

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

PROFESSOR DAVID CAMPBELL

Spring 2008
Wednesdays, 3:00 to 5:30 PM
143 DeBartolo Hall

Contact information

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Office hours

Mondays: 3:30 – 5:00 PM Tuesdays: 10:30 AM to noon
(or by appointment)

Objectives

Pick up any newspaper and you are likely to see a story on the intersection of religion and American politics. Pick up a political science journal, however, and you are much less likely to see an article that examines religion as a factor shaping the American political landscape. Religion has historically been a “blind spot” for American politics. We will proceed from the assumption that the blind spot regarding religion needs to be corrected. Fortunately, others have also recognized the need for more scholarly attention to religion and politics, and so there is a growing literature on the subject. This course will introduce you to much of that literature, and provide an opportunity to contribute to it.

Requirements

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

The reading load in this course is relatively heavy. Be sure to set time aside each week for both reading and reflection.

The formal requirements for the course are as follows:

1. Ten response papers of 500-750 words each. Each paper should briefly address that week’s readings—highlighting unanswered questions, posing new questions, and offering new research strategies to answer those questions. You can choose to write a response paper for any ten weeks.

Papers are due, via e-mail, by *noon* on the Tuesday before our weekly class meeting. Please e-mail them to the entire class so we all have a chance to read them before we meet.

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

Many graduate seminars assign what is euphemistically described as a “publication quality” paper, but then leave too little time in the semester for students to produce work of that caliber. To assist students in producing a high-quality paper, you are encouraged (but not required) to work in teams. I also encourage students to talk with me about possible paper topics early in the semester. The earlier you arrive at a viable topic, the better.

Your paper is due on **Wednesday, May 7th at 5:00 PM**. It can be submitted via e-mail or as a hard copy. Let me stress that computer problems are not an excuse for missing the deadline. Anticipate e-mail/network/software/hardware problems and plan accordingly.

Your grade will be distributed as follows:

Response Papers (combined)	40%
Research Paper	40%
Participation	20%

Readings

The following books are available for purchase at the Notre Dame bookstore (but feel free to purchase them from other sources). There will also be a number of other readings, which will be made available electronically or as hard copies.

Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. Cambridge University Press (2004).

The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark. Rutgers University Press (2005).

Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present, eds. Mark A. Noll and Luke E. Harlow. Oxford University Press (2007).

Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics. Clyde Wilcox and Carin Larson. 3rd ed. Westview Press (2006).

A Matter of Faith: Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election, ed. David E. Campbell. Brookings Institution Press (2007)

The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics. Geoffrey C. Layman. Columbia University Press (2001).

From Pews to Polling Places: Faith and Politics in the American Religious Mosaic, ed. J. Matthew Wilson. Georgetown University Press (2007).

Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism. Fredrick Harris. Oxford University Press (1999).

The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America. Richard John Neuhaus. W.B. Eerdmans (1984).

Academic Honesty

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

The university’s Academic Code of Honor provides more details about the standards expected of a Notre Dame student:

http://graduateschool.nd.edu/html/policies/index.html#academic_integrity

SCHEDULE (subject to revision)

Week 1: January 16

God Talk

Kennedy, John F.	“Speech Delivered to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association”
Cuomo, Mario	“Religious Belief and Public Morality”
Obama, Barack	“Call To Renewal Keynote Address”
Romney, Mitt	“Faith in America”

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

These readings will be distributed prior to our first class meeting, so please read them before we meet.

Week 2: January 23 **Comparative Perspective**

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (entire book)

Week 3: January 30 **America's Religious Landscape**

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

Voas, David, Alasdair Crockett, and Daniel V.A. Olson. 2002. Religious Pluralism and Participation: Why Previous Research Is Wrong. *American Sociological Review* 67 (2): 212-230.

