

CURRICULUM VITAE

James L. Guth

William Rand Kenan, Jr. Professor of Political Science
Senior Fellow in Religion and Politics
Richard W. Riley Institute of Government, Politics, and Public Leadership
Distinguished Scholar for the Tocqueville Program
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EDUCATION

1966-73. Harvard University, Ph.D. in Political Science
Areas: Modern Political Theory, Comparative European
Politics, Executive-Legislative Relations,
Public Law and Judicial Process.

Thesis: "Interorganizational Relations in Agricultural
Policymaking: The Case of the National Milk
Producers Federation." Advisor: Douglas Price.
Second Reader: James Q. Wilson.

1963-66. University of Wisconsin, B.S. in Political Science
Honors: Phi Eta Sigma, Phi Kappa Phi, Phi Beta Kappa.
Representative of UW to Air Force Academy
Conference on Cultural Relations and Foreign
Affairs, March 1966. Woodrow Wilson
Fellow. NDEA Title IV Fellowship.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Furman University, 1973-present
1988-91. Chair, Department of Political Science.
1987-89. Chair, University Faculty.
1984-present. Professor.
1979-84. Associate Professor.
1973-78. Assistant Professor.

Courses: Introduction to American Government; Interest Groups and
Political Movements; the American Congress; the American
Presidency; Politics of Religious Movements, Political Analysis.

1972-73. Instructor, Bowdoin College.
Courses: Introduction to American Politics; Political
Parties and Pressure Groups; Independent Study.

1968-70. Teaching Fellow, Harvard University.
Courses: Legislative Process; Democratic Theory; Urban
Politics; State Politics; Politics and Education.

AWARDS

Lifetime Achievement Award
Religion and Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2023

Excellence in Teaching Award
South Carolina Independent Colleges and Universities, 2013

Paul J. Weber Award for Best Paper on Religion and Politics
American Political Science Association, 2008

Governor's Distinguished Professor
South Carolina, 2005

Alester G. and Janie Earle Furman Award for Meritorious Teaching
Furman University, 1990-1991

Faculty Member of the Year
Association of Furman Students, 1976

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Religion and Politics, Interest Groups and Social Movements, European Union, Political Behavior

BOOKS

Religion and the Struggle for European Union: Confessional Culture and the Limits of European Integration (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2015). (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen.)

The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). (Co-editors: Corwin E. Smidt and Lyman A. Kellstedt)

The Bully Pulpit: The Politics of Protestant Clergy (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997). (Co-authors: John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, Corwin A. Smidt, and Margaret M. Poloma)

Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front (Lanham MD and London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996). (Co-authors: John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt).

The Bible and the Ballot Box: Religion in the 1988 Election (Boulder CO: Westview, 1991). (Co-editor: John C. Green).

SCHOLARLY ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS

“Party Choice in the 2024 European Parliamentary Elections: Old and New Cleavages among Parliamentary Groups,” in Marko Veković and Miroljub Jevtić (eds.), *Arguing Religion and Politics: Populism, Secularism, and Church-State Relations* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2026), chapter 5 (in press).

“Religion and Factionalism in the U.S. House of Representatives: The 112th Congress and Beyond” in David A. Dulio and Colton C. Campbell (eds.) *Congress and Religion: The Intersection of Faith and Politics* (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 2025), 115-145.

- “Religious Influences on American Public Attitudes Toward Military Action, 2008–2022.” *Religions* 16: 398. (Co-author: Brent Nelsen) <https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/16/4/398>
- “Religion and American Conservative Populism,” in Jeffrey Haynes (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Politics and Religion in Contemporary America* (London: Routledge, 2025), 430–445. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781003340409-32/religion-american-conservative-populism-james-guth?context=ubx&refId=c9ffcb15-c6a5-4299-a9d6-f9e150457df2>
- “Christianity and Culture in Europe,” in Yaakov Ariel, Gregor Thuswaldner, and Jens Zimmermann (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Christianity and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2025), 371–383. (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen) <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/edit/10.4324/9780429260490/routledge-handbook-christianity-culture-yaakov-ariel-gregor-thuswaldner-jens-zimmermann?context=ubx&refId=679476ed-2e6d-49c2-a9b5-b2dc854e4b3c>
- “Religion and the Contours of European Identity,” in Marko Veković and Mirosljub Jevtić (eds.), *Religion and Politics in Europe, the USA and Asia: New Trends and Challenges* (London: Routledge, 2024), 40–59. (Co-authors, Francois Foret and Brent F. Nelsen) <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003422976-4>
- “Religious Influences on American Conservative Populism,” in Paulina Napierala (ed.), *Religion and American Politics: Domestic and International Contexts* (Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2024), 71–92. (Co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt) <https://www.peterlang.com/document/1449513#>
- “Religion and Support for the ‘Trump Doctrine’,” in Paulina Napierala (ed.), *Religion and American Politics: Domestic and International Contexts* (Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2024), 303–325. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen) <https://www.peterlang.com/document/1449513#>
- “Religion and American Public Attitudes Toward Global Warming, 2020,” in Paulina Napierala (ed.), *Religion and American Politics: Domestic and International Contexts* (Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2024), 353–372. (Co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt) <https://www.peterlang.com/document/1449513#>
- “Confessional Culture, Religiosity, and Traditionalism: Tracing the Influence of Religion on Public Attitudes toward European Integration,” *Religion, State and Society*, 51:4–5 (2023), 314–330. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen). Published online: October 31, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2023.2261551>; republished in *Religion in the European Parliament: Between Nation and Europe*, ed. François Foret (Routledge 2025).
- “Catholic Partisanship in the 2020 Presidential Election: Demographic and Cultural Cleavages,” *Politics and Religion Journal* 17:2 (Fall 2023), 327–351. (Co-author, Thomas V. Feingold) <https://www.politicsandreligionjournal.com/index.php/prj/article/view/467/477>
- “Review Essay,” *Race and the Power of Sermons on American Politics*. By R. Khari Brown, Ronald E. Brown, and James S. Jackson. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2021. xii+167 pp. \$70.00 cloth. *Decoding the Digital Church: Evangelical Storytelling and the Election of Donald J. Trump*. By Stephanie A. Martin. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2021. xi.+266 pp.

