

Political Science 498: Religion and Politics in the United States

Spring Semester, 2015

Wednesday 3:30-6:30

Psychology Lab A30

Instructor

Professor Michele Margolis
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243 Stiteler Hall
Office hours: TBD

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:

1. Students will understand both religion's reaches and limits within the American political context.
2. Students will be smart, cautious consumers of religion and politics research by being able to understand scholars' claims and evaluate their findings.
3. Students will improve their critical thinking and writing skills through discussions and written assignments.

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. (Note: while the books will be under PSCI 498, it is possible that the course name will be ECON STATECRAFT WRLD POL) 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 classes and participate in class discussions. Readings should be completed in advance of class meetings. Please e-mail the instructor if there are schedule conflicts.

Second, students will write a series of 2-3 page response papers in order to engage with the reading and facilitate discussion. A good response paper will not simply summarize the 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 papers **critically** engage with the week's readings. Note the plural of readings. A good response paper will go beyond looking at one reading. Students are required to write 7 response papers over the course of the semester, and students are allowed to select the weeks on which they write. **Response papers should be e-mailed to the instructor no later than 12 Noon on the Wednesday before class.**

Students are required to write 7 response papers out of 13 weeks of substantive classes. Student can write an 8th response paper and the lowest response grade will be dropped. If a student writes 7 response papers, every response paper will count toward the final grade.

Third, the final project for this class will be an empirical research design paper. In it, students will lay out a tractable research question. Students are not required to answer the question, but it needs to be answerable. The question will ask how some independent variable(s) affect a dependent variable relevant to the class. The paper also needs to

specify a theory that connects the independent and dependent variables together, and discuss the kinds of evidence that a scholar would collect to answer the question. Think of the paper this way: the end result should look like the first 50% of academic papers assigned during the term: stating a question, outlining a theory, and stating how data will support the theory, without generating the evidence to test it. The research proposal should be 10-12 pages in length and will be due at the assigned final exam time (selected by the registrar).

Grading breakdown

Active and engaged participation: 35%

Final research proposal: 30%

Short response papers: 35% (7 graded essays, 5% each)

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, 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 response papers are due by **12pm the day of Wednesday** of a given class. Put another way, the papers are due three and a half hours **before** the start of class. Response papers should be e-mailed to the instructor (mmargo@sas.upenn.edu) either as a Word or PDF file. If the response paper is late, then that paper will be docked ½ 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.

A note about the response papers: 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. There are 13 substantive classes during the semester. Students are in charge of organizing their schedules so that they submit the correct number of assignments. Please see the note above that failure to complete any assignment may result in a failing grade in the class.

The final research proposal is due on Friday, May 8th. **A hardcopy of the proposal should be brought to my office (243 Stiteler Hall) on May 8th between 9-11am.** This is the assigned time for the final exam. For the final research proposal, late work will be docked one-half letter grade per day late (beginning with papers submitted at 11:01am).

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. A diverse class allows for stimulating conversation and debate, but all topics, groups, and individuals must be discussed in a respectful and constructive manner.

Weekly Overview

January 21: 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 28: 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?

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).

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).

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).

Additional readings on religion in the United States

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.

King, Morton B. 1991. "Is Scientific Study of Religion Possible?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30: 108-33.

Wald, Kenneth D., Adam L. Silverman, and Kevin S. Fridy. 2005. "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 121-143.

Steenland, 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: 291-318.

Wald, Kenneth D. and Clyde Wilcox. 2006. "Getting Religion: Has Political Science Rediscovered the Faith Factor?" *American Political Science Review* 100: 523-29.

February 4: Religion and the State

Is there really a separation of church and state in the United States? The first amendment specifies: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." What does this mean in practice? 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?

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).

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

Wilcox, Clyde, Joseph Ferrara, John O'Donnell, Mary Bendyna, Shauna Geehan, and Rod Taylor. 1992. "Public Attitudes toward Church-State Issues: Elite-Mass Differences." *Journal of Church and State* 34: 259-271.

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

Masci, David. 2014 “Conflicts Continue Over Nativity Scenes on Public Property.” Pew Research (link to article in Word document)

Additional reading on religion and the state

John Wybraniec and Roger Finke. 2001. “Religious Regulation and the Courts: The Judiciary’s Changing Role in Protecting Minority Religions from Majoritarian Rule.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40: 427-444.

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

February 11: 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?

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).

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

Djupe, Paul A. and Christopher P. Gilbert. 2006. “The Resourceful Believer: Generating Civic Skills in Church.” *Journal of Politics* 68: 116-127.

Bean, Lydia. 2014. “Captain in the Culture War” In *Politics of Evangelical Identity: Local Churches and Partisan Divides in the United States and Canada*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 6: pp. 133-165).

Additional readings on Civic engagement, political participation, and churches as political communities

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

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

Wald, Kenneth D., Dennis E. Owen and Samuel S. Hill. 1990. “Political Cohesion in Churches.” *Journal of Politics* 52: 197-215.

