Religion, Race, & Politics: Global and Imperial Perspectives

Religious Studies 471/Political Science 490

Professor [Elizabeth Shakman Hurd](http://elizabethshakmanhurd.com/)

eshurd@northwestern.edu

Zoom: <https://northwestern.zoom.us/j/9654376224>

Fridays 9-11:50am

Ripton Room (Scott Hall 201)

Office hours: Thurs. 1-3, Crowe 4-143 (by appointment)

Spring 2022



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 scholarship, shape national and international legal and governmental practice, and contribute to the establishment and maintenance of various social hierarchies and inequalities. Cross-cutting themes include religion and the rise of the nation-state; the politics of religious establishment, law, and freedom; race and the formation of the disciplines of religious studies, international relations and the social sciences more broadly; the formation of modern vocabularies of religious and racial exclusion including religious freedom; and race, indigeneity, and slavery in U.S. American history. Readings are drawn from international politics, religious studies, political theory, law, anthropology, and history.

With the support of a curricular linkage program, the International Classroom Partnering Grant, supported by the Office of International Relations, we will be in conversation about the politics of religion and race in transnational perspective with colleagues at the University of Toronto (Institute of Islamic Studies). We will discuss course themes as well as possibilities and practices for building effective transdisciplinary international research networks.

**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.

**Presentations**: Each seminar participant will give one 15-20 min. presentation based on the week’s reading. This presentation will be followed by a 5-minute response. The presentations should summarize central themes of the readings and raise questions for discussion. The response should respond (on the spot) to one or two points raised in the presentation.

**Inclusive Classroom:** One of my priorities is to create a learning environment that is welcoming to all students. If you have special circumstances that impact your life as a student (i.e. child or elder care duties, financial or other personal concerns), please inform me as early as possible so that we can work together to ensure your success in this class.

**Written assignments:** There are two required written assignments:

1. **Book review** (3-5 pages, double-spaced) of a first-time author, due on or before **May 20th**. Choose one or more of the books with an asterisk (\*) next to it on the recommended readings list below. For models see [here](https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/mystics-and-interlopers) and [here](http://bostonreview.net/books-ideas/james-chappel-secularism-religion).

**or**

**Undergraduate syllabus** due on or before **May 20th**. Write a syllabus for an undergraduate research seminar for a class that you would like to teach, bringing together your area of expertise within your discipline with the themes of our seminar.

**2. Final paper** (10 pages, double-spaced) **due June 7th.** Apply something you learned in this course to your own research interests. This should be a short but solid argument that could be revised to become a dissertation chapter. When submitting your assignments, use your last name as the file name, i.e. Hurd.pdf. 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 and response (25%); 2) book review **or** syllabus (25%); 3) final paper (50%).

**Disability Accommodation:** Any student requesting accommodations related to a disability or other condition is required to register with AccessibleNU (accessiblenu@northwestern.edu; 847-467-5530) and provide me with an accommodation notification from AccessibleNU, preferably within the first two weeks of class. All information will remain confidential.

**Office Hours:** You can schedule an appointment by emailing me. I encourage you to come to office hours to go over questions or concerns you may have about the course. Meeting one on one allows me to get to know you (and vice versa) outside of the classroom.

## **Books:**

J. Brent Crosson, *Experiments with Power: Obeah and the Remaking of Religion in Trinidad*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020.

Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.

Jennifer Graber, *The Gods of Indian Country: Religion and the Struggle for the American West*. Oxford, 2018.

Nadia Marzouki, *Islam: An American Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

Jolyon Baraka Thomas, *Faking Liberties: Religious Freedom in American-Occupied Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, *Church State Corporation: Construing Religion in US Law*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020.

# **Seminar Topics**

# **4/1 Introduction (meet on** [**Zoom**](https://northwestern.zoom.us/j/9654376224)**)**

 Sullivan, *Church State Corporation*, Introduction, Chaps. 1 & 2.

**4/8 The church-in-law (Izzak)**

Sullivan, *Church State Corporation*, Chaps 3 & 4, Conclusion.

Julian Rivers and Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, [“…by law established: A transatlantic dialogue](https://tif.ssrc.org/2020/10/26/by-law-established-transatlantic-dialogue/).” The Immanent Frame (Oct. 26, 2020).

*Recommended:*

\*Méadhbh McIvor, *Representing God: Christian Legal Activism in Contemporary England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.

\*Spencer Dew, The Aliites: Race and Law in the Religions of Noble Drew Ali. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019.

\*Nandini Chatterjee, *Negotiating Mughal Law a Family of Landlords Across Three Indian Empires.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

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

Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016.

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

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, Brahmo 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.

Hent de Vries & Lawrence E. Sullivan, eds., *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2006.

**4/15 Race, International Relations, Political Theory [Guest: Maria Birnbaum, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Berne (Switzerland)] (Emerson)**

All articles on Canvas course site under “Files,” except for Birnbaum’s chapter which is under “Course Reserves.”

Siba N. Grovogui, “Regimes of Sovereignty: International Morality and the African Condition,” *European Journal of International Relations* 9, no 3 (2002): 315-338.

Patricia Owens, “Racism in the Theory Canon: Hannah Arendt and ‘the One Great Crime in Which America Was Never Involved.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 45, no. 3 (2017): 403-424.

Maria Birnbaum, “Recognizing Diversity: Establishing Religious Difference in Pakistan and Israel,” in Christian Reus-Smit & Andrew Phillips, eds., *Culture and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 250-270.

