I. Varying estimates of Christian right influence in Republican politics
   A. 1980: Moral Majority gave Reagan larger-than-expected victory
   B. 1984: Reagan administration a disappointment to CR
   C. 1988: Robertson’s unsuccessful bid for Republican nomination split CR
   D. 1992: Buchanan’s extreme rhetoric harmed Bush re-election bid
   E. 1994: new grass-roots strength
      1. Strong CR turnout pivotal in Republicans winning control of Congress
      2. Dominant/substantial role in 31 states – (Campaigns & Elections article, 1995)
   F. 1996:
      1. Necessity for tacit acquiescence by presidential nominees
      2. Clinton re-elected never-the-less
   G. 1998:
      1. Senate
      2. House: historical pickup of 5 seats by president’s party
      3. Gubernatorial
      4. State legislatures

II. Explanations
   A. Potential public support has probably not changed – 10-15% of whites
   B. Effectiveness of CR leadership has changed
      1. Purists’ high-profile, fiery rhetoric prompted counter-mobilization and alienated potential allies
      2. Pragmatists’ quiet, grass-roots mobilization and cooperation gained support of allies without increasing participation of CR opponents

III. What is the Christian right?
   A. Definition: “a social movement that attempts to mobilize evangelical Protestants and other orthodox Christians intro conservative political action.”
   B. Alternate, more-inclusive names
      1. Religious right
      2. Christian/religious conservatives
      3. Pro-family
   C. Components
      1. Leaders
      2. Activists
      3. Members
      4. Potential supporters
         a. Approximately 50 million Protestant evangelicals/fundamentalists/Pentecostal-charismatics
         b. Other conservative Christians, Jews, & Muslims
         c. Pro-family groups
   D. Agenda
      1. No single agenda
      2. Collection of overlapping agendas
         a. Abortion
         b. Education
         c. Homosexuality
         d. Pornography
         e. Role for religious in public life
         f. Family issues
E. Political strategies
1. Bipartisan – Billy Graham
2. Partisan
   a. Democratic – William Jennings Bryan, Martin Luther King, Jr., Jesse Jackson
   b. Republican – Falwell, Robertson, Buchanan, Bauer

F. Ideological styles
1. Purist scruples & idealism -- integrity, dedication to principles, standards
   a. Jerry Falwell
   b. Pat Buchanan
   c. Gary Bauer
2. Pragmatist practicality -- tolerance, cooperation, compromise, coalition-building
   a. Ralph Reed

IV. The context
A. Emotionally controversial core issues – abortion, education, homosexuality
B. Church & state controversies
   1. No role for religion in politics
   2. Limited role
      a. Values only
      b. Leaders also
         (1) Left: civil rights, anti-war, apartheid, liberation theology
         (2) Right: abortion, homosexuality, anti-communism
      c. Institutions also
C. Extremism of some purist leaders & activists
   1. Demonize & marginalize opponents with vitriolic rhetoric
   2. Exclusionary tactics of intolerance
D. Goals
   1. Defensive: to protect its own moral values and political liberties
   2. Offensive: to impose a narrow, sectarian morality on all others by subverting the pluralistic political
      process with illegitimate policy demands outside the mainstream of American politics
      a. Deprive gays & lesbians of civil rights
      b. Limit the public and private role of women
      c. Impose a prescientific worldview on public education

V. The First amendment and church and state
A. Competing views of original intent on the no-establishment clause
   1. Christian nationalists
   2. Accommodationists: government aid ok as long as neutral between religions
   3. Separationists: no government aid to any religion
B. Competing views of original intent on the free-exercise clause
   1. Libertarians: all beliefs are protected so long as no only is harmed
   2. Commutarians: minority religious beliefs can be limited by majority norms
C. Socio-demographic changes since founding – increased religious pluralism

VI. Religion and politics in America
A. More religiously pluralistic than most other republics
B. More religious, less secular than most other republics
C. A stronger civil religion than most other republics

VII. A cultural war?
A. Secular v. religious
B. Orthodox v. progressive
C. Combatants v. noncombatant pacifists