

Religion & The Aftermath of the 2024 Election Webinar Teaching Resources

[YouTube Link](#)- Released November 2024

Overview

The 2024 election season has been marked by unexpected and almost unbelievable twists and turns that have impacted every corner of American culture. From the contentious discourse on women's rights to the daily news from war zones around the world, this political moment highlights the deep polarization throughout the country and the difficulty of engaging in thoughtful and reasoned debate. Religion and religious difference, furthermore, seems to be implicated in many of these debates as well as the larger question of what constitutes American democracy. During this episode, panelists will discuss the results of the 2024 election, how those results were shaped by religious ideology and communities, and how religious communities historically and in the present moment have shaped presidential politics. The panelists will also explore the ways that themes from earlier episodes, like Islamophobia, antisemitism, and White Christian nationalism, have played a critical and outsized role in this election cycle. Join us for a conversation at the intersection of religion, politics, and the aftermath of the 2024 election.

Hosts

Andrew Whitehead

Panelists

Katie Gaddini

Nancy Khalil

Eric McDaniel

Show Notes

Resources From Panelists

Sources mentioned in video

Jeremiah Wright: Confusing God and Government Sermon ([Video](#))

[President Obama: More Perfect Union Speech](#) ([Video](#))

[Religion & Islamophobia Webinar](#)

Assignment prompts

This includes paper topics, discussion topics, and questions for people, students, and educators to reflect on their feelings, understanding and to help them to learn and grow.

1. Have your beliefs about religion—which includes a belief in something in place of religion—affected your political views? If so, how? If not, why not?
2. Do you think voters should draw on their religious beliefs in forming their political opinions? Why or why not?
3. In what ways have you seen religion at play in local or state elections? How are people using religion to their benefit or for others' downfall?
4. Should former felons have their right to vote restored? If so, why and to what extent? Who can qualify, why and how do we make those decisions?
5. How does identity play a role in informing our political beliefs or values?
6. Do you think there is enough of a separation between church and state? If so, why? If not, why and what do you think needs to be changed?

Related & Recommended Resources

Books & Articles (organized by topic)

Christian Nationalism, Capitalism, The Media & Polarization

Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation by Kristin Kobes Du Mez

- Jesus and John Wayne is a sweeping, revisionist history of the last seventy-five years of white evangelicalism, revealing how evangelicals have worked to replace the Jesus of the Gospels with an idol of rugged masculinity and Christian nationalism—or in the words of one modern chaplain, with “a spiritual badass.” As acclaimed scholar Kristin Du Mez explains, the key to understanding this transformation is to recognize the centrality of popular culture in contemporary American evangelicalism.

The Everyday Crusade: Christian Nationalism in American Politics by Eric McDaniel

- What is causing the American public to move more openly into alt-right terrain? What explains the uptick in anti-immigrant hysteria, isolationism, and an increasing willingness to support alternatives to democratic governance? The Everyday Crusade provides an answer. The book points to American Religious Exceptionalism (ARE), a widely held religious nationalist ideology steeped in myth about the nation’s original purpose.

“Talk of ‘Christian nationalism’ is getting a lot louder – but what does the term really mean?” by McDaniel, Eric L. (November 2022)

Embattled America: The Rise of Anti-Politics and America’s Obsession with Religion. By Jason C. Bivins

- Histories of political religion since the 1960s often center on the rise of the powerful conservative evangelical voting bloc since the 1970s. One of the beliefs that has united these citizens is the idea that they are treated unfairly or are marginalized, despite their significant influence on public life. From the ascent of Reagan to the "Contract with America," from 9/11 to Obama to Trump--these claims have moved steadily to the center of conservative activism.

Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches (The Politics of Race and Ethnicity) By Eric McDaniel

- As Eric McDaniel demonstrates in his study of Black congregations in the U.S., a church's activism results from complex negotiations between the pastor and the congregation. The church's traditions, its institutional organization, and its cultural traditions influence the choice to make politics part of the church's mission. The needs of the local community and opportunities to vote, lobby, campaign, or protest are also significant factors.

“For Richer or Poorer: Prosperity Gospel Misleads on Needs.” By McDaniel, Eric L. Newsweek (September 2022)

The Brainwashing of My Dad How the Rise of the Right-Wing Media Changed a Father and Divided Our Nation—And How We Can Fight Back by Jen Senko

- Over the course of a few years, Jen's dad went from a nonpolitical, open-minded Democrat to a radical, angry, and intolerant right-wing devotee who became a stranger to those closest to him. As politics began to take precedence over everything else in her father's life, Jen was mystified. What happened to her dad? Was there anything she could do to help? And, most importantly, would he ever be his lovable self again? Jen began the search for answers and found them... as well stories from countless other families like her own. Based on the award-winning documentary, *The Brainwashing of My Dad* uncovers the alarming right-wing strategy to wield the media as a weapon against our very democracy. Jen's story shows us how Fox News and other ultra-conservative media outlets are reshaping the way millions of Americans view the world and encourages us to fight back.

