



ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
GENERAL STUDIES COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

Course information:

Copy and paste current course information from Class Search/Course Catalog.

Academic Unit School of Hist, Phil & Rel Studies Department _____

Subject REL Number 387 Title Religion and Conflict: Theories and Cases Units: 3

Is this a cross-listed course? (Choose one)
If yes, please identify course(s) No

Is this a shared course? (choose one) If so, list all academic units offering this course No
Course description: _____

Requested designation: Humanities, Fine Arts and Design-HU
Note- a separate proposal is required for each designation requested

Eligibility:

Permanent numbered courses must have completed the university's review and approval process.
For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact the General Studies Program Office at (480) 965-0739.

Area(s) proposed course will serve:

A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

Checklists for general studies designations:

- Complete and attach the appropriate checklist
- Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses (L)
 - Mathematics core courses (MA)
 - Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses (CS)
 - Humanities, Fine Arts and Design core courses (HU)
 - Social and Behavioral Sciences core courses (SB)
 - Natural Sciences core courses (SQ/SG)
 - Global Awareness courses (G)
 - Historical Awareness courses (H)
 - Cultural Diversity in the United States courses (C)

A complete proposal should include:

- Signed General Studies Program Course Proposal Cover Form
- Criteria Checklist for the area
- Course Syllabus
- Table of Contents from the textbook, and/or lists of course materials

Contact information:

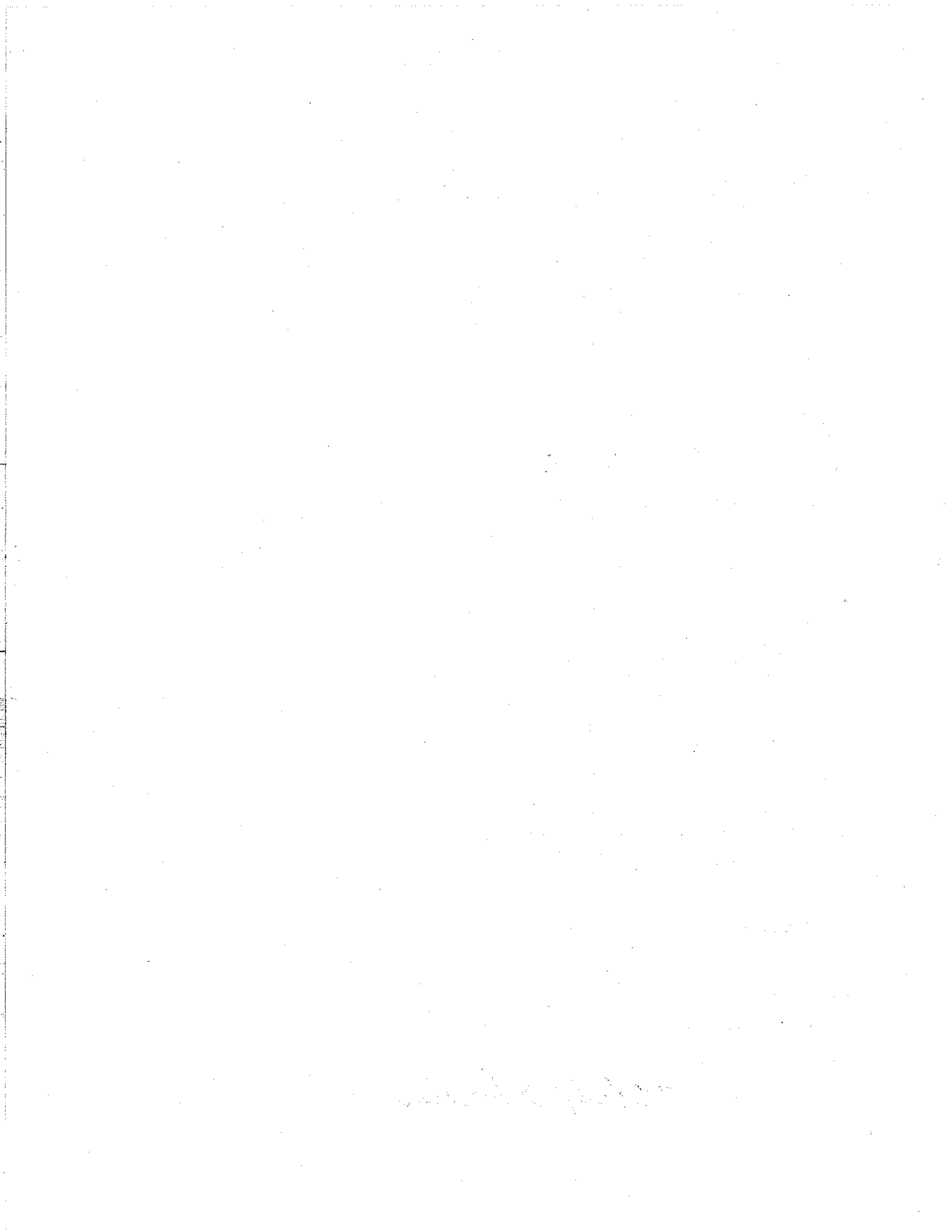
Name Cindy Baade Phone 480-965-7183

Mail code 4302 E-mail: cynthia.baade@asu.edu

Department Chair/Director approval: (Required)

Chair/Director name (Typed): Matthew J. Garcia Date: 2/18/13

Chair/Director (Signature):



Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for

HUMANITIES, FINE ARTS AND DESIGN [HU]

Rationale and Objectives

The humanities disciplines are concerned with questions of human existence and meaning, the nature of thinking and knowing, with moral and aesthetic experience. The humanities develop values of all kinds by making the human mind more supple, critical, and expansive. They are concerned with the study of the textual and artistic traditions of diverse cultures, including traditions in literature, philosophy, religion, ethics, history, and aesthetics. In sum, these disciplines explore the range of human thought and its application to the past and present human environment. They deepen awareness of the diversity of the human heritage and its traditions and histories and they may also promote the application of this knowledge to contemporary societies.

