

POLS XXXX
Religion & Politics in the United States and around the World
FALL 2022

Instructor Information

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Course Information

Lecture: DAY TIME
Location

Learning Outcomes

Religion plays, and always has played, a major role in the politics of most democratic and non-democratic countries. Religion's impact on politics affects relationships between nations in international politics as well as the internal dynamics of domestic politics. In order to truly understand politics in the U.S. and in other countries, therefore, it is necessary to understand religion and its connection to social and political life.

In this class, we will examine religion's political impact in the U.S. as well as in other countries. Our focus in this investigation will be on the political science literature, but we will also draw upon the extensive literature in sociology, history, and economics to inform our studies. Students will complete an original research paper on religion and politics and significant class time will be spent on operational and methodological issues in the empirical analysis of religion in political life.

After successfully completing this course, you will be able to:

- Understand and debate the ways that religion impacts political behavior, legal interpretation, policymaking, international relations, and political attitudes in the U.S. and several other countries.
- Develop critical thinking, reading, and writing skills. In particular, developing the ability to integrate both theoretical arguments and empirical evidence.
- Demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of contemporary theoretical and methodological approaches to studying religion and politics.

Course Readings

Jamal, Amaney. 2007. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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

McDaniel, Eric. 2008 *Politics in the Pews: The Politics of Mobilization of Black Churches*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2011. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*, 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Miscellaneous readings posted on the course's Sakai page and listed in the course outline below.

Course Requirements and Grade Distribution

(1) Seminar Participation (30% total): This course is a seminar class, meaning that instead of the instructor lecturing, we will spend class time discussing the readings. In particular, their strengths and weaknesses, how they relate to each other, and what they mean for American (and global) politics and democracy. You must all be active participants in these discussions, and that entails careful and thoughtful reading of each week's assignment. As you prepare for each class, you should think about three things:

(a) Criticisms of particular readings: are there weaknesses in the types of data or methods the authors used to test their hypotheses, in the theoretical assumptions or development of the study, or in the conclusions that the authors reach based on the evidence?

(b) How the readings relate to each other and what they tell us about American or another country's politics: How do the readings for a given week fit together (or not) and how are they related to earlier readings or current events? Taken together, what do the readings tell us about religion, politics, and democracy?

(c) Lines of future research: What questions do these readings leave unanswered? Do they point to new directions for future research? What theories, data, or methods are needed to address these new directions/questions?

You should come to class prepared to discuss all three of these things about the readings for the week—about both the reading in general and particular articles/chapters.

(2) Reaction Papers (15% total): To stimulate critical thinking about and discussion of the reading, each student will write nine short papers on your reactions to the readings for a particular week. The paper should be about one single-spaced page (or two double-spaced pages) with one-inch margins and a standard 12-point font and should address one or more of the questions provided above (criticisms, synthesis, and lines of future research). The reactions papers should include no summary of various readings and should offer criticism of particular readings on theoretical or methodological grounds, synthesis of the readings for a particular week with each other or with the broader themes of the course, or ideas about future lines of research. Papers that are primarily summaries of the readings will be graded down substantially. In order to get credit for having done a reaction paper for a particular week, you must get the paper to me (by email) by 9:00am on the day of the class. You may choose to write a reaction paper for any nine weeks over the course of the semester.

(3) Research Paper (55%): You will write a paper of approximately 20-25 double-spaced pages containing original research on a topic of relevance to the seminar. I expect that all of your papers will involve some sort of original data analysis. When data for your topic are not readily available, a detailed research design may fulfill the requirements, but you need to get my approval for such a paper before embarking on it. There are several pieces of this assignment:

(a) A paper proposal (approximately four pages, double-spaced) should lay out the topic of the papers, its theoretical importance, and the types of data you plan to use.

(b) A paper "preview" (about six to eight pages) that includes a (very) brief literature review, key hypotheses, and some initial tests of those hypotheses.

(c) A brief five to ten minute presentation of your paper to the class.

(d) The final draft of your research paper.

Grading is based on the following distribution:

Participation	30%
Reaction Papers	15%

Research Paper Proposal	5%
Research Paper Preview	10%
Research Paper Presentation	10%
Research Paper Final Draft	30%

The following scale will determine your final grade:

93% +	A
90-92%	A-
87-89%	B+
83-86%	B
80-82%	B-
77-79%	C+
73-76%	C
70-72%	C-
60-69%	D

Course Policies

(1) No extensions or make-ups: There will be no extensions on papers or make-up exams except in the cases of serious illness (with a doctor's letter), deaths in the family, or university-sponsored activities (with a note from the particular university organization). Without such an excuse, anyone not taking an exam during the specified class time or not turning in a paper by the specified due date will receive a grade of zero on the exam or paper. If you need an extension, please contact me 24 hours before the due date so we can talk about an alternative timeline.

