The faith-based welfare state, 2001-2017

by

Joseph Thomas Jakubek

B.S., Western Carolina University, 2010
M.A., East Tennessee State University, 2012

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work
College of Arts and Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

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Abstract

This qualitative historical study seeks to describe the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives within structures of the federal government from 2001-2017. Through an analysis of the strategies and goals adopted by the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and the Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships, this study illuminates aspects of state-centered theory as well as theoretical insights from the sociology of religion. The historical case study provided here utilizes archival documents from the Presidential Libraries of George W. Bush and Barack H. Obama and conversations with directors and staff within the Partnership Centers established in the White House, federal agencies, and cabinet departments, to describe and analyze the implementation of faith-based service provision within structures of the state. This dissertation provides a discussion of how the implementation of faith-based service provision can be situated within theoretical approaches privatized service provision, as well as how this story clarifies some aspects of the current relationship between the state and religious organizations.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the people from whom I have learned the most: my parents, Joe and Donna; my wife, Jenny; my advisor, Spencer Wood; and my earliest academic idols, Max Weber and W.E.B. Du Bois.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This dissertation seeks to sociologically explain the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives within the federal government. Specifically, this project provides a historical case study of the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives during the Bush and Obama administrations from 2001-2017. The term 'faith-based initiatives,' describes a recent shift in federal and state policies that allow religious organizations to receive government funds for the provision of social services. The analysis provided in this dissertation leads to the construction of a theoretical model that illustrates four general strategies of faith-based service provision that were adopted by each administration.

This dissertation also seeks to utilize the creation of Faith-Based Initiatives as a way to rethink the separation of church and state through an institutionally-focused lens. While the historical story of the participation of religious organizations in the provision of welfare and social services is long and has been subjected to many types of scholarly analyses, the story of the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives in institutional apparatus of the federal government is quite new. The existence of 'faith-based' offices and partnership centers within the White House, and multiple cabinet departments and federal agencies represent a profound shift in the overall relationship between religion and the state as well as a shift in the roles that religious groups play within public life.

From 2001 to 2017, two faith-based White House offices, including the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI) during the Bush administration and the Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (OFBNP) during the Obama administration, were created as well as fourteen Partnership Centers within multiple cabinet departments and federal agencies. These Partnership Centers are housed within the Department of Education, the

Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of State, the Environmental Protection Agency, the United States Agency for International Development, the Small Business Administration, and the Corporation for National and Community Service. These Partnership Centers and the White House office embody the institutionalized form of Faith-Based Initiatives across both Presidential administrations. This dissertation seeks to better understand the processes by which these offices became housed within state structures. It will accomplish this through a historical case study which involves analyzing the strategies taken by each administration during the processes of implementation, including the similarities and differences between them, as well as the goals and mechanisms that each administration utilized.

The institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives can be situated within the general story of welfare and social service provision in the United States (Axinn and Stern 2001; Orloff 1993; Skocpol 1992; Skowronek 1982; Trattner 1999). This story involves the historical role of religious and secular groups in civil society that provided much of the welfare and social service programs before the emergence of state-led programs in the early twentieth century (Orloff 1993; Skocpol 1992; Trattner 1999). Before the rise of centrally administered and federally funded services in the twentieth century, most forms of public assistance were provided by local religious and secular charitable organizations (Skocpol 1992; Trattner 1999; Wuthnow 2004). While the historical role of religious and other charitable organizations in the provision of social services may suggest that modern faith-based service provision is not new, the current form of

publicly funded and religiously provided services is unique and has created a new relationship between religion and the state.

Faith-based initiatives are treated here an as expansion of the roles that religious entities play not because religious provision of charity and public assistance is profoundly new, but because the roles and positions of religious entities within state structures have changed significantly. Cooperative collaborations between religious entities and the state now occupy permanent institutional positions within the federal government--and many states--is indicative of the massive shifts in the overall relationship between religion and the state as well as in the general roles of religious organizations in public life.

The main goal of this dissertation is to investigate *how* and *why* the state went about creating and implementing Faith-Based Initiatives as a state strategy for public assistance and service provision in the neoliberal era. In seeking to answer the overall question of how they became institutionalized within the state, this project will move forward in analyzing smaller issues such as (a) how the story of the institutionalization of faith-based initiatives is situated into current theoretical approaches to the privatization of state programs and social service provision; and (b) how this story can clarify the relationship that current exists between the state and religious civil society. This second issue seeks to generally clarify scholarly questions about how the state and civil society interact.

Scholars often disagree about how the state and civil society are related. Some characterize the relationship as full of tension, in which the state tries to undermine and dominant groups and types of authority within civil society (Scott 1998). Others characterize the relationship as cooperative and mutually beneficial, in which the state can encourage and revitalize civil society leading to a more participatory society (Bellah et al. 1992; Evans 1996,

1997). The uniqueness of religion and religious involvement as a form of voluntary association in civil society only serves to highlight the complexity of the relationships between the state and civil society. Religion, in some ways, is protected as a distinct form of voluntary association in the United States and yet at the same time also remains a large aspect of more general understandings of the concept of civil society.

The changing and often contradictory ways that religion has been treated as both a distinct and general form of voluntary association also shed light on the ways that state-society relationships can change over time. The emergence and institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives represents one aspect of this ever-changing relationship, specifically between the state and religious civil society. Even at face-value, the fact that religious entities can receive public funding for the provision of social services complicates fundamental understandings of a rigid 'separation' between church and state. The contemporary institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives has forever altered the 'separation' of religion and government in very interesting ways. Describing, clarifying, and contextualizing the changes within this relationship is one of the goals of this dissertation.

This dissertation will utilize theoretical and methodological insights from various fields within sociology. When discussing state and religious institutions separately, field-specific literature from political sociology, sociology of the state, and the sociology of religion will be presented. In analyzing the realm of civil society and the interface of state and religious institutions this dissertation will pull from literature within institutionalist sociology, the sociology of organizations, and the sociology of social networks. In the next section, the 'statement of the problem' that is approached by this dissertation is discussed in order to underline the goals and purposes of this dissertation. In chapter two, relevant and prominent

academic paradigms and approaches within the sociology of the state, civil society, and the sociology of religion are discussed. When discussing state and religious institutions separately, field-specific literature will be presented. Relevant theoretical concepts will be emphasized in each of the field-specific sections of chapter two. Chapter three will present the method of inquiry, processes of data collection, and the research questions that guided the analysis portion of this case study. Chapter four describes the processes by which the data was analyzed and presents a theoretical model of the strategies of faith-based service provision that were adopted by the Bush and Obama Administration. Finally, chapter five discusses the conclusions of this project, including a summary of the theoretical model and the implications and limitations that this case study involved.

Statement of the Problem

The current sociological literature on faith-based initiatives is quite thorough and offers perspective into the nature of religious service provision, how providers are organized, what programs they sponsor, how they attract and motivate volunteers, and how they interact with other service providers in their area (Boddie 2002; Campbell 2001; Ebaugh, Pipes, Chafetz, and Daniels 2006; Frederick 2003; Kvasny and Lee 2010; Pipes and Ebaugh 2002; Reingold, Pirog, and Brady 2007; Sager 2011; Wuthnow 2004). Common approaches to the topic involve qualitative case studies of religious organizations participating in federally funded social service provision (Ebaugh, Pipes, Chafetz, and Daniels 2006; Elisha 2008; Pipes and Ebaugh 2002; Sager and Stephens 2005; Sinha 2013) and more large-scale quantitative analyses of the types, forms, and geographic dispersion of service providers (Bielefeld and Cleveland 2011; Campbell 2001; Collette, Guidry, Martin and Sager 2006).

While such research has provided "concepts for thinking about the distinctive aspects of faith-based organizations and why they may or may not be effective" (Wuthnow 1991a, b, 2004: xiv), these types of studies are often unable to answer questions that pertain to the 'top-half' of the state program--such as the state and civil actors and organized interests which influence policy--and instead focus on the ways that faith-based service provision plays out on the ground.

Beyond these limitations, the literature on faith-based service provision has also overlooked two very interesting aspects of the intersections and interactions of state and religious institutions at the federal level. The first is that a new form of 'separation' between church and state is now formally established within fourteen federal agencies and the White House. The second is that the new publicly-funded roles in which religious organizations act within civil society have the consequence of allocating state and public resources to private religious entities.

The shift that such funding patterns illustrate can be understood as aligning with the overall patterns of neoliberalist change which has led to various forms of resource allocation and exchange between public and private entities. This unique form of public-to-private resource allocation stirs up very interesting questions about the recent changes in the institutional role of religious entities as well how these changes impact potential future roles of religious institutions in society at large. These two characteristics, for the most part, have not been given sufficient sociological attention. Scholars have overlooked the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives within state structures as a way to analyze both the roles of the state and the roles of religion in systems of public assistance and service provision in the neoliberal era.

This dissertation fills an important gap in the attention given to the historical story of faith-based social service provision by analyzing the strategies adopted by the state surrounding faith-based service provision as well as the institutional contexts required to understand the

impact such changes represent. While much has been documented within scholarly literature about how services are being provided at the community and congregational levels, the neglect of institutionally-focused analyses on the creation of federal offices charged with the distribution of state funds to religious organizations leaves out a critical aspect of the context in which much of this literature should be situated. Most sociological work on faith-based social service provision have involved community and congregational case studies of social service provision by religious organizations (Campbell 2002; Cnaan, Boddie, Handy, Yancey, and Schneider 2002; Becker and Dhingra 2001; Ebaugh, Pipes, Chafetz, and Daniels 2006; Elisha 2008; Pipes and Ebaugh 2002; Sager and Stephens 2005; Sinha 2013). Such studies often focus on topics such as service delivery strategies, types of service providers, perceptions of service providers and recipients, as well as the ability for Faith-Based Initiatives to act as a source of service provision for minority and other traditionally underserved populations. Studies that are large in scope and often more policy-oriented have focused largely on state and federal legislative bodies and the ways that they create laws to regulate religious entities (Biebricher 2011; Sager 2007a,b, 2010; Sager and Bentele 2016; Queen 2017). Less research has been conducted on the role of the judicial system in the creation of faith-based service provision and little scholarly attention has been given to structures within the executive branch in relation to faith-based initiatives (Sager 2007a,b; Sager and Bentele 2016; Wuthnow 2004).

The prolific sociologist of religion, Robert Wuthnow, has provided much of the research which documented the retooling and evolution of local structures that form the 'on-the-ground' image of faith-based service provision. In his overwhelmingly meticulous book, *Saving America: Faith-Based Services and the Future of Civil Society* (2004), Wuthnow provides a wealth of data and analysis on the ways that faith-based services are playing out in communities and

congregations across the country. The image painted by Wuthnow (2004) is incredibly helpful in understanding what Faith-Based Initiatives are to the individuals who come in contact with them. While very informative and detailed, Wuthnow's analysis does not delve deep into sociological theory and the theoretical impacts of his analysis. This book incorporates very general theories of state-religion relations, including pluralism, neutrality, and accommodation, yet does not answer the question how Faith-Based Initiatives actually became institutionalized within the state.

In some of his earlier works, Wuthnow laid the foundation for much of the ways that faith-based service provision has been analyzed by social work and sociology scholars. In *Between States and Markets: The Voluntary Sector in Comparative Perspective* (1991) and *Acts of Compassion: Caring for Others and Helping Ourselves* (1991), Wuthnow examines the relationship between religion and service provision within the nonprofit sector. In *Learning to Care: Elementary Kindness in an Age of Indifference* (1995), Wuthnow expands this analysis and moves to describe the links between religious ideology and the humanitarian motives that motivate individuals to engage in public assistance and service. His *Christianity and Civil Society: The Contemporary Debate* (1996) and *Loose Connections: Joining Together in America's Fragmented Communities* (1998) seeks to systematically examine the relationship among religion, civic trust and involvement, volunteering, and concepts of citizenship which he links to questions about the nature of civil society and democracy. In these later works, Wuthnow provides an approach that centers on questions of American civil society that connects back to the observations of Alexis de Tocqueville surrounding the uniqueness of American civic life (Tocqueville [1835] 1988).

Beyond the notable collection of qualitative and quantitative work on faith-based service provision, there remains an aspect of the story that has not yet been told. Put simply, sociological

research has often overlooked the ways that the state and religious organizations coordinated cooperative efforts in the creation and implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives. This dissertation seeks to fill this gap and provide the necessary institutional and theoretical contexts to better understand the story of Faith-Based Initiatives. Now that the problem which forms the focus on this dissertation has been better identified and laid out, a discussion of the structural and cultural changes which "set the stage" for the emergence of faith-based service provision should be approached. But first, a description of how faith-based service provision can provide a new lens for rethinking the separation of church and state is provided.

Rethinking the "Separation of Church and State"

Many, if not most, people think the government treats religion in a 'hands-off' manner and therefore either ignores religion outright or does not actively affect religious belief or belonging. However, the state actually has a very influential role in the existence and form of religion and religious entities. The state does two things in relation to religions and religious entities that complicate any understanding of a rigid separation between the two. These two actions by the state include (1) the official recognition of legitimate religions and religious entities; and (2) the unique set of regulations or treatment that pertain to religion and religious entities. This dual role of the state, in the recognition and regulation of religion and religious entities, comes to directly influence the existence and shape of otherwise free religious expression and involvement in the United States. The acknowledgement of such influence by the state on the free exercise of religion instantly complicates understandings of the boundaries between religion and the state in the United States.

The relationship between religion and the government in America is often thought of as simple in rhetoric and complex in practice. Most people understand this boundary as a

fundamental aspect of the founding of the nation and often cite the "separation of church and state" that often defines American democracy. The origin of the phrase "separation of church and state" comes from an 1802 letter by Thomas Jefferson to the Danbury Baptist Association in Connecticut (Dreisbach 2003; Dreisbach and Hall 2009). The Danbury Baptist Association had written Jefferson earlier that year to express concern that they were not offered complete and guaranteed religious freedom in Connecticut due to vague language in the state charter. Citing the lack of a clear establishment clause in the Connecticut state constitution, the Danbury Baptists feared that nothing barred the state from passing overtly religious legislation in the name of more mainstream groups. In his response, Jefferson wrote that the United States federal government remained committed to the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses of the First Amendment, "thus building a wall of separation between Church and State" which would protect all religious groups regardless of social and political characteristics (Jefferson 1802; Meacham 2006). Jefferson knew his audience well and quoted the theologian and founder of the first Baptist church in the New World, Roger Williams, who in 1644 proclaimed the creation of a "hedge or wall between the Church and the wilderness of the world" (Dreisbach and Hall 2009; Jefferson 1802; Meacham 2006). Interestingly, Jefferson also cunningly knew that Williams' 'hedge' of separation was to protect the "garden" of the church from the "wilderness" of the man-made world, rather than a hedge protecting democratic government from the ills of religion (Meacham 2006).

The idea of church-state separation may be one of America's most lasting and significant influences on the creation of western democracies. As far back as Emperor Constantine in the fourth century until the colonial America in the seventeenth century, the formal practice and doctrine of European states was to establish religion by official state law and to punish any

dissent in belief or behavior (Fowler and Hertzke 1995). The freedom of religious expression was critical for the overall character of the colonies although many colonies and communities retained the ability to pass religious legislation on their own (Fowler and Hertzke 1995). The formal separation as outlined by the Constitution only bars the federal government from establishing an official church and does not extend to states. Different states enacted formal separation clauses in their constitutions throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries as the last state to abolish its official state church was Massachusetts, which disestablished the Congregational Church in 1833 (Fowler and Hertzke 1995).

When discussing the earliest days of a separation between religion and government in America, the role of the nation's founders becomes immediately apparent. Most of the nation's founders were secular deists, agnostics, doubting Christians, or atheists but many have been said to have understood their founding actions as creating a republic that integrated the civic insights of the Enlightenment with the theological insights of the Reformation (Allitt 2003; Armstrong 1982; Dreisbach 2003; Dreisbach and Hall 2009; Fowler and Hertzke 1995). The Reformation was approached by many of the founders as the "theological equivalent of the constitutional equality of all citizens" or what Luther called the "priesthood of all believers" and the equality of all men in both law and spirit (Allitt 2003:6). The similarities between approaches to civil and spiritual liberty, and the mutual dependency between the two, are reflected in many of the Rights enshrined by the Constitution (Allitt 2003; Armstrong 1982; Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Haskins 1960; Lauer 1962). Even the Puritans had rejected the notion of a high clergy that acted as intermediaries between man and the divine and placed great emphasis on the education of community members so people could comprehend scripture for themselves (Armstrong 1982; Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Haskins 1960; Lauer 1962). Similarly, most of the founders shared a

conviction that the young nation would thrive if inhabited by people with strong moral convictions and dedication to social betterment (Dreisbach 2003; Meacham 2006). It was toward these goals of social betterment and the liberty of consciousness that many of the founders moved toward the creation and protection of free religion. The great observer of American civic life, Alexis de Tocqueville noted during his travels in American that the "spirits of religion and of freedom" were often "marching in opposite directions" in his home country of France and other emerging European democracies but not in America ([1835] 1988). In America, an unintentional symbiosis between religious civil society and the state contributed to both the individual and associational participation in democratic processes that has come to characterize the early days of the nation (Fowler and Hertzke 1995).