Capitalism and American Religion by Lincoln Mullen

- The relationship between religion and capitalism has long occupied historians of the United States, and before them it concerned the people whom historians' study. In this class, you will meet many people whose religion led them to interact with capitalism in unexpected and unusual ways. ... You will read primary sources from American history, secondary works in American religious history, and excerpts from theorists of religion and capitalism. Through these readings and your own writing, you are invited to make sense of this perpetual historical puzzle.

The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy by Philip S. Gorski, Samuel L. Perry, Jemar Tisby (Foreword)

- Most Americans were shocked by the violence they witnessed at the nation's Capital on January 6th, 2021. And many were bewildered by the images displayed by the insurrectionists: a wooden cross and wooden gallows; "Jesus saves" and "Don't Tread on Me;" Christian flags and Confederate Flags; even a prayer in Jesus' name after storming the Senate chamber. Where some saw a confusing jumble, Philip S. Gorski and Samuel L. Perry saw a familiar ideology: white Christian nationalism.

American Idolatry: How Christian Nationalism Betrays the Gospel and Threatens the Church by Andrew Whitehead

- Whitehead shows how Christians harm their neighbors when they embrace the idols of power, fear, and violence. He uses two key examples--racism and xenophobia--to demonstrate that these idols violate core Christian beliefs. Through stories, he illuminates expressions of Christianity that confront Christian nationalism and offer a faithful path forward. *American Idolatry* encourages further conversation about what Christian nationalism threatens, how to face it, and why it is vitally important to do so. It will help

identify Christian nationalism and build a framework that makes sense of the relationship between faith and the current political and cultural context.

American Religion in the Era of Increasing Polarization by Samuel L Perry

- Americans are increasingly polarized by a variety of metrics. The dimensions, extent, causes, and consequences of that polarization have been the subject of much debate. ... I show that religion remains powerfully implicated in all dimensions of American polarization, and sociologists must once again make religion more central to their analyses. ... I survey findings within the burgeoning literatures on cultural transformation processes, (White) Christian nationalism, complex religion, and Americans' attitudes toward science in order to underscore the centrality of ethno-religious identities, religious demography, and religious institutions for both shaping and exacerbating various forms of polarization. Lastly, I propose an agenda for elucidating religion's ongoing role in understanding polarization beyond public opinion research at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels.

Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States by Andrew L Whitehead and Samuel L Perry

- Why do so many conservative Christians continue to support Donald Trump despite his many overt moral failings? Why do many Americans advocate so vehemently for xenophobic policies, such as a border wall with Mexico? Why do many Americans seem so unwilling to acknowledge the injustices that ethnic and racial minorities experience in the United States? Why do a sizeable proportion of Americans continue to oppose women's equality in the workplace and in the home? To answer these questions, *Taking America Back for God* points to the phenomenon of "Christian nationalism," the belief that the United States is-and should be-a Christian nation. Christian ideals and symbols have long played an important role in American public life, but Christian nationalism is about far more than whether the phrase "under God" belongs in the pledge of allegiance.

"Why 'Woke' Is A Convenient Republican Dog Whistle." By Perry, Samuel L., and Eric L. McDaniel Time (January 2023)

Race, Racism & Immigration

White Evangelical Racism: The Politics of Morality in America by Anthea Butler

- Butler reveals how evangelical racism, propelled by the benefits of whiteness, has since the nation's founding played a provocative role in severely fracturing the electorate. During the buildup to the Civil War, white evangelicals used scripture to defend slavery and nurture the Confederacy. ... White evangelicals today, cloaked in a vision of Christian patriarchy and nationhood, form a staunch voting bloc in support of white leadership. Evangelicalism's racial history festers, splits America, and needs a reckoning now.

The Color of Christ: The Son of God and the Saga of Race in America By Edward J. Blum, Paul Harvey

- How is it that in America the image of Jesus Christ has been used both to justify the atrocities of white supremacy and to inspire the righteousness of civil rights crusades? In *The Color of Christ*, Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey weave a tapestry of American dreams and visions--from witch hunts to web pages, Harlem to Hollywood, slave cabins to South Park, Mormon revelations to Indian reservations--to show how Americans remade the Son of God visually time and again into a sacred symbol of their greatest

aspirations, deepest terrors, and mightiest strivings for racial power and justice. The Color of Christ uncovers how, in a country founded by Puritans who destroyed depictions of Jesus, Americans came to believe in the whiteness of Christ.

