

Political Science 010: The Struggle for America's Soul: Evangelical  
Christians in American Politics  
Fall Semester, 2018

Tuesdays 1:30-4:30pm in 108 Perry World House

**Instructor**

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Office hours: Tuesdays, 11am-12pm and Thursdays, 2:30-3:30pm

**Course description**

In 1992, Pat Buchanan famously said, "There is a religious war going on in this country. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we shall be as was the Cold War itself, for *this war is for the soul of America*." Battles that make up this so-called war have been fought over gay marriage, abortion, Hobby Lobby, and political correctness, to name just a few, and white evangelical Christians have often been on the front lines of these cultural clashes. And the era of Trump has further ignited new religious debates, not about policy, but about evangelicals themselves. Trump critics question the moral fiber of a group who enthusiastically support a president whose personal behaviors and words often seem antithetical to Christian values, while Trump supporters cheer on a leader who fights for Christian values in the political arena. This seminar will start to unpack evangelicals' role in American politics by exploring who evangelicals are, what evangelicals believe, whether and how evangelicals apply their religious beliefs to politics, the rise (and fall) of the "Religious Right", and how politicians use religion to their electoral advantage. In doing so, this course will also encourage students to think about whether and how religion *should* be incorporated into politics and how students' own religious beliefs (or non-beliefs) influence their political outlooks.

This course is a freshman seminar and fulfills the Cultural Diversity in the U.S. foundational approach.

**Learning objectives**

*Learn about evangelicalism in American politics*

By the end of the semester, I hope students will know who evangelicals are, recognize the diversity of beliefs and outlooks that are present within the evangelical community, and understand the extent to which evangelicals impact the American political system. Moreover, my goal is that students will be able to draw on what we discuss in the classroom when making sense of the political world around them.

*Understand and critically assess research*

Through assigned readings and class discussions, I hope students will gain a better understanding of how to read, interpret, and critique research. While some of this class includes learning facts, much of it will be spending debating and assessing research. Moreover, because the assigned readings represent a mix of political science, sociology,

history, and communications research, students will have the opportunity to evaluate research across the social sciences and humanities.

### *Effectively communicate*

Students will constantly be working on their communication skills, both written and oral. In post-college life everyone will 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 students long after the semester ends.

### *Acclimate to Penn and college life*

An important, but often unstated, goal of freshman seminars is to help acclimate students to life at Penn. This may include spending more time going over the syllabus (what are office hours, exactly?), discussing how to address professors and teaching assistants, giving an overview of Canvas, etc. College is a big transition and I hope that students feel comfortable at Penn after having taken this class.

### **Texts**

Jones, Robert P. 2016. *The End of White Christian America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Balmer, Randall. *The Making of Evangelicalism. From Revivalism to Politics and Beyond*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

Wong, Janelle S. *Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Graff, Gerald and Cathy Birkenstein. 2017. *They Say. I Say. The Moves that Matter in Academic Writing*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Books are available at the [Penn Bookstore](#) (3601 Walnut St). You may also order your books from an online vendor, like Amazon. Not having the books delivered, however, is not a good excuse for not having done an assigned reading. 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 Week.

### **Requirements**

First, all students are expected to attend class and participate in class discussions. Readings and other assignments 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. Please contact me if you have questions or concerns about your participation grade during the semester.

Helpful suggestion for students who are shy or do 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: Many weeks students will read newspaper articles in addition to academic books and journals. 1) Read these after having read the substantive research on the topic. 2) Keep in mind the difference between a piece of journalism and academic research. 3) The newspaper articles 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). Discussion questions must be submitted through Canvas. 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. I will let students know if they receive a check minus on a submission.

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, when we have virtual visitors in class, students will submit 2-3 questions to ask the guest. Questions for the visitors must be submitted through Canvas. Grading for the discussions with visitors will be the same as the discussion questions.

