RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

RELS 340/840

Winter 2013

Queen’s University
School of Religion

Wednesdays 11:30–2:20
Ellis Hall Room 332

Instructor: Mehmet Karabela
Office: THEO Room 403
Phone: 613.533.6000 ext. 74326
E-mail: mehmet.karabela@queensu.ca
Office Hours: Tuesday 10:30 am–12:15 pm or by arrangements (via e-mail)

EXPANDED COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course explores the role of religion in the public sphere and its relation to liberal democracy, drawing upon insights from religious studies, political science, international relations, philosophy, and history. It examines the (in)compatibility of some tenets of certain religions with modern democratic principles of governance, individual freedom, human rights, justice, the equality of all before the law, multiculturalism, and pluralism. The relationship between religion and liberal democracy in the 20th century attracted much attention when Francis Fukuyama claimed in his essay “The End of History?” that Western liberal democracy constituted the end of mankind’s ideological evolution and the final form of human government. Shortly thereafter, Samuel Huntington suggested in his own piece, “The Clash of Civilizations?”, that the end of the Cold War signalled the end of conflict within Western civilization, and that a new era of inter-civilizational conflicts would begin.

Following these highly contested but influential essays, which came in the wake of Iran’s Islamic Revolution in 1979 and the collapse of the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s, religion has returned to international and domestic political arenas, whereby globalization, multiculturalism and transnationalism have emerged as alternative sources of identity. Within this context, the first part of the course will lay out the conceptual tools for analyzing the relationship between religion and democracy through the works of Carl Schmitt, Charles Taylor, Fredric Jameson, José Casanova, Peter Beyer, Jürgen Habermas, Will Kymlicka, Jeffrey Stout, and Chantal Mouffe by focusing on the three themes: secularism, globalization, and multiculturalism. The second part of the course takes Turkey, Iran, and Quebec as case studies, and examines significant moments in each society related to the trajectory of the religion and democracy debate. The final part of the course will consist of debate sessions on challenging social and religious issues, such as same-sex marriage, homosexuality, wearing of headscarves, infant male circumcision and honour killings.

OBJECTIVES

The course aims to give students

- A broader understanding of the concepts and theories of religion and democracy,
- A sense of the historical trajectories of significant thematic, national and international issues concerning religion and liberal democracy,
- A firm grounding in the ideals of democracy and the challenges of religious diversity in multicultural liberal democracies,
- An opportunity to improve their skills in analyzing texts, deconstructing arguments and formulating original and justified criticism, both oral and written.
RECOMMENDED BOOKS (For Consultation)

- Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (MIT Press, 1985)
- Chantal Mouffe, *The Return of the Political* (Verso, 1993)
- Clay Crockett, *Radical Political Theology: Religion and Politics after Liberalism* (CUP, 2011)
- Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Duke Uni. Press, 1991)

COURSE READINGS AND COPYRIGHT OF COURSE MATERIALS

All weekly readings (book chapters and articles) will be posted on the Moodle website and books will be available on reserve at the Stauffer library. However, this material is designed for use as part of Religion and Democracy course at Queen’s University in winter 2013 and is the property of the instructor unless otherwise stated. Third party copyrighted materials (such as book chapters and articles) have either been licensed for use in this course or fall under an exception or limitation in Canadian Copyright law. Copying this material for distribution (e.g. uploading material to a commercial third-party website) can lead to a violation of Copyright law. Find out more about copyright here: http://library.queensu.ca/copyright.

GRADING METHOD

Assessment will be based on:

A. Mid-Term Exam (25%): February 13, 2013 (in class).
B. Presentation (15%): One article or book chapter presentation for undergraduate students and one book presentation for graduate students.
C. Harkness Discussions (20%): Instructor-led and peer-reviewed discussions of legal, ethical, religious, and political issues.
D. Research Paper (40%): Between 2000-2500 words typed for undergraduate students and 4000-5000 words typed for graduate students) Due date: April 12, 2013, by 12:30 pm.

Details of all assignments (presentations, Harkness discussions and research paper) will be handed out in class.
GRADING SCHEME

All components of this course will receive numerical percentage marks. The final grade you receive for the course will be derived by converting your numerical course average to a letter grade according to Queen’s Official Grade Conversion Scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Numerical Course Average (Range)</th>
<th>C+</th>
<th>67-69</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A+</td>
<td>90-100</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>63-66</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>85-89</td>
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<td>A-</td>
<td>80-84</td>
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<td>B+</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>73-76</td>
<td>D-</td>
<td>50-52</td>
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<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>70-72</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>49 and below</td>
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ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

At Queen’s, academic integrity is constituted by the five core fundamental values of honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility (see www.academicintegrity.org). These values are central to the building, nurturing and sustaining of an academic community in which all members of the community will thrive. Adherence to the values expressed through academic integrity forms a foundation for the “freedom of inquiry and exchange of ideas” essential to the intellectual life of the University (see the Senate Report on Principles and Priorities: http://www.queensu.ca/secretariat/policies/senateandtrustees/principlespriorities.htm).

Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with the regulations concerning academic integrity and for ensuring that their assignments conform to the principles of academic integrity. Information on academic integrity is available in the Arts and Science Calendar (see Academic Regulation 1 http://www.queensu.ca/arts/academic-calendars/2011-2012-calendar/academic-regulations/regulation-1), on the Arts and Science website: (http://www.queensu.ca/arts/academics/undergraduate/academic-integrity), and from the instructor of this course.

