

Index

accommodationists, 49, 52 and Republicans, 49 activists and partisan cleavage, 141, 142-146, 147, 148 political styles, 159 and religious identification, 141, 145 role in political parties, 16, 140-141, 167 Addington, Aislinn, 219 addition secularity, 9, 209, 221, 222 AHA. See American Humanist Association (AHA) America as a religious nation, 10, 183 America as a secular nation, 11-13, 17, 24 American Atheists, 1, 2, 3, 9, 211 American Ethical Union, 9 American Humanist Association (AHA), 3, 13-14, 16, 29, 30, 47, 91, 211, 216, 220 American Humanist Association Survey (2018), 17, 27, 31, 35–37 membership demographics, 30 American National Election Studies (ANES), 23, 98, 172-173 "American Preservationists," 172, 175 American Secularists, demographics, 22 American Values Atlas, 23 Americans United for the Separation of Church and State (AU), 47, 221 atheism, 5, 9, 14, 72, See also Nones, Secular Candidate Experiment, Partisan Secular Candidate Experiment distinct from secularism, 187 and political candidates, 20, 207 Atheist Alliance, 27 atheists, 8, 183-184, See also specific candidates

partisan gap toward, 187–188
as political candidates, 184, 186, See also
Secular Candidate Experiment
relationship to Nones, 7
"Atheists Don't Have No Songs," (Martin), 71
authoritarianism, 89, 90, 94
backlash hypothesis. See politicized religion,
backlash
Baker, Joseph, 15, 25
Barr, William, 138
Bawn, Kathleen, 140
Beinart, Peter, 139, 155
Bellah, Robert, 50

aversion to, 182, 183-184, 186, 187

discrimination against, 186

defined, 5

Biden, Joe, 165
Bolling, Ken, 69
bonding social capital, and civic engagement,
72–73
Booker, Cory, 139, 152
Boyle, Kevin, 138
Brady, Henry, 71
Breyer, Stephen, 47
Buckner, Ed, 1
Burke, Edmund, 70
Bush, George W., 128, 216
Buttigieg, Pete, 138, 139, 152, 165

Campbell, David, 71, 98 Carson, Ben, 138 Carter, Jimmy, 215 Casanova, Jose, 48 Center for Inquiry, 1, 3, 9, 211

243



244 Index

Chaves, Mark, 11, 209 and secular voters, 13, 83-85, 94, 105, Christianity as official religion, 52, 53 110-111, 149, See also voters and Secularists, 157-165 Christians and free expression, 55 civic engagement, 70-81, See also each of the secular-religious divide, 152-165 four groups Democrats, 3, 92, 96, See also political and bonding social capital, 72-73 orientation and Non-Religionists, 89 nonpolitical activity, 17, 76-80 and Non-Religionists, 70 opinions on religion and politics, 111, nonreligiosity, 76-80, 81 138, 188 personal secularism, 76-80 perception of secular candidates See Secular political activity, 17, 76-80 Candidate Experiment, Partisan Secular and Religionists. See social networks Candidate Experiment and Religionists, 20 and religious involvement, 71-72, 73, 76 and secularism, 76 and secularist politics, 15, 19 and secularists, 17, 70, 72, See also social and Secularists, 13-14, 89 networks Dewey, John, 10 civil religion, 50, 63 Djupe, Paul, 98 Pledge of Allegiance, 51, 52, 53 presidential civil religion, 64-67 Edgell, Penny, 72, 183 Clerical Campaign Experiment, 17, 113 egalitarianism, 89, 90, 94 Clinton, Hillary, 138, 152, 160-161 Ekins, Emily, 172, 175 Elk Grove Unified School District v. Newdow and secularism, 95 confessional party systems, 16 (2004), 51 Establishment Clause, 47, 49, 50-53, 56, 221 Congressional Freethought Caucus, 211 attitudes toward, 57 conservatism and religiosity, 91 Convention Delegate Studies (CDS), 17 evangelical as ideological identity, 167, 214, 2012, 142 215-216, 217 2016, 142, 143, 145 Cooperative Congressional Election Studies, 23 Falwell, Jerry, 216 Coulter, Ann, 166 Finke, Roger, 12 Council for Secular Humanism, 91 First Amendment, 6, See also Free Exercise cross-lagged models, 100, 101, 103 Clause, Establishment Clause Cruz, Ted, 138, 170 protection from government establishment of culturally religious, 15, 172 religion, 17 protection of religious free exercise, 17 Darwin Day, 5 Fischer, Claude, 11, 98-99 Fox, Jonathan, 48 datasets, 17 Dawkins, Richard, 27 France, 48 Free Exercise Clause, 47, 48, 50, 53–56, 67, 221 Dean, Howard, 182 Democratic conventions and nonreligiosity, 55, 59 Iowa, 144, 145, 146 and personal secularism, 57 Freedom From Religion Foundation, 2, 3, Minnesota, 144, 145, 146 Secularist delegates, 144 47, 211 Texas, 144, 145, 146 freethought, 7, 27 Washington, 144, 145, 146 Frost, Jacqui, 72 Democratic Party, 3 and class, 164 Galloway, Susan, 47 intraparty tension, 20, 139, 165 Gallup Poll, 23, 184, 189, 198 General Social Survey (GSS), 3, 7, 23, 98 party platform and God-talk, 152-153 generational change, 11 and race, 20, 139, 155, 164 and religious identification, 144-146 Gerson, Michael, 128 Gerteis, Joseph, 183 and secular caucuses, 211