Religion and the Racist Right The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement By Michael Barkun

- According to Michael Barkun, many white supremacist groups of the radical right are deeply committed to the distinctive but little-recognized religious position known as Christian Identity. In *Religion and the Racist Right* (1994), Barkun provided the first sustained exploration of the ideological and organizational development of the Christian Identity movement. In a new chapter written for the revised edition, he traces the role of Christian Identity figures in the dramatic events of the first half of the 1990s, from the Oklahoma City bombing and the rise of the militia movement to the Freeman standoff in Montana. He also explores the government's evolving response to these challenges to the legitimacy of the state. Michael Barkun is professor of political science in the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. He is the author of several books, including *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-over District of New York in the 1840s*.

Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change by Janelle Wong

- As immigration from Asia and Latin America reshapes the demographic composition of the U.S., some analysts have anticipated the decline of conservative white evangelicals' influence in politics. Yet, Donald Trump captured a larger share of the white evangelical vote in the 2016 election than any candidate in the previous four presidential elections. Why has the political clout of white evangelicals persisted at a time of increased racial and ethnic diversity? In *Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change*, political scientist Janelle Wong examines a new generation of Asian American and Latino evangelicals and offers an account of why demographic change has not contributed to a political realignment.

Blues People by Amiri Baraka

- "The path the slave took to 'citizenship' is what I want to look at. And I make my analogy through the slave citizen's music -- through the music that is most closely associated with him: blues and a later, but parallel development, jazz... [If] the Negro represents, or is symbolic of, something in and about the nature of American culture, this certainly should be revealed by his characteristic music." So says Amiri Baraka in the Introduction to *Blues People*, his classic work on the place of jazz and blues in American social, musical, economic, and cultural history. From the music of African slaves in the United States through the music scene of the 1960's, Baraka traces the influence of what he calls "negro music" on white America -- not only in the context of music and pop culture but also in terms of the values and perspectives passed on through the music. In tracing the music, he brilliantly illuminates the influence of African Americans on American culture and history.

Democracy's Promise: Immigrants and American Civic Institutions by Janelle Wong

- Given the massive demographic changes in the United States during the past few decades, understanding the place of immigrants in the public sphere has never been more critical. *Democracy's Promise* examines both the challenges and opportunities posed to American civic institutions by the presence of increasing numbers of immigrants. Author Janelle Wong argues that the low levels of political participation among contemporary immigrants are not due to apathy or preoccupation with their homeland, but to the inability of American political parties and advocacy organizations to mobilize immigrant voters. Wong's rich study of Chinese and Mexican immigrants in New York and Los Angeles complements traditional studies of political behavior and civic institutions while offering a nuanced examination of immigrants' political activity.

Gender, Identity, and Feminist Thought

The Making of Biblical Womanhood: How the Subjugation of Women Became Gospel Truth by Beth Allison Barr

- Biblical womanhood--the belief that God designed women to be submissive wives, virtuous mothers, and joyful homemakers--pervades North American Christianity. From choices about careers to roles in local churches to relationship dynamics, this belief shapes the everyday lives of evangelical women. Yet biblical womanhood isn't biblical, says Baylor University historian Beth Allison Barr. It arose from a series of clearly definable historical moments. This book moves the conversation about biblical womanhood beyond Greek grammar and into the realm of church history--ancient, medieval, and modern--to show that this belief is not divinely ordained but a product of human civilization that continues to creep into the church. Barr's historical insights provide context for contemporary teachings about women's roles in the church and help move the conversation forward.

Women, Race, & Class by Angela Y. Davis

- Angela Davis provides a powerful history of the social and political influence of whiteness and elitism in feminism, from abolitionist days to the present, and demonstrates how the racist and classist biases of its leaders inevitably hampered any collective ambitions. While Black women were aided by some activists like Sarah and Angelina Grimke and the suffrage cause found unwavering support in Frederick Douglass, many women played on the fears of white supremacists for political gain rather than take an intersectional approach to liberation. Here, Davis not only contextualizes the legacy and pitfalls of civil and women's rights activists, but also discusses Communist women, the murder of Emmitt Till, and Margaret Sanger's racism. Davis shows readers how the inequalities between Black and white women influence the contemporary issues of rape, reproductive freedom, housework, and childcare in this bold and indispensable work.

