

# POLITICS *and* RELIGION



Official journal of the APSA Organized Section  
on Religion and Politics

VOLUME 9, NUMBER 4, DECEMBER 2016

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# POLITICS AND RELIGION

## CO-EDITORS

Paul A. Djupe  
Department of Political Science  
Denison University  
P.O. Box 810  
Granville, OH 43023  
Telephone: (740) 587-6310  
Fax: (740) 587-6601  
E-mail: politicsandreligionjournal@gmail.com

Angelia Wilson  
Department of Political Science  
The University of Manchester  
Oxford Road  
Manchester M13 9PL  
United Kingdom  
Telephone: +44 (0) 161 306 6000  
E-mail: politicsandreligionjournal@gmail.com

## BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Andrew R. Lewis  
Department of Political Science  
University of Cincinnati  
1102 Crosley Tower (0375)  
Cincinnati, OH 45221  
E-mail: lewis2a5@ucmail.uc.edu

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Cynthia Burack, *Ohio State University, USA*  
Simone Chambers, *University of Toronto, Canada*  
Daniel Dreisbach, *American University, USA*  
Joel Fetzer, *Pepperdine University, USA*  
Jo Renee Formicola, *Seton Hall University, USA*  
Jonathan Fox, *Bar-Ilan University, Israel*  
Anna Gryzmala-Busse, *University of Michigan, USA*  
Frances Hagopian, *Harvard University, USA*  
Jeffrey Haynes, *London Metropolitan University, UK*  
Thomas Heilke, *University of Kansas, USA*  
Amaney Jamal, *Princeton University, USA*  
Robert Jones, *Public Religion Research Institute, USA*  
Ahmet T. Kuru, *San Diego State University, USA*

Geoff Layman, *University of Notre Dame, USA*  
Philip Manow, *University of Bremen, German*  
Liz Oldmixon, *University of North Texas, USA*  
Michael Leo Owens, *Emory University, USA*  
Daniel Philpott, *University of Notre Dame, USA*  
Sabrina Ramet, *Norwegian University of Science & Technology, Norway*  
Sultan Tepe, *University of Illinois at Chicago, USA*  
Colin Tyler, *University of Hull, UK*  
Ken Wald, *University of Florida, USA*  
Clyde Wilcox, *Georgetown University, USA*  
Erin K. Wilson, *University of Groningen, Netherlands*  
Fenggang Yang, *Purdue University, USA*

*Politics and Religion*, is an international journal publishing high quality peer-reviewed research on the multifaceted relationship between religion and politics around the world. The scope of published work is intentionally broad and we invite innovative work from all methodological approaches in the major subfields of political science, including international relations, American politics, comparative politics, and political theory, that seeks to improve our understanding of religion's role in some aspect of world politics. The Editors invite normative and empirical investigations of the public representation of religion, the religious and political institutions that shape religious presence in the public square, and the role of religion in shaping citizenship, broadly considered, as well as pieces that attempt to advance our methodological tools for examining religious influence in political life.

## Politics and Religion

Volume 9, Number 4, December 2016

---

Editors' Introduction 689

### ARTICLES

A Tribute to Ken Wald  
*Paul Djupe* 692

The Political Economy of Support for Sharia: Evidence from the  
Russian North Caucasus  
*Valery Dzutsati, David Siroky and Khasan Dzutsev* 695

Exploring the Foundations of US State-Level Anti-Sharia Initiatives  
*Joshua L. Mitchell and Brendan Toner* 720

A Note on the Determinants of the Regulation of Religion  
*Elina Schleutker* 744

From Anglo-Saxon Nativism to Executive Order: Civil Religion  
and Anti-Immigration Rhetoric  
*Ryan T. O'Leary* 771

The Authorization of Religio-political Discourse: Monks and  
Buddhist Activism in Contemporary Myanmar and Beyond  
*Matthew J. Walton and Michael Jerryson* 794