The study of the arts and design, like the humanities, deepens the student's awareness of the diversity of human societies and cultures. The fine arts have as their primary purpose the creation and study of objects, installations, performances and other means of expressing or conveying aesthetic concepts and ideas. Design study concerns itself with material objects, images and spaces, their historical development, and their significance in society and culture. Disciplines in the fine arts and design employ modes of thought and communication that are often nonverbal, which means that courses in these areas tend to focus on objects, images, and structures and/or on the practical techniques and historical development of artistic and design traditions. The past and present accomplishments of artists and designers help form the student's ability to perceive aesthetic qualities of art work and design.

The Humanities, Fine Arts and Design are an important part of the General Studies Program, for they provide an opportunity for students to study intellectual and imaginative traditions and to observe and/or learn the production of art work and design. The knowledge acquired in courses fulfilling the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design requirement may encourage students to investigate their own personal philosophies or beliefs and to understand better their own social experience. In sum, the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design core area enables students to broaden and deepen their consideration of the variety of human experience.

Revised October 2008

REL 387

Religion and Conflict: Theories and Cases

Course catalog description:

Explores the complex dynamics of religion and conflict across multiple traditions and regions, drawing upon a variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives. Readings, films, and conversations used to reflect upon the role of religion, for good and ill, in social conflict and transformation.

Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

ASU - [HU] CRITERIA			
HUMANITIES, FINE ARTS AND DESIGN [HU] courses must meet <i>either</i> 1, 2, or 3 <i>and</i> at least one of the criteria under 4 in such a way as to make the satisfaction of these criteria A CENTRAL AND SUBSTANTIAL PORTION of the course content.			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Emphasize the study of values, of the development of philosophies, religions, ethics or belief systems, and/or aesthetic experience.	Syllabus; table of contents from course reader, title pages of readings
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Concerns the comprehension and interpretation/analysis of written, aural, or visual texts, and/or the historical development of textual traditions.	Syllabus; table of contents from course reader, title pages of readings
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Concerns the comprehension and interpretation/analysis of material objects, images and spaces, and/or their historical development.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. In addition, to qualify for the Humanities, Fine Arts and Design designation a course must meet one or more of the following requirements:	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a. Concerns the development of human thought, including emphasis on the analysis of philosophical and/or religious systems of thought.	Syllabus; table of contents from course reader, title pages of readings
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Concerns aesthetic systems and values, literary and visual arts.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	c. Emphasizes aesthetic experience in the visual and performing arts, including music, dance, theater, and in the applied arts, including architecture and design.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. Deepen awareness of the analysis of literature and the development of literary traditions.	
		THE FOLLOWING ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE:	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses devoted primarily to developing a skill in the creative or performing arts, including courses that are primarily studio classes in the Herberger College of the Arts and in the College of Design. 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses devoted primarily to developing skill in the use of a language – <u>However, language courses that emphasize cultural study and the study of literature can be allowed.</u> 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses which emphasize the acquisition of quantitative or experimental methods. 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Courses devoted primarily to teaching skills. 	

Course Prefix	Number	Title	Designation
REL	387	Religion and Conflict: Theories and Cases	HU

Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the specific designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

Criteria (from checksheet)	How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)	Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)
1	The course explores the complex dynamics of religion and conflict across multiple religious traditions and regions across the globe, drawing upon a variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives (including religious studies, political science, history, and theology).	See syllabus, module 1, module 3, module 8. See the two-page table of contents from the course reader for lists of specific readings.
2	Through the use of readings (both primary and secondary texts), films, conversations, and writing assignments, the course trains students to assess and interpret historical and contemporary textual sources that engage case studies of religion and conflict.	See syllabus, module 2, module 5, module 6, module 7, module 8; and see the assignments listed in the "grading" section of the syllabus. See the two-page table of contents from the course reader for lists of specific readings.
4a	The course creates opportunities for students to reflect upon the nature of religion, and the role of religion in relation to social conflict and transformation (for both good and ill), and how these concepts and interpretations develop.	See syllabus, module 1, module 2, module 4, module 8. See the two-page table of contents from the course reader for lists of specific readings.



SCHOOL OF
Historical, Philosophical
& Religious Studies

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

REL 394 & SGS 394: Religion and Conflict: Theories and Cases
Spring 2012

Location: Internet Blackboard

Instructor: Bret Lewis, PhD
E-mail: lewis1@asu.edu
Office hours: By appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Scan any newspaper and you can't miss the role of religion in politics, at the national and global levels. Although some stories portray religion as a force for peace, far more capture its role in fostering conflict, even violence. Why? Is there an intrinsic relationship between religion and violent conflict sustained by the myths and rituals of martyrdom, sacrifice, and cosmic war? Is there something about our contemporary era that accounts for the persistence, perhaps the intensification of religious conflict and religiously sanctioned violence? In this course we will explore the complex dynamics of religion and conflict across multiple traditions and regions, drawing upon a variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives. Readings, films, and conversations will enable us to reflect upon the role of religion, for good and ill, in social conflict and transformation.

COURSE OBJECTIVES:

Students completing the course will:

1. develop an appreciation for the historical and social factors that shape interpretations of religion in a given context.
2. gain understanding of key concepts and theories concerning the relations between religion and conflict/violence.
3. gain practice in the application and assessment of theoretical frameworks in relation to a variety of historical and contemporary case studies
4. reflect upon their own understanding of the role of religion in relation to social conflict and transformation.
5. gain greater facility in critical reading and writing skills.

