

## Religion, Race, & Politics: Global and Imperial Perspectives

Political Science 490/Religious Studies 471  
Professor Elizabeth Shakman Hurd  
Winter 2019

Wed. 9:00-11:50am, Ripton Room  
Office: Scott 209  
Office hours: Tues. 1:00-3:00pm or by appointment  
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This seminar is an experiment in studying the intersections of religion, race, and global politics. We discuss how particular understandings of 'religion' and 'race' inform contemporary scholarship and shape national and international legal and governmental practices. We examine a range of contexts including constitutional law's construal of religious diversity in Malaysia, formations of 'churchstateness' in the Americas, the celebration of 'moderate' religion at the US State Department, the rationalities of spiritism, the occult, and their imbrication with Shi'i traditions in Iran, and the racialization of the field of imperial comparative religion. Cross-cutting themes include religion and the rise of the nation-state; the politics of religious establishment and freedom; the role of race in the formation of the disciplines of religious studies and international relations and the social sciences; the formation of modern vocabularies of religious and racial exclusion; the role of race and secularism in American history at home and abroad, and the politics of religion and race in colonial and postcolonial contexts. We read books and articles that draw on international politics, religion, political theory, law, anthropology and history.

### Requirements

The course requires a substantial amount of reading and preparation. Class attendance and participation are important components of the final grade, and comments on the week's reading are mandatory for all participants.

### Presentations

Working in pairs, seminar participants will give one 15-20 minute presentation based on the week's reading. The presentation should summarize central themes of the readings and raise questions for discussion.

### Written assignments

There are two required written assignments:

1. **Book review** (3-5 pages, double-spaced) due on or before last day of class. Review one or more of the books on the syllabus (required, recommended and/or one from which we read an excerpt). For models see [here](#) and [here](#).

or

**Undergraduate syllabus** due on or before last day of class. Write a syllabus for an undergraduate research seminar for a class that you would like to teach, bringing together your area of concentration within your discipline with one or more of the themes of this seminar.

2. **Final paper** (8-10 pages, double-spaced) **due March 18th**, applying something you learned in this course to your own research interests. This should be a short but solid argument that could potentially be revised to become a dissertation chapter. Submit your paper electronically to the instructor. Please, no incompletes except in the case of medical or personal emergency.

### Evaluation

Final grades will be based upon 1) weekly attendance and participation, including your presentation (25%); 2) book review **or** syllabus (25%); 3) final paper (50%).

### Required Texts

The following texts are on 4-hour reserve at the library. Used copies are available used through Amazon and other sites. Other materials are posted on the Canvas site under “Documents.”

David Chidester, *Empire of Religion: Imperialism and Comparative Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, *Beyond Religious Freedom: The New Global Politics of Religion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Paul Christopher Johnson, Pamela E. Klassen, Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, *Ekklesia: Three Inquiries in Church and State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Jonathon S. Kahn & Vincent W. Lloyd, eds. *Race and Secularism in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.

Tamir Moustafta, *Constituting Religion: Islam, Liberal Rights, and the Malaysian State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, *The Impossibility of Religious Freedom*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Alireza Doostdar, *The Iranian Metaphysicals: Explorations in Science, Islam, and the Uncanny*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.

### Seminar Topics

#### **1/9 Introduction**

Faisal Devji, “[Against Muslim Unity](#).” *Aeon*, July 2016.

“[Empire’s Racketeers](#).” (Wajahat Ali interviews Pankaj Mishra) *Boston Review*, November 2018.

Eric K Ward, "[Skin in the Game: How Antisemitism Animates White Nationalism.](#)" Political Research Associates, June 2017.

Jonathon Kahn & Vincent Lloyd, "Introduction: Managing Race, Managing Religion," in *Race and Secularism in America*, pp. 1-19.

M. Cooper Harriss, "Two Ways of Looking at an Invisible Man," in *Race and Secularism in America*, pp. 153-177.

## **1/16 Religion, law, freedom**

Sullivan, *Impossibility*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (all)

["The Impossibility of Religious Freedom"](#) (The Bent Angle)

*Recommended:*

Lori G. Beaman and Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, eds. *Varieties of Religious Establishment*, London: Ashgate, 2013.

