revolution and populism by exploring contemporary cases 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 intersect with, and are shaped by, these episodes of contentious mobilization and social conflict.

The first series of lectures provides the conceptual and theoretical background for thinking about how religion intersects with social conflict. We start by critically assessing classic sociological debates on 'secularization' 'the secular' and '(de-)privatization of religion', followed by a discussion on the conceptual genealogy of religion. We then discuss how these approaches have been taken up in studies on social movements and contentious politics. In the second part of the paper we critically

assess the utility of these debates by applying them to contemporary cases of mobilized religion in Poland, Japan, United States, UK, India and Syria. In doing so, we also assess how the mobilization of religion intersects with issues of gender, media and technology, revolution, and populism.

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

- **Series I: The Sociology of Religion and Social Movement Studies**
 - 6 two-hour lectures in Michaelmas.
 - Lecturer: Teije H. Donker
- **Series II: Case Studies of Mobilized Religion**
 - 7 two-hour lectures in Lent.
 - Lecturers: Katie Gaddini, Lea Taragin-Zeller, Rashmi Singh, Rin Ushiyama, 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 thirteen two-hour lectures in Michaelmas and Lent (a total of 26 hours). There is an additional revision lecture in the Easter term. Required readings are starred.
- **Mode of assessment:** This paper will be examined by one three-hour examination paper, divided into two sections. Candidates will be required to answer at least one question from each part. All questions are of equal value.

Reading List

Series I: The Sociology of Religion and Social Movement Studies (Michaelmas)

The first series of lectures provides the conceptual and theoretical background for thinking about how religion intersects with social conflict. First, we explore the sociology of religion: starting out with classic structuralist debates around ‘secularization’, moving on to explore how conceptual divisions have faced increasing criticism through debates on ‘post-secularism’, and ending with an outline of the conceptual genealogy of religion. Second, we review studies on social movements and contentious politics; exploring how these engaged with religion in various ways. The series ends with a topic on relational sociology as an avenue to integrate insights from the sociology of religion with studies on social movements. In each topic, part I provides conceptual and theoretical readings, while part II provides practical examples of conceptual and theoretical approaches.

Topic 1: The Sociology of Religion and Secularization: Concepts and Realities - 16 October

Part I

1. Robert N. Bellah, “Civil Religion in America,” *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (1967): 1–21.

2. Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (University of Chicago Press, 1971).
3. Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (New York: Doubleday, 1969). Esp. Introduction, Chs. 1, 5.
4. * Mark Chaves, "Secularization as Declining Religious Authority," *Social Forces; a Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation* 72, no. 3 (March 1994): 749–74.
5. * Karel Dobbelaere, *Secularization: An Analysis at Three Levels* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2002). Esp. Part I, Ch 1; Part II.
6. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, "Religious Economies and Sacred Canopies: Religious Mobilization in American Cities, 1906," *American Sociological Review*, 1988, 41–49.
7. * Thomas Luckmann, "The Structural Conditions of Religious Consciousness in Modern Societies," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6, no. 1/2 (March 1979): 121–37.
8. 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.

Part II

1. Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1994).
2. James Davison Hunter, *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity* (Rutgers University Press, 1983).

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 - 23 October

Part I

1. * Nancy T. Ammerman, *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives* (Oxford University Press, 2006). Esp. Chs. Introduction, Conclusion.
2. * José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Esp. Chs. 1, 2, 8.
3. Charles Y. Glock and Robert N. Bellah, *The New Religious Consciousness* (University of California Press, 1976). Esp. Chs 13, 15, 16.
4. * Philip S. Gorski and Ateş Altınordu, "After Secularization?," *Annual Review of Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2008): 55–85.

5. 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.
6. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
7. Olivier Roy, *Holy Ignorance: When Religion and Culture Part Ways* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
8. Rodney Stark, "Secularization, R.I.P.," *Sociology of Religion* 60, no. 3 (September 1999): 249–73.

Part II

1. Eileen Barker, *The Making of a Moonie* (B. Blackwell, 1984).
2. Robert M. Geraci, *Apocalyptic AI: Visions of Heaven in Robotics, Artificial Intelligence, and Virtual Reality* (Oxford University Press, 2012).
3. Nikki R. Keddie and Yann Richard, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (Yale University Press, 1981).