Index 245

Gervais, William, 183 Goldwater, Barry, 167, 218 Gorsuch, Neil, 46 Graham, Franklin, 108 Green, Emma, 81–82, 99 GSS. See General Social Survey

Habitat for Humanity (HFH), 222 Hamilton, Alexander, 183 Harris, Kamala, 139, 152 Harris, Sam, 27 headscarves, 54, 55, 59, 62-63 Hershey, Marjorie, 140 Hillbilly Elegy (Vance), 172 Hitchens, Christopher, 27 Holyoake, George Jacob, 27, 90 Hout, Michael, 11, 98-99 human experience and knowledge, 27 Humanism and Its Aspirations (AHA), 27 Humanist Manifesto, 30 Humanist Society, 9 humanitarianism, 89, 90, 94 Hume, David, 27

identity politics, 20
and secularist politics, 13–14
ideological identification
and nonreligiosity, 94, 95
and the Republican Party, 170
and Secularists, 89–90, 94
IHEU. See International Humanist and Ethical
Union (IHEU)
Inglehart, Ronald, 11
International Humanist and Ethical Union
(IHEU), 27,

Jacoby, Susan, 215 Jefferson, Thomas, 183 Jeffress, Robert, 130 Jews and free expression, 55 Johnson Amendment, 54–55 Jones, Doug, 108

intraparty tension, 153

Kant, Immanuel, 27, Kennedy, Anthony, 46, 47 Klobuchar, Amy, 165 Kostielney, Andy, 2–3

laïcité, 48, 63, 67 Land, Richard, 130 legislative prayer, 47 Lemon v. Kurtzman, 47 Letter Concerning Toleration (Locke), 183 liberalism, and nonreligiosity, 91 Libertarian Party, 211, See also Paul, Rand and Non-Religionists, 15, 20, 166, 210 liminals, 122 Lippman, Walter, 10 Locke, John, 183, 184

Margolis, Michele, 98 Masterpiece Cakeshop, Ltd. et al. v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission et al. (2018), 46-47, 55 McCarthy, John, 138 McGovern, George, 218 Military Association of Atheists and Freethinkers, 3 Moore, Roy, 51, 107-108 moral objections and commerce, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62-63 moral relativism, 89-90, 94 Mosca, Gaetano, 140 municipal displays of religion, 2-3, 4 Muslims and free expression, 55, 61, See also headscarves

Mutz, Diana, 73

national convention delegates, Democratic, 16,
 144, 147, 150

national convention delegates, Republican, 16,
 144, 146, 147, 150

National Day of Reason, 5

National Secular Party, 3

Neiheisel, Jacob, 98

Newdow, Michael, 51

Niose, David, 215

nonbelievers, 1
 civil rights protections for, 4

Nones, 3, 7, 8, 10, 19, 40
 defined, 5

defined, 5
emerging identity, 5
growing size of, 5
increased engagement, 5
liminals, 6
nominals, 6
relationship to atheists, 7
rise of, 22, 23, 98, 106, 110–111, 209, See
also politicized religion, backlash
spirituals, 6

nonestablishment of religion. *See* Establishment Clause nonpolitical activity, 70, 71