Departures from academic integrity include plagiarism, use of unauthorized materials, facilitation, forgery and falsification, and are antithetical to the development of an academic community at Queen’s. Given the seriousness of these matters, actions which contravene the regulation on academic integrity carry sanctions that can range from a warning or the loss of grades on an assignment to the failure of a course to a requirement to withdraw from the university.

LATE & ACCOMMODATION POLICY

There is NO make-up mid-term exam policy unless accompanied by a documented medical excuse. Late papers will be marked down one full letter grade for each day after the due date.

If you have a physical, psychological, or learning situation that may require accommodations in this course, please contact immediately Queen’s Health Counselling and Disability Services (HCDS), located in the LaSalle Building, 146 Stuart Street (613-533-6467), in order to receive documentation identifying needs requiring accommodation by the instructor. (http://www.queensu.ca/hcds)
**SYLLABUS**

**Session I:** 11:30-12:45  
(Break: 12:45-1:00)  
**Session II:** 1:00-2:20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 1 (January 9): INTRODUCTION: DISCOURSES ON RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY</th>
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</table>
| **SESSION I**  
Structure of the Course  
(Details on presentations & research papers)  
and Short Introduction  |
| **SESSION II**  
Status Quaestionis:  
Between Religious Studies and Political Science  |

**Supplementary Readings:**

**Note:** No reading assigned for the first week

| Short Literature Review:  
From Machiavelli to Francis Fukuyama  |
| --- |
| Machiavelli (d.1527), *Discourses on Livy*;  
John Locke (d.1704), *Second Treatise of Government*;  
Jean-Jacques Rousseau (d.1778), *The Social Contract*;  
Alexis de Tocqueville (d.1859), *Democracy in America*;  
John Stuart Mill (d.1873), *On Liberty*, Max Weber (d.1920), *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*;  
Carl Schmitt (d.1985), *Political Theology*;  
Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy*;  
John Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* |

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<tr>
<th>Week 2 (January 16): RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY IN THE POST-COLD WAR CONTEXT</th>
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| **SESSION I**  
Exploring the End of History,  
the Clash of Civilizations and the Third Way  |
| **SESSION II**  
Democracy vs. Liberalism or  
Illiberal Democracy  |

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<th>Readings:</th>
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### Week 3 (January 23): SECULARIZATION AND RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SESSION I</th>
<th>SESSION II</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Varieties of Secularization and “the Religious” in the Political Sphere</td>
<td>Political Theology and Post-Secularism</td>
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**Readings:**

### Week 4 (January 30): GLOBALIZATION AND RELIGION

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SESSION I</th>
<th>SESSION II</th>
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**Readings:**
**Week 5 (February 6): MULTICULTURALISM AND RELIGION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SESSION I</th>
<th>SESSION II</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural Citizenship and Minorities</td>
<td>Immigration, Religious Freedom and Liberal Democracy</td>
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**Readings:**

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**Week 6 (February 13): MID-TERM EXAM (In Class) 11:30-2:30

(February 20): READING WEEK (No Class)**

**Week 7 (February 27): ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SESSION I</th>
<th>SESSION II</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tension Between State Secularization Process and Islam</td>
<td>The Market for Identities: Islam, Secularity and Democracy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Readings:**
- Şükru Hanıoğlu, "The Historical Roots of Kemalism," in *Democracy, Islam and*
- Binnaz Toprak, “Islam and Democracy in


**Supplementary Primary Source Presentation:**


| Week 8 (March 6): ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY IN IRAN (Cold War & Post-Khomeini) |
|---|---|
| **SESSION I** | **SESSION II** |
| Shi‘ite Challenge: Islamic State and the Man who Changed the World | Post-Revolutionary Iran: Khomeinism, Reform and Transnational Literature |
| **Readings:** | **Readings:** |
## Week 9 (March 13): RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY IN MODERN QUEBEC (1950s & beyond)

### SESSION I
Quiet Revolution and *Cité Libre*: From Catholic Backwater to a Secular Modernity?

**Readings:**

### SESSION II
Exploring Reasonable Accommodation and the Bouchard-Taylor Commission

**Readings:**

## Week 10 (March 20): HARKNESS DISCUSSIONS (Religion, Gender and State)

### SESSION I
The Rule of Love vs. the Rule of Law: Same-Sex Marriage, Gays, Lesbians in the Eyes of the State and Religion

**Readings:**
- D. E. Sherkat, K. M. De Vries and S. Creek, “Race, Religion, and Opposition to Same-Sex

### SESSION II
The Uses of Veiling: Religious Symbols in the Public Sphere

**Readings:**
- Christian Joppke, “State Neutrality and Islamic Headscarf Laws in France and

**Week 11 (March 27): HARKNESS DISCUSSIONS (Religion and Human Rights)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SESSION I</th>
<th>SESSION II</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infant Male Circumcision and the Rights of the Child: A Religious and Legal Conundrum</strong></td>
<td><strong>Female Purity &amp; Honour Killing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Readings:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Readings:</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Week 12 (April 3): HARKNESS DISCUSSIONS (Religions and Liberal Democracy)

#### SESSION I
Democracy and the Protestant Exceptionalism

**Readings:**

#### SESSION II
Wrap-Up Session

Reflecting on and connecting knowledge learned through the entire course

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**RESEARCH PAPER: Due on April 12, 2013 at 12:30 pm.**

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