

- I. Predictions
 - A. Past predictions have been shortsighted
 - 1. After Scopes trial
 - 2. After failure of Moral Majority
 - 3. After Robertson presidential nomination defeat
 - 4. After 1998 congressional elections
 - B. Current predictions are mixed

- II. Can the Christian Right expand its base?
 - A. Empirical evidence % favorability rating among
 - 1. White evangelicals
 - a. Moral Majority in 1980s – 25% separatists
 - b. Christian Coalition in 1990s – 56% ecumentalists Table 5.1, p. 135
 - 2. Mainline Protestants – small minorities
 - 3. Black Protestants – small minorities
 - 4. Catholics – small minorities
 - B. Casual factor = control by pragmatists or ideologues Table 5.2, p. 136
 - 1. *Moderate* issue package, *with no single litmus test*, attracts support from non-evangelicals
 - a. Opposition to gays in military
 - b. Support for some restrictions on abortions
 - c. Support for a moment of silence in public schools
 - 2. *Extreme* issue package, that requires agreement to all three issue positions, does not
 - a. Strong opposition to gays in military
 - b. Opposition to all abortions
 - c. Support for state sponsored spoken prayer in public school
 - C. Potential constituency
 - 1. Most likely non-evangelical allies Table 5.3, p. 138
 - a. Consistent conservatives – both social and economic conservatives
 - b. Social conservatives
 - 2. Size of potential constituency – evangelical and non-evangelical combined
 - a. Absolute size – nearly 25 % of electorate
 - b. Size relative to other recent movements – substantially larger than civil rights or feminists
 - c. Size relative to Republican electorate
 - D. Dilemmas facing leadership to the Christian Right
 - 1. Pragmatic or ideological strategy
 - a. NAACP model
 - (1) Advantages
 - (a) Broaden base
 - (b) Avoid triggering counter-mobilization
 - (2) Disadvantages
 - (a) Forced to abandon ideologues' core objectives
 - i) Ban all abortions vs. only ban only late term
 - ii) Legalize state-sponsored religious exercises in public schools vs. gain only moment of silence
 - iii) Criminalize homosexuality vs. sodomy laws not enforced; some limits on adoption
 - iv) Ban all pornography
 - (b) Alienation of ideologues – who dominate activists & financial supporters

- b. Solution: specialization across groups to broaden base but retain ideologues
- 2. Republican, bipartisan, or third-party strategy
 - a. Uneasy relations between parties and social movements are inevitable – feminists, anti-war protestors, African-Americans, white southerners, labor unions
 - (1) Different goals – narrow v. broad
 - (2) Different resources – activists, money, communications channels v. access to ballot & campaign & governing experience
 - b. Most likely – remain in Republican party

III. Can the Christian Right come to power?

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- A. As a tyrannical theocracy – highly unlikely but not impossible
 - 1. By violence base too small, but so were Nazis in 1930s; Christian reconstructionists could succeed in a truly great depression
 - 2. By capture of Republican party – still face checks and balances
- B. As a major player in pluralistic politics – much more likely; c.f., labor, African-Americans, feminists
- C. Major barriers to achieving goals of ideological core
 - 1. Moderate attitudes of non-evangelicals Figure 5.1, p. 144 – but more success at state and local levels
 - a. Abortion – procedural restrictions on access in some states
 - b. Homosexuality – still not a *protected* class like gender, race, disability, age; but more integrated into society - military; corp benefits; media portrayals; anti-sodomy laws rarely enforced
 - c. Public education – private not state-sponsored prayer & Bible reading, abstinence ed but contraception & condom use for STDs; only limited experiments in charter schools, vouchers
 - d. Pornography – voluntary ratings; library & school textbook censorship
 - 2. US Supreme Court – if can't change membership, then will need to amend Constitution e.g., Religious Freedom Amendment
 - 3. Demographic trends – tolerance for differing beliefs & lifestyles; support for individual freedoms
 - a. Generational replacement
 - b. Access to college education
- D. Most likely successes will be only marginal to core agenda
 - 1. Examples
 - a. Helping economic conservatives achieve some of their agenda
 - b. Achieving greater accommodation in church-state issues
 - c. Making religious ridicule as socially unacceptable as sexist & racist jokes – Christian anti-defamation league
 - 2. Explanation
 - a. Christian Right not subjected to same level of discrimination as women and blacks vote, education, jobs, housing; exception - UVA ban on religious group funding
 - b. Christian Right seeks to significantly expand government regulation of private behavior

IV. Premillennialists in the new millennium

- A. Leadership
 - 1. Moderates – young, talented, patient, & pragmatic most likely to dominate
 - 2. Ideologues – will be socialized to moderation or will be disenchanted & drop out
- B. Grassroots – potential growth among conservative Catholics, mainstream Protestants & blacks
- C. Continue evolution from movement to interest group/party faction