David M. Engel, "Globalization and the Decline of Legal Consciousness: Torts, Ghosts, and Karma in Thailand," *Law and Social Inquiry* 30, Issue 3 (July 2005): 469-514.

Benjamin L. Berger, *Law's Religion: Religious Difference and the Claims of Constitutionalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, Robert A. Yelle, & Mateo Taussig-Rubbo, eds. *After Secular Law*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Nandini Chatterjee, "English Law, Brahma Marriage, and the Problem of Religious Difference: Civil Marriage Laws in Britain and India." *Comparative Studies in Society & History* 52, no. 3 (2010): 524-552.

Talal Asad, 2006. "Trying to Understand French Secularism," in Hent de Vries and Lawrence E. Sullivan, eds., *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World* (New York: Fordham University Press, pp. 494-526.

## **1/23 Race and the disciplines I: international relations**

Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics*.

["Desegregating International Relations: A Conversation with Robert Vitalis on \*White World Order, Black Power Politics\*"](#)

*Recommended:*

Errol A. Henderson, "The Revolution Will Not Be Theorised: Du Bois, Locke, and the Howard School's Challenge to White Supremacist IR Theory." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 45, no. 3 (2017): 492-510.

*Millennium* [special issue](#) on race and IR.

Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitans: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

John M. Hobson, "Is critical theory always for the white West and for Western imperialism? Beyond Westphalian towards a post-racist critical IR." *Review of International Studies* (2007), 33, 91–116. doi:10.1017/S0260210507007413

Esra Özyürek, "Export-Import Theory and the Racialization of Anti-Semitism: Turkish- and Arab-Only Prevention Programs in Germany." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 58 (2016): 40-65. doi: 10.1017/S0010417515000560

Duncan Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Zachary Lockman, *Field Notes: The Making of Middle East Studies in the United States*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Alexander Anievas, Nivi Manchanda, and Robbie Shilliam, eds., *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Paul Kramer, *Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

**1/30 No class**

**2/6 Religion, race, and environmental politics**

**Guest Lecturer: Dr. Rosemary Hancock, University of Notre Dame-Australia**

Emma Tomalin, "Bio-Divinity and Biodiversity: Perspectives on Religion and Environmental Conservation in India." *Numen* Vol. 51 No. 3 (2004): 265-295.

Ramachandra Guha, "Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique" *Environmental Ethics* Vol. 11, No. 1 (1989): 71-83.

Aike Rots, "Sacred Forests, Sacred Nation: The Shinto Environmentalist Paradigm and the Rediscovery of Chinju no Mori." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* Vol. 42, No. 2 (2015): 205-233.

Lynn White, "The Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis" *Science* Vol. 155, No. 3767 (1967): 1203-1207.

## 2/13 Race and the disciplines II: religious studies

Chidester, *Empire of Religion*.

*Recommended:*

J. Kameron Carter, "An Unlikely Convergence W. E. B. Du Bois, Karl Barth, and the Problem of the Imperial God-Man." *The New Centennial Review* 11, no. 3 (2011): 167-224.

Josef Sorett, "Secular Compared to What? Toward a History of the Trope of Black Sacred/Secular Fluidity," in *Race and Secularism in America*, pp. 43-73.

Sylvester A. Johnson, *African American Religions, 1500-2000: Colonialism, Democracy, and Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Andrea Althoff, *Divided by Faith and Ethnicity: Religious Pluralism and the Problem of Race in Guatemala*. De Gruyter, 2014.

Courtney Bender and Pamela E. Klassen, eds. *After Pluralism: Reimagining Religious Engagement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Gil Anidjar, *Semites: Race, Religion, Literature*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Geneviève Zubrzycki, "Nationalism, 'Philosemitism,' and Symbolic Boundary-Making in Contemporary Poland." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 58 (2016): 66-98. doi:10.1017/S0010417515000572.

Edward J. Blum, "Slaves, Slavery, and the Secular Age, Or, Tales of Haunted Scholars, Liberating Prisons, Exorcised Divinities, and Immanent Devils," in *Race and Secularism in America*, pp. 77-98.

