

**POLS 490: Special Topics (Religion and Politics) (Section: 002)**  
**Spring 2018: MW 2-3:22 p.m., MOLN 112**  
**Department of Politics, Philosophy, and Law**  
**University of Wisconsin-Parkside**

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Office Hours: MWF 10 a.m. – 11 a.m., M 4 p.m. - 5 p.m., and by appointment

**Course Description**

There is a common misconception that the separation of church and state means “freedom from religion,” but a closer examination indicates religion still plays a dominant role in influencing individual and collective political attitudes. Many policy and social debates in the past 50 years, which include abortion, education, health care immigration, LGBT rights, religious freedom, and sexual freedom have been influenced by religion. Some of this is from politicians influenced by their own religious beliefs, while other influences come by religious denominations, themselves, and interest groups influenced by some form of religious belief. While nearly 70 percent of Americans report attending religious services a few times a year, nearly 25 percent of Americans identify as atheist, agnostic, or no religious group. With the rise of “the nones,” obvious tensions arise between the religious and non-religious, especially as it relates to how religious belief translates into public policy. In addition, the rise of the “Religious Right” and “Religious Left” have caused tensions even among the religious. During this course, we will examine the historical foundations of religious influence on politics, as well as the relationship between religion and politics, and how it affects salient public policy issues in the present.

**Course Objectives**

At the conclusion of this course, you will be able to:

1. Describe the historical foundations of religious influence on American politics from colonial times to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.
2. Identify and describe how the “Religious Right” came to prominence in the late 1970s and early 1980s.
3. Analyze the role of religion on contemporary public policy issue.
4. Understand the role of the “Religious Right” and “Religious Left” in present-day politics.

**Textbooks**

Jones, Robert P. 2017. *The End of White Christian America*. New York: Simon & Schuster.  
ISBN: 978-1501122323

Lambert, Frank. 2010. *Religion in American Politics: A Short History*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 978-0691146133

Putnam, Robert D., and David E. Campbell. 2010. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. New York: Simon & Schuster. ISBN: 978-1416566717.

Wald, Kenneth D., and Allison Calhoun Brown. 2018. *Religion and Politics in the United States*. 8<sup>th</sup> edition. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield. ISBN 978-1538105139.

These textbooks are available at the University Bookstore as well as online retailers (e.g., amazon.com, barnesandnobles.com, half.com, etc.). It is also available as an e-book.

The university offers a free digital subscription to the New York Times for as long as you are a student. You have to re-register every year, but it is a great way to know what is going on in the world. Visit <http://libguides.uwp.edu/nytimes> and follow the instructions. As a student, you can also receive a discounted subscription to the Wall Street Journal. A 15-week subscription is only \$15 (\$1 per week). Visit <http://r.wsj.net/j8wrm> to sign up.

### **Student Responsibilities**

Please come to class prepared. This means you need to **read** and **take notes** on the assigned readings beforehand. Attending class and participating is important, as there will be material discussed only in lectures that will be tested on exams and quizzes. We will be discussing controversial issues throughout the semester, with some of you holding passionate opinions on these issues. Please treat your fellow classmates with respect, We, each, come to this course with diverse backgrounds and different ideas regarding various issues and how government should work. Please respect your classmates by not talking or interrupting when I or others are speaking. Late work **will be** penalized by a full grade deduction for each day assignments are not turned in. Exceptions **will not** be made to this policy.

### **Instructor Responsibilities**

As part of being your instructor, I have responsibilities to you. I will help answer questions regarding the course, and help you understand the material. I will be available during office hours and also available by appointment if you cannot make office hours. I will also try to answer questions via email within 48 hours (does not include weekends). All questions regarding grades must be asked in person, either after class or during office hours.

I also aim to provide clear guidelines as to what is expected. I will be using D2L to communicate and post grades. Please check your campus email and D2L regularly to make sure you can view course announcements and review your grades as the semester progresses.

