

PSCI 5050.001 Seminar on Religion and Politics
Department of Political Science, University of North Texas
WH 130, W 6.30-9.20p, Syllabus spring 2018

INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3.30-6.30p

SEMINAR DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

Wald and Wilcox (2006, 523) note that, “Apart from economics and geography, it is hard to find a social science that has given less attention to religion than political science.” As the political salience of religion has endured, however, political scientists have devoted increased attention to this key social phenomenon. As a result, this seminar introduces and applies the major social scientific theories of religion with the goal of understanding the interaction between religion and politics. The authenticity of a particular creed is irrelevant for our purposes. The focus is on the explanatory value of religion in understanding mass political behavior, policymaking, and institutional politics. Students will (1) develop an appreciation of the debates within the subfield, (2) gain deeper insight into the methods and techniques that scholars employ when undertaking research in this area, and (3) advance their own research agendas.

READINGS

Claassen, Ryan. 2015. *Godless Democrats and Pious Republicans? Party Activists, Party Capture, and the ‘God Gap.’* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

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

Other readings for the course will be drawn from scholarly articles and book chapters. Journal articles and some book chapters can be found online via the UNT Library. I will make the rest available via Blackboard.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Seminar grades will be assigned according to the following schedule: A, 90-100%; B, 80-89.9%; C, 70-79.9%; D, 60-69.9%; F, below 60%.

Participation and Attendance, 33%: Students are required to attend each class meeting having completed the reading assignment and ready to participate in a discussion of the material. I suggest you prepare notes on the readings we are discussing as a guide for class discussion. To prepare yourself adequately for seminar, focus on the following questions as you complete the readings.

- What is the principal research question or problem being studied?
- Does this study address some broader theoretical issue, question or theme in the literature on religion and politics?
- What types of evidence are presented in support of the author's conclusions? What is the source of the evidence or data?
- What method is used to analyze the evidence presented by the author? Is this method appropriate to the research problem?
- How sound are the conclusions drawn by the author? How might the study have been strengthened?
- So what? Does the study make an important contribution to our understanding of religion and politics? Why or why not?

Research Project, 34%: Students will conduct an original research project on religion and politics from beginning to end. The paper must be one in which students empirically test the theoretical argument developed in the paper. Most importantly, the paper must make an original contribution to the field and it must be theoretically rigorous. The projects will be conducted in stages and students will receive extensive feedback from both the instructor and fellow class members throughout the term. We will devote a substantial portion of each class to discuss the progress of the projects in order to brainstorm ideas about how to make the papers better. The goal for these projects is to produce a paper that could be presented at a political science conference and, subsequently, submitted to a journal for review. Students will present these projects during the last class meeting on May 2nd.

Research Project Schedule:

1. January 24 – Discuss research topic ideas in class. Come prepared with your topic.
2. January 31 – Submit your research proposal. This proposal should outline what your topic is, what question(s) you are answering, how you plan to go about answering your question(s), and where your paper fits into the literature. Approximately 2-3 pages
3. February 21 – Submit your literature review. This literature review should provide an overview of the literature that you are examining in your research project. The literature should discuss not only what the literature says but also its areas of strength and weakness. Of particular importance is a discussion of the gaps within the literature you are focusing upon. Approximately 5-8 pages.
4. March 21 – Submit your theory section. This section spells out in detail the hypothesis being tested in your paper and the theoretical arguments that support these hypotheses. This section represents your ideas about the new knowledge that you seek to create in your paper. It is important that this section of your paper be logically constructed and carefully argued. Approximately 3-5 pages.
5. April 4 – Submit your research design section. This section of your paper will discuss the methodology you will use to test the hypotheses discussed in the theory section of your paper. Essential to this section of your paper is that you describe the research design in sufficient detail that someone reading your research design could replicate the analysis conducted in your paper perfectly.
6. April 25 – Submit results and conclusion sections. This section of your paper will examine the results of your analysis. In this section, you will discuss the ways in which your analysis supports or differs from the hypotheses that you raised in the theoretical section of your

paper. As part of the discussion, you will walk the reader through your findings and interpret what these findings mean. In the conclusion section, you will take a broader view of your findings and place these results within the broader literature. What have you contributed? Why is it important? Are these results surprising? Why?

7. May 2 – Submit full paper with an introduction. The introduction of your paper should set the stage for your reader, describing to them why your topic is important and why they should bother reading the remainder of the paper. You can also signal to readers in your paper what your findings are. Once you finish the introduction, you can now put all of the sections you have written into one complete paper, taking into account the suggestions for revision that have been made throughout. Be careful to make sure that the paper reads like one, well-flowing paper and not a series of separate sections put together. Make certain that your paper is of conference presentation quality: properly cited and free of grammatical errors. You will present it to the group as if you were at a conference.

Final Exam, 33%: There will be one exam in the course. This exam will be a take-home exam in which students will have a choice of exam questions to answer. Questions will resemble the types of questions you would find on a comprehensive exam. Upon opening the exam, students will have four hours to complete it. The exam will be distributed on May 3rd and will be due no later than May 10, 11:59p. All exams will be submitted through the link on the course Blackboard page.

SCHEDULE

January 17

What is religion, and why do we care?

