

The University of California, Riverside

Syllabus

RLST 200A Religion, Politics, and Public Discourse

4 Units, Seminar, 3 Hours; Extra Reading, 3 Hours.

Fall 2014

Dr. Muhamad Ali

Seminar: Thursday 01:10 PM – 04:00 PM, INTN 3043

Office hours: INTN 2018, Thursday, 10:00 am-12:00 pm or by appointment

Graduate/professional students only. OR written consent of instructor.

Course is repeatable to a maximum of 8 units if taken with different instructors.

Course Description

This seminar critically examines the intersections of religious identities and public politics. How do we make sense of religious politics and political religions in the public sphere in the modern world? Addressing different but often related processes and discourses, ranging from secularization, sacralization, democracy, human rights, religious freedom and pluralism, and Islamic politics, the seminar provides students with a critical analysis of diversity and change in the intersection between religion and politics in the public sphere. It focuses on the way in which religions shape and are shaped by modern publics particularly in America, Europe, Asia, and parts of the Muslim World.

Requirements and Grading

Class Participation: 20 %

Since this is a graduate seminar, students are required to demonstrate their engaged and engaging participation in which the instructor primarily serves as group leader. This means attendance in every class session is mandatory and participation is crucial. Students should be prepared to discuss the materials, ask questions actively, and speak critically on the issues at hand.

Class Presentation/Discussion Leadership: 15 %

Each student will give 1 (ONE) presentation critiquing the required readings and one book or several articles from the optional readings for the week, asking thoughtful questions and leading the discussion and concluding it at the end of the meeting. He/she should provide a

handout or an outline to be shared with the class and the instructor electronically one day before the day of his/her presentation.

Short Essay from the Presentation: 15 %

Every student will write **1 (one) 4-5 page essay** developed from the presentation due within 1 (one) week after the presentation. The essay should be based on the readings and the discussion, but which can be developed using other readings.

2 (two) Response Essays to the Readings: each for 10 % (=20%)

Every student will write **2 (two) short reaction essays** (between 2-3 pages, single-spaced) **beyond the readings for his or her own presentation turn.** The essays need to be a thoughtful and useful contribution to the discussions.

Here are some elements that you should include in your essays – you may not be able to address every question in every essay, but these are some guidelines.

- What are the author's goals? Does the book have a clear argument? Is it the product of original research or is it mostly a synthesis of other secondary scholarship?
- Does the author communicate what he or she thinks is the main contribution of the book to existing scholarship?
- Does the author take issue with previous scholarship on this topic?
- How is the book organized? How does each chapter contribute to the author's overall goals?
- What kind of evidence does the author use?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the book?
- How does it fit in with other scholarship we have read? What have you learned about the topic from this book? How might it inform your understanding of religion or your research interests?

Final Essay (30 %)

15-20 pages, typed, double-spaced.

There should be an argument, but the topic is open. All students should combine the methodological and theoretical insights with their own scholarly interests utilizing relevant data. By week 6, every student must have chosen a topic, due during the finals week. The essay will be graded based on its thesis and evidence, coherency and consistency, clarity and presentation.

Required Textbooks

- Peter Berger, ed., *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1999)
Review: Rhys Williams, *Sociology of Religion*, Vol.62, No.1, Spring 2001, pp. 131-132.
- Richard Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America*, 2nd edition (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1984)
Review: R. Marie Griffith and Melani McAlister, "Introduction: Is the Public Square Still Naked?", *American Quarterly*, vol. 59, No.3, September 2007, pp. 527-563
- José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994)
Review: David Seljak, *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, vol.9, No.3, 1997, pp. 305-308.
- Ted Gerard Jelen and Clyde Wilcox, eds, *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, The Few, and the Many* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
Lisa L. Ferrari, *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol.42, No.2, June 2003, pp. 308-309
- Elizabeth M. Bucar and Barbra Barnett, eds., *Does Human Rights Need God?* (Grand Rapids, Mich. : Eerdmans, 2005)
Review, Nancy Arnison, *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics*, vol.30, No.2, Fall/Winter 2010, pp. 209-213.
- Mark Jurgensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence* (University of California Press, 2003)
- William T Cavanaugh, *the Myth of Religious Violence* (Oxford University Press, 2009)
Review: Michael Kessler, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 80, No.3, September 2012, 813-817
- Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors (eds), *Religion, Media, and the Public Square* (Indiana University Press, 2005)
- Charles Kurzman, ed. *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
Review: Robert D. Lee, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, vol.33, No.2, Winter 1999, pp. 190-191.