As mentioned above, the freedom of religious involvement in American civil society has been granted state-sanctioned privileges and protections. These protections are embodied within the religious clauses of the First Amendment of the Constitution, which surround the freedom of religious belief, expression, worship, and assembly (Allitt 2003). The First Amendment has two clauses that deal directly with the free manifestation of religion and two move beyond religion specifically yet provide integral protections to the expression of religion. The First Amendment reads, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." By the middle of the twentieth century, judges and legal scholars had segmented the religious clauses of the First Amendment into two parts, largely treated separately, including the establishment clause--which forbids the federal establishment of a national religion--and the free exercise clause--which guarantees individuals the ability to hold and act upon beliefs and that

legislation will not give religion any special advantages (Allitt 2003:68). The prohibition against an establishment of a formal religion and the protections surrounding free exercise and free speech deal directly with personal and individual religion and belief, while the protections for the freedom of assembly deal with the collective aspects of religion.

The recognition of legitimate religious entities and the accompanying special treatment provided to them by the state underline the ways the state activities protect and guide the uniqueness of religious spaces in civil society. The ways that the state regulates the behavior of religious entities also highlights the potential for both a constraining and liberatory relationship between state and religious institutions. This dual role of the state--in providing the recognition and regulation of religious entities--comes to directly influence the existence and shape of religious entities as well as the extent that religion is involved in public life within a free society such as the United States.

The recognition of legitimate religious entities also has the effect of limiting membership to a specifically qualified set of groups and organizations in society. Due to the ability of the state to recognize and regulate forms of legitimate religious phenomena, the approach utilized by this dissertation views the recognition and regulation of religious entities as forms of statecraft. Statecraft, as discussed by Scott (1998), involves very basic forms of control through state knowledge generation and information collection about its subject territory and population. These fundamental forms of legibility, as Scott (1998) calls them, give the state the ability to define legitimate social and civil forms that become officially recognized by the state. Successful intervention into civil life by the state requires knowledge about the phenomena the state wishes to control. In order for the state to regulate or exercise its authority over a territory or population, it must organize this information into units or ways that allow them to be “identified, observed,

recorded, counted, aggregated, and monitored" by the bureaucratic apparatus of the state (Scott 1998:183). These processes are necessarily about making phenomena less *natural* and more manipulatable by the state. The natural phenomena discussed by Scott--such as local culture and expression--is overwhelmingly difficult to read from an administrative or bureaucratic standpoint. The state, according to Scott (1998), has to set artificial boundaries on what consists of a distinct population, territory, or acceptable cultural practices such as religious belief and practice. Indeed, Scott (1998:186) briefly mentions the codification of religions within both precolonial and colonial societies as efforts to "create and expand state spaces," as opposed to the natural or non-state spaces that proved difficult to regulate by a central apparatus.

The historical ways that the American state has approached the free exercise of religion can therefore be approached as aspects of statecraft. Many of the nation's founders seemed to desire a protected or state-sanctioned space for the free manifestation of religious thought and expression. This space, over time, became more well-regulated and the unique characteristics of religious spaces from other areas of civil society became more evident (Allitt 2003). As mentioned above, the ways that the state has shaped--and protected--the unique aspects of religious involvement in American civic life can be categorized by forms of official recognition and regulation of religious organizations. The official recognition and regulation of religion and religious entities are largely overlapping phenomena. The strict distinction between the two is useful for analytical purposes but it reality the real-world distinction between the *recognition* and *regulation* are part of the same process. The granting of tax-exempt status, for instance, is simultaneously a process of recognition and special regulation. It is discussed here as an aspect of recognition because the Internal Revenue Service is *the* state structure involved in the defining of what counts as a legitimate religious entity by way of granting tax-exempt status. Historical

treatments of religion have also discussed the importance of the relatively few state agencies tasked with interacting with and monitoring religious organizations, even framing "the Internal Revenue Service [as], both de facto and de jure, America's primary definer and classifier of religion" and saying it "reproduces the imperial Roman government's efforts at distinguishing licit and illicit religions as subtypes of a wider legal concern for distinctions between licit and illicit associations" (Smith 2004: 376).

Recognition

The official recognition of religious entities has the effect of limiting the number of groups which can claim protected status as religious organizations. The consequences of the official recognition of legitimate religious entities also involve integrating religious institutions into special positions within social structure. The concept of social integration is used here in the sense put forward by Emile Durkheim (1951, 1984) and underlines the ways that state structures operate as mechanisms to integrate religious institutions into unique positions within the larger polity and structure of society. One of the main mechanisms of official recognition of a religious entity by the state is the granting of tax-exempt status. This is regulated and enforced by structures like the Internal Revenue Service as well as the federal and state court systems. Oddly enough, the knowledge of religious groups required by the state in order to exercise its authority surrounding tax-exempt status is to strictly document who *not* to tax; which is interesting because an early incentive for state knowledge production surrounding regulation has always been accurate taxation (Scott 1998). Religious institutions are exempt from all forms of federal and state taxes according to a subset of the tax-exempt category of nonprofit organizations found in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. They are not required to file an annual

statement of activities or an informational tax return and, in accordance with section 170(c) (2), charitable contributions to such organizations are tax-deductible for donors.

In 1978 the IRS, at the direction of Commissioner Jerome Kurtz, outlined the first federal guidelines for regulating what constitutes a *legitimate* religious organization worthy of tax-exempt status (Christians 1980; Drake 1979; Edsall and Edsall 1991). These characteristics were meant to be general enough to include all organizations whose primary function is religion, but specific enough to eliminate fraudulent applicants. The criteria were announced by commissioner Kurtz in August of 1978 and used informally for two years until they became legal precedent in 1980 with the Supreme Court's ruling in *American Guidance Foundation, Inc. v. United States* (Castronova 2010). These guidelines include the following fourteen requirements: (1) a distinct legal existence; (2) a recognized creed and form of worship; (3) a definite and definitive ecclesiastical government; (4) a formal code of doctrine and discipline; (5) a distinct religious history; (6) a membership not associated with any other church or denomination; (7) an organization of ordained ministers; (8) ordained ministers selected after completing prescribed studies; (9) a literature of its own; (10) Established places of worship; (11) regular congregations; (12) regular religious services; (13) schools for the religious instruction of youth; and (14) schools for the preparation of its ministers (Kurtz 1978). These official limitations for what qualifies as legitimate religious organizations have had interesting effects on the form and function of religious entities within American society.

Regulation

The extent of regulations surrounding the existence of religion in public life and the actions of religious entities forms the second general way that the American state shapes the free expression of religion. The separateness of religion from non-religious civil society is complex

and involves protections and privileges that are sometimes unique to religion and sometimes overlap with non-religious privileges, such as the tax-exempt status of secular charities. Yet even where they do overlap, the state often interacts with religious entities in ways that are separate and unique from the ways the state interacts with non-religious civil entities, some of which will be illuminated by this dissertation. The ways the state regulates religious phenomena can be categorized--if only for heuristic purposes--in two ways, including the *protections* offered toward free expression of religion within founding legal documents and the *privileges* that are offered religious entities in society, such as tax-exempt status or other legal privileges. These combinations of protections and privileges have come to shape the boundaries of religious spaces in American society and the unique distinctions that set them apart from other areas of civil society.

Notable regulatory interventions by the state into religious spaces often include ritualistic behavior such as polygamy, alternative medicines, or the door-to-door proselytization of groups like Jehovah's Witnesses (Meacham 2006; Nord 1995; Rose 1988; Stevens 2001). Historical turns like the banning of school prayer, issues surrounding the Ten Commandments and government buildings, and limitations on the political activities and speech of religious entities are also forms of state intervention that shaped the overall extent to which religion occupies spaces in public life. The line between acceptable interventions in religious civil spaces, as well as the role of religion in public life, has been drawn and redrawn through a series of Supreme Court decisions across the twentieth century[1]. In a series of decisions across the middle of the

[1] Some of the more notable cases surrounding religion and public schools include: *W. Virginia State Board of Education V. Barnette* (1943) saw the court decide that forced flag salutes for Jehovah's Witnesses children in public schools does infringe upon rights as it was viewed by them as idolatry. *McCollum V. Board of Education* (1948) ended the practice of voluntary religious teachings in public schools. *Zorach V Clausen* (1952) court decided that public schools must let students leave early for religious activities. *Engle V. Vitale* (1962) court decided that prayers cannot be written or approved by states to be read in public schools even if non-denominational. *School*

century, Justice William O. Douglas, wrote many times that the First Amendment should not be interpreted to mean no cooperation between government and religion were allowed as, after all, "we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being" (Alley 1988:186). Other rulings and judges and legal scholars have disagreed with Justice Douglas or taken different approaches to the 'separation' debate, contributing to the ongoing living boundaries that regulate religious space and religion's role in public life.

The Constitutional protections for the free manifestation of religion illustrate some of the ways that the state encourages and liberates religious freedom. The state, however, also limits the boundaries of acceptable action for religious entities. These boundaries are defined and enshrined by law, often laws that deal directly with the regulation of religion. Such laws bind and isolate religious space from other areas of civil society, as well as have the effect of distinguishing religious entities from other entities within civil society.

The lasting and protected freedom for religious belief, practice, and association has been conceptualized by historians and scholars as being a sacred aspect of American social life. The creation and implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives in the early twenty-first century can be thought of as an expansion of these protections and of the roles that the state encourages religious organizations to fulfill in public life. The state in many ways is a causal force for the existence of free religion throughout the history of the United States. Rethinking the relations between religion and the state in this way raises many interesting questions about how the state and religion work in cooperation--and sometimes in competition--to influence the ways religious phenomena manifest in American society and civic life.

District of Township V. Schempp (1963) court decided that reading Biblical verses and the Lord's Prayer in public schools is a violation of rights.

Shifting Social Conditions: Setting the Stage for Faith-Based Service Provision

The emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives at the dawn of the twenty-first century was influenced by unique aspects of American civic life as well as by structural and cultural shifts in systems of service provision. The unique aspects of American civic life include the fact that Americans are more by far more religious than the populations of most other advanced democracies and the fact that they are also more involved in charitable giving and volunteering activities (Cnaan et al. 2002). These two unique aspects of American civic life cannot be underemphasized when analyzing the emergence and implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives. The shifts in policy and public opinion that made faith-based service provision a reality are founded upon these two unique characteristics of public life in America.

The emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives is also contingent upon shifts in the structural conditions and cultural atmosphere of the late twentieth century. Shifts in the cultural atmosphere involve changes in public opinions and political narratives about the sources and solutions to poverty and social need. Shifts in the structural conditions surrounding systems of social service provision include the devolution of services away from the federal government and to state and local level governments as well as a shift toward the privatization of service provision more generally. These two forms of change--including cultural views of social need and the structural systems used to provide social services--are linked to what scholars have termed "crises" of the late modern capitalist state (Bell 1976; Block 1981; Habermas 1973; Krippner 2011; O'Connor 1973; Offe 1984). These crises are discussed in detail within chapter two but here it is important to note the connections between the crises of the state and emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives.

The crisis that aligns with the shifts in cultural views of poverty and social need is described by this dissertation as a "crisis of compassion." This crisis emerges from the ways that public opinion on the ability of the state to provide social services and public assistance in meaningful and successful ways shifted during the decades of the late twentieth century. The crisis of compassion manifests through the fact that many people began to distrust the legitimate ability of the state to provide assistance to those who need it. As discussed later in chapter two of this manuscript, scholars describe a "social" crisis of the state as emerging over the massive increase in social groups that were able to call upon the state to provide forms of assistance following the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Bell 1976; Krippner 2011). The expansion of civil rights allowed various groups--who were up until that point either ignored or excluded from state-provided services--to rely upon public funds to receive forms of assistance. Similarly, scholars describe a "legitimacy" crisis that emerged around decreasing amounts of trust that many individuals began to feel in regard to the ability of the state to successfully provide public assistance and work to solve social problems (Habermas 1973; Krippner 2011).

These two crises--namely the social crisis and the legitimacy crisis--are combined by this dissertation to form the crisis of compassion. These two are combined here due to their complementary characteristics when discussing forms of social service provision. The increased stress put upon the state due to an expansion in the number of social groups who can call upon the state for aid is coupled with the decrease in social trust that the public often holds toward the state to solve social ills. When focused on systems of service provision, these two cultural shifts often manifest in a desire to move away from centralized state-provided services due to the lack of success that many people perceive these programs as having. This dissertation treats this

combined effect of the social and legitimacy crisis as leading to a crisis of compassion within state-provided systems of public assistance.

The shifts in structural conditions surrounding the provision of social services is framed here as being the product of what Krippner (2011) and other scholars have termed the "fiscal crisis" of the capitalist state (Block 1981). This crisis is also discussed in detail within chapter two but it is mentioned here as leading to the overall devolution and privatization of social services within the late twentieth century. The fiscal crisis is linked to the stagnation of economic growth experienced by most capitalist democracies and the decreased ability to fund most forms of public assistance. The devolution of service provision away from the federal government and the overall privatization of services are both linked to the fiscal crisis of the federal government and its inability to finance forms of public spending in an era of advanced capitalism (Block 1981; Krippner 2011). All three of these crises--the fiscal, social, and legitimacy crises--are again discussed in chapter two.

Shifting Cultural Views Surrounding Poverty and Social Need

The emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives is partly founded upon shifts in popular conceptions of poverty and social need during the late twentieth century. Such an intersection of politics, culture, and public opinion can be seen in the changing attitudes surrounding the role of the state in civic life throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Cnaan and Bergman 1990; Stern 1984). Many politicians of the time cast issues of charity, public social and welfare services, and religious communities in new lights which focused on the negative and ineffective aspects of what was becoming termed as "big" government (Cnaan and Bergman 1990; Stern 1984). The shifts in public narratives away from state-provided public assistance and toward local charitable

and religious organizations often recast them as the more traditional and logical provider of social and welfare services.

Many of these new narratives came from conservative politicians who were able to make successful arguments about decreasing public budgets around social services (Cnaan and Bergman 1990). A large part of this shift came from public narratives that were spread by President Ronald Reagan. Reagan's disdain for government and general anti-state approach to taxes and social services formed a significant portion of his public persona (Jansson 1993). Reagan and other conservative politicians pushed the new public discourse on the good works of charitable and religious communities which was founded upon the demonization of government and public social and welfare services (Jansson 1993). Reagan's address during the Annual Prayer Breakfast in April 1982 illustrated his support for a new approach to both the privatization of social services and the realignment of religious communities in service provision (Denton 1982). Reagan told the crowd of hundreds of religious leaders that "churches and voluntary groups should accept more responsibility for the needy rather than leaving it to the bureaucracy" (Denton 1982). Here Reagan also debuted one of his more popular stories--or myths--for which he became so well known, which involved his own version of the Biblical story of the Good Samaritan. In this speech, Reagan told the audience:

> "The story of the Good Samaritan has always illustrated to me what God's challenge really is. He crossed the road, knelt down, bound up the wounds of the beaten traveler, the pilgrim, and carried him to the nearest town. He didn't go running into town and look for a caseworker to tell him that there was a fellow out there that needed help. He took it upon himself" (Denton 1982).

Reagan has been widely recognized for his influence in popularizing the public devil of "government bureaucracy" and in his 1982 address he framed the apathetic government caseworker as the antithesis of the Good Samaritan (Jansson 1993). This new approach which

was founded upon neoliberal economic ideology shifted political narratives about poverty to frame it as the failure of large government bureaucracies and the system of state-provided assistance which characterized aspects of the New Deal. The new conservative ideology not only recast the connections between government and poverty as a dependency upon failed institutions but also spread narratives which framed the causes of poverty as being rooted in personal character flaws among disadvantaged populations. Another one of Reagan's well known stories, that of the Cadillac-driving welfare queen, similarly utilized a new approach to social need which emphasized the failure of state programs to successfully solve social needs and framed receivers of assistance as being lazy opportunists who depend upon public assistance to finance their bad decisions. Reagan's popularity and charisma helped to spread the new approaches to poverty and social need and conservatives were successful in being able to shape public attitudes and political agendas around these new narratives.

