

The State and the Veil: Analyzing Veiling Politics in Turkey, Algeria, France

Graduate Liberal Studies

LSHV 479-01

DRAFT Syllabus

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Course Description: This will be a high-impact, intellectually demanding course, so plan accordingly.

This course will take a 'government and international affairs' approach to examining the geopolitics of the veil in three nation states, with the primary focus on Turkey.

We will examine 1. Secularist rationales for eliminating the veil in nation-states and what it cues to nascent nationalistic groups, 2. The forces of modernity and Westernization in MENA countries, 3. Turkey's half-European half-Central Asian cultural foci, 4. France's colonial policies in Algeria and their impact on current events.

We will analyze the ideologies of state as global actor and the roles of religion as both liberalizing and conservatizing cultures.

Women's agency in choosing to veil confounds Western feminists but restores to many Muslim women what Westernization and sexual commodification remove: modesty, dignity, and piety.

France as a European case study will form the background for examinations of how communitarianism, definitions of the boundaries of public space, and France's own historical religious wars combined to create a public policy in which the veil was outlawed in public schools, removing educational access for many Muslim girls.

Required Texts:

Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space, John Bowen; \$14.44; Princeton University Press, 2008; ISBN-10: 0691138397

Articles/Chapters on BlackBoard:

Turkey:

The Veiling Issue, Official Secularism and Popular Islam in Modern Turkey, Elisabeth Ozdalga
Secularism and State Politics toward Religion: The U.S., France, and Turkey, Ahmet T. Kuru;
Chaps. 1, 6 & 7

Veil: Modesty, Privacy, and Resistance, Fadwa El Guindi; excerpted chapters

"Conflicting Voices: A Study of Turkish Youth Perspectives on Contemporary Turkey", Jinnyn Jacob

“Unveiling the Veil Ban Dilemma: Turkey and Beyond”, Adriana Piatti-Crocker and Laman Tasch

“Germany divided over hijab: Controversy surrounds a recent court decision in favor of a school teacher wearing a headscarf.” Andreas Tzortzis

Algeria:

“The Veil as Metaphor of French Colonized Algeria”, Maria Boariu

France:

“Laïcité Versus Separation of Church and State: Voile, Veil, and the Performative Inevitability of French and US Responses to Islam as the Outsider Within”, Lauve H. Steenhuisen

Germany & Netherlands:

“Germany Divided over the Hijab”

“The Politicization of the Headscarf in the Netherlands”

United States:

“U.S. Veiling Policy: Wearing the Veil in the U.S.”, Tanya Brothen

Course Requirements and Policies

1. Assignments: There will be 4 assignments:

- 1~Paper: 5-page ‘Secularism and Religion in Turkey’
- 2~Paper: 5-page “Why Do States Use Veiling Policy?”
- 3~Discussion questions 4 Submissions
- 4~Presentation: PowerPoint ‘Veiling in a specific country’

2. Evaluation: Students will be graded on their ability to absorb, understand, and reflect on the course material, and to show original thought that is clearly and cogently argued. The papers, textual analysis, and tests will count toward the final grade in the following percentages:

Assignment #1: Secularism/Turkey paper (5p.....)	20%
Assignment #2: Submissions of dis. ques (4 x 5% each=).....	20%
Assignment #3: PowerPt. Presentation.....	20%
Assignment #4: “Why Do States?” Final Paper (5pg.).....	20%
Class oral participation and attendance.....	20%
Total.....	100%

3. Grading Policy:

- An “A” grade means “truly exceptional work which exceeds the expectations of the task and peer submissions”
- A “B” grade means “very good quality work, above peer submissions”
- A “C” grade means “average work, equal to the average of peers”
- A “D” grade means “below expectations, needs significant improvement”
- An “F” grade means “submission failed to meet all expectations and did not fulfill the requirements”

4. Participation grade: Class attendance and active participation are required. Participation grades will reflect your ability to come to class having read and reflected on the material. To assess the participation grade, the professor will analyze the student’s ability to make intelligent contributions which raise the intellectual level of classroom discussion. Roster sign-in sheets will be distributed at each class session.