REQUIRED READING AND MATERIALS:

- "REL 394 Religion and Conflict" Course Packet to be purchased at the Alternative Copy Shop on Mill Ave.
- Films, videos, and podcasts are available on blackboard or links will be provided to outside sources (i.e. youtube.com) EXCEPT one of the films ("The Mission") is not available on blackboard. "The Mission" can be found at most video rental outlets such as Netxlix.com or Blockbuster. If possible, I will leave a copy on reserve at Hayden library.

GRADING:

See schedule in blackboard for calendar and listings of assignments.

		Total	
②	Discussion Board Postings (13)	5 points each	65
	Short Essay, Reflection Assignments (6)	40 points each	240
	Final Paper (1)	100 points	100
	Total		405

A= 90% and above, B=80-89%, C=70-79%, D=60-69%, F=59% and below

- A = consistently outstanding achievement in the course
- B = work of good to very good quality, but not consistently outstanding
- C = acceptable level of competence and basic understanding of material
- D = minimally adequate; student may not be ready for further related coursework
- E = unsatisfactory and unworthy of credit

Late or Missed Assignments:

The beauty of the virtual environment is that you can complete and post your work from anywhere at anytime. You need to make sure you are organized and provide yourself ample time.

Late work will be penalized. Here is how it works for different assignments:

On written assignments such as short essay assignments and the final, the HIGHEST grade possible will be a deduction of two grades. Therefore, if your work deserves an A, the late grade penalty will result in a C.

For discussion boards, if work is not posted on time you will receive a zero with no opportunity to post later. The idea behind the discussion board is to have an opportunity to interact with your fellow students. If your posts are not submitted in time your fellow students will miss your contributions!

ADDITIONAL ITEMS:

The instructor reserves the right to change course requirements AND/OR THIS SYLLABUS; all such changes, however, will be announced on blackboard.

WITHDRAWALS AND INCOMPLETES: It is the student's responsibility to inform the professor if they are withdrawing from the class or seeking an incomplete. For University policies on withdrawals see <http://www.asu.edu/aad/catalogs/general/ug-enrollment.html#grading-system>

ACADEMIC HONESTY: The Department of Religious Studies abides by ASU's Office of Student Life: "Student Academic Integrity Policy." See: <http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/studentlife/judicial/>

Academic honesty is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. All members of the academic community must be confident that each person's work has been responsibly and honorably

acquired, developed, and presented. Any effort to gain an advantage not given to all students is dishonest whether or not the effort is successful. The academic community regards academic dishonesty as an extremely serious matter, with serious consequences that range from probation to expulsion. *It is your responsibility to know what constitutes plagiarism.* Claiming to not understand what constitutes plagiarism will not be accepted as an excuse and you will fail the class.

You may not submit a paper written for another class to meet the requirements for this class. If you do you will, minimally, receive a zero on that paper, and could receive an F for the course, as well as be referred to the dean's office for further sanctions.

ONLINE BEHAVIOR: In this class we will discuss complex issues about which some class members may have strong feelings. However, this class is for learning about these issues, not trying to convince other students that your viewpoint is the correct one or that theirs is the wrong one. Classroom discussion is not a platform for you to denounce religions other than your own, rather it is aimed at discussing the topic at hand to enhance our mutual understandings of complicated issues from a variety of nuanced perspectives. To encourage broad participation, and in the name of creating a comfortable and secure academic environment in which all class members feel free to express their reasoned opinions in class, I will have a zero tolerance policy for the following behaviors:

- Hate speech of any kind
- Violent, threatening or disruptive behavior
- Any other violations of the University's Code of Conduct.

The instructor reserves the right to drop any student who is guilty of the above mentioned behaviors from the class. If you have any questions regarding this policy please contact your dean.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES: Students with disabilities or special needs are advised to contact the Disability Resource Center at (480) 965-1234 for more information.

Email and Internet

You must have an active ASU e-mail account and access to the Internet. If you wish to use another e-mail address, please use <https://webmail.asu.edu/emma/> to redirect your mail to your chosen account.

See the tutorial at ASUonline for more information on redirecting your email:

<http://asuonline.asu.edu/StudentSupport/Tutorials6/RedirectEmail.cfm>. *All instructor correspondence will be sent to your ASU e-mail account.* Please plan on checking your ASU email account regularly for course related messages. <http://www.asu.edu/aad/catalogs/general/ug-enrollment.html#20673>

Academic Dishonesty The Department of Religious Studies abides by ASU's Office of Student Life: "Student Academic Integrity Policy." Please familiarize yourself with the policy. It's simple yet important. See:

http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/studentlife/judicial/academic_integrity.htm

COURSE SCHEDULE:

MODULE 1: INTRODUCTION (January 2- January 13)

Discussion Board: Introduce Yourself! Due 9PM Fri Jan 6 (5 points)

4A {
Reading: "What is Religious Studies" Russell McCutcheon
Reading: "Religion Without Truth" Stanley Fish
Reading: "Religion Without Truth: Part Two" Stanley Fish

Discussion Board: "What is Religion? What is Conflict?" Due Jan 10 & Jan 12 (10 points)

MODULE 2: COLONIALISM (January 16 – January 27)

1 {
4A {
Video: Discovery of a New World
Video: Jill Carroll's talk on Religion, Colonialism, and Violence
Reading: "Religious Conflict and the Postcolonial State" by Lincoln
Map: Rise and Fall of European Colonialism

Discussion Board Due Mdn Mon Jan 23 (5 points)

2 {
Video: Africa: Who Is to Blame?
Video: Introduction to Rwanda
Reading: Case Study 1 – "Church Politics and the Genocide of Rwanda" Longman
Video: Case Study 2 – "Gandhi Biography: Pilgrim of Peace"

Colonialism Essay Assignment Due 9PM Fri Jan 27 (40 Points)

MODULE 3: GLOBALIZATION (January 30 – February 3)

1 {
Reading: "Why God is Winning" Shah and Toft
Reading: "Terror in the Mind of God" Juergensmeyer

Discussion Board Due Tue Jan 31st (5 Points) "What? The Academics Got it Wrong?"