Fourth, students will write four short-answer response papers over the course of the semester. The question corresponding to each week's reading is available in the week-by-week schedule. The papers should be 2-3 pages, double-spaced. Response questions must be submitted through Canvas and will go through the TurnItIn plagiarism software.

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 students 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 and give relevant background c) offer evidence in support of the stated position and d) consider and address alternative viewpoints. 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. While the questions will often deal with stories and arguments made in the media, the papers should draw on the assigned readings—in particular the academic readings—in backing up a particular argument.

Special attention will also be paid to lessons from Graff and Birkenstein's, *They Say, I Say* so be sure to do the reading and incorporate lessons from the book. Also, be sure to answer the question!

Students are expected to turn in something every week by midnight the night before class to Canvas. There are 12 substantive weeks in this course. Students will submit short-answer responses for 4 of those weeks. Students will submit discussion questions the 8 remaining weeks. Everyone, regardless of whether they are submitting discussion questions or a short-answer response, will submit questions to ask of our virtual guests.

Fifth, students will write a ten-page research paper. I will offer a list of paper topics in the middle of October. Students are welcome to write on a different topic, but they must come speak with me about and receive approval for the topic. The paper will be due at the assigned final exam time (selected by the registrar). The final paper must be submitted through Canvas and will go through the TurnItIn plagiarism software.

Sixth (optional), students will have the option of revising and extending up to two of the short-answer responses. 1. The revised short-answer response should incorporate comments and suggestions from the first version. 2. The revised short-answer response should also be longer than the first version, between 4-5 double-spaced pages. 3. The revised short-answer response must be submitted within two weeks of receiving comments and a grade on the original version. Students cannot submit revisions on a particular essay after two weeks. 4. The last day to submit a revision is the final day of class (December 4). This means that students cannot revise the final response paper. Students who wish to revise the second-to-last response paper must submit the revisions by last day of class. **Unlike the other assignments, students should e-mail me their revised short-answer responses (mmargo@sas.upenn.edu). I will respond saying that I received the assignment. Students should follow up if they do not hear back.**

A final note about the revisions. Revising the response paper does not guarantee an “A” on the assignment. The paper should both incorporate my comments from the first submission and also extend the argument slightly. Moreover, my expectations will be higher on the second round as students will have had more time to think about and work on the assignment.

### **Grading breakdown #1 (if not revising and extending any of the short-answer responses)**

Participation: 20%

Attendance and discussion questions: 7%

Active and engaged participation in class: 13%

Short response papers: 50% (4 graded essays, 12.5% each)

Final research paper: 30%

### **Grading breakdown #2 (if revising and extending two short-answer responses)**

Participation: 20%

Attendance and discussion questions: 7%

Active and engaged participation in class: 13%

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

Revised response papers: 10% (2 revised essays, 5% each)

Final research paper: 30%

### **Grading breakdown #3 (if revising and extending 1 short-answer response)**

Participation: 20%

Attendance and discussion questions: 7%

Active and engaged participation in class: 13%

Initial short response papers: 45% (4 graded essays, 11.25% each)

Revised response papers: 5% (1 revised essay, 5% 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.

### **Class, cell phones, and computers**

Students are required to refrain from using the Internet, email, IM, or other programs not related to taking notes. Additionally, computer use to take notes is permitted only with the instructor's approval. All cell phones must be off throughout the class.

### **Due dates, late policies, and conflicts**

All short-answer responses, discussion questions, and questions for virtual guests are due by **midnight the night before a given class** via Canvas. If the assignment is submitted between midnight and 1:30pm, then the assignment will be docked (one-third a letter grade for the response papers and an automatic check minus for the discussion questions). Assignments submitted after the official start of class (1:30pm) will not be accepted.

A note about the response papers: 1) Students must take responsibility for submitting the correct number of response papers. I 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. Students only have to complete four short-answer responses over a 12-week period. Students should plan accordingly. 3) Please see the note above that failure to complete any assignment may result in a failing grade in the class.