- \$49.95 cloth. *Politics and Religion* 16:3 (2023), 543-547.
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/politics-and-religion/article/abs/race-and-the-power-of-sermons-on-american-politics-by-r-khari-brown-ronald-e-brown-and-james-s-jackson-ann-arbor-university-of-michigan-press-2021-xii167-pp-7000-cloth-decoding-the-digital-church-evangelical-storytelling-and-the-election-of-donald-j-trump-by-stephanie-a-martin-tuscaloosa-university-of-alabama-press-2021-xi266-pp-4995-cloth/93B1EBFF7506D402884297E9038E3972>
- “Explaining Green Party Support in the 2019 European Parliamentary Elections: A Test of Four Hypotheses,” *Society* 60 (2023), 413–425. (Co-authors, Samantha G. Whitley and Brent F. Nelsen). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12115-023-00824-1>
- “Confessional Cultures and European Identity: Religion, Ideology and Economics,” *Religions*, 14 (2023): 271. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel14020271>.
- “New Frontiers of Religious Freedom? LGBTQ Rights Versus Religious Conscience,” in *Religion, State and Society* 50(3) (2022), 338-355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2022.2088991> To be republished in *Religious Freedom: Thinking Sociologically* (London: Routledge, 2023).
- “The Partisanship of Protestant Clergy in the 2016 Presidential Election,” *Politics and Religion* 15(2) (June 2022), 291-316. *First View*: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048321000262>. (Co-author, Corwin E. Smidt).
- “A Word from the Guest Editor,” in *Politics and Religion Journal*, 15(2) (2021), 252-254.
- “Religious Voting in the 2020 Presidential Election: Testing Alternative Theories,” in *Politics and Religion Journal*, 15(2) (2021), 257-281. (Co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “Party Choice in Europe: Social Cleavages and the Rise of Populist Parties,” *Party Politics* 27(3), 435-464. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen.) Published online June 10, 2019 at <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068819853965>
- “Protestantism and Europe,” in Lucian Leustean and Grace Davie, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 458-479. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen).
- “Protestant Clergy and Christian Nationalism,” *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 48(2) (May 2021), 135-147.
- “Losing Faith: Religion and Attitudes toward the European Union in Uncertain Times, 2009-2014,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 58(4) (July 2020): 909-924. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen) <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/jcms.12993>.
- “Are White Evangelicals Populists? The View from the 2016 American National Election Study,” *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 17(3) (Fall, 2019): 20-35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2019.1643991>

- “Survey Research: Religion and Electoral Politics in the United States, 1936-2016,” in *Political Science Research in Practice*, Second Ed., Akan Malici and Liz Smith, eds. (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), 117-136. (Co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- "Explaining Education Policy Convergence in Europe: A Research Note," *Journal of Political Science* 45 (2017), 75-92. (Co-authors, Brent F. Nelsen and Amanda Michalski).
- “South Carolina: Integration and Challenge?” in Mark J. Rozell and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *God at the Grass Roots, 2016: The Christian Right in American Politics* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2018), 161-178. (Co-author, Oran P. Smith)
- “European Union or Kingdom of the Antichrist? Protestant apocalyptic narratives and European unity,” *National Identities* 19:2 (2017), 251-267. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2016.1265492>. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen). Reprinted in Wolfram Kaiser and Richard McMahon, eds, *Transnational Actors and Stories of European Integration* (Routledge, 2019).
- “Religion and the Creation of European Identity: The Message of the Flags,” *Review of Faith and International Affairs* 14:1 (2016), 80-88. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2016.1145476>
- "Religion and Environmental Politics in the U.S. House of Representatives," *Environmental Politics* 25(2) (2016), 289-314. (Co-authors, Brian Newman, William Cole, Chris Doran and Edward Larson) <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09644016.2015.1099184>
- “Religion in the European Union: The Forgotten Factor,” in Luke M. Harrington, Alasdair McKay, and Jeffrey Haynes, eds. *Nations Under God: The Geopolitics of Faith in the Twenty-First Century* (Bristol, England: E-International Relations Publishing, 2015), 203-210, (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen)
- “Religious Groups as a Polarizing Force,” in William Crotty, ed. *Polarized Politics: The Impact of Divisiveness in the U.S. Political System* (Lynne Rienner, 2015), 157-185. (Co-author: Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “Religion in the American Congress: The Case of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1953-2003,” *Religion, State & Society* 42(2-3) (2014), 299-313. <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/crss20>. Reprinted in François Foret, ed. *Religion at the European Parliament and in European Multi-level Governance* (Routledge, 2015), chapter 12.
- “Religion in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1953-2013,” in Kevin R. den Dulk and Elizabeth A. Oldmixon, eds. *Mediating Religion and Government: Political Institutions and the Policy Process* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 109-134.
- “Catholic Partisanship and the Presidential Vote in 2012,” *The Forum* 11:4 (February 2014), 623-640. (Co-author: Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “The Soul of the South: Religion and Southern Politics in the New Millennium,” in Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, ed. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern*

- Politics*, 5th ed. (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), 291-312. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Religion and American Public Attitudes on War and Peace,” *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* 1(2) (November 2013), 227-252.
- “The Church and Congress: Religious Affiliations and Foreign Policy Voting in the U.S.” *Politics and Religion Journal* 7 (2) (Autumn 2013), 345-371. (Co-authors: Kenneth Wink, Don Livingston and Todd Collins)
- “Militant and Cooperative Internationalism among American Religious Publics,” *Politics and Religion Journal* 7 (2) (Autumn 2013), 315-343.
- “Religion in the 2012 Election,” in Janet Box-Steffensmeier and Steven E. Schier, eds. *The American Elections of 2012* (New York and London Routledge, 2013), 190-214. (Co-author, Leigh A. Bradberry)
- “Religion and Public Opinion on Security: A Comparative Perspective,” in Chris Seiple, Dennis Hoover, and Pauletta Otis ed. *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Security* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 171-181.
- “Survey Research: Religion and Electoral Behavior in the United States, 1936-2008,” in *Political Science Research in Practice*, eds. Akan Malici and Liz Smith (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 93-110. (Co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “Seculars and the 2008 Election,” in Gaston Espinosa, ed. *Religion, Race, and Barack Obama’s New Democratic Pluralism* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 149-165. (Co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “The Religious Roots of Foreign Policy Exceptionalism,” *Review of Faith & International Affairs* 10:2 (June 2012), 77-85. Reprinted in Dennis Hoover, *Religion and American Exceptionalism* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 77-86.
- “The Religious Affiliation of Representatives and Support for Funding the Iraq War,” *Politics and Religion* 4:3 (December 2011), 550-568. (Co-authors, Kenneth A. Wink, C. Don Livingston, and Todd Collins)
- “Religious Interest Groups,” in Burdett Loomis, Peter Francia, and Dara Strolovich, eds. *Guide to Interest Groups and Lobbying in the United States* (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2011), 239-249.
- “Obama, Religious Politics and the Culture Wars,” in Steven Schier, ed. *Transforming America: Barack Obama in the White House* (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), 77-100.
- “Religion and Political Behavior in the Sunbelt,” in Darren Dochuck and Michelle Nickerson, eds. *The Sunbelt Rising: The Politics of Space, Place, and Region* (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011): 110-138. (Co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt)