Weekly Topics and Readings:

Week 1: Thursday, October 2, 2014

Introduction to the Course & The Sacred, Secularization Theories, and Critics

Required Readings:

- Peter Berger, ed., *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*.
- Review: Rhys Williams, *Sociology of Religion*, Vol.62, No.1, Spring 2001, pp. 131-132.

Possible Questions to Discuss: *How useful are the theories of secularization and de-secularization in explaining the role of religion in modern society and politics?*

Further Readings:

Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, Jonathan VanAntwerpen, *Rethinking Secularism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Asad. "Introduction: Thinking about Secularism", *Formations of the Secular*, pp.1-17.

Asad, "Religion as An Anthropological Category", *Genealogies of Religion*, pp.27-54.

Taylor, "Introduction", *A Secular Age*, pp.1-22.

Harvey Cook, *The Secular City*

Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion*

Ninian Smart, *Dimensions of the Sacred*

Daniel Pals, *Eight Theories of Religion*

Ivan Strenski, *Thinking about Religion*

Larry Witham, *Marketplace of the Gods: How Economics Explains Religion*

Peter Berger., *The Sacred Canopy, Elements of A Sociological Theory of Religion*

Rajeev Bhargava ed., *Secularism and its Critics*

Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*

Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences , vol.132, No.3, Summer 2003, on secularism and religion

"Politics and the Pulpit (electronic resource): an essay on the rights and duties of the Christian pulpit in relation to politics," by a minister of the Presbyterian church (Boston: American tract Society, c.1860)

Stephen Hart, "Privatization in American Religion and Society", *Sociological Analysis*, 47, 4, 1987, pp.319-334.

Renato Moro, "Religion and Politics in the Time of Secularisation: The Sacralisation of Politics and Politicisation of Religion", *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol.6, No.1, June 2005, pp.71-86.

Maya Warriar, "Processes of Secularization in Contemporary India: Guru Faith in the Mata Amritanandamayi Mission", *Modern Asian Studies*, 2003

Nicholas Adams, *Habermas and Theology*

AbdulWAhab Al-Mishry, "Dar al-Shuruk, The Partial Secularization and The Complete Secularization",

Week 2: Thursday, October 9, 2014: Culture Wars and Critics

Required Reading:

Richard Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America*, 2nd edition (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1984)

Review: R. Marie Griffith and Melani McAlister, "Introduction: Is the Public Square Still Naked?", *American Quarterly*, vol. 59, No.3, September 2007, pp. 527-563

Possible Questions to Discuss:

What is Richard Neuhaus's argument?? How does he define and refute secularism and secular America? Is the issue theological, or something else? In light of the secularization debate, how do you see Neuhaus's position?

Further Readings:

Hunter, James D. 1991. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books

Barbara A. McGraw, "Introduction to America's Sacred Ground", *Taking Religious Pluralism Seriously*, pp.1-25.

Diana Eck, *A New Religious America: How a Christian Country has become the World Most Religiously Diverse Country* (HarperSanFrancisco, 2002)

Stephen Prothero, ed., *A Nation of Religions: the Politics of Pluralism in Multireligious America* (North Carolina Press, 2006)

Richard Neuhaus, "The Naked Public Square: A Metaphor Reconsidered", *First Things*, May 1992 www.firstthings.com

Richard J. Neuhaus, "One Nation Under Many Gods", *First Things*, October 2001.

Richard John Neuhaus, "Against Christian Politics", *First Things*, May 1996.

“The Naked Public Square Now”, *First Things*, November 2004

R.Marie Griffith and Melani McAlister, “Introduction Is the Public Square Still Naked?”, *American Quarterly*. Vol.59, No.3, Religion and Politics in the Contemporary United States, September 2007, pp 527-563.

Robert Booth Fowler & Allen D. Hertzke, *Religion and Politics in America*

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

A.James Reichley, *Faith in Politics*

Austin Dacey, *The Secular Conscience: Why Belief Belongs in Public Life*

Roger Trigg, *Religion in Public: Must Faith be Privatized?* (Oxford, 2007)

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*

Arvind Sharma, ed., *Religion in a Secular City: Essays in Honor of Harvey Cox*

James K. Wellman, Jr., *Evangelical vs. Liberal: the Clash of Christian Cultures in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford: 2008)

Bruce Lincoln, “Conflict”, in Mark C. Taylor, ed., *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (Chicago: 1998), pp.55-67

Martin E. Marty et al, *Religion and Public Discourse: Principles and Guidelines for Religious Participants* (the Park Ridge Center, 1998)

Week 3: Thursday, October 16, 2014: Public Religions and Critics

Required Readings:

José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994)

Review: David Seljak, *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, vol.9, No.3, 1997, pp. 305-308.

