

## Religion, State, and Society in Europe

**Semester:** [SEMESTER YEAR]

**Course Meetings:** [DAYS TIME CLASSROOM]

**Instructor:** Prof. Stephanie Shady (she/her)

**Email:** [EMAIL]

**Office Hours:** [DAYS TIMES OFFICE BUILDING]

Despite the legal separation of church and state across much of Europe and despite waning church attendance, religion continues to be an important social and political influence throughout the continent. Contestation over religion has been a central divide over Europe's history, from the Protestant Reformation and Thirty Years War to the Enlightenment to contemporary debates over religious rights for Europe's Muslims. The historic ties among religion, state, and society have contributed to contemporary party systems, national identity, social norms, and intergroup relations. Moreover, political elites have leveraged religion within countries and at the European Union level as a means of demarcating belonging—who is part of a “Christian Europe,” and who is not? In this course, we will explore these historic and contemporary relationships among religion, state, and society across Europe using a comparative approach. Through the lens of religion, students will also gain insights into the broader political landscape of European countries, such as party competition, multilevel governance, public opinion, and nationalism and national identities. This course is divided into several parts: **Part I** examines the historic role of religion in nation-state building; **Part II** covers the role of religion in late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century conflicts; **Part III** studies the role of religion building a post-World War II Europe; **Part IV** analyzes channels of religious authority in and outside of party systems; **Part V** explores the intersection of religion with contemporary socio-political issues.

### Learning Objectives

Throughout this course, you will:

- Analyze the historical and contemporary structures of power and religion in Europe.
- Understand the ways that religion is used to construct boundaries of subnational, national, and European communities.
- Examine the role of religion in contemporary issues in European politics from the perspective of the public and elite political actors.
- Apply general concepts to specific cases to assess relationships between religion and politics in a single country.
- Sharpen your synthesis and writing skills by producing memos on the role of religion in politics in a single country.
- Use creative processes to synthesize and analyze a religion trend in Europe.

## A Note on Studying Religion

There's an old saying that the two things you don't discuss in polite company are politics and religion. We will discuss both in this class, because these are important structures in our society that, in my view, we should strive to understand deeply. Please be respectful of your classmates' religious beliefs or lack thereof. **This course is about the historical and scientific study of religion, not about debating who's right or wrong about the nature of the divine.** You are free to disagree with me, with your classmates, and with the materials we discuss. You will be graded solely on the quality of the analysis you conduct, not on the views you express. That said, we can disagree with each other in a respectful manner. Hate speech or speech that threatens the integrity of any student's right to exist based on their group memberships or identities is unacceptable. If at any point you experience harassment, discrimination, or other forms of targeting (especially in the context of our class, but in general), please let me know. I will refer the situation to the appropriate university channels on a need-to-know basis. [ADD UNIVERSITY-SPECIFIC LANGUAGE ABOUT WHAT MY MANDATORY REPORTING ROLES ARE/ARE NOT AND WHAT THOSE CHANNELS MAY BE]

## Course Resources

### Required books:

Nelson, Brent L., and James L. Guth. 2015. *Religion and the Struggle for the European Union*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

<http://press.georgetown.edu/book/georgetown/religion-and-struggle-european-union#toc>

**\*RSEU in calendar below\***

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2015. *Nations Under God: How Churches Use Moral Authority to Influence Politics*. Princeton University Press.

<https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691164755/nations-under-god>

**\*NUG in calendar below\***

Additionally, we will make use of articles and book chapters throughout this course, PDFs of which can be found on the course website. You will also find detailed guidelines for the all assignments on the course website—check there first, then ask questions if you require further clarification on instructions.

## Course Requirements

- Complete all assigned readings by the date they are listed on the syllabus, and come to class prepared to discuss them.
- 3 country case study memos.
- Religion trends response project.
- Mid-term and final exams.

## Grade Breakdown

- Three country case study memos 45% (15% each)
- Religion trends project 15%
- Mid-term exam 20%
- Final exam 20%

## Grading Scale

The grading scale below represents the final points at which I will round. To maintain fairness to all of your classmates, I will not arbitrarily negotiate final grades at the end of the semester. Grades are a tool, albeit an imperfect one, for assessing understanding and application of course material. I am committed to assessing you fairly and providing feedback in order for you to learn.