Reproductive Injustice: Racism, Pregnancy, and Premature Birth by Dána-Ain Davis

- A troubling study of the role that medical racism plays in the lives of Black women who have given birth to premature and low birth weight infants Black women have higher rates of premature birth than other women in America. This cannot be simply explained by economic factors, with poorer women lacking resources or access to care. Even professional, middle-class Black women are at a much higher risk of premature birth than low-income white women in the United States. Dána-Ain Davis investigates this phenomenon, placing racial differences in birth outcomes into a historical context, revealing that ideas about reproduction and race today have been influenced by the legacy of ideas which developed during the era of slavery.

Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches by Audre Lord

- A collection of fifteen essays written between 1976 and 1984 gives a clear voice to Audre Lorde's literary and philosophical personae. These essays explore and illuminate the roots of Lorde's intellectual development and her deep-seated and longstanding concerns about ways of increasing empowerment among minority women writers and the absolute necessity to explicate the concept of difference—difference according to sex, race, and economic status. The title *Sister Outsider* finds its source in her poetry collection *The Black Unicorn* (1978). These poems and the essays in *Sister Outsider* stress Lorde's oft-stated theme of continuity, particularly of the geographical and intellectual link between Dahomey, Africa, and her emerging self.

Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment by Patricia Hill Collins

- In *Black Feminist Thought*, originally published in 1990, Patricia Hill Collins set out to explore the words and ideas of Black feminist intellectuals and writers, both within the academy and without. Here Collins provides an interpretive framework for the work of such prominent Black feminist thinkers as Angela Davis, bell hooks, Alice Walker, and Audre Lorde. Drawing from fiction, poetry, music and oral history, the result is a superbly crafted and revolutionary book that provided the first synthetic overview of Black feminist thought and its canon.

Hood Feminism: Notes from the Women That a Movement Forgot by Mikki Kendall

- Today's feminist movement has a glaring blind spot, and paradoxically, it is women. Mainstream feminists rarely talk about meeting basic needs as a feminist issue, argues Mikki Kendall, but food insecurity, access to quality education, safe neighborhoods, a living wage, and medical care are all feminist issues. All too often, however, the focus is not on basic survival for the many, but on increasing privilege for the few. That feminists refuse to prioritize these issues has only exacerbated the age-old problem of both internecine discord and women who rebuff at carrying the title. Moreover, prominent white feminists broadly suffer from their own myopia with regard to how things like race, class, sexual orientation, and ability intersect with gender. How can we stand in solidarity as a movement, Kendall asks, when there is the distinct likelihood that some women are oppressing others?

Sometimes I Trip on How Happy We Could Be by Nichole Perkins

- Combining her sharp wit, stellar pop culture sensibility, and trademark spirited storytelling, Nichole boldly tackles the damage done to women, especially Black women, by society's failure to confront the myths and misogyny at its heart, and her efforts to stop the various cycles that limit confidence within herself. By using her own life and loves as a unique vantage point, Nichole humorously and powerfully illuminates how to take the best pop culture has to offer and discard the harmful bits, offering a mirror into our own lives.

Digital Black Feminism by Catherine Knight Steele

- Black women are at the forefront of some of this century's most important discussions about technology: trolling, online harassment, algorithmic bias, and influencer culture. But Catherine Knight Steele argues that Black women's relationship to technology began long before the advent of Twitter or Instagram. To truly "listen to Black women," Steele points to the history of Black feminist technoculture in the United States and its ability to decenter white supremacy and patriarchy in a conversation about the future of technology. Using the virtual beauty shop as a metaphor, *Digital Black Feminism* walks readers through the technical skill, communicative expertise, and entrepreneurial acumen of Black women's labor—born of survival strategies and economic necessity—both on and offline.

A New Gospel for Women: Katharine Bushnell and the Challenge of Christian Feminism by Kristin Kobes, du Mez

On Our Best Behavior: The Seven Deadly Sins and The Price Women Pay to Be Good by Elise Loehnen

- Since being codified by the Christian church in the fourth century, the Seven Deadly Sins—pride, greed, lust, envy, gluttony, wrath, and sloth—have exerted insidious power. Even today, in our largely secular, patriarchal society, they continue to circumscribe women's behavior. For example, seeing sloth as sinful

leads women to deny themselves rest; a fear of gluttony drives them to ignore their appetites; and an aversion to greed prevents them from negotiating for themselves and contributes to the 55 percent gender wealth gap. In *On Our Best Behavior*, Loehnen reveals how we've been programmed to obey the rules represented by these sins and how doing so qualifies us as "good." This probing analysis of contemporary culture and thoroughly researched history explains how women have internalized the patriarchy, and how they unwittingly reinforce it. By sharing her own story and the spiritual wisdom of other traditions, Loehnen shows how we can break free and discover the integrity and wholeness we seek.

