



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Public reason secularism : a defense of liberal democracy**

Zhang, T.

### **Citation**

Zhang, T. (2018, October 25). *Public reason secularism : a defense of liberal democracy*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66323>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66323>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/66323> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Zhang, T.

**Title:** Public reason secularism : a defense of liberal democracy

**Issue Date:** 2018-10-25

## Bibliography

- Ackerman, Bruce., 1980, *Social Justice in the Liberal State*, Yale University Press.
- Ackerman, Bruce., 1994, "Political Liberalism," *The Journal of Philosophy*, 91: 364-386.
- Adams, Robert M., 1993, "Religious Ethics in a Pluralistic Society", in Gene Outka and John P. Reeder, Jr (ed.), *Prospects for a Common Morality*, Princeton University Press.
- Audi, Robert., 1989, "The Separation of Church and State and the Obligations of Citizenship," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 18: 259-296.
- Audi, Robert and Wolterstorff, Nicholas., 1997, *Religion in the Public Square: the place of religious convictions in political debate*, Maryland: Rowman& Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Audi, Robert., 2000, *Religious Commitment and Secular Reason*, Cambridge University Press.
- Barry, Brian., 1995, "John Rawls and the Search for Stability," *Ethics*, 105: 874-915.
- Berlinerblau, Jacques., 2012, "Secularism Is Not Atheism," in *The Huffington Post*, 07/28/2012.
- Berlinerblau, Jacques., 2014, "Introduction: Secularism and Its Confusions," in Jacques Berlinerblau (ed.), *Secularism on the Edge: Rethinking Church-State Relations in the United States, France, and Israel*, St. Martin's Press.
- Bonner, Hypatia Bradlaugh., 1908, *Charles Bradlaugh: A Record of His Life and Work*, London. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/45130/45130-h/45130-h.htm>. (Vol.I).
- <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/45131/45131-h/45131-h.htm>. (Vol. II).
- Bradlaugh, Charles and Holyoake, George Jacob., 1870, *Secularism, Scepticism, and Atheism: Verbatim Report of the Proceedings of a Two Nights' Public Debate*, London: Austin & Co.
- Bradlaugh, Charles., 1895, *Charles Bradlaugh's Theological Essays*, A. Bonner. [http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/39266/pg39266.pdf?session\\_id=eca428032b8b4f7dd44f9731805dd9c0298b4c2a](http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/39266/pg39266.pdf?session_id=eca428032b8b4f7dd44f9731805dd9c0298b4c2a).
- Bradlaugh, Charles., 1889, "Humanity's Gain from Unbelief," *North American Review*, 148: 294-306.
- Buchanan, Allen., 2002, "Political Legitimacy and Democracy," *Ethics*, 112: 689-719.
- Bullivant, Stephen., 2013, "Defining 'Atheism'," in *The Oxford Handbook of Atheism*, Oxford University Press.
- Caney, Simon., 2007, "Liberal legitimacy, reasonable disagreement and justice," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 1: 19-36.
- Casanova, Jose., 1994, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, University of Chicago Press.
- Casanova, Jose., 2011, "The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms," in *Rethinking Secularism*, Oxford University Press.
- Chan, Joseph., 2000, "Legitimacy, Unanimity and Perfectionism," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 29: 5-42.
- Christiano, Thomas., 1994, "Democratic Equality and a Persistent Minority," *Philosophical*