## 2/20 Religion, rights, liberalism

Moustafa, *Constituting Religion*

*Recommended:*

Susan Buck-Morss, "Hegel and Haiti," *Critical Inquiry* 26, no. 4 (2000): 821-65.

Noah Salomon, *For Love of the Prophet: An Ethnography of Sudan's Islamic State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming 2016.

Iza Hussin, *The Politics of Islamic Law: Local Elites, Colonial Authority, and the Making of the Muslim State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Nandini Chatterjee, "Muslim or Christian? Family Quarrels and Religious Diagnosis

in a Colonial Court.” *American Historical Review* 117, no. 4 (October 2012): 1101-1122.

C.S. Adcock, “Sacred Cows and Secular History: Cow Protection Debates in Colonial North India.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 30, no. 2 (2010): 297-311.

John R. Bowen, *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Noah Salomon, “The Ruse of Law: Legal Equality and the Problem of Citizenship in a Multi-Religious Sudan” in *After Secular Law*, eds. Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, Robert Yelle and Mateo-Taussig-Rubbo (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 200-220.

## **2/27 Religion, race, colonialism, the Americas**

Johnson et al, *Ekklesia: Three Inquiries in Church and State*

Méadhbh McIvor, “[Something There Is That Doesn’t Love a Wall](#),” Public Books, 11/7/18.

Guest speaker: Dr. Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, Indiana University

*Recommended:*

Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Diana Paton, *The Cultural Politics of Obeah: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity in the Caribbean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Emily Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

J. Brent Crosson, “What Obeah Does Do: Healing, Harm, and the Limits of Religion.” *Journal of Africana Religions*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2015): 151-176.

Kabir Tambar, *The Reckoning of Pluralism. Political Belonging and the Demands of History in Turkey* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014).

Paul Johnson, ed. *Spirited Things: The Work of “Possession” in Afro-Atlantic Religions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Karen McCarthy Brown, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.).

Marisol de la Cadena, “Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond ‘Politics.’” *Cultural Anthropology* 25, no. 2 (2010): 334–70.

### 3/6 Spirituality, reason, religion, superstition, the state

Alireza Doostdar, *Iranian Metaphysicals*.

Listen to Doostdar's [interview](#) with SherAli K. Tareen, New Books Network

*Recommended:*

Webb Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Missionary Encounter*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007, esp. Introduction, Part I (Chaps. 1-4), Part II (Chs. 6 & 8, skim 5 & 7), and Afterword.

Robert A. Orsi, *History and Presence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016. And see also Orsi, "[The Breaking-in of the Gods](#)" Immanent Frame (August 23, 2016).

John Lardas Modern, *Secularism in Antebellum America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Tomoko Masuzawa. *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Gil Anidjar, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Christianity," *Interventions*, Vol. 11(3): 367-393.

Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Markus Dressler and Arvind-Pal S. Mandair, eds. *Secularism and Religion-Making*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University East Asian Center, 2009.

### 3/13 International politics and the construction of religious difference

NB: **Book review or syllabus due today.** Discussion of final papers.

Hurd, *Beyond Religious Freedom*.

Browse this Immanent Frame [discussion series](#) on Beyond Religious Freedom.

*Recommended:*

Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, Saba Mahmood and Peter G. Danchin, eds. *Politics of Religious Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Saba Mahmood, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.

Matthew Scherer, "The New Religious Freedom: Secular Fictions and Church Autonomy." *Politics and Religion* 8 (2015): 544-564.

C.S. Adcock, C. *The Limits of Tolerance: Indian Secularism and the Politics of Religious Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Jeffrey R. Collins, "Redeeming the Enlightenment: New Histories of Religious Toleration," *Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 3 (September 2009): 607-636.

R. Laurence Moore, "Common Principles, Different Histories: Understanding Religious Liberty in the United States and France," *Modern Intellectual History* 7, no. 2 (2010): 459-478.

3/18

**Final papers due by noon** to [eshurd@northwestern.edu](mailto:eshurd@northwestern.edu)