A: 93.5 and above

A-: 93.4-89.5

B+: 89.4-86.5

B: 86.4-82.5

B-: 82.4-79.5

C+ 79.4-76.5

C: 76.4-72.5

C-: 72.4-69.5

D+: 69.4-66.5

D: 66.4-62.5

F: 62.5 and below

## Expectations

1. **Attendance:** As adults, your education and other aspects of your life are your responsibility. As such, I do not grade attendance, but I will keep it in order to ensure that students are keeping up with course material. It is important that you attend class on a regular basis. However, I am aware that extenuating life circumstances can prevent attendance. **You do not owe me personal details in order to be excused from class, but please communicate so that I can offer you flexibility as appropriate.** And as we have learned from COVID-19, **if you are sick, do not come to class.**
2. **Participation:** I will not grade your participation; rather, you should expect that active engagement with course materials will benefit your learning and your grade via the assignments and assessments. You will better understand the concepts if you ask questions early and often. **There are no stupid questions. If you do not understand something, please ask so that I can explain it in another way until you do understand.** That is why I am here! Other students will benefit from your questions and insights as well.

3. **Electronics:** You may bring electronic copies of the readings to class and use electronic devices to write notes (Note: You may not record audio or video of any part of the course without prior permission from me). Appropriate laptop use is required. Your education is your responsibility, and it is up to you to avoid using your electronics for non-class purposes. However, please respect your classmates and avoid distracting others. If electronic use becomes a problem, no electronics will be permitted outside of accessibility accommodations.
4. **Office Hours:** Office hours are a resource that I encourage you to make use of in my class and in other classes. I encourage you to come to office hours early and often to ask questions about course material and assignments. Additionally, office hours are an opportunity to meet your instructors, discuss your career and other intellectual interests, etc. Particularly as you begin to apply for study abroad, internships, jobs, and graduate school and will need recommendation letters, the more you have cultivated relationships with your instructors, the more they will be able to help you in future endeavors. I can write you a much better recommendation if I know something more than the grades you earned in my class for one semester.
5. **Contact Policy:** Please remember that university emails should be written in a professional manner, which means a greeting, brief message, and closing. You may address me as Professor Shady or Dr. Shady. Emails should be used to make appointments (**You do NOT need to make an appointment to come to regularly scheduled office hours!**) or ask brief questions. If you have a longer question, please come to office hours so we can discuss it thoroughly. I am committed to responding to emails within 48 hours (at the latest) on days when the University is in session. If you have not heard from me within that timeframe, please feel free to send me a reminder.

## University Resources

[ADD UNIVERSITY-SPECIFIC RESOURCES ON TITLE XI, MENTAL HEALTH, ACCESSIBILITY, HONOR CODE, ETC.]

## Course Assignments

### *Submitting Assignments*

You will submit all assignments on the course website by the beginning of class on the date listed on the syllabus. **All submissions (PDF or Word) should be labeled as follows: "Last Name, First Name\_Assignment Title."** This makes organizing files smoother on your end and mine, and you will receive grades/feedback much more efficiently if you follow these instructions.

### *Country Case Study Memos*

Europe is vast, has contested boundaries, and holds a diverse set of relationships between religion, state, and society. Our course readings and lectures will cover some important topics in religion and European politics using a range of cases; however, there is much more ground to

explore. To facilitate this process and sharpen a key skill in comparative politics—the ability to apply general patterns in social science to specific cases—you will each be assigned a different country to be the expert in. At the beginning of the semester, you will have the opportunity to choose preferred countries; I will make a randomized list of your names and assign countries based on your preferences, as is possible, in the list's order.

Throughout the course, you will write three memo-style papers—**1000 words maximum**—on how a topic in religion and politics relates to your country.<sup>1</sup> A memo should discuss the *most* important information to communicate a key idea, such as relevant actors, events, and context (avoid excessive background knowledge; bring up what is directly related to your point). Assume that your reader is knowledgeable about general social science patterns but may not know the details relevant to your specific country. You must cite sources using footnotes for ease of word count; other than that, I have no preference on the citation style you choose. In each paper, you are expected to draw on course concepts, conduct country-specific outside research as needed, and provide your own analysis that supports a thesis statement. **If we discuss a topic in your assigned country that you discuss in your paper, you must go beyond the course material.**

Detailed instructions for each memo can be found on the course website, but the memo prompts are as follows:

- **Historical religious contestation:** Choose one historical event or period (up to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) during which religion played an important role in political contestation in your country and write an analytical summary of the event and its legacy. In your memo, identify key actors, societal dynamics, and context necessary to explain how this history impacts the present.
- **Church-state relations:** How does your country's national government relate to religious organizations? What principles guide its approaches to religious pluralism and liberty? In what context did today's church-state relations develop? How do these relations, in social, political, and historical context, impact religious groups and individual practitioners in your country's society?
- **National identity and/or nationalism:** How does religion interact with national identity context and/or nationalism in your country, either explicitly or implicitly? Do nationalist movements—national or subnational level—take a clerical or secular approach overall? What symbols or tactics do they use to accomplish this goal? What are the implications of the relationship between religion and national identity/nationalism for different (non-)religious groups in your country's society?