Essay questions

1. Do we live in a postsecular world?
2. Does the 'resurgence of religion' in public life mean that societies have become more religious?

Topic 3: Power, the Genealogy of Religion and Articulations of the Self - 30 October

Part I

1. * 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.
2. John R. Bowen, "Secularism: Conceptual Genealogy or Political Dilemma?," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, no. 03 (June 2010): 680–94.
3. * Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (Rutgers University Press New Brunswick, NJ, 2000). Esp. Chs. 1, 2.
4. Lara Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern* (Princeton University Press, 2006).
5. * Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). Esp. Chs. 1, 2.
6. David Scott, Charles Hirschkind, and José Casanova, eds., "Secularization Revisited: A Reply to Talal Asad," in *Powers of the Secular Modern: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors* (Stanford University Press, 2006), 12–30.

Part II

1. Hussein Ali Agrama, "Secularism, Sovereignty, Indeterminacy: Is Egypt a Secular or a Religious State?," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, no. 03 (June 2010): 495–523.

2. 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.
3. Janet Afary and Kevin B. Anderson, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism* (University of Chicago Press, 2010).. Esp. pps. 196-209.

Essay questions

1. 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.
2. How can the construction of 'religion' in contemporary societies have political implications?

Topic 4: Religion and Social Movement Studies - 6 November

Part I

1. * Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).
2. Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1 (2000): 611–39.
3. Hanspeter Kriesi, "Political Context and Opportunity," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. D. A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 67–90.
4. J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9, no. 1 (August 1983): 527–53.
5. Nelson A. Pichardo, "New Social Movements: A Critical Review," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (January 1997): 411–30.
6. * Alain Touraine, "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements," *Social Research* 52, no. 4 (1985): 749–87.
7. * Quintan Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Approach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004). Esp. Foreword, Introduction.

Part II

1. Roel Meijer, "Taking the Islamist Movement Seriously: Social Movement Theory and the Islamist Movement," *International Review of Social History / International Instituut Voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam* 50, no. 2 (July 2005): 279–91.
2. Christian Smith, *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism* (London: Routledge, 1996).
3. 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.
4. Wiktorowicz, *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Approach*. Esp. Chs. 1, 4, 5, 11, Conclusion.

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: Religion and Contentious Politics in the 21st Century- 13 November

Part I

1. * Ronald Aminzade et al., *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Esp. Chs. 1, 2, 6.
2. Jan Willem Duyvendak and James M. Jasper, eds., *Breaking Down the State: Protestors Engaged* (Amsterdam University Press, 2015). Esp. Introduction, conclusion.
3. Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam, *A Theory of Fields* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Esp. Ch. 1.
4. * Doug McAdam, Charles Tilly, and Sidney G. Tarrow, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Esp. Chs. 2, 3, 4.
5. Doug McAdam and Sidney G. Tarrow, "Dynamics of Contention Ten Years On," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (2011): 1–10.
6. Aidan McGarry et al., "Players and Arenas: Strategic Interactionism in Social Movements Studies," *Social Movement Studies* 15, no. 6 (November 2016): 634–42.
7. * Francesca Polletta, *It Was like a Fever: Storytelling in Protest and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). Esp. Chs. 1-3, 7.

Part II

1. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). Esp. Chs. 1, 4.
2. Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s : Strategies of Identity-Building, Implantation and Mobilisation (with Special Reference to Central India)* (Penguin Books India, 1999).
3. Jenny Barbara White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Esp. Introduction, Chs. 1, 2, Conclusion.

Essay questions

1. Can strategic interactionism be used to analyze the use of religion in contentious episodes?
2. Does the Dynamics of Contention take religion seriously?