1. Smith, Christian. 2017. *Religion: What It Is, How It Works, and Why It Matters*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 1.
2. Wald, Kenneth D., Adam Silverman, and Kevin Fridy. 2005. "Making Sense of Religion in Political Life." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 121-141.
3. Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2012. "Why Comparative Politics Should Take Religion (More) Seriously." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15:421-42.
4. Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion." *American Political Science Review* 101: 505-525.

Recommended

1. Wald, Kenneth D, and Allison Calhoun-Brown. 2014. *Religion and Politics in the United States*, 7th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
2. Smidt, Corwin E., Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth, eds. 2009. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
3. Wolfe, Alan, and Ira Katznelson, eds. 2010. *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
4. Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. 2010. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
5. Wald, Kenneth. D. and Clyde Wilcox. 2006. "Has Political Science Rediscovered the Faith Factor?" *American Political Science Review* 100: 523-529

January 24

Conceptual and theoretical approaches

1. Leege, David C., Kenneth D. 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 1-2.
2. Byrnes, Timothy A. 1991. *The Catholic Bishops in American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 3-4.
3. Brown, R. Khari and Ronald E. Brown. 2003. "Faith and Works: Church-Based Social Capital Resources and African American Political Activism." *Social Forces* 82: 617-641.
4. Gill, Anthony J. 1994. "Rendering unto Caesar? Religious Competition and Catholic Political Strategy." *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 403-425.
5. Albertson, Bethany. 2011. "Religious Appeals and Implicit Attitudes." *Political Psychology* 32: 109-130.
6. Findlay, James. 1990. "Religion and Politics in the Sixties: The Churches and the Civil Rights Act of 1964." *Journal of American History* 77: 66-93.

Recommended

1. Olson, Laura. 2011. "The Essentiality of 'Culture' in the Study of Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50: 639-653.
2. Hunter, James Davison. 1991. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books.
3. Weber, Max. [1930] 1994. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York, NY: Routledge.
4. Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51: 273-286.
5. Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York, NY: Basic Books, chapter 4.
6. Durkheim, Émile. [1912] 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York, NY: The Free Press, chapter 1.
7. Marx, Karl. 1843. *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Introduction.
8. Iannaccone, Larry. 1995. "Voodoo Economics: Reviewing the Rational Choice Approach to Religion." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 34: 76-88
9. Wildavski, Aaron. 1987. "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation." *American Political Science Review* 81: 3-21.
10. Allport, Gordon and James Ross. 1967. "Personal Religious Orientation and Prejudice." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 5: 432-443.

January 31

Measurement

1. Smidt, Corwin E., Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth. 2009. "The Role of Religion in American Politics: Explanatory Theories and Associated Analytical and Measurement Issues." In *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*, eds. Corwin E. Smidt Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth. New York: Oxford University Press.

2. 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." *Social Forces* 79(1):291-318.
3. Hackett, Conrad and D. Michael Lindsay. 2008. "Measuring Evangelicalism: Consequences of Different Operationalization Strategies." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47: 499-514.
4. Grim, Brian J. and Roger Finke. 2006. "International Religion Indexes: Government Regulation, Government Favoritism, and Social Regulation of Religion." *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 2: 1-40.
5. Measurement discussion on ReligioninPublic.blog: Djupe, Paul A., Ryan P. Burge, and Andrew R. Lewis, "Do we have any idea who evangelicals are?"; Djupe, Paul A., "American Religion is Not a Matryoshka Doll"; Grant, Tobin, "Why we really use religious tradition"

Recommended

1. Djupe, Paul A. and Brian R. Calfano. 2014. *God Talk: Experimenting with the Religious Causes of Public Opinion*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.
2. Leege, David C., and Lyman A. Kellstedt, eds. 1993. *Rediscovering the Religious Factor in American Politics*, eds. David C. Leege and Lyman A. Kellstedt. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
3. Blackstone, Bethany and Elizabeth A. Oldmixon. 2015. "Discourse and Dissonance: Religious Agendas in the 104th Congress." *Research & Politics* July-September: 1-8.
4. Burge, Ryan and Ed Stetzer. 2010. "Research Report: Reltrad Coding Problems and a New Repository." *Politics and Religion* 9(1): 187-190.

February 7

Secularization...or not

1. Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular*, all

Recommended

1. Berger, Peter L. 1967. *The Sacred Canopy*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
2. Berger, Peter L. 1999. "The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview." In *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, ed. Peter L. Berger. Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center, pp. 1-18.
3. Philpott, Daniel. 2002. "The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations." *World Politics* 55: 66-95.
4. Gill, Anthony. 2001. "Religion and Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 117-138.
5. Tejani, Shabnum. 2013. "Defining Secularism in Particular: Caste and Citizenship in India, 1909-1950." *Politics and Religion* 6: 703-729.