These shifts in public narratives which became a large part of Reagan's legacy were later echoed during the administration of George H.W. Bush (Jansson 1993). Bush Sr.'s approach to pushing for an increase in service provision participation by the religious community was largely rooted in his views of charity. Bush Sr.'s famous "Thousand Points of Light" campaign speech called for a reduction in the size of government bureaucracy to allow for an increase in the efforts of local voluntary and religious organizations (Bartkowski and Regis 2003; Cnaan et al. 1999; Jansson 1993).

Politicians were not the only ones pushing new narratives about the connections between the state, public assistance, and religion during the 1980s. Many right-wing Christian groups and charismatic leaders, such as televangelists like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, also recast the religious community as the traditional and righteous provider of social aid. Jerry Falwell, pastor

of Liberty Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, and leader of the Moral Majority, played a significant role in the Reagan administration and helped to shape the new messages it popularized (Jansson 1993; Willis 1990).

The Christian Coalition of America, a political action committee (PAC) was started by Pat Robertson in the early 1989, and drove it to become an influential political and social force. This PAC took a lead role in spreading the new political and social narratives that posited religion as the solution to government evils. Started by the left-over funds of Pat Robertson's failed Presidential campaign in 1988, the Christian Coalition focused on voter mobilization and outreach (Cnaan et al. 1999; Shapiro and Wright 1996). The group adopted strategies that involved sending voter guides to conservative religious congregations and groups and sought to shape public opinion about the failure of "big" government and suggested a complete defunding of government programs (Cnaan et al. 1999; Shapiro and Wright 1996). For many Evangelical and conservative Christians, including Robertson and Falwell, defunding government programs was critical to purify an immoral country and pushed for a revival within Evangelical religion to lead the fight against the state (Cnaan et al. 1999; Shapiro and Wright 1996). These narratives spread heavily throughout the 1980s and 1990s and lead directly to the popularity of welfare reform in the 1990s.

This shift in political narratives toward casting the religious community as the logical and traditional provider of social services culminated in Marvin Olasky's 1992 book, *The Tragedy of American Compassion* (Cnaan et al. 1999). Olasky, a professor of Journalism at the University of Texas, called for a return to the "golden age" of public assistance in which religious faith and devotion formed the basis of charitable aid. The book quickly became a clarion call for many

conservative individuals who shared in the desire of simultaneously increasing the role of Christianity in public life while heavily reducing the roles and size of the state.

While Olasky's book and its claim of a "golden age" of service provision is now largely taken to be revisionist history, its main points were founded upon a decade's worth of political and social narratives about the evils of government and revivalist calls for a renewal of the prominence of religious communities in American life (Cnaan et al. 1999). The fact that this book was not founded upon empirical data did not keep it from gaining widespread popularity among conservative politicians and Christians. George W. Bush even named Olasky among the central influencers for his vision of Faith-Based Initiatives in 2001 and cited his book as among the first sources of ideological support for his vision. The new framing of poverty and social need centered on moral failure in individuals and the tendency of state programs to promote laziness and dependency. The new approach would focus on defunding federal government programs and pushed for a central role played by religious and charitable organization (Shapiro and Wright 1996).

The shift in cultural views of poverty and social need can be clearly seen in the welfare reform bill of 1996. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act was designed to increase the labor market participation among individuals seeking public assistance. The Act was founded upon the idea that impoverished individuals had become too dependent on the state and were therefore unwilling to work for the aid which was given to them. This shift to "workfare" and away from traditional forms of welfare and guaranteed assistance under a system of entitlements was heralded by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as a "reassertion of America's work ethic" (Cnaan et al. 1999).

Overall, the shifts in cultural perceptions of poverty and social assistance had major impacts on the emergence and public support for Faith-Based Initiatives. The perception of a rampant failure in public assistance programs illustrates aspects of both the social and legitimacy crisis that has been described by scholars (Krippner 2011). The new rationalization for having religious organizations play a central role in the provision of social services is also intimately linked to views of moral failures amongst the most disadvantaged populations in American society. The idea that government cannot solve social problems simply because it does not provide people with the opportunity to better themselves is characterized by both the welfare reform bill in 1996 and the implementation of faith-based service provision across the early 2000s. As embodied by conservative politicians and religious leaders alike, the new cultural framing of poverty and social assistance also involve new roles and expectations of religious organizations and communities in American civic life.

Shifting Structures of Service Provision: Devolution and Privatization of Services

The second shift that lead to the emergence of faith-based service provision is focused on changes within the structural conditions of service provision systems during the late twentieth century. These shifts include the devolution of service provision away from federal structures to local and state-level structures as well as the overall privatization of service provision. Scholars and popular authors alike have highlighted the connections that these structural shifts have to the shifts in cultural approaches to poverty and social need (Barkowski and Regis 2003; Cnaan et al. 1999; Frank 2004). Thomas Frank (2004) described the cultural shift as a "Great Backlash" against the progressivist turn that accompanied the Civil Rights era. Frank explicitly claims that the great backlash paved the way for the defunding of state programs and the retrenchment of the federal government from public assistance, which he links to the larger "laissez-faire" revolution

in the neoliberal era (2004). This laissez-faire revolution can be characterized by both the fiscal crisis of the state as well as the policy responses by both Republican and Democratic politicians at the time.

In relation to systems of social service provision, the impacts of the laissez-faire revolution and the fiscal crisis of the state can be seen in the devolution of programs to lower levels of government and the shifting of program provision away from public entities and toward private organizations. Across the late twentieth century, the responsibility for many forms of public assistance was been surrendered by the federal government and was passed along to state and local governments. This increase in federalist approaches to service provision led to the end of entitlements through the welfare reform bill in 1996, which ended the ability of assistance receivers to use the courts to challenge bureaucratic actions which would affect their level or forms of assistance (Bartkowski and Regis 2003; Cnaan et al. 1999). The traditional system of guaranteed assistance was characterized by federal programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) that granted families and organizations the ability to fight policy shifts that would limit their access to public resources. The new approach shifted federal funds to the form of block grants given to the states for the provision of temporary assistance and took away most of the institutional mechanisms that assistance receivers could utilize in fighting for their right to assistance (Bartkowski and Regis 2003; Cnaan et al. 1999). This devolution of services emerged as the polar opposite of the forms of guaranteed assistance that characterized state programs throughout most of the twentieth century.

While the United States federal government never enacted a full-scale “welfare state” similar to the ones in most other western democracies, it did develop a large infrastructure of public assistance and social service provision throughout policy eras from the New Deal to the

Great Society programs of the 1960s. The War on Poverty in the 1960s illustrates one of the final pushes by federal structures to utilize guaranteed forms of public assistance to combat inequality and poverty within many of America's most vulnerable and disadvantaged communities (Cnaan et al. 1999). The pattern of devolution began in the 1970s and quickly gained widespread popularity and policy traction throughout the 1980s, as it shifted the responsibility of service provision away from the federal government and toward local-level structures.

The other aspect of the structural changes in systems of service provision is the large-scale shift toward privately-owned organizations providing services by receiving public funds. This shift is related to the retrenchment of the federal government from its social obligations and the inability of state-level and local governments from being able to meet public needs alone. The shift to privately-provided services also required these organizations to compete for public funds that often came in the form of program contracts and grants. This shift reshapes not only the role of the federal government but elevated the importance of private organizations, including religious ones, in the provision of publicly funded services.

The processes of devolution and privatization were founded upon the era of shrinking government budgets and the rise of neoliberal ideology throughout the decades of the late twentieth century. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 became the culmination of many of these structural and cultural changes around the solutions to poverty and social need. Within the larger story of the emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives, one of the more important consequences of these shifts is in the expanded roles and responsibilities of local private organizations in the planning and carrying out of publicly funded social programs. These shifts also elevated the presence of religious

organizations as one form of privatization and organizations within the religious community have now become major players in systems of service provision in the neoliberal era.

Welfare Reform, Charitable Choice, and the Emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives

As mentioned above, the welfare reform bill of 1996 was shaped by both the cultural and structural shifts surrounding social service provision and popular conceptions of poverty and social need. In relation to Faith-Based Initiatives, the importance of the welfare reform bill is highlighted by the "Charitable Choice" provision within the bill that allowed religious organizations to compete for federal funds if they could separate the religious from the nonreligious aspects of their organizations and program designs. This shift caused many religious organizations to form separate nonprofit organizations which had varying levels of connection with the original religious group (Cnaan et al. 1999). The policy shifts that emerged with Faith-Based Initiatives expanded the changes that come through the Charitable Choice provision in that it removed the requirement of religious organizations to create a separate entity to provide services. These changes were framed at the time as being a way for smaller and more locally-focused groups to participate in competition for funds as many of these organizations were unable to form separate organizations due to resource limitations. The creation of the Charitable Choice provision, however, is critical to the later developments that came with the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives and it is important to discuss the impact of this provision here.

Charitable Choice

The Charitable Choice provision within the welfare reform bill of 1996 paved the way for faith-based service provision and largely influenced the later institutionalization of Faith-Based

Initiatives within the state. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 was strongly supported by many Republicans and Democrats alike and was enthusiastically signed by President Bill Clinton in order to "end welfare as we know it." As mentioned above, the Charitable Choice provision allowed religious organizations to compete for public funding to provide social and welfare service programs if they were able to form a separate, nonreligious nonprofit organization tasked with providing programs.

Senator John Ashcroft of Missouri first authored and proposed the Charitable Choice provision as a key design of proposed welfare reforms in 1995 and later the welfare reform bill of 1996. First passed in September of 1995 as part of the welfare reform bill in the Senate and later becoming Section 104 of the PRWORA, this provision prohibited the discrimination against any organization "on the basis that the organization has a religious character" but required that religious organizations create a separate non-profit organization for all service activities (Cnaan et al. 1999). This meant that religious congregations and other faith-based organizations could partner with government without forcing the organizations to suppress religious identity, overlook religious identity in hiring decisions, or hide aspects of religious "art, icons, scriptures, and symbols" in the names and buildings of these organizations (Cnaan et al. 1999:5). The provision does, however, protect the religious liberties of service recipients, stating that religious-based service providers are prohibited from discriminating against potential recipients "on the basis of religion, a religious belief, or refusal to actively participate in a religious practice," and that no funds can be "expended for sectarian worship or instruction" (Cnaan et al. 1999:5).

The passage of the welfare reform bill in 1996 was the culmination of the shifts in public opinions surrounding poverty and social need which was discussed above. Much of the political

effort to popularize such shifts came from conservative Republican politicians who pushed new narratives supporting a large reduction in the size of the federal government as well as an increase in the participation of religious organizations in systems of social service provision. During the 1995-1996 congressional elections, many Republican senators led outreach efforts targeting large Christian organizations and television networks to make the argument that religious organizations were more righteous providers of welfare and public assistance (Cnaan et al. 1999). For instance, Dan Coats, then Senator from Indiana and later the Director of National Intelligence, repeatedly retold the story of the Gospel Mission at many religious and governmental conferences throughout 1996. The Gospel Mission was a drug-treatment and rehabilitation clinic for homeless men in Washington, D.C. and was paraded by Coats as being an example of the success of religious service providers as opposed to secular or government agencies. Coats often claimed that the Gospel Mission successfully rehabilitated two-thirds of their clients while the success rate of most state-run programs sits around ten percent (Cnaan et al. 1999; Frame 1995). The claim by Senator Coats that success of religious organizations such as the Gospel Mission was due to the fact it "provides more than a meal, more than a drug treatment. It is in the business of spreading the grace of God," illustrates the shift in public and political narrative that many conservative politicians pushed when arguing for public support for the proposed Charitable Choice provision (Frame 1995:65).

Similarly, Newt Gingrich described a proposal for a $50 million federal program, proposed by Representative Rick Lazio of New York, as being a gift of grace for Christian organizations, such as Habitat for Humanity, to lead housing projects for the disadvantaged (Merline 1995). At the state level, Kirk Fordice, then Governor of Mississippi, called for the funding of a proposed program called Faith and Family, which called upon churches and

synagogues in Mississippi to adopt at least one of the state's fifty-five thousand welfare families to provide public assistance and spiritual guidance (Edwards 1995). While the proposed design of this program was framed as being very successful and widespread, the actual program ended up only providing help to about six-hundred of those fifty-five thousand families (Sherman 1997).

While most the attention given here--and by scholars alike--have focused on the efforts of conservative and Republican politicians and religious leaders in spreading the new social and political narratives, they were not the only ones spreading these new approaches. Many Democrats and liberals, especially in southern states, were also speaking publicly about the importance of religion in southern culture and the resources that religious organizations provide to local communities throughout 1996 (Bartkowski and Regis 2003). The Democrat and then-Governor of North Carolina, Jim Hunt, spoke at Highland United Methodist Church in Raleigh to encourage the religious community in North Carolina to "pitch in and make this happen" (Greensboro News and Record 1996). Specifically, he was referencing the newly developed Work First Program in North Carolina, which formed a large part of the state's welfare reform attempts. In October of 1996, state congressional leaders gathered with religious leaders in Charlotte, NC, to develop a plan of action which would ease the impact of national welfare reform at the state level. The outcome of this meeting was the creation of A Faith Community United Project, which desired new partnerships between local government officials and religious organizations to step-in and pick up the responsibility for taking care of the disadvantaged (Greensboro News and Record 1996).

Other Democrats that played an influential role in the shift to new cultural and structural conditions surrounding welfare and social service reform included Senator Joseph Lieberman of

Connecticut, HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros, and President Bill Clinton. During his 1996 campaign, President Clinton spoke to the National Baptist Convention in Greensboro, North Carolina and encouraged them to hire individuals who were about to be excluded from traditional welfare entitlements as well as encouraging each of the thirty-three thousand Baptist congregations that the convention oversees to adopt a family as a strategy to mitigate the negative impacts of national welfare reform (Associated Press 1996).

The creation of the Charitable Choice provision within the welfare reform bill of 1996 illustrates the intersection of the cultural and structural shifts surrounding service provision that called for a renewed importance of religious organizations in systems of public assistance. As discussed above, this provision paved the way for the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives within the next decade. The next section provides a short discussion of how Faith-Based Initiatives entered the national stage and the ways that politicians and religious leaders alike pushed for public support toward these new strategies. A further and more detailed discussion of faith-based service provision is provided within chapter two but it is important to describe their relation to the overall cultural and structural shifts that accompanied welfare reform in 1996 here.

Faith-Based Initiatives

The term "faith-based initiatives" first gained public attention in the election year of 1992 and the increasing public support for aspects of welfare reform. While these initiatives were often discussed in relation to the national push for the Charitable Choice provision across the early 1990s, the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives at the federal level did not come until the early 2000s. The Charitable Choice provision did, however, spark the creation of faith-based service provision within many states, including the home state of then-Governor George W.

Bush, Texas. As Governor, Bush utilized the Charitable Choice provision as a testing ground for his vision of what faith-based service provision could be at the national level (Bartkowski and Regis 2003). Leading up the Presidential election in 2000, then-Governor Bush paraded the successes of Charitable Choice at the state-level in Texas and put effort into gaining bipartisan and inter-denominational support for faith-based service provision. In 1999, Governor Bush reached out to prominent Black religious leaders, such as T.D. Jakes and Tony Evans, trying to add their support to the widespread popularity of faith-based service provision among White Evangelicals and other Christian groups (Wuthnow 2004). While these cross-group bonds proved more difficult to achieve than Governor Bush may have hoped, such efforts did succeed in making faith-based service provision an important issue within the 2000 Presidential campaigns.

In the 2000 Presidential election, George W. Bush and Al Gore both expressed a desire to expand the Charitable Choice provision to allow for greater partnerships between the state and religion to solve social problems (Wuthnow 2004). On the campaign trail, both emphasized a new recognition for the benefits such partnerships would bring and both promised to have the federal government do more to encourage more cooperative efforts. Al Gore focused his emphasis on programs such as housing, drug-treatment and rehabilitation, and youth mentoring, while Bush took a more wide-ranging approach to the social benefits of religiously-provided services (Wuthnow 2004). More important than the small differences between what each candidate emphasized is their overall agreeance that religious organizations can and should participate in welfare and service provision. Each claimed that religious communities harbor unique resources that all levels of government should take advantage of and pushed for access to public funds to aid these organizations in their efforts. Each emphasized reducing the

bureaucratic limitations and legal restrictions which barred much participation by religious organizations in publicly funded programs.