Olivia Umurerwa Rutazibwa, “From the Everyday to IR: In Defence of the Strategic Use of the R-Word,” *Postcolonial Studies* 19, no. 2 (2016): 191–200.

Darryl Li, “[Captive Passages: Geographies of Blackness in Guantánamo Memoirs](https://www.academia.edu/67822788/Captive_Passages_Geographies_of_Blackness_in_Guant%C3%A1namo_Memoirs).” *Transforming Anthropology* (2022) pp. 1–14. DOI: 10.1111/traa.12225

*Recommended*:

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

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

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

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.

Branwen Gruffydd Jones, “Race in the Ontology of International Order,” *Political Studies* 56, no. 4 (2008): 907–27.

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.

Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Roxanne Lynn Doty, “The Bounds of ‘Race’ in International Relations,” *Millennium* 22, no. 3 (1993): 443-61.

**4/22 Religious free-ing, racial ordering, imperial policing [Guest: Anver Emon, Professor of Law, Canada Research Chair in Islamic Law & History, Director, Institute of Islamic Studies, University of Toronto Law School] (Matt)**

Thomas, *Faking Liberties*, Introduction, Chaps. 5-8, & Conclusion.

Anver Emon, “Under Layered Suspicion: A Review of CRA Audits of Muslim Led Charities.” <https://www.layeredsuspicion.ca>

*Recommended*:

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

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

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.

Anna Su, *Exporting Freedom: Religious Liberty and American Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.

Tisa Wenger, *Religious Freedom: The Contested History of an American Ideal*. Durham, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.

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

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.

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

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

Webb Keane, *Christian Moderns: Freedom and Fetish in the Missionary Encounter.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

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

**4/25 (Monday, 3pm)** Lecture by Jonathan Sheehan, UC-Berkeley. Come if you can.

**4/29 Race/religion, past/present**

Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*, all.

Jefferson Cowie, “[Is Freedom White?](http://bostonreview.net/race/jefferson-cowie-is-freedom-white)” *Boston Review*. September 23, 2020.

*Recommended*:

Yolande Jansen & Nasar Meer, “Genealogies of ‘Jews’ and ‘Muslims’: Social Imaginaries in the Race-Religion Nexus.” *Patterns of Prejudice* 54: 1-2, 1-14.

Judith Weisenfeld, *New World A-Coming: Black Religion and Racial Identity during the Great Migration****.*** New York: New York University Press, 2016.

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.

J. Kameron Carter, *Race: A Theological Account*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

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

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

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* 30, no. 2 (2010): 297-311.

**5/6 Religion, race, colonialism, the Americas**

Crosson, *Experiments with Power*: Preface (ix-xiv), Introduction (1-35), Interlude 1 & Chap. 1(“What Obeah Does Do: Religion, Violence & Law” (39-64), Interlude 4 & Chap. 4 (“Bloodlines: Race, Sacrifice, and the Making of Religion,” Interlude 5 & Chap. 5 (“A Tongue between Nations: Spiritual Work, Secularism, and the Art of Crossover” (131-192); Epilogue: The Ends of Tolerance” (237-256).

*Recommended*:

\*Chouki El Hamal, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

\*J. Brent Crosson, *Experiments with Power: Obeah and the Remaking of Religion in Trinidad*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 202).

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

Geneviève Zubrzycki, *Beheading the Saint: Nationalism, Religion, and Secularism in Quebec*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

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.

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.

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 (3rd ed.).

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

**5/13 Re-telling U.S. American religion and politics (Phil)**

 Graber, *Gods of Indian Country*, Introduction, Chaps. 1-5 (pp. 1-149).

*Recommended*:

\*Elizabeth Shakman Hurd & Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, eds. *At Home and Abroad: The Politics of American Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021.

\*Nicholas Shrubsole, *What Has No Place, Remains: The Challenge for Indigenous Religious Freedom in Canada Today*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019.

\*Joshua Dubler & Isaac Weiner, eds. *Religion, Law, USA*. New York: New York University Press, 2019.

Robert A. Orsi, *History and Presence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 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.

**5/20 Retelling American religion, part II (Class will not meet today.)**

 Graber, *Gods of Indian Country*, Chaps. 6-7, epilogue (pp. 153-203).

\***Please submit your book review or syllabus by 5pm today to eshurd@northwestern.edu**.\*

*Recommended*:

\*John Corrigan, *Religious Intolerance, America, and the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).

**5/27 Islam, liberalism, secularism, racialization (Febi)**

Marzouki, *Islam: An American Religion*, all.

*Recommended*:

\*Talal Asad, *Secular Translations: Nation-State, Modern Self, and Calculative Reason*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.

\*Sylvia Chan-Malik, *Being Muslim: A Cultural History of Women of Color and American Islam.* New York: New York University Press, 2018.

\*Darryl Li, *The Universal Enemy, Jihad, Empire, and the Challenge of Solidarity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020.

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

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

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

Zareena Grewal, *Islam is a Foreign Country: American Muslims and the Global Crisis of Authority*. New York: New York University Press, 2013.

Yolande Jansen, *Secularism, Assimilation, and the Crisis of Multiculturalism: French Modernist Legacies*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2013.

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

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

Markus Dressler and Arvind-Pal S. Mandair, eds. *Secularism and Religion-Making*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003 and *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

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

**6/3: Global Religion & Politics Workshop** (please attend a panel or two if you can): “[**Global ‘Religion’: Invention, Translation, Critique**](https://sites.northwestern.edu/globalreligion)” (co-organized by Beth Hurd and Brannon Ingram).

**6/7: Final papers due by noon** to eshurd@northwestern.edu

Happy summer!