- Papers*, 23: 169-190.
- Clarke, Simon., 1999, "Contractarianism, Liberal Neutrality, and Epistemology," *Political Studies*, 47: 627-642.
- Cliteur, Paul., 2009, "The Definition of Atheism," *Journal of Religion and Society* 11: 1-23.
- Cliteur, Paul., 2010, *The Secular Outlook: in Defense of Moral and Political Secularism*, Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cliteur, Paul., 2012, "State and religion against the backdrop of religious radicalism," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 10: 127-152.
- Cliteur, Paul., 2017, "A Secular Critique of Religious Ethics and Politics," in Zuckerman, Phil and Shook, John R. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Secularism*, Oxford University Press.
- Cohen, Joshua., 1986, "Reflections on Rousseau: Autonomy and Democracy," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 15: 275-297.
- Copson, Andrew and Grayling, A.C. (eds.), 2015, *The Wiley Blackwell Handbook of Humanism*, Wiley Blackwell.
- D' Agostino, Fred., 1996, *Free Public Reason: making it up as we go along*, Oxford University Press.
- Dawkins, Richard., 2006, *The God Delusion*, Bantam Press.
- Dreben, Burton., 2003, "On Rawls and Political Liberalism," in Freeman, Samuel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*, Cambridge University Press.
- Dworkin, Gerald., 1988, *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy*, Cambridge University Press.
- Dworkin, Ronald., 1986, *Law's Empire*, Harvard University Press.
- Dworkin, Ronald., 1996, "Objectivity and Truth: You'd Better Believe It," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 25: 87-139.
- Dworkin, Ronald., 2006, *Justice in Robes*, Harvard University Press.
- Dworkin, Ronald., 2011, *Justice for Hedgehogs*, Harvard University Press.
- Dworkin, Ronald., 2013, *Religion without God*, Harvard University Press.
- Eberle, Christopher., 2002, *Religious Conviction in Liberal Politics*, Cambridge University Press.
- Eberle, Christopher., 2011, "Consensus, Convergence, and Religiously Justified Coercion," *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 25: 281-303.
- Edward, Royle., 2004, "Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891)," politician and freethinker, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Retrieved 29 May. 2018, from <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3183>.
- Elster, Jon., 1997, "The Market and the Forum: Three Varieties of Political Theory," in Bohman, James and Rehg, William (ed.), *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and*

- Politics*, The MIT Press.
- Estlund, David., 1998, "Insularity of The Reasonable: Why Political Liberalism Must Admit the Truth," *Ethics*, 108: 252-275.
- Finnis, John., 2009, "Does Free Exercise of Religion Deserve Constitutional Mention?" *The American Journal of Jurisprudence*, 54: 41-66.
- Frankfurt, Harry G., 1971, "Freedom of the Will and the Concept of a Person," *The Journal of Philosophy*, 68: 127-144.
- Freeman, Samuel., 2003, "Congruence and the Good of Justice," in Freeman, Samuel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*, Cambridge University Press.
- Freeman, Samuel., 2007, *Rawls*, Routledge Collection.
- Garvey, John H., 1996, "An Anti-Liberal Argument for Religious Freedom," *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues*, 7: 275-291.
- Gaus, Gerald., 1986, "Subjective Value and Justificatory Political Theory," in Pennock, Roland J. and Chapman, John W. (ed.), *Justification Nomos XXVIII*, New York University Press.
- Gaus, Gerald., 1996, *Justificatory Liberalism: an essay on epistemology and political theory*, Oxford University Press.
- Gaus, Gerald., 1997, "Reason, Justification, and Consensus: Why Democracy Can't Have It All," in Bohman, James and Rehg, William (ed.), *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*, The MIT Press.
- Gaus, Gerald., 2009, "The Moral Foundations of Liberal Neutrality," in Christiano, Thomas and Christman, John (ed.), *Contemporary Debates in Political Philosophy*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Gaus, Gerald., 2010, "The Place of Religious Belief in Public Reason Liberalism," in Dimova-Cookson, Maria and Stirk, Peter M.R. (ed.), *Multiculturalism and Moral Conflict*, Routledge.
- Gaus, Gerald., 2011, *The Order of Public Reason: a theory of freedom and morality in a diverse and bounded world*, Cambridge University Press.
- Gaus, Gerald., 2011, "A Tale of Two Sets: Public Reason in Equilibrium," *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 25: 305-325.
- Gaus, Gerald., "Public Reason Liberalism," <https://arizona.pure.elsevier.com/en/publications/public-reason-liberalism>.
- Gaus, Gerald and Vallier, Kevin., 2009, "The Roles of Religious Conviction in a Publicly Justified Polity: The implications of convergence, asymmetry and political institutions," *Philosophy Social Criticism*, 35: 51-76.
- Greenawalt, Kent., 1988, *Religious Convictions and Political Choice*, Oxford University Press.
- Greenawalt, Kent., 2003, "Religion, Law, and Politics: Arenas of Neutrality," in Wall,

