

Political Science 498: Religion and Politics in the United States

Spring Semester, 2016

Thursday 3:00-6:00
B30 Stiteler Hall

Instructor

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Office hours: Tuesdays 4-5; Thursdays 12-1

Course Description

Religion and politics are deeply intertwined in contemporary America, as evidenced by heated and often highly partisan debates over gay marriage, abortion, and the place of religion in public life. This course addresses the ways in which religion and politics intersect in the United States, including the extent to which individuals' religious beliefs affect their political attitudes and behaviors; how politicians use religion to their electoral advantage; the changing relationship between religion and partisanship; the rise of the so-called "Religious Right"; and the role of churches in political mobilization. In addition, this course will focus on understanding and evaluating social science theories regarding the influence of religion and politics in the United States. In doing so, the course will explore how scholars operationalize religious concepts and use data to make empirical claims about the relationship between religion and politics.

The course has three learning objectives:

Become (the beginning of) an expert in the area of religion and politics

You will become familiar with basic theories, concepts, and controversies in the field of religion and politics by reading, discussing, and writing about a selection of contemporary works in the field. You will learn both religion's reaches and limits within the American political context. The background from this class will help you understand, interpret, and develop informed opinions on current and yet-to-exist issues in American politics that relate to religion. There are many topics that we will not cover, but I hope this course gives you a solid overview and encourages you to learn more about religion and politics.

Understand and critically assess research

Reading assignments include journal articles and book chapters with heavy theoretical and empirical emphasis. Through these readings, you will gain a better understanding of how to read contemporary political science research and how to evaluate the theory, empirical results, and substantive implications of academic work. Moreover, because

much of this work is quantitative, you will gain experience understanding and critically assessing research design and quantitative results.

Effectively communicate

You will constantly be working on your communication skills, both written and oral. In post-college life you need to be able to consume and digest large amounts of information and be able to discuss the main ideas competently, present information to others in a clear and direct manner, and write effectively. One goal for this class, therefore, is to hone these important skills that will follow you long after the semester ends.

Texts

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition* or *6th Edition* (2011). Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Note: page numbers in syllabus refer to 7th edition. If using 6th edition, be sure you're reading the correct pages)

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers.

Books are available at the Penn Bookstore (3601 Walnut St). One copy of each book is also on reserve at Rosengarten Reserves in Van Pelt. Articles and book chapters that are not in one of the books listed above are available on the course Canvas site under Files/Readings/Appropriate Lecture.

A note on the readings: Some of the readings from class come from political science journals and books, and as such, are rather dense and technical. Students are not responsible for the arcane details and the methods. Instead, focus on the big picture ideas and theories. That is what counts here.

Requirements

First, all students are expected to attend class and participate in class discussions. Readings should be completed in advance of class meetings. It will be useful if everyone brings the week's readings to class with them. Class participation points are not freebies—they are earned. I will provide everyone with a participation grade for the first half of the class so students have a sense of how they are doing with respect to participation.

Helpful suggestion if you are shy or do not not feel comfortable speaking in front of groups: Come to class with a few questions and/or comments about the reading already written out. This will remove some of the stress of coming up with something to say on the spot.

A final note about the readings: Some weeks students will read newspaper articles in addition to academic books and journals. 1) Read these after having reading the substantive research on the topic. 2) Keep in mind the difference between a piece of

journalism and academic research. 3) The newspaper article are meant to stimulate conversation, but the inclusion of a particular newspaper article does not mean that I endorse the article's content.

Second, students are required to submit 3-5 questions or comments related to the readings for each week that they do not write a short-answer response paper (described below). These questions / comments can be (but are not limited to):

- Something about the reading you found particularly interesting or something you disagreed with
- Something from the reading that you did not understand (this can be either substantive or methodological)
- A thought about how two (or more) readings relate to each other. Do the main points corroborate or contradict each other?
- Did a reading make you reconsider a pre-existing view that you had on a particular subject?
- Another comment or idea that you would want discussed in class

These discussion questions will not receive a letter grade, but rather will be based on a check / check minus system. These should be free and easy points for everyone who does the reading. I will give check minuses if the questions are too superficial, it seems like the reading was not done carefully, or it is clear that you only did some of the readings.