5. Honor Code: All students are expected to follow Georgetown's honor code unconditionally. We assume you have read the honor code material located at <http://scs.georgetown.edu/academic-affairs/honor-code>, and in particular have read the following documents: Honor Council Pamphlet, What is Plagiarism, Sanctioning Guidelines, and Expedited Sanctioning Process. Submitting material in fulfillment of the requirements of this course means that you have abided by the Georgetown honor pledge:

In the pursuit of the high ideals and rigorous standards of academic life, I commit myself to respect and uphold the Georgetown Honor System: To be honest in any academic endeavor, and to conduct myself honorably, as a responsible member of the Georgetown community, as we live and work together. Plagiarism: *In accord with university policy, all incidents of suspected plagiarism or other Honor Code violations will be reported to the Honor Council without fail. If the Honor Council finds that a student has plagiarized or has violated the Honor Code in any other way, the student may receive a grade of F for the course.*

6. Professor contact. One of the goals of Liberal Studies at Georgetown is to enable the student to create a personal theology/philosophy through which life’s decisions and ways of being in the world are processed and enacted. And one of the rewards of college life for professors is dialogue with students in which such life philosophy is deepened and enhanced.

If you would like to have coffee, lunch, or just a get-together with the professor please feel free to schedule a time and a place. The issues this course addresses often necessitate further conversations outside the classroom, and these conversations can result in interesting dialogues on religion, gender, and the meaning of life.

7. General Learning Goals and Outcomes

The Graduate Liberal Studies Program at Georgetown University offers a course of study which engages students in reading, research, reflection, discussion, and writing. In the pursuit of the

degree, students are to discern and wrestle with the content generally associated with the “liberal” arts in the root meaning of that term, namely, what it means for human beings to be endowed with freedom and what ennobles and enhances human freedom. The two general goals of the program, therefore, are to analyze and assess human values (who are we and what ought we to do?) and to undertake such study in an interdisciplinary fashion.

8. Disabilities

If you are a student with a documented disability who requires accommodations or if you think you may have a disability and want to inquire about accommodations, please contact the Academic Resource Center at 202-687-8354 or arc@georgetown.edu.

9. Turnitin.com

Students acknowledge that by taking this course all required papers **MAY** be submitted for a Textual Similarity Review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the terms of use agreement posted on the Turnitin.com site.

10. Extreme weather, Emergencies, and Instructional Continuity

During inclement weather or other emergencies on a day when we are scheduled to meet face-to-face, check the university’s Web site or call (202) 687-7669 for information on whether the university is open. If the university is open, this class will meet. If the university is closed, this class will meet through distance means such as online videoconferencing; check your e-mail for a message from me on how we will proceed in that situation. Due dates for written assignments submitted through Blackboard will not be changed due to campus closings.

The university recently has acquired the capability to send text messages and recorded messages about emergencies to cell phones and other mobile devices. Sign up on MyAccess.

11. Policy Accommodating Students’ Religious Observances

The following is university policy:

Georgetown University promotes respect for all religions. Any student who is unable to attend classes or to participate in any examination, presentation, or assignment on a given day because of the observance of a major religious holiday or related travel shall be excused and provided with the opportunity to make up, without unreasonable burden, any work that has been missed for this reason and shall not in any other way be penalized for the absence or rescheduled work. Students will remain responsible for all assigned work. Students should notify professors in writing at the beginning of the semester of religious observances that conflict with their classes.

12. Title IX at Georgetown <https://titleix.georgetown.edu/>

Sexual Misconduct

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (“Title IX”) prohibits discrimination based on sex in any educational programs, which includes sexual harassment or any acts of sexual misconduct. Title IX requires the University, upon becoming aware of any incident of sexual harassment and misconduct to respond appropriately to protect and maintain the safety of the University community, including students, faculty, and staff.

Georgetown University prohibits sexual misconduct, including sexual harassment, sexual assault, domestic/dating violence, and stalking.

Discrimination based on sex, including sexual misconduct and discrimination based on pregnancy or parenting status, subverts the University's mission and threatens permanent damage to the educational experience, careers, and well-being of students, faculty, and staff.

Please know that as a faculty member I am committed to supporting survivors of sexual misconduct, including relationship violence and sexual assault. However, University policy also requires me to report any disclosures about sexual misconduct to the Title IX Coordinator, whose role is to coordinate the University's response to sexual misconduct.

