

Catholic & Islamic Perspectives on Democracy

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

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TU-TH, 10:00-11:15

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T TH 12:00-13:00

or by appointment

I. Description

This newly designed course comparatively explores themes related to the process of democratization in Catholic and Muslim settings. The second half of the 20th century saw significant and sustainable expansion of political rights and civil liberties especially in predominantly Catholic countries in Europe and Latin America. Most recently, democratic struggles have gained impetus in several Muslim countries in the Middle East and South-East Asia. Particularly interesting is the transformation of religious actors (e.g., the Catholic Church, clergy, non-governmental organizations, political parties) from bastions of authoritarian status quo into supporters of progressive political change. In this historical context, the course addresses the following questions: 1) what factors cause liberal-democracy; 2) how democracy and religious faith accommodate each other; and 3) how Catholic and Muslim faiths respond to the challenge of the expansion of rights and sociopolitical pluralism.

The course, which pursues an interdisciplinary and interregional approach, has four broad sections. The first section discusses the multidimensional nature of liberal democracy, the causes of democratization, and the complex relationship between religion and democratic governance. The second section focuses on the role of religious actors in the democratic struggles in three predominantly Catholic countries: Spain, Brazil, and Poland. The third section shifts the focus of analysis to three predominantly Muslim countries: Turkey, Indonesia, and Iran. The final section concludes with a brief discussion of how Catholic and Muslim faiths deal with the rising demands for gender equality. The course will 1) generate theoretical insight into the question of how religious faith and pursuit of political ideology and self-interest with each other; 2) provide students with analytical tools and knowledge to examine the interrelated patterns of religious revival and democratic struggles; 3) make students familiar with sociopolitical change in diverse historical and geographical settings.

II. Requirements

Assignments

Grades will be based on quizzes, a book review, a research draft and a research paper. The percent distribution of the final grade is as follows:

- Four in-class quizzes, each counting for 10 percent of the total grade: 40 percent
- A review of one of the listed books (due in class on **October 1**): 15 percent
- Draft & bibliography for the research paper (due in class on **November 17**): 5 percent
- Research paper on an assigned topic (due in class on **December 1**): 30 percent
- Participation grade which includes attendance and active contribution in class discussions: 10 percent

Quizzes are mostly made of multiple-choice and fill-in-the-blank type questions. The quiz dates are **September 17th**, **October 20th**, **November 12th**, and **December 3rd**. Extra credit opportunities, which will be directly added to the quiz grade, will be offered throughout the semester.

All writing assignments should be double-spaced and use a **font size of 12 and style of Times New Roman**. Detailed information about these assignments can be found in the end of this syllabus.

Book Reviews

Every student is required to write a review by choosing one of the following books. See section V for guidelines.

- Orhan Pamuk, *Snow*. A political novel set in a remote eastern Turkish town offering interesting perspectives into the multilayered and ambivalent nature of conflict between Islamist actors and secularist system.
- Ignazio Silone, *Bread and Wine*. A political novel set in Italy during the Fascist period exploring how Catholic faith and socialist ideology, seemingly two irreconcilable commitments, can coexist.

Grade and Make-Up Policy

Due dates are absolutely non-negotiable. No *force majeure* clauses are applicable. Students who fail to submit review paper, research draft, or research paper on time will automatically receive **an F for the class**. Students who miss quizzes are given make-ups only if they are able to provide **proper documentation** for their absence. Make-ups are given only within four days of the original quiz date. Students who miss more than one quiz will automatically receive **an F for the class**.

The following grading scale is applicable in this class: A: 100-94, A-:93-90, B+:89-87, B: 86-84, B-: 83-80, C+:76-74, C: 76-74, C-: 73-70, D+: 69-67, D: 66-64, D-: 63-60, F: 59-0. Grades are rounded to the nearest integer (e.g., 79.4=79, 79.6=80).