The approach taken by President Bush after he won the election closely mirrored the one adopted by his father--in calling for more charitable efforts at the local level--and did not focus as much on the negative aspects of government-provided services which characterized the approach of President Reagan. Reagan had pushed narratives that called for a complete defunding of federal programs, while the language used by Bush Sr. and Bush Jr. framed the desired outcome as one of mutual cooperation and partnership between the state and religion. Bush entered office with the desire to rally the "armies of compassion," and that the federal government would do what it can to enable and empower religious organizations to play a more central role in American civic life. He promised to expand the Charitable Choice provision in two ways, the first being through unilateral executive action and the second being a legislative push at getting this expansion made into law. While the legislative expansion eventually failed, his implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives within structures of the executive branch was successful and carried over into the Obama administration. Bush started the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI) in his second week as President. In announcing the creation of the office, he claimed that when his administration looked to solve social need that it would "look first at faith-based programs and community groups, which have proven their power to save and change lives" (Bush 2001b).

In a series of executive orders, President Bush created a total of eleven Partnership Centers within cabinet departments and federal agencies, in addition to the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives within the White House. Among his first Executive Orders in January of 2001 (#13198 and #13199), President Bush established the White House Office of Faith-

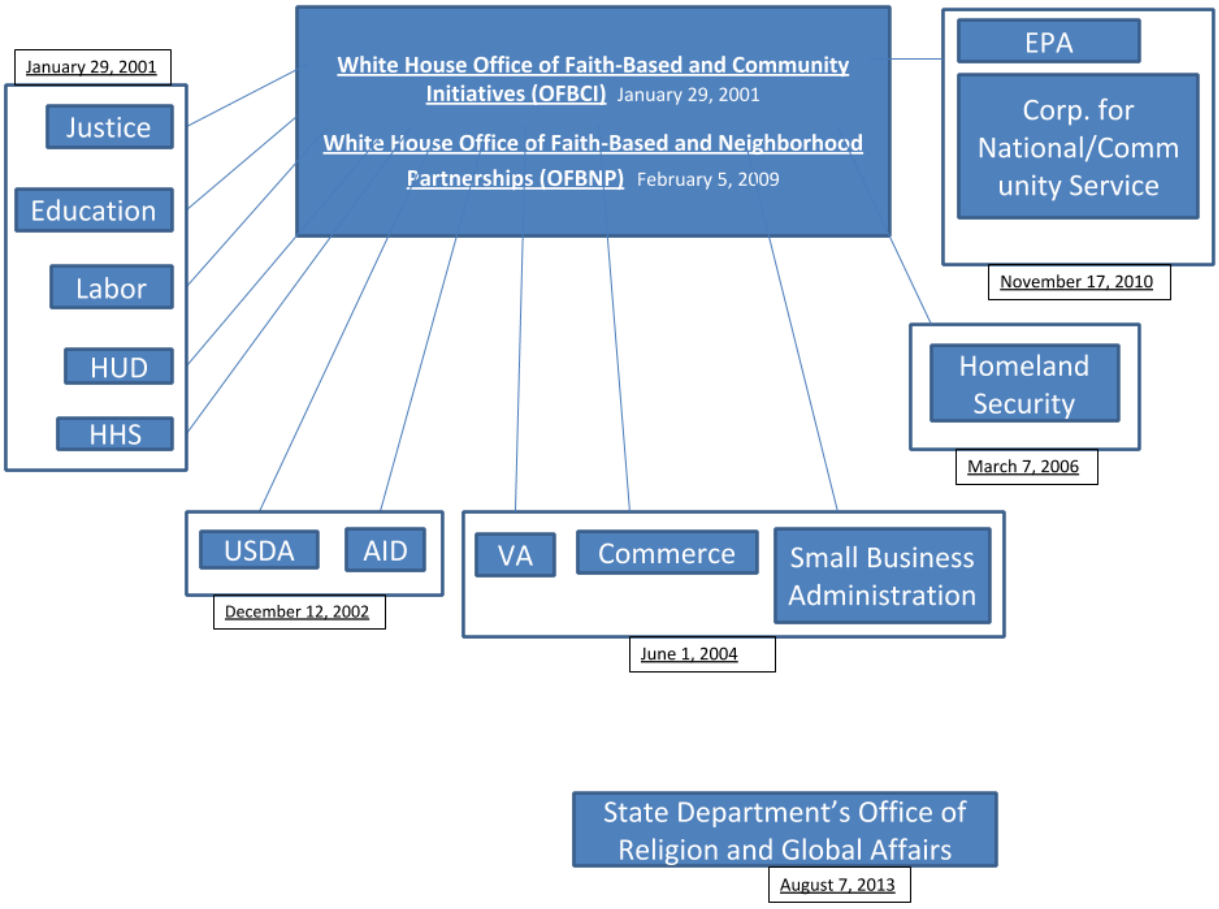
Based and Community Initiatives and five Partnership Centers, housed within the Department of Justice, Department of Education, Department of Labor, Department of Health and Human Services, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In December of 2002, President Bush signed another Executive Order (#13279) that clarified the limitations of concepts such as "federal financial assistance" and "social service provision" as well as guaranteed equal legal protection from discrimination for faith-based organizations receiving federal funds. At this same time, he signed an executive order (#13280) that established two Partnership Centers within the Department of Agriculture and the Agency for International Development. In June of 2004, the Partnership Centers within the Department of Commerce, Department of Veterans Affairs, and the Small Business Administration were established by way of executive order #13342. Finally, in March of 2006 Bush created his final Partnership Center within the Department of Homeland Security by way of executive order #13397.

During the presidency of Barack Obama, three more Partnership Centers were created within cabinet departments and federal agencies as well as the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives was restructured, expanded, and re-named as the Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (OFBNP). These changes came in February of 2009 by way of executive order #13498, which served as an amendment to Executive Order #13199 signed by Bush in 2001. In November of 2010 President Obama again amended an Executive Order signed by President Bush in 2002 (#13279) in order to clarify the protections offered to faith-based organizations in guarding their religious liberty. President Obama established Partnership Centers with the Environmental Protection Agency and the Corporation for National and Community Service through Executive Order at this time as well. The final Partnership

Center housed within the Department of State and was established in August 2013 by an internal decision within the state department and not through executive action.

Through this series of executive orders across twelve years and two presidencies, a total of fourteen Partnership Centers were created within cabinet departments and federal agencies. These centers act as a site of cooperation between the state and religious entities surrounding the issue of social service provision. They are the channels through which federal funds are made available to religious organization but these Partnership Centers do not oversee funding distribution, which is overseen by grant and funding committees within each agency. An image of the fourteen Partnership Centers is provided below and situates each grouping of centers by the executive action that brought them into being.

Figure 1. Offices of Faith-Based Service Provision in Federal Executive Branch



Moving Forward

As highlighted in the earlier sections of this chapter, religious organizations played a central role in forms of public assistance in the nineteenth century. In the early periods of American democracy, religious organizations were viewed as being the primary institution in which charity and social welfare concerns are handled. The rise of centralized social service provision in the twentieth century represents a massive structural transformation in the role of the state in providing aid to vulnerable and disadvantaged populations. While Skocpol (1992) highlights that the earliest state-led welfare programs emerged in the years immediately following the Civil War--and were aimed at "protecting" soldiers, mothers, and widows--the real structural transformation of public assistance programs coalesced in the early twentieth century. The turn of the twentieth century also witnessed cultural and structural approaches to poverty and social need, including the emergence of the quest for "scientific methods of philanthropy," which characterized the Progressive Era and later gave rise to state-led provision (Cnaan et al. 1999:4; Skocpol 1992). One of these shifts came in the form of the Social Security Act of 1935 which emerged in the period after the Great Depression and came to influence the strategies of many programs during the New Deal era (Jansson 1993). These shifts represented a new responsibility of the federal government to provide forms of public assistance and these obligations were actualized through the use of large-scale and centralized bureaucratic systems for overseeing program creation and provision.

The emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives similarly involves shifts in cultural and structural conditions surrounding social need but involved moving away from the large-scale and centralized bureaucratic systems which characterized the twentieth century state to a system of localized and privatized service provision. While during the period of state-building during the

early twentieth century witnessed a replacing of locally-based and charity-focused services by a new role of the state to step-in and take over, the welfare reforms of the late twentieth century witnessed the exact opposite pattern. As discussed in this chapter and laid out by this dissertation, the rise of welfare reform which involved a new role of religious and nonreligious private organizations in service provision involved the replacing of state-led programs by a new system of privately-provided service provision. This also had the effect of shifting away from a standardized model of service provision and toward a more complicated and varied form of service provision by a wide variety of private organizational types.

The dismantling of governmental responsibility for welfare and social services subsequently placed a new responsibility on local governments and private organizations. The dual processes of devolution and retrenchment of the federal government away from directly handling social service provision has reshaped the systems of public assistance to the point that they begin to resemble the period before the modern era. In this new model of service provision which is continually taking root in the twenty-first century, local actors and organizations--including religious will continue to play increasingly centralized roles in systems of social service provision. This new role of both the state and religious organizations is the focus of this dissertation.

Chapter 2 - Literature

This chapter reviews the literature from several fields that are relevant to this dissertation. Since this study involves questions of the boundaries between the state and civil society, including state-religion relations, literature on the sociological understanding of the state, state-society relations, and religion are discussed in subsequent sections. First, a preliminary discussion of how the state is commonly conceptualized by sociologists is provided before delving into discussions of state-centered scholarship and the boundaries between the state and civil society. This chapter is organized into two parts, the first focused on the sociological literature on the state and the second focused on the sociological literature on religion.

Part I: Sociological Literature on the State

This section outlines the sociological literature on the concept of the state, which includes various perspectives and scholarship on what the state is and what it does. Understanding the sociological treatment of the state is an important aspect of being able to describe the emergence and institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives. Accurately interpreting what the state did in respect to the emergence and institutionalization of funding for Faith-Based Initiatives necessarily involves a review of the various sociological perspectives to what the state is and what it is able to do. This will also help clarify how faith-based service provision is both a continuation of the pattern of privatization within state program provision as well as a new direction in the ways services are provided. Relevant preliminary sociological literature on the state and the relationships between the state and civil society are therefore presented in this section. The various ways that scholars have approached the concept of the state are discussed below, including the historical emergence of state-centered scholarship and the turn toward institutionalist views of the state. Key analytical concepts that have come to characterize the

sociology of the state are then discussed before turning to a discussion of theoretical approaches to the study of the state and civil society, with an emphasis on the privatization of state programs and social service provision.

Thinking about the state: What it is and what it does

Scholars of the state have different conceptions of what the state *is*. By most accounts, the modern state is a rather complex combination of social power and structures that often evades attempts at any definition as a unified concept or entity (Abrams 1988; Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985; Jessop 2016). For some scholars the state is a neutral competitive arena in which various social and economic interests openly vie for policy-making power (see Dahl 1967; Latham 1952; Rose 1967; Truman 1951). Others emphasize the ways that the state can be used as a tool by members of the dominant class and functions to preserve class dominance (see Lukes 1974; Miliband 1969; Offe 1975; Poulantzas 1973, 1978; Gold, Lo, and Wright 1975). While even others claim the state is best described by its objective bureaucratic autonomy and corporate inertia (see Amenta 2005; Evans et al. 1985; Skocpol 1979, 1992).

Scholarly approaches to the state often vary on the amount of agency they give to state structures, institutions, and actors. Pluralist approaches, often characterized by mid-century scholars such as Bentley (1949), Dahl (1961, 1967, 1971, 1982), Latham (1952), Rose (1967), and Truman (1951), view the state as largely a neutral phenomenon which remains open to all interest groups and citizens but with advantages being granted to those who occupy elected offices. State structures within democratic societies are formed by a "plurality of types of actors," according to this perspective and in their varied form might be better conceptualized as "a plurality of social-structural and cultural bases of actor identification and a plurality of social resources for, as well as bases of (and enactors of) power" (Amenta 2005; Bachrach and Baratz

1962; Hicks and Lechner 2005:56; Schattschneider 1960). Most pluralist perspectives, therefore, place primacy on the various groups that affect policy formation and state action through their connections to officials (Finegold and Skocpol 1995). Pluralist approaches to democracy and the state as being the site of convergence between various interests is evident in the works of classical political theorists such as Alexis de Tocqueville and David Hume (Amenta 2005; Hicks and Lechner 2005). Tocqueville praised early American civil society and pluralist forms of government in his empirical tour de force *Democracy in America* ([1835] 1988), and Hume emphasized the role of "a plurality of interest groups and interest group conflict" as critical to understanding state action within democracies (Hicks and Lechner 2005:56). Classic pluralists like Tocqueville also follow the ideas of Hegel, who describes the state as a disinterested servant to the masses and one that can be co-opted by various groups and interests (Amenta 2005; Hicks and Lechner 2005; Jessop 2016; Tocqueville [1835] 1988). Pluralist approaches characterize much of the sociological scholarship on the state throughout the early twentieth century and often utilized concepts from functionalist theories, which focused on the functions of social structures within modern democratic societies.

The theoretical and empirical focus that pluralist approaches bring to types of functionalist competition between the plurality of political groups characterized much of sociological scholarship in the mid-twentieth century. Such approaches were largely eclipsed by more critical perspectives that emphasize the lack of social and economic variety among successful political groups. Elite-centered scholarship focuses instead on the few that emerge from the many to exercise economic and political dominance in their own interests (see Connell 1977; Domhoff 1967, 1978, 1979, 1983, 1996, 1998; Ferguson 1983, 1984, 1986; Mills 1956; Therborn 1978). As opposed to more neutral pluralist approaches, elitist scholarship focuses on

how a "relatively fixed group of privileged people" (Domhoff 1983:1) exercise continued power through captured agencies, interest-group lobbies, campaign contributions, funding organized networks of experts, and through their own appointment and election within powerful positions (Finegold and Skocpol 1995; Mills 1956). In moving forward from the critical weaknesses of traditional and reformed pluralist perspectives, many elitist approaches began to highlight patterns of economic and political dominance within the state arena that pluralist perspectives had lent a focus to (Hicks and Lechner 2005).

The attention given to the concentration of political power within the hands of various forms of elites sought to illustrate how policies are guided by the ability of elites to influence policymaking procedures with both money and bought expertise (Finegold and Skocpol 1995). The saturation of capitalist class individuals within influential state and civil society positions is acknowledged by elitist perspectives and underline how this saturation often has the effect of benefiting capital interests directly and indirectly. Critics of elitist approaches underline the fact that such perspectives cannot account for when the state and policy work *against* the interests of elite groups (Quadagno 1984, 1985, 1996; Skocpol 1980; Skocpol and Amenta 1986; Skocpol and Orloff 1986; van den Berg 2003).

The emergence of more critical scholarship in the mid-century also included many Marxist approaches which turned away from the neutral views of a largely inclusive state and strictly tied new conceptions of the state to class interests and the protection of capital growth (Amenta 2005; Finegold and Skocpol 1995; Granados and Knoke 2005; van den Berg and Janoski 2005). Marxist scholars such as Ralph Miliband (1969), Nicos Poulantzas (1973, 1978), and Fred Block (1987) suggest that state policies, regardless of rhetoric of semantics, will always serve the interests of the capitalist class (Finegold and Skocpol 1995). The integration of Marxist

concepts into pluralist and functionalist state theory began to shift focus to the power inequalities within the state structure and how policy-making processes benefit the capitalist class (see Lukes 1974; Miliband 1969; Offe 1975; Poulantzas 1973, 1978). A new emphasis was put on the ways that social inequalities are constructed and institutionalized through state structures and policymaking processes, making the state an extension or tool of the ruling class and one that subverts democratic processes and interests (van den Berg and Janoski 2005). In direct opposition to many pluralist approaches, more critical perspectives implied that any group or interest that is outside of the dominant class or group is likely perpetually powerless and confined in political struggle (Miliband 1969; Poulantzas 1973). These approaches emphasize that aspects of the state are largely inaccessible by any group outside of the capitalist class as the state is primarily used for their own reproduction and legitimation (Amenta 2005).

According to traditional Marxist thought, the state is part of the 'superstructure' that exists as a determinant, or in reflection of, the relations of production and class structure (van den Berg and Janoski 2005; Marx 1954). The political power that is embodied by the state, for Marx, is "merely the organizing power of one class for suppressing another" and that state officials and executives are simply "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx 1954:56). This assumption is the foundation of Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* (2000 [1848]) and implies that the state is inherently anti-democratic and will not suffer true democratic processes or phenomena for very long (van den Berg and Janoski 2005).

