

**RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE U.S.
POLITICAL SCIENCE 60029**

PROFESSOR DAVID CAMPBELL

Spring 2015
Tuesdays, 3:30 to 6:15 PM
335 DeBartolo Hall

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Tuesdays: 1:30 to 3:00

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(or by appointment)

Objectives

Pick up any newspaper and you are likely to see a story on the intersection of religion and American politics. Until recently, however, if you picked up a political science journal, you were much less likely to see an article examining religion as a factor shaping the American political landscape. Religion has historically been a “blind spot” for American politics but in recent years religion has increasingly come to be recognized as an important factor shaping American politics. There is thus a growing literature on the subject—steadily rising both in quantity and quality. This course will introduce you to much of that literature, and provide you with an opportunity to contribute to it.

Requirements

As a graduate seminar, students are expected to have digested the reading material assigned for that week. Come to class prepared to discuss and debate it. The more prepared you are for each class meeting, the better our discussions will be.

The reading load in this course is relatively heavy. Be sure to set time aside each week for both reading and reflection. I will circulate a list of discussion questions by e-mail on the morning of each class. Be sure to look these over before class and be prepared to discuss them.

The formal requirements for the course are as follows:

1. Five essays, each between 1,000 and 1,500 words (roughly 4-6 pages), on each of the themes identified in the syllabus. These are due by e-mail on the dates indicated below. In writing these essays, please keep the following in mind:

- They are to be more than summaries of the assigned readings. Instead, use these essays as opportunities to engage with the literature by advancing an argument and/or proposing—and even testing—an original hypothesis.
- In addition to the assigned reading on the syllabus, each essay must incorporate at least four other scholarly articles or books on the same topic. No more than two of these can come from the sources listed under “Also of note.” In other words, you will need to search out relevant sources on our own. (I can provide guidance in doing so).

2. A research paper of 5,000 to 6,250 words (roughly 20-25 pages).

Your paper must be analytical, empirical, original, and relevant to one or more of the topics covered in the course. The sooner you start on the paper, the better, and so you are encouraged you to look, and read, ahead in the syllabus. I am always happy to discuss your paper topic, whether for general brainstorming, guidance in the literature, locating data, performing analysis, etc. Again, the earlier you talk with me, the better your paper will be. A memo describing your paper is due by Monday, March 2, at the latest. However, you are strongly encouraged to submit it earlier than this. Your memo should be a minimum of 1,000 words (roughly 4 pages), and include the following:

- description of the topic,
- specific research question you seek to answer
- hypothesis
- description of the available data to answer your question
- list of relevant sources

I will provide detailed feedback on your abstract.

You will also deliver a conference-style presentation of your paper on our final class meeting, April 28. More details about the presentations—including their format, length, and location—will be forthcoming.

Your final paper is due on **Wednesday, May 6th at 5:00 PM**, to be submitted via e-mail. Let me stress that computer problems are not an excuse for missing the deadline. Anticipate e-mail/network/software/hardware problems and plan accordingly.

Your grade will be distributed as follows:

Theme Essays (combined)	40%
Research Paper	40%
Participation	20%

Readings

Please acquire the following books, which are widely available. Note that they have not been ordered through the bookstore; I recommend buying them online. There will also be a number of other readings, to be made available electronically.

Campbell, David E, John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson. 2014. *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cimino, Richard P. 2014. *Atheist Awakening: Secular Activism and Community in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 2005. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy, Revised and Expanded Edition*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Layman, Geoffrey. 2001. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.

McDaniel, Eric L. 2008. *Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Putnam, Robert D., and David E. Campbell. 2010. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Smidt, Corwin E., Kevin R. den Dulk, James M. Penning, Stephen V. Monsma, and Douglas L. Koopman. 2008. *Pews, Prayers, and Participation: Religion and Civic Responsibility in America*. Religion and Politics Series. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Wolfe, Alan, and Ira Katznelson, ed. 2010. *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* New York : Russell Sage Foundation ; Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Note that we will read a number of chapters from the following book, which is available online through the library's website.

Guth, James L., Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt, ed. 2009a. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Academic Honesty

The entire academic enterprise requires a high degree of scholarly integrity. Plagiarism—using the words or ideas of others without appropriate attribution—strikes at the core of that enterprise. Thus, the penalties for plagiarism are severe. If you engage in plagiarism, you will fail this course. Even more seriously, you put your entire academic career at risk.