Possible Questions to Discuss: *How does Casanova define secularization theory? How does he view Civil Religion, “Fundamentalist Sect”, and “New Christian Right” in America? How does he explain his theory of “public religions”? How do the five country cases support his thesis? What does he mean by “deprivatization of modern religion”? What are the strengths and shortcomings of the theories?*

Further Readings:

Hent de Vries and Lawrence E. Sullivan. Eds, *Political Theologies: Public Religions in A Post-Secular World* (Fordham University Press, 2006)

David E. Campbell, “Acts of Faith: Churches and Political Engagement”, *Political Behavior*, vol.26, No.2, June 2004.

Clarke E.Cochran, Jerry D.Perkins & Murray Clark Havens, “Public Policy & the Emergence of Religious Politics”, *Polity*, Vol.19, No.4, Summer 1987, pp.595-612.

Dwight B. Billings & Shaunna L. Scott, "Religion and Political Legitimation", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol.20, 1994, 173-202

Robert W. Hefner, "Public Islam and the Problem of Democratization", *The Sociology of Religion*, Vol.62, No.4, Winter 2001, pp.491-514.

Mark A. Noll and Luke E. Harlow, eds, *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (Oxford, 2007)

Larry Witham, *Marketplace of the Gods: How Economics Explain Religion* (Oxford: 2010)

Week 4: Thursday, October 23, 2014: Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective

Required Readings:

Ted Gerard Jelen and Clyde Wilcox, eds, *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, The Few, and the Many* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Lisa L. Ferrari, *Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol.42, No.2, June 2003, pp. 308-309

Possible Questions to Discuss: How does political science help explain religion and religious politics? How have the authors defined religion and politics? How have they dealt with the relationship between religion and politics?

Further Readings:

Donald E. Smith, *Religion and Political Development*

Harvey Mansfield, "How to Understand Politics", *First Things*, August/September 2007

http://www.firstthings.com/article.php3?id_article=6005&var_recherche=politics

Andreas Hasenclever and Volker Rittberger, "Does Religion Make A Difference? Theoretical Approaches to the Impact of Faith on Political Conflict", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.29, No.3, 2000, pp.641-74

Andreas Osiander, "Religion and Politics in Western Civilisation: The Ancient World as Matrix and Mirror of the Modern", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol.29, No.3, 1 December 2000, 761-790

Jeffrey Haynes, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics*

Ivan Strenski, "Religion, Power, and Final Foucault", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 66,2,1998

Week 5: Thursday, October 30, 2014: Human Rights

Required Readings:

Elizabeth M. Bucar and Barbra Barnett, eds., *Does Human Rights Need God?* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005)

Review, Nancy Arnison, *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics*, vol.30, No.2, Fall/Winter 2010, pp. 209-213.

Possible Questions to Discuss: *How do the authors approach the question of religion and human rights? What are the strengths and weaknesses of each approach? How useful is the distinction between the religious and the secular views of human rights?*

Further Readings:

J. Paul Martin, "The Three Monotheistic World Religions and International Human Rights", *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol.61, No.4, 2005, pp.827-845.

Louis Henkin, "Religion, Religions, and Human Rights", *the Journal of Religious Ethics*, vol.26, No.2, Fall, 1998, pp. 229-239

Nazila Ghanea, Alan Stephens, Raphael Walden, *Does God Believe in Human Rights? Essays on Religion and Human Rights* (MartinusNijhoff, 2007)

Shadi Mokhtari, "The Search for Human Rights within an Islamic Framework in Iran", *The Muslim World*, vol.94, October 2004.