- “Religion and Roll Calls: Religious Influences on the U.S. House of Representatives,” in Amy E. Black, Douglas L. Koopman, and Larycia Hawkins, eds. *Religion and American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Perspectives* (Boston: Longman, 2010): 278-284.
- “Why We Get Along,” *Books and Culture* 17:1 (January/February 2011): 14-15. (Co-author: Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “Does Religion Still Matter? Religious Cleavages and the Politics of Integration in Europe,” *Politics and Religion* 4:1 (April 2011): 1-26. (Co-authors, Brent F. Nelsen and Brian Highsmith)
- “Two Faces of Political Participation: Conventional and Creative Participation Among American Clergy,” in Michele Micheletti and Andrew S. McFarland, eds. *Creative Participation: Responsibility-Taking in the Political World* (Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers, 2011): 50-66.
- “Economic Globalization: The View from the Pews,” *Review of Faith & International Affairs* 8:4 (Winter 2010):41-46.
- “The Bully Pulpit, Revisited,” *Books and Culture* 16:5 (September/October 2010): 32-33. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Bush and Religious Politics,” in Steven Schier, ed. *Ambition and Division: Legacies of the George W. Bush Presidency* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009): 87-109.
- “The Soul of the South: Religion and Southern Politics in the New Millennium,” in Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, eds. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, 4th ed. (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009): 283-303. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Religion and Public Opinion: Foreign Policy Issues,” in Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009): 243-265.
- “The Role of Religion in American Politics: Explanatory Theories and Associated Analytical and Measurement Issues,” in Corwin E. Smidt, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009): 3-42. (Co-authors: Corwin E. Smidt and Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “Religion in the 2008 Election,” in Janet Box-Steffensmeier and Steven E. Schier, eds. *The American Elections of 2008* (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009): 117-136.
- “‘Misunderestimating’ Religion in the 2004 Presidential Campaign,” in Paul Marshall, Lela Gilbert, and Roberta Green Ahmanson, eds. *Blind Spot; When Journalists Don’t Get Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 87-105. (Co-author: C. Danielle Vinson)
- “Faith Transformed: Religion and American Politics from FDR to G.W. Bush,” in Mark A. Noll, ed. *Religion and American Politics*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 269-295. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt)

- “What Does the Lord Require? Evangelicals and the 2004 Presidential Vote,” in Mark J. Rozell and Gleaves Whitney, eds. *Religion and the Bush Presidency* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan Press, 2007): 31-49. (Co-authors: Corwin Smidt, Lyman Kellstedt, and John Green)
- “Religious Interests and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday in Greenville, South Carolina,” in Laura Olson and Paul Djupe, eds. *Religious Interests in Community Conflict* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2007): 145-171. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, Joshua Copeland and Christine Rowland)
- “How the Faithful Voted: Religious Communities and the Presidential Vote,” in David E. Campbell, ed. *A Matter of Faith? Religion in the 2004 Election* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2007): 15-36. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt)
- “A Gentle Creek or a ‘River Glorious’? The Religious Left,” in David E. Campbell, ed. *A Matter of Faith? Religion in the 2004 Election* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2007): 232-256. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt)
- “Getting the Spirit? Religious and Partisan Mobilization in the 2004 Elections,” in Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. (Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2006): 157-181. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt)
- “The Soul of the South: Religion and Southern Politics in the New Millennium,” in Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, eds. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, 3rd ed. (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006): 301-320. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Agents of Value: Christian Right Activists in 2004,” in John C. Green, Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *The Values Campaign? The Christian Right in the 2004 Elections* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006): 22-55. (Co-authors: John Green and Kim Conger)
- “Integration and Success? The Christian Right in South Carolina,” in John C. Green, Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *The Values Campaign? The Christian Right in the 2004 Elections* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006): 238-257.
- “Religious Influences in the 2004 Presidential Election,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (June 2006): 223-242. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Religion and the 2004 Presidential Election,” in Tomasz Pludowski, ed. *American Politics, Media and Elections*. (Torun and Warsaw: Adam Marszalek and Collegium Civitas Press, 2005): 438-465. (Co-authors: Corwin Smidt, Lyman Kellstedt, and John Green)
- “Faith and Foreign Policy: A View from the Pews,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 3:2 (Fall 2005): 3-9. (Co-authors: John Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt)
- “Southern Baptist Clergy, the New Christian Right, and Political Activism in the South,” in Glenn Feldman, ed. *Politics and Religion in the White South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005): 187-213.
- “Religious Coalitions in America,” *Books and Culture* 11 (November/December 2005): 32-33. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt)

- “Onward Christian Soldiers? Religion and the Bush Doctrine,” *Books and Culture* 11 (July/August 2005): 20-21. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt)
- “The Political Attitudes and Activities of Mennonite Church USA Clergy in the Election of 2000,” in Corwin E. Smidt, ed. *Pulpits and Politics: Clergy in American Politics at the Advent of the Millennium* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2004): 207-219. (Co-author: Lyman A. Kellstedt)
- “The Political Attitudes and Activities of Southern Baptist Clergy in the Election of 2000,” in Corwin E. Smidt, ed. *Pulpits and Politics: Clergy in American Politics at the Advent of the Millennium* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2004): 101-112.
- “George W. Bush and Religious Politics,” in Steven Schier, ed. *High Risk and Big Ambition: The Presidency of George W. Bush* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004): 117-141.
- “The Political Activity of Evangelical Clergy in the Election of 2000: A Case Study of Five Denominations,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42 (December 2003): 501-514. (Co-authors: Brent Nelsen, Linda Beail, Greg Crow, Beverly Gaddy, Jeff Walz, Steve Montreal, and James Penning)
- “The Southern Baptist Convention,” “The Gathering Storm in the Churches,” “William Jefferson Clinton,” and “The Impeachment of Bill Clinton,” in Paul A. Djupe and Laura R. Olson, ed. *Encyclopedia of American Religion and Politics* (New York: Facts on File, 2003): 107-109, 181, 213-214, 421-422.
- “Religious Involvement, Social Capital, and Political Engagement,” in Corwin E. Smidt, ed. *Religion, Social Capital, and Democratic Life* (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2003): 153-169. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt)
- “The Soul of the South: Religion and Southern Politics at the Millennium,” in Charles S. Bullock, III and Mark J. Rozell, eds. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, 2nd ed. (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003): 283-298. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Advance and Retreat in the Palmetto State: Assessing the Christian Right in South Carolina,” in John Green, Mark Rozell and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *Marching toward the Millennium: The Christian Right in the 2000 Election* (Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003): 21-40. (Co-author: C. Danielle Vinson)
- “The Lotto and the Lord: Religious Beliefs, Clergy Cues, and the Lottery in South Carolina,” *Sociology of Religion* 64 (Spring 2003): 87-110. (Co-authors: Laura R. Olson and Karen V. Guth)
- “Religion and Politics in the United States,” in William Safran, ed. *The Secular and the Sacred: Nation, Religion and Politics* (London: Frank Cass, 2003): 32-53. (Co-authors: Corwin Smidt, Lyman Kellstedt, and John Green)
- “Religion and Youth Support for the European Union,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41 (March 2003): 89-111. (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen)