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

The final research paper is due on **Friday, December 14th**. The final must be submitted to Canvas by **12pm** (Assignments/Final research paper). This is the assigned time for the final exam. For the final research paper, late work will be docked one-third a letter grade **per day** late (beginning with papers submitted at **12:01pm**).

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 e-mail with relevant information related to the course.

I will respond to all e-mails within 24 hours of receiving them, usually faster depending on when the e-mail was sent. In general, I will not write lengthy e-mail responses. If students have questions that require more than a few sentence response, I encourage them to come to my office hours.

### **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 behaves in an open-minded and considerate manner.

### **Week-by-week schedule and discussion questions**

#### **Section 1: evangelicals – who they are and what they believe?**

##### September 4: Background and important historical context

*Short-answer response:* John Fea—professor of American history, self-described evangelical, and Never Trumper—argues that evangelicals have been fearful throughout American history, and this fear gave rise to their support for Donald Trump. Read Fea’s article in *The Atlantic* (on Canvas). Drawing on the assigned readings from this week, do you agree or disagree with Fea’s main claims?

Balmer, Randall. 1999. "The Vocabulary of Evangelicalism" in *Blessed Assurance: A History of Evangelicalism in America* (Appendix, pp. 111-115). Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Sweeney, Douglas A. 2005. "Evangelical. What's in a Word?" in *The American Evangelical Story. A History of a Movement* (Chapter 1, pp. 17-25).

Noll, Mark A. 2001. "Beliefs" in *American Evangelical Christianity. An Introduction* (Chapter 4, pp. 56-66). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Limited.

Balmer, Randall. 2010. "The Age of Revivals and the First Amendment" and "The Transition from Postmillennialism to Premillennialism" in *The Making of Evangelicalism: From Revivalism to Politics and Beyond* (Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 9-42). Waco, TX: Baylor University Press. (Required book)

Wilcox, Clyde and Carin Robinson. 2010. "Revivals and Revolution. The Christian Right in Twentieth-Century America." in *Onward Christian Solidiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Chapter 2, pp. 31-middle of 42). New York: Routledge Press.

Graff, Gerald and Cathy Birkenstein. 2016. "They Say", "Her Point Is", and "As He Himself Puts It" in *They Say, I Say. The Moves the Matter in Academic Writing*. (Chapters 1, 2, and 3, pp. 19-54). (Required book)

### September 11: Who are evangelicals? Measurement

Virtual Guest: David Kinnaman

*Short-answer response:* Thomas Kidd—another evangelical historian and Never Trumper—has written that it's not that so many evangelicals supported Trump (and other controversial candidates, like Roy Moore) but rather that the term "evangelical" has lost it's religious meaning. In fact, Kidd states:

But I suspect that many of these supposed evangelicals in the polls have no clear understanding of the formal definition of "evangelical," which calls for true conversion and a devout life. They figure, "I'm conservative [another ill-defined term] and a Protestant, therefore I am an evangelical." Or maybe they think, "Well, I watch Fox News, so I must be an evangelical." Or, "I respect religion, and I vote Republican, so I must be an evangelical."

Drawing on the readings from this week, do you agree or disagree with the Kidd's assessment that "evangelical" has become a political, rather than religious, term?

*Discussion questions for David Kinnaman of the Barna Group.* David Kinnaman is the president of the Barna Group (<https://www.barna.com>), a research firm that has tracked the role of faith in America for over 30 years. In addition to reading the four assigned blog

postings, explore the research on their website, which covers culture & media, faith, family, and even Gen Zers (you!). Everyone should submit questions for David Kinnaman, regardless of whether students submitted a short-answer response or discussion questions for this week's class.

Smith, Christian. 2002. "Introduction" in *Christian America?* (pp. 1-19). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hackett, Conrad and D. Michael Lindsay. 2008. "Measuring Evangelicalism: Consequences of Different Operationalization Strategies." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47(3): 499-514.