Week 4: February 6 **Religion and Politics in American History**

Everyone will read the following chapters from *Religion and American Politics*:

1. Murrin, John M. Religion and Politics in America from the First Settlements to the Civil War
5. Hatch, Nathan O. The Democratization of Christianity and the Character of American Politics
6. Howe, Daniel Walker. Religion and Politics in Antebellum North
7. Swienga, Robert P. Ethnoreligious Political Behavior in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Voting, Values, Cultures

Other chapters will be assigned to individual class members, who will write brief summaries of their chapters to be distributed to the rest of the class.

Week 5: February 13 **Churches As Institutions**

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, chapter 15 (distributed in class)

Jones-Correa, Michael and David L. Leal. 2001. Political Participation: Does Religion Matter? *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (4): 751-770.

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

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

Wuthnow, Robert. 1999. Mobilizing Civic Engagement: The Changing Impact of Religious Involvement. In *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, edited by Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press/Russell Sage Foundation. (distributed in class)

Wilcox, Clyde and Lee Sigelman. 2001. Political Mobilization in the Pews: Religious Continuity and Electoral Turnout. *Social Science Quarterly* 82 (3): 524-535.

Wald, Kenneth, Dennis E. Owen, Samuel S. Hill, Jr. 1988. Churches as Political Communities. *American Political Science Review* 82 (2): 531-548.

Week 6: February 20

Culture War Debate

Wuthnow, Robert. 1988. *The Restructuring of American Religion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 5-7 (distributed in class)

DiMaggio, Paul, John Evans, Bethany Bryson. 1996. Have Americans' Social Attitudes Become More Polarized? *The American Journal of Sociology* 102 (3): 690-755.

Layman, Geoffrey C. and John C. Green. 2005. Wars and Rumors of Wars: The Contexts of Cultural Conflict in American Political Behaviour. *British Journal of Political Science* 36: 61-89.

Manza, Jeff, and Clem Brooks. 1997. The Religious Factor in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1960-1992. *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1): 38-81.

Baker, Wayne. 2005. *America's Crisis of Values: Reality and Perception*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 3 (distributed in class)

Also recommended:

Hunter, James Davison. 1991. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books.

Fiorina, Morris P. (with Samuel J. Abrams and Jeremy C. Pope). 2004 *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*, 2nd edition. New York: Pearson Longman

Manza, Jeff and Clem Brooks. 1999. *Social Cleavages and Political Change*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Rhys, ed. 1997. *Cultural Wars in American Politics: Critical Review of a Popular Myth*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine De Gruyter.

Week 7: February 27 The Religious Right and Left

Wilcox, Clyde and Carin Larson. 2006. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press (entire book)

From Pews to Polling Places:

Olson, Laura R. Whither the Religious Left? Religiopolitical Progressivism in Twenty-First-Century America.

A Matter of Faith:

Kellstedt, Lyman A., Corwin E. Smidt, John C. Green, and James L. Guth. A Gentle Stream or a "River Glorious"? The Religious Left in the 2004 Election.

Spring Break, no class on March 5th

Week 8: March 12 Changes in the Party System I

Layman, Geoffrey C. 2001. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, chapters 1-4

Leege, David C., Kenneth Wald, Brian S. Krueger, and Paul D. Mueller. 2002. *The Politics of Cultural Differences: Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapters 1-3. (distributed in class)

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

Week 9: March 19

Changes in the Party System II

Layman, Geoffrey C. 2001. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, chapters 5 and 7

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

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

From Pews to Polling Places:

Bolce, Louis and Gerald De Maio. Secularists, Antifundamentalists, and the New Religious Divide in the American Electorate.

Week 10: March 26

Political Elites

Layman, Geoffrey C. 2001. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, chapter 6

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 (4): 485-495.

Oldmixon, Elizabeth. 2002. Culture Wars in the Congressional Theater: How the U.S. House of Representatives Legislates Morality, 1993-1998. *Social Science Quarterly* 83 (3): 775-788.

Green, John C. and James L. Guth. 1991. Religion, Representation, and Roll Calls. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16 (4): 571-584.

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 (2): 507-526.