246 Index

Non-Religionists, 8, 13, 14, 16, 39, 40-41, 44, secularism in voters, 204-206 Patrikios, Stratos, 98 62-63, 70, 144, 210 and civic disengagement, 175 Paul, Rand, 166, 170 and lack of distinct worldview, 13 Paul, Ron, 15, 166 and the Libertarian Party, 15, 20, 166, 210 Pence, Mike, 135, 136 moral traditionalism, 175, 176-178 and evangelicals, 136 and nonpolitical activity, 77, 79 personal nonreligiosity, 7-12, See also party identification, 89, 96-97, 144, 163 Non-Religionists political activity, 79, 80, 157, 160 measures of, 22, 23-24 in the Republican Party, 169, 170-171, 176, personal religiosity, decline of, 6 personal secularism, 7-12, 16, 36, 68, See also and Trump, 166-167, 168, 171, 172, Secularists defined, 26 173-174, 175 nonreligiosity, 17, 36, 37 distinct from nonreligiosity, 17, 34-40 and Free Exercise Clause, 55, 59 and Free Exercise Clause, 57 and opinions toward nonestablishment, 58 measures of, 22 over time, 42-43 and opinions toward nonestablishment, 57 nontheistic belief systems, 9 over time, 42-43 Personal Secularism Index, 26-27, 33-34, 39, Norris, Pippa, 11 North Carolina, 52 40, 215 Northern Indiana Atheists, 2-3, 4, 5, 14 instrument design, 34-35, 36 Pew Religious Landscape Survey (2014), 23 O'Hair, Madalyn Murray, 27 Phillips, Jack, 46-47 Obama, Barack, 1, 3, 152–153, 211 Philpott, Daniel, 48 opinions on religion and politics pillars of faith Clerical Campaign Experiment, 113, addition of, 12 114-122, 125, 134 realignment of, 11 transformation of, 12 Democrats, 111 Political Pastor Experiment, 113, Pledge of Allegiance, 6, 51, 52, 53 polarization, political, 5, 80, 85-86, 105, 106, 122-128, 134 Republicans, 111 149, 151, 210 Transactional Religion Experiment, 113, and secularism, 219–220 130-136 political activity, 70 opinions toward free exercise, 62, 63 and secularism, 77, 79, 81-82, 86 and nonreligiosity, 57, 59 political candidates, secular, 15, 20, 139, 152, and party identification, 59 187, 212, See also Sinema, Kyrsten, and party politics, 57 Secularists, as political candidates, and personal secularism, 57, 59 Sanders, Bernie political endorsements by clergy, 54-55, 56, opinions toward nonestablishment, 62 and nonreligiosity, 58 57-58, 59 and party identification, 57, 58 and race, 58 political leaders, and religious talk, 111 and personal secularism, 57 O'Reilly, Bill, 166 political orientation O'Rourke, Beto, 139, 152 and opinions toward nonestablishment, 57, 58 Palmquist, Bradley, 99 and religious orientation, 83-85, 96-102 Partisan Secular Candidate Experiment, 17, and secularism, 92, 98-105, 106 political parties. See also individual party 190-194, 197-211 Democratic response, 200, 201, 203-206 entries Political Pastor Experiment, 17, 113 Republican response, 200, 201-202, 203 response to atheism, 201 politicized religion, backlash, 20, 107, 126, secularism and negative perceptions, 203 134, 137, 210