The Academic Code of the graduate school provides more details about the standards expected of a Notre Dame student:

http://graduateschool.nd.edu/assets/72055/academic_code_for_current_students.pdf

SCHEDULE (subject to revision)

THEME 1: THE BASICS

Week 1: January 13 ***What is religion anyway? How do we measure it?***

Putnam and Campbell: Chapters 1 and 5

Wald, Kenneth D., Adam Silverman, and Kevin Fridy. 2005. "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 121–141.

Smidt, Lyman Kellstedt, and James L. Guth. 2009. "The Role of Religion in American Politics: Explanatory Theories and Associated Analytical and Measurement Issues." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Steensland, Brian, Jerry Z. Park, Mark D. Regnerus, Lynn D. Robinson, W. Bradford Wilcox, and Robert D. Woodberry. 2000. "The Measure of American Religion: Toward Improving the State of the Art." *Social Forces* 79 (1): 291–318.

Mitchell, Joshua. 2007. "Religion Is Not a Preference." *Journal of Politics* 69 (2): 351–362.

Wilcox, Clyde, Kenneth D. Wald, and Ted G. Jelen. 2008. "Religious Preferences and Social Science: A Second Look." *Journal of Politics* 70 (3): 874–879.

Mitchell, Joshua. 2008. "A Reply to My Critics." *Journal of Politics* 70 (3): 880–883.

Theme 1 paper due by 9:00 AM on Monday, January 19.

Week 2: January 20 *The U.S. as an Outlier (?)*

Putnam and Campbell: Chapters 2, 3, and 6

Evans, Bette Novit. 2010. "The Constitutions of Religious Pluralism in the United States." In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?*, edited by Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, 308–352. New York : Russell Sage Foundation ; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 2005. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy, Revised and Expanded Edition*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Chapters 1-3.

Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. 2011. *Sacred and Secular : Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4.

THEME 2: PAST AND PRESENT

Week 3: January 27 *Religion and Politics in the Past*

Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 2005. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy, Revised and Expanded Edition*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Chapters 4-7.

Noll, Mark A. 2009. "Religion and the American Founding." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Swierenga, Robert P. 2009. "Religion and American Voting Behavior, 1830s to 1930s." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

The following chapters in:

Noll, Mark A., and Luke E. Harlow, ed. 2007. *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hatch, Nathan O. "The Democratization of Christianity and the Character of American Politics." (Chapter 5)

Handy, Robert T. "Protestant Theological Tensions and Political Styles in the Progressive Period." (Chapter 10)

Hennesey, James. "Roman Catholics and American Politics, 1900-1960: Altered Circumstances, Continuing Patterns." (Chapter 11)

Converse, Philip E. 1966. "Religion and Politics: The 1960 Election." In *Elections and the Political Order*, edited by Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Donald E. Stokes, and Angus Campbell. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Week 4: February 3 Religion and Politics in the Present, Part I (Culture War . . . ?)

Putnam and Campbell: Chapter 4

Hunter, James Davison. 1991. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: BasicBooks. Chapter 1.

Fiorina, Morris P., and Samuel J. Abrams. 2008. "Political Polarization in the American Public." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1) (June): 563–588.

Abramowitz, Alan I., and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. "Is Polarization a Myth?" *The Journal of Politics* 70 (02) (April): 542-555.

Fiorina, Morris P., Samuel A. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2008. "Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings." *The Journal of Politics* 70 (02) (April): 556-560.

Layman, Geoffrey C., and John C. Green. 2006. "Wars and Rumours of Wars: The Contexts of Cultural Conflict in American Political Behaviour." *British Journal of Political Science* 36 (1) (January 1): 61–89.

Adams, Greg D. 1997. "Abortion: Evidence of an Issue Evolution." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (3) (July 1): 718–737.

Wilson, Matthew J. 2007. "The Changing Catholic Voter: Comparing Responses to John F. Kennedy in 1960 and John Kerry in 2004." In *A Matter of Faith: Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election*, 163–179. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Also of note:

Baker, Wayne E. 2006. *America's Crisis of Values: Reality and Perception*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- DiMaggio, Paul, John Evans, and Bethany Bryson. 1996. "Have Americans' Social Attitudes Become More Polarized?" *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (3): 690–755.
- Evans, John. 2003. "Have Americans' Attitudes Become More Polarized? An Update." *Social Science Quarterly* 84 (1): 71–90.
- Green, John C., James L. Guth, Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt. 1996. *Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Williams, Rhys H., ed. 1997. *Cultural Wars in American Politics: Critical Reviews of a Popular Myth*. Social Problems and Social Issues. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Wolfe, Alan. 1998. *One Nation, After All: What Middle-class Americans Really Think About: God, Country, Family, Racism, Welfare, Immigration, Homosexuality, Work, The Right, The Left, and Each Other*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Viking.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1990. *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Theme 2 paper due by 9:00 AM on Monday, February 9.