Reading: "Globalization: A Very Short Introduction" by Steger
Reading: "Religion and Globalization" by Beyer
Reading: "Thinking Globally about Religion" Juergensmeyer.

Discussion Board Due Fri 9PM Feb 3 (5Pts) : "Video Case Study" (select one from below)

The Clerical Cupid
The Ordination of a Tree: The Buddhist Ecology Movement in Thailand
Australia's Aborigines
The Bahá'í Faith
Reform Judaism

MODULE 4: SECULAR MODERNITY AND THE NATION STATE (February 6 – 17)

4A

Reading: The Global Rise of Religious Nationalism by Juergensmeyer

Reading: Is Secularism Less Violent Than Religion? by Jakobson

Reading: Secularism in Retreat by Berger

Discussion Board Due Midnight Thu Feb 9 (5 points) "Alternatives to the Secular State?"

Transcript Assignment "Secularism and Religious Conflict" Assignment Due 9PM Fri Feb 17 (40 Points) Select case study from one of the videos below:

The Religious Right (United States)

Soul of India: Hindus and Muslims in Conflict

Israel

444 Days: The Iran Hostage Crisis

The Church in Revolutionary Torment

MODULE 5: WAR AND PEACE (February 20 – March 9)

Theoretical Approaches to War and Peace

2

Approach 1 of 4: Holy War

Reading: "Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden"

Reading: "Bernard of Clairvaux"

Podcast: "The Rise of Religious Terrorism" Peter Bergen

Discussion Board Due Mdnt Tue Feb 21 (5 points) "Bin Laden's Holy War: Religious, Political, Neither or Both? What is your definition?"

Approach 2 of 4: Political Realism

Reading: "Give War a Chance" Luttwak

Reading: "The Problem of Dirty Hands." Walzer

Approach 3 of 4: Pacifism

Reading: "Dissent from the Homeland" Hauerwas

Reading: "No, this war would not be Moral" Hauerwas

Approach 4 of 4: Just War

"Is the War Against Terrorism Just?" by Elshtain

Discussion Board Due 9PM Fri Feb 24 (5 points) "Just War?" or "just another war?"

Video: "The Mission"

Reflection Essay: Approaches to War and Peace in the Film "The Mission" Due Fri Mar 2

Video: President Obama's 2009 Nobel Peace Prize Speech

Discussion Board Due Midnight Wed Mar 7 (5 points) "Justifications for President Obama's Award"

Final Research Paper Guidelines and Paper Topic Due 9PM Fri Mar 9

MODULE 6: RACE AND ETHNICITY (March 12 – 30)

② Video: A Fatal Impact: Eugenics, Social Darwinism, and Genocide

Reading: "American Diversity" M. Waters

Reading: "Religion and the Creation of Race and Ethnicity" Prentiss

Reading: "The Global Hierarchy of Race" Jacques.

Discussion Board Due Mdnight Thu Mar 15 (5 points) "Reality and Imagination of Race and Ethnicity"

*****Spring Break March 19-23 - Enjoy *****

Reading: "Almost White: The Ambivalent Promise of the Christian Missions Among the
Cherokees" Martin

Reading: "Crosses of Blood: Sacred Space, Religion, and Violence in Bosnia-Hercegovina" Sells

Video: Genocide: The Horror Continues

Interpretive Essay: Race and Ethnicity Due 9PM Fri March 30 (40 Points)

MODULE 7: TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE (April 2 – April 6)

② Video: Facing the Truth with Bill Moyers (South Africa)

Video: Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rainbow Nation

Reading: Antjie Krog's Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the
New South Africa (excerpts)

*Essay: Evaluating the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): Due 9PM Fri April 6 (40
Points)*

MODULE 8: GENDER (April 9 – April 24)

② Reading: "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" Okin S.

Reading: "Religion Culture, and Women's Human Rights" B. Winter

Reading: "Women's Rights as Human Rights: The Promotion of Human Rights as Counter
Culture" Arat Z.

Reading: "Applying A Gender Perspective in the Area of Right to Freedom of Religion or
Belief" B, Tahzib-Lie

Reading: "Fundamentalism" Hawley

Reading: "Introduction" Howland

Discussion Board Due Mdnight Thu Apr 12 (5 points) The Universalist and Multiculturalist Debate

Final Paper Outline Due Midnight Mon April 16

Case Study 1: Female Genital Cutting and Human Rights

①

Reading: "Understanding Female Genital Cutting" Boyle in Female Genital Cutting

Reading: "Books of the Times; A Ritual with Deep Cultural Roots" NY Times

Reading: "Hegemonic Human Rights and African Resistance" Grande E.

Reading: "Bridges and Barricades: Rethinking Polemics and Intransigence in the Campaign Against Female Circumcision" Obiora. A.

Video: Female Circumcision: Human Rites

FGC Essay Assignment Due Thu Apr 19 Midnight (40 Points)

Case Study 2: Public Health and the Question of FGC in the United States

Podcast: Doctor's seek compromise on FGC

Discussion Board Tue Apr 24 (5 Points) "Hospitals and FGC"

FINAL PAPER (May 1)

Final Research Paper Due Midnight May 1 (100 Points)

REL 394: Religion and Conflict: Theories and Cases

Instructor: Bret Lewis - breflewis@asu.edu

Reading Packet Contents:

