I. Are most members and leaders of the Christian Right **socially & psychologically dysfunctional**?
   A. Study of political pathology
      2. More recent focus: intolerance & extremism of both left & right
   B. Causal factors
      1. Social pathologies cause psychological pathologies
         a. Authoritarian child-rearing practices: feelings of inadequacy & self-hatred
         b. Breakdown of social attachments in mass society: rootlessness, isolation, alienation, anomie
      2. Psychological pathologies:
         a. Displacement of feelings of inadequacy & self-hatred into
            (1) Subservience to authority figures: left or right
            (2) Exploitation of subordinates
            (3) Paranoia & aggression toward out-groups: conspiracy theories
         b. Compensation for alienation & anomie through
            (1) Intolerance of ambiguity
            (2) Dogmatism
   C. Empirical evidence
      1. Prejudice
         a. Anti-Semitism no significant difference for general membership
         b. Racial prejudice no significant difference
         c. Homophobia significant difference
         d. Anti-feminism significant difference
      2. Violence no significant difference
      3. Alienation no significant difference
      4. Rational choice
         a. To support moderate pragmatists
         b. To support radical extremists: non-Nazi support for Hitler in early 1930s
      5. Conclusion: members & leaders are more homophobic & anti-feminist

II. Are members and leaders of the Christian Right **politically dysfunctional**?
   A. Participation
      1. Explanations
         a. Sociodemographic variables: class -- education & income
         b. Theological variables: separatism & premillennialism of fundamentalists
      2. Empirical evidence
      3. Conclusion: more grassroots mobilization in 1990s could be good or bad
   B. Values of bargaining & compromise & civil liberties
      1. Theological roadblocks
         a. Moral certitude: God is on their side
         b. Demonizing opponents: Satan is a real force
         c. Principle is more important than compromise: inerrancy of Bible
         d. Lack of support for civil liberties for opponents: good v. evil
      2. Empirical evidence
         a. "Core" evangelical activists
            (1) Definition
            (2) Issue positions
               (a) Extremist: tolerance of diversity, abortion, gay rights
               (b) More mainstream: school prayer, economic policy, affirmative action
            (3) Compromise: far less likely to bargain & compromise
b. Grassroots’ intolerance of civil liberties for those with “deviant” views to: atheists, homosexuals, socialists (p. 107)
   (1) Speak in community
   (2) Run for public office
   (3) Engage in nonviolent political demonstrations
   (4) Have literature in public libraries
   (5) Teach in public schools & colleges
3. Conclusion: problems now, future uncertain
   a. Aggravating factors
      (1) Theological roadblocks
      (2) Social and psychological pathologies
      (3) Mixed messages from elites
      (4) “Stealth” strategy of elites
   b. Mitigating factors
      (1) Political participation can reduce isolation
      (2) Political participation can enhance
         (a) Political efficacy
         (b) Political trust
         (c) Pluralist norm acquisition
            i) Coalition building
            ii) Support for civil liberties of opponents

III. Is the Christian Right political agenda too radical?
   A. A defensive reaction to successes of secular liberal movements: civil rights, feminists, gay/lesbian, environmental, ed. reform
   B. Decentralized movement produces complex and contradictory agenda
      1. Christian Coalition’s *Contract with the American Family*
         a. What it contains
         b. What it doesn’t contain
            (1) Total ban on abortion
            (2) Opposition to gay-&-lesbian rights
         c. Why: polling advised moderation
      2. Central issues of the Christian Right — dilemma:: fringe ideological purity of radicals v. centrist pragmatism of moderates
         a. Anti-abortion: banning all v. banning all but “traumatic” (UT & LA) v. regulating
         b. Christian education: secular humanism, creation science, abstinence ed., national standards, prayer, multiculturalism, home schools, vouchers
         c. Opposition to “radical” homosexual agenda: sympathetic portrayal in ed. & media, protection against disc. in adoptions, marriage, jobs (esp. teaching & military) & housing, genetic explanations
         d. Promoting traditional families: taxes (marriage penalty, child care, & homemaker IRAs), corporal punishment v. child abuse statutes, spousal abuse, unequal roles for women in society & family, privatizing welfare, reducing Medicaid
         e. Pornography: adult v. children’s access
      3. Economic agenda: mixed reaction from white evangelicals, blacks, & Catholics
         a. Eliminate minimum wage or add a subminimum wage
         b. Return to the gold standard
         c. Adopt protectionist foreign trade policies
         d. Privatize welfare
         e. Cut other social spending but increase defense spending
         f. Replace the graduated income tax with either a flat tax or a sales tax
         g. Reduce or eliminate environmental regulations
   C. Conclusion: not radical if pragmatic moderates dominate; but very radical if ideologues win