It's Institutions, Not Theology! Muslim Actors' Influence on  
Democratization in Mali  
*Julia Leininger* 815

The Dialectic between Confrontation and Commitment:  
Religious-Zionism and the Settlement Project  
*Moshe Hellinger, Isaac Hershkowitz and Bernard Susser* 843

### FEATURED REVIEW EXCHANGE

*European States and Their Muslim Citizens: The Impact of  
Institutions on Perceptions and Boundaries.* Edited by  
John R. Bowen, Christophe Bertossi, Jan Willem Duyvendak,  
and Mona Lena Krook  
*Rafiq Dossani* 867

*Modes of Engagement: Muslim Minorities in Asia.* Edited by Rafiq Dossani  
John R. Bowen 874

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

*Political Secularism, Religion, and the State: A Time Series Analysis of Worldwide Data.* By Jonathan Fox  
REVIEWED BY Michael D. Driessen 878

*Politics of Religious Freedom.* Edited by Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, Elizabeth Shackman Hurd, Saba Mahmood, and Peter G. Danchin  
REVIEWED BY Laura Dudley Jenkins 881

*Godless Democrats and Pious Republicans? Party Activists, Party Capture, and the "God Gap".* By Ryan L. Claassen  
REVIEWED BY Stephen T. Mockabee 884

*Terror, Religion, and Liberal Thought.* By Richard B. Miller  
REVIEWED BY Darren Walhof 886

*What They Wished For: American Catholics and American Presidents, 1960–2004.* By Lawrence J. McAndrews  
REVIEWED BY Finbarr Curtis 889

*The Al-Qaeda Franchise: The Expansion of al-Qaeda and Its Consequences.* By Barak Mendelsohn  
REVIEWED BY Stephen C. Nemeth 892

*Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Square.* By Cathleen Kaveny  
REVIEWED BY John Kitch 895

**CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE** 898

# POLITICS AND RELIGION

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS

- Manuscripts may be submitted to either of the Co-Editors.
- Manuscripts must be no longer than 10,000 words including text, tables and figures, references and appendices. The entire manuscript (including notes and references) must be double-spaced, with one-inch margins and 12-point font.
- The author must include a separate title page, with his or her full contact information (including email address, telephone number and institutional affiliation). All identifying information must be removed from the manuscript.
- A second page must include an abstract of no more than 200 words.
- Placement of tables or figures should be cited in the text. The publisher will be responsible for placing artwork, tables or figures, as well as converting endnotes to footnotes.
- Appendices, tables, and figures should be numbered consecutively throughout the article and be included on separate pages appearing after the reference section. Figures should be ready for photographic reproduction; they cannot be redrawn by the publisher. Charts, graphs, or other artwork should be professionally rendered or computer generated. Photographs should be clearly printed and should remain legible after a 50% reduction.
- References and notes should conform to the APSA Style Manual. Authors should include full volume, issue, and page numbers for references. Author's acknowledgments or other personal notes will appear as an unnumbered note at the foot of the page. Notes should be numbered consecutively throughout the article. Numbered notes should appear at the end of the sentence. If multiple texts are cited in a sentence they should appear as one consolidated note at the end of the sentence.
- Endnotes should be employed (rather than footnotes).
- All figure captions should be typed on a separate page (or pages), rather than on the figures themselves (which are camera-ready art) so that they can be copyedited.

Originality and copyright: Papers with multiple authors are reviewed with the assumption that all authors concur with its submission. A Copyright Transfer Agreement, with certain specified rights reserved by the author, must be signed and returned to the Editor by senior authors of accepted manuscripts, prior to publication. *Politics and Religion* does not accept manuscripts for review that are under review elsewhere, previously published or already committed for publication.

For general guidelines for preparing a manuscript for submission, please refer to the *APSA Style Manual for Political Science* (rev. ed. 2001) for citation, footnotes, references, and other style issues. Please note, in particular, the statement on gender specific language (15).