John H. Evans, "Polarization of Abortion Attitudes in US Religious Traditions", *Sociological Forum*, Vol.17, No.3, Sep 2002, pp.397-422

David Tracy, "Religion and Human Rights in the Public Realm", *Daedalus*, vol. 112, No.4, Fall, 1983, pp. 237-254

Week 6: Thursday, November 6, 2014: Violence

Required Readings:

William T Cavanaugh, *the Myth of Religious Violence* (Oxford University Press, 2009)

Review: Michael Kessler, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 80, No.3, September 2012, 813-817

Possible Questions to Discuss: What is Cavanaugh's main argument? Is it convincing? What does violence mean to him and other scholars? How do we approach violence associated with particular religions or religious individuals or groups?

Further Readings:

- Charles B. Strozier, et al, *the Fundamentalist Mindset: Psychological Perspectives on Religion, Violence, and History* (Oxford: 2010)
- Bruce Lawrence and Aisha Karim, ed.s, *On Violence: A Reader* (Duke University Press, 2007)
- Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (Columbia University Press, 2007)
- Mark Juergensmeyer, "Rethinking the Secular and Religious Aspects of Violence", in *Rethinking Secularism*, pp. 185-199.
- Mark Jurgensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (University of California Press, 2000)
- Linell E. Cady and Sheldon W. Simon, *Religion and Conflict in South and Southeast Asia: Disrupting Violence* (Routledge, 2007)
- Howard Coward and Gordon S. Smith, eds, *Religion and Peacebuilding* (State University of New York Press, 2004)
- Qamar-ul Huda, ed., *Crescent and Dove: Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam* (United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010)

Week 7: Thursday, November 13, 2014: Liberalism and Fundamentalism**Required Readings:**

- Charles Kurzman, ed. *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)
Review: Robert D. Lee, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, vol.33, No.2, Winter 1999, pp. 190-191.

Possible Questions to Discuss: *How do approach religious fundamentalism and liberalism? How useful are the concepts of fundamentalism and liberalism in religious studies? What is liberal Islam? How do scholars approach liberal Islam? How is it different from 'fundamentalist' or 'conservative Islam'?*

Further Readings:

- Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman, eds, *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden* (Princeton: 2009)
- Peter Berger, ed., *Between Relativism and Fundamentalism: Religious Resources for a Middle Position* (William B. Eerdmans, 2010)
- James K. Wellman, Jr., *Evangelical vs. Liberal: the Clash of Christian Cultures in the Pacific Northwest* (Oxford: 2008)
- Richard C. Martin & Abbas Barzegar, eds, *Islamism: Contested Perspectives on Political Islam* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010)

Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton University Press, 2005)

Robert Hefner, ed., *Shari'a Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World* (Indiana University Press, 2011)

Nader Hashemi, *Islam, Secularism, and Liberal Democracy: Toward a Democratic Theory for Muslim Societies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Abdullahi Ahmed Al-Naim, *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

Leonard Binder, *Islamic Liberalism*

Jerusha Tanner Lamptey, *Never Wholly Other: A Muslima Theology of Religious Pluralism*

Week 8: Thursday, November 20, 2014: Session 1: Professionalization

Requirement: Academic Publishing: A guess speaker: Prof. Michael Alexander.

Session 2: [Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors \(eds\), *Religion, Media, and the Public Square* \(Indiana University Press, 2005\)](#)

Week 9: Thursday, November 27, 2014: Holiday

Week 10: Thursday, December 4, 2014: Student Presentations

Week 11: Thursday, December 11, 2014: Student Presentations

Friday, December 19, 2014: FINAL PAPER DUE

Useful Websites

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life: www.pewforum.org

<http://pewforum.org/religion-politics/>

First Things: A Journal of Religion, Culture and Public Life <http://www.firstthings.com/>

Initiative on Religion in International Affairs

http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/57/religion_in_international_affairs.html

Religion and Human Rights <http://religionhumanrights.com/>

www.religionlink.org

Religion Dispatches

www.religiondispatches.org

Other Topics and Readings

Islam and Politics

Najih Ayyubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*

John L. Esposito & Azzam Tamimi, eds, *Islam and Secularism in the Middle East*

Robert W. Hefner, *Remaking Muslim Politics*

Sami Zubaida, "Trajectories of Political Islam: Egypt, Iran, and Turkey", *The Political Quarterly*, 2000.

Jenny B. White, *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics*

Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*

Mohammed Abu-Nimer, "A Framework for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in Islam", *Journal of Law and Religion*, vol.15, No.1/2, 2000-2001, pp.217-265

John L. Esposito & John O. Voll, "Islam and the West: Muslim Voices of Dialogue", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol.29, No.3, 1 December 2000, pp.613-639

Salwa Ismail, "Being Muslim: Islam, Islamism, and Identity Politics", *Government and Opposition*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

Ali A. Mazrui, "Islam and the United States: Streams of Convergence, Strands of Divergence", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.25, No.5, 2004, pp.793-820.