Index 247

```
backlash hypothesis, the, 110-120, 125,
                                                     and nonpolitical activity, 77, 79
                                                     political activity, 79, 80
     128, 134
                                                   religious symbols, wearing of, 54, 55,
  evangelicals, 108-109
                                                        59,61
politicized secularity, 181
presidential civil religion, 64-67
                                                   Republican conventions, 168–171
  and nonreligiosity, 64, 66
                                                     delegate religious orientation, 168-170
  and party identification, 64, 66
                                                     Illinois, 144, 145
  and religionists, 65, 67
                                                     Religionist delegates, 144
  and secularism, 64-65, 66, 67
                                                     Texas, 144, 145, 146, 170
presidential inaugural address, 1
                                                     Utah, 144, 145, 170
Principles of Secularism, The (Holyoake),
                                                   Republican Party
    27, 90
                                                     intraparty tension, 116
Pruyser, Paul, 25
                                                     and Non-Religionists, 176-179
                                                     and Religionists, 166, 167
public religion, 47-48
Public Religion Research Institute, 23, 81
                                                     and religious identification, 83, 97, 98,
public secularism, 6, 9, 17,
                                                        144-146
     45-52, 210
                                                     and secular voters, 149
                                                     and secularism, 20
  distinct from private secularism, 48
  and partisan differences, 49
                                                     and Secularists, 166
Putnam, Robert, 71, 98
                                                   Republicans, 15, 20, 96, See also political
                                                        orientation
rationalism, 7
                                                     moral traditionalism, 174-178
                                                     and Non-Religionists, 174-179
Reagan, Ronald, 216
Reason Rally, 3
                                                     opinions on religion and politics,
  2012, 2
                                                        111, 188
  2016, 2
                                                     perception of Democratic humanist
  and secularist politics, 13
                                                        extremism, 138, 152, 166
religion and conservative politics, 20
                                                     perception of secular candidates See Secular
religion in public life
                                                        Candidate Experiment, Partisan Secular
  Americans' perceptions of, 50, 55-56
                                                        Candidate Experiment
  and personal secularism, 50, 55-56
                                                     and Religionists, 174-179
Religionists, 8, 17, 21, 32, 39, 40, 41, 53,
                                                     religious exemptions to the law, 179
                                                     and religious voters, 83-85, 110-111, 167,
     62-63, 65, 68, 70, 76, 95, 96-97, 105, 128,
                                                        See also voters
     138, 139, 142, 144, 145, 170, 219–220
  moral traditionalism, 175, 176-178
                                                     and Secularists, 15
  and nonpolitical activity, 77, 79, 80
                                                     white racial grievance, 178
                                                   Robertson, Pat, 216
  political activity, 79, 80, 81, 85, 86, 146, 150,
     152, 160, 163
                                                   Rockwell, Norman, 46
  Republican convention delegates, 144
                                                   Romney, Mitt, 147
  and the Republican Party, 166-167, 168,
     169, 170–171, 172–176, 209
                                                   same-sex marriage, 46, 55, 84, 91,
religious diversity, 1
                                                        101-102, 107
religious humanism, 9
                                                   Sanders, Bernie, 2, 5, 139, 147, 152, 160-161,
religious leaders, and political engagement, 111
                                                        165, 182, 218
religious liberty, 46-48
                                                     atheism, 182
religious markets theory, 12
                                                   SAS. See Secular America Studies (SAS)
religious modernists, 8
                                                   Schickler, Eric, 99
Religious Right, 11, 20, 54-55, 56, 107,
                                                   Schlozman, Kay, 71
    215, 216
                                                   science and objective evidence, 27
  and secularist politics, 13
                                                   scientific naturalism, 7
Religious Secularists, 8, 15, 16, 32, 39, 40-42,
                                                   secular alternatives, 9-10
    43, 62-63, 77, 80, 96, 97, 142
                                                   Secular Age, A (Taylor), 9
```