Week 5: February 10 Religion and Politics in the Present, Part II (Parties)

Putnam and Campbell: Chapter 11

Layman, Geoffrey. 2001. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press. Whole book, but focus on chapters 1-6.

Wald, Kenneth D., and David C. Legee. 2010. "Mobilizing Religious Differences in American Politics." In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?*, edited by Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, 355–381. New York : Russell Sage Foundation ; Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Campbell, David E., John C. Green, and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2011. "The Party Faithful: Partisan Images, Candidate Religion, and the Electoral Impact of Party Identification." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (1) (January): 42–58.

Also of note:

Campbell, David E. 2002. "The Young and the Realigning: A Test of the Socialization Theory of Realignment." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66: 209–234.

Campbell, David E. 2006. "Religious 'Threat' in Contemporary Presidential Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 68 (01) (February): 104-115.

Green, John C. 2007. *The Faith Factor: How Religion Influences American Elections*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Leege, David C., Kenneth D. Wald, Brian S. Krueger, and Paul D. Mueller. 2002. *The Politics of Cultural Differences: Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wilcox, Clyde, and Carin Robinson. 2010. *Onward Christian Soldiers?: The Religious Right in American Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

THEME 3: RELIGION AND IDENTITY

Week 6: February 17 ***Religion and Ethnicity***

Putnam and Campbell: Chapters 7, 9

McKenzie, Brian D., and Stella M. Rouse. 2013. "Shades of Faith: Religious Foundations of Political Attitudes Among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (1) (January): 218–235.

McDaniel, Eric L. 2008. *Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Whole book, but focus on chapters 3-6.

Harris, Fredrick C. 2010. "Entering the Promised Land? The Rise of Prosperity Gospel and Post-Civil Rights Black Politics." In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?*, edited by Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, 255–278. New York : Russell Sage Foundation ; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Leal, David L. 2010. "Religion and the Political and Civic Lives of Latinos." In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?*, edited by Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, 308–352. New York : Russell Sage Foundation ; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Also of note:

Djupe, Paul A, and Jacob R. Neiheisel. 2012. "How Religious Communities Affect Political Participation Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 93 (2): 333–355.

- Harris, Fredrick C. 1999. *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kelly, Nathan J., and Jana Morgan Kelly. 2005. "Religion and Latino Partisanship in the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (1): 87–95.
- Kelly, Nathan J., and Jana Morgan Kelly. 2008. "Religious Traditionalism and Latino Politics in the United States." *American Politics Research* 36 (2): 236–263.
- Lee, Jongho, and Hary P. Pachon. 2007. "Leading the Way: An Analysis of the Effect of Religion on the Latino Vote." *American Politics Research* 35 (2): 252–272.
- Lincoln, C. Eric, and Lawrence H Mamiya. 1990. *The Black Church in the African-American Experience*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- McClerking, Harwood K., and Eric L. McDaniel. 2005. "Belonging and Doing: Political Churches and Black Political Participation." *Political Psychology* 26 (5) (October): 721–734.
- McKenzie, B. D. 2004. "Religious Social Networks, Indirect Mobilization, and African-American Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 57 (4) (December 1): 621–632.
- Valenzuela, A. A. 2014. "Tending the Flock: Latino Religious Commitments and Political Preferences." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (4) (December 1): 930–942.
- Wilson, Catherine E. 2008. *The Politics of Latino Faith: Religion, Identity, and Urban Community*. New York: New York University Press.

Theme 3 paper due by 9:00 AM on Monday, February 23.

Week 7: February 24

Vestiges of Ethno-Religious Voting (?)

- 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 1-5.
- Uslaner, Eric M., and Mark Lichbach. 2009. "Identity Versus Identity: Israel and Evangelicals and the Two-Front War for Jewish Votes." *Politics and Religion* 2 (03) (December): 395-419.
- Weisberg, Herbert. 2014. "Tradition! Tradition? Jewish Voting in the 2012 Election." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47 (3): 629–635.

Jamal, Amaney. 2010. "Muslim Americans: Enriching or Depleting American Democracy?" In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?*, edited by Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, 89–113. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Also of note:

Barreto, Matt A., and Dino N. Bozonelos. 2009. "Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? The Role of Religiosity in Muslim American Party Identification." *Politics and Religion* 2 (02) (August): 200.