- Steven and Klosko George (ed.), *Perfectionism and Neutrality: Essays in Liberal Theory*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Greenawalt, Kent., 2006, *Religion and the Constitution I: Free Exercise and Fairness*, Princeton University Press.
- Greenawalt, Kent., 2009, *Religion and the Constitution II: Establishment and Fairness*, Princeton University Press.
- Hart, H. L. A., 1961, *The Concept of Law*, Clarendon Press.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich., 1991, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, Nisbet, H. B. (trans.), Wood, Allen W. (ed.), Cambridge University Press.
- Hill Jr, Thomas E., 2002, "Four Conceptions of Conscience," in *Human Welfare and Moral Worth: Kantian Perspectives*, Oxford University Press.
- Hitchens, Christopher., 2007, *God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything*, Allen& Unwin.
- Holmes Jr, Oliver Wendell., 1897, "The Path of the Law," in *Harvard Law Review*, 10: 457-478.
- Holyoake, George Jacob., 1851, *The History of the Last Trial by Jury for Atheism in England: A Fragment of Autobiography*, James Watson.  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36799/36799-h/36799-h.htm>.
- Holyoake, George Jacob., 1871, *The Principles of Secularism Illustrated*, Austin and Company.  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36797/36797-h/36797-h.htm>.
- Holyoake, George Jacob., 1892, *Sixty Years of an Agitator's life*, London T. Fisher Urwin.
- Holyoake, George Jacob., 1896, *English Secularism: A Confession of Belief*, Open Court Publishing Co. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/38104/38104-h/38104-h.htm>.
- Holyoake, George Jacob., 1905, *Bygones Worth Remembering*, E. P. Dutton& Company.  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36795/36795-h/36795-h.htm>, (Vol. I)  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36796/36796-h/36796-h.htm>. (Vol. II).
- Hooper, Simon., 2010, "The rise of the New Atheists," CNN, 16 March 2010.
- Huxley, Aldous., 1889, *Agnosticism*, K. Paul. Trench.
- Kant, Immanuel., 1948, *Groundwork of The Metaphysic of Morals*, H. J. Paton (trans.), The Mayflower Press.
- Kogelmann, Brian and Stich, Stephen G. W., 2016, "When Public Reason Fails Us: Convergence Discourse as Blood Oath," *American Political Science Review*, 110: 717-730.
- Koppelman, Andrew., 2006, "Is It Fair to Give Religion Special Treatment?" *University of Illinois Law Review*, 3: 571-603.
- Korsgaard, Christine M., 1993, "The Reasons We Can Share: An Attack on the Distinction between Agent-Relative and Agent-Neutral Values," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 10: 24-51.

- Larmore, Charles., 1990, "Political Liberalism," *Political Theory*, 18: 339-360.
- Larmore, Charles., 1994, "Pluralism and Reasonable Disagreement," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 11: 61-79.
- Larmore, Charles., 1996, *The Morals of Modernity*, Cambridge University Press.
- Larmore, Charles., 1999, "The Moral Basis of Political Liberalism," *The Journal of Philosophy*, 96: 599-625.
- Larmore, Charles., 2015, "Political Liberalism: Its Motivation and Goals," in David Sobel, Peter Vallentyne, and Steven Wall (ed.), *Oxford Studies in Political Philosophy Vol I*, Oxford University Press.
- Larsen, Timothy., 2011, *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians*, Oxford University Press.
- Leiter, Brian., 2012, *Why Tolerate Religion*, Princeton University Press.
- Lister, Andrew., 2017, "Public Reason and Reciprocity," *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 25: 155-172.
- Locke, John., 2010, "A Letter Concerning Toleration," in Richard Vernon (ed.), *Locke on Toleration*, Cambridge University Press.
- Kymlicka, Will., 2002, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*, Oxford University Press.
- Macedo, Stephen., 1990, *Liberal Virtues: Citizenship, Virtue, and Community in Liberal Constitutionalism*, Clarendon Press.
- Macedo, Stephen., 1995, "Liberal Civic Education and Religious Fundamentalism: The Case of God v. John Rawls," *Ethics*, 105: 468-496.
- Macedo, Stephen., 1998, "Transformative Constitutionalism and the Case of Religion: Defending the Moderate Hegemony of Liberalism," *Political Theory*, 26: 56-80.
- Macedo, Stephen., unpublished, "Why Public Reason? Cooperation, Law, and Mutual Assurance," working paper in progress.
- Mill, John Stuart., 2003, *On Liberty*, in Bromwich David and Kate George (ed.), Yale University Press.
- Nagel, Thomas., 1987, "Moral Conflict and Political Legitimacy," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 16: 215-240.
- Nagel, Thomas., 1991, *Equality and Partiality*, Oxford University Press.
- Nagel, Thomas., 2010, *Secular Philosophy and the Religious Temperament*, Oxford University Press.
- Neal, Patrick., 2009, "Is Political Liberalism Hostile to Religion," in Yong, Shaun P. (ed.), *Reflections on Rawls: An Assessment of His Legacy*, Ashgate Publishing,
- Neuhauser, Frederick., 2009, "Desire, Recognition, and Lord and Bondsman," in R. Westphal, Kenneth (ed.), *The Blackwell Guide to Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, Blackwell

