

RELIGION IN AMERICAN POLITICS
POLITICAL SCIENCE 30028
FALL 2014

Professor David Campbell

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Office hours: Tuesdays 1:30 to 3:00 Wednesdays 1:30 to 3:00 (or by appointment)
Lectures: Tuesdays and Thursdays 9:30 – 10:45 AM, 207 DeBartolo Hall
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Description

How can America be religiously devout, religiously diverse, and religiously tolerant? When we look at other nations, or even this nation at other periods in history, religious differences have led to discord and even bloodshed. And yet the United States has a remarkably high level of religious tolerance. Indeed, this tolerance is even more remarkable in light of the divisive role religion plays in our politics. This course will first examine the many ways in which religion is interwoven into American politics. Then it will turn to trying to solve the puzzle of America's religious pluralism—if religion is so politically divisive, why are Americans so accepting of (most) religions other than their own? And what explains the exceptions to that acceptance?

In addition to the usual readings and class discussions, this course will expose you to the diversity of religion in America. We will have visitors in class from a variety of religious traditions. As well, for one assignment you will research a faith other than your own, attend a worship service of that faith, and then write a brief paper with your reactions to the experience.

Requirements

1. Come to class

The best reason to attend each and every class is that the quality of our collective learning experience rests on the willingness of everyone to be engaged in rigorous discussion. If that is not enough of an incentive, be warned that the midterm exam will cover material from the assigned reading and the lectures. As yet another incentive, attendance will be taken periodically. Plus, on some days there will be treats.

While I do not take attendance in every class, I do reserve the right to conduct attendance checks periodically throughout the semester.

In short, come to class. Every time.

(If you really, really have to miss class, be sure to tell me or your TA ahead of time. Good reasons to miss class include a subpoena, jury duty, surgery, birth of a baby, an appearance on *American Ninja Warrior*—you know, important things).

2. Do the reading

Coming to class is necessary but not sufficient to succeed in this course. The assigned readings raise provocative questions, which we will discuss in class. The discussion will be really lame, however, if you have not done the reading.

In short, do the reading. All of it. Every time.

3. Do your own work

Entering Notre Dame you were required to study the on-line edition of the *Academic Code of Honor*, to pass a quiz on it, and to sign a pledge to abide by it. The full *Code* and a *Student Guide to the Academic Code of Honor* are available at: <http://honorcode.nd.edu>. Perhaps the most fundamental sentence is the beginning of section IV-B:

The pledge to uphold the Academic Code of Honor includes an understanding that a student's submitted work, graded or ungraded—examinations, draft copies, papers, homework assignments, extra credit work, etc. – must be his or her own.

In short, do your own work. All of it. Every time.

4. Pay attention

Good citizenship in the classroom calls for everyone to devote their full attention to the lectures and ensuing discussion. That means all cell phones must be silenced during class; also, no texting, tweeting, checking Facebook, checking the price of your vintage Transformers on E-bay, playing online poker, etc. Not only is such behavior rather rude, it will cause you to miss stuff that will appear on exams and is highly distracting to your fellow students. Plus you might miss the jokes.

In short, pay attention. All of the time.

Evaluation

Your evaluation in the course will have five components:

1. Participation/Attendance (checked periodically)	10%
2. Midterm exam	25%
3. Reflection paper	5%
3. Congregational visit paper	15%
4. Candidates' religion paper	15%
5. Final paper	30%

Participation/Attendance: this portion of your grade will be based on the periodic (unannounced) attendance checks, as well as an assessment of each student's quality of participation in classroom discussion. Note that the assessment of participation is based on *quality*, not *quantity*—it is not so much how much you speak as whether your contributions are well-reasoned and facilitate a useful discussion. If you are uneasy or uncomfortable with speaking in class, please come and visit with me privately so that we can discuss strategies to enhance your participation.

Midterm exam: will cover material from the first half of the course. It will be done in-class, and consist of essays pertaining to the themes covered in the course to that point.

