

0. Untitled introduction
- A. Political opportunity structure
1. Definition: factors *outside a political group* that influence the success or failure of that group's political mobilization
 2. Importance: social movement theory holds that these *external opportunities* (not the *internal factors* of a group's grievances/*motives* or resources/*means*) are the main determinant of when, where, and how religious or other groups successfully mobilize
- B. Example:
1. *Motive*: to include intelligent design (ID) in public-school instruction in Dover, PA
 2. *Means*: by electing a majority on school board
 3. *Opportunity*:
 - a. Positive factors:
 - 1) Pro-ID faction won initial school-board election as *stealth candidates* who did not clarify their intentions of including ID in the curriculum until after election
 - 2) Supported by Thomas More Law Center and U.S. Senator Rick Santorum in resulting court challenge
 - b. Negative factors:
 - 1) Pro-ID school-board members lost reelection because of voter backlash to stealth candidacy tactic
 - 2) Lost court case on no-establishment grounds
 - 3) Lost support of Sen. Santorum
- C. Factors that structure political opportunities
1. Religious cultural environment
 2. Institutional context
 3. Partisan political alignments
 4. Influential allies
 5. The domain of the public policy proposal

- I. Religious cultural environment
- A. Traditional v. progressive religious environments tend to predict policy outcomes in two areas:
1. Morality issues
 - a. Access to legal abortion
 - b. Women's rights
 - c. Homosexual rights
 - d. Evolution v. creationism or ID in public schools
 - e. Death penalty
 - f. Prohibition
 2. Race relations – e.g., the impact of the Protestant/Catholic ratio among whites on:
 - a. Black-voter registration in Louisiana
 - b. Integration of public accommodations and public schools in the South
- B. Daniel Elazar's classification of political cultures – <http://academic.regis.edu/jriley/421elazar.htm>
(red states are where each culture is dominant; green states have more mixed political cultures – California & Nevada are the most heterogeneous)
1. **Moralistic** political culture:
 - a. *Upper-tier states* settled by mainline Protestants
 - b. Government is a progressive tool to promote the public good
 2. **Individualistic** political culture:
 - a. *Industrial states* settled by Southern/Eastern European Catholics & Jews
 - b. Government is a utilitarian tool to advance group interests
 3. **Traditionalistic** political culture:
 - a. *Former slave states of the Deep South* settled by evangelical Protestants
 - b. Government is a conservative tool to preserve hierarchical authority & social traditions



- II. Institutional contexts
 - A. Fragmented policy-making system
 - B. Stages of policy-making
 - 1. *Agenda setting*
 - 2. *Policy making*
 - a. Groups may lobby the legislature (more likely to be used by *smaller* groups like gay-rights supporters)
 - b. Groups may use *direct democracy* (more likely to be used by *larger* groups like the Christian right)
 - (1) Ballot initiative
 - (2) Referendum
 - 3. *Policy implementation* (groups may lobby the executive)
 - 4. *Policy review* (groups may litigate in the courts)
 - C. Interest-group strategies
 - 1. *Lobbying*
 - a. Inside-government – target = elected/appointed officials (used by groups with fewer votes but more money, e.g., Jews and white mainline Protestants)
 - b. Outside-government – target = public (used by groups with less money but more votes, e.g., white evangelical Protestants)
 - 2. *Direct action*
 - a. Legal, nonviolent protest demonstrations & boycotts
 - b. Civil disobedience
 - c. Violence
 - 3. *Political campaigning* (& IRS non-profit regulations)
 - a. *Issue advocacy* – OK for non-profits
 - b. *Candidate endorsement* – not OK for non-profits
- III. Partisan political alignments (& religious denominations/values)
 - A. *Republican* religious coalition:
 - 1. White evangelical Protestants
 - 2. White traditionalist mainline Protestants
 - 3. White traditionalist Catholics
 - 4. Hispanic Protestants
 - B. *Democratic* religious coalition:
 - 1. Jews
 - 2. Black Protestants
 - 3. White modernist Catholics
 - 4. Hispanic Catholics
 - 5. Seculars
- IV. Influential allies (office holders with strong religious values – traditional v. modernist)
 - A. Legislative
 - B. Judicial
 - C. Executive Table 6.1, p. 159 e.g., Clinton v. Bush; also: http://www.adherents.com/adh_presidents.html
- V. Policy domains
 - A. More explicitly religious/moral issue domains where religion can play a major role
 - 1. Social regulation (abortion, prostitution, gambling, liquor, pornography, etc.) – these issues all involve balancing *liberty v. order*
 - 2. Social justice (poverty, health care, living wage, hunger, homelessness, affordable housing, civil rights, education, racism, immigration, environmental protection) these issues all involve balancing *liberty v. equality* or *personal v. societal responsibility*
 - 3. Faith-based (as opposed to nonsectarian) initiatives
 - a. *Liberals* are more likely to advocate that government programs address social needs
 - b. *Conservatives* are more likely to advocate replacing government programs with private and religious initiatives
 - c. There is, as yet, no careful and systematic body of research to support the assertion that faith-based initiatives are more effective than secular or government programs
 - B. Less explicitly religious/moral domains where pragmatism often outweighs religious values
 - 1. Foreign policy
 - 2. Many domestic issue domains
 - C. Limitations on religious influence over public policy-making
 - 1. National self-interest calculations
 - 2. Religious diversity in America
 - 3. Lack of clear moral choices in most policy-making decisions – e.g., including tobacco products in foreign-aid shipments