

- 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 into 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 one is harmed
 2. Communitarians: 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