- “A Distant Thunder? Religious Mobilization in the 2000 Campaign,” in Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*, 6th ed. (Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2002): 161-184. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt)
- “The New Christian Right,” in Brenda E. Brasher, ed. *Encyclopedia of Fundamentalism*, (New York: Routledge, 2001): 337-341.
- “Religion and Congress,” in Corwin Smidt, ed. *In God We Trust? Religion and American Public Life* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001): 213-233. (Co-author: Lyman Kellstedt)
- “Clergy in Politics: Reflections on the Status of Research in the Field,” in Sue E.S. Crawford and Laura R. Olson, eds. *Christian Clergy in American Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2001): 30-43.
- “The Mobilization of a Religious Elite: Political Activism among Southern Baptist Clergy in 1996,” in Sue E.S. Crawford and Laura R. Olson, eds. *Christian Clergy in American Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2001): 139-156.
- “Does Religion Matter? Christianity and Public Support for the European Union,” in *European Union Politics*, 2 (May 2001): 191-217. (Co-authors: Brent Nelsen and Cleveland R. Fraser)
- “Faith in the Vote: Religiosity and the Presidential Election,” *Public Perspective*, 12 (March/April 2001): 33-35. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Religion and Partisanship in Canada,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 39 (March 2001): 51-64. (Co-author: Cleveland R. Fraser)
- “Clinton, Impeachment, and the Culture Wars,” in Steven Schier, ed. *The Postmodern Presidency: Bill Clinton's Legacy in U.S. Politics* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000): 203-222.
- “Exploring the Gender Gap: Women, Men, and Public Attitudes toward European Integration,” in *European Union Politics* 1 (October 2000): 267-291. (Co-author: Brent Nelsen)
- “Changing Issue Agendas of Women Clergy,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 39 (June 2000): 140-153. (Co-authors: Sue E.S. Crawford and Laura R. Olson)
- “South Carolina: Even in Zion the Heathen Rage,” in John Green, Mark Rozell and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *Prayers in the Precincts: The Christian Right in the 1998 Election* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2000): 21-40.
- “The ‘Spirit Filled’ Movements in Contemporary America: A Survey Perspective,” in Edith Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant Wacker, eds. *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999): 111-130. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green)
- “Evangelicalism,” in Robert Wuthnow, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1998): 253-256. (Co-authors: John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt)

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George Rainsford, *Congress and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century*, in *Agricultural History* 47 (October 1973): 371-73.

CONFERENCE PAPERS

“Religion, Demographics, Identity and Ideology: the Making of MAGA Identification,” presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 31-November 2, 2025. Revised version presented at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Boston, MA, November 24, 2025.

“Religion and Public Support for the European Union: The View from the 2024 European Parliamentary Election Study,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Vancouver, British Columbia, September 11-14, 2025.

“Party Choice in the 2024 European Parliamentary Elections: Old and New Cleavages among Parliamentary Group Voters,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 3-6, 2025. (co-author, Brent F. Nelsen).

“Secular Voters and the 2024 Election,” presented at the Conference on Religion, Race, Gender and the 2024 Election, Claremont McKenna College, October 31, 2024.

“Religion and Russia: A New Configuration of American Attitudes?” Presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Pittsburgh PA, October 18-20, 2024.

“Fiscal and Military Solidarity Among European Publics: Religion, Social Mobilization, Identity and Ideology,” presented at the 12th Biennial Conference of the ECPR Standing Group on the European Union, June 19-21, 2024, Universidade NOVA, Lisbon, Portugal. (Co-authors: Francois Foret and Brent F. Nelsen.)

“Religion and the Contours of European Identity,” presented at the Fourth Bi-annual Conference on the Politology of Religion, University of Belgrade, Faculty of Political Science and *Politics and Religion Journal*, May 19, 2023.

- “Religion and American Environmental Attitudes: The Impact of Tradition, Religiosity, and Theology,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 13-16, 2023. (Co-authors, Lyman A. Kellstedt and Corwin E. Smidt).
- “Religious Influences on American Public Attitudes toward Military Action, 2020,” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, March 15-18, 2023. (Co-Author, Brent F. Nelsen).
- “Catholic Partisanship in the 2020 Presidential Election: Demographic Cleavages,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 7-10, 2022. (Co-author, Thomas V. Feingold.)
- “From Confessional Culture to Religiosity? Tracing the Influence of Religion on Public Attitudes toward European Integration.” Presented at the Conference on Religion in the European Parliament and in European Multi-level Governance, Free University of Brussels (ULB), March 30-31, 2022. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen.)
- “Religion and Support for the ‘Trump Doctrine’,” presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 12-15, 2022, San Antonio, Texas. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen.)
- “Religion and American Populism” Keynote Address to the GIRES International Conference on Religion in American Politics (Amsterdam, rescheduled online), July 17-18, 2021.
<https://www.gires.org/activities/conferences/religion-and-politics-in-the-united-states/>
- “Explaining Green Party Support in the 2019 European Parliamentary Elections: Secularization and Social Cleavage,” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, March 7-10, 2021. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen).
- “Is it the Culture, Stupid? Tracking the Cultural Divide in European Party Choice,” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association-Midwest, November 20-22, 2020. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen).
- “They Have Eyes But Do Not See,” presentation to the Princeton University Center for the Study of Religion, October 1, 2020. (with Danielle Vinson).
- “New Frontiers of Religious Freedom: Religious Conscience versus Gay Rights,” paper prepared for the International Conference on Religious Freedom: Social-Scientific Approaches (University of Padua, May 14-15th, 2020). Conference cancelled due to covid19, but paper submitted for theme issue of *Religion, State and Society*, May 8, 2021.
- “The Changing Nature of Political Cue-giving Among American Protestant Clergy,” presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, St. Louis, Missouri, October 24-27, 2019. (Co-author, Corwin E. Smidt).
- “Conceptualization and Measurement of Religion in Public Opinion Research: The 2016 American Presidential Election,” presented at the Ninth Annual Conference of the European Political