February 14

Political behavior in the United States

1. Green, John C. 2009. "Religious Diversity and American Democracy: A View from the

- Polls.” In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* eds. Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
2. 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.
 3. Djupe, Paul A., and Christopher Gilbert. 2006. “The Resourceful Believer: Generating Civic Skills in Church.” *Journal of Politics* 68(1): 116-127.
 4. Holman, Mirya R. and Kristen Shockley. 2017. “Messages from Above: Conflict and Convergence of Messages to the Catholic Voter from the Catholic Church Hierarchy.” *Politics and Religion* 10: 840-861.
 5. Jamal, Amaney. 2005. “The Political Participation and Engagement of Muslim Americans: Mosque Involvement and Group Consciousness.” *American Politics Research* 33: 521-544.
 6. Margolis, Michele F. 2016. “Cognitive Dissonance, Elections, and Religion: How Partisanship and the Political Landscape Shape Religious Behaviors.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(3): 717-740.

Recommendations

1. Green, John C. 2010. *The Faith Factor: How Religion Influences American Elections*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, Inc.
2. Campbell, David E., John C. Green, J. Quin Monson. 2014. *Seeking the Promised Land: Mormons and American Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
3. Calfano, Brian Robert, and Paul A. Djupe. 2009. “God Talk: Religious Cues and Electoral Support.” *Political Research Quarterly* 62:329-39.
4. Campbell, David E. 2006. “Religious ‘Threat’ in Contemporary Presidential Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 68:104-115.
5. Campbell, David. 2004. “Acts of Faith: Churches and Political Engagement.” *Political Behavior* 26: 155-80.
6. Djupe, Paul A. and Christopher P. Gilbert. 2008. *The Political Influence of Churches*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
7. Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 15.
8. McKenzie, Brian D. 2001. “Self-Selection, Church Attendance, and Local Civic Participation.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40:479-88.
9. Djupe, Paul A., and J. Tobin Grant. 2001. “Religious Institutions and Political Participation in America.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40:303-14.
10. Ayers, John W. Richard Hofstetter. 2008. “American Muslim Political Participation following 9/11: Religious Belief, Political Resources, Social Structures, and Political Awareness.” *Politics and Religion* 1: 3-26.
11. Uslaner, Eric M., and Mark Lichbach. 2009. “Identity Versus Identity: Israel and Evangelicals and the Two-Front War for Jewish Votes.” *Politics and Religion* 2: 395-419.
12. Beyerlein, Kraig and Mark Chaves. 2003. “The Political Activities of Religious Congregations in the United States.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42: 229-246.
13. Layman, Geoffrey C. 1997. “Religion and Political Behavior in the United States: Impact of Beliefs, Affiliations and Commitment from 1980 to 1994.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 61: 288-316.

14. Layman, Geoffrey C. and John C. Green. 2006. "Wars and Rumours of War: The Contexts of Cultural Conflict in American Political Behaviour." *British Journal of Political Science* 36(1):61-89.
15. Driskell, Robyn, Elizabeth Embry, and Larry Lyon. 2008. "Faith and Politics: The Influence of Religious Beliefs on Political Participation." *Social Science Quarterly* 89(2): 294-314.

February 21

Political preferences and public opinion in the United States

1. Albertson, Bethany. 2011. "Dog-Whistle Politics: Multivocal Communication and Religious Appeals." *Political Behavior* 37: 3-26.
2. Olson, Laura R. and Adam L. Warber. 2008. "Belonging, Behaving, and Believing: Assessing the Role of Religion on Presidential Approval." *Political Research Quarterly* 61: 192-204.
3. McDaniel, Eric, Irfan Nooruddin, and Allyson Faith Shortle. 2011. "Divine Boundaries: How Religion Shapes Citizens' Attitudes toward Immigrants." *American Politics Research* 39: 205-233.
4. Wald, Kenneth D., Dennis E. Owen, Samuel S. Hill, Jr. 1988. "Churches as Political Communities." *American Political Science Review* 82:531-548.
5. Bloom, Pazit Ben-Nun, Gizem Arikan, and Marie Courtemanche. 2015. "Religious Social Identity, Religious Belief, and Anti-Immigration Sentiment." *American Political Science Review* 109: 203-21.
6. Djupe, Paul A., and Brian R. Calfano. 2013. "Religious Value Priming, Threat, and Political Tolerance." *Political Research Quarterly* 66(4): 768-780.

Recommended

1. Friesen, Amanda and Aleksander Ksiazkiewicz. 2015. "Do Political Attitudes and Religiosity Share a Genetic Path?" *Political Behavior* 37: 791-818.
2. Barker, David C., and Christopher Jan Carman. 2000. "The Spirit of Capitalism? Religious Doctrine, Values, and Economic Attitude Constructs." *Political Behavior* 22:1-27.
3. 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* 39:364-82.
4. Jelen, Ted. 1993. "The Political Consequences of Religious Group Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 55:178-190.
5. Glazier, Rebecca A. 2013. "Divine Direction: How Providential Religious Beliefs Shape Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 9: 127-142.

February 28

Political behavior and public opinion around the world

1. Canetti, Daphna, Stevan Hobfoll, Ami Pedahzur, and Eran Zaidise. 2010. "Much Ado about Religion: Religiosity, Resources, Resource Loss, and Support for Political Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 47: 575-587.