### **Grading**

Midterm and final exams: 40% (20% each)  
Religion and political attitudes paper: 20%  
Reaction papers: 20%  
Participation: 20%

**Final grade scale:** A = 94% and above, A- = 90%-93%, B+ = 87%-89%, B = 83%-86%, B- = 80%-82%, C+ = 77%-79%, C = 73%-76%, C- = 70%-72%, D+ = 67%-69%, D = 60%-66%, F = 59% and below (Note: I do not round up final grades if you are just below the cutoff, such as having a 93.8%. I have to define the scale at some point, and some people are always going to fall on the other side of the divide).

*Exams (Two at 20% each):* Two exams will be given during the course. The first exam will cover the executive branch and the second will cover the legislative branch. Exams will be a combination of short-answer and long-format essay. Exams will be given in class and make-up are available if you have an approved excuse or an emergency. Absences related to academic workload, work schedule, car problems, etc., are usually not approved absences. If you have an emergency that causes you to miss an exam, you must contact me as soon as possible (within 24 hours unless there is a **valid** reason why you could not contact me sooner) to arrange a make-up exam that will be given in an alternative format from the exam taken in class

Religion and political paper: (20%): You will write a 8-10-page paper describing how religion affects political attitudes of a chosen faith that is not one you currently identify with. Please submit a one-paragraph proposal for your topic by the start of class on Wednesday, March 21, via Dropbox on D2L. Papers are due by the start of class on Wednesday, May 2, via Dropbox.

*Reaction papers (20%):* By the start of class on Wednesday of each week, starting with the second week of class, you will 1½-2 page review of that week's readings. You may choose to review all or some of the readings, but the reactions papers need to go beyond summary. Instead, you are to engage with the readings and offer an informed critique of the author(s) argument and determine how the readings fit in with each other. You do not need full citations at the end of the reaction papers, but in-text citations are required. Reactions papers must be uploaded to D2L by 2 p.m. Wednesday each week to receive credit. Late reaction papers will not receive credit. They also may not be made up if you are absent.

*Participation (20%):* Participation is an important component of learning. It is not enough to merely show up and listen to me talk. Here are a few things I look for that count for participation: asking questions; answering other students' questions; and making comments relevant to the discussion using the readings, other sources, and personal experiences. You do not have to agree what I say or what your classmates have said, but I do ask that we are respectful of each other's opinions. Behaviors that lead to lower participation scores are: not listening, texting or surfing the Internet, side conversations, speaking without being recognized, and making fun of comments from others. As part of participation, you are asked to keep track of your participation with a list of dates that you participated and how you participated. You will need to email me sometime during Week 7 and during Week 13 regarding your participation. You are welcome to suggest a participation grade you think you earned and I will provide feedback. I also reserve the right to ask for notes to be emailed to me before class or will give pop quizzes for you to earn participation points if I discern that you are not reading the assigned articles.

Participation is contingent on attendance, because you cannot participate if you are not in class. Absences related to your academic workload, illness, work schedule, car problems, etc. are not usually excused absences. Excused absences generally are for university-sponsored events such as athletics, performing arts, or other special events held during class time. Events related to student organizations are not excused unless attending a conference. You are allowed up to three absences during the course. After four unexcused absences, you will only receive 80 percent of your participation grade. Every absence after that is another 5 percent off your participation grade for each absence. If you miss a class, you are responsible for obtaining the missed material (e.g., notes) from another student, as my notes/PowerPoint slides will not be made available.

**Grading notes:** Proper spelling, punctuation, grammar, and sentence structure will be part of your research paper grade. Students need to develop the ability to write clearly and in common political science style that includes a research question, literature review, methodology, and results section, as well as a conclusion. Students are expected to carefully read, edit, and proofread their written work. If English is not your native language, or even if it is and you would like further assistance, there are on-campus resources that are there to help you. The university offers assistance in various subjects through the Parkside Academic Resource Center (PARC). Assistance is free and is available in Wylie D180. If you need help with this course, please make an appointment. Help with writing assignments is available on a walk-in basis. Visit the PARC in-person or online at <https://www.uwp.edu/learn/academicsupport/parc/> for hours and more information.