If you are having trouble managing your time and worry you will not complete assignments on time, please come talk to me or seek resources from your academic advisor and the McDonald Center, which has resources to develop better time management skills.

(2) Academic honesty: As members of the academic community, we each have a responsibility to uphold rigorous standards of integrity. Every student is thus expected to abide by Notre Dame's Undergraduate Academic Code of Honor. Among other things, that means that all of the work you do (whether on exams or in the essays) is your own and solely your own, and that when you obtain any ideas or information from other sources, you provide full citation to those sources. Students should be thoroughly familiar with the Code of Honor, located at [http:// honorcode.nd.edu](http://honorcode.nd.edu). If you have any questions about the Code of Honor or academic honesty, please contact me.

(3) Be a good class citizen: Good citizenship in the classroom calls for everyone to devote their full attention to the lectures and ensuing discussion. That means silencing your cell phones, no texting, and no surfing the web. I understand that many students use their laptops or tablets for taking notes, but many also use them to tweet, snapchat, surf the web, etc. This is both sort of rude and distracting to other students. If you are using a laptop or tablet, you must sit in the first two rows of the room and you are only to use it for note-taking and review of course materials

(4) Inclusiveness: "The University of Notre Dame is committed to social justice. I share that commitment and strive to maintain a positive learning environment based on open communication, mutual respect, and non-discrimination. In this class we will not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, age, economic class, disability, veteran status, religion, sexual orientation, color or national origin.

Any suggestions as to how to further such a positive and open environment will be appreciated and given serious consideration” (Statement borrowed from the Kaneb Center for Teaching and Learning).

(5) Respect: We do not know what anyone else’s experience is or has been, listen and be kind.

(6) Be prepared: Read the material and be prepared to discuss beyond the surface-level meaning. Before class, begin analyzing the material in context.

(7) Privacy Statement: Course materials (videos, assignments, readings, etc.) are for use in this course only. You may not upload them to external sites, share with another person, or post them for public commentary without my written permission.

We may record class meetings to support remote students. These recordings will be available for review upon request. The University strictly prohibits anyone from duplicating, downloading, or sharing live class recordings with anyone outside of this course, for any reason.

If you need to join the class remotely via Zoom, please check surroundings first and use headphones to maintain the privacy of the course.

Course Outline

Date	Topic	Readings (before Class)
Theme 1: Introduction and Orientation		
WEEK 1		
	Course Introduction and What is Religion?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Allen, Ira and Saul Allen. 2016. “God Terms and Activity Systems: A Definition of Religion for Political Science.” <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 69(3): 557-570. The Editors. 2021. “Scholars of Religion and Politics Respond to the Capital Insurrection.” <i>Religion & Politics Blog</i>. https://religionandpolitics.org/2021/01/12/scholars-of-religion-and-politics-respond-to-the-capital-insurrection/ <p>Recommended:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Smith, Christian. 2017. <i>Religion: What It Is, How it Works, and Why It Matters</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Raboteau, Albert J. 2004. <i>Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South</i>. New York, New York: Oxford University Press. Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. 2010. <i>American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us</i>. New York: Simon and Schuster. Chapters 3-4.
WEEK 2		
	Measuring Religion and Analyzing its Role in Politics	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Layman, <i>The Great Divide</i>, chapter 2. Djupe, Paul A. and Brian R. Calfano. 2014. <i>God Talk: Experimenting with the Religious Causes of Public Opinion</i>. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Steensland, 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." <i>Social Forces</i> 79(1): 291-318. 4. Scholarly Debate: Djupe, Paul A. 2017. "American Religion is Not a Matryoshka Doll." <i>Religion in Public</i> Blog. https://religioninpublic.blog/2017/10/16/religion-as-matryoshka-doll/ 5. Scholarly Debate: Grant, Tobin. 2017. "Why we really use religious tradition." <i>Religion in Public</i> Blog. https://religioninpublic.blog/2017/10/18/why-we-really-use-religious-tradition/ 6. Oldmixon, Elizabeth A. 2019. "Legislating Morality in the US Congress...or Not: Religion, Polarization, and the Next Wave of Culture." <i>The Forum</i> 17(1): 97-119.
WEEK 3		
	Conceptual Foundations of the Study of Politics and Religion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Iannacone, Laurence R. 1998. "Introduction to the Economics of Religion." <i>Journal of Economic Literature</i> 36: 1465-1496. 2. Gryzmala-Busse, Anna. 2012. "Why Comparative Politics Should Take Religion (More) Seriously." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>. 3. Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 101(3): 2007. 4. Gill, Anthony. 2001. "Religion and Comparative Politics." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>. 5. Wald, Kenneth D., Adam Silverman, and Kevin Fridy. 2005. "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 8:121-141.
WEEK 4		
	(De)Secularization	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. <i>Sacred and Secular</i>. Whole book. 2. Bentzen, Jeanet. 2020. "In Crisis, We Pray: Religiosity and the COVID-19 Pandemic." <i>CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP14824</i>.
WEEK 5		
	Secularism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hout, Michael and Claude S. Fischer. 2002. "Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 67(1): 165-190. 2. Voas, David and Mark Chaves. 2016. "Is the United States a Counterexample to the Secularization Thesis?" <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 121(5): 1517-1556. 3. Layman, Geoffrey C., David E. Campbell, John C. green, and Nathanael Gratias Sumaktoyo. 2017. "Active Secularism and the Politics of Irreligion in the United States." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i>.