Also, I will likely ask people to share their discussion questions in class, so please be prepared. We all benefit when we talk about research together.

Third, students will write four short-answer response papers over the course of the semester. The questions corresponding to each week's reading are available below in the week-by-week schedule. The papers should be 3-4 pages, double-spaced.

These are not reaction papers or stream-of-consciousness responses. These are like any other paper assignment, only shorter. That means the papers should make an argument, be well organized, written clearly, and proofread. The questions vary, and therefore how you go about answering the questions will also vary.

The questions do not have a right or wrong answer, but a good answer will a) take a position b) define key terms or lay out scope conditions c) offer evidence in support of the stated position and d) consider alternative viewpoints when justifying your position. In doing so, the paper should go beyond regurgitating what the authors wrote to also include a critical assessment of a particular reading or juxtapose competing positions laid out in different readings. When answering these questions, remember this is a political science class and not a class on current events. You should be relying on the week's readings and not what you read in the newspaper last month. Also, be sure to answer the question!

Students are expected to turn in something every week by 2:30 to Canvas. There are 13 substantive weeks in this course. Students will submit short-answer responses for 4 of those weeks. Students will submit discussion questions for 9 of those weeks.

Fourth, the final paper for this class is a research paper. In it, students will lay out and answer a research question related to religion and politics. The research paper should be 13-15 pages in length and will be due at the assigned final exam time (selected by the registrar).

Grading breakdown

Participation: 30%

Attendance and discussion questions: 7%

Active and engaged participation in class: 23%

Short response papers: 40% (4 graded essays, 10% each)

Final research paper: 30%

All assignments must be completed and submitted to the instructor to receive credit. Failure to complete any assignment may result in a failing grade for the class.

If a student would like to appeal a grade, he/she must do so in writing within two weeks of the assignment being handed back. In the appeal, the student must respond to the instructor's comments or areas where points were taken off and justify why additional points are appropriate.

Due dates, late policies, and conflicts

Short-answer response papers are due by **2:30pm the day** of a given class. Response papers should be submitted via Canvas (Assignments/Short-answer response/Correct date). If the response paper is submitted between 2:30 and 3pm, then that paper will be docked one-third of a letter grade (so an A paper becomes an A-, an A- becomes a B+, etc). No response papers will be accepted after the official start of class (3pm).

A note about the response papers: 1) Students must take responsibility for submitting the correct number of response papers. The instructor will not follow up with students to make sure they are on track to submit enough response papers. 2) There are no extensions granted on short-answer responses. You only have to complete four over a thirteen-week period. Plan accordingly. 3) Please see the note above that failure to complete any assignment may result in a failing grade in the class.

Discussion questions are due by **2:30pm the day** of a given class. Discussion questions should be submitted via Canvas (Assignments/Discussion questions/Correct date). No discussion questions will be accepted after the official start of class. You will not receive credit for submitting discussion questions if they are submitted after 3pm.

A final note about discussion questions: These questions are separate from your attendance. That means if you are absent from a class, you are not automatically excused from submitting discussion questions.

The final research paper is due on **Tuesday, May 3rd**. The final must be submitted to Canvas by **2pm** (Assignments/Final research paper). This is the assigned time for the final exam. For the final research proposal, late work will be docked one-third a letter grade **per day** late (beginning with papers submitted at 2:01pm).

All the assignment dates are above, so students should let the instructor know within the first two weeks of class about excused absences, such as Penn sporting events and religious holidays, that conflict with the deadlines.

Statement of Academic Integrity

Students are bound to uphold the Code of Academic Integrity. The code prohibits activities that “have the effect of intention of interfering with education, pursuit of knowledge, or fair evaluation of a student’s performance.” Students are responsible for fully adhering to the code; the details can be found online at <http://www.upenn.edu/academicintegrity/>. Please note that ignorance of these guidelines is no excuse for failure to comply with them.