- 4A "What is the Academic Study of Religion?" McCutcheon
- 4A "Religion Without Truth" & "Religion Without Truth, Part Two" Fish
 - 1 "Why God is Winning" Shah & Toft
 - 1 "Terror and God" in *Terror in the Mind of God* Ch 1 Juergensmeyer
 - 1 "Religious Conflict and the Post Colonial State" in *Holy Terrors* Ch 5 Lincoln
- 2 "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda" Longman
- 2 "Social Construction of Race and Ethnicity" Waters
- 2 "Introduction" by Prentiss in *Religion and Creation of Race and Ethnicity*
- 2 "The Global Hierarchy of Race" M. Jacques
- 2 "Almost White: The Ambivalent Promise of the Christian Missions among Cherokees" J. Martin
- 2 "What is Ethnicity" in *Ethnicity and Nationalism* Eriksen
- 2 "Crosses of Blood: Sacred Space, Religion, and Hercegovina" M. Sells
- 4A "The Global Rise of Religious Terrorism" Juergensmeyer
- 4A "Is Secularism Less Violent Than Religion?" Jakobsen
- 4A "Secularism in Retreat" Berger
 - 1 "Religion and Globalization" Beyer
 - 1 "Thinking Globally about Religion" Juergensmeyer
 - 1 "Globalization: A Contested Concept" M. Steger
- 2 "Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden" edited by Lawrence
- 2 "A Holy War: Bernard of Clairvaux" edited by Lawrence
- 2 "Give War a Chance" Luttwak
- 2 "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands" Walzer

- 2 "Dissent from the Homeland" Hauerwas
- 2 "No, This War Would Not be Moral" Hauerwas
- 2 "Is the War Against Terrorism Just?" Elshtain
- 2 "Historical Background and Context to the Film: *The Mission*"
- 2 "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?" Okin S.
- 2 "Religion Culture, and Women's Human Rights" Winter
- 2 "Women's Rights as Human Rights: The Promotion of Human Rights as Counter Culture" Arat
- 2 "Applying A Gender Perspective in the Area of Right to Freedom of Religion or Belief" Tahzib-Lie
- | "What is your Tribe?" Heile Lucas in *Religious Fundamentalisms and the Human Rights of Women*
- | "Fundamentalism" Hawley in *Religious Fundamentalisms and the Human Rights of Women*
- | "Introduction" Howland in *Religious Fundamentalisms and the Human Rights of Women*
- | "Understanding Female Genital Cutting" Boyle in *Female Genital Cutting*
- | "Books of the Times; A Ritual with Deep Cultural Roots" NY Times
- | "Hegemonic Human Rights and African Resistance" Grande E.
- | "Bridges and Barricades: Rethinking Polemics and Intransigence in the Campaign Against Female Circumcision" Obiora. A.
- 2 "Harboriew Debates Issue of Circumcision of Muslim Girls" Seattle Times
- 4A "An Ethic of Political Reconciliation" Philpott
- 4A "Country of My Skull: Guild Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa" Chapters 2 & 3 A. Krog

Terror in the Mind of God

(1)

THE GLOBAL RISE OF
RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE

Third Edition
Revised and Updated

Mark Juergensmeyer

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley / Los Angeles / London

2

CHURCH POLITICS AND THE GENOCIDE IN RWANDA

BY

TIMOTHY LONGMAN

(Vassar College)

ABSTRACT

Christian churches were deeply implicated in the 1994 genocide of ethnic Tutsi in Rwanda. Churches were a major site for massacres, and many Christians participated in the slaughter, including church personnel and lay leaders. Church involvement in the genocide can be explained in part because of the historic link between church and state and the acceptance of ethnic discrimination among church officials. In addition, just as political officials chose genocide as a means of reasserting their authority in the face of challenges from a democracy movement and civil war, struggles over power within Rwanda's Christian churches led some church leaders to accept the genocide as a means of eliminating challenges to their own authority within the churches.

For three months in 1994, the Christian churches of Rwanda served as the country's killing fields. When ethnic and political violence ignited in the country following the death of President Juvénal Habyarimana in a mysterious plane crash on April 6, thousands of members of the minority Tutsi ethnic group sought refuge in Catholic and Protestant parishes. But death squads surrounded the churches and systematically slaughtered the people within, tossing grenades through church windows, firing into the crowds with rifles, then finishing off the survivors with machetes, pruning hooks, and knives. One human rights group asserts that, 'more Rwandese citizens died in churches and parishes than anywhere else' (African Rights 1995: 865).

Less than a decade later, few visible reminders of the violence remain. The bricks of some churches are still pocked by bullet holes, and in a few places the blood stains will not wash off the walls and floor, but the bodies have been buried, the buildings repaired, and on Sunday mornings the churches are once again filled with worshipers singing, praying, and reading the Bible. For some Rwandans, however, the country's churches stand as reminders of the violence that decimated

MAY 2001

Chapter 1

The Social Construction of Race and Ethnicity: Some Examples from Demography

Mary C. Waters

The social construction of race and ethnicity is a taken-for-granted premise of much of current thinking and research about ethnicity. However, the fact that ethnicity and race are socially constructed is often not factored into demographic and other quantitative research, and is often at odds with the ways in which ethnicity is conceptualized in everyday life. In this chapter I explore some of the contradictions between our theoretical assumptions that race and ethnicity are socially constructed and our everyday practices in demography and social life in general that assume a fixed and lasting permanence to ethnic and racial identities.

I understand social construction to mean that racial and ethnic groups are not biological categories but social ones. This means that these categories vary across time and place; that new categories come into existence over time, and other ones cease to have meaning to people. This also means that the construction of race and ethnic categories reflects shared social meanings in society, and that those shared social meanings also reflect differences in power relations. Finally, the social construction of race and ethnicity means that rather than being an immutable fixed characteristic, racial and ethnic identities at the individual level are subject to a great deal of flux and change—both intergenerationally, over the life course, and situationally.

I take this definition of race and ethnicity as a given in my work, and it is one of the central facts I try to convince my students of in introductory race and ethnic relations courses. Yet, this approach has its limits. An incident that occurred in a large lecture class I taught recently on race and ethnicity shows both the strengths and weaknesses of this approach.