- Publishing Ltd.
- O' Neill, Onora., 1997, "Political Liberalism and Public Reason: A Critical Notice of John Rawls, Political Liberalism," *The Philosophical Review*, 1: 411-428.
- Patten, Alan., 2002, *Hegel's Idea of Freedom*, Oxford University Press.
- Patten, Alan., 2014, *Equal Recognition: The Moral Foundations of Minority Rights*, Princeton University Press.
- Patten, Alan., 2017, "The Normative Logic of Religious Liberty," *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 25: 129-154.
- Patten, Alan., unpublished, "Public Good Fairness."
- Perry, Michael J., 1993, "Religious Morality and Political Choice: Further Thoughts—and Second Thoughts—on Love and Power," *San Diego Law Review*, 30: 703-727.
- Perry, Michael J., 1996, "Religion, Politics, and the Constitution," *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues*, 7: 407-446.
- Peter, Fabienne., 2017, "Political Legitimacy", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2017/entries/legitimacy/>.
- Pettit, Philip., 1993, *The Common Mind: An Essay on Psychology, Society, and Politics*, Oxford University Press.
- Pettit, Philip., 2012, *On the People's Terms: A Republican Theory and Model of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press.
- Plantinga, Alvin, 2011, *Where the Conflict Really Lies: Science, Religion, and Naturalism*, Oxford University Press.
- Postema, Gerald J., 1995, "Public Practical Reason: An Archeology," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 12: 43-86.
- Quinn, Philip., 1995, "Political Liberalisms and Their Exclusions of the Religious," *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*, 69: 35-56.
- Quong, Jonathan., 2011, *Liberalism without Perfection*, Oxford University Press.
- Riker, William., 2003, "Social Choice Theory and Constitutional Democracy," in Christiano, Thomas (ed.), *Philosophy and Democracy: An Anthology*, Oxford University Press.
- Rawls, John., 1971, *A Theory of Justice*, Harvard University Press.
- Rawls, John., 1985, "Justice as Fairness: Political not Metaphysical," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 14: 223-251.
- Rawls, John., 1996, *Political Liberalism*, Columbia University Press.
- Rawls, John., 1997, "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited," *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 64: 765-807.
- Rawls, John., 1999, *The Law of Peoples*, Harvard University Press.