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

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

Week 11: April 2 ***Protestants***

Greeley, Andrew and Michael Hout. 2006. *The Truth About Conservative Christians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapters 1-4. (distributed in class)

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

Campbell, David E. 2006. Religious “Threat” In Contemporary Presidential Elections. *Journal of Politics* 68 (1): 104-115.

A Matter of Faith:

Keeter, Scott. Evangelicals and Moral Values.

Monson, J. Quin and J. Baxter Oliphant. Microtargeting and the Instrumental Mobilization of Religious Conservatives.

Campbell, David E. and J. Quin Monson. The Case of Bush’s Reelection: Did Gay Marriage Do It?

Layman, Geoffrey C. and Laura S. Hussey. George W. Bush and the Evangelicals: Religious Commitment and Partisan Change among Evangelical Protestants, 1960-2004

From Pews to Polling Places:

Smidt, Corwin E. Evangelical and Mainline Protestants at the Turn of the Millennium: Taking Stock and Looking Forward

Week 12: April 9 ***Catholics***

Byrnes, Timothy. 1993. The Politics of the American Catholic Hierarchy. *Political Science Quarterly* 108 (3): 497-514.

Bendyna, Mary E. John C. Green, Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox. 2001. Uneasy Alliance: Conservative Catholics and the Christian Right. *Sociology of Religion* 62 (1): 51-64.

Oldmixon, Elizabeth A. and William Hudson. When Church Teachings and Policy Commitments Collide: Perspectives on Catholics in the House of Representatives. (forthcoming in *Politics and Religion*)

Welch, Michael R. and David C. Leege. 1991. Dual Reference Groups and Political Orientations: An Examination of Evangelically Oriented Catholics. *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (1): 28-56.

Converse, Philip E. 1966. Religion and politics: The 1960 election. In *Elections and The Political Order*, ed. Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes:96-124. New York: John Wiley and Sons. (to be distributed in class)

Religion and American Politics:

Hennesey, James. Roman Catholics and American Politics 1900-1960

Steinfels, Peter. Roman Catholics and American Politics, 1960-2004

From Pews to Polling Places:

Mockabee, Stephen T. The Political Behavior of American Catholics: Change and Continuity.

A Matter of Faith:

Wilson, J. Matthew. The Changing Catholic Voter: Comparing Responses to John Kennedy in 1960 and John Kerry in 2004.

Week 13: April 16

African American and Latino Religion

Harris, Fredrick C. 1999. *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press. (entire book)

A Matter of Faith:

Leal, David L. Latinos and Religion

McDaniel, Eric L. The Black Church: Maintaining Old Coalitions

From Pews to Polling Places:

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. From Liberation to Mutual Fund: Political Consequences of Differing Conceptions of Christ in the African American Church.

DeSipio, Louis. Power in the Pews? Religious Diversity and Latino Political Attitudes and Behaviors.

Week 14: April 23

Mormons, Jews, and Muslims

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

Kane, James G., Stephen C. Craig, and Kenneth D. Wald. 2004. Religion and Presidential Politics in Florida: A List Experiment. *Social Science Quarterly* 85 (2): 281-293.

Uslaner, Eric M. and Mark Lichbach. The Two Front War: Jews, Identity, Liberalism, and Voting (unpublished manuscript)

Campbell, David E. and J. Quin Monson. 2003. Following the Leader? Mormon Voting on Ballot Propositions. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42 (4): 605-619.

Feldman, Noah. 2008. What Is It About Mormonism? *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, January 6.

From Pews to Polling Places:

Campbell, David E. and J. Quin Monson. Dry Kindling: A Political Profile of American Mormons.

Djupe, Paul A. The Evolution of Jewish Pluralism: The Public Opinion and Political Preferences of American Jews.

Djupe, Paul A. and John C. Green. The Politics of American Muslims

Week 15: April 30

Conclusions: Normative and Otherwise

Neuhaus, Richard John. 1984. *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America*. Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans. (entire book)