2. Storm, Ingrid. 2016. "Morality in Context: A Multilevel Analysis of the Relationship between Religion and Values in Europe." *Politics and Religion* 9: 111–138.
3. Kurzman, Charles and Ijlal Naqvi. 2010. "Do Muslims Vote Islamic?" *Journal of Democracy* 21(2):50-63.
4. McAdams, Erin S. and Justin Earl Lance. 2013. "Religion's Impact on the Divergent Political Attitudes of Evangelical Protestants in the United State and Brazil." *Politics and Religion* 6: 483-511.
5. Helbing, Marc, and Richard Traummuller. 2016. "How State Support of Religion Shapes Attitudes Toward Muslim Immigrants: New Evidence from a Sub-National Comparison." *Comparative Political Studies* 49: 391-424.
6. Hale, Christopher W. 2015. "Religious Institutions and Civic Engagement: A Test of Religion's Impact on Political Activism in Mexico." *Comparative Politics* 47(2):211-30.

Recommended

1. Gaskins, Ben, Matt Golder, and David A. Siegel. 2013. "Religious Participation and Economic Conservatism." *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 823–840.
2. Gaskins, Ben, Matt Golder, and David A. Siegel. 2013. "Religious Participation, Social Conservatism, and Human Development." *Journal of Politics* 75(4):1125-41.
3. Tamadonfar, Mehran and Ted G. Jelen, eds. 2014. *Religion and Regimes: Support, Separation, and Opposition*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
4. Hatcher, Andrea C. 2017. *Political and Religious Identities of British Evangelicals*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
5. Nelson, Brent F. James L. Guth and Brian Highsmith. 2011. "Does Religion Still Matter? Religion and Public Attitudes toward Public Integration in Europe." *Politics and Religion* 4: 1-26.
6. Jamal, Amaney. 2007. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
7. Llewellyn, J.E. 2011. "A Victory for Secular India"? Hindu Nationalism in the 2004 Election." *Politics and Religion* 4: 49-70.
8. Wald, Kenneth D., and Samuel Shye. 1995. "The Religious Influence on Electoral Behavior: The Role of Religion and Social Forces in Israel." *Journal of Politics* 57:495–507.
9. Stegmueller, Daniel. 2013. "Religion and Redistributive Voting in Western Europe." *American Political Science Review* 73(4):1064-76.
10. Blaydes, Lisa and Drew Linzer. 2008. "The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam." *World Politics* 60(4):576-609.

March 7

Political parties and religious interests in the United States

1. Claassen, *Godless Democrats and Pious Republicans? Party Activists, Party Capture, and the 'God Gap.'* (whole book)

Recommended

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

2. Margolis, Michele F. 2018. "How Politics Affects Religion: Partisanship, Socialization, and Religiosity in America." *Journal of Politics* 80: 30-43.
3. Campbell, David E., Geoffrey C. Layman, John C. Green, and Nathanael Gratias Sumaktoyo. Forthcoming. "Putting Politics First: The Impact of Politics on American Religious and Secular Orientations." *American Journal of Political Science*.
4. Stenger, Katherine E. 2005. "The underrepresentation of liberal Christians: Mobilization strategies of religious interest groups." *Social Science Journal* 42: 391-403.
5. Layman, Geoffrey C., and Christopher L. Weaver. 2016. "Religion and Secularism among American Party Activists." *Politics and Religion* 9(2):271-95.
6. Barreto, Matt A., and Dino Bozonelos. 2009. "Democrat, Republican, or None of the Above? The Role of Religiosity in Muslim American Party Identification." *Politics and Religion* 2009(3):200-229.
7. Campbell, David E. 2002. "The Young and the Realignment: A Test of the Socialization Theory of Realignment." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66:209-34.
8. Prendergast, William B. 1999. *The Catholic Voter in American Politics: The Passing of the Democratic Monolith*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
9. Conger, Kimberly H. 2010. "A Matter of Context: Christian Right Influence in U.S. State Republican Politics." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 10: 248-269.
10. Hofrenning, Dan. 1995. *In Washington, but Not of It*. Temple University Press.
11. Hertzke, Allen. 2004. *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
12. Hertzke, Allen D. 1988. *Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

March 14
Spring break

March 21
Political parties and religious interests around the world

1. Coakley, John. 2002. "Religion, National Identity and Political Change in Modern Ireland." *Irish Political Studies* 17: 4-28.
2. Montgomery, Kathleen A., and Ryan Winter. 2015. "Explaining the Religion Gap in Support for Radical Right Parties in Europe." *Politics and Religion* 8:379-403.
3. Yildirim, A. Kadir and Caroline M. Lancaster. 2015. "Bending with the Wind: Revisiting Islamist Parties' Electoral Dilemma." *Politics and Religion* 8: 588-613.
4. Duncan, Fraser. 2013. "Preaching to the Converted? Christian Democratic Voting in Six West European Countries." *Party Politics* 21: 577-590.
5. Tepe, Sultan. 2013. "The Perils of Polarization and Religious Parties: The Democratic Challenges of Political Fragmentation in Israel and Turkey." *Democratization*. 20: 831-856.
6. Silvestri, Sara. 2009. "Islam and Religion in the EU Political System." *West European Politics* 32: 1212-1239.