Grant, J. Tobin, and David Searcy. 2018. "Organizational Divisions within the Evangelical Tradition" in *The Evangelical Crack Up*, edited by Paul A. Djupe and Ryan L. Claassen (Chapter 7).

Smith, Samuel. 2015. "Real Evangelicals Believe These Four Things." *Christian Post* November 20.

Kurtzleben, Danielle. 2015. "Are you an Evangelical? Are you Sure?" *NPR*. December 19.

Barna Group. 2007. "Survey Explores Who Qualifies as an Evangelical." January 18.

Barna Group. 2016. "Evangelicals Least Likely to Pay Close Attention to the 2016 Campaign." March 24.

Barna Group. 2016. "Notional Christians: The Big Election Story in 2016." December 1.

Barna Group. 2018. "Atheism Doubles Among Generation Z." January 24.

September 18: Who are evangelicals (continued)? Differences across race and ethnicity  
*Short-answer response:* Do you think researchers and journalists should distinguish between evangelicals based on their ethnicity or do you think researchers and journalists should treat evangelicals as a single religious group when discussing their opinions and behaviors?

Wong, Janelle S. "Immigration, Religion, and Conservative Politics in the United States" and "Racial Divides in Evangelical Politics" in *Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change* (Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-38). New York: Russell Sage Foundation. (Required book)

Jones, Robert P. 2016. "Race: Desegregating White Christian America" in *The End of White Christian America* (Chapter 5, pp. 147-198). New York: Simon & Schuster. (Required book)



Brown, R. Khari. 2009. "Denominational Differences in Support for Race-Based Policies Among White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian Americans." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 48(3): 604-15.

LifeWay Research. 2015. "Sunday Morning in America is Still Segregated – and That's OK with Worshipers." January 15.

Zubovich, Gene. 2015. "What Can Be Done About Segregation in Churches?" *Religion & Politics*. April 7.

Graff, Gerald and Cathy Birkenstein. 2016. "Yes / No / Okay, But" and "And yet" in *They Say, I Say. The Moves the Matter in Academic Writing*. (Chapters 4 and 5, pp. 55-77). (Required book)

September 25: Who are evangelicals (continued)? Evangelical subculture  
Virtual Guest: Jennifer Davis-Rash

*Short-answer response:* R. Albert Mohler, Jr. is the president of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary – the flagship school of the Southern Baptist Convention and one of the largest seminaries in the world. He also has a daily podcast called "The Briefing" which is a "cultural commentary from a Biblical perspective." Listen to one of the recent (any time over the past month) podcasts (<https://albertmohler.com/the-briefing>).

Drawing on what you learned from the readings this week, do you think the podcast you listened to resonated with evangelical listeners? Why or why not?

Note: Answers are going to be podcast specific, so please be sure to briefly discuss the main topics and themes discussed in the podcast. Also, please indicate the episode number on the response.

*Discussion questions for Jennifer Davis-Rash, editor-elect and president of The Alabama Baptist.* Listen to the most recent TAB (The Alabama Baptist) podcast. In particular, listen to the second half of the show in which Jennifer Davis-Rash, along with her cohost, read the week's *Alabama Baptist* paper. I will circulate this podcast to the class. Also, read about TAB's story and mission on their website (<http://www.thealabamabaptist.org/our-story/>). Please note that the two commentary pieces by Bob Terry are in TAB; he is the current editor and president of TAB.

In addition to the standard discussion questions, please submit a few questions specifically for Jennifer Davis-Rash to address. These can be about TAB specifically or Christian media in general (or how Christian media covers politics). Everyone should submit questions for Jennifer Davis-Rash, regardless of whether students submitted a short-answer response or discussion questions for this week's class.

Noll, Mark A. 2001. "The Significance of Billy Graham" in *American Evangelical Christianity. An Introduction* (Chapter 3, pp. 44-55). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Limited.