- Science Association, Queens University, Belfast, Northern Ireland, June 19-22, 2019. (Co-authors, Lyman A. Kellstedt and Corwin E. Smidt).
- “Christendom and the European Union: An Exploratory Essay,” presented at the European Union Studies Association Biennial Conference, Denver, Colorado, May 9-11, 2019. (Co-author, Brent Nelsen).
- “Are Evangelicals Populists? A View from the 2016 ANES,” presented at the tenth biennial Henry Symposium on Religion and Public Life, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, MI, April 25-27, 2019.
- “In Defense of Reltrad,” presented at the tenth biennial Henry Symposium on Religion and Public Life, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, MI, April 25-27, 2019. (Co-authors, Lyman Kellstedt and Corwin Smidt)
- “Religious Influences on American Foreign Policy Attitudes: The Case of the ‘Trump Doctrine,’” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 27-30, 2019, and the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 4-7, 2019. (Co-author, Brent Nelsen).
- “Protestant Clergy in the 2016 Presidential Election,” presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, Texas, January 17-19, 2019.
- “Religious Influences on American Public Attitudes toward Militarism,” presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Las Vegas, October 26-28, 2018.
- “Religious Voting in the 2016 Presidential Election: A Test of Alternative Theories,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018. (Co-author, Lyman Kellstedt)
- “Faith Transformed: Religion and American Electoral Politics from FDR to Donald Trump,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 5-8, 2018. (Co-author: Lyman A. Kellstedt).
- “Religious Influence on American Public Attitudes toward Military Action,” presented at the 59th annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, CA, April 4-7, 2018. (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen).
- “Religion and Party Choice in Europe: Social Cleavages and the Rise of Populist Parties,” presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Annual Meeting, Washington, DC. October 13-15, 2017. Revised version presented at the annual meeting of the South Carolina Political Science Association, Myrtle Beach, March 24, 2018 (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen).
- “On the Eve of Brexit; Euroscepticism in Great Britain, 2016,” presented to the 24th International Conference of Europeanists, University of Glasgow, Scotland, 12-14 July 2017. (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen).
- “Religion and Political Alignments: Views from the Protestant Clergy and Their Denominational Counterparts in the Mass Public,” presented to the Ninth Biennial Symposium on Religion and Public Life, Henry Institute, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, April 27-29, 2017. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt and Corwin E. Smidt.)

“Prelude to Brexit: Euroscepticism in Great Britain, 2014,” presented at the 9th International Conference on Social Science Methodology, University of Leicester, September 13, 2016. Revised version presented to the Ninth Biennial Symposium on Religion and Public Life, Henry Institute, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, April 27-29, 2017. (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen).

“Losing Faith: Religion and Attitudes toward the European Union in Uncertain Times, 2009-2014,” presented at the joint meeting of the Central European International Studies Association and International Studies Association, Ljubljana, Slovenia, June 22-25, 2016.

"Religion in the Creation of European and National Identities," presented at the meeting of the International Society for the Sociology of Religion, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, July 2-5, 2015.

“Religion, Political Alignments and Protestant Clergy,” presented at the Symposium on Religion and Public Life, Henry Institute, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, April 30-May 2, 2015. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt and Corwin E. Smidt.)

“The Impact of Religion on Public Opinion Concerning Foreign Affairs: The Case of Religious Freedom,” presented at the conference on “Religion in EU and U.S. Foreign Policy: A Comparative Perspective,” The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington, DC, April 13, 2015.

"Protestant Apocalyptic Narratives and the European Union," presented at the Fourteenth Biennial Meeting of the European Union Studies Association, Boston, March 5-7, 2015. (Co-author, Brent F. Nelsen.)

“Confessional Cultures and European Identity: Religion, Ideology, and Economics,” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, February 18-21, 2015. (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen.)

“Religion in the Creation of European and National Identities: An Empirical Test of Identity Construction,” presented at the Oxford Symposium on Religious Studies, Oxford University, December 8-10, 2014. (Co-author: Brent F. Nelsen.)

“Religion and Party Factionalism in the 112th Congress,” presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Sociology of Religion, San Francisco, August 13-15, 2014

“Explaining Educational Policy Convergence in Europe: A Research Note,” presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 26-29, 2014. (Co-authors: Amanda Michalski and Brent F.

“Religion in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1953-2005,” presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Boston, November 7-10, 2013.

“Religion in the American Congress: The Case of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1953-2003,” presented at the Workshop on Religion at the European Parliament, Free University of Brussels, June 13-14, 2013.

“Religion and American Public Attitudes on War and Peace, 2012,” presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 11-14, 2013.

- “American Support for Israel: The Changing Religious Sources of Public Opinion, 1992-2008,” presented at the joint meeting of the British International Studies Association and International Studies Association, Edinburgh, June 20-22, 2012.
- “The Religious Roots of American Foreign Policy Exceptionalism,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12-15, 2012.
- “Religious Factors and American Public Support for Israel, 1992-2008,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 1-4, 2011.
- “Religious Groups as a Force in Party Politics,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, March 31-April 2, 2011. (Co-author: Lyman A. Kellstedt). Revised and expanded version presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 1-4, 2011.
- “The Religious Affiliation of Representatives and Foreign Policy Voting in the U.S. House at the Turn of the Century,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Las Vegas, March 2011. (Co-authors: Kenneth W. Wink, Todd Collins, and C. Don Livingston).
- “Religion and American Attitudes on Foreign Policy, 2008: Testing Theories of Religious, Cultural and Ideological Influence,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Montreal, March 16-19, 2011.
- “A Changing Public Witness? Political Participation Among Protestant Clergy, 2000 and 2008,” presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 6-8.
- “Religious Politics in the Obama Administration,” presented at the 2011 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 6-8.
- “Religion and American Attitudes on Foreign Policy, 2008: The Case of Militant Internationalism,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. September 2-5, 2010.
- “Militant and Cooperative Internationalisms Among American Religious Publics, 2009,” presented at the annual meeting of the Working Group Conference on American Foreign Policy, British International Studies Association, University of East Anglia, September 17-19, 2008. Revised version presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, New Orleans, February 16-20, 2010.
- “Religion and Roll Calls: Religious Influences on the U.S. House of Representatives, 1997-2002,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 30-September 2, 2007. Awarded the Paul J. Weber Prize for the Best Paper on Religion and Politics presented at that meeting.
- “Political Religion and Church-State Issues,” presented at the Oxford Roundtable on the Separation of Church and State, Oxford University, July 22-27, 2007.

- “Religious Leadership and Support for Israel: A Study of Clergy In Nineteen Denominations,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 3-7, 2007.
- “Religion and Foreign Policy Attitudes: The Case of the Bush Doctrine,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 20-23, 2006; a slightly different version presented at the Third Biennial Symposium on Religion and Politics, The Henry Institute, Calvin College, April 27-29, 2006.
- “The Impact of Religion on Foreign Policy Attitudes of the American Public,” presented to the David Bruce Centre Seminar, David Bruce Centre for American Studies, Keele University, Newcastle-under-Lyme, England, November 23, 2005.
- “Religious Politics in American National Elections,” presented at the Conference on “Religion and Politics—Transatlantic Perspectives,” Humboldt University, Berlin, October 26, 2005.
- “Religious Mobilization in the 2004 Election,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt.)
- “The Confessional Congress: Religion and Legislative Behavior,” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 7-10, 2005. (Co-author, Lyman Kellstedt).
- “Religion and Attitudes toward the European Union: The New Member States,” presented at the European Studies Association Ninth Biennial International Conference, Austin, Texas, March 31-April 2, 2005. (Co-author, Brent Nelsen).
- "The Evangelical Vote in the 2004 Presidential Election." Religion and the Presidency Conference, Grand Valley State University, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Nov. 18-19, 2004. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt.)
- "Evangelicals and the American Presidency," Religion and the American Presidency Conference, Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, California, April 5-7, 2005. (Co-authors: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt.)
- “The American Religious Landscape and the 2004 Presidential Vote: Increased Polarization.” Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Washington, DC, February 2005. (Co-authors, Green, John C. Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt. <http://pewforum.org/docs/index.php?DocID=64>)
- “The Bush Administration, American Religious Politics and Middle East Policy: The Evidence from National Surveys,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2-5, 2004.
- “Roman Catholicism and the Founding of Europe: How Catholics Shaped the European Communities,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 28-31, 2003 (co-author, Brent F. Nelsen).
- “Religion and Political Alignment,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 3-5, 2003 (co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt).