### **Plagiarism and Academic Dishonesty**

Use of the intellectual property of others without attributing it to them is considered a serious academic offense, and I will generally fail students from the course for academic misconduct. It can also lead to a disciplinary hearing where sanctions can suspension or expulsion from the university. The University of Wisconsin-Parkside's policy on academic misconduct can be found at <https://www.uwp.edu/live/offices/studentaffairs/upload/14.pdf>.

### **Student Accessibility**

Students with disabilities will be provided reasonable accommodations to ensure their equal access to course content. If you have a documented disability and require accommodations, please contact me the beginning of the semester with a copy of your accommodation letter so I can make the needed accommodations. Please note, you must first verify your eligibility and receive an accommodation letter from Disability Services. Please visit <https://www.uwp.edu/live/offices/disabilityservices/> for more information.

### **Registration Requirement**

The official registration deadline to add this course without a permission number is Friday, February 2. The deadline to add the course with a permission number is Friday, February 9. Course drops must be completed by Friday, February 23, to not receive a Grade "W", and the last day to withdraw with a Grade "W" is Friday, March 16. Please refer to the university's policies regarding pro-rated tuition refund dates. University policy requires all students to be

officially registered in each class they are attending. Students who are not officially registered for a course by published deadlines should not be attending classes and will not receive credit or a grade for the course. Please confirm enrollment in Solar. Registration errors must be corrected prior to the posted deadlines.

### **Class Schedule**

Readings will come from the assigned textbooks, and articles available through searching the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Library website and the Internet. You should be prepared to discuss the assigned reading on the day listed below. I may make changes to the schedule as needed.

#### **Week 1 – Introduction, Religion in Early America**

##### **Monday, Jan 29**

- Introduction

##### **Wednesday, Jan. 31**

- Lambert, chp. 1
- Putnam and Campbell, chp. 1
- Mayflower Compact
- Declaration of Independence
- Federalist 10
- Thomas Jefferson, *Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom*

#### **Week 2 – 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Religious Influences**

##### **Monday, Feb. 5**

- Lambert, chp. 2
- Putnam and Campbell, chps. 2-3

##### **Wednesday, Feb. 7**

- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chps. 1-2
- Lambert, chp. 3

#### **Week 3 – Religion and the State**

##### **Monday, Feb. 12**

- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chp. 3
- Jelen, Ted. G. 1999. "Dimensions of Religious Free Exercise: Abstract Beliefs and Concrete Applications." *Review of Religious Research* 40 (4): 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 (2): 259-271.

##### **Wednesday, Feb. 14**

- Lambert, chp. 4
- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chps. 4-5
- Davis, Derek H. 2001. "Separation, Integration, and Accommodation: Religion and State in America in a Nutshell." *Journal of Church and State* 43 (1): 5-17.

## **Week 4 – Foundations of Political Mobilization**

### **Monday, Feb. 19**

- Lambert, chp. 5
- Jones, chp. 1

### **Wednesday, Feb. 21**

- Putnam and Campbell, chps. 5-6
- Lambert, chp. 6
- Jones, chp. 2

## **Week 5 – Rise of Religious Right**

### **Monday, Feb. 27**

- “With God On Our Side: George W. Bush and the Rise of the Religious Right” (in-class video)

### **Wednesday, Feb. 29**

- Lambert, chp. 7
- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chps. 6 and 8
- Jones, chp. 3

## **Week 6 – Public Opinion**

### **Monday, Mar. 5**

- Putnam and Campbell, chp. 11
- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chp. 7
- Olson, L. R., Cadge, W. and Harrison, J. T. 2006. “Religion and Public Opinion about Same-Sex Marriage.” *Social Science Quarterly* 87 (2): 340–360.