Cohen, Steven M., and Charles S. Liebman. 1997. "American Jewish Liberalism: Unraveling the Strands." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 61: 405–430.

Djupe, Paul A, and Brian R. Calfano. 2012. "American Muslim Investment in Civil Society: Political Discussion, Disagreement, and Tolerance." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (3): 516–528.

Hartman, Harriet, and Moshe Hartman. 2000. "Denominational Differences in the Attachment to Israel of American Jews." *Review of Religious Research* 41: 394–417.

Jamal, Amaney. 2005. "The Political Participation and Engagement of Muslim Americans" Mosque Involvement and Group Consciousness." *American Politics Research* 33 (4): 521–544.

Wald, Kenneth D., and Bryan D. Williams. 2006. "American Jews and Israel: The Sources of Politicized Ethnic Identity." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 12 (2): 205–237.

Research paper memo due by 9:00 AM on Monday, March 2.

THEME 4: RELIGION AS AN INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Week 8: March 3 *Religion and Political Institutions*

Coe, Kevin, and David Domke. 2006. "Petitioners or Prophets? Presidential Discourse, God, and the Ascendancy of Religious Conservatives." *Journal of Communication* 56: 309–330.

Davidson, James D., Rachel Kraus, and Scott Morrisey. 2005. "Presidential Appointments and Religious Stratification in the United States, 1789-2003." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44: 485–495.

Lewis, Andrew R. 2014. "Staffing the Front Lines of the Culture War: Constituency Religious Effects on Assignment to the Senate Judiciary Committee." *Congress & the Presidency* 41 (2): 167–189.

Oldmixon, Elizabeth Anne, and William Hudson. 2008. "When Church Teachings and Policy Commitments Collide: Perspectives on Catholics in the U.S. House of Representatives." *Politics and Religion* 1: 113–136.

Songer, Donald R., and Susan J. Tabrizi. 1999. "The Religious Right in Court: The Decision Making of Christian Evangelicals in State Supreme Courts." *Journal of Politics* (61): 507–526.

Kennedy, John F. "Speech Delivered to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association"

Cuomo, Mario "Religious Belief and Public Morality"

Obama, Barack "Call To Renewal Keynote Address"

Romney, Mitt "Faith in America"

Also of note:

Bass, Harold F., and Mark J. Rozell. 2009. "Religion and the U.S. Presidency." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

D'Antonio, William V., Steven A. Tuch, and Josiah Baker. 2013. *Religion, Politics, and Polarization: How Religiopolitical Conflict is Changing Congress and American Democracy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Green, John C, and James L. Guth. 1991. "Religion, Representation, and Roll Calls." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16: 571–584.

Haider-Markel, Donald P. 1999. "Redistributing Values in Congress: Interest Group Influence Under Sub-Optimal Conditions." *Political Research Quarterly* 52 (1): 113–144.

Hertzke, Allen D. 2009. "Religious Interest Groups in American Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

McTague, John, and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2013. "Voting from the Pew: The Effect of Senators' Religious Identities on Partisan Polarization in the U.S. Senate: Voting from the Pew." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38 (3) (August): 405–430.

Oldmixon, Elizabeth Anne. 2005. *Uncompromising Positions: God, Sex, and the U.S. House of Representatives*. Religion and Politics Series. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Oldmixon, Elizabeth Anne. 2009. "Religion and Legislative Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Oldmixon, Elizabeth Anne. 2002. "Culture Wars in the Congressional Theater: How the U.S. House of Representatives Legislates Morality, 1993-1998." *Social Science Quarterly* 83: 775–788.

Oldmixon, Elizabeth Anne, and Brian R. Calfano. 2007. "The Religious Dynamics of Decision Making on Gay Rights Issues in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1993-2002." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 46 (1): 55–70.

Wahlbeck, Paul J. 2009. "Religion and Judicial Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

March 10: No class, Spring Break! (or, rather, "time to work on your research paper")

Week 9: March 17 Religious Teachings, Rhetoric, and Cues

Putnam and Campbell: Chapter 10, 12

Albertson, Bethany L. 2014. "Dog-Whistle Politics: Multivocal Communication and Religious Appeals." *Political Behavior* (January 5).

Guth, James L., John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. 1995. "Faith and the Environment: Religious Beliefs and Attitudes on Environmental Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (2): 364–382.