- “Religion and Political Participation,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 29-September 1, 2002 (co-author, Lyman A. Kellstedt).
- “Religion and Partisan Alignment Among Political Activists and Elites,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 19-21, 2001. (Co-author: John C. Green)
- “Faith and the Vote: The Role of Religion in Electoral Politics,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999. (Co-authors: John C. Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt).
- “Religion on Capitol Hill: The Case of the House of Representatives in the 105th Congress,” presented at the Second Biennial Conference of Christians in Political Science, June 17-20, 1999, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan. (Co-author: Lyman A. Kellstedt.) Revised version presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Boston, November 5-7, 1999.
- “The New Religious Order in American Politics,” presented to the Conference on Religion and the American Experiment, Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Georgia, March 5, 1998.
- “Evaluation of the New Religious Items on the NES 1997 Pilot Study: A Report to the NES Board,” February 1, 1998. (Co-authors: Kenneth D. Wald, John Green, Ted Jelen, Lyman A. Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and Clyde Wilcox.)
- “Is There a Culture War: Religion and the 1996 Election,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31. (Co-authors: John C. Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt).
- “Explaining the Republican Takeover of Congress: The Role of Religion,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 29-September 1, 1996. (Co-authors: John C. Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt).
- “The Linkages between the Domestic and Foreign Policy Positions of Elites,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 1995 (Co-authors: G. Patrick Lynch, Ben Fordham, Edwin Aguilar, and John Green.)
- “Religious Commitment and Political Values: A New Look at an Old Question,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Albuquerque, November 4-6, 1994. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green).
- “Women Clergy and the Political Transformation of American Protestantism,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, Atlanta, October 13-16, 1994. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green).
- “Tongues of Fire: The Charismatic Movement and American Politics,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, September 1-4, 1994. (Co-authors: Lyman Kellstedt, Corwin Smidt, and John Green).

- “Abortion Access in the States: The Impact of Public Opinion and Religious Factors,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15-17, 1993. (Co-author: Glen A. Halva-Neubauer)
- “Evangelical Voters in 1992,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Washington, DC, November 6-8, 1992. (Co-authors: John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt)
- “The Prison Fellowship: A Brief Profile,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Pittsburgh, November 8-10, 1991.
- “The Left Wing of the Eagle: Foreign Policy Views of Democratic Party Activists,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, August 31-September 3, 1989. (Co-authors: Cleveland R. Fraser and John C. Green).
- “A New Turn for the Christian Right? Robertson's Support from the Southern Baptist Ministry,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, San Francisco, January 14-19, 1989. Revision presented at Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 13-15, 1989.
- “Eagles, Elephants, and Bushmen: The Foreign Policy Attitudes of Bush Campaign Contributors,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association/South, Atlanta, November 3-5, 1988. (Co-authors: Cleveland R. Fraser and John C. Green).
- “The Right Wing of the Eagle: Foreign Policy Attitudes of Republican Contributors,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, St. Louis, March 30-April 2, 1988. (Co-authors: Cleveland R. Fraser and John C. Green).
- “Dixie Dollars: Southern Money in GOP Politics,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Charlotte, November 5-7, 1987.
- “Sex and the Single Issue Activist: Female Campaign Contributors in the 1982 Election,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, November 1-3, 1984 (Co-author: John C. Green).
- “Partisans and Ideologues: A Profile of Contributors at Party and Ideological PACs,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Birmingham, November 3-6, 1983. (Co-author: John C. Green).
- “Party, PACs, and Denomination: Ethnicity, Ideology, and Moralism Among Political Activists,” presented at the Caucus on Faith and Politics, American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1-4, 1983. (Co-author: John C. Green).
- “The Education of the Christian Right: The Case of the Southern Baptist Clergy,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Providence, RI, October 22-24, 1982.
- “Midwestern Dairy Farmers and the New Deal, 1933-41,” presented at the Northern Great Plains History Conference, Duluth, Minnesota, October 23, 1980.

“Federal Dairy Programs: The Prospects of Deregulation,” presented at the Symposium on Farm Structure and Rural Policy, University of Iowa, Ames, October 20-22, 1980.

“Milk and Politics: Change and Stability in the Dairy Sub-government,” presented at the Fourth Annual Hendricks Symposium on Public Policy, Lincoln, Nebraska, April 5-6, 1979.

“Farmers, Consumers, and Middlemen: A Case Study of Government Regulation of the Dairy Industry in New York City, 1900-1920,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Albuquerque, April 24, 1980.

“Dairymen and Farm Relief: Some Inter-organizational Perspectives,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Denver, April 1978.

“The Presidential Transition of 1976-77: An Early Assessment,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Political Science Association, College of Charleston, March 26, 1977.

“Prelude to a Scandal: Milk and Politics,” presented at the Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Political Science Association, Clemson University, April 20, 1974.

RESEARCH GRANTS AND STUDY AWARDS

Investigator, “Reexamining Evangelical Populism and Evangelical Internationalism,” co-led by Dennis Hoover (Institute for Global Engagement), Kevin den Dulk (Calvin College), and Robert Joustra (Redeemer University College), supported by a grant from the CCCU Initiative Grants Program.

Investigator, Fifth Quadrennial Survey of Religion and American Politics (2008), Bliss Institute, University of Akron,

Investigator, Fourth Quadrennial Survey of Religion and American Politics (2004), Bliss Institute, University of Akron, funded by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Washington, D.C.

Investigator, Cooperative Project on Clergy in American Politics, coordinated by the Paul Henry Institute, Calvin College, and partially funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts through the Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C.

Investigator, Third Quadrennial Survey of Religion and American Politics (2000), Bliss Institute, University of Akron, funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts through a grant to the Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C. (\$250,000).

Lecturer, Christian Scholars Program, University of Notre Dame and Pew Charitable Trusts 2001-2003.

Research Grant, “Religion on Capitol Hill: The Case of the House of Representatives in the 105th Congress,” from the Dirksen Center for Congressional Studies, 1999-2000.

Investigator, “God and Society in North America: A Survey of Religion, Politics and Social Involvement in Canada and the United States.” Conducted by the Angus Reid Group and made possible by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts.

Pew Scholars Grant, Senior Researcher, “The New Religious Order in American Politics,” 1996-97. \$35,000.