Georgetown has a number of fully confidential professional resources who can provide support and assistance to survivors of sexual assault and other forms of sexual misconduct. These resources include:

Jen Schweer, MA, LPC

Associate Director of Health Education Services for Sexual Assault Response and Prevention

(202) 687-0323

jls242@georgetown.edu

Erica Shirley

Trauma Specialist

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS)

(202) 687-6985

els54@georgetown.edu

More information about campus resources and reporting sexual misconduct can be found at:

<https://sexualassault.georgetown.edu/get-help>.

Pregnancy Adjustments and Accommodations

Georgetown University is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive environment for pregnant and parenting students. Students may request adjustments based on general pregnancy needs or accommodations based on a pregnancy-related complication. Specific adjustments will be handled on a case by case basis and will depend on medical need and academic requirements. Students seeking a pregnancy adjustment or accommodation should follow the process laid out at: <https://titleix.georgetown.edu/student-pregnancy>.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES

Class 1: Orientation to the course: syllabus, expectations, basic information on the political situation in Turkey.

Tonight, we will study the veiling politics in Turkey, and learn about Merve Kavakci, Turkish parliamentarian removed from parliament in 1999 because she was veiled. In 2013, four veiled women were sworn in as Parliamentarians. In the intervening years, what changed?

Task: None for this day; begin reading Ozdalga “First Half”.

Class 2: Islamic history, veiling history.

Where does the practice of ‘covering’ originate? We will examine veiling/ covering history in the early Mediterranean cultures of Byzantium, Syria, etc. and read the Qur’anic and Hadith passages on veiling. We will ask: *What societal function does veiling perform?* and *How does imposed modesty support heteronormative patriarchal political systems?* and *What’s the significance of the ‘male gaze’?* and *What does ‘privacy’ mean in ‘honor-shame’ based Arab cultures?*

Task: Read El Guindi Chap. 5 “Sacred Privacy”, and continue reading Ozdalga.

Class 3: History of Legal Issues in Turkey

Using Turkey as a case study, we will ask: How do states use laws and regulations to create social identity?

Task: Disc. Ques submission #1: Develop and submit 3 note-based discussion questions for this class on the Ozdalga “First Half” reading. We will focus on the ‘legal issues’ of veiling in Turkey.

Class 4: Ahmed Kuru “Secularism and State Policies Toward Religion: Three Countries”

We will introduce secularism constructs and ask why and how states use policies to control or negotiate public territory with regard to religion. **Kuru’s ‘three theories’** of why states employ public policies toward religion will be examined, as well as the ‘assertive secularisms’ of Turkey and France.

Task: Read Kuru, Secularism and State Policies Toward Religion, Chaps. 1 & 6; write 5-page “Secularism and Religion in Turkey” paper based on Ozdalga and Kuru readings submit in class tonight. Consult guideline sheet in syllabus packet for instructions.

Class 5: France as a Case Study of “colonial karma”.

This class we will look at “laicite”, regulating Islam and ‘why schools’, as well as ‘creating a law banning the headscarf’ and its repercussions.

Task: Disc. Ques. Submission #2: Read Bowen “Why the French Dislike Headscarves”, chaps. 2-6; develop and submit 3 discussion questions on these chapters.

Class 6: France: Communalism, Islamism, Sexism

What are the cultural conditions unique to France which contextualize their national public policy toward veiling?

Task: Disc. Ques. Submission #3: Read Bowen “Why the French Dislike Headscarves”, chaps. 8-10; develop and submit 3 discussion questions on these chapters. Not required but of comparative interest: “Germany Divided Over Hijab”, and “The Politicization of the Headscarf in the Netherlands” on BB.

Class 7: Algeria as a Case Study: What did the veil symbolize for French colonizers?

We will ask:

—Why do nations colonize? What are the tools of colonization and how were they employed in Algeria by the French? and

—Before colonization, how did veiling practice function for Algerians? How did it become a symbol of political resistance to fight the French?

Task: Disc. Ques Submission #4. Read “*The Veil as Metaphor of French Colonized Algeria*” Maria Boariu, and develop/submit 3 note-based discussion questions.

Class 8: The Veil and the West

Tonight we will discuss the geo-politics of how the West views the veil and how veiling women experience the West. We will view and discuss “*Under One Sky: Arab Women in North America Talk About the Veil*”

Task: None. Enjoy.