[War, Women, and Power](#) by Marie E. Berry

Data & Statistics

[White Protestants and Catholics support Trump, but voters in other U.S. religious groups prefer Harris](#) from Pew Research Center, September 2024.

[5 facts about religion and Americans' views of Donald Trump](#). By Gregory A. Smith. From Pew Research Center, March 2024.

[U.S. Elections & Voters Resources from Pew Research Center](#)

[Cultural Issues and the 2024 Election](#) from Pew Research Center

- [Religious values and the 2024 election](#)
- *Note from Pew*: Vote preference used in the new report was measured in a survey conducted Aug. 5-11, 2024, after Joe Biden had exited the presidential race. The values data in the new report was measured in the same survey used in this report, conducted April 8-14. The patterns of opinion in the new report are largely the same as those discussed in this report (which used Biden/Trump preferences as of April).

[White Protestants and Catholics support Trump, but voters in other U.S. religious groups prefer Harris](#) By Gregory A. Smith, Pew Research Center

[In Tied Presidential Race, Harris and Trump Have Contrasting Strengths, Weaknesses](#) by Pew Research Center

[Let's Discuss: The Gender Gap Among Gen Z Voters](#) from New York Times

[Did religion matter in the election?](#) From RNS

[The ARDA](#)

[The First Amendment and American Religious Freedom](#) from the ARDA

[Is Faith the Ultimate Divider?: The Intersections Between Religion and Political Behavior in the United States](#) by Ryan Supple

[Objectified and Dehumanized: Does Objectification Impact Perceptions of Women Political Candidates?](#) By Amanda Friesen

[7 Tips for Coping with Election Stress](#) by Judy Hao, PhD

Syllabi, Modules & Assignments

[Church and State in American History Assignment](#) by Shelby M. Balik

[“MisinfoQuest: Election 2024” from News Literacy Project](#)

[Race, Religion, Politics: Islam in the United States syllabus](#) by Zaid Adhami

[Religion, Politics, and Society in Modern U.S. History syllabus](#) by Darren Dochuk

[Religion & Politics ARDA Teaching Module](#)

[Race, Religion, and Donald J. Trump Syllabus](#)

[American Prophets: Religion and Politics in America](#)

[Religion in Public Schools](#) from the ARDA

[Religion, Secularism, and Power Syllabus](#) by Anthony Petro

[Analyzing Religion and Politics Syllabus](#) by Stratos Patrikios

[Religion and Reproductive Politics in the United States syllabus](#) by Samira Mehta

[Religious Lives in America](#) syllabus by Ansley Quiros

[Political Science 4070: Religion and American Politics Syllabus](#) by Laura Olson

Videos & Podcasts

[Education and the Election](#) from Columbia University

[QAnon and American Religion](#)

- Dr. Jamil Drake (Florida State University) answers the question “What if Qanon is at the center of American religion?” This clip was taken from “Religion &” Episode 2, November 19, 2020.

[Religion, Race and Gender in the 2020 Political Landscape’](#)

[‘Levels of sexism and racism’ that many are ‘willing to tolerate’: Dem strategist on Trump victory. Basil Smikle from MSNBC](#)

- “There are levels of sexism and racism that clearly a lot of people in this country are willing to tolerate, which is also something that, you know, we may have not—we may have woken up in the same country in a sense, but that becomes much more clear this morning,” Smikle said. “... This isn’t a democratic problem, per se, because it is not a problem that can be solved with a campaign. These are deep-rooted issues in our country that we absolutely need to address.”

[Religion & the Politics of the Vote webinar 2022](#)

[Reactions: Religion at Play in the 2020 Campaigns](#)

- Dr. Jamil Drake (Florida State University) answers the question “What are your reactions and broader thoughts about how you saw religion at play in the campaigns, the rhetoric, and narratives up to the election?” This clip was taken from “Religion &” Episode 2, November 19, 2020.

[White Christian Nationalism in the United States session 1](#)

[White Christian Nationalism in the United States session 2](#)

[What is Black Feminist Theory](#)

[The Brainwashing of My Dad Documentary](#) by Jen Senko

[Insights & Impacts: Post-Election Debrief and Discussion](#) from Johns Hopkins University

- On November 7, 2024, JHU faculty and experts from both sides of the political divide came together to analyze the outcome of the 2024 US general election. This two-part conversation was introduced by Amy Binder, SNF Agora Professor of Sociology, and moderated by Steven Teles, Professor of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University and Senior Fellow at the Niskanen Center.