Pew Charitable Trusts Research Grant, “Religion and the American Electorate,” 1996 (Other research team members: John C. Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt). \$204,000

Research Grant, “Religion and Political Tolerance,” June 1995, Calvin Center for Christian Scholarship (Other research team members: John C. Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt). \$6,800.

Researcher, “United Methodism and American Culture,” 1993-95. A Project of the Divinity School, Duke University, funded by a major grant from the Lilly Endowment.

Research Grant, Center for the Study of American Protestantism (Other research team members: John C. Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt). \$45,000.

Lilly Endowment/Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals Research Grant, “Pentecostals and Charismatics in American Political Life,” 1992 (Other research team members: Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt). \$2000

Pew Charitable Trusts Research Grant, “Evangelicals and the American Electorate,” 1991 (Other research team members: John C. Green, Lyman Kellstedt, and Corwin Smidt). \$95,000

Pew Charitable Trusts Research Grant, “Evangelical Activist Project,” 1989. (Other research team members: Lyman Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin Smidt.) \$49,000

Lilly Endowment/Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) Research Grant, 1988. (Co-investigator: Helen Lee Turner). \$13,000

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Research Grant, 1988. \$900

NEH Summer Stipend Award, “The Politics of the Southern Baptist Convention,” Summer 1988. \$3,200

American Political Science Association Research Grant, 1985. \$600

NEH Summer Seminar, “Southern Culture in Continuity and Change,” University of North Carolina, 1980. Director: John S. Reed.

Lyndon Baines Johnson Faculty Internship - U.S. House of Representatives, Summer 1979.

NSF Symposium on Congressional Reform, November and February 1978-79. Director: Norman Ornstein.

NEH Summer Seminar, “The Rise of the Bureaucratic State in America,” University of Virginia, Summer 1977. Director: W.H. Harbaugh.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Governing Board, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 2018-2021.

Editorial Board, *Politics and Religion Journal*, 2019-

Editorial Board, *Politics and Religion*, 2018-2022.

Committee on Best Graduate Paper, Religion and Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2022.

Chair and Discussant, "Trends in Evangelical Politics," Tenth Biennial Henry Symposium on Religion and Public Life, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, MI, April 25-27, 2019.

Chair and Discussant, "Religion and European Politics," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 4-7, 2019.

Discussant, "Religion and Public Opinion" panel, American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.

Committee Member, *Hubert Morken Book Award* Committee, Religion and Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2018.

Participant, Conference on "Faith and Party Realignment in America," sponsored by Baylor University, Washington, DC, March 22-25, 2018.

Discussant, "Religion and Political Behavior" panel, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 31 to September 3, 2017.

Chair and discussant, "The Role of Religion in External Affairs," Council for European Studies, Paris, France, July 8-10, 2015.

Chair and discussant, "Religion and the Presidency" panel at the Henry Institute Eight Biennial Symposium on Religion and Public Life, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, April 30-May 2, 2015.

Luncheon Presentation, "The Lessons of the 2014 Elections for 2016," Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, November 14, 2014.

Roundtable Presentation, "Preparing for Campaign 2016: It's Not Too Early to Plan On-Site Courses," Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, November 13, 2014.

Discussant, "Religious Reasoning in Politics," panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, August 28-31, 2014.

Discussant, "Dividing by Religion in Legislatures and Electorates," panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, August 28-31, 2014.

Presenter, "Researching Religion and Politics," Gordon College, Wenham, Massachusetts, November 8, 2013.

Discussant, "Religion and Electoral Behavior," panel at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12-15, 2012.

Chair and discussant, "Religion and Politics in the U.S. Congress," panel at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 1-4, 2011.

Lecture, "Religious Influences on American Public Attitudes on Foreign Policy," Forum on Religion, European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, May 18, 2011.

Lecture, "Religion and the American Presidency," presented at the Universite Libre de Bruxelles, May 12, 2011.

Chair and Discussant, "How Does Religion Shape Public Opinion?" Annual Meeting, Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 6-8, 2011.

Featured Speaker, Fall Forum: Politics and Religion in Southern Culture Today, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, October 2, 2008.

Keynote Speaker, Task Force on Religion and U.S. Foreign Policy, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, September 4, 2008, Chicago Club.

Roundtable participant, "Parties, Religion, and Values Voters in the 2006 and 2008 Elections," held at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, January 3-7, 2006. Other participants: Geoffrey C. Layman, Ted Jelen, Laura Olson, and Matthew Wilson.

Roundtable participant, "Is There a 'Culture War' in the American Public?" held at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 20-23, 2006. Other participants: Geoffrey C. Layman, Alan Abramowitz, Edward Carmines, Morris P. Fiorina, and Clyde Wilcox.

Instructor, Henry Institute Graduate Student Workshop, "Pollsters and Parishioners," Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Summer 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010.

Chair, Panel on "Religion and American Political Behavior," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 7-10, 2001

Chair, Panel on "Social Ministries of Protestant Clergy," Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Columbus, OH, October 18-21, 2001.

Discussant, Panel on "Social Theology and Clergy Politics," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30-September 2, 2001.

Instructor, Henry Institute Graduate Student Workshop, "Pollsters and Parishioners," Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan, July 21-28, 2001.

Guest Lecturer, "Religion and American Electoral Politics," Thirteenth Annual Summer Seminar in U.S. Studies for Latin American Social Scientists and Non-Academic Professionals, Center for U.S.—Mexican Studies, University of California—San Diego, July 13, 2001.

Featured speaker, "Toward an Understanding of Religion in American Public Life," Ethics and Public Policy Center, Black Point Inn, Prouts Neck, Maine, June 26-27, 2000. Other speakers: Stephen L. Carter, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Leo P. Rebuffo.

Program Chair, Religion and Politics Division, American Political Science Association, 2000 Annual Meeting.

Director At-Large, Religious Research Association, 1999-2003

Discussant, Panel on "Sources of Support for Clergy Political Activism," American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 2-5, 1999.

Discussant, Panel on "Clergy, Churches, and Politics," American Political Science Association, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.

Roundtable presentation, "The Christian Right in the 1996 Elections," Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, November 7-9, 1996.

Workshop Presenter, "Religion and Politics," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, August 30, 1995.

Editor, *Religion and Politics: A Newsletter of the APSA Section on Religion and Politics*, September 1989-1995

Consultant, Greenberg Associates and Democratic National Committee, 1994

Lecturer, Institute on American Values, Nichols College, Dudley, Massachusetts, February 27, 1994.

Chair, Panel on "Religion and Political Diversity," American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2-6, 1992.

Respondent, "Evangelicals and American Politics: 1976-1988," Conference on "Evangelicals, Politics and the Religious New Right," Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, DC. November 14-15, 1990.

Convener, Panel on "Christian Worldview Thinking Confronts the World: The Case of Regent University," Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Virginia Beach, November 9-11, 1990.