Reflection paper: a brief paper in which students will reflect on their personal opinion and experience with the mixture of religion and politics. (maximum of 750 words)

Congregational visit paper: students will attend at least one worship service of a faith other than their own and then write a paper describing the experience. This paper will also include some basic research on the congregation, its denomination, and/or its religious tradition. (maximum of 1,500 words)

Candidates' religion paper: an opinion paper on the question of whether voters should take candidates' religion into account when casting their ballots. (maximum of 1,000 words)

Final paper: the final assignment for the course consists of a paper on any subject pertaining to religion and politics in the US. Students are free to choose their own topic, but I am happy to provide guidance and suggestions. The paper must include an empirical component—that is, the collection of original data in some form. "Data" in this context need not be quantitative; as it can consist of personal interviews, reading archival material, tracking news coverage of a given topic, and so on. Students will submit a brief abstract describing their idea for the paper by November 20, to which I will respond with suggestions and guidance. **Your paper topic must be approved by Professor Campbell.** Please feel free to meet with me face to face to discuss your paper at any time during the semester. (maximum of 3,000 words)

More details about these assignments will be provided throughout the semester.

The penalty for late papers is one FULL letter grade per day. That is, an A paper handed in 1 day late will receive a B, and so on. Exceptions are only granted for truly dire circumstances. Illness, family emergencies, and the like require documentation from your rector, the undergraduate deans' office, or a medical professional.

In addition to these graded assignments, there is one more requirement. Over the course of the semester, **each student must meet face-to-face with me at least once.** This meeting can be one-on-one or in a group. It can be in my office, or during one of the lunches that I will organize throughout the semester. This requirement serves multiple purposes. For one, it will facilitate discussion in class, as we will know each other a little better outside of class and thus will be more likely to engage in dialogue in

the classroom. Also, it provides an opportunity for students to receive feedback on matters related to the course including, but not limited to, potential topics for the final paper.

The following scale will determine your grade:

93% +	A
90 – 92%	A-
87 – 89%	B+
83 – 86%	B
80 – 82%	B-
77 – 79%	C+
73 – 76%	C
70 – 72%	C-
60 – 69%	D

Note that you must complete every requirement in order to pass this course.

Readings

The course uses the following books, all of which are available at the Notre Dame bookstore, or through other sources. Be sure you have the paperback edition of *American Grace* and the 4th edition of *Onward Christian Soldiers*.

Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. 2010. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. New York: Simon and Schuster. [paperback edition] Identified as AG in the schedule.

Wilcox, Clyde and Carin Robinson. 2011. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*, 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Identified as Onward in the schedule.

There will also be a number of readings available on e-reserves (identified as ER in the course schedule). The chapters from *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics* will be available on Sakai. Other course material, including any slides shown during the lectures, will be posted on Sakai. You are thus encouraged to check Sakai regularly.

Teaching Assistant

In addition to Professor Campbell, this course employs a teaching assistant, Sam Glaser. As a PhD student in political science, Mr. Glaser is well versed in the material covered in this course. He will be available to help you prepare for exams and papers.

Schedule (subject to change)

- 8/26 Introduction
READING
- The syllabus
- 8/28 America's Religious Landscape
READING
- AG, Chs. 1 and 2
- 9/2 Secularization (?)
PERSONAL REFLECTION PAPER DUE
READING
- Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 [ER]
 - Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. 2005. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Chapter 7 [ER]
- 9/4 Religion and the Founding
READING
- Hatch, Nathan O. 2007. "The Democratization of Christianity and the Character of American Politics" In *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (2nd ed.), ed. Mark A. Noll and Luke E. Harlow, 93-120. New York: Oxford University Press. [ER]
 - Madison, James. Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments. [ER]
- 9/9 Church and State
READING
- Various Supreme Court cases, to be decided upon by the class
- 9/11 Church and State continued (in-class debates)
READING
- Supreme Court cases, continued
- 9/16 Religious switching/Innovations
READING
- AG, Chs. 5-6

- 9/18 How religion and politics intertwine
READING
- AG, Ch. 10
- 9/23 Political echo chambers
READING
- AG, Ch. 12
- 9/25 The Sixties (First Aftershock)
READING
- AG, Chs. 3-4
- 9/30 Evangelical and Mainline Protestants
READING
- Wald, Kenneth D. and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "The Political Mobilization of Evangelical Protestants." In *Religion and Politics in the United States*. 7th ed., 207-240. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. [ER]
 - Evans, John H. 2009. "Where is the Counterweight? Explorations of the Decline in Mainline Protestant Participation in Public Debates over Values." In *Evangelicals and Democracy in America*, Volume 1: Religion and Society, ed. Steven Brint and Jean Reith Schroedel, 221-247. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. [ER]
- 10/2 The Rise of the Religious Right
READING
- AG, Ch. 11
 - Onward, Chs. 1-3
- 10/7 Second Aftershock/Rise of the Nones
READING
- Hout, Michael and Claude S. Fischer. 2002. "Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations." *American Sociological Review* 67 (2): 165-190. [ER]
 - Edgell, Penny, Joseph Gertels, and Douglas Hartmann. 2006. "Atheists as 'Other': Moral Boundaries and Cultural Membership in American Society." *American Sociological Review* 71 (2): 211-234. [ER]