Orthodox and traditional Marxist perspectives have often encountered problems when trying to account for aspects of the state that are not directly beneficial to the capitalist class, such as welfare and social service provision (Alford and Friedland 1985**;** van den Berg 2003).

Some Marxist scholars, such as Miliband (1969, 1977) and Offe (1972, 1976), have couched welfare and social service provision not in opposition to the capitalist class but in some ways strengthening its dominance and serving its interests in the long-term. The capitalist class benefits from the existence of such programs through a process that is similar to hedging their bets against any anti-capitalist uprising or acting as "prophylactic against" social revolutions (Miliband 1977:155; van den Berg and Janoski 2005). Miliband (1969) suggests that the capitalist class pays a comparatively low price for social service provision in order to preserve social stability.

Marxist and more critical perspectives have often treated the state in one way or another as a force for preservation of capital interests. This assumption is somewhat like the ways that pluralist and elitist perspectives treat the state as a structure (or set of structures) that exists in relation to various social groups. Pluralists approach the state as an arena in which interests compete, elitists approach the state as a neutral phenomenon that becomes captured by elite groups and interests, and Marxists approach the state as an extension of the ruling class' power. All three of these approaches view the state in relation to various social groups or classes. A different approach, however, is characterized by the suggestion that the state may sometimes act as an entity unto itself (Amenta 2005; Evans et al. 1985). This shift toward understanding the state as a somewhat autonomous entity raises questions about just what the state is and what it can do. This type of approach to the state began to gain in popularity as a conscious turn away from other perspectives deemed inadequate for describing and understanding various aspects of state structures and the actions they took (Amenta 2005; Skocpol 1985). Such an approach became known as 'state-centered' and significantly altered the ways scholars understand and analyze states and state action.

State-Centered Scholarship

Beginning around the 1980s, some scholars began to focus directly on state structures and the potential causal role that states may have in social phenomena (Amenta 2005; Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985). This path largely followed the pioneering work of Theda Skocpol, whose book, *States and Social Revolutions* (1979), laid the foundation for an extensive shift in studying the state. The new approach emphasized analyzing institutions and processes of state building, state operations, and the embeddedness of state actors. Here Skocpol (1979) outlined a theoretical and methodological approach that later informed and characterized the flagship of the state-centered shift, the volume edited by Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol (1985) titled *Bringing the State Back In*. This volume compiled works by a number of scholars within the emerging field of state-centered political sociology and pushed for research perspectives that viewed "states as organizational structures or as potentially autonomous actors" in the origins and processes of social change (Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol 1985:vii).

The shift that Skocpol's (1985) introduction to the volume desired was to be built upon the theoretical and methodological gaps within mid-century analyses of the state. Too much of this scholarship was focused on variations within empirical data rather than theoretical and conceptual understandings of the state (Skocpol 1985). Such a focus caused scholars to overlook aspects of the state that expose it as a set of complex organizations which are completely unique in their "centrality and missions" or recognize that the ways states were structured were fundamentally consequential to social and political life (Amenta 2005:98). The new approach would conceptualize states in ways that allowed for wider examinations of the structure, administration, and authority of the state (Amenta 2005). Skocpol also encouraged the analysis of the "Tocquevillian" state or the influence of the state on civic and political public life

(1985:21). Goodwin (2001) later labeled this view a 'state-constructionist' approach to the state and emphasized the analysis of the different ways that state institutions can be configured for various roles and purposes. A central aspect of Skocpol's (1985) introduction was the revitalization of the Weberian approach the state as "sets of political organizations" that exerted complex forms of authority "over territory and people and engaged in legislative, executive, military, and policing activities" (Amenta 2005:99).

The state-centered approach to the state was built upon the ideas of Max Weber (1978, 1994) and Otto Hintze (1975), who suggested the state as any set of organizations that claims sovereignty and coercive control over a territory and its population, operating through the core apparatus of institutions tasked with administrative, judicial, and policing procedures, collecting and dispensing revenues, and enforcing the laws of state and society (Skocpol 1992). In this view, the 'state' can and has taken many forms throughout history, including both the forms of state under a "feudal" state or modern "capitalist" state as discussed by many Marxist and pluralist scholars. State-centered approaches critiqued the practice of referring to states in these ways as presented it the state as a unified or internationally repetitive phenomenon, such as the modern 'capitalist state' (Skocpol 1985). Skocpol warns that such state forms are not to be viewed as generic categories or types of states but as "variously organized states *coexisting* with various patterns of economic production and exchange" (Skocpol 1992 emphasis added).

State-centered approaches instead emphasized the potential of plural variability within state structures, even within capitalist economic frameworks (Amenta 2005:98; Skocpol 1985). This unified approach to the state, as seen in the approach adopted by Marxists like O'Connor (1973) and Jessop (1985), is often criticized for being ahistorical as well as a functionalist view of the state as a tool of the capitalist class (Amenta 2005). Skocpol's (1985) critiques such

scholarship as overlooking the fact that the state can adopt many institutional and organizational forms, which then interact with economic modes of production and exchange. The existence of a *capitalist* state or a *feudal* state is therefore flawed and instead such approaches simply identifying various forms of state structures that are interacting with others spheres such as the economy. Skocpol (1985) positioned the new state-centered approach in response to such simplistic nature of understandings of social power and the state within mid-century traditions and suggested that a state-focused analysis could shed light on the ways that states adopt various strategies and may take different institutional forms to fulfill strategic goals.

State-centered approaches also emphasize prior historical episodes of policy creation and state building processes that come to embody the current form and potential future forms of state action (Skocpol 1979, 1985). In other words, the actions of state structures and institutions are constrained by the current and past forms of state-society relations and boundaries. Critics underline that state-centered approaches reduce individuals to their institutional positions and often focus on the collective identity of an institution rather than the influential individuals within such institutions and their own histories and interests (Gilbert 2015; Gilbert and Howe 1991). The state-centered approach instead builds from the notion that the state is best understood as institutions and official state organizations (Finegold and Skocpol 1995; Skocpol 1985). Such institutions exhibit remarkable stability across time and state-centered scholars attribute this to the influence of official positions within the state apparatus. State officials within these organizations and institutions are socialized by their institutional identities and act on these identities and the interests linked to them as much as--and indeed maybe more--they do their individual preferences or personal interests (Finegold and Skocpol 1995). The state-centered approach therefore gives attention to both the individual persons that occupy positions within the

state yet place emphasis on the autonomous aspects of state institutions and how they constrain and limit state actors.

The State as an Institutional Ensemble

While various state-centered and non-state-centered approaches often disagree about whose interests are served by state action, most contemporary perspectives have come to view the state as a "polymorphous institutional ensemble" that is charged with exercising forms of social, economic, and legal authority over people and places (Jessop 2016:7). This ensemble is comprised of the various "institutions, organizations, and interactions involved in the political leadership and the implementation of decisions that are, in principle, collectively binding on [state] subjects" (Jessop 2016:16). The institutions and organizations that comprise the overall state structure remain "relatively unified" and "socially embedded, socially regularized, and strategically selective" in their goals and enforcement of state authority (Jessop 2016:16). The institutions that embody state authority manifest through "collectively binding decisions" made in the name of the "common interest or general will of an imagined political community" (Jessop 2016:49). This common approach to the state highlights the variety of institutional forms that state structures can adopt in the exercising of state authority. The term 'polymorphic' implies that states can also be in multiple forms simultaneously or even change forms across the life course of individual state states (Jessop 2016; Mann 1986).

The durability of the various forms that states can take--in whole and in various parts of the overall state structure--is directly linked to the continuation of state power and dominance within the balance of forces in society (Mann 1986). The organization and capacities of various parts of the state ensemble are structured in ways that reflect their purpose and origins as well as the amount of power embodied within various state bodies (Jessop 2016; Mann 1986). The state

has also been termed 'polycontextual,' which implies that the way state structures function also changes within different contexts (Jessop 2016). State structures exist at many sites and scales and undertake different tasks within different time periods. Jessop (2016:16) suggests that "once we recognize rather than ignore the messy, polymorphic, and polycontextual features of the state" then analyses can move forward in more specific and contextualized manners that come to view the state as a special kind of social relation within specific spatiotemporal contexts (Jessop 2016).

Viewing the state as a special type of social relation that is embodied within a complex institutional ensemble highlights the fact that the various theoretical and methodological approaches to studying the state simply reveal different facets of state existence, scope, and power (Jessop 2016). The importance of the specific contexts in which institutionalized action by the state is understood again brings up the usefulness of following the ideas of Weber (1978, 1994) and Hintze (1975). These scholars suggested a view of states as mainly a formal set of organizations and institutions tasked with specific regulatory and administrative functions (Amenta 2005). Weber (1978, 1994) called this grouping of institutions the state *apparatus* and identifies it as one of the three core characteristics of states. For Weber states were comprised of three core elements, including a formal institutional apparatus, a distinct territory over which the authority of the apparatus reaches, and a distinct population over which the state exercises power (1968, 1994).

The Weberian approach to the state also focuses on the ways that institutionalized state authority is both centralized and decentralized within various state and civil structures (Amenta 2005; Jessop 2016; Scott 1998; Skocpol 1985). The ability for state authority to be decentralized is an important aspect of institutionalist approaches to the state as it houses various aspects of

state authority across sets of institutions and organizations with their own operating procedures and set of assigned roles (Amenta 2005; Jessop 2016). The overall state system is therefore composed of these institutions, agencies, and practices that are deeply intertwined with economic and social relations (Jessop 2016; Palonen 2006; Skocpol 1979, 1985, 1992).

Such an institution-based understanding of the state moves forward from the notion that the myriad different institutions organized within the larger apparatus of the state come to define state authority and existence in complex ways (Amenta 2005; Jessop 2016; Skocpol 1979,1985, 1992; Weber 1978, 1994). The ways that these state structures are embedded within wider economic and social arrangements underlines the ways that each state institution is potentially unique in form and location within the state system. These various institutions are housed within many branches and levels of the state, including federal and state courts, legislatures, executive offices, and administrative agencies (Amenta 2005).

Sociologists treat institutions by the patterns of behavior they exhibit, often involving the analysis of many complex social practices that become institutionalized. To say that such practices become institutionalized means they (1) are regularly repeated; (2) are linked to defined roles and social relationships; (3) are associated with specific forms of discourse, symbolic media, or modes of communication; (4) are sanctioned and maintained by social norms; and (5) have major significance for social order (Jessop 2016:8). Institutionalist approaches to the state incorporates these five aspects into analyses of the mass of mutually reinforcing structures that are tasked with the various social, legal, economic, administrative, and political functions necessary to the carrying out of state action and enforcement of state authority (Amenta 2005). The embodiment of state authority is found in the various bureaucratic structures that comprise the state system and institutional ensemble (Oszlak 2005). These various bureaucratic structures

are what most people know to be 'government'. The state bureaucracy can be thought of as "the institutional crystallization of public policies and state activity, manifested through bureaucratic agencies that, along the [policy] implementation process, end up defining the nature of the state they embody" (Oszlak 2005:488). The institutional apparatus of the state is comprised mostly of various bureaucracies that are "formally invested with the mission of satisfying certain goals, values, expectations, and social demands" (Oszlak 2005:489). In the creation and development of state bureaucratic and administrative functions, various aspects of the "social agenda" are distributed "among the state (at its various jurisdictional levels), the market, the organizations of civil society (NGOs), and a number of noninstitutionalized and solidarity social networks" (Oszlak 2005:485). The social agenda includes any social issue that extends beyond "parochial issues" that "the state chooses or is forced to take on as a part of its responsibilities" (Oszlak 2005:487).

Ripley and Franklin (1982) lay out the various responsibilities that bureaucracies--both formally inside the state and on its fringes--have responded to including (1) service provisions which are assigned to the state; (2) promoting the interests of certain economic sectors in society such as organized labor, farmers, and business enterprises; (3) regulating the conditions under which private activity can take place; and (4) redistributing social benefits (Oszlak 2005). Weber's conceptualization of the bureaucracy and the characteristics of state actors are again very helpful. Weber posited an understanding of bureaucrats as (1) formally arranged in a clearly arranged hierarchy of offices; (2) compelled by impersonal duties of their offices; (3) being impersonal aspects of structural units and positions located within a chain of command; (4) directed by functions clearly specified in writing leading to a specialization in both task and competence; and (5) systematically controlled by superior positions within the bureaucracy

(Oszlak 2005:489). The functions and size of bureaucracies change over time and "their structures may become more differentiated and complex" (Oszlak 2005:487). Nonetheless, the bureaucracy of the state is often viewed as being one of the only "permanent" institutions within the executive branch of western democracies (Oszlak 2005:482) and therefore enjoys a certain degree of institutional autonomy (Cayer and Weschler 1988). Ripley and Franklin (1982:30) discuss the consequence of such autonomy in saying "bureaucrats are not neutral in their policy preferences; nor are they fully controlled by any outsider forces. Their autonomy allows them to bargain--successfully--in order to attain a sizeable share of preferences." Institutionalized bureaucracies in the United States are considered relatively weak compared to many other democracies but the ability for bureaucrats to affect politics and policy-making processes is nowhere near negligible (Ripley and Franklin 1982; Skocpol 1979, 1985). All bureaucracies are, in fact, the "material expression of the state--viewed as a concrete institutional apparatus--and the executing arm for implementing its policies" while also being one of the main "attributes" of the state and remains the "main instrument for achieving and maintaining its other attributes of 'stateness'" (Oszlak 2005:483). The importance of such bureaucratic structures for the exercise of state authority cannot be underemphasized. Such structures are the "material" embodiment of the state and work to preserve state authority within long-term institutions.

As an analytical concept the state remains elusive and complex. It is most often treated as the apparatus of institutions, with overlapping political and social authority, which serve to exercise governance over people and territories (Jessop 2016; Skocpol 1992; Walton 1992). Alan Wolfe (1974:149) claims that the actions of various state structures or 'government' are only able to be carried out "if behind it is an apparatus responsible for the reproduction of the social system within which the government operates. That other thing, which cannot in fact be directly

touched or seen, is the state." The state exists, therefore, as a "relationship of legitimate domination, which is expressed increasingly through rational bureaucratic organizations or government in a broad sense" (Walton 1992:300). This embodiment of the state as a type of social relation within the various institutions that form structures of government necessarily involves the ability of the various parts of government to work autonomously as well as in cooperation across the state system. The varying levels of independence and cooperation that are found within state structures are a central aspect to the discussion found in the next section. There the key concepts that have been used to analyze and understand institutionalized state action are discussed. Understanding how state structures are able to exercise independent as well as cooperative authority will also prepare the reader for a later discussion of the general relations between state structures and civil society, found toward the end of this chapter.

Defining Key Concepts Relating to the State and State Institutions

In this section the key concepts relating to the state and its institutions--including autonomy, capacity and regulation abilities, and legitimation--are discussed. Autonomy pertains to the ability of states structures to act alone and without influence from other state bodies and groups in wider society. The capacities and regulatory abilities of the state pertain to the extent that state structures can intervene in civil society and private life. The abilities of the state to regulate public life are often discussed in the Weberian terms of being either 'strong' or 'weak' and involve the bureaucratic organizations that carry out institutionalized state authority. The legitimacy of the state refers to the ways the state is thought about by its subjects. The ability of the state to exercise legitimate authority over subjects effects the overall relations between the state and civil society. These four concepts are critical to understanding institutionalized state

action and state authority. The ways that each of these concepts has been treated within sociological literature are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Autonomy

The levels of autonomy granted to state structures refers to the ability of different bodies to act alone and independently of one another and groups in civil society. The abilities of the state to act autonomously has been said to contribute to the overall dominance of state structures and the exercise of 'despotic power' (Mann 1984:187-188) or the state's "ability to act freely without the need for routine institutionalized negotiations with civil society groups" (Jessop 2016:70). The autonomy of the state is a concept that revives the various approaches to studying the state discussed earlier. Different perspectives on whose interests the state serves lead scholars to discuss the concept of state autonomy in various ways. Marxist approaches suggest that the state has little or no autonomy or separation from the capitalist class. Weberian approaches--which more often focus on the issue of strong or weak states--suggest that the bureaucratic power of state structures can keep the state separate from any one class or interest group (Evans et al. 1985).