Balmer, Randall. 2010. "The Construction of a Subculture" in *The Making of Evangelicalism: From Revivalism to Politics and Beyond* (Chapter 3, pp. 43-58). Waco, TX: Baylor University Press. (Required book)

Elving, Ron. 2018. "Billy Graham Walked a Line, And Regretted Crossing Over It, When it Came to Politics." *NPR* February 28.

Woods, Mark. 2018. "Billy Graham Obituary: The Most Effective Evangelist of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century." *Christianity Today* February 21.

Frykholm, Amy Johnson. 2007. "Networks of Readers, Networks of Meaning" and "Witness to the Apocalypse" in *Rapture Culture: Left Behind in Evangelical America* (Chapters 2 and 7, pp. 39-65 and 153-174).

Terry, Bob. 2018. "You are the Man." *The Alabama Baptist* March 1.

Terry, Bob. 2010. "Glenn Beck is Wrong." *The Alabama Baptist* April 8.

October 2: Who are evangelicals today (continued)? Understanding attitudes about nostalgia, threat, and family values

*Short-answer response:* The Faith and Freedom Coalition (we'll learn more about them soon) sends e-mail alerts to those who sign up. On Canvas, you'll find five examples of recent e-mail alerts. Read and think about these e-mail alerts.

Drawing on the readings from this week, which e-mails (or parts of e-mails) do you think are most likely to mobilize evangelical readers? Are they any e-mails that you think may not resonate with e-mail recipients?

Wong, Janelle S. "Community Boundaries and Perceptions of In-Group Embattlement: The Mechanisms Driving Variations in Political Attitudes Among Evangelicals" in *Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change* (Chapter 3, pp. 39-62). New York: Russell Sage Foundation. (Required book)

Jones, Robert P. 2016. "Family: Gay Marriage and White Christian America" in *The End of White Christian America* (Chapter 4, pp. 111-146). New York: Simon & Schuster. (Required book)

Bean, Lydia and Brandon C. Martinez. 2014. "Evangelical Ambivalence toward Gays and Lesbians." *Sociology of Religion* 75(3): 395-417.

Jones, Robert P. 2016. "How `Values Voters' Became `Nostalgia Voters.'" *The Atlantic* February 23.

2015. "How Southern Baptists Became Pro-Life." *Baptist Press*. January 15.

Graff, Gerald and Cathy Birkenstein. 2016. "Skeptics May Object" and "So What?"

Who Cares?” in *They Say, I Say. The Moves the Matter in Academic Writing*. (Chapters 6 and 7, pp. 78-101). (Required book)

## **Section 2: Religious Right**

### October 9: Introduction to the Religious Right

*Short-answer response:* Identify an organization commonly associated with the Religious Right that still exists today. Spend time exploring the organization’s website. Read about the group’s history, what the group aims to accomplish, main issue positions (if they have them), goals, press releases, etc. To what extent does this organization conform (or not) to the ideas and arguments written about in this week’s readings?

A non-comprehensive list of groups you can explore: Eagle Forum, Faith and Freedom Coalition, Focus on the Family, Family Research Council, Faith and Action, Concerned Women for America. Or feel free to identify and explore another group or organization.

Balmer, Randall. 2010. “Conclusion” and “The Rise of the Religious Right” in *The Making of Evangelicalism: From Revivalism to Politics and Beyond* (Chapters 4 and 5, pp. 59-84). Waco, TX: Baylor University Press. (Required book)

Wilcox, Clyde and Carin Robinson. 2010. “Revivals and Revolution. The Christian Right in Twentieth-Century America.” in *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Chapter 2, pp. 42-55). New York: Routledge Press.

Balmer, Randall. 2014. “The Real Origins of the Religious Right” *Politico*. May 27.

Cromartie, Michael (editor). 1994. “Section 1 (Ralph Reed)” in *Disciples and Democracy: Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics* (pp. 1-15).