III. Academic Honesty

Loyola's College of Arts and Sciences defines plagiarism as "appropriation of ideas, language, work, or intellectual property of another, either by intent or by negligence, without sufficient public acknowledgement and appropriate citation that the material is not one's own." A detailed description of what is meant by academic integrity is also found in that catalog. For more information and student responsibilities, see http://www.luc.edu/cas/pdfs/CAS_Academic_Integrity_Statement_December_07.pdf

All acts of academic dishonesty including plagiarism, cheating, submitting false documents, and copying another student's work will be penalized by **an F for the course** without any exception and leniency.

IV. Assigned Material

The following books are required readings in this class and are available for purchase at Loyola's bookstore.

- Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Charles Tilly, *Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Jose Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Required readings also include scholarly articles and book chapters that are indicated in the next section. These readings will be stored at Blackboard.

V. An Overview of the Course

1. Democracy
 - a. Defining & Measuring Democracy
 - b. Causes of Democracy
2. Religion & Democracy
 - a. Secularism
 - b. Religious Actors
3. Catholic Countries & Democratization
 - a. Spain
 - b. Brazil
 - c. Poland
4. Muslim Countries & Democratization

- a. Turkey
 - b. Indonesia
 - c. Iran
5. Catholicism, Islam and Gender Equality

Week I (August 25 & 27)

- Defining & Measuring Democracy

Taylor, chapter 1

Week II (September 1 & 3)

- Causes of Democracy

Taylor, chapters 2-3, pp. 193-196.

Week III (September 8 & 10)

- Causes of Democracy
- Secularism & Democracy

Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 2, 2 (Spring 1991): 12-34.

Casanova, chapters 1-2.

Week IV (September 15 & 17)

- Secularism & Democracy
- Catholic Actors & Democratization

Alfred Stepan, "Religion, Democracy, and the "Twin Tolerations"," *Journal of Democracy*, 11, 4 (October 2000): 37-57.

Paul E. Sigmund, "The Catholic Tradition and Modern Democracy," *The Review of Politics* 49, 4 (Autumn 1987): 530-548.

Daniel Philpott, "The Catholic Wave," *The Journal of Democracy* 15, 2 (April 2004): 32-46.

1st quiz on September 17th.

Week V (September 22 & 24)

- Catholic Actors & Democratization

John Anderson, "The Catholic Contribution to Democratization's 'Third Wave': Altruism, Hegemony or Self-Interest?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20, 3 (September 2007): 383-399.

Anthony Gill, "Rendering unto Caesar? Religious Competition and Catholic Political Strategy in Latin America, 1962-79," *American Journal of Political Science* 38, 2 (May 1994): 403-425.

Frances Hagopian, "Latin American Catholicism in an Age of Religious and Political Pluralism: A Framework for Analysis," *Comparative Politics* 40, 2 (January 2008).

Week VI (September 29 & October 1)

- Spain

Taylor, pp. 146-160.

Casanova, chapter 3.

Juan J. Linz, "Church and State in Spain from the Civil War to the Return of Democracy," *Daedalus* 120, 3 (Summer 1991): 159-177.

Book reviews due October 1.

Week VII (October 8)

- Film Showing

Week VIII (October 13 & 15)

- Brazil

Casanova, chapter 5.

Week IX (October 20 & 22)

- Poland

Casanova, chapter 4.

Irena Borowik, "Democracy and the Church in Poland," *Social Compass* 49, 2 (2002): 239-252.

2nd quiz on October 20.

Week X (October 27 & 29)

- Muslim Actors & Democratization

Abdou Filali-Ansary, "Muslims and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10, 3 (July 1999): 18-32.

Güneş Murat Tezcür, *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey: The Paradox of Moderation*, University of Texas Press, 2010, chapter 4.

Week XI (November 3 & 5)

- Turkey

Güneş Murat Tezcür, "Constitutionalism, Judiciary, and Democracy in Islamic Societies," *Polity* 39, 4 (October 2007): 479-501.

Tezcür, *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey*, chapter 7.

Week XII (November 10 & 12)

- Iran

Tezcür, *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey: The Paradox of Moderation*, chapter 6.