Class 9: The Veil and the West: Colonialism and Voice

Tonight we will discuss the lingering impact of European colonialism in the MENA countries and hopefully, have a guest speaker on ‘the veil and the west’.

Task: Read: “Can the Subaltern Speak?” article on BB—Come to class with an answer to this question: What does Spivak ultimately believe, can the subaltern speak?

Class 10: PowerPoint Presentations: “Veiling in _____”

Task: In teams of 2 or 3, choose a veiling country and develop and present a PowerPoint presentation on “Veiling in _____”. Consult guidelines sheet in syllabus packet. For non-presenters, take notes for final paper.

Class 11: PowerPoint Presentations: “Veiling in _____”

Task: For non-presenters, take notes for final paper.

Class 12: PowerPoint Presentations: “Veiling in _____”

Task: For non-presenters, take notes for final paper.

Class 13: Last Class: “Why **Do** States Have the Veiling Policies They Have?”

Our last class will wrap up the course by answering these questions—

—“*What **factors influence** states to have the veiling policies they have?*”

—*What do the public policies on veiling say about states globally?*

—*When we examine the range of veiling styles around the world, what part of veiling is cultural, not religious?*

Task: Write and submit in class 5-page paper on “Why Do States Have the Veiling Policies They Have?”

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“Secularism and Religion in Turkey” Paper Guidelines

Using the 2 sources on BlackBoard—Ozdalga and Kuru—students will examine the dynamic between religion and secularism in Turkey.

Papers must cover:

- Concepts of ‘secularism’ (assertive, passive)
- How secularization has affected Turkey in its history
- How veiling policies were affected by secularization

Format:

~5- pages, double-spaced

~Well-cited sources

Must include:

~Definitions of secularism, types

~Some history of secularism in the Turkish situation

~How veiling policies were affected by secularization

~Demonstration of mastery of Ozdalga and Kuru

~A conclusion with your own views and opinions

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Guideline Sheet for Discussion Question Submissions

How to write good discussion questions:

1. First, complete the assigned readings, taking notes.
2. Next, find an intriguing issue in the readings.
3. Design a discussion question which points to the issue you want to discuss.

Write out the submission by 1. Asking the question, then 2. Providing notes which contextualize the question (and which demonstrate your mastery of the readings.)

For example:

“How do societies construct ‘privacy’?”

In the El Guindi reading for today, “Sacred Privacy”, she argues that privacy is constructed differing ways in different cultures. Some cultures construct public and private space as.....”

The State and the Veil: PowerPoint Presentation Guideline Sheet

“The Veil in _____”

Using the title above, students in pairs or triples will choose a **Non-Arab** ‘veiling’ country **in consultation with the professor**, research the practice in culture and politics, and create a presentation for class. Please, no country duplicates, the goal is to spread, not concentrate, our knowledge base. Sample countries might be: Indonesia, Malaysia, China, Russia, Oman, Nigeria, Somalia, Iran, the ———stans, etc.

Requirements:

~At least 3 non-course sources

~Minimum of 20 slides

Include in your presentation:

- ~Location geographically of country
- ~History politically/religiously of country
- ~Current political/religious situation
- ~Veiling culture and practice (lots of veil images)
- ~**Answer: Why do they have the veiling policies that they have?**
- ~Discussion questions for the class

Graded on:

- ~Slide aesthetics
- ~High-density content
- ~Alignment of presentation with requirements
- ~Depth and scope of project
- ~Intelligence of how information is frame

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Final Paper Guideline Sheet

“Why Do States Have the Veiling Policies They Have?”

Purpose: The purpose of the final paper is to demonstrate knowledge of veiling policies by nation states with Islamic populations. Your goal is to 1. demonstrate knowledge, 2. assert an argument, 3. display research.

Format:

- 5 pages, double-spaced, careful citation
- Use at least 3 sources outside of course resources
- Display general knowledge, and then have at least 2 *subject case studies from Power-Point presentations—that is, not Turkey, Algeria, France, Netherlands, Germany* but — stans, Somalia, Thailand, Oman, etc.

-Craft an argument about why nation states craft the policies toward veiling that they have. What factors influence veiling policy choices?

-Conclude with general course wrap-up paragraph