Barker, David C., Jon Hurwitz, and Traci L. Nelson. 2008. "Of Crusades and Culture Wars: 'Messianic' Militarism and Political Conflict in the United States." *The Journal of Politics* 70 (02): 307–322.

Campbell, David E, John C. Green, and J. Quin Monson. 2014. *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

Smith, Gregory A. 2005. "The Influence of Priests on the Political Attitudes of Roman Catholics." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44 (3) (September): 291–306.

Djupe, Paul A, and Christopher P Gilbert. 2009. *The Political Influence of Churches*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3.

Also of note:

Albertson, Bethany L. 2011. "Religious Appeals and Implicit Attitudes." *Political Psychology* 32 (1) (February): 109–130.

Barker, David C., and Christopher Jan Carman. 2000. "The Spirit of Capitalism? Religious Doctrine, Values, and Economic Attitude Constructs." *Political Behavior* 22 (1): 1–27.

Djupe, Paul A., and Brian R. Calfano. 2014. *God Talk: Experimenting with the Religious Causes of Public Opinion*. The Social Logic of Politics. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Jelen, Ted G. 2009. "Religion and American Public Opinion: Social Issues." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Knoll, Benjamin R. 2009. "'And Who Is My Neighbor?' Religion and Immigration Policy Attitudes." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 48 (2) (June): 313–331.

McDermott, M. L. 2009. "Religious Stereotyping and Voter Support for Evangelical Candidates." *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (2) (June 1): 340–354.

McDermott, Monika L. 2007. "Voting for Catholic Candidates: The Evolution of a Stereotype." *Social Science Quarterly* 88 (4) (December): 953–969.

McLaughlin, Bryan, and David Wise. 2014. "Cueing God: Religious Cues and Voter Support." *Politics and Religion* 7 (02) (June): 366–394.

Mulligan, Ken. 2006. "Pope John Paul II and Catholic Opinion Toward the Death Penalty and Abortion." *Social Science Quarterly* 87 (3): 739–753.

Olson, Laura R. 2009. "Clergy and American Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, Christopher, and Matthew Thornton. 2012. "Courting Christians: How Political Candidates Prime Religious Considerations in Campaign Ads." *The Journal of Politics* 74 (02) (April): 400–413.

Wilson, J. Matthew. 2009. "Religion and American Public Opinion: Economic Issues." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Theme 4 paper due by 9:00 AM on Monday, March 23.

Week 10: March 24 Secularism

Putnam and Campbell: Chapter 4 (reprise), Epilogue

Hout, Michael, and Claude S. Fischer. 2002. "Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations." *American Sociological Review* 67 (2) (April 1): 165–190.

Patrikios, Stratos. 2008. "American Republican Religion? Disentangling the Causal Link Between Religion and Politics in the US." *Political Behavior* 30 (3) (September): 367–389.

Campbell, David E, Geoffrey C Layman, and John C. Green. n.d. "The Politics of Irreligion: The Political Causes of Growing Secularism in America". Working Paper. University of Notre Dame.

Cimino, Richard P. 2014. *Atheist Awakening: Secular Activism and Community in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Also of note:

Baker, Joseph O., and Buster G. Smith. 2009. "The Nones: Social Characteristics of the Religious Unaffiliated." *Social Forces* 87 (3): 1251–1263.

Beard, T. Randolph, Robert B. Ekelund, George S. Ford, Ben Gaskins, and Robert D. Tollison. 2013. "Secularism, Religion, and Political Choice in the United States." *Politics and Religion* 6 (04) (December): 753–777.

Marwell, Gerald, and NJ Demerath. 2003. "Secularization by Any Other Name." *American Sociological Review* 68 (2): 314–316.

Hout, Michael, and Claude S. Fischer. 2003. "O Be Some Other Name." *American Sociological Review* 68 (2): 316–318.

THEME 5: RELIGION AND CIVIC LIFE

Week 11: March 31

Civic Involvement

Putnam and Campbell: Chapter 13

Smidt, Corwin E., Kevin R. den Dulk, James M. Penning, Stephen V. Monsma, and Douglas L. Koopman. 2008. *Pews, Prayers, and Participation: Religion and Civic Responsibility in America*. Religion and Politics Series. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. Whole book, but focus on chapters 1, 5, 6, 7.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Harvard University Press. Chapter 11.

Djupe, Paul A, and Christopher P Gilbert. 2006. "The Resourceful Believer: Generating Civic Skills in Church." *Journal of Politics* 68 (1): 116–127.