Huckfeldt, Robert, Eric Plutzer and John Sprague. 1989. “Alternative Contexts of Political Behavior:

Churches, Neighborhoods, and Individuals.” *Journal of Politics* 55: 365-381.

Hill, Kim Quaile and Tetusya Matsubashi. 2008. “Church Engagement, Religious Values, and Mass-Elite Policy Agenda Agreement in Local Communities.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 570-584.

Driskell, Robyn, Elizabeth Embry, and Larry Lyon. 2008. “Faith and Politics: The Influence of Religious Beliefs on Political Participation.” *Social Science Quarterly* 89: 294-314.

February 18: 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?

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).

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).

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).

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

Additional readings on public opinion

Guth, James L., John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. 1995. “Faith and Environment: Religious Beliefs and Attitudes on Environmental Policy.” *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 364-382.

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

Jelen, Ted G. 1993. “The Political Consequences of Religious Group Attitudes.” *Journal of Politics* 55: 178-190.

Gaskins, Ben, Matt Golder, and David A. Siegel. 2013. “Religious Participation and Economic Conservatism.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 823-840.

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.

Brewer, Paul R. 2003. "The Shifting Foundations of Public Opinion about Gay Rights." *Journal of Politics* 65: 1208-1220.

February 25: 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' religion affect voting decisions?

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).

Layman, Geoffrey C. 1997. "Religion and Political Behavior in the United States: Impact of Beliefs, Affiliations and Commitment from 1980 to 1994." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61: 288-316.

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.

Additional readings on voting and elections

David E. Campbell and J. Quin Monson. 2008. "The Religion Card: Gay Marriage and the 2004 Election." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72: 399-419.

Green, John C. 2010. *The Faith Factor: How Religion Influences American Elections*. Washington D.C., Potomac Books Inc.

David E. Campbell. 2006. "Religious 'Threat' In Contemporary Presidential Elections." *Journal of Politics* 68: 104- 115.

Wilcox, Clyde. 1989. "The Fundamentalist Voter: Politicized Religious Identity and Political Attitudes and Behavior." *Review of Religious Research* 31: 54-67.

Jones-Correa, Michael A. and David L. Leal. 2001. "Political Participation: Does Religion Matter?" *Political Research Quarterly* 54: 751-70.

Kellstedt, Lyman A. and Corwin E. Smidt. 1993. "Doctrinal Beliefs and Political Behavior: Views of the Bible." In *Rediscovering the Religious Factor in American Politics*. David C. Leege and Lyman A. Kellstedt (eds.), Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 177-199.

Kellstedt, Lyman A. and John C. Green. 1993. Knowing God's Many People: Denominational Preferences and Political Behavior. In *Rediscovering the Religious Factor in American Politics*. David C. Leege and Lyman A. Kellstedt (eds.), Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 53-72.

McDermott, Monika L. 2009. "Religious Stereotyping and Voter Support for Evangelical Candidates." *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 340-352.

March 4: Race, ethnicity, and religion

Does religion play a similar or different role in the politics of racial minorities in the U.S.? Are racial and ethnic minorities considered unified political blocs? Does religious diversity within a racial or ethnic group matter politically? What is the role of churches within these minority communities?

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "Religion and the Politics of Ethnic and Religious Minorities" (first half only). In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 10: pp. 279-297).

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

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).

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).

Additional readings on race, ethnicity, and religion

McKenzie, Brian D. and Stella Rouse. 2013. "Shades of Faith: Religious Foundations of Political Attitudes among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites." *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 218-235.

Kelly, Nathan J. and Jana Morgan Kelly. 2005. "Religion and Latino Partisanship in the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 58: 87-95.

McDaniel, Eric L. and Christopher G. Ellison. 2008. "'God's Party?' Race, Religion, and Partisanship over Time." *Political Research Quarterly* 61:180-91.

Alex-Assensoh, Yvette and A.B. Assensoh. 2001. "Inner-City Contexts, Church Attendance, and African-American Political Participation." *Journal of Politics*, 63: 886-901.

Harris, Frederick. 1994. "Something Within: Religion as a Mobilizer of African American Political Activism." *Journal of Politics* 56: 42-68.

Calhoun-Brown, Allison. 1996. "African American Churches and Political Mobilization: The Psychological Impact of Organizational Resources" *Journal of Politics* 58: 935-53.

Tate, Katherine. 1993. *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Politics*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kelly, Nathan J. and Jana Morgan Kelly. 2007. "Religious Traditionalism and Latino Politics in the United States." *American Politics Research* 36: 236-263.

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

Cohen, Adam B., Ariel Malka, Eric D. Hill, Feliz Thoemmes, Peter C. Hill, and Jill M. Sundie. 2009. "Race as a Moderator of the Relationship Between Religiosity and Political Alignment." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 35: 271-282.

March 11: Spring Break – No class

March 18: Gender, sexuality and religion

Men and women have different levels and types of religious involvement. Does this result in different relationships between religion and politics across genders? How does religious involvement encourage participation among women who may otherwise not be involved politically?