The institutionalized power that is embedded within the bureaucracies of state structures, for Weberians, provides a type of inertia or continuing power to state officials that allow them to pursue goals that may vary from any social class or group (Evans et al. 1985).

State autonomy in capitalist societies is often treated in three general ways within the sociological literature. The state is often viewed as either (1) being directly controlled by the interests of capital; (2) having varying amounts of separation and loose connection to the capitalist or ruling class; or (3) as having its own existence, goals, and perhaps interests separate from wider social groups and interests. The first approach is characterized by much Marxist

scholarship which approaches the state as a servant of capitalist interests. Instrumentalist Marxist approaches emphasize that state action is directly tied to the "conscious and purposive efforts of capitalists as a class," implying that the state is little more than an instrument of the capitalist class (Finegold and Skocpol 1995:176). This approach builds from statements of Marx and Engels that "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (1990 [1888]:271). Engels also described the state as an "instrument for the exploitation of wage labor by capital" (1990 [1888]:271). Such descriptions of the state leave many scholars to understand the state as a utility of the capitalist class. The state is therefore not an autonomous entity or structure but is wielded by the capitalist class to impose its will upon the rest of society.

A second approach to state autonomy is characterized by the assumption that the state has varying amounts of low autonomy from the ruling class. Traditional and neopluralist perspectives suggest that the state can have low or moderate levels of autonomy from different groups and classes in society. If the state is viewed as a neutral arena in which social interests compete--in the pluralist sense--it necessarily retains some forms of autonomy from the collection of various groups, including any ruling group. The open possibility for competition requires that the state remains separate from the groups and classes that utilize it. Elitist approaches emphasize the capitalist state as having very low autonomy from the capitalist class and capital interests (Domhoff 1967, 1978, 1979; Miliband 1969).

Some Marxist perspectives, such as the one posited by Miliband (1969), suggest that the state can retain low levels of organizational autonomy while continuing to serve the capitalist class. State structures, for Miliband (1969), function to serve capitalist interests in indirect ways through the (a) social origins of individuals that occupy state offices and (b) the strong personal relationships between state officials and ruling-class elites. Here Miliband (1969) emphasizes the

ways that the capitalist class infiltrates all levels and forms of government, replicating their own values and class origins in the institutions and policies they create. This replication involves the creation of narratives that legitimate the dominance of the capitalist class and therefore preserve the state as a fundamental aspect of capitalist domination. This type of loose connection between the state and the capitalist class implies that the state is less of an instrument of the capitalist class and more of a force for capitalist preservation as a whole. Scholars who adopt this perspective have critiqued the ways that the state is often viewed as having no autonomy from the capitalist class. Rather than having an instrumentalist approach, some Marxist and critical scholars have adopted a more structuralist approach to the relation between the state and the capitalist class.

Structural Marxist scholars like Claus Offe (1972, 1976) and Nicos Poulantzas (1972, 1973b, 1976) emphasize the 'objective' relation between the state and capitalist class, meaning that the state acts to further capital accumulation and to preserve class dominance in the mode of production as a whole rather than in the day-to-day interests of capitalist interests (Block 1987; Poulantzas 1973a). This distinction puts distance between the state and the individuals who occupy the capitalist class. The capitalist class is not a unified group with singular or shared interests but a complex group of individuals with interest that sometimes contradict or conflict. Since the interests of this class are in actuality very different, the state cannot act in ways that benefit the class in its entirety other than preserving the capitalist mode of production in general. Instead, as structural Marxist approaches suggest, the state acts in ways that is beneficial to the long-term interests--rather than short-term profits or individual interests--of the capitalist class. The focus on the long-term interests of the capitalist class allows structural Marxists like Poulantzas (1973a:284-285) to discuss the 'relative' autonomy that the state has in relation to

individuals within the capitalist class. The state acts in ways that preserve the overall capitalist mode of production, which binds it to the interests of the capitalist class, yet remains relatively autonomous from the specific interests of class members (Poulantzas 1973a,b). The objective function of the state apparatus from the capitalist class, for structural Marxists like Althusser (1969) and Poulantzas (1973a,b), has little to do with the class origins or interests of state officials that instrumentalist approaches like Miliband (1969) posited. It is, instead, determined by the state's ability to remain autonomous from the "diverse factions" of the capitalist class "precisely in order to be able to organize the hegemony of the whole of this class" (Poulantzas 1973a:115).

A third approach to state autonomy is characterized by the suggestion that state structures and state actors may have completely autonomous existences, goals, and perhaps interests (Evans et al. 1985). Some state-centered scholars have hinted at the notion that the state and state actors may act toward interests that are separate from external social groups and classes, such as their own continuation and growth (Skocpol 1979). The fact that state organizations are "controlled and directed 'from within' by their own leading officials" provides opportunities for state actors to act in the interest of their organization or agency rather than the interests of any external social group (Evans et al. 1985:51). The institutionalized power that is embedded in the bureaucracies of state structures provides the possibility that state actors may act in relation to their positions within the state system.

While the state-centered approach underlines the amount of autonomy the state has from external social groups, most scholars are not likely to suggest that the state is completely separate from the influence of social groups. Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol (1985:viii emphasis in original) suggest that "heuristically, at least, it is fruitful to assume *both* that states are potentially

autonomous and, conversely, that socioeconomic relations influence and limit state structures and activities." This type of approach emphasizes the fact that various institutional and organizational mechanisms and resources available limit the ability of the state to intervene in civil society (Mann 1984, 2008). These mechanisms and resources limit the ability of the state to act alone (despotically) or in cooperation with civil society forces. Mann (1984:189) calls these capacities of the state to penetrate and organize social relations the 'state's infrastructural power' and conceptualizes these capacities as relational to the state-civil balance of forces. Many of these interventions come in the form of state projects, which serve to both define and regulate the boundaries of the state in relation to the wider society. The structure of the state system "does not exist as a fully constituted, internally coherent, organizationally pure, and operationally closed system" but is instead "an emergent, contradictory, hybrid, and relatively open system" that requires state projects to manage the state-society boundary (Jessop 2016:84).

State intervention is also limited by the logics and capacities that are unique to different state structures and social spheres (Jessop 2016). These nonstate institutional orders also have high levels of internal complexity (similarly to the state), "operate with their own modes of calculation, follow their own temporal patterns, and also have distinctive resources and capacities" which make them uncooperative to direct control by the state (Jessop 2016:89). State intervention lowers not only levels of state autonomy but also levels of state power for two reasons. The first is that as the state extends into many areas of civil society, "its powers are fragmented across branches and policy networks, and coordination problems multiply" (Jessop 2016:89). The second reason that the state loses both autonomy and power as it intervenes in the civil sphere is that as it becomes more interwoven with the civil sphere, successful state action and projects require more cooperation across many fields. This leaves state power to be

subjected and interlinked with social forces within the civil sphere (Jessop 2016; Mann 1984, 2008).

Capacities and Regulatory Abilities

Somewhat related to the autonomy of state structures is the capacities and regulatory abilities of these structures. The capacity of state organizations pertains to the ability to carry out lines of action (Evans et al. 1985; Jessop 2016; Mann 1984). The specific lines of action granted to different state structures also have the consequence of delimiting the autonomy of different state institutions. The regulatory powers of the state refer to the ability of the state to intervene, regulate, and structure civil society as well aspects of public and private life. The various capacities and regulatory abilities of different state structures allows the state to "penetrate and organize the rest of society" in ways that institutionalize and legitimize state authority (Jessop 2016:45).

State capacities and regulatory abilities are often discussed as key aspects of state 'strength' (Skocpol 1992). The Weberian distinction between 'strong' or 'weak' states is dependent upon the extent that the central and rationalized bureaucracy of the state intervenes in civil society. Strong states are those which more closely align with the Weberian ideal type of a 'strong' or powerful central and rationalized bureaucracy, while weak states, such as the United States, are lacking in powerful state bureaucracies that would otherwise regulate and structure large parts of civil society (Evans et al. 1985; Skocpol 1992). Various scholars have critiqued the Weberian approach to strong or weak states in suggesting that such a typology overlooks a polycontextual approach to state structures and their variation across time (Jessop 2016; Skocpol 1985). Jessop (2016) critiques the Weberian approach to either strong or weak states as only defining strength on outcomes rather than intentions of state actions (even failed attempts at

action). The Weberian approach, for Jessop (2016), also risks becoming tautological because it assumes (and often confirms through biased observation) that 'strong' states have large public sectors, authoritative rule, weak and atomized civil society, and extensive bureaucracies (Jessop 2016). Skocpol (1985) similarly critiques the binary of strong or weak states by suggesting that it overlooks the ability for different state structures to exhibit different levels of strength. The variation inherent across the multitude of state structures and organizations has complicated many Weberian categories of state strength. Future analyses should focus on the variability within state capacities within policy areas, overtime, and in specific conjunctures to better understand the concept of state strength (Jessop 2016). In discussing the analysis of state capacities, Evans et al. (1985:351 emphasis added) writes:

> "For the investigation of 'state capacities,' a tactic repeatedly employed to good effect is the identification of *specific organizational structures* the presence (or absence) of which seems critical to the ability of state authorities to undertake given tasks. In turn, the presence or absence of organizational structures is connected to past state policies, thus underlining the need for historical as well as structural analyses if specific state capacities and incapacities are to be better understood."

Variations in state capacities and regulatory abilities have also drawn the attention of Marxist, Weberian, and state-centered scholars. State-centered scholars, like the ones compiled in the Evans (et al. 1985) volume, have suggested that variation within the capacities and autonomy of state institutions leads to an unequal authority or capabilities in different areas of social and economic life (Rueschemeyer and Evans 1985; Skocpol 1985; Stepan 1985; Tilly 1985; Weir and Skocpol 1985; Katzenstein 1985). This unevenness of a state's capacities and regulatory abilities both across state structures at the same moment and across time, Skocpol suggests (1985), may be one of the more important structural features in decoding how state

structures confront challenges. Indeed, the "variations, unevenness, and contradictory relationships among state capacities" are far more analytically salient than more generalized understandings of state capacity or 'strength' (Evans et al. 1985:353). More fine-tuned analyses can understand the contexts of state activities through the relations between various state structures and the way their capacities are intertwined.

Legitimacy

The concept of state 'legitimacy' deals with the perceptions that state subjects have of the ideological and institutional structures that exercise state authority. The legitimacy of the state pertains in some ways to the level of agreement or tension that exists between the state and its subjects. This inherently involves the ways that people think about the state and state authority. The amount of legitimacy enjoyed by the state is not guided by simply a matter of the personal experiences or beliefs of subjects but also by the way the state actively seeks to create and sustain legitimacy in the minds of its subjects. Modern state efforts at fostering legitimation are often described as legitimation 'projects' and involve the ways that culture, ideology, and state authority over civil society intersect to influence how the state is perceived by subjects. State projects are supported by both discursive and material practices conducted by the state to shape the territorial boundaries of the state as well as redefine the division between the state "institutional ensemble and other institutional orders and everyday life in a given society" (Jessop 2016:48). Even as state structures remain autonomous (to varying degrees) from other spheres in the polity--such as the "economy, family, religion, sport, art, or 'civil society'" (Jessop 2016:48) --state legitimation projects are said to reach far into both public and private spheres through state-generated and state-mediated processes (Jessop 2016; Walton 1992).

The Weberian approach to state legitimation is often termed belief-based, because Weber suggested legitimation to be a function of belief irrespective of the state itself (Dawson 2017). While some structural Marxist approaches have also focused on the necessity of legitimation projects conducted by the capitalist state to hide the self-destructive tendencies of capitalist markets (see Offe 1972, 1976; O'Connor 1973), most scholars have followed Weber's ideas about what a legitimate state means and how to analyze it (Jessop 2016; van den Berg and Janoski 2005). Weber approaches legitimacy as the taken-for-granted widespread belief in state authority which gives state organizations and actors the "prestige of being considered binding" by those over which the state exercises power (Weber [1922] 1978:31,213). According to this Weberian approach, both dictatorships and democracies are able to enjoy high levels of state authority, contributing to the complication of the concept (Dawson 2017). Many scholars have had difficulty operationalizing aspects of such a complex concept as it is primarily belief-based and rooted in cultural nuances (Dawson 2017). Scholars such as Beetham ([1991] 2013) or Gilley (2006, 2009) operationalize aspects of state legitimacy through measures of public compliance and justification, yet many of these categories have been criticized for a lack of clarity and the potential for blending into one another (Dawson 2017). The roots and consequences of perceptions of legitimacy for state structures and actors are not reducible to overall compliance or recognition of authority but also involve the subjective ways that individuals and groups of people think about and respond to state authority (Dawson 2017).

Now that the key aspects of the state and state institutions have been laid out, it is important to contextualize actions taken by the state into a historical perspective. As mentioned in chapter one, this dissertation treats the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives as situated at the intersection of the fiscal crisis of the federal government as well as a perceived crisis of

compassion within systems of welfare and service provision. The crisis of compassion is discussed in this case study as a combination of the social and legitimation crisis when the focal topic is forms of service provision.

Crises of the State

This section provides a discussion of each of the three crises of the state--including the fiscal, social, and legitimation crises--that are often emphasized by scholars studying the state in the neoliberal era. Krippner (2011) approaches the fiscal, social, and legitimation crisis following the work of Bell (1976), Block (1981), Habermas (1973), O'Connor (1973), and Offe (1984) and this approach will be adopted in this case study as well.

Attention given to the "fiscal crisis of the capitalist state" is often built upon Block's (1981) article of the same name. Here, Block discusses how all developed capitalist societies entered a period of "greater economic difficulties in the form of higher rates of unemployment and inflation" in the post-war period (Block 1981:1). The deeper recessions of the 1970s and 1980s, coupled with increasing budgets yet decreasing overall economic growth, led to a fiscal crisis within capitalist states. A greater responsibility for providing social services and economic infrastructure but with fewer resources to achieve these social obligations led many states to ponder alternative ways to support expenditures (Block 1981). Block's analysis cites O'Connor's (1973) original use of the concept "fiscal crisis," and the emphasis that the fiscal crisis is not simply a "disproportion between government expenditures and revenues" but instead is in fact "an indication of fundamental conflicts between the workings of the state and of the economy in advanced capitalism" (Block 1981:2).

In O'Connors (1973), Block's (1981), and Habermas' (1973) view, the level of legitimacy that the state enjoys is contingent upon the state's ability to provide a range of services to the populace without too much or undue taxation to fund these services. In addition to this obligation to fulfill general service needs, the state also has to aid and encourage the specific interests of the capitalist class and capitalist economic growth. According to O'Connor (1973) and Block (1981), this leaves state actors in a predicament over how to not forfeit too much legitimacy by cutting back service provision while also providing the conditions necessary for capitalist growth. O'Connor (1973) claims that this exposes a fundamental contradiction between capitalist economies and democratic governments.

Building from the work of Bell (1976), Krippner (2011) discusses the social crisis as being a form of heightened distributional conflict related to an increase in the public service obligations of the state after the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This legislative change allowed more social groups to call upon the state for social and monetary aid. Krippner (2011) discusses Bell's (1976) analysis that the question of social allocation was removed from the state's responsibility and was subjected to the realm of the market and economic forces. Bell (1976:226) framed these processes as a shift to the "political market," in which the political demands of various social groups began to place distributional competition on state institutions and budgets. This strain placed upon state budgets caused by an ever-increasing demand for social spending placed state actors in the position to create new political and social narratives about social spending and the role of the state (Krippner 2011).

The new political and social narratives that emerged out of this period were often focused on the failure of the state to meet all social obligations and the potential for private organizations to step in and take the responsibility. The turning away from the state is deeply connected to the

legitimation crisis that accompanied the social and fiscal crises into the late twentieth century (Krippner 2011). This third crisis arose out of the failure of the state to deliver on the social obligations and economic commitments which were promised to the population in the post-civil rights era (Block 1981; Habermas 1973; Krippner 2011). These failures, coupled with the emergence of new social and political narratives, instilled distrust within the populace over the ability of the state to sustain economic growth while also controlling distribution of said growth. This loss in confidence in the state forms the foundation of the legitimation crisis and it was reflected in empirical data from the era. Krippner discusses this fact explicitly and provides data from 1964 in which only twenty-seven percent of the population claimed that state officials "did not know what they were doing," while by 1970 that number had risen to sixty-nine percent, exposing a deep and increasing mistrust of government (2011).