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Campbell, David E., Geoffrey C. Layman, and John C. Green. "Putting Politics First: The Impact of Politics on American Religious and Secular Orientations." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>. 5. Margolis, Michele. 2018. "How Politics Affects Religion: Partisanship, Socialization, and Religiosity in America." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 80(1): 30-43. <p>Recommended:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Hansen, Susan B. 2011. <i>Religion and Reaction: The Secular Political Challenge to the Religious Right</i>. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 2. Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. 2010. <i>American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us</i>. New York: Simon and Schuster, pp. 120-133 and chapter 5.
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Theme 2: Political Behavior

WEEK 6

	Religion and Political Behavior in the U.S.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. McDaniel, Eric. 2008 <i>Politics in the Pews: The Politics of Mobilization of Black Churches</i>. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Whole book. 2. McKenzie, Brian D. and Stella M. Rouse. 2013. "Shades of Faith: Religious Foundations of Political Attitudes among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 57(1): 218-235. 3. Lajevardi, Nazita. 2021. "The Media Matters: Muslim American Portrayals and Effects on Mass Attitudes." <i>Journal of Politics</i>. 4. Barker, David C., Jon Hurwitz, and Traci L. Nelson. 2008. "Of Crusades and Culture Wars: Messianic Militarism and Political Conflict in the United States." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 70(2): 307-322. <p>Recommended:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lajevardi, Nazita. 2020. <i>Outsiders at Home: The Politics of American Islamophobia</i>. Cambridge University Press. 2. Campbell, David E. 2006. "Religious 'Threat' in Contemporary Presidential Elections." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 68(1): 104-115. 3. Albertson, Bethany L. 2014. "Dog-Whistle Politics: Multivocal Communication and Religious Appeals." <i>Political Behavior</i>.
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WEEK 7

	Religion and Political Behavior Outside the U.S.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kurzman, Charles and Ijal Naqvi. 2010. "Do Muslims Vote Islamic?" <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 21(2): 50-63. 2. Pepinsky, Thomas, William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. 2012. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 56(3): 584-600.
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		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Blaydes, Lisa and Drew Linzer. 2008. "The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam." <i>World Politics</i> 60(4): 576-609. 4. Stegmueller, Daniel. 2013. "Religion and Redistributive Voting in Western Europe." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 73(4): 1064-1076. 5. Montgomery, Kathleen A. and Ryan Winter. 2015. "Explaining the Religion Gap in Support for Radical Right Parties in Europe." <i>Politics and Religion</i> 8:379-403.
WEEK 8		
	Religion and Partisan Change in the U.S.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Layman, Geoffrey C. 2001. <i>The Great Divide</i>. Chapters 1, 3-6. 2. Barreto, Matt A. and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. "Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? The Role of Religiosity in Muslim American party Identification." <i>Politics and Religion</i> 3:200-229. 3. Margolis, Michele. 2016. "Cognitive Dissonance, Elections, and Religion: How Partisanship and the Political Landscape Shape Religious Behaviors." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 80(3): 717-740. 4. Wong, Janelle. 2015. "The Role of Born-Again Identity on the Political Attitudes of White, Blacks, Latinos and Asian Americans." <i>Politics and Religion</i> 8 (4): 641-658.
WEEK 9		
	Religion and Tolerance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gibson, James L. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Religiosity: Does Religion always Cause Political Intolerance?" in <i>Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity</i>, eds. Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson, pp. 147-175. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2. Kalkan, Kerem Ozan, Geoffrey C. Layman, and Eric M. Uslaner. 2009. "Bands of Others? Attitudes toward Muslims in Contemporary American Society." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 71(3): 847-862. 3. Hobbs, William and Nazita Lajevardi. 2019. "Effects of Divisive Political Campaigns on the Day-to-Day Segregation of Arab and Muslim Americans." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 113(1): 270-276. 4. Lajevardi, Nazita and Marisa A. Abrajano. 2019. "How Negative Sentiment towards Muslim Americans Predicts Support for Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 81(1): 296-302. 5. Bloom, Pazit Ben-Nun, Gizem Arikan, and Marie Courtemanche. 2015. "Religious Social Identity, Religious Belief, and anti-Immigrant Sentiment." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 109(2): 203-221. <p>Recommended:</p>