248 Index

Secular America Studies (SAS), 16, 19, 23-24 American Humanist Association (AHA), 3, datasets, 17 13, 16, 29, 30, 47, 91, 211 Secular America Panel Study (SAS) Americans United for Separation of Church (2010-2012), 17, 99-102 and State (AU), 47 Secular America Study (SAS) (2017), 17, 29, Atheist Alliance, 27 30, 32, 34-38, 73-76, 83, 94, 145 Center for Inquiry, 1, 3, 9, 211 Council for Secular Humanism, 91 survey design, 24-33 secular American voting bloc, 2 Freedom From Religion Foundation, 3, 211 Humanist Society, 9 Secular Candidate Experiment, 17, International Humanist and Ethical Union 189-195 political party differences, 192, 194, 197 (IHEU), 27-28 Secular Coalition for America, 3, 69, 181, 210, Military Association of Atheists and Freethinkers, 3 211, 214 Secular Faith: How Culture Has Trumped National Secular Party, 3 Northern Indiana Atheists, 2-3, 4-5, 14 Religion in American Politics (Smith), 26 secular holidays Secular Coalition for America, 3, 69, 181, Darwin Day, 5 210, 211, 214 Unitarian Universalist Association, 9 National Day of Reason, 5 secular humanism, 9 UUHumanists, 9 Secularists, 8-12, 39, 40, 43-44, 209 Secular Left, 21 need for a common identity, 212-214, 215, civic engagement by, 17 216-219 (lack of) common identity, 212-214, 215, rise of?, 211-223 216-217 core principles, 27-28, 33-34 and virtual organizing, 219 secular politics, 13 Democratic state conventions, 144 secular self-descriptions, 183-184 demographics, 164 by Americans, 183, 186–187 distrust of, 15 and nonpolitical activity, 77, 79 by political candidates, 183, 188-189 Secular Student Alliance (SSA), 3, 69-70, 211 organizational infrastructure, lack of, secular worldview, 24, 31-32, See also personal 218-219 secularism political activity, 13, 79, 80, See also secularism, 209 Democrats defined, 5-6, 41-53 as political candidates, 181-182, 183, 184, distinct from absence of religiosity. See 188–189, 198, 210 Secular America Studies (SAS) political engagement, 13, 14 distinct from atheism, 187 as a potential constituency, 218, See also and liberalism, 15, 56, 85-86, 87, 90, 91-92, Secular Left 94-95, 96, 99, 101-102, 104, 153, 155, and religious identification, 40-41 157, 160, 170 self-identification, 29-31 and party politics, 20, See also Democratic secularization theory, 10-13 Party, and secular voters and the politicization of religion, 11 and political candidates, 20 secular-religious cleavage. See polarization, and politicized religion, 210 political, secular-religious divide and public opinion, 19 secular-religious divide, 95-97, 146, See also polarization, political voter responses to, 20 secularism and nonreligiosity gaps, 87-89, secular-religious divide, Democrats, 140-146 95-96 and candidate preferences, 160-161 in the Democratic Party, 139 demographic determinants, 162-164 and ideological identification, 157 and ideological identification, 158 Secularist organizations, 3-5 intraparty, 152-165 American Atheists, 3, 211 and liberal policy issues, 157 American Ethical Union, 9 and political orientations, 157-165



Index 249

and political style, 157, 158-160 and race, 163-164 Republican Party, 146 secular-religious divide, interparty, 116 secular-religious divide, Republicans ideological orientation, 170 intraparty, 166-167, See also Trump, Donald and Presidential preference, 170-171 in the Trump era, 167-168, 170-173, 180 separation between church and state, 6, 17, 49, 52,67 separationists, 49, 52 and Democrats, 49 and Secularists, 52 Sessions, Jeff, 46, 47, 107 Silverman, David, 2 Sinema, Kyrsten, 181-182 Smidt, Corwin, 71 Smith, Buster, 15, 25 Smith, M. A., 26 social networks, 72-76, 80, See also civic engagement and like-minded communities, 74-76 Sokhey, Anand, 98 Southern Baptist Convention, Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, 130 Speckhardt, Roy, 30 Stark, Rodney, 12 State Convention Delegate Study (SCDS) (2016), 17, 142-144, 145, 155 state religion, absence of in United States, 48 Strickland, Ted, 153 subtraction stories, 9, 11, 209, 22T-222 Sunday Assembly, 9

Taylor, Charles, 9, 10, 43, 48, 209, 221 Ten Commandments, 51-52, 53, 107, 138 theism, 8, 9 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 70 Town of Greece v. Galloway, 47 Transactional Religion Experiment, 17, 113 Trump, Donald, 54-55, 147, 165, 170, 172–184, See also Trumpism and evangelicals, 54, 109, 128-130 and evangelical voters, 171 and Non-Religionists, 20 and religionists, 95 and Republican Non-Religionists, 172-174 Trumpism and Non-Religionists, 174-176, 179 and the Religious Right, 174

US Supreme Court, 46, 47, 51, 129, 138
Unitarian Universalist Association, 9
United States as a religious nation, 6,
11, 43
United States as a secular state,
6, 43
UUHumanists, 9

Vance, J. D., 172 Verba, Sidney, 71 Villaraigosa, Antonio, 153 Voas, David, 11, 209 voters, 20, 83–85, 87–89

Warren, Elizabeth, 139, 152, 165 Wehner, Peter, 108

Zuckerman, Phil, 41