Brown, Ruth Murray. 2002. “How it All Began” and “Phyllis Schlafly and Eagle Forum” in *For a “Christian America”: A History of the Religious Right* (Chapters 1 and 2 pp. 29-62). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

Graff, Gerald and Cathy Birkenstein. 2016. “As a Result”, “Ain’t So / Is Not”, “But Don’t Get Me Wrong” and “He Says Contends” in *They Say, I Say. The Moves the Matter in Academic Writing*. (Chapters 8, 9, 10, 11, pp. 105-159). (Required book)

### October 16: Strategies of religious conservatives in American politics (1)

Virtual Guest: Andy Lewis

*Short-answer response:* On Canvas there are three articles about the recent Supreme Court case, *Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission*. In addition to the required article (written by Barnes), which provides some background about the case, read the article written by the attorney representing the cake baker (Waggoner), Jack Phillips,

and the article written by the attorney representing the gay couple (Cole), Charlie Craig and David Mullins. Each attorney argues that his or her side “won”.

Drawing on readings from this week to justify your position, who “won” the *Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission* case?

*Discussion questions for Andy Lewis.* Andy Lewis is the author of *The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics*, of which we will be reading three chapters. In addition to the standard discussion questions, please submit a few questions specifically for Professor Lewis to address. These can be about his book specifically or more general questions about the role of the Religious Right that you might have had while doing the reading this week. Everyone should submit questions for Andy Lewis, regardless of whether students submitted a short-answer response or discussion questions for this week’s class.

Lewis, Andrew. 2017. “Rights on the Right”, “Cultivating the Value of Rights: Evangelicals and Abortion” “Conclusion: Rights, Reciprocity, and the Future of Conservative Religious Politics” in *The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics* (Chapters 1, 2, and 8 pp. 1-28 and 164-175). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Ruth Murray. 2002. “Jerry Falwell and Other Baptists” and “The Christian Coalition and the Charismatics” in *For a “Christian America”: A History of the Religious Right* (Chapters 8 and 10 pp. 155-165 and 183-198). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

Barnes, Robert. 2017. “The Spurned Couple, the Baker, and the Long Wait for the Supreme Court.” *Washington Post* August 13.

Castle, Jeremiah. 2018. “Religion and Opinion Polarization on the Masterpiece Cakeshop Controversy” *Religion in Public* June 5.

#### October 23: Strategies of religious conservatives in American politics (2)

*Short-answer response:* Betsy DeVos is the current Secretary of Education. Take some time to read up on her policy positions and stated goals she wishes to accomplish while in her cabinet post. Based on the readings from this week, do you think members of the Religious Right or Christian Right would be supportive of or opposed to DeVos’s proposed policies?

**NOTE:** Be sure to cite where you got the information about DeVos’s positions and goals. This includes having a short works cited page.

Brown, Ruth Murray. 2002. “Church, State, and Schools” in *For a “Christian America”: A History of the Religious Right* (Chapter 14, pp. 253-269). Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

Deckman, Melissa M. 2004. “The Christian Right and Education Politics” and “A Profile