		1. Wong, Janelle. 2018. <i>Immigrants, Evangelicals and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change</i> . New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
WEEK 10		
	Religion and Civic Engagement in the U.S.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Djupe, Paul A. and Christopher Gilbert. 2006. "The Resourceful Believer: Generating Civic Skills in Church." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 68(1): 116-127. 2. Calhoun-Brown, Allison. 2010. "This Far by Faith? Religion, Gender, and Efficacy." In <i>Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity</i>, eds. Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 3. Jones-Correa, Michael A. and David L. Leal. 2001. "Political Participation: Does Religion Matter?" <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 54: 751-770. 4. Campbell, David E. 2004. "Acts of Faith: Churches and Political Engagement." <i>Political Behavior</i> 26(2): 155-180. 5. Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman-Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. <i>Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics</i>. Harvard University Press. Chapter 11. 6. Beyerlein, Kraig, Sarah Soule, and Nancy Martin. 2015. "Prayers, Protest, and Police: How Religion Influences Police Presence at Collective Action Events in the United States, 1960-1995." <i>American Sociological Review</i> 80(6): 1250-1271.
WEEK 11		
	Religion and Civic Engagement around the World	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jamal, Amaney. 2007. <i>Barriers to Democracy</i>. Whole book. 2. Lam, Pui-Yan. 2006. "Religion and Civic Culture: A Cross-National Study of Voluntary Association Membership." <i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i> 45(2). 3. Hale, Christopher W. 2015. "Religious Institutions and Civic Engagement: A Test of Religion's Impact on Political Activism in Mexico." <i>Comparative Politics</i> 47(2): 211-230. 4. Hoffman, Michael and Amaney Jamal. 2014. "Religion in the Arab Spring: Between Two Competing Narratives." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 76(2): 593-606.
Theme 3: Political Institutions and Actors		
WEEK 12		
	Religion, the Courts, and Civil Rights	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lewis, Andrew R. 2018. <i>The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics</i>. New York, New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3. 2. Lajevardi, Nazita. 2018. "Access Denied: Exploring Muslim American Representation and Exclusion by State Legislators." <i>Politics, Groups, and Identities</i> 1-29.

		<p>3. Shahshahani, Sephr and Lawrence J. Liu. 2017. "Religion and Judging on the Federal Courts of Appeals." <i>Journal of Empirical Legal Studies</i> 14(4): 716-744.</p>
WEEK 13		
	Religion, Parties, and Regimes	<p>1. Kalyvas, Stathis. 2000. "Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties." <i>Comparative Politics</i> 32(4): 379-399.</p> <p>2. Schwedler, Jillian. 2011. "Can Islamists Become Moderates? Rethinking the Inclusion-Moderation Hypothesis." <i>World Politics</i> 63(2): 347-376.</p> <p>3. Mantilla, Luis Felipe. 2018. "Faith and experience: Authoritarian politics and Catholic parties in Latin America." <i>Party Politics</i> 24(4): 370-381.</p> <p>4. 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." <i>Legislative Studies Quarterly</i> 38(3): 405-430.</p> <p>Recommended:</p> <p>1. Smith, Christian. 2000. <i>Christian America? What Evangelicals Really Want</i>. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.</p>
Presentations		
WEEK 14		
	Final Research Paper Presentations	<p>1. We will schedule presentations in the weeks leading up to this class session.</p>
FINAL PAPERS DUE—EXAM WEEK		