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Worth, Robert F. 2012. "From Bible-Belt Pastor to Atheist Leader." <i>New York Times Magazine</i>, August 22. [ER] • Robbins, Liz. 2013. "During Religious Season, Nonbelievers Assert Right to Celebrate." <i>New York Times</i>, December 20. [ER] • Freedman, Samuel. 2008. "For Atheists, Politics Proves to be a Lonely Endeavor." <i>New York Times</i>, October 18. [ER]
10/09	MIDTERM EXAM	
10/14	Future of the God Gap READING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AG, Epilogue • Onward, Chs. 4-5
10/16	Gender and Inequality READING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AG, Chs. 7-8
10/18 – 10/26	FALL BREAK	
10/28	Black Church READING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AG, Ch. 9 • McDaniel, Eric L. 2008. <i>Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches</i>. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 3. [ER]
10/30	CONGREGATIONAL VISIT PAPER DUE (NO CLASS)	
11/4	Catholics READING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wilson, J. Matthew. 2007. "The Changing Catholic Voter: Comparing Responses to John Kennedy in 1960 and John Kerry in 2004." In <i>A Matter of Faith: Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election</i>, ed. David Campbell, 163-179. Washington: Brookings Institution Press. [ER]
11/6	Latinos READING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leal, David L. 2010. "Religion and the Political and Civic Lives of Latinos" (David Leal). In <i>Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?</i>, ed. Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, 308-352. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [ER]

- Skim “The Shifting Religious Identity of Latinos in the United States” (Pew Religion and Public Life Project)
<http://www.pewforum.org/2014/05/07/the-shifting-religious-identity-of-latinos-in-the-united-states/>. Also available at [ER].
- 11/11 Muslims
READING
- Jamel, Amaney. 2010. “Muslim Americans: Enriching or Depleting American Democracy?” In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?*, ed. Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, 89-113. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [ER]
 - Kalkan, Kerem Ozan, Geoffrey C. Layman, Eric M. Uslaner. 2009. “Bands of Others? Attitudes Toward Muslims in Contemporary American Society.” *Journal of Politics* 71 (3): 847-862. [ER]
- 11/13 Jews
READING
- Greenberg, Anna and Kenneth D. Wald. 2001. “Still Liberal After All These Years? The Contemporary Political Behavior of American Jewry.” In *Jews in American Politics*, ed. L. Sandy Maisel, 161-194. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. [ER]
 - Weisberg, Herbert. 2014. “Tradition! Tradition? Jewish Voting in the 2012 Election.” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47(3): 629-635. [ER]
- 11/18 Mormons
READING
- Campbell, David E., John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson. 2014. *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2. [on SAKAI]
- 11/20 Guest Speakers (Representatives of different religious traditions)
ABSTRACT FOR FINAL PAPER DUE
- 11/25 Religion in Political Campaigns
- 11/27 **THANKSGIVING**
- 12/2 The Stained Glass Ceiling, Part 1
READING
- Kennedy, John F. 1960. Speech to the Houston Ministerial Association. [ER]

- Casey, Shaun A. 2009. *The Making of a Catholic President: Kennedy vs. Nixon 1960*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 6-8 [ER]
- Linker, Damon. "A Religious Test All Our Political Candidates Should Take," *Washington Post*, September 19, 2010. [ER]

12/4

The Stained Glass Ceiling, Part 2

CANDIDATES' RELIGION PAPER DUE

READING

- Romney, Mitt. 2007. *Faith in America*. [ER]
- Campbell, David E., John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson. 2014. *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 8-9. [on SAKAI]

12/9

Religion and Civic Engagement

READING

- AG, Ch. 13
- Smidt, Corwin E., Kevin R. den Dulk, James M. Pennings, Stephen V. Monsma, and Douglas L. Koopman. 2008. *Pews, Prayers, and Participation: Religion and Civic Responsibility in America*. Washington: Georgetown University Press. Chapter 1 [ER]

12/11

Puzzle of Religious Pluralism

READING

- AG, Chs. 14-15

12/15

FINAL PAPER DUE