Recommended

1. Pfaff, Steven and Anthony J. Gill. 2006. "Will a Million Muslims March? Muslim Interest Organizations and Political Integration in Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 803 – 828.
2. Immerzeel, Tim. 2013. "Religion as a Catalyst or Restraint of Radical Right Voting." *West European Politics* 36: 946-968.
3. van der Burg, Wouter, Sara B. Hobolt, and Claes H. de Vreese. 2009. "Religion and Party Choice in Europe." *West European Politics* 32: 1266-1283.
4. Warner, Carolyn. 2000. *Confessions of an Interest Group, The Catholic Church and Party Politics in Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
5. Warner, Carolyn M. and Manfred W. Wenner. 2006. "Religion and the Political Organization of Muslims in Europe." *Perspectives on Politics* 4: 457-479.
6. Breen, Richard and Bernadette C. Hayes. 1997. "Religious Mobility and Party Support in Northern Ireland." *European Sociological Review* 13: 225-239.

March 28

PSA meeting, no class

April 4

American Political Institutions

1. Burden, Barry. 2007. *The Personal Roots of Representation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 2.
2. McTague, John & Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2013. "Voting from the Pew: The Effect of Senators' Religious Identities on Partisan Polarization in the Senate." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* XXXVIII(3):405–430.
3. 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* 44:485-95.
4. Coe, Kevin and Sarah Chenoweth. 2013. "Presidents as Priests: Toward a Typology of Christian Discourse in the American Presidency." *Communication Theory* 23: 375-394.
5. Deckman, Melissa. 2001. "Religion Makes the Difference: Why Christian Right Candidates Run for School Board." *Review of Religious Research* 42: 349-371.
6. Wybraniec, John and Roger Finke. 2001. "Religious Regulation and the Courts: The Judiciary's Changing Role in Protecting Minority Religions from Majoritarian Rule." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40: 427-444.

Recommended

1. Oldmixon, Elizabeth A. and Kevin den Dulk, eds. 2014. *Mediating Religion and Government: Political Institutions and the Policy Process*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
2. Oldmixon, Elizabeth A. 2005. *Uncompromising Positions: God, Sex, and the U.S. House of Representatives*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
3. Oldmixon, Elizabeth A. 2017. "Religious Representation and Animal Welfare in the U.S. Senate." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 56(1):162–178.
4. Neiheisel, Jacob R. and Paul A. Djupe. 2016. "Censor Morum? The 17th Amendment, Religious Diversity, and Ideological Extremism in the Senate." *Political Research Quarterly* 70: 55-67.
5. Haider-Markel, Donald P. 1999. "Redistributing Values in Congress: Interest Group

- Influence Under Sub-Optimal Conditions.” *Political Research Quarterly* 52:113-44.
6. Fastnow, Chris, J. Tobin Grant, and Thomas J. Rudolph. 1999. “Holy Roll Calls: Religious Tradition and Voting Behavior in the U.S. House.” *Social Science Quarterly* 80: 687-701.
 7. Rosenson, Beth, Elizabeth A. Oldmixon, and Kenneth D. Wald. 2009. “U.S. Senators’ Support for Israel Examined Through Sponsorship/Co Sponsorship Decisions, 1993-2002: The Influence of Elite and Constituent Factors.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5: 73-91.
 8. Moen, Matthew C. 1989. *The Christian Right and Congress*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
 9. Benson, Peter and Dorothy Williams. 1982. *Religion on Capitol Hill: Myths and Realities* San Francisco: Harper & Row.
 10. Green, John C., and James L. Guth. 1991. "Religion, Representation, and Roll Calls." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16:571-84.
 11. Smith, Lauren Edwards, Laura R. Olson and Jeffrey A. Fine. 2010. “Substantive Religious Representation in the U.S. Senate: Voter Alignment with the Family Research Council.” *Political Research Quarterly* 63: 68-82.
 12. Lewis, Andrew R. 2017. *The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics: How Abortion Transformed the Culture Wars*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
 13. Dunn, Charles W. 1984. “The Theological Dimensions of Presidential Leadership: A Classification Model.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 11:214-32.
 14. Rozell, Mark J., and Gleaves Whitney, eds. 2007. *Religion and the American Presidency*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
 15. Bennett, Daniel. 2017. *Defending Faith: The Politics of the Christian Conservative Legal Movement*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.
 16. Songer, Donald R., and Susan J. Tabrizi, 1999. “The Religious Right in Court: The Decision Making of Christian Evangelicals in State Supreme Courts.” *Journal of Politics* 61:507- 26.

April 11

Religion and the state

1. Kuru, Ahmet T. 2007. “Passive and Assertive Secularism: Historical Conditions, Ideological Struggles, and State Policies toward Religion.” *World Politics* 59: 568-594.
2. Fox, Jonathan. 2008. “State Religious Exclusivity and Human Rights.” *Political Studies* 56: 928-948.
3. Driessen, Michael D. 2009. “Religion, State, and Democracy: Analyzing Two Dimensions of Church-State Arrangements.” *Politics and Religion* 3: 55-80.
4. Koesel, Karrie J. 2015. “The Political Economy of Religious Revival.” *Politics and Religion* 8: 211-235.
5. Sarkissian, Ani. 2009. “Religious Reestablishment in Post-Communist Polities.” *Journal of Church and State* 51: 472-501.
6. Gill, Anthony. 1999. “The politics of regulating religion in Mexico: The 1992 constitutional reforms in historical context.” *Journal of Church and State* 41: 761-794.