### **Wednesday, Mar. 7**

- Jones, chps. 4-5
- Gaskins, Ben, Matt Golder, and David A. Siegel. 2013. “Religious Participation and Economic Conservatism.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (4): 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 (2): 307-322.
- Glazier, Rebecca A. 2013. “Divine Direction: How Providential Religious Beliefs Shape Foreign Policy Attitudes.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 9 (2): 127-142.

## **Week 7 – Effects of Religious Groups Mobilization Efforts**

### **Monday, Mar. 12**

- Campbell, David E., John C. Green, and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2011. “The Party Faithful: Partisan Images, Candidate Religion, and the Electoral Impact of Party Identification.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (1): 42-58.
- Jones-Correa, Michael A. and David L. Leal. 2001. “Political Participation: Does Religion Matter?” *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (4): 751-70.
- McDermott, Monika L. 2009. “Religious Stereotyping and Voter Support for Evangelical Candidates.” *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (2): 340-352.

### **Wednesday, Mar. 14**

- Midterm exam

## **Week 8– Race, Religion, and Politics**

### **Monday, Mar. 19**

- Putnam and Campbell, chp. 9
- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chp. 10 (first half)
- Jones, chp. 5
- Alex-Assensoh, Yvette and A.B. Assensoh. 2001. “Inner-City Contexts, Church Attendance, and African- American Political Participation.” *Journal of Politics*, 63 (3): 886-901.

### **Wednesday, Mar. 21**

- Harris, Frederick. 1994. “Something Within: Religion as a Mobilizer of African American Political Activism.” *Journal of Politics* 56 (1): 42-68.
- Tesler, Michael. 2012. “The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Racial Attitudes and Race.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (3): 690–704.
- Valenzuela, Ali Adam. 2014. “Tending the Flock. Latino Religious Commitments and Political Preferences.” *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (4): 930-942.

## **Spring Break (No class March 26 and 28)**

## **Week 9 – Gender Religion, and Politics (Apr. 2 4, and 6)**

### **Monday, Apr. 2**

- Putnam and Campbell, chp. 8
- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chp. 11
- 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 (2): 140-153.
- Ozorak, Elizabeth W. 1996. “The Power, but not the Glory: How Women Empower Themselves Through Religion.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 35 (1): 17-29.

### **Wednesday, Apr. 4**

- Brian R. Calfano, Paul A. Djupe. 2011. “Not in His Image: The Moderating Effect of Gender on Religious Appeals.” *Politics and Religion* 4 (2): 338-354.
- Wolak, Jennifer, and Michael McDevitt. 2011. “The Roots of the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge in Adolescence” *Political Behavior* 33 (3): 505-533.
- Young, Neil J. 2007. “‘The ERA is a Moral Issue’: The Mormon Church, LDS Women, and the Defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment,” *American Quarterly* 59 (3): 623-644.

## **Week 10 – Minority Religious Groups and Politics**

### **Monday, Apr. 9**

- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chp. 10 (second half)
- Jones, chp. 6
- Conger, Kimberly H. 2013. "Same Battle, Different War: Religious Movements in American State Politics." *Politics and Religion* 7: 1-23.
- Hout, Michael. 2017. “Religious Ambivalence, Liminality, and the Increase of No Religious Preference in the United States, 2006–2014.: *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 56 (1): 52–63.

### **Wednesday, Apr. 11**

- 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 (2): 277-300.
- 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 (3): 847-862.
- Uslaner, Eric M., and Mark Lichbachp. 2009. "Identity Versus Identity: Israel and Evangelicals and the Two-Front War for Jewish Votes." *Politics and Religion* 2 (3): 395-419.