Communication

All students are required to have an email account that they check regularly. Not checking your email will not be an excuse for missing an assignment or reading.

Classroom Culture

Every topic discussed in a religion and politics course has the possibility to be sensitive. All topics, groups, and individuals discussed in the class must be done in a respectful and constructive manner. We will not shy away from talking about controversial topics in this class, but it is expected that everyone behave in an open-minded and considerate manner.

Weekly Overview

January 14: Introduction

Why should we study religion and politics? What are the social scientific approaches and theories that we will see throughout the course? How do I read a quantitative research article?

No readings

January 21: Religion in the United States

What is religion’s role in U.S. society, and how has it changed over time? How do (and should) researchers conceptualize and measure religion? What is the current religious landscape in the United States? How do scholars theorize religion and politics in the United States?

Short-answer response: Drawing on the readings from this week respond to the following statement: “America is religious country.”

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. “A Secular Society?” In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 1: pp. 1-22).

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. “Religion in the American Context.” In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 2: pp. 23-38).

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. “Religiosity in America: Shock and Two Aftershocks.” *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 4: pp. 91-133).

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. “Switching, Matching, and Mixing.” *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 5: pp. 134-160).

Hadaway, Kirk C., Penny Long Marler and Mark Chavez. 1993. “What the Polls Don’t Show: A Closer Look at U.S. Church Attendance.” *American Sociological Review* 58: 741-52.

Cox, Daniel and Joanna Piacenza. 2015. “Is America a Christian Nation? Majority of Americans Don’t Think So.” Public Religion Research Institute. July 2. (link in word doc)

January 28: Religion and the State

The first amendment specifies: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.” What does this mean in practice? What are the doctrines of separationism and accommodationism, and how do they relate to the boundary question (establishment) and authority issue (free exercise)? How far can government go in recognizing and benefiting organized religion? How do people view the first amendment, and how has church-state conflict changed over time?

Short-answer response: Is there a separation of church and state in the United States in the United States today?

Davis, Derek H. 2001. “Separation, Integration, and Accommodation: Religion and State in America in a Nutshell.” *Journal of Church and State* 43: 5-17.

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. “Religion and American Political Culture.” In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 3: pp. 39-64).

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "Religion and the State." In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 4: pp. 65-108).

Canipe, Lee. 2003. "Under God and Anti-Communist: How the Pledge of Allegiance Got Religion in Cold War America." *Journal of Church and State* 45: 305-323.

Jelen, Ted. G. 1999. "Dimensions of Religious Free Exercise: Abstract Beliefs and Concrete Applications." *Review of Religious Research* 40: 349-358.

Audi, Tamara. 2014. "More Americans Supporting Mixing Religion and Politics." *Wall Street Journal* (link in Word doc)

Masci, David. 2014. "Conflicts Continue Over Nativity Scenes on Public Property." Pew Research (link in Word doc)

February 4: Civic engagement, political participation, and churches as political communities

In what ways do churches serve as political communities? Although religious messages from the pulpit are important to explore, what other aspects of a church community are important for politics? How does the intermixing of religion and politics differ within different religious denominations? Do churches promote civic engagement and increase levels of participation? How? How and why are religious and political participation rates related?

Short-answer response: What variables or factors are most important in creating a strong political community within a church?

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. "Vignettes: How Religion and Politics Intertwine." In *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 10: pp. 320-368).

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. "Echo Chambers: Politics Within Congregations." In *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 12: pp. 419-442).

Iannaccone, Laurence. 1994. "Why Strict Churches are Strong?" *American Journal of Sociology* 99: 1180-1211.

Wald, Kenneth, Dennis E. Owen, Samuel S. Hill, Jr. 1988. "Churches as Political Communities." *American Political Science Review* 82: 531-548.

Huckfeldt, Robert, Eric Plutzer and John Sprague. 1989. "Alternative Contexts of Political Behavior: Churches, Neighborhoods, and Individuals." *Journal of Politics* 55: 365-381.

February 11: Public Opinion

How is religion related to public opinion, and how has the relationship changed over time? What is the “culture wars”, and does it exist?