The Pew Research Center, "Religion and Politics: Contention and Consensus", released July 24, 2003.

The Pew Research Center, "Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream", May 22, 2007.

Mohamed-Cherif Ferjani, "Islam and Politics: The terms of the Debate", *History and Anthropology*, 16, 1, March 2005, pp.75-83

Bernard Lewis, "Islam Partially Perceived", *First Things*, January 1996.

- Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order* (London: Touchstone Books, 1996)
- Stephen G. Carter, "Christopher Dawson and Ayatollah Khatami and 'The Dialogue of Civilizations': A Christian-Muslim Conversation", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol.18, No.3, July 2007, pp.403-420.
- Meir Litvak, "The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Case of Hamas", *Middle East Studies*, Vol.34, No.1, Jan 1998, pp.148-163.
- Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?", *Foreign Affairs*, 72, no.3, Summer, 1993
- Marc Lynch, "The Dialogue of Civilisations and International Public Sphere", *Millennium*, vol.29, No.2, 2000, pp.307-330.
- Beverly Milton-Edwards, "The Concept of Jihad and the Palestinian Islamic Movement: A Comparison of Ideas and Techniques", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol.19, No.1 (1992), pp.48-53.
- Hillel Frisch and Shmuel Sandler, "Religion, State, and the International System in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", *International Political Science Review*, Vol.25, No.1, Jan 2004, pp.77-96
- Muslim Public Affairs Council, "Envisioning Peace: A Muslim American Perspective on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict"
- "Religion in World Affairs: Its Role in Conflict and Peace"
- Bryan S. Turner, "Sovereignty and Emergency: Political Theology, Islam and American Conservatism", *Theory, Culture & Society*, 2002, vol.19, No. 4, 103-119.
- Richard Crockatt, "No Common Ground? Islam, Anti Americanism, and the United States", *European Journal of American Culture*, Vol.23, No.2, 2004.
- Segesvary, Victor, *Dialogue of Civilizations: An Introduction to Civilizational Analysis* (Lanham, New York, Oxford: University Press of America, Inc., 2000)

Religion and politics in Asia

- Andrew C. Willford and Kenneth M. George, *Spirited Politics: Religion and Public Life in Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2004)
- Michael Picard And Remy Madinier, *the Politics of Religion in Indonesia: Syncretism, Orthodoxy, and Religious Contention in Java and Bali* (2011)
- William Gould, *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India* (Cambridge, 2004)
- C.S. Adcock, *the Limits of Tolerance: Indian Secularism and the Politics of Religious Freedom* (Oxford, 2013)
- Muhamad Ali, "Moderate Islam Movement in Contemporary Indonesia", in Rizal Sukma & Clara Joewono, eds, *Islamic Thought and Movements in Contemporary Indonesia* (Jakarta: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2007), 195-233.

- Muhamad Ali, "the Rise of Liberal Islam Network in Contemporary Indonesia", *American Journal for Islamic Social Sciences*, 22:1, 2006.
- Queen, Christopher S., and Sallie B. King, eds. 1996. *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Hardacre, Helen. 1989. *Shinto and the State, 1868-1988*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press
- Smith, Donald E. 1963. *India as a Secular State*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Sunil K. Sahu, "Religion and Politics in India: the Emergence of Hindu Nationalism and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)", in Jelen and Wilcox, eds, *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective*, pp.243- 63.
- Tu Weiming, "The Quest for Meaning: Religion in the People's Republic of China", Berger, ed., *The Desecularization of the World*, pp.85-101.
- Maria A. Toyoda and Aiji Tanaka, "Religion and Politics in Japan", Jelen and Wilcox, eds, *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective* pp.269-85.