After class one day, a young freshman woman came to see me and asked if I could help her to determine her identity. She is from a small town in the rural South, and her mother told her that she is an American Indian, but that they were not real American Indians because they were mixed in with Blacks. In addition, she knew she was part Irish and Scottish. She applied to many universities and she checked various boxes on the applications, depending on the instructions. She preferred to check all boxes that applied to her identity.

Almost White
*The Ambivalent Promise of
Christian Missions among the Cherokees*

Joel Martin

On July 10, 1817, white missionaries serving at Brainerd, a new mission school in southeastern Tennessee, received a visit from a young Cherokee woman who desired to enroll. The missionaries, New England Protestants sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, responded with skepticism.¹ The woman's appearance triggered a strong and negative reaction that revealed much about the missionaries. They felt the woman, whose name was Catharine Brown, "had a high opinion of herself and was fond of displaying the clothing and ornaments in which she was arrayed."² They later wrote, she "was proud and haughty, loaded with earrings and jewelry."³ As this encounter and their judgments revealed, to New England missionaries appearances counted. Because they equated "conversion" with "civilization," aesthetics mattered and looks meant something that scholars have yet to fully appreciate. Saving the other's soul also meant changing how she dressed. Missionaries *modeled* more than piety. In what follows, we will track the double-sided conversion of Catharine Brown, paying as much attention to her clothing as to her prayer habits. We will also compare her transformation with that of a male Cherokee. This will reveal how gender mattered to missionaries and affected their reactions to Cherokee appearances. In conclusion, we will step back to evaluate the ambivalent politics that characterized the missionary project and produced tensions with harsher, race-based policies of exclusion and removal.

2

Ethnicity and Nationalism

Anthropological Perspectives

Thomas Hylland Eriksen

London: Pluto Press 1993 (second, expanded edition 2002)

<http://folk.uio.no/geirthe/Ethnicity.html#Chapter1>

1. What is ethnicity?

It takes at least two somethings to create a difference. (...) Clearly each alone is - for the mind and perception - a non-entity, a non-being. Not different from being, and not different from non-being. An unknowable, a Ding an sich, a sound from one hand clapping.

Gregory Bateson (1979: 78)

Words like "ethnic groups", "ethnicity" and "ethnic conflict" have become quite common terms in the English language, and they keep cropping up in the press, in TV news, in political programmes and in casual conversations. The same can be said for "nation" and "nationalism", and many of us have to admit that the meaning of these terms frequently seems ambiguous and vague.

There has been a parallel development in the social sciences. During the 1980s and early 1990s, we have witnessed an explosion in the growth of scholarly publications on ethnicity and nationalism, particularly in the fields of political science, history, sociology and social anthropology.

In the case of social anthropology, ethnicity has been a main preoccupation since the late 1960s, and it remains a central focus for research in the 1990s. In this book, the importance of anthropological approaches to the study of ethnicity will be emphasised. Through its dependence on long-term fieldwork, anthropology has the advantage of generating first-hand knowledge of social life at the level of everyday interaction. To a great extent, this is the locus where ethnicity is created and re-created. Ethnicity emerges and is made relevant through ongoing social situations and encounters, and through people's ways of coping with the demands and challenges of life. From its vantage-point right at the centre of local life, social anthropology is in a unique position to investigate these processes. Anthropological approaches also enable us to explore the ways in which ethnic relations are being defined and perceived by people; how they talk and think about their own group as well as other groups, and how particular world-views are being maintained or contested. The significance of ethnic membership to

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The 2002 Paul Hanly Furfey Lecture

Crosses of Blood: Sacred Space, Religion, and Violence in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Michael Sells*
Haverford College

The role of religion in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been both obvious and invisible. It was obvious in that both perpetrators and victims of organized atrocities were identified by their religious tradition. It was invisible in that the religious manifestations were viewed either as incidental or as masks for deeper social, political, and economic issues; or else categorized exclusively as aspects of ethnicity.

This essay examines the role of religion in the ideology of those carrying out "ethnic cleansing," as manifested in the literature of the religious nationalists and, particularly in the case of Catholic religious nationalism, in the language of destruction and construction of shrines. Juxtaposed to the shrine texts of religious nationalism is a vision of shrine preservation and reconstruction. The reconstruction efforts are viewed by their advocates as central to the construction of a pluriform Bosnia-Herzegovina in which all religions historically integral to Bosnian civilization will be viewed as equal and equally important elements of the national identity. By examining the struggle between these two visions of sacred monuments, we can better understand and evaluate the agency of religious institutions, leaders, and symbols in the Bosnian drama.

The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia has been commonly attributed to ethnic, economic, political and social factors. Religion is commonly seen as not relevant to the conflict or as a disguise for deeper causes. Yet religion, in two senses, was a factor. First, victims were selected largely on the basis of their formal religious affiliation as Croat, Serb, or Muslim — that is, on the basis of their affiliation with Catholicism, Serb Orthodoxy, or Islam. In most cases there was no other distinguishing factor, such as appearance, language, or clothing. When the target identity was not apparent from personal names, then informants or records (such as voter registration lists) were needed to select victims for persecution. Some survivors have remarked, for example, that they had not viewed themselves as religious or even thought about their religious identity until they were singled out for persecution because of it: they discovered they

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The Global Rise of Religious Nationalism

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If it can be said that the modernist ideology of the post-Enlightenment West effectively separated religion from public life, then what has happened in recent years—since the watershed Islamic revolution in Iran in 1978—is religion's revenge. After years of waiting in history's wings, religion has renewed its claim to be an ideology of public order in a dramatic fashion: violently. From Algeria to Idaho, a legion of religious activists have expressed a hatred of secular governments that exudes an almost transcendent passion, and they dream of revolutionary changes that will establish a godly social order in the rubble of what the citizens of most secular societies regard as modern, egalitarian democracies.¹

Their enemies seem to most of us to be both benign and banal: modern secular leaders such as Indira Gandhi and Yitzhak Rabin, and such symbols of prosperity and authority as international airlines and the World Trade Center. The logic of their ideological religious view is, although difficult to comprehend, profound, for it contains a fundamental critique of the world's post-Enlightenment secular culture and politics. In many cases, especially in areas of the world where modernization is a synonym for Westernization, movements of religious nationalism have served as liberation struggles against what their supporters perceive to be alien ideologies and foreign powers.