Topic 6: Relational Sociology: Intersectionality, Fields and Mobilized Religion - 20 November

Part I

1. * Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford University Press, 1998). Esp. Chs. 1, 5.
2. Nick Crossley, *Making Sense of Social Movements* (Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2002). Esp. Ch. 9.
3. Penny Edgell, "A Cultural Sociology of Religion: New Directions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012): 247–65.
4. * Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis* (Routledge, 2015). Esp. Chs. 1-5.
5. * Terry Rey, *Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy* (Routledge, 2014). Esp. Chs 3, 4.
6. Manuel Vasquez, "Studying Religion in Motion: A Networks Approach," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 20, no. 2 (2008): 151–84.
7. Bradford Verter, "Spiritual Capital: Theorizing Religion with Bourdieu Against Bourdieu," *Sociological Theory* 21, no. 2 (June 2003): 150–74.

Part II

1. 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.
2. Teije H. Donker, "The Sacred as Secular: State Control and Mosques Neutrality in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia," *Politics and Religion* 12, no. 3 (2019): 501–23.
3. Christopher Phillips, "Sectarianism and Conflict in Syria," *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (February 1, 2015): 357–76.
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.

Essay questions

1. Does religion facilitate the reproduction of social inequalities?
2. Is religion a type of symbolic capital?

Series II: Case Studies of Mobilized Religion (Lent)

In this second series of lectures we explore seven contemporary case studies of social and political mobilization of religion. We use these cases to critically assess how religion intersects with social conflicts in practice; and how approaches discussed in series I can be applied to empirical cases. We assess the role 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 7: Catholicism and Far Right Mobilization in Poland - Teije Donker - 5 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. * 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.
3. 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.
4. * Osa, "Creating Solidarity: The Religious Foundations of the Polish Social Movement."
5. Brian Porter-Szucs, *Faith and Fatherland: Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland* (Oxford University Press, 2011). Esp. introduction, chs 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, conclusion.
6. * Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-Communist Poland* (University of Chicago Press, 2009). Esp. introduction, chs 1, 5, conclusion.

Part II

1. Rogers Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no. 1 (2012): 2–20.
2. Ewa A. Golebiowska, *The Many Faces of Tolerance: Attitudes toward Diversity in Poland* (Routledge, 2014).
3. 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.

Essay question

1. Does religion facilitate xenophobia? Support your argument in reference to contemporary Poland.
2. Does Catholicism unite or fragment the Polish nation?

Topic 8: The Politics of Religion in Modern Japan - Rin Ushiyama - 29 January

Part I

1. * John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010). Esp. Ch.1 & 6.
2. * Helen Hardacre, *Shintō and the State, 1868-1988* (Princeton University Press, 1989).
3. Mark R. Mullins, "How Yasukuni Shrine Survived the Occupation: A Critical Examination of Popular Claims," *Monumenta Nipponica* 65, no. 1 (2010): 89–136.
4. Trevor Astley, "New Religions," in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, ed. Paul Loren Swanson and Clark Chilson (University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 91–114.
5. * Michael Pye, "Religion and Conflict in Japan with Special Reference to Shinto and Yasukuni Shrine," *Diogenes* 50, no. 3 (August 1, 2003): 45–59.

6. Franziska Seraphim, *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945-2005* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2008). Esp. Ch.1
7. Shimazono Susumu, "State Shinto in the Lives of the People: The Establishment of Emperor Worship, Modern Nationalism, and Shrine Shinto in Late Meiji," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 36, no. 1 (2009): 93–124.
8. Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan's Unending Postwar* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2015). Esp. Ch.1 & 6.

Part II

1. Erica Baffelli and Ian Reader, "Editors' Introduction: Impact and Ramifications: The Aftermath of the Aum Affair in the Japanese Religious Context," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 39, no. 1 (2012): 1–28.
2. Inoue Nobutaka, "Media and New Religious Movements in Japan," *Journal of Religion in Japan* 1, no. 2 (January 1, 2012): 121–41.
3. * David C. Lewis, "Directions of Change in Japanese Religiosity," *Journal of Religion in Japan* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 2015): 32–63.
4. Levi McLaughlin, "Did Aum Change Everything?," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 39, no. 1 (2012): 51–75.
5. Mark R. Mullins, "Secularization, Deprivatization, and the Reappearance of 'Public Religion' in Japanese Society," *Journal of Religion in Japan* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 61–82.
6. * Ian Reader, "Secularisation, R.I.P.? Nonsense! The 'Rush Hour Away from the Gods' and the Decline of Religion in Contemporary Japan," *Journal of Religion in Japan* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 7–36.
7. * Stark, "Secularization, R.I.P."
8. R. Starrs, *Politics and Religion in Modern Japan: Red Sun, White Lotus* (Springer, 2011). Esp. Ch.8, 9, 10.