### ***Religion Trends Response Project***

Explore trends in religion and Europe on the Pew Research Center's website here:

<https://www.pewresearch.org/topic/religion/?topic=religion&regions-countries=europe-russia>

. Choose one Report, Feature, Fact Sheet, or Short Read from the past 12 months that interests

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<sup>11</sup> Word count is for actual text of the paper, not references, headers, etc.

you (this does NOT have to be about your assigned country). Produce a creative project of your choice that communicates the most important ideas from your report/feature/fact sheet/short read. This could include, but is not limited to: a song, poem, or other piece of creative writing; a photo essay, collage, or other form of visual art; a TikTok or other video explainer; a mini podcast. If you are unsure about an idea, please discuss it with me in office hours.

You will share your project with the class on the last day of class (no formal presentation required). Additional assignment details and grading criteria will be posted to the course website.

### **Mid-term and Final Exams**

You will take two exams in this course. The mid-term will cover Parts I and II, the historical sections up to the end of World War II. The final exam will focus on Parts III, IV, and V, the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to present. You may be asked to reference general concepts from Parts I and II as they relate to the second half of the course in the final exam, but you will not be directly tested on the details of Parts I and II on the final. Both exams will consist of a combination of multiple choice and short answer questions.

### **Course Schedule** [ADJUST DATES FOR UNIVERSITY-SPECIFIC SCHEDULE; GENERAL TIMELINE LISTED BELOW]

*You are expected to have completed all readings and assignments before class on the dates listed below. Always bring a copy of the readings and assignments to class (electronic is fine).*

Date	Topic	Readings	Assignments
	Introduction	Syllabus	Bring your questions about the syllabus and the course to class.
	Why study religion in Europe?	Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2012. "Why Comparative Politics Should Take Religion (More) Seriously." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 15: 421-442.	
	Part I: al-Andalus	Vanoli, Alessandro. 2015. "The Borders of Muslim Spain," in Roberto Tottoli (ed.), <i>Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West</i> . New York: Routledge.	Fill out the survey on your country case study preferences (emailed to you and on the course website).
	Part I: al-Andalus	Catlos, Brian A. <a href="#"><i>Kingdoms of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain</i></a> . New York: Basic Books. Chapters TBA.	
	Part I: The Protestant Reformation	RSEU Chapters 1 (Culture and Integration) and 2 (Common Roots)	

Part I: The Protestant Reformation	RSEU Chapter 3 (Reformation and Reaction)	
Part I: The Thirty Years' War	Lee, Stephen J. 1991. <a href="#"><i>The Thirty Years' War</i></a> . New York: Routledge. Chapters 1 (Outline of the Thirty Years War), 4 (Religious Issues in the War), and 7 (The Peace of Westphalia).	
Part II (fast-forwarding a few centuries!): The secular-clerical political cleavage	Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan, eds. 1967. <i>Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives</i> . New York: Free Press.  Madeley, John. 2003. "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Church-State Relations in Europe." <i>West European Politics</i> 26(1): 23-50.	
Part II: The secular-clerical political cleavage	RSEU Chapter 4 (Political Movements)  Carrol, Alison, and Louisa Zanoun. 2011. "The View from the Border: A Comparative Study of Autonomism in Alsace and the Moselle, 1918-29." <i>European Review of History</i> 18(4): 465-486.	
Part II: Religion and 20 <sup>th</sup> century dictatorships	Steigmann-Gall, Richard. 2021. "Religion and Dictatorship in Europe," in Grace Davie and Lucian N. Leustean (eds.), <a href="#"><i>The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Europe</i></a> . Oxford University Press.	
Part II: Religious roles in fascism, nationalism, and resistance – the example of Spain	Linz, Juan J. 1991. "Church and State in Spain from the Civil War to the Return of Democracy." <i>Daedalus</i> 120(3): 159-171.  Astor, Avi. "Religion and Counter-State Nationalism in Catalonia." <i>Social Compass</i> 67(2): 159-176.	Historical religious contestation memo due
<b>Midterm exam</b>		
Part III: Religion and European Integration	RSEU Chapters 5 (Postwar Preparation), 6 (Catholic Construction), and 7 (Protestant Resistance)	
Part III: Religion and European Integration	RSEU Chapters 8 (Member States and Elites), 9 (Political Groups), and 10 (European Identity)	
Part IV: The status of the Vatican	Reese, Thomas J. 1996. <i>Inside the Vatican: The Politics and Organization of the Catholic Church</i> . Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1 (Papal Roles)	