"Palestine is not completely free," a leader of Hamas's policy wing told me, "until it is an Islamic state."² The Hamas activist voiced this opinion only a few months before the January 1996 elections, an event that not only brought Yasir Arafat triumphantly into power but also fulfilled the Palestinian dream of an independent nation. Yet it was not the kind of nation that the Islamic activist and his

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Chapter 7

Is Secularism Less Violent than Religion?

Janet R. Jakobsen

Is secularism less violent than religion? In my research on this topic I began with a typically academic answer of "yes and no." But the more research and reading that I've done on the topic, the less accurate this answer has seemed, and finally I came to the conclusion that the answer must simply be "no." The secular is not less violent than the religious; in fact, it is more so. It is a source of greater, more intense, and more intractable violence than are religious practices, communities, or worldviews and commitments. So, given that this conclusion is somewhat counterintuitive in today's world, with its focus on the religious roots of terrorism, how did I get there?

The question was originally posed to me by a student in my "Religion, Gender, and Violence" course in the fall of 2002.¹ I had been asked by the chair of the religion department to develop this course the previous spring, in the hope of providing a venue to consider some of the issues that had come to the fore of public debate after the attacks of September 11, 2001. The student's question was part of a larger set of questions prompted by the media discussion of the attacks. Is religious "fundamentalism" the root of the problem? Is religion a particular source of violence in the world? If so, is secularism the answer to this violence? Is the spread of secularism a road to peace? There is a standard answer to all of this for those of us who study religion, one that it is important to reiterate: religion in and of itself does not promote violence anymore than secularism in and of itself promotes peace. Just as some of the most horrendous militarism and violence in the history of our ever smaller world has been religiously motivated, so has some of the most grand and most successful efforts for peace and peaceful social change been religiously grounded. Similarly, the most horrific and deadly wars of the twentieth century, particularly the two world wars, were pursued by putatively secular nation-states. Moreover, religion is not always and everywhere conservative. In the United States, we need only think of the religious roots of the civil rights movement to see that religion can be a force for progressive as well as for conservative social change. It is important to state these facts clearly because they run counter to the dominant narratives of the mainstream media.² And to state them is not to dismiss the issue of

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RELIGION AND GLOBALIZATION

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Peter Beyer

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CHAPTER 1

THINKING GLOBALLY
ABOUT RELIGION

MARK JUERGENSMEYER

MAPS can deceive. Several decades ago cartographers were fond of providing maps that allegedly demarcated the spatial locations of world religions. A great wash of red would stretch from Tibet to Japan, engulfing China, to show where Buddhism was. The Middle East would be tinted green for the terrain of Islam, a yellow India for Hinduism, an orange for African religion, while Christianity's color—often blue, I recall—was brightly emblazoned on Europe and the Western Hemisphere. Some of the more sophisticated maps would make a distinction between the light blue of Protestant Canada and the United States, and the dark blue of Catholic Latin America, but there was no question as to clarity of the demarcation. I imagined slipping across the border from a Buddhist red zone to an Islamic green one and suddenly encountering mosques where previously there had been only stupas, temples, and chanting monks.

It has never really been like that, of course. Although there are regions of the world that serve as dense centers of gravity for certain religious traditions, much of the world is less certain as to its religious identity, and always has been. Even Hindu India was a quarter Muslim before Pakistan was created, and even today 15 percent of the Indian population reveres Islam. Indonesia—the largest Muslim country on the planet—is the home of a rich Hindu culture in Bali and contains at Borabatur one of the world's most important ancient Buddhist shrines. China has such diverse religious strata, with most of its population simultaneously accepting Confucian values, Taoist beliefs, and Buddhist worship practices, that most scholars prefer to speak of a multicultural "Chinese religion," rather than any of

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Manfred B. Steger

GLOBALIZATION

A Very Short Introduction

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MESSAGES TO THE WORLD

THE STATEMENTS OF OSAMA BIN LADEN

Edited and Introduced by
BRUCE LAWRENCE

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2005

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DISSENT FROM THE HOMELAND

essays after September 11

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS • DURHAM & LONDON • 2003



JUST WAR AGAINST TERROR

*The Burden of American
Power in a Violent World*

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN



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New York

2003

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*Is Multiculturalism
Bad for Women?*

SUSAN MOLLER OKIN

WITH RESPONDENTS



EDITED BY JOSHUA COHEN,

MATTHEW HOWARD,

AND MARTHA C. NUSSBAUM



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1999



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Religion, culture and women's human rights: Some general political and theoretical considerations

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Department of French Studies, University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia

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Synopsis

Religious and cultural rights, generally expressed as collective or 'group' rights, are perceived by some as being frequently asserted at women's expense. For others, the assertion of the supremacy of individual rights is a Western concept incompatible with the dynamics of non-Western societies. Caught within the real or perceived tensions between group rights and individual rights, women may feel pressured to choose between gender and ethnicity (involving culture/religion) as the site of their primary loyalty. Even when women refuse to be forced into such choices, the polarisation can be such that the discursive or strategic spaces available to them to express an alternative stance are limited.