- of School Board Candidates” in *School Board Battles: The Christian Right in Local Politics* (Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-54). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Stewart, Katherine. 2015. “The Movement to Put a Church in Every School is Growing.” *The Nation*. January 14.
- Winston, Kimberly. 2015. “Atheist parents take on ‘Christian News Club’ with ‘Better News Club.’” *Washington Post* January 8.
- Aaron, Charlene. 2017. “Good News Bible Clubs Thrive as After School Satan Clubs Decline.” *Christian Broadcasting Network News* September 21.
- Graff, Gerald and Cathy Birkenstein. 2016. “I Take Your Point” and “What’s Motivating This Writer” in *They Say, I Say. The Moves that Matter in Academic Writing*. (Chapters 12 and 14, pp. 163-165 and 173-183). (Required book) NOTE: We are not reading Chapter 13.
- October 30: Are evangelicals always on the political right?  
Virtual (or maybe In Person) Guest: Eric Sapp
- Short-answer response:* Read Malone’s article claiming that a political left has emerged and Schultz’s response (both on Canvas). Drawing on the readings from this week, do you side with Malone or Schultz? Has a religious left emerged or might one emerge in the near future?
- Discussion questions for Eric Sapp.* Eric Sapp is a founding partner of Eleison, a political communications firm that was founded “on the belief that it is possible to align what is right with what works politically and economically, and that doing so is the most effective way to bring about positive lasting change. Eleison, among other things, is a political consulting firm that specializes in outreach to the progressive faith community. Sapp has worked closely with Democrats and Hillary Clinton’s 2016 presidential campaign. In addition to reading the articles by Mr. Sapp, spend time reading about the Eleison Group (<http://www.eleisongroup.com>) on their website, particularly about their strategy. In addition to the standard discussion questions, please submit a few questions specifically for Eric Sapp to address. Everyone should submit questions for Eric Sapp, regardless of whether students submitted a short-answer response or discussion questions for this week’s class.
- Schultz, Daniel. 2017. “Is the Religious Left Emerging as a Political Force? No.” *Religion Dispatches*. March 27.
- Danielsen, Sabrina. 2013. “Fracturing over Creation Care? Shifting Environmental Beliefs among Evangelicals, 1984-2010.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 52(1): 198-215.

Bean, Lydia. 2014. "Compassionate Conservatives? Evangelicals, Economic Conservatism, and National Identity." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 53(1): 164-86.

Sapp, Eric. 2012. "Politicians Ignore the Working Poor at Their Peril." *Huffington Post* January 12.

**Note:** Read Sapp's op-ed from October 3 first, followed by Land's response.

Sapp, Eric. 2016. "Hillary Clinton is the Best Choice for Voters Against Abortion." *Christianity Today* October 3.

Land, Richard D. 2016. "Hillary Clinton is a Dangerous Choice for Voters Against Abortion. (A Response to Eric Sapp)." *Christianity Today* October 3.

Sapp, Eric. 2018. "Are We Building a City on a Hill or a Fortress of Fear?" *Christian Post* April 6.

November 6: No Class

"A man without a vote is a man without protection." President Johnson

"If voting changed anything, they'd make it illegal" Emma Goldman

### **Section 3: Trends over time and the future**

November 13: Trends over Time: Thriving or dying?

*Short-answer response:* Napp Nazworth, editor at *The Christian Post* (and future PSCI-010 guest) wrote an opinion piece titled "If the Christian Right is Dying, Why Does it Keep Winning?" (on Canvas) Drawing on Nazworth's article as well as the reading from this week, are evangelicals gaining or losing influence in American politics?

Jones, Robert P. 2016. "Vital Signs: A Divided and Dying White Christian America" and "Politics: The End of the White Christian Strategy" in *The End of White Christian America* (Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 45-110). New York: Simon & Schuster. (Required book)

Prothero, Stephen. 2017. "The Culture Wars Cycle" and "The Contemporary Culture Wars" in *Why Liberals Win (Even When They Lose Elections)* (Introduction and Chapter 5 pp. 1-22 and 183-238). New York: Harper Collins.

**Note:** Read Cox article first and then Burge article.

Cox, Daniel. 2018. "Are White Evangelicals Sacrificing the Future in Search of the Past?" *FiveThirtyEight* January 24.

Burge, Ryan P. 2018. "The Graying of White Evangelicalism." *Religion in Public* January 29.

Graff, Gerald and Cathy Birkenstein. 2016. "The Data Suggest" and "Analyze This" in *They Say, I Say. The Moves the Matter in Academic Writing*. (Chapters 16 and 17, pp. 202-238). (Required book) NOTE: We are not reading Chapter 15.

November 20: No Class

Thursday courses will be held on Tuesday, November 20<sup>th</sup>. Have a wonderful Thanksgiving.