### **Week 11 – Role of Religious Elites (Apr. 16, 18, and 20)**

#### **Monday, Apr. 16**

- 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.
- Djupe, Paul A. and Christopher P. Gilbert. 2002. "The Political Voice of the Clergy." *Journal of Politics* 64: 596-609.
- Djupe, Paul A. and Jacob R. Neiheisel. 2008. "Clergy Deliberation on Gay Rights and Homosexuality." *Polity* 40 (4): 411-435.
- Nteta, Tatishe M., and Kevin J. Wallsten. 2012. "Preaching to the Choir? Religious Leaders and American Opinion on Immigration Reform." *Social Science Quarterly* 93 (4): 891-910.

#### **Wednesday, Apr. 18**

- Brewer, Mark D., Rogan Kersh, and R. Eric Peterson. 2003. "Assessing Conventional Wisdom about Religion and Politics: A Preliminary View from the Pews." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42 (1): 125–36.
- Cann, Damon M. 2008. "Religious Identification and Legislative Voting: The Mormon Case." *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (1): 110-119.
- Li, Nan, Joseph Hilgard, Dietram A. Scheufele, Kenneth A. Winneg, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2016. "Cross-pressuring Conservative Catholics? Effects of Pope Francis' Encyclical on the U.S. Public Opinion on Climate Change." *Climatic Change* 139 (3-4): 367-380

### **Week 12 – Religion and Tolerance**

#### **Monday, Apr. 23**

- Putnam and Campbell, chp. 14
- Eisenstein, Marie A. 2006. "Rethinking the Relationship between Religion and Political Tolerance in the US." *Political Behavior* 28 (4): 327-348.
- Taber, Charles S., and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 755–769.

#### **Wednesday, Apr. 25**

- Putnam and Campbell, chp. 14
- Wald and Calhoun-Brown, chp. 12
- Djupe, Paul A. and Brian R. Calfano. 2012. "Religious Value Priming, Threat, and Political Tolerance." *Political Research Quarterly* 66 (4): 768-780.



## **Week 13 – Religion’s Continuing Role (Apr 30, May 2 and 4)**

### **Monday, Apr. 30**

- Blackstone, Bethany, and Elizabeth A. Oldmixon. 2015. “Discourse and Dissonance: Religious Agendas in the 104th Congress. *Research & Politics* (July-September): 1-8.
- 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.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38 (3): 405–430
- Patrikios, Stratos. 2008. “American Republican Religion? Disentangling the Causal Link Between Religion and Politics in the US.” *Political Behavior* 30 (3): 367-389.

### **Wednesday, May 2**

- Putnam and Campbell, chp. 15
- Bolce, Louis and Gerald de Maio. 1999. “The Anti-Christian Fundamentalism Factor in Contemporary Politics.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 63 (4): 508-542.
- Hall, Charles F. 1997. “The Christian Left: Who Are They and How Are They Different from the Christian Right?” *Review of Religious Research* 39 (1): 27-45

## **Week 14 –Final review and exam**

### **Monday, May 7**

- Make-up and/or final exam review

### **Wednesday, May 9**

- Final (1-3 p.m.)

## **General Grading Standards for Written Assignments**

**A – OUTSTANDING.** An "A" essay or paper is clearly written and contains no grammatical errors. It demonstrates mastery of the relevant material and offers significant insight into the topic at hand.

**B – GOOD.** A "B" essay or paper is clearly written but may contain a very few grammatical errors. It clearly relates the facts, gives sound analysis, and provides some interesting insight.

**C – MEDIOCRE.** A "C" essay or paper is clearly written but may contain some grammatical mistakes. It adequately relates the facts and offers some analysis, although it probably does not offer much insight.

**D – POOR.** A "D" essay or paper is intelligible but probably contains some serious grammatical errors. It often relates the facts poorly, offers little analysis, and provides no real insight.

**F – UNACCEPTABLE.** An "F" essay or paper is poorly written and makes no coherent argument. It struggles to relate the facts and offers little or no analysis. It often creates confusion instead of providing insight.