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "The Other Minorities." In *Religion and Politics in the United States 7th Edition*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. (Chapter 11: pp. 313-350).

Putnam, Robert and David Campbell. 2010. "The Women's Revolution, The Rise of Inequality, and Religion" (first half only). In *American Grace*. New York: Simon & Schuster Publishers. (Chapter 8: pp. 231-246).

Calhoun-Brown, Allison. 2010. "This Far by Faith? Religion, Gender, and Efficacy." In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson (eds). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 9: pp. 279-307).

Djupe, Paul A., Anand E. Sokhey, and Christopher P. Gilbert. 2007. "Present but Not Accounted For? Gender Differences in Civic Resource Acquisition." *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 906-920.

Additional readings on gender, sexuality, and religion

Olson, Laura R., Sue E.S. Crawford, and James L. Guth. 2000. "Changing Issue Agendas of Women Clergy." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 39: 140-153.

March 25: Minority religions

What about the religious groups that do not get a lot of scholarly attention – are these groups a solidified political bloc, what are their attitudes, and given their small numbers do these groups "matter" politically? In addition to how these religious groups look politically, how do others feel toward these religious minorities, and do these feelings have an effect in the political realm?

Wald, Kenneth and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. "Religion and the Politics of Ethnic and Religious Minorities" (second half only). 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).

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.

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. 2012. "The Stained Glass Ceiling: Social Contact and Mitt Romney's 'Religion Problem.'" *Political Behavior* 34: 277-300.

Additional readings on minority religions

Conger, Kimberly H. 2013. "Same Battle, Different War: Religious Movements in American State Politics." *Politics and Religion* 7: 1-23.

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

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: 200-229.

Weisberg, Herbert F. 2012. "Reconsidering Jewish Presidential Voting Statistics." *Contemporary Jewry* 32: 215-236.

April 1: Religious elites

Who are religious elites and about what political issues do these individuals or groups speak? When do religious messages and leaders successfully shape citizens' political attitudes? What sorts of (and why might) messages resonate with religious voters and what sorts of messages fall on deaf ears?

Djupe, Paul A. and Christopher P. Gilbert. 2002. "The Political Voice of the Clergy." *Journal of Politics* 64: 596-609.

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.

Campbell, David, John C. Green, and Quin J. Monson. Forthcoming. "Following the leader. Mormons' Responsiveness to Church Leaders." In *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics*.

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

Additional readings on religious elites

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

April 8: Religion as a political actor

How often and when do religious groups become involved in politics? What strategies do religious groups use to influence policy, and how successful are these strategies? With what types of policy issues do religious groups involve themselves? How well do broader interest group theories explain religious groups' involvement in politics?

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).

Beyerlein, Kraig and Mark Chaves. 2003. "The Political Activities of Religious Congregations in the United States." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42: 229-246.

Monson, J. Quin and Kara L. Norman. 2007. "Salt Lake City's Main Street Plaza Controversy." In *Religious Interests in Community Conflict: Beyond the Culture Wars*, Paul A. Djupe and Laura R. Olson (eds.). Waco, TX: Baylor University Press. (Chapter 8: pp. 173-194).

O'Connor, Karen and Lee Epstein. 1983. "The Rise of Conservative Interest Group Litigation." *Journal of Politics* 45: 479-489.

Additional reading on Religions as political actors

Conger, Kimberly H. 2010. "A Matter of Context: Christian Right Influence in U.S. State Republican Politics." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 10: 248-269.

Donald P. Haider-Markel and Kenneth J. Meier. 1996. "The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of the Conflict." *The Journal of Politics* 58: 332-349.

April 15: Political elites

How do politicians use religion? What is "God talk" and how successful are politicians at using religious rhetoric to win over voters? 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).

Domke, David S. and Kevin M. Coe. 2007. "The God Strategy: The Rise of Religious Politics in America." *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 42: 53-75.

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.

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

Additional readings on political elites

Calfano, Brian R. and Paul A. Djupe. 2009. "God Talk: Religious Cues and Electoral Support." *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 329-39.

Fastnow, Chris, J., Tobin Grant, and Thomas J. Rudolph. 1999. "Holy Roll Calls: Religious Tradition and Voting Behavior in the U.S. House." *Social Science Quarterly* 80: 687-701.

Greenawalt, Kent. 1994. "The Use of Religious Convictions by Legislators and Judges." *Journal of Church and State* 36: 541-555.

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: 507-26.

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

April 22: 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?

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 F. "Rethinking the Relationship between Religion and Politics: A Test of the Life Cycle Theory." Working paper.

Margolis, Michele. "Don't Lose Control: How Partisanship and the Political Landscape Shape Religious Behaviors." Working paper.

Additional readings on unintended consequences

Bolce, Louis and Gerald de Maio. 1999. "Religious Outlook, Culture War Politics, and Antipathy Toward Christian Fundamentalists." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 63: 29-61.

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

April 29: Students' choice

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