November 27: What does the Future have in Store? Young Evangelicals and Immigration  
Virtual Guest: Matthew Soerens

*Short-answer response:* Laura Turner writes about the "new and complex face of evangelical Christianity" in the *Pacific Standard*. Drawing on Turner's article (on Canvas), the assigned readings from this week, and the World Relief and EIT websites, what will evangelical Christianity's role in American politics look like in 20 years? In what ways might it look different, and in what ways might it look the same?

*Discussion questions for Matthew Soerens.* Matthew Soerens serves as the U.S. Director of Church Mobilization for World Relief and is the co-author of *Welcoming the Stranger: Justice, Compassion, and Truth in the Immigration Debate*. He has also worked with the Evangelical Immigration Table (EIT). In addition to reading the articles about Mr. Soeren's work and attitudes (assigned below), spend time on the World Relief Organization (<https://www.worldrelief.org>) and the Evangelical Immigration Table (<http://evangelicalimmigrationtable.com>) websites. In addition to the standard discussion questions, please submit a few questions specifically for Matt Soerens to address. These can be related to the organizations he is involved with or other questions you had when doing the reading this week. Everyone should submit questions for Matt Soerens, regardless of whether students submitted a short-answer response or discussion questions for this week's class.

Wong, Janelle S. "Immigration Trends and Evangelical Communities" and "Conclusion: The Persistence of the Right in an Era of Demographic Change" in *Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change* (Chapters 4 and 5, pp. 63-98). New York: Russell Sage Foundation. (Required book)

Castle, Jeremy. Forthcoming. "Winds of Change or Still the Same? Political Identities and Issue Attitudes Among Young Evangelicals." *Rock of Ages: Subcultural Religious Identities and Public Opinion among Young Evangelicals*. Chapter 2, pp. 48-89). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Preston, Julia. 2013. "For Evangelicals, a Shift in Views on Immigration." *New York Times* April 13.

Soerens, Matthew. 2018. "Reuniting Families Isn't Enough: A Case for Holistic Immigration Reform." *The Hill* July 6.

December 4: Evangelicalism in the Age of Trump

Virtual Guest: Napp Nazworth

*Short-answer response:* Who are white evangelicals in American politics? This is a broad question that should rely not only on readings from this week but also from previous weeks.

*Discussion questions for Napp Nazworth.* Napp Nazworth is the political analysis and politics editor for *The Christian Post*. In addition to the reading the assigned articles, browse Mr. Nazworth's recent articles (<https://www.christianpost.com/author/napp-nazworth/>) and read a few that sound interesting. In addition to the standard discussion questions, please submit a few questions specifically for Napp Nazworth to address. These can be related to anything we touched on this semester where you might be interested in having a journalist's viewpoint. Everyone should submit questions for Napp Nazworth, regardless of whether students submitted a short-answer response or discussion questions for this week's class.

Jones, Robert P. 2016. "A Eulogy of White Christian America" and "Afterward" in *The End of White Christian America* (Chapter 6 and Afterward, pp. 197-250). New York: Simon & Schuster. (Required book)

Robertson, Campbell. 2018. "A Quiet Exodus: Why Black Worshippers are Leaving White Evangelical Churches." *New York Times* March 9.

Bailey, Sarah Pulliam. 2017. "Could Southern Baptist Russell Moore Lose his Job? Churches Threaten to Pull Funds after Months of Trump Controversy." *Washington Post* March 13.

"Two Leading Evangelicals Duke it Out over Alabama Election." This back and forth took place on the pages of *Christianity Today* but are given context and reprinted in *Virtue Online*.

Nazworth, Napp. 2017. "Christians are Not Victims of Discrimination, Liberals Say After Discriminating Against Christians." *The Christian Post* July 6.

Nazworth, Napp. 2016. "Why I'm Voting for Evan McMullin for President." *The Christian Post* November 1.

Nazworth, Napp. 2015. "What Christians Should, and Should Not, be Concerned About Now That the Supreme Court Redefined Marriage." *The Christian Post* June 30.