Recommended

1. Witte, John and Joel A. Nichols. 2016. *Religion and the American Constitutional Experiment*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

2. Dreisbach, Daniel L. 1997. "Sowing Useful Truths and Principles': The Danbury Baptists, Thomas Jefferson, and the Wall of Separation." *Journal of Church and State* 39: 455-501.
3. Jelen, Ted, and Clyde Wilcox. 1995. *Public Attitudes Toward Church and State*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
4. Karrie J. Koesel. 2014. *Religion and Authoritarianism: Cooperation, Conflict, and the Consequences*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
5. Gill, Anthony. 1998. *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
6. Gill, Anthony. 2008. *The Political Origins of Religious Liberty*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
7. Woods, Patricia J. 2008. *Judicial Power and National Politics: Courts and Gender in the Religious Secular Conflict in Israel*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
8. Baskan, Birol. 2011. "The State in the Pulpit: State Incorporation of Religious Institutions in the Middle East." *Politics and Religion* 4: 136-153.
9. Fetzer, Joel S. and J. Christopher Soper. 2004. *Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
10. Fox, Jonathan. 2008. *A World Survey of Religion and the State*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
11. Kuru, Ahmet T. 2009. *Secularism and State Policies toward Religion: The United States, France, and Turkey*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
12. Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. 2015. *Beyond Religious Freedom: The New Global Politics of Religion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

April 18

Ethno-national intersections

1. Calhoun-Brown, Allison. 1998. "The Politics of Black Evangelicals." *American Politics Research* 26: 81-109.
2. McDaniel, Eric L., and Christopher G. Ellison. 2008. "'God's Party?' Race, Religion, and Partisanship over Time." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2):180-91.
3. McKenzie, Brian D., and Stella M. Rouse. 2013. "Shades of Faith: Religious Foundations of Political Attitudes among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 218-235.
4. Gershon, Sarah Allen, Adrian D. Pantoja, and J. Benjamin Taylor. 2016. "God in the Barrio? The Determinants of Religiosity and Civic Engagement among Latinos in the United States." *Politics and Religion* 9: 84-110.
5. Ganiel, Gladys and Paul Dixon. 2008. "Religion, Pragmatic Fundamentalism and the Transformation of the Northern Ireland Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 45: 419-436.
6. Iveković, Ivan. 2002. "Nationalism & the Use and Abuse of Religion: The Politicization of Orthodoxy, Catholicism & Islam in Yugoslav Successor States." *Social Compass* 49: 523-36.

Recommended

1. Djupe, Paul A., and Jacob R. Neiheisel. 2012. "How Religious Communities Affect Political Participation Among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 93(2): 333-55.
2. McKenzie, Brian D. 2004. "Religious Social Networks, Indirect Mobilization, and

- African-American Political Participation.” *Political Research Quarterly* 57:621-32.
3. Kelly, Nathan J., and Jana Morgan Kelly. 2008. “Religious Traditionalism and Latino Politics in the United States.” *American Politics Research* 36(2):236-63.
 4. Jones-Correa, Michael A., and David L. Leal. 2001. “Political Participation: Does Religion Matter?” *Political Research Quarterly* 54:751-70.
 5. Harris, Fredrick C. 1999. *Something Within: Religion in African-American Political Activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
 6. McClerking, Harwood K., and Eric L. McDaniel. 2005. “Belonging and Doing: Political Churches and Black Political Participation.” *Political Psychology* 26:721-33.
 7. Owens, Michael Leo. 2007. *God and Government in the Ghetto: The Politics of Church-State Collaboration in Black America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
 8. Valenzuela, A. A. 2014. “Tending the Flock: Latino Religious Commitments and Political Preferences.” *Political Research Quarterly* 67: 930–942.
 9. Rekhess, Ellie. 2007. “The Evolvment of an Arab–Palestinian National Minority in Israel.” *Israel Studies* 12: 1-28.

April 25

Religion and democracy

1. Philpott, Daniel. 2004. “Christianity and Democracy: The Catholic Wave.” *Journal of Democracy* 15:32-46.
2. Gaskill, Newton J. 1997. “Rethinking Protestantism and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America.” *Sociology of Religion* 58: 69-91.
3. Sarkissian, Ani. 2012. “Religious Regulation and the Muslim Democracy Gap.” *Politics and Religion* 5: 501-527.
4. Smith, Amy Erica. 2017. “Democratic Talk in Church: Religion and Political Socialization in the Context of Urban Inequality.” *World Development* 99: 441-451.
5. Jamal, Amaney A. 2006. “Reassessing Support for Islam and Democracy in the Arab World? Evidence from Egypt and Jordan.” *World Affairs* 169: 51-63.
6. Stepan, Alfred. 2000. “Religion, Democracy, and the ‘Twin Tolerations.’” *Journal of Democracy* 11: 37-57.

Recommended

1. Jamal, Amaney. 2007. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
2. Mantilla, Luis Felipe. 2010. “Mobilizing Religion for Democracy: Explaining Catholic Support for Democratization in South America.” *Politics and Religion* 553-579.
3. Menchik, Jeremy. 2016. *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without Liberalism*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
4. Valenta, Marko and Zan Strabac. 2012. “Religion and Support for Democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina.” *Politics and Religion* 5: 609-633.
5. Liebman, Charles S. 1983. “Extremism as a Religious Norm.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22: 75-86.
6. Villalón, Leonardo A. 2015. “Cautious Democrats: Religious Actors and Democratization Processes in Senegal.” *Politics and Religion* 8: 305-333.
7. Smootha, Sammy. 1998. “Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype.” *Israel Studies* 2: 198-241.