- Rawls, John., 2000, *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy*, Herman, Barbara (ed.), Harvard University Press.
- Rawls, John., 2007, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*, Freeman, Samuel (ed.), Harvard University Press.
- Raz, Joseph., 1975, *Practical Reason and Norms*, Oxford University Press.
- Raz, Joseph., 1990, "Facing Diversity: The Case of Epistemic Abstinence," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 19: 3-46.
- Raz, Joseph., 1994, *Ethics in the Public Domain: Essays of Morality in Law and Politics*, Clarendon Press.
- Raz, Joseph., 2009, *The Authority of Law: Essays on Law and Morality*, Oxford University Press.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques., 1994, *The Social Contract*, Christopher Betts (trans.), Oxford University Press.
- Scanlon, T.M., 1998, *What We Owe to Each Other*, Harvard University Press.
- Scanlon, T.M., 2003, "Rawls on Justification," in Freeman Samuel (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Rawls*, Cambridge University Press.
- Scheffler, Samuel., 1994, "The Appeal of Political Liberalism," *Ethics*, 105: 4-22.
- Shklar, Judith., 1989, "The Liberalism of Fear," in Nancy Rosenblum (ed.), *Liberalism and the Moral Life*, Harvard University Press.
- Smith, Michael., 1994, *The Moral Problem*, Blackwell-Publishing.
- Smith, Rodney K., 1996, "Converting the Religious Equality Amendment into a Statute with a Little 'Conscience'," *Brigham Young University Law Review*, 645-688.
- Smith, Steven D., 2014, "Is God Irrelevant?" *Boston University Law Review*, 94: 1339-1355.
- Solum, Lawrence B., 1993, "Constructing an Ideal of Public Reason," *San Diego Law Review*, 30: 729-762.
- Stout, Jeffrey., 2004, *Democracy and Tradition*, Princeton University Press.
- Taylor, Charles., 1989, *Sources of The Self: the making of the modern identity*, Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, Charles., 2007, *A Secular Age*, Harvard University Press.
- Taylor, Charles and Bouchard, Gerard., 2008, *Building The Future: A Time for Reconciliation*, Bibliotheque et Archives Nationales du Quebec.
- Taylor, Charles., 2010, "The Meaning of Secularism," *The Hedgehog Review*, 12: 23-34.
- Taylor, Charles and Maclure, Jocelyn., 2011, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*, Harvard University Press.
- Thrasher, John and Vallier, Kevin., 2013, "The Fragility of Consensus: Public Reason, Diversity and Stability," *European Journal of Philosophy*, 23: 933-954.
- Vallier, Kevin., 2014, *Liberal Politics and Public Faith: Beyond Separation*, Routledge.

- Vallier, Kevin., 2018, "Public Justification", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2018/entries/justification-public/>>.
- Waldron, Jeremy., 1991, "Minority Cultures and The Cosmopolitan Alternative," *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform*, 25: 751-793.
- Waldron, Jeremy., 1993, "Religious Contribution in Public Deliberation," *San Diego Law Review*, 30: 817-848.
- Waldron, Jeremy., 1999, *Law and Disagreements*, Oxford University Press.
- Waldron, Jeremy., 2005, "Moral Autonomy and Personal Autonomy," in Christman, John and Anderson Joel (ed.), *Autonomy and the Challenges to Liberalism*, Cambridge University Press.
- Waldron, Jeremy., 2007, "Public Reason and 'Justification' in the Courtroom," *Journal of Law, Philosophy and Culture*, 1: 107-134.
- Wallace, David Foster., 2006, "Roger Federer as Religious Experience," in *New York Times*, 20/08/2006.
- Weithman, Paul., 2004, *Religion and the Obligations of Citizenship*, Cambridge University Press.
- Weithman, Paul., 2015, "Inclusivism, Stability, and Assurance," in Bailey, Tom and Gentile, Valentina (ed.), *Rawls and Religion*, Columbia University Press.
- Wenar, Leif., 1995, "Political Liberalism: An Internal Critique," *Ethics*, 106: 32-62.
- Williams, Bernard., 1985, *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*, Harvard University Press.

International Humanist and Ethical Union, *The Freedom of Thought Report 2014: A Global Report on Discrimination Against Humanists, Atheists, and the Non-religious; Their Human Rights and Legal Status*.

*Sherbert v. Verner*, 374 U.S. 398 (1963).

*United States v. Seeger*, 326 F.2d 846 (1964).

*Welsh v. United States*, 398 U.S.333 (1970).

*Lautsi and Others v. Italy*, No. 30814/06, § 60, ECHR, 18 March 2011.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christopher\\_Hitchens](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christopher_Hitchens).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lautsi\\_v.\\_Italy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lautsi_v._Italy).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherbert\\_v.\\_Verner](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherbert_v._Verner).

<http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2007/mayweb-only/119-12.0.html>.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XK4O-3aoRww>.

<http://www.munkdebates.com/debates/religion>.