Also of note:

Campbell, David E. 2004. "Acts of Faith: Churches and Political Engagement." *Political Behavior* 26 (2) (June 1): 155–180.

Driskell, Robyn, Elizabeth Embry, and Larry Lyon. 2008. "Faith and Politics: The Influence of Religious Beliefs on Political Participation." *Social Science Quarterly* 89 (2): 294–314.

Jones-Correa, M. A., and D. L. Leal. 2001. "Political Participation: Does Religion Matter?" *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (4) (December 1): 751–770.

McKenzie, Brian D. 2001. "Self-Selection, Church Attendance, and Local Civic Participation." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40 (3) (September): 479–488.

Schwadel, Phillip. 2005. "Individual, Congregational, and Denominational Effects on Church Members' Civic Participation." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 44: 159–171.

Smidt, Corwin E., ed. 2003. *Religion as Social Capital: Producing the Common Good*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

Wielhouwer, Peter W. 2009. "Religion and American Political Participation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Wilcox, Clyde, and Lee Sigelman. 2001. "Political Mobilization in the Pews: Religious Continuity and Electoral Turnout." *Social Science Quarterly* 82: 524–535.

Week 12: April 7 Religious Tolerance

Putnam and Campbell: Chapters 14-15

Gibson, James L. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Religiosity: Does Religion Always Cause Political Intolerance?" In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?*, 147–175. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Eisenstein, Marie A. 2009. "Religion and Political Tolerance: A Review and Evaluation." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, edited by James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. Oxford Handbooks. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

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.

Bolce, Louis, and Gerald De Maio. 2008. "A Prejudice for the Thinking Classes: Media Exposure, Political Sophistication, and the Anti-Christian Fundamentalist." *American Politics Research* 36 (2): 155–185.

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Berinsky, Adam J., and Tali Mendelberg. 2005. "The Indirect Effects of Discredited Stereotypes in Judgments of Jewish Leaders." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (4) (October 1): 845–864.

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 7-10.

Also of note:

Benson, B.V., J.L. Merolla, and J.G. Geer. 2011. "Two Steps Forward, One Step Back? Bias in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Electoral Studies* 30: 607–620.

Bolce, Louis, and Gerald De Maio. 1999. "Religious Outlook, Culture War Politics, and Antipathy Toward Christian Fundamentalists." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 63 (1): 29–61.

Djupe, Paul A., and Brian R. Calfano. 2014. *God Talk: Experimenting with the Religious Causes of Public Opinion*. The Social Logic of Politics. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Chapter 3.

Djupe, P. A., and B. R. Calfano. 2013. "Religious Value Priming, Threat, and Political Tolerance." *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (4) (December 1): 768–780.

Kane, J.G., S.C. Craig, and K.D. Wald. 2004. "Religion and Presidential Politics in Florida: A List Experiment." *Social Science Quarterly* 85 (2): 281–293.

Penning, J. 2009. "Americans' Views of Muslims and Mormons: A Social Identity Theory Approach." *Politics and Religion* 2: 277–302.

Theme 5 paper due by 9:00 AM on Monday, April 13.

Week 13: April 14 Religion and the Public Square

Bellah, Robert N. 1967. "Civil Religion in America." *Daedalus* 96 (1): 1–21. [note: this has been reprinted many times. Any version will do].

The following chapters from

Wolfe, Alan, and Ira Katznelson, ed. 2010. *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* New York : Russell Sage Foundation ; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Wolfe, Alan. 2010. "Political Science, Democracy, and Religion." (Chapter 1)

Wilcox, Clyde. 2010. "The Christian Right and Civic Virtue." (Chapter 6)

Layman, Geoffrey C. 2010. "Religion and Party Activists: A 'Perfect Storm' of Polarization or a Recipe for Pragmatism?" (Chapter 7)

Katznelson, Ira. 2010. "Reflections on Religion, Democracy, and the Politics of Good and Evil." (Conclusion)

Also of note:

Hunter, James Davison. 2007. *Before the Shooting Begins: Searching for Democracy in America's Culture War*. New York: Free Press.

Morone, James A. 2003. *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Neuhaus, Richard John. 1986. *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.

Nussbaum, Martha Craven. 2012. *The New Religious Intolerance: Overcoming the Politics of Fear in an Anxious Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Week 14: April 21 Students' Choice

We will read material on a topic, or topics, selected by the students in the class. More details will be forthcoming.

Week 15: April 28 Presentations on Research Papers

Class members will give presentations on their research papers. The precise time, location, and format will be decided later.