Short-answer response: What is the “culture wars” and does it exist today?

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. “Religion and Public Opinion” In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 7: pp. 183-205).

Hunter, James Davison. 2006. “The Enduring Culture War.” In *Is There A Culture War? A Dialogue on Values and American Public Life*. James Davison Hunter and Alan Wolfe (eds). Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press (Chapter 2: pp. 10-41).

Wolfe, Alan. 2006. “The Culture War that Never Came.” In *Is There A Culture War? A Dialogue on Values and American Public Life*. James Davison Hunter and Alan Wolfe (eds). Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press (Chapter 3: pp. 41-74).

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. “Religion in American Politics” *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 11: pp. 369-418).

Barker, David C., Jon Hurwitz, and Traci L. Nelson. 2008. “Of Crusades and Culture Wars: “Messianic” Militarism and Political Conflict in the United States.” *Journal of Politics* 70: 307-322.

Milligan, Susan. U.S. News and World Report. 2015. “The New Culture Wars. A Changing America Poses Problems for the GOP in the 2016 Election.” *U.S. News and World Report*. September 25. (link in Word doc)

February 18: Voting, elections, and mobilization

When do religious interests become politically salient? How is religion related to elections and vote choice, and how has the relationship changed over time? In addition to one’s own religious identity, how do candidates’ religious identities affect voters?

Short-answer response: Over the last few election cycles, many newspaper articles have been written claiming that mobilizing evangelical Christians is essential for a Republican Party electoral victory. Drawing on the readings from this week, make the argument that either the received wisdom is correct or incorrect.

Note – while this question asks about the current political landscape and may require some discussion about the politics, this is an academic paper and the overwhelming evidence in support of your position should come from this week’s readings.

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. “Mobilizing Religious Interests” In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 5: pp. 109-142).

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. "Religion in American Politics" ("A Case Study: Same-Sex Marriage in 2004" only). *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 11: pp. 396-401).

McTague, John Michael and Geoffrey C. Layman. "Religion, Parties, and Voting Behavior: A Political Explanation of Religious Influence." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth (eds). New York: Oxford University Press (Chapter 12: pp. 330-370).

Campbell, David E. 2004. "Acts of Faith: Churches and Political Engagement." *Political Behavior* 26: 155-180.

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: 42-58.

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

February 25: The black church

Does religion play a similar or different role in the politics of African Americans compared to Caucasian Americans? What role does politics play in African American religious communities? How has African Americans' history in the United States affected the interplay of religion and politics?

Short-answer response: Nearly every election there are newspaper articles about the Republican Party and Republican candidates trying to make electoral inroads with African American voters. One reason given for this strategy is that African Americans are religious and their positions on issues related to morality (abortion, gay marriage, etc) may align more closely with the Republican Party. Can African American voters be persuaded to vote Republican?

Note – while this question asks about the current political landscape and may require some discussion about the politics, this is an academic paper and the overwhelming evidence in support of your position should come from this week's readings.

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "Religion and the Politics of Ethnic and Religious Minorities" (first part only titled "African American Protestants"). In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 10: pp. 275-286).

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. "Diversity, Ethnicity, and Religion." *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 9: pp. 260-319).

McDaniel, Eric L. 2008. *Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (Chapter 3 pp. 55-77).

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?* Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson (eds). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 8: pp. 255-278).

McClerking, Harwood K. and Eric L. McDaniel. 2005. "Belonging and Doing: Political Churches and Black Political Participation." *Political Psychology* 26: 721–734.

McKenzie, Brian D. 2004. "Religious Social Networks, Indirect Mobilization, and African- American Political Participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 57: 621–632.

March 3: Latino Catholics and Protestants

Are Latinos a unified political bloc? How might religious diversity within an ethnic group matter politically? What is the role of churches within Latino communities?

Short-answer response: To what extent can we think about Latino Americans as a unified political bloc?

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "Religion and the Politics of Ethnic and Religious Minorities" (second part only titled "Latino Catholics and Protestants"). In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 10: pp. 286-291).