This article, in looking at these issues with relation to Muslim-background women, not only identifies current tensions between 'culture/religion' on the one hand and 'women's individual human rights' on the other, but asks, in doing so, to what extent these tensions are real or manufactured, and whose interests are being served by maintaining them. The article will refer, among other examples, to the French debate over the Islamic headscarf and to discourses and realities of women's rights in Afghanistan.

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Introduction

In 1999, the late Susan Moller Okin, in the title of her now-famous essay first published in the *Boston Review*, asked the question: 'Is multiculturalism bad for women?' That essay gave rise to much polemic, and it was republished, along with a number of responses by well-known scholars, in an anthology of the same name (Cohen, Howard & Nussbaum, 1999).

Okin's basic argument was that the multiculturalist recognition of 'group rights,' associated with particularist notions of cultural identity, as opposed to universalist notions of individual rights, is dangerous to women, for 'most cultures have as one of their principal aims the control of women by men' (Okin, 1999, p. 13). Women's rights are thus likely to be violated in the process of validating group cultural rights. The main arguments in opposition to Okin's thesis are first, that her interpretation

of 'women's rights' is culturally specific and thus what is good for western women may not be good for 'Other' women (e.g. Al-Hibri, 1999; Gilman, 1999), second, that 'culture' and 'religion' are frequently sites of resistance for women against other forms of domination (race, economic and so on), and as such, of empowerment, and thus not always oppressive (Kymlicka, 1999; Nussbaum, 1999; Sassen, 1999), and that, in arguing that oppression of women is a core value of most cultures, Okin is arguing for the 'extinguishing' of minority cultures (which she is not) (Al-Hibri, 1999; An-Na'im, 1999; Honig, 1999).

The polemic expressed through Okin's essay and the responses to it are representative of much of the debate over women, religion, culture and human rights as it has been played out over approximately the last two decades. There would appear to be a fundamental conflict not only between different sets of 'rights' but between different views of how 'rights' should be enacted and defended. In

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Women's Rights as Human Rights

By Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat

The Promotion of Human Rights as a Counter-Culture

Human rights are rights claimed against the State and society by virtue of being a human being. However, the human rights of most people have been continuously violated all around the world. Since all civilizations have been patriarchal,¹ regardless of the overall human rights conditions maintained in a society, women have been subject to more human rights violations than men. Women constitute the poorest and the least powerful segments of their communities. They are denied equal access to education, job training, employment, leisure time, income, property, health care, public office, decision-making power and freedoms, as well as control over their own body and life.² Cultural norms, laws and philosophies, including those that are considered progressive and emancipatory, have usually discriminated against women.

OMISSION OF WOMEN

The ancient Stoics' notion of natural rights, that human beings are created with certain inalienable rights, did not encompass women. When the Christian Church leader St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–1274) was exposed to ancient Greek philosophy—largely through the writings of the Muslim philosophers Avicenna (Ibn Sina, 980–1037) and Averroes (Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198) who studied ancient Greek philosophy, reconciled reason with faith and championed equality and religious tolerance—he incorporated natural rights theory into his teaching. However, he ignored Averroes' egalitarian approach that opposed the unequal treatment of sexes and considered the reduction of women's value to childbearing and rearing as detrimental to the economic advancement of society and thus causing poverty.³ Instead, Aquinas revived Aristotle's misogynous perception of woman as "misbegotten man" and wondered why God would create woman, a defective creature, in the first production of things,⁴ while other church leaders later questioned if women had souls, that is, if they were fully human.

In modern times, progressive philosophers, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), could promote political freedoms and rights, but reject the notion of equality of the sexes. The revolutionary fervour of the eighteenth century that opposed oppression led to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789). However, the articulation of human rights in this document, which continued to inspire people all over the world for centuries, could not escape sexism prevalent at the time and omitted women. Nevertheless, a few elite women, such

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Female Genital Cutting
Cultural Conflict
in the Global Community

ELIZABETH HEGER BOYLE

The Johns Hopkins University Press
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Hegemonic Human Rights and African Resistance: Female Circumcision in a Broader Comparative Perspective*

Elisabetta Grande

Abstract

The issue of Female Circumcision is usually discussed in the framework of extreme human rights violations victimizing non western women. This paper questions this approach by broadly comparing Female Circumcision with similar "cutting" practices routinely performed in Western societies. An integrative approach to comparative law is suggested in order to understand phenomena in context and to avoid ethnocentrism.

KEYWORDS: Human Rights, Hegemony, Female Circumcision, Breast Augmentation, Male Circumcision, Comparative Law

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An Ethic of Political Reconciliation

*Daniel Philpott**

Over the past generation an intense wave of efforts to rebuild political orders in the aftermath of civil war, genocide, and dictatorship has swept throughout the world. Following the cold war, the UN Security Council, acting in a new spirit of cooperation, greatly multiplied the number and scope of its peace operations. The creation of a UN Peacebuilding Commission in 2005, tasked with bringing coordination and focus to peace building, reflected both the importance and the difficulty of these undertakings. A multifold increase in civil war settlements during the same period and a “third wave” of democratization have left scores of societies dealing with past injustices as they strive to build the rule of law. Over thirty truth commissions have taken place in the past thirty years. In the 1990s two international tribunals resurrected the judicial precedent of the Nuremberg Tribunals and were followed by the establishment of a permanent International Criminal Court. Reparations and public apologies are now common political practices.

In this age of peace building the wide variety of activities undertaken to build stability and justice in and between states in the wake of massive war or other large-scale injustices entails a range of difficult ethical issues.¹ What authority do states or international organizations exercise in rebuilding transitional societies? Is it justifiable to forgo the prosecution of war criminals in order to elicit a peace settlement? Can conditional amnesties be justified? May leaders apologize or forgive on behalf of entire states or nations? On behalf of the dead? Do states owe reparations to representatives of victims of past generations? If so, how are amounts to be determined? Is forgiveness justifiable? Or does it indefensibly sacrifice just punishment?

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