- Ganim, As'ad, Nadim N. Rouhana, and Oren Yiftachel. 1998. "Questioning 'Ethnic Democracy': A Response of Sammy Smooha." *Israel Studies* 3: 253-267.

May 2

Presentations

ADDITIONAL TOPICS

We will not have time during the semester to cover the following topics, but they are important. The readings lists are a good place to start of you would like to explore them on your own.

The American Context

- Jones, Robert P. 2016. *The End of White Christian America*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, Inc.
- Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton. 1985. *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Bellah, Robert N. 2005. "Civil Religion in America." *Daedalus* 134: 40-55.
- de Tocqueville, Alexis. 1835. *Democracy in America*.
- 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.
- Dreisbach, Daniel L. 2011. "The Bible in the Political Rhetoric of the American Founding." *Politics and Religion* 4: 401-427.
- Noll, Mark A., and Luke E. Harlow, eds. 2007. *Religion and American Politics: From the Colonial Period to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marsden, George M. 1980. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*. New York, NY: Oxford University.
- Lienesch, Michael. 1993. *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Swierenga, Robert P. 2009. "Religion and American Voting Behavior, 1830s to 1930s." In Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

State and Local Policymaking

- Conger, Kimberly H. 2009. *The Christian Right and Republican State Politics*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Cleary, Edward L., and Allen D. Hertzke. 2006. *Representing God at the Statehouse: Religion and Politics in the American States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Haider-Markel, Donald P. and Kenneth J. Meier. 1996. "The Politics of Gay and Lesbian Rights: Expanding the Scope of the Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 58: 332-49.
- Mooney, Christopher Z. and Mei-Hsien Lee. 1995. "Legislating Morality in the American States: The Case of Pre-Roe Abortion Regulation Reform." *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 599-627.
- Djupe, Paul A. and Laura R. Olson, eds. 2007. *Religious Interests in Community Conflict: Beyond the Culture Wars*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

6. Frendreis, John, and Raymond Tatalovich. 2010. "‘A Hundred Miles of Dry’: Religion and the Persistence of Prohibition in the U.S. States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 10: 302-319.

Clergy

1. Olson, Laura R. 2000. *Filled with Spirit and Power: Protestant Clergy in Politics*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
2. Smith, Amy Erica. 2016. "When Clergy are Threatened: Catholic and Protestant Leaders and Political Activism in Brazil." *Politics and Religion* 9: 431-455.
3. Green, John C., Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, Margaret M. Pomona, James L. Guth. 1998. *The Bully Pulpit: The Politics of Protestant Clergy*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
4. Calfano, Brian R., Melissa Michelson, and Elizabeth A. Oldmixon. 2017. *A Matter of Discretion: Priests, Politics, and Institutional Context*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
5. Clardy, Brian K. 2011. "Deconstructing a Theology of Defiance: Black Preaching and the Politics of Racial Identity." *Journal of Church and State* 53: 203-221.
6. Smith, Gregory Allen. 2008. *Politics in the Parish: The Political Influence of Catholic Priests*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
7. Crawford, Sue E.S. and Olson, Laura R. 2001. *Christian Clergy in American Politics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
8. Deckman, Melissa, Crawford, Sue E.S., Olson, Laura R. and Green, John C. 2003. "Clergy and the Politics of Gender." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42: 621–631.
9. Calfano, Brian Robert. 2009. "Choosing Constituent Cues: Reference Group Influence on Clergy Political Speech." *Social Science Quarterly* 90: 88–102.
10. Djupe, Paul A. and Christopher C. Gilbert. 2003. *The Prophetic Pulpit: Clergy, Churches, and Communities in American Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Religion and Tolerance

1. Djupe, Paul A., ed. *Religion and Political Tolerance in America: Advances in the State of the Art*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
2. Verkuyten, Maykel, Mieke Maliepaard, Borja Martinovic, and Yassine Khoudja. 2014. "Political Tolerance among Muslim Minorities in Western Europe." *Politics and Religion* 7: 265-286.
3. Bolce, Louis, and Gerald De Maio. 2008. "A Prejudice for the Thinking Classes: Media Exposure, Political Sophistication, and the Anti-Christian Fundamentalist." *American Politics Research* 36 (2): 155–185.
4. Franks, Andrew S. 2017. "Improving the Electability of Atheists in the United States: A Preliminary Examination." *Politics and Religion* 10: 597-621.
5. Gibson, James L. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Religiosity: Does Religion Always Cause Political Intolerance?" In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* eds. Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
6. Blaydes, Lisa, and Drew A. Linzer. 2012. "Elite Competition, Religiosity, and Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World." *American Political Science Review* 106(2):225-43.

7. Eisenstein, Marie. 2006. "Rethinking the Relationship between Religion and Political Tolerance in the US." *Political Behavior* 28:327–348.
8. Froese, Paul, Christopher Bader, and Buster Smith. 2008. "Political Tolerance and God's Wrath in the United States." *Sociology of Religion* 69:29-44.