Leal, David L. 2010. "Religion and the Political and Civic Lives of Latinos." In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson (eds). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 10: pp. 308-352).

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: 218–235.

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

Valenzuela, Ali Adam. 2014. "Tending the Flock. Latino Religious Commitments and Political Preferences." *Political Research Quarterly* 67: 930-942.

Pew Forum. 2014. "The Shifting Religious Identity of Latinos in the United States." (link in Word doc)

March 10: Spring Break – No class

March 17: The one-time religious minorities: Catholicism and Judaism

How did Catholics and Jews come to be Democrats? How and why have the relationships between these religions and the political parties changed (or stayed the same) over time?

Short-answer response: Catholics and Jews were both key constituencies in FDR's New Deal, and Catholics and Jews both voted overwhelmingly Democratic in the New Deal Era. In 2008, 57% of Catholics voted for Obama, whereas 85% of Jews did so. What explains this gap between Catholics and Jews?

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "Continuity and Change in the Religious Center: Catholics, Mainline Protestants, and Jews" (first part on Catholics and last part on American Jews only). In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 9: pp. 247-263; 270-278).

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: 395-419.

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 (ed). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield (pp. 161-194.).

Wilson, J. Matthew. 2007. "The Changing Catholic Voter: Comparing Responses to John Kennedy in 1960 and John Kerry in 2004." In *A Matter of Faith: Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election*. David Campbell (ed). Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press (pp.163-179).

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

Rosenwald, Michael S., Michelle Boorstein, and Scott Clement. 2015. "Americans Widely Admire People Francis, but his Church Less So." *Washington Post*. September 20. (link in Word)

Reuters. 2015. "Trump's Muslim Ban Scrambles Republican Outreach to Jewish Voters." *Newsweek*. December 9. (link in Word doc)

March 24: Minority religions: Islam and Mormonism

What about the religious groups that have not received as much scholarly attention? Are these groups solidified political blocs, what are their attitudes, and given their small numbers do these groups "matter" politically? In addition to how these religious groups behave politically, how do others feel toward these religious minorities, and do these feelings have an effect in the political arena?

Short-answer response: This response paper is more open-ended in nature. Rather than answering a specific question, the response paper should offer a critical assessment of the week's readings.

A good response paper will spend the time exploring the questions raised by the readings. Given the assigned readings, what is the next question to be asked? How would a researcher ask it? Are there key dependent/independent variables that the authors neglected to address? Are there theoretical mechanisms or alternative explanations that have not been explored? If two readings make competing claims, which is more compelling? Why? Put another way, the response paper should **critically** engage with the week's readings. Note the plural of readings. A good response paper will go beyond looking at one reading.

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "Religion and the Politics of Ethnic and Religious Minorities" (second half starting with "Muslim Americans"). In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 10: pp. 297-314).

Jamal, Amaney. 2010. "Muslim Americans: Enriching or Depleting American Democracy?" In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson (eds). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 3: pp. 89-113).

Kalkan, Kerem Ozan, Geoffrey C. Layman, and Eric M. Uslaner. 2009. "Bands of Others"? Attitudes toward Muslims in Contemporary American Society." *Journal of Politics* 71: 847-862.

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 1 ("Meet the Mormons pp. 3-24), Chapter 4 ("Mormon Political Views" pp. 77-102), Chapter 9 ("How Mormonism Affected Mitt; How Mitt Affected Mormonism pp. 222-252).

Goodstein, Laurie. 2015. "Mormons Sharpen Stand Against Same-Sex Marriage." *The New York Times*. November 6. (Link in Word doc).

Semple, Kirk. 2015. "Young Muslim Americans are Feeling the Strain of Suspicion." *The New York Times*. December 14.

March 31: Rhetoric: Political cues from religious elites and religious cues from political elites

Who are religious elites, and about what political issues do these individuals or groups speak? What sorts of (and why might) political messages from religious leaders resonate with religious voters and what sorts of messages fall on deaf ears? How do politicians use religion? What is "God talk", and how successful are politicians at using religious rhetoric to win over voters?