Essay question

1. Was State Shinto a religion or a political ideology?
2. Does Japan support or discredit the case for secularization theory? Discuss with examples.

Topic 9: Evangelical Populism in the United States - Teije Donker - 22 January

Part I

1. Cihan Tuğal, "Transforming Everyday Life: Islamism and Social Movement Theory," *Theory and Society* 38, no. 5 (2009): 423–58.
2. Berna Turam, "The Politics of Engagement Between Islam and The Secular State: Ambivalences of Civil Society," *The British Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 2 (2004): 259–81.

3. * Jenny Barbara White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002). Esp. Introduction, Chs. 1, 2, Conclusion.
4. M. Hakan Yavuz, "Opportunity Spaces, Identity, and Islamic Meaning in Turkey," in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Approach*, ed. Quintan Wiktorowicz and M. Hakan Yavuz (Bloomington: Indiana university Press, 2004), 270–88.

Part II

1. Yesim Arat, *Rethinking Islam and Liberal Democracy: Islamist Women in Turkish Politics* (SUNY Press, 2012).
2. Amelie Barras, *Refashioning Secularisms in France and Turkey: The Case of the Headscarf Ban* (London: Routledge, 2014).
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, *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks* (Princeton University Press, 2014).

Essay question

1. Why did the AKP emerge as a hegemonic party in Turkey?
2. How does the mobilization of Islam in Turkey force us to reconsider the conceptual boundaries between the state, civil society and politics?

Topic 10: Gender, Religion and Social Movements: Jewish-Muslim Feminist Alliances in the UK **Lea Taragin-Zeller - 12 February**

Part I

1. Lihi Ben Shitrit, "Women, Freedom, and Agency in Religious Political Movements Reflections From Women Activists in Shas and the Islamic Movement in Israel," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 9, no. 3 (November 1, 2013): 81–107.
2. Elizabeth M. Bucar, *Creative Conformity: The Feminist Politics of U.S. Catholic and Iranian Shi'i Women* (Georgetown University Press, 2011).
3. 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.
4. * Rachel Rinaldo, "Envisioning the Nation: Women Activists, Religion and the Public Sphere in Indonesia," *Social Forces; a Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation* 86, no. 4 (June 1, 2008): 1781–1804.

5. Tanya Zion-Waldoks, "Politics of Devoted Resistance: Agency, Feminism, and Religion among Orthodox Agunah Activists in Israel," *Gender & Society: Official Publication of Sociologists for Women in Society* 29, no. 1 (February 1, 2015): 73–97.

Part II

1. Katerina Dalacoura, "Homosexuality as Cultural Battleground in the Middle East: Culture and Postcolonial International Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 7 (August 9, 2014): 1290–1306.
2. * H. Herzog and A. Braude, *Gendering Religion and Politics: Untangling Modernities* (Springer, 2009). Esp. 'Introduction: Untangling modernities'
3. Lara Deeb, *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi'i Lebanon* (Princeton University Press, 2011).
4. Valentine M. Moghadam, *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003). Esp. Ch 1.

Essay question

1. TBC

Topic 11: Hinduism and Ethno-Nationalism in India - Rashmi Singh - 19 February

Part I

1. * Arvind Rajagopal, *Politics After Television: Hindu Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Public in India* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). Esp. Ch. 1.
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).
5. * Stuart Corbridge and John Harriss, *Reinventing India: Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and Popular Democracy* (Wiley, 2000). Esp. Ch. 8.

Part II

1. Paola Bacchetta, *Gender in the Hindu Nation: RSS Women as Ideologues*, vol. 1 (Women Unlimited, 2004).
2. 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.
3. Thomas Blom Hansen, "Recuperating Masculinity: Hindu Nationalism, Violence and the Exorcism of the Muslim 'Other,'" *Critique of Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (1996): 137–72.