Each of these three crises of the neoliberal state has, in a sense, set the stage for the shift to the privatization of social services and later the emergence of faith-based service provision. Indeed, each of these crises--separately and combined--have come to characterize many aspects of the state apparatus within the neoliberal era. David Harvey (2007:2) writes that the backbone of neoliberal orthodoxy is founded on the belief that "human wellbeing can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills with an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade." The emergence of neoliberal ideology that is built upon the foundation of the three crises of the state also shaped public approaches to the state, social obligations, and service provision. The purpose of the state in the neoliberal political and economic climate is therefore little more than establishing and sustaining forms of governance that realizes and embodies these principles. The focus of much public policy has now been focused on "deregulation, privatisation, and the withdrawal of the

state from many areas of social provision" (Harvey 2007:2). This pattern of privatizing social service provision is taken up in the next section.

The Privatization and Devolution of State Programs

As discussed above, most social obligations and public services have traditionally been delivered by the state. After the neoliberal shift, the responsibility to provide social services was largely devolved onto private state and local organizations. The consequence of this shift means the discretion and oversight of many public programs is now in the hands of private, nongovernmental organizations that provide public services funded through loan guarantees, grants, contracts, vouchers, and other mechanisms of publicly-sanctioned action (Kennedy and Bielefeld 2002). The devolution of state programs to the level of private organizations has also allowed aspects of governmental authority and public responsibility to be exercised by third parties which embody mechanisms of the "new governance" within the neoliberal era (Jensen and Kenney 2005; Salamon 2002:1-2; Kettl 1988, 1993). This shift in the planning and implementation of state programs also characterizes the changing relationships between the state and civil society in the neoliberal era.

Devolution is often pushed along by financial, social, and cultural pressures that lead state and civil actors to outsource the conducting of state programs to non-state entities (Cohen and Rogers 1995; Cohen and Sabel 1997; Hawley 1974; Trigilia 1990). Kettl (1988) discusses two forms of devolution that has manifested in many modern states, namely political and administrative devolution. Political devolution is when decision-making power is given to separate parts of the political sphere, granting varying levels of autonomy to each state structure. Administrative devolution is when the state delegates the responsibility for managing programs--and often the provision of social services--as well as the authority to administer state programs.

These forms of devolution have the consequence of extending state power in non-state or quasi-state entities or *proxies* (Kettl 1988). Administrative devolution, for Kettl (1988), is an aspect of a new state-society relationship that suggests that the performance and success of government programs depends on interdependence between the state and agents or proxies. Such interdependencies become evident in the (1) sharing of state authority in the exercise of programs; (2) the fit of certain proxies and value management (such as the long history of service provision by the black church); and (3) the ability for proxies to develop and test new techniques for state program provision (Kettl 1988). The mechanisms that extend state programs through proxies include (1) contracts for program provision; (2) grants for program and strategy development; (3) tax exemptions for agents; (4) loan programs; and (5) targeted, specific, and unique regulations for state agents (Kettl 1988). Both of these types of devolution can be observed in the ways that systems of social service provision became altered in the neoliberal era.

Many scholars emphasize social service provision as a common type of state program that has been devolved to individual states and private organizations to the intersection of the crises of the state. Evans et al. (1985:356) write that "questions about state structures and policies in relation to broader arrays of groups active in domestic politics" arise around issues surrounding the historical emergence and changes within Western "welfare states" and how the "dispensing of social benefits and services" have changed due to the "crisis of faith in Keynesian economic management" (Evans et al. 1985:357). The various ways that Western states have reacted to these shifts can be better understood by looking at the ways administrative arrangements, policy legacies, and the established ties of states organizations to politically active groups (Evans et al. 1985). The voluntary associations and groups that make up the public sphere

(Habermas 1989) interact with state structures and organizations in unique ways to identify and respond to social issues (Laitin 1985; Weir and Skocpol 1985).

The "Dark-Side" of Privatized Social Service Provision

Some public administration scholars have expressed concern over whether private organizations can properly manage the provision of state programs in ways that ensure services are delivered transparently and in accordance with all federal regulations (Gilmour and Jensen 1998; Richie and Kennedy 2001; Salamon 1993). Legal scholars have often focused on the problems that arise when the lines of public and private become blurred and the negative consequences of moving to a consumer model of welfare programs (Kettl 1993). Such criticisms often point to the fact that most public programs are obligated to meet constitutional and legal standards for appropriate government behavior, yet, when public-private partnerships create an over-reliance on contractual relationships, it becomes difficult to determine what can action can be properly attributed to government and what its responsibilities are. Scholars here point out that the development of a contractual system of public-private partnerships has complicated the concept of government standards, which is fundamental to the protection of individual rights and freedoms in the United States (Kettl 1993).

Scholars of the nonprofit sector have expressed concern that philanthropic organizations may become increasingly dependent upon public funds, weakening the overall vitality of the nonprofit sector (Chambre 2001; Alexander, Nank, and Stivers 1999). This dependence of the nonprofit sector on the state may have the consequence of turning the nonprofit sector into a new extension of the state. Proponents of partnerships claim that contracting services will increase efficiency and reduce the size of the federal government, while critics have emphasized the ways

that contractual relationships extend the reach of the state while also shrouding its visibility and accountability (Kennedy 2001).

When the nonprofit organizations that the state decides to partner with are religious, these criticisms take on new aspects. Both supporters and opponents of religious public-private partnerships worry that this new relationship causes potential problems for both religion and the state, including the watering down of religion by adapting to public standards and the co-opting of the state by religious interests. The issues of privatized social services being provided by religious organizations is taken up again and discussed in-depth in a later section within this chapter.

Thinking about the State and Civil Society

This section provides a discussion of the ways that scholars have approached the relationship between that state and civil society. Aspects of this literature emphasize the long-history of voluntary association in democratic societies and the ways that individuals form groups, organizations, and networks to protect and invest within interests that are meaningful to them (Cohen and Arato 1992; Cohen and Rogers 1995; Cohen and Sabel 1997; Hawley 1974; Trigilia 1990).

Popular conceptions of the state and civil society often assume some form of separation between state and civil 'spaces.' While the assumption of rigid separation is widely held by many scholars, some scholars treat civil society and civil spaces as state-influenced or full on extensions of state spaces. Marxist scholars, such as Miliband and Althusser, hold a view of the state as permeating and even colonizing civil and private spheres. Miliband (1969) described key governmental institutions as including the government, administrative organizations, and military and police. Aspects of civil society, on the other hand, include the mass media,

educational institutions, trade unions, voluntary associations, and other forms in civil society as parts of a wider 'state system' (Miliband 1969). Althusser (1971) used different language to describe the core of the state--including the executive, legislative, judiciary, and military apparatus--while the family, educational institutions, organized religions, and mass media operate as 'ideological' state apparatuses. By this, Althusser (1971) suggests that such apparati contribute to state authority and legitimacy as well as redefine state-society boundaries. While these boundaries are ideological and abstract in nature, in truth the authority of the state readily permeates these boundaries and may often contribute to the construction of civil as well as state spaces.

The use of the term 'spaces,' has been implied by scholars to be a simple placeholder for a very vague and complex concept. The distinctions of state and civil spaces are delimited by both material and discursive actions by state and civil actors. The ability to delimit and regulate various spaces is directly linked with the authority of the state and its interventions within civil society. The relationship between state authority and the delimiting of spaces is captured by Jessop (2016:124 emphases in original) by claiming:

> "Space comprises socially produced grids and horizons of social action that divide and organize the material, social, and imaginary world(s) and also orient actions in terms of such divisions. As a product of social practices that appropriate and transform physical and social phenomena and invest them with social significance, space can function as a site, object, and means of governance. Inherited spatial configurations and their opportunity structures are *sites* where governance may be established, contested, and modified. Space is an *object* of governance insofar as it results from the fixing, manipulating, reordering, and lifting of material, social, and symbolic borders, boundaries, frontiers, and liminal spaces. Space can also be a *means of governance* when it defines horizons of action in terms of 'inside', outside', and 'liminal' spaces and when it configures possible connections among actors, actions, and events through various spatiotemporal technologies. For boundaries contain *and* connect. They frame interactions selectively, privileging some identities and interests over others; and they structure possible connections to other places and spaces across different scales. While such spatial divisions may generate fundamental antagonisms, they

> may also facilitate coordination across spaces, places, and scales through solidarity, hierarchy, networks, markets, and other governance mechanisms."

The construction and regulation of such social spaces involves forms of exchange and communication that complicates the relationship between civil society and the state. These exchanges often involve actors that are not easily categorized as either 'state' or 'civil' actors but seem to be positioned somewhere between the two. Acknowledging the interchanging and overlapping nature of state and civil actors highlights the complexity of state-society relations and the importance of analyzing the distinction of state and civil spaces.

A key aspect of most studies of state-society relations is in the elaborative descriptions of the processes involved in state- and nation-building. Mid-century scholars such as Lipset (1963) were inspired to describe variations in long-standing political party systems across western democracies as being tied to the specific 'builders' of each nation and the specific and unique challenges they faced as individuals and members of certain social groups. The attention given to specific leaders and their ideological and cultural influence on processes of what is termed 'nation-building,' also led to the acknowledgement of processes of 'state-building,' or the development of formal state institutions (Amenta 2005; Scott 1998). Scholars such as Huntington (1968) and Tilly (1975a) prioritized the development of state institutions and their longevity, authority, and variation over cultural homogeneity in processes of state development. This shift can be characterized as a focus on 'state' building over 'nation' building and an increase in attention given to the state as a form of political organization (Jessop 2016). The shift to state structures and institutions was accompanied by attention given to the large network of "professional machinery" in the form of civil service organizations and state bureaucratic agencies that emerges to help the state accomplish various tasks (Oszlak 2005:488).

Contemporary perspectives to the processes and consequences of state- and nation-building are equally as varied as were classical approaches. Statecraft processes are also necessary for distinguishing "what should or should not fall within the state's domain, what is public and what is private, what is and what is not within the state's competence, and so on" (Foucault 2007:144-145). Statecraft processes are necessary for the initial and early development of states but also continue through the development of state institutional structures across time. The distinction of the political from nonpolitical spheres is an ongoing and detailed practice of "spatial organization, temporal arrangement, functional specification, and supervision and surveillance" that continually shapes the fluid boundaries between state and society (Mitchell 1991:95).

Scholars such as Scott (1998) adopt a premise that suggests that statecraft processes are, more often than not, oppressive forces that work against the local traditions, knowledge, and cultural practices of state subjects. In *Seeing like a State* (1998), Scott presents a discussion of the difficulties inherent in processes of statecraft and the negative consequences when such state projects get utilized by high modernist and authoritarian states that ignore local knowledge and order (Scott 1998:6). Scott builds from numerous mid-century perspectives that view the state-building process as somewhat brutal and negative for those involved. In *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, Tilly (1975b) outlines the destructive processes of bureaucratic state-building that have negative consequences for the welfare of the people overseen by them. These types of approaches suggest that the state and the betterment of subjects may be exclusive or in some ways pitted against one another. This approach also implies that states are always oppressive forces that are never liberatory or emancipatory in their effects on subjects.

More optimistic approaches to the state and its subjects can be deduced from the work of scholars who posit that the state can be liberating and enable emancipatory social goals (see Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, Tipton 1992; Skocpol 1992). In a similar vein, the potential for a 'state-society synergy' has been suggested to exist by scholars that reject the notion that there is a strict zero-sum relationship between civil society and the state (see Evans 1996, 1997). The synergy that can exist between private entities and state structures is, for Evans (1996, 1997), a critical aspect of developing egalitarian social structures and more effective state bureaucracies. Overall, scholars that adopt the more optimistic approach to the intersection of the state and civil society often underline the role of social capital and social networks in the cooperative efforts of the state and civil society in shared developmental projects (Bellah et al. 1992; Evans 1996, 1997; Skocpol 1992).

Studying Structures in Civil Society

Many contemporary views of the state and civil society build from the acknowledgement that before formal processes of statecraft are initiated and institutionalized, exists "a plethora of corporate communities endowed with traditional rights and obligations, such as churches, estates, cities, and guilds" that were located in preexistent but non-state political-economic orders (Streeck and Kenworthy 2005:441). Such 'organized collectives' often resisted processes of statecraft, including "territorial bureaucratic rule and the spread of market relations," which often pitted them against the state (Scott 1998; Streeck and Kenworthy 2005:441). Nevertheless, such collectives have been successfully incorporated into the state system even though the state was unable to completely disintegrate them (Scott 1998; Streeck and Kenworthy 2005). This modern form of semi-incorporation of these collective social groups and various forms of associational participation and self-governance into the state system is often referred to in the literature as

'neo-corporatism' or 'liberal corporatism' (Lehmbruch 1977; Schmitter 1974; Streeck and Kenworthy 2005:441).

Many scholars have emphasized policymaking processes and how they expose aspects of the interaction between the state and collective association. Modern corporatist associations largely interact with the state as organized interest groups (Granados and Knoke 2005; Streeck and Kenworthy 2005). Many corporatist perspectives emphasize the role of the state in orchestrating the participation of interest groups in policy-making processes (see Lehmbruch and Schmitter 1982; Schmitter 1989; Schmitter and Lehmbruch 1979; Williamson 1989). This practice is often called "concertation," involves cooperation and reciprocity between the state and organized interest groups aimed at achieving harmony and integration during policy-making processes. Concertation can be viewed as part of state-led macroeconomic management that are coordinated "between the state and organized social groups that command independent political capacities" (Streeck and Kenworthy 2005:449). In this way, the corporatist system is held together by a legal agreement that is constituted by a "series of contracts negotiated between the state and corporate interest groups spelling out mutual rights and responsibilities" (Granados and Knoke 2005:294).

Alongside concertation, Cawson (1985, 1986) importantly suggests that interest groups are not only formally incorporated into the state policy system, but that they also participate in ways that assists the state in creating policies that they actively shaped and consent to through "delegated self-enforcement" (Granados and Knoke 2005:293). The concepts of self-enforcement and self-government are very closely related in that many corporate interests actively shape the regulations they are to abide by through infiltrating, lobbying, and

participating directly in public policy creation at the national and subnational levels (Streeck and Kenworthy 2005).

Much scholarly attention given to corporatist processes focus on economic policy, specifically employment, income policies, working conditions, worker training, productivity measures, inflation, and fiscal policy (Granados and Knoke 2005:294). In these contexts, the state gives specific interest groups, or 'peak associations,' the ability to speak for the larger constituency which they supposedly represent in exchange for "their cooperation in developing and enforcing policy decisions" (Granados and Knoke 2005:294). While many scholars have not utilized corporatist perspectives in the United States due to "minimal state economic intervention and weak peak associations" (see Salisbury 1979 and Wilson 1982), the approach has been used to describe certain aspects of interest group involvement in policy-making processes in the United States (Granados and Knoke 2005:294). Schmitter (1989) discusses the way that corporatist phenomena in most Western states pop up around diverse welfare and social provision issues. The shift from looking at large-scale homogenous corporatist systems, to sectoral or industrially specific policy such as welfare and social service provisions is sometimes labeled meso-corporatism and involves the analysis of interest associations in the construction of specific or relevant policies (Granados and Knoke 2005:295; see Cawson 1985, 1986 and Schmitter 1989).

Social network theories of interest group participation in policy-making processes have been suggested to get around the debate between pluralist and corporatist perspectives and offer a novel approach to the "interorganizational ties" that exist within the public and private spheres (Granados and Knoke 2005:301). These approaches view the policy-creating process and domain as an arena characterized by interorganizational relations (see Börzel 1998; John 2001; Knoke

1990b; Richardson 2000; Thatcher 1998). This domain involves sets of "interest group organizations, legislative institutions, and governmental executive agencies that engage in setting agendas, formulating policies, gaining access, advocating positions, organizing collective influence actions, and selecting among proposals concerned with delimited substantive policy problems, such as national defense, education, agriculture, or welfare" (Burstein 1991; Laumann and Knoke 1987:10). In the social network approach, analysts describe "policy network formation, the persistence and change of networks over time, and the consequences of policy network structures for interest group organizations, governmental agencies, and the policy domain as a whole" (Granados and Knoke 2005:301).