	Genovese, Federica. 2019. "Politics @Pontifex: International Crises and Political Patterns of Papal Tweets." <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i> 52(1): 7-13.	
Part IV: Church-state relations	NUG Introduction and Chapters 1 (Weapons of the Meek) and 2 (Catholic Monopolies)	
Part IV: Church-state relations	Gustafsson, Göran. 2003. "Church-State Separation Swedish-Style." <i>West European Politics</i> 26(1): 51-72.	
	Rosie, Michael. 2015. "He Will Inspire Us with Courage and Bring Our Enemies to Nought: Religion and Nationalism in Scotland," in Ferran Requejo and Klaus-Jürgen Nagel (eds.), <i>Politics of Religion and Nationalism: Federalism, Consociationalism and Secession</i> . New York: Routledge.	
Part IV: Church-state relations	NUG Chapter 3 (Post-Communist Divergence) and Conclusion	
Part IV: Religion and party systems	Rovny, Jan, and Jon Polk. 2019. "New Wine in Old Bottles: Explaining the Dimensional Structure of Party Systems." <i>Party Politics</i> 25(1): 12-24.	
Part IV: Christian Democratic parties	Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Kees van Kerbergen. 2010. "Christian Democracy." <i>Annual Reviews of Political Science</i> 13: 183-209.	<b>Church-state relations memo due</b>
	Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2011. "Why Is There (Almost) No Christian Democracy in Post-Communist Europe?" <i>Party Politics</i> 19(2): 319-342.	
Part IV: Religion and contemporary far right parties	Arzheimer, Kai, and Elisabeth Carter. 2009. "Christian Religiosity and Voting for West European Radical Right Parties." <i>West European Politics</i> 32(5): 985-1011.	
	<b>Read after Arzheimer and Carter, because it draws and expands on it:</b> Montgomery, Kathleen A., and Ryan Winter. 2015. "Explaining the Religious Gap in Support for Radical Right Parties in Europe." <i>Politics and Religion</i> 8: 379-403.	
Part IV: Religion and contemporary authoritarianism	Žuk, Piotr, and Paweł Żuk. 2019. "Dangerous Liasons between the Catholic Church and the State: The Religious and Political Alliance of the Nationalist Right with the Conservative Church in	



Poland." *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe* 27(2-3): 191-212.

Gwiazda, Anna. 2021. "Right-Wing Populism and Feminist Politics: The Case of Law and Justice in Poland." *International Political Science Review* 42(5): 580-595.

Part V: Religious  
pluralism

Sealy, Thomas, Tina Magazzini, Tariq Modood, and Anna Triandafyllidou. 2021. "Managing Religious Diversity," in Grace Davie and Lucian N. Leustean (eds.), [\*The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Europe\*](#). Oxford University Press.

NUG Chapter 4 (Religious Pluralism and Church Influence)

Part V: Religion  
and national  
identity or  
nationalism

Letamendia, Francisco. 2015. "Religion and Nationalism: The Basque Country as a Case Study," in Ferran Requejo and Klaus-Jürgen Nagel (eds.), *Politics of Religion and Nationalism: Federalism, Consociationalism and Secession*. New York: Routledge.

Mitchell, Claire. 2005. "Behind the Ethnic Marker: Religion and Social Identification in Northern Ireland." *Sociology of Religion* 66(1): 3-21.

Part V: Religion  
and gender

Evans, Jocelyn, and Jonathan Tonge. 2018. "Partisan and Religious Drivers of Moral Conservatism: Same-Sex Marriage and Abortion in Northern Ireland." *Party Politics* 24(4): 335-346.

Calkin, Sydney, and Monika Ewa Kaminska. 2020. "Persistence and Change in Morality Policy: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Politics of Abortion in Ireland and Poland." *Feminist Review* 124: 86-102.

Part V: Religion  
and migration

Ciornei, Irina, Eva-Maria Euchner, and Ilay Yesil. 2021. "Political Parties and Muslims in Europe: The Regulation of Islam in Public Education." *West European Politics* (online first): <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2021.1927546>

**Religion and  
national identity  
or nationalism  
memo due**

Lyck-Bowen, Majbritt, and Mark Owen. 2019. "A Multi-Religious Response to the Migrant Crisis in

Europe: A Preliminary Examination of Potential Benefits of Multi-Religious Cooperation on the Integration of Migrants." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45(1): 21-41.

Part V: Religion and migration

Banfi, Elisa, Matteo Gianni, and Marco Giugni. 2016. "Religious Minorities and Secularism: An Alternative View of the Impact of Religion on the Political Values of Muslims in Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(2): 292-308.

Di Stasio, Valentina, Bram Lancee, Susanne Veit, and Ruta Yermane. 2021. "Muslim by Default or Religious Discrimination? Results from a Cross-National Field Experiment on Hiring Discrimination." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 47(6): 1305-1326.

Conclusions

**Submit your Research Trends Response Project to the course website, and bring it with you to class to share.** You should also bring any questions you have ahead of the final exam.

**Reading Days**

**Final exam period as scheduled by Registrar**

Final exam

\*This syllabus is subject to any change I deem necessary throughout the course. If I need to update the syllabus, I will communicate changes via e-mail and upload an updated syllabus to the course website.\*