4. * David Ludden, *Contesting the Nation: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). Esp. Ch. 2: 'Mass Movement or Elite Conspiracy: The Puzzle of Hindu Nationalism' by Amrita Basu.

Essay question

1. What are the reasons for Hindu nationalism's success in India?
2. How is masculinity inscribed in Hindu nationalism?

Topic 12: Evangelical Populism in the United States - Katie Gaddini - 26 February

Part I

5. * 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). Esp. introduction, Chs 10, 11, 12, 13, epilogue.
6. Frances FitzGerald, *The Evangelicals: The Struggle to Shape America* (Simon and Schuster, 2017).. Esp. Intro, Chs 1 and 17
7. * Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Baker Books, 2005). Esp. chs. 1, 2, 7, conclusion.
8. Michael P. Young, *Bearing Witness Against Sin: The Evangelical Birth of the American Social Movement* (University of Chicago Press, 2006). Esp. Introduction, chs 1, 6, conclusion.
9. William E. Connolly, "The Evangelical-Capitalist Resonance Machine," *Political Theory* 33, no. 6 (December 1, 2005): 869–86.

Part II

6. Elizabeth Bernstein, "Militarized Humanitarianism Meets Carceral Feminism: The Politics of Sex, Rights, and Freedom in Contemporary Antitrafficking Campaigns," *Signs* 36, no. 1 (2010): 45–72.
7. Wendy Brown, "American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization," *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (December 1, 2006): 690–714.
8. * Andrew L. Whitehead, Samuel L. Perry, and Joseph O. Baker, "Make America Christian Again: Christian Nationalism and Voting for Donald Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election," *Sociology of Religion* 79, no. 2 (May 19, 2018): 147–71.
9. Jean Calterone Williams, "Battling a 'sex-Saturated Society': The Abstinence Movement and the Politics of Sex Education," *Sexualities* 14, no. 4 (August 1, 2011): 416–43.
10. Melinda Cooper, "The Theology of Emergency: Welfare Reform, US Foreign Aid and the Faith-Based Initiative," *Theory, Culture & Society* 32, no. 2 (March 1, 2015): 53–77.
11. * Edgell, Penny. 2017. "An Agenda for Research on American Religion in Light of the 2016 Election." *Sociology of Religion* 78: 1–8.

Essay question

1. Why did the evangelical right emerge as a powerful political movement in the US?
2. How do religion, race and nationalism intersect within the evangelical Christian right? Take at least two of these categories and support your argument with reference to specific policies or political events.

Topic 13: Sunnism and Jihadism in the Syrian Uprising - Teije Donker - 4 March

Part I

1. * Adam Bacsko, Gilles Dorronsoro, and Arthur Quesnay, *Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). Esp. introduction, chs 1, 9, 13.
2. abd-Allah, *The Islamic Struggle in Syria* (Jakarta: Mizan Press, 1982).
3. Cole Bunzel, "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State" (The Brookings Institution, 2015).
4. * Robin Yassin-Kassab and Leila Al-Shami, *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War* (Pluto Press, 2018). Yassin-Kassab, Robin, and Leila Al-Shami. Esp. chs 4-6.
5. 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

1. Geneive Abdo, *The New Sectarianism: The Arab Uprisings and the Rebirth of the Shi'a-Sunni Divide* (Oxford University Press, 2017). Esp. introduction, ch 6.
2. van Dam, *The Struggle For Power in Syria: Politics and Society Under Asad and the Ba'th Party* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1996). Esp. chs 1, 2, 3.
3. Teije Hidde Donker, "Between Rebels and Uprising: Intersecting Networks and Discursive Strategies in Rebel Controlled Syria," *Social Movement Studies* 1, no. 18 (2019).
4. * Teije Hidde Donker, "The Ideational Morphology of Islamism in the Syrian Uprising," *The British Journal of Sociology*, n.d.
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Essay question

1. Is the Syrian uprising 'Islamic'?
2. Has sectarianism influenced the dynamics of the Syrian uprising?