Social network theories involve three basic assumptions about the relationships between actors and networks in the policy-making processes which include assuming that "(1) the social structure of any complex system consists of stable patterns of repeated interactions connecting actors to one another; (2) these social relations are the primary explanatory units of analysis, rather than the attributes and characteristics of the individual actors; (3) the perceptions, attitudes, and actions of actors are shaped by the multiple structural networks within which they are embedded, and in turn their behaviors can change these networks' structures (Knoke 2001:63-64). This focus on the institutional role of actors within social networks brings attention to the causes of interorganizational relationships and their effects on both individual actors within the network, the policy network and domain, and the policy-making process (Brass 1995; Galaskiewicz 1985; Knoke and Guilarte 1994). Interorganizational ties and relationships can take five basic types, including "resource exchange, information transmission, power relations, boundary penetration, and sentimental attachments" (Knoke 2001:65). Policy networks have been defined by Kenis and Schneider (1991, quoted in Granados and Knoke 2005:302) as being

"described by [their] actors, their linkages, and its boundary. It includes a relatively stable set of mainly public and private corporate actors. The linkages between the actors serve as channels for communication and for the exchange of information, expertise, trust and other policy resources. The boundary of a given policy network is not in the first place defined by formal institutions but results from a process of mutual recognition dependent on functional relevance and structural embeddedness" (Marin and Mayntz 1991).

The study of policy networks in Western nations such as Britain, Germany, and the United States has suggested that these networks play an increasingly important role in policy-making processes due to decreasing governmental regulation, increasing privatization, and more reliance on market transactions in various domestic policy domains have created a notably open and fluid relationship between the state and organized interest groups (Feigenbaum, Henig, and Hamnett 1998; Hulsink 1999; Swann 1988). The processes and outcomes of neoliberal change have affected the relationships between the state and organized interest groups in the past half century. In the United States, the role and strength of policy networks have changed amidst economic, political, and institutional change, specifically with historical shifts in legislative, executive, judicial, and regulatory conditions (Berry 1977; Schlozman and Tierney 1986; Vogel 1996). Historically, the strength and prevalence of policy networks have ebbed and flowed through many epochs of large-scale policy changes, including the New Deal, civil rights, feminist, gay and sexual rights, abortion, the Religious Right, and other identity and interest-based social movements (Granados and Knoke 2005:306).

Structured Polity Approaches to the State, Civil Society, and Policy Analyses

In this section the structured polity approach as developed by Skocpol (1992) for the analysis of the state, civil society, and decentralized state programs is described. The polity here

includes the state and the organizations and individuals of civil society over which the authority of the state extends. The structured-polity approach will be utilized by this dissertation to better understand the cooperative roles of state and civil institutions--including state and civil actors--within the continuing devolution of social services and the changing relations between the state and society.

In order to incorporate state-centered theories and concepts into an analysis of the creation and devolution of social service provision, Skocpol (1992:41) shifts slightly to a more polity-centered analysis which she called a 'structured-polity' approach. To apply state-centered thinking to the analysis of early American social provision policies, Skocpol built from Orloff and Skocpol's (1984) state-centered approach to examining the potential causal role of the state in policymaking processes. Orloff and Skocpol (1984) had argued that past processes of state-building and intervention influence how state and political organizations operate and in turn affect policy proposals by influencing what politically active groups view as possible and beneficial (Amenta 2005). In *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, Skocpol (1992) returned to the idea that large-scale state institutions could shape the actions of political and civic actors around the issue of social service provision (Amenta 2005). Skocpol's (1992) approach suggests that large-scale state institutions influence individual social and political identities and as well as group formation and orientation (Amenta 2005). Skocpol (1992) gave more autonomy to meso-level state actors and their embeddedness within socioeconomic relations and cultural patterns than was recognized by Orloff and Skocpol (1984), as she focuses on the wide range of polity actors that shape state and civil action.

State-centered and structured polity approaches to decentralized service provision (see Weir, Orloff and Skocpol 1988; Skocpol 1992) often follow the ideas of Lowi (1972), who

suggested that new social policies can alter the capacities of the state and "produce changes in social groups and their political goals and capabilities" (Amenta 2005:107), to suggest that statebuilding and policymaking are reciprocal and path-dependent processes. This path-dependence of social policy, especially around public spending, can be explained by the fact that the "initial configuration of social policy influences its future; the structure of social policy has important impacts on the politics of social policy and thus the future of it and other policies (Abrams 1988). Pierson (1994) suggested a structural source for this type of inertia in the life-course of social policy, namely that policies such as welfare, which fundamentally shape the way vast numbers of people structure their lives, will have "lock-in" effects and contribute to their longevity and resistance to dismantling (Amenta 2005). Such fundamental policies also likely involve unique interest groups that have formed around the beneficiary categories established by policy and programs (Pierson 1994). In this way, the state-centered and structured polity approaches are said to become more 'historical' in that they are acknowledge the ways that state structures and policymaking processes are embedded within spatiotemporal social change (Abrams 1984; Amenta 2005:107).

Skocpol (1992:41) lays out four processes that are brought to light by a polity-centered approach to the "patterns and tempos of U.S. social provision," including "(1) the establishment and transformation of state and party organizations through which politicians pursue policy initiatives; (2) the effects of political institutions and procedures on the identities, goals, and capacities of social groups that become involved in social policymaking; (3) the 'fit'--or lack thereof--between the goals and capacities of various politically active groups, and the historically changing points of access and leverage allowed by a nation's political institutions; and (4) the ways in which previously established social policies affect subsequent politics." In terms of the

first process, the initiatives of politicians, Skocpol (1992:41) writes that a structured polity perspective gives considerable attention to state administrators and politicians and the ways they are "enabled and constrained by the political organizations within which they operate" and can contribute to social policy in independent ways. Skocpol places emphasis on the actor qualities of politicians and the ability for the state to be a place of "autonomous action", rather than viewing the state as a tool of the dominant class or simply a mechanism embodied by a pluralism of social groups, claiming that states are "not reducible to the demands or preferences of any social group" (1992:42). Politicians and elected officials themselves, while not insensitive to "social preferences" or to a general interest in economic growth, "have ideas and organizational and career interests of their own, and they devise and work for policies that will further those ideas and interests, or at least not harm them" (Skocpol 1992:42).

In terms of the second process, namely the influence of political structures and processes on the identities, capacities, and goals of politically active groups, Skocpol highlights the ways that "patterns of bureaucratic development influence the orientations of educated middle-class groups as well as the possibilities for all social groups to 'do things' through public authority" within most Western democracies. She goes on to say that the institutional arrangements of state and political organizations "affect the capabilities of various groups to achieve self-consciousness, organize, and make alliances" and that the sociological understandings of political group consciousness and class conflicts must acknowledge the effects of changing state and government organization (Skocpol 1992). The third process that Skocpol discusses, the level of 'fit' between state structures and various groups, involves the different capacities that are distributed among various politically active groups. Certain groups are granted "access and leverage" to politically salient organizations, alliances, and resources while others are denied

access and leverage (Skocpol 1992:54). The relative success of any politically active group or movement is, therefore, influenced by state structures and actors and not simply by group consciousness or resource mobilization (Skocpol 1992). These political opportunity structures have been analyzed as a part of some new institutionalist approaches (Amenta and Zylan 1991; Kitschelt 1986; McAdam 1996), and emphasize the ways certain interest groups, such as business interests, are able to infiltrate multiple points of access to legislatures, committees, and executive agencies among other state institutions to promote desirable moves and block any undesirable legislation (Graebner 1977; Robertson 1989). In her analysis of the creation of maternal welfare programs for soldiers and mothers, Skocpol (1992:55) emphasizes the role and 'fit' of such "widespread federated interests" in the construction of social provision policies and within U.S. policy-making processes in general.

Finally, the fourth process within policy-making processes discussed by Skocpol (1992:58) as being brought to light by a polity-centered approach are 'policy feedbacks' or the ways that established social policies affect politics and the creation of future policies. Skocpol mentions that too much social science ignores that fact that most new policies actually restructure subsequent political processes and therefore overlooks the ways that policy-making processes can create feedback among potential future policies. The process of feedback among established and future policies is linked to the efforts made by officials to implement new politics using existing administrative arrangements and the effects new policies have on the identities, capacities, and goals of subsequently active political groups (Skocpol 1992; Skocpol and Amenta 1986). New policies also "transform of expand the capacities of the state" and can therefore serve to "promote or frustrate" change along certain lines of policymaking (Skocpol 1992:58).

The focus on the institutional settings for state and civil action also involve historical understandings of the changes in these settings over time (Skocpol 1992). This emphasis on the historical processes of pre-existing state and civil structures also brings to light the dual role of such structures as both means and obstacles to change (Skocpol 1992; Walton 1991). Specific institutional settings in which collective action takes place, therefore, will shape the form and mode of civic action as well as both enable and constrain such actions (Fröhlich and Jacobsson 2017; Peterson and Wahlström 2015). The task at hand, therefore, is to "identify specific institutional mechanisms" through which states influence civic action (Fröhlich and Jacobsson 2017:185).

Some of the mechanisms that steer and direct civic action include economic incentives, inclusion, and enrollment (Kitschelt 1986). Economic incentives--such as providing funding--play an important part in how the state directs civic action. All collective behavior requires resources to create and implement strategies for mobilization (McCarthy and Zald 1977), and the state providing funds for the enactment of civic action is a mechanism of control and often repression (Fröhlich and Jacobsson 2017). Inclusion can be thought of as the ways the state incorporates civil society actors into "the institutionalized avenues for participation in the process of formulating policy" (Fröhlich and Jacobsson 2017:186). Inclusion allows for the state to monitor and channel the institutional avenues of civic action while also drawing on the resources--such as manpower, networks, and knowledge--of civil society actors in the creation and implementation of public policy (Kitschelt 1986). The ways that the state incorporates civil society actors into the carrying out of state projects--such as service provision--leads to the last institutional mechanism for guiding civic action, enrollment (Kitschelt 1986). Enrollment of civil society actors can be both formal--by way of contracts--and informal, in which funding is

available but not as highly regulated (Fröhlich and Jacobsson 2017; Kitschelt 1986). In these ways, states can shape incentives as well as constraints for civic actors to carry out certain lines of action (Kitschelt 1986). The state uses various institutional mechanisms to guide this state-society relationship as well as both enable and constrain forms of civic action.

Now that sociological conceptualizations of the state, the key components of state power and institutions, and the relationship between the state and civil society have been discussed, it is important to now move on to discuss aspects of religion and the boundaries between religion and the state in the United States. The next part of this chapter therefore discusses the sociological literature on various aspects of religious belief and belonging, religious social capital, and the relationship between the state and religious organizations.

Part II: Sociological Literature on Religion

This section outlines the relevant sociological literature on religious institutions in the United States. First, a brief discussion of religious pluralism and the existence of a market for religious adherence are provided before turning to a discussion of the links between religion and philanthropy. Forms of religious social capital, the relationship between religious participation and voluntarism, and the existing literature on faith-based service provision are all discussed in that section. The final section of this chapter discusses scholarly approaches to church-state relations, including four general perspectives that characterize most of the ways that scholars approach this boundary.

Thinking about religion in America: Institutions of Belief and Belonging

Contemporary America is simultaneously a very religious and very secular nation, partly due to the unique history that religion has had in America (Wuthnow 1988). In some ways, America is the great exception to the sweeping individual and institutional secularization that

transformed most western democracies while also remaining significantly culturally and institutionally secular itself. American forms of government are without doubt influenced by religion but the value placed on the 'separation of church and state' within the Constitution has kept religious issues out of most forms of government and public action (Allitt 2003). Modern forms of commerce, technology, science, and legislation are largely devoid of any divine references and citizens are, for the most part, free to devote their lives to religion as little or as much as they choose (Allitt 2003). Religion remains, however, a powerful force within social and cultural life. Religion's role in civil society and larger public life has always been both facilitated and constrained by the cultural norms and social structures in which it is embedded. In other words, religion is institutionalized within modern society.

The concept of religious pluralism is paramount in describing the ever-changing religious atmosphere of the United States. According to recent data, nearly eighty-three percent of Americans are either fairly certain or absolutely certain that God exists and over seventy-eight percent of Americans claim some form of religious adherence (Pew 2014). While the number of active religious traditions and organizations in America is in the thousands, the majority of religious individuals belong to either Christian or Jewish traditions (Pew 2014). America also hosts more than 2000 denominations of the Christian church, yet the majority of Christians are served by only a couple dozen denominations or traditions (Melton 2009; Pew 2014). The complexity of the fact that America is simultaneously comprised of many religious traditions and yet dominated by a few traditions cannot be underemphasized when discussing religious pluralism. The fact that American has many religious groups for potential adherents to choose from while also being dominated by a select few implies the existence of social forces that may push or pull individuals into one tradition over another. Such push and pull factors are often

discussed by scholars who emphasize the market effects that emerge from individual religious choice.

A Market for Religion

The notion of a 'market' for religion was first put forward by R. Laurence Moore in *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (1994). In the American religious marketplace, religious leaders and organizations have to attract and keep followers who are willing to contribute resources. Historically, America has always had a market for voluntary religious adherence even during periods when most people had fewer choices in religious membership largely due to the community and ethnic linkages between the religious traditions they are born into (Finke and Stark 1992; Stark and Finke 2000). Scholars have pointed out, however, that in the latter half of the twentieth century these old community and ethnic dispositions for religious traditions began to crumble (Wuthnow 1988). Many Americans chose to transition into a different tradition or leave their original religious altogether during this period. In the language of market forces, this social shift freed the religious consumer to choose for them self what traditions they will be a part of and therefore led to a restructuring of religion within American society (Wuthnow 1988). The changes involved in this restructuring included not only shifts in personal belief and adherence but in the overall structure of churches and religious organizations as well (Allitt 2003; Wuthnow 1988).

The rise of megachurches in the late 1980s and 1990s has been discussed as a way that religious organizations restructured to accommodate potential consumers (Finke and Stark 1992; Stark and Finke 2000; Wuthnow 1988). Many of these megachurches became fashioned after large-scale commercial shopping malls, in which consumers were exposed to various types of worship, education, entertainment, retain, and many other 'market' commodities and religious

amenities (Moore 1994). The sources of such megachurches grew out of the large expansion of churches and church owned property in the post-war period (Allitt 2003). From 1946-1966 thousands of new churches were built across the United States and this growth saw the emergence of large-scale campuses for churches with extensive service and event provisions (Allitt 2003; Moore 1994). Accompanying the increase in geographic sprawl of population and the emergence of suburb communities led to the development of church-planning services and consulting firms that provided advice on how to build and finance religious organizations and service providers (Allitt 2003; Finke and Stark 1992; Stark and Finke 2000).

A critical aspect of the religious market is the adoption of evangelizing strategies and the aggressive seeking of converts traditionally only associated with Evangelical Protestantism (Finke and Stark 1992; Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Stark and Finke 2000). This type of organizational strategy has become "the paradigm of successful church life" in American public life and has shaped the roles that religious organizations play in charitable endeavors (Fowler and Hertzke 1995:14). This has also led some critics to point out that the conception of a religious market reduces religious organizations to suppliers or retailers who compete for customers and contracts (Wuthnow 2004). The argument for religious organizations to be viewed as competing service suppliers has, somewhat ironically, been used by proponents of faith-based service provision, who have argued that service provision may become even more efficient and less expensive for religious organizations if it is pushed onto a market platform (Wuthnow 2004).

The existence of market pressures on the forms and functions of religious organizations within the United States can be understood through the concept of institutional isomorphism. Often linked to organizational analyzes and 'new' institutionalism, organizational and

institutional isomorphism pertains to the notion that organizations tend to have similar organizational structures and strategies of action regardless of their unique origins (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991). Such isomorphism is often cited as a consequence of religious organizations participating in social service provision. This link arises out of the fact that different religious groups must compete for adherents and therefore put pressure on religious organizations to exhibit institutional similarities in order to align with consumer demands. These market forces and institutional influences on the form and function of religious groups has been well analyzed and is often mentioned by scholars discussing the enactment of Faith-Based Initiatives at the community and congregational levels.

Religious Isomorphism

As discussed above, the idea of religious pluralism is paramount in describing the ever changing religious atmosphere of the United States. Yet insights from organizational analysis have shed light on structural and strategic similarities within religious organizations that cut across denominations and religious traditions. These similarities are found in the large-scale overall structures of religious institutions as well as the minute workings of congregational authority and delegations (Wuthnow 2004). New institutionalism, or neo-institutionalism, is a theoretical approach in sociology that wishes to understand how institutions are created, legitimated, and integrated into social, legal, and economic structures. According to this perspective, understanding how institutions mingle among one another is critical to understanding the forms they take and the strengths they have (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, 1991). By the late 1960s Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism were said to be characterized by similar structural transformations and that Weberian processes of bureaucratization was affecting their organizational structures (Luckmann 1969). More recent studies have

demonstrated that the dominant organizational style in the United States has produced a "de facto congregationalism" (Warner 1993). The idea that such congregationalism characterizes many non-Judeo-Christian religions, such as American Hindus