Conflict and Global Politics

1. Philpott, Daniel. 2000. "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations." *World Politics* 52: 206-245.
2. Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. 2001. "Conflict Resolution, Culture, and Religion: Toward a Training Model of Interreligious Peacebuilding." *Journal of Peace Research* 38: 685-704.
3. Basedau, Matthias, Birte Pfeiffer, and Johannes Vüllers. 2016. "Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60: 226-255.
4. Haynes, Jeff. 2001. "Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics." *Third World Quarterly* 22: 143-158.
5. Shah, Timothy Samuel, Alfred Stepan, and Monica Duffy Toft, eds. 2012. *Rethinking Religion and World Affairs*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
6. Appleby, R. Scott. 2000. *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
7. Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2000. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
8. Almond, Gabriel A., R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan. 2003. *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
9. Gurses, Mehmet and Nico Rost. 2017. "Religion as a Peacemaker? Peace Duration after Ethnic Civil Wars." *Politics and Religion* 10: 339-362.
10. Wilson, Erik K. 2010. "Beyond Dualism: Expanded Understandings of Religion and Global Justice." *International Studies Quarterly* 54: 733–754.
11. Hurd, Elizabeth Shakman. 2004. "The Political Authority of Secularism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 10: 235-262.
12. Omer, Atalia, R. Scott Appleby, and David Little, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

ADDITIONAL POLICIES

For course drop information, see schedule at: essc.unt.edu/registrar/schedule/scheduleclass.html.

Dr. Oldmixon reserves the right to amend this syllabus at her discretion.

Late assignments: Late assignments are unacceptable and will be penalized a half a letter grade for the first day they are late, and a full letter grade every day thereafter. Extensions are given only after consultation with the instructor – prior to the due date.

Americans with Disabilities Act Statement: The University of North Texas makes reasonable academic accommodation for students with disabilities. Students seeking reasonable accommodation must first register with the Office of Disability Accommodation (ODA) to verify their eligibility. If a disability is verified, the ODA will provide you with a reasonable accommodation letter to be

delivered to faculty to begin a private discussion regarding your specific needs in a course. You may request reasonable accommodations at any time, however, ODA notices of reasonable accommodation should be provided as early as possible in the semester to avoid any delay in implementation. Note that students must obtain a new letter of reasonable accommodation for every semester and must meet with each faculty member prior to implementation in each class. Students are strongly encouraged to deliver letters of reasonable accommodation during faculty office hours or by appointment. Faculty members have the authority to ask students to discuss such letters during their designated office hours to protect the privacy of the student. For additional information see the Office of Disability Accommodation website at: <http://www.unt.edu/oda>. You may also contact them by phone at 940.565.4323.

Academic Misconduct: Academic Integrity is defined in the UNT Policy on Student Standards for Academic Integrity. Any suspected case of Academic Dishonesty will be handled in accordance with the University Policy and procedures. Possible academic penalties range from a verbal or written admonition to a grade of “F” in the course. Further sanctions may apply to incidents involving major violations. You will find the policy and procedures at: <http://facultysuccess.unt.edu/academic-integrity>.

Acceptable Student Behavior: Student behavior that interferes with an instructor’s ability to conduct a class or other students' opportunity to learn is unacceptable and disruptive and will not be tolerated in any instructional forum at UNT. Students engaging in unacceptable behavior will be directed to leave the classroom and the instructor may refer the student to the Center for Student Rights and Responsibilities to consider whether the student's conduct violated the Code of Student Conduct. The university's expectations for student conduct apply to all instructional forums, including university and electronic classroom, labs, discussion groups, field trips, etc. The Code of Student Conduct can be found at: <https://deanofstudents.unt.edu/conduct>.

Sexual Discrimination, Harassment & Assault: UNT is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or experiences any of these acts of aggression, please know that you are not alone. The federal Title IX law makes it clear that violence and harassment based on sex and gender are Civil Rights offenses. UNT has staff members trained to support you in navigating campus life, accessing health and counseling services, providing academic and housing accommodations, helping with legal protective orders, and more.

UNT’s Dean of Students’ website offers a range of on-campus and off-campus resources to help support survivors, depending on their needs: http://deanofstudents.unt.edu/resources_0. Renee McNamara is UNT’s Student Advocate and she can be reached through e-mail at SurvivorAdvocate@unt.edu or by calling the Dean of Students’ office at 940-565-2648. You are not alone. We are here to help.

Emergency Notification & Procedures: UNT uses a system called Eagle Alert to quickly notify you with critical information in an event of emergency (i.e., severe weather, campus closing, and health and public safety emergencies like chemical spills, fires, or violence). The system sends voice messages (and text messages upon permission) to the phones of all active faculty staff, and students. Please

make certain to update your phone numbers at www.my.unt.edu. Some helpful emergency preparedness actions include: 1) ensuring you know the evacuation routes and severe weather shelter areas, determining how you will contact family and friends if phones are temporarily unavailable, and identifying where you will go if you need to evacuate the Denton area suddenly. In the event of a university closure, your instructor will communicate with you through Blackboard regarding assignments, exams, field trips, and other items that may be impacted by the closure.