Discussant, Panel on "The Role of Religious Organizations in Social Movements," American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30-September 2, 1990.

Discussant, Panel on "Religion and Democratic Politics," Association for the Sociology of Religion, Washington, DC. August 9-11, 1990.

Participant, Roundtable on "Religion and Mass Political Behavior," Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 5-7, 1990.

Discussant, Panel on "Religion and Contemporary Southern Politics," Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, March 8-10, 1990.

Discussant, Panel on "The Religious Right," Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Salt Lake City, October 27-29, 1989.

Participant, Roundtable on "Religion in the 1988 Elections," American Political Science Association, Washington, September 1-4, 1988.

Discussant, Panel on "Religious Authority," National Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, Southeastern Regional Meeting, Mercer University-Atlanta, March 19, 1987.

Chair, "Religious Groups and the Organization of Power"; discussant, "Religious Elites and Opinion Leaders," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC. August 28-31, 1986.

Discussant, "Religion and Politics," Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics, Charleston, March 6-7, 1986.

Member, Selection Committee, "V.O. Key Book Award," Southern Political Science Association, 1985-86, 1994-95. Chair, 1986.

Participant, "The Religious Right in Southern Politics," Southern Political Science Association, Nashville, November 8, 1985.

Participant, "Religion and the 1984 Election: A Religious Subgroup Analysis." Caucus on Faith and Politics, American Political Science Association, New Orleans, August 29, 1985. Also discussant, "Religion and Politics."

Chair, "Conservative Church Lobbies in Washington," American Political Science Association, Washington, DC., August 31, 1984.

Presentation: "Teaching the Course on Religion and Politics," Caucus on Faith and Politics, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 1-4, 1983.

Chair, "Interest Group Politics in the Reagan Era," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, October 28-30, 1982.

Program Committee, Southern Political Science Association, 1982 Annual Meeting; Section Chair, Political Parties/Interest Groups.

Discussant, "Religious Interest Groups," Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Providence, RI, October 22-24, 1982.

Officer: Executive Committee, South Carolina Political Science Association 1977-78. Treasurer, 1977-78.

Chair, Committee on Public Policy Studies, Furman University, 1975-76.

Polling Director, Mann for Congress Committee, Fourth Congressional District, South Carolina 1974, 1976. Polling Consultant, Dorn for Governor Committee, 1974.

MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association, Association for the Sociology of Religion, Christians in Political Science, International Studies Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Religious Research Association, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Southern Political Science Association

MANUSCRIPT REFEREE/REVIEWER

American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Agricultural History, British Journal of Political Science, European Union Politics, Foreign Policy Analysis, Journal of Politics, Polity, Political Research Quarterly, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, American Politics Quarterly, Political Behavior, Mobilization, Nations and Nationalism, Social Science Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, Religions, Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée, Southeastern Political Review, Addison-Wesley Press, Congressional Quarterly Press, St. Martin's Press, State University of New York Press, Westview Press, Oxford University Press, University of Tennessee Press, Georgetown University Press, Baylor University Press, Rowman and Littlefield, and many others.

MEDIA

Appearances and commentaries on NBC *Nightly News*, CBS *Sunday Morning*, ABC *Nightline*, PBS *All Things Considered*, CNN News, *South Carolina ETV*, *New Hampshire Public Radio*, *Minnesota Public Radio*, *California Public Radio*, *Voice of America*, *the BBC*, and many other local public and network stations. My political analysis has appeared in print news publications, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Newsweek*, *National Journal*, *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, *Governing*, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, *Business Week*, among others.

TENURE AND PROMOTION REFEREE

American University, Brigham Young University, Calvin College, Clemson University, Central Michigan University, Colgate University, Franklin and Marshall College, Hamilton College, Indiana University, University of Arizona, University of Louisville, University of Leicester, University of Denver, University of Rochester, Wheaton College, and others.

ACCREDITATION AND EVALUATION

Southern Association of Colleges and Schools: Davidson College, Washington and Lee, Southwestern University (twice).

Political Science Departmental Evaluator: Hope College (Mich.), Wheaton College (Ill.), Calvin College (MI), Hendricks College (ARK).

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University Offices

Chair, Furman University Faculty, 1987-88 to 1988-89
President, Phi Beta Kappa, Gamma of South Carolina, 1985-86
Vice-President, 1983-84 and 1984-85
Secretary-Treasurer, 1976-77 to 1978-79
Chair, Department of Political Science, 1988-89 to 1990-91
Chair, Committee on Due Process, 2004-2005
Chair, Faculty Taskforce on Governance, 2003-04

Chair, Nominating Committee, 2000-01
Chair, Committee on Research and Professional Growth, 1984-85 and 1985-86
Chair, Appeals Committee, 1980-81 to 1982-83
Chair, Review Board for Proposed Research Involving Human Subjects, 1982-83 to 1989-90
Chair, University Discipline Committee, 1978-79 and 1979-80
Coordinator, Washington Program, 1979 to 2016.

Faculty Committee Service

Fringe Benefits Committee, 2022-2024
Faculty Status Committee, 2017-2020 (Chair: 2019-20)
Faculty Parliamentarian, several terms
Due Process Committee, 2001-2004
Faculty Computer Policy Committee, 1994-96
Nominating Committee, 1991-92 and 1992-93; 1998-99 to 2000-01
Faculty-Administration Liaison Committee, 1989-91
Appeals Committee, 1979-80 to 1981-82
Research and Professional Growth Committee, 1977-78 to 1978-79; 1983-84 to 1985-86
Admissions Committee, 1974-75 to 1976-77

Administrative and Other Committees (selected)

Academic Cost Containment Advisory Committee, 2013-2014
University Joint Working Group, 2012-2014
Trustees Working Group on Intercollegiate Athletics, 2013-2014
Faculty Development Task Force for the Strategic Plan, Spring 2001;
Chair, Subcommittee on Faculty and Compensation
Religious Identity Discussion Groups, 1998
Faculty Observer, Board of Trustees Budget Committee, 1996-2003
President's Budget and Personnel Advisory Committee, 1994-96
Task Force on Computer Policy, 1990-91 to 1991-92
Task Force on the Curriculum, 1989-90
Committee on Computer Policy, 1985-86
Task Force on Fringe Benefits, 1984-85
Task Force on the Academic Calendar, 1983-84
Committee on Graduate Awards, 1983-84 to 1992-93
Truman Scholarship Committee, 1983-84 to 2008
Committee on Athletics, 1982-83 to 1985-86
University Discipline Committee, 1979-80 to 1981-82
Task Force on General Education, 1978-79
Committee on the Calendar, 1976-77
Committee on Financial Aid, 1975-76

Other Service

Faculty Adviser (at various times): Pi Gamma Mu Honorary, College Republicans,
Young Life,
Teacher Certification Adviser, Department of Political Science, 1982-1992
Wrestling Coach, 1974-75 to 1978-79