Religious Pluralism, Freedom and Limits: America and Europe

- William R. Hutchison, *Religious Pluralism in America* (Yale University Press, 2003)
- John Locke, "A Letter Concerning Toleration" <http://www.constitution.org/jl/tolerati.htm>
- Jacques Robert, "Religious Liberty and French Secularism", October 6-9, 2002
Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies, No. 3 winter 2002, on tolerance and reconciliation
http://www.jsri.ro/old/html%20version/index/no_3/index_jsri_no3.htm
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol 2, 1st book, Chapter V
- Diana L. Eck, "Prospect for Pluralism: Voice and Vision in the Study of Religion", AAR 2006 Presidential Address, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 2007, pp.1-34.
- Kenneth Wald, Chapter 3, "Religion and American Political Culture," in *Religion and Politics in the United States*, 1997
- Cecelia Lynch, "Dogma, Praxis, and Religious Perspectives on Multiculturalism",
Millennium: Journal of International Studies, vol.29, No.3, 1 December 2000,741-759.
- Charles Taylor, "the Politics of Recognition" , in Amy Gutmann, ed. *Multiculturalism*
- Robert Bellah, "Religious Pluralism and Religious Truth", in the *Robert Bellah Reader*
- Williams, Rhys H., and N. J. Demerath III. 1992. "Religion and Political Process in an American City," *American Sociological Review* 56:417—31
- Charles M. North & Carl R. Gwin, "Religious Freedom and the Unintended Consequences of State Religion", *Southern Economic Journal*, Vol.71, No.1, July 2004, pp.103-17.
- Jurgen Habermas, "Religious Tolerance – the Pacemaker for Cultural Rights", *Philosophy* 79, 2004, pp. 5-18.

Richard V. Pierard, "Religion and the 1984 Election Campaign", *Review of Religious Research*, No.27, No.2, Dec 1985, pp.98-114.

Christopher L. Eisgruber and Lawrence G. Sager, *Religious Freedom and the Constitution* (Harvard, 2007)

Allen D. Hertzke, ed., *the Future of Religious Freedom: Global Challenges* (Oxford: 2013)

"The Plight of Religious Minorities: Can Religious Pluralism Survive", Hearing at the U.S. Congress Washington D.C. Friday, June 30, 2006

Ali S. Asani, "'So That You May Know One Another": A Muslim American Reflects on Pluralism and Islam", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol.588, July 2003, pp.40-51.

Abdullah Saeed and Hassan Saeed, *Freedom of Religion, Apostasy, and Islam* (Ashgate, 2004)

Civil Religion in America

Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America", *Daedalus*, 96, no.1 Winter 1967, reprinted in Donald R. Cutler, ed., *the Religious Situation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 388-393. http://www.robertbellah.com/articles_5.htm

Robert Bellah, *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970)

Robert Bellah, *Reader*,

Robert Bellah, *Religion in Human Evolution*,

James A. Mathisen, "Twenty Years after Bellah: Whatever Happened to American Civil Religion", *Sociological Analysis*, Vol.50, No.2, Summer 1989, pp.129-46.

Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones, eds., *American Civil Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974)

Gail Gehrig, "American Civil Religion Debate: A Source for Theory Construction", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol.20, no.1, March 1981, pp.51-63

New Media and the Public Sphere

Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors, eds, *Religion, Media, and the Public Sphere* (Indiana, 2006)

Edward Said, *Covering Islam*

Hoover, *Religion in the News: Faith and Journalism in American Public Discourse*

Habermas, *the Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*

Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*

Martha Cooper, *Analyzing Public Discourse*

Morgan and Promey, eds, *The Visual Culture of American Religions*

Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*

Timothy P. Daniels, "Liberals, Moderates, and Jihadists: Protesting Danish Cartoons in Indonesia", *Contemporary Islam*, October 2007, I, pp.231-246.

Edward W. Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How to See the Rest of the World*, chapter "Islam as News"

Muhamad Ali, "the Internet, Cyber Religion, and Authority: the Case of the Indonesian Liberal Islam Network" in Andrew Weintraub, *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Examples of media coverage on religion:

TIME, on "Abraham", September 30, 2002. www.time.com

NEWSWEEK, on "Visions of Heaven", August 12, 2002. www.newsweek.msnbc.com

TIME, "The God Gene", October 25, 2004

TIME, "God vs. Science", November 13, 2006

TIME, "Why We Should Teach the Bible in Public School", April 2, 2007. www.time.com

TIME, "Should Christians Convert Muslims?", June 3, 2003 www.time.com

TIME, "The Struggle within Islam?", September 13, 2004. www.time.com

TIME, "Does God want you to be reach?", September 18, 2006

NEWSWEEK, "Bush & God", March 10, 2003 www.newsweek.msnbc.com

NEWSWEEK, "The Politics of Jesus", November 13, 2006