Short-answer response: Are religious elites politically influential?

Davidson, James D. 1998. "Why Churches Cannot Endorse or Oppose Political Candidates." *Review of Religious Research* 40: 16-34.

Djupe, Paul A. and Gregory W. Gwiasda. 2010. "Evangelizing the Environment: Decision Process Effects in Political Persuasion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 49: 73-86.

Margolis, Michele F. "What are the Reaches and Limits of Social Group Influence? Identities, Elites, and Immigration Attitudes." Working paper.

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

Albertson, Bethany L. 2014. "Dog-Whistle Politics: Multivocal Communication and Religious Appeals." *Political Behavior* 1-24.

Kennedy, John F. "Speech Delivered to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association" (Link in Word doc)

Obama, Barack "Call To Renewal Keynote Address" (Link in Word doc)

April 7: The Religious Right

What are the origins of the Religion Right, and what is the Religious Right today? What strategies do the Religious Right take, and how successful are these strategies? Who make up the core "members" of the Religious Right? Is the Religious Right powerful within politics?

Short-answer response: Some have said that the Religious Right (and the various organizations under its umbrella) is strong and has had a large impact on politics. Others have said its influence has been overstated. Based on the readings from this week, which side do you think is correct?

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "The Political Mobilization of Evangelical Protestants." In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 8: pp. 207-240).

Wilcox, Clyde and Carin Robinson. 2011. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*, 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Chapter 2 ("Revivals and Revolution: The Christian Right in Twentieth Century America" pp. 29-66) and Chapter 3 ("The Christian Right in American Politics" pp. 67-119).

Green, John C., and James L. Guth. 1996. "The Christian Right in the Republican Party: The Case of Pat Robertson's Supporters." In *Religion and the Culture Wars. Dispatches*

from the Front. John C. Green, James L. Guth, Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt (eds). New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (Chapter 6: pp. 86-102).

Hartman, Andrew. 2015. *A War for the Soul of America. A History of the Culture Wars*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 7 (“God, State, and Curriculum” pp. 200-222).

Merritt, Jonathan. 2015. “Can the Religious Right Give Ted Cruz the Win?” *The Atlantic*. December 22. (Link in Word doc).

April 14: Religion and Political Institutions

Do elected officials rely on their own religious beliefs or their constituents’ religious beliefs when voting on policy? How else do politicians’ religious beliefs matter politically? Should politicians’ religious beliefs affect how they do their job?

Short-answer response: Do elected officials rely on their own religious beliefs or their constituents’ religious beliefs when voting on policy?

Barry Burden. 2007. “Religion and Morality.” In *Personal Roots of Representation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 5: pp. 112-136).

Oldmixon, Elizabeth A. 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: 55-70.

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

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: 405–430.

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.

April 21: Unintended consequences

What are the unintended consequences of the close relationship between religion and politics? What is anti-fundamentalist sentiment, why has it grown in recent decades, and how has this sentiment served as a cue in citizens’ attitudes? How has politics changed the religious make-up on America?

Short-answer response: This response paper is more open-ended in nature. Rather than answering a specific question, the response paper should offer a critical assessment of the week’s readings.

A good response paper will spend the time exploring the questions raised by the readings. Given the assigned readings, what is the next question to be asked? How would a researcher ask it? Are there key dependent/independent variables that the authors neglected to address? Are there theoretical mechanisms or alternative explanations that have not been explored? If two readings make competing claims, which is more compelling? Why? Put another way, the response paper should **critically** engage with the week's readings. Note the plural of readings. A good response paper will go beyond looking at one reading.

Bolce, Louis and Gerald de Maio. 1999. "The Anti-Christian Fundamentalism Factor in Contemporary Politics." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 63: 508-542.

Hout, Michael and Claude S. Fischer. 2014. "Explaining Why More Americans have No Religious Preference: Political Backlash and Generational Succession, 1987-2012." *Sociological Science* 1.

Margolis, Michele. "From Politics to the Pews: A Test of the Life-Cycle Theory." Working paper.

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