Said Amir Arjomand, "The Reform Movement and the Debate on Modernity and Tradition in Contemporary Iran," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, 4 (2002): 719-731.

Farhad Khosrokhavar, "The New Intellectuals in Iran," *Social Compass* 51, 2 (2004): 191-202.

3rd quiz on November 12.

Week XIII (November 17 & 19)

- Indonesia

Hefner, *Civil Islam* (whole book).

Draft and bibliography due November 17.

Week XIV (November 24)

- Film

Week XV (December 1 & 3)

- Catholicism, Islam & Gender Equality

Ronald Inglehart & Pippa Norris, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, chapter 3.

Nayereh Tohidi & Jane H. Bayes, "Women Redefining Modernity and Religion in the Globalized Context," in Bayes & Tohidi ed. *Globalization, Gender, and Religion: The Politics of Women's Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2001), pp. 17-60.

Research papers due December 1.

4th quiz on December 3.

VI. Book Review Guidelines

A good review should not try to provide a summary of the books. Instead, it should be *interpretative*. Focus on themes that are universal to human experience such as the complicated relationship between religious faith and political freedom, and pursuit of political ideals and compromises necessitated by pragmatism. Creativity, unique and comparative insights, sophisticated personal reflections, and approaches that situate the novel in broader historical contexts are appreciated and rewarded. Students are not required to consult additional sources. If they do, they should properly cite their sources. The reviews should be **seven to eight pages**.

VII. Research Project Guidelines

An important part of this course is a term paper on a subject that is related to the themes covered throughout the semester. The project aims to sharpen students' analytical thinking skills and improve their research and writing abilities. It has two components:

Outline & Annotated Bibliography

The outline should clearly state the focus of the research question, briefly discuss different approaches to the topic, and summarize the building blocks of the argument. Outlines that do not include a research question are unacceptable. The outline should be around **one single spaced page**. The annotated bibliography, which is separate from the draft, should reflect substantial research both in quantity and quality. An annotated bibliography briefly describes the content of the book (in one or two sentences). Annotated bibliographies that cite less than **fifteen scholarly works** are considered weak. A classical source to consult when writing a term paper is

K. L. Turabian. *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. 2007 (seventh ed.) or 1996 (sixth ed.). University of Chicago Press.

Research Paper

Papers should not be less than **ten double spaced** and not more than **twelve double spaced** pages. Papers should be submitted in hard copies during class hours on due date. Electronic submissions are not accepted. Papers are evaluated according to several criteria: a) the quality and scope of research, b) the quality of writing and organization, c) the accuracy of knowledge, d) the ability to engage with different arguments, and e) the coherence and consistency of the main argument. A good paper makes a credible argument and sustains that argument by relying on a variety of sources. Hence, it is conceptual and analytical, rather than being purely descriptive. As a rule, students should rely on sources that can legitimately claim some expertise on the topic. Sources that are usually considered legitimate include academic scholarship, well-established media outlets, information centers (e.g. NGOs), and primary documents. Consulting sources in primary languages (or direct translations from these languages) are particularly encouraged. Students should give priority to locating scholarly articles and

books pertinent to their topic (this means using the printed and electronic sources provided by library). Scholars and sensible people often tend to disagree. A good paper discusses all relevant arguments and evaluates their strengths and weaknesses in a fair manner. Unreliable websites with dubious credibility should not be treated as authoritative sources; especially on controversial issues. For instance, students should be able to write a Wikipedia entry on the subject based on your research rather relying on Wikipedia for your research. Students should consult me when you are not sure what qualifies as a valid source.

Choose one or a pair of the countries covered in the course, formulate a research question by choosing one of the topics below, and write a research paper.

- The role of the Catholic Church in facilitating or hindering democratization.
- The transformation of Catholic or Muslim organizations (e.g., clergy, political parties, NGOs, etc.) from advocates of authoritarian rule to agents of democratic change and expansion of rights
- The rise of Catholic or Muslim intellectuals who espouse the compatibility of religious faith with liberal-democratic ideals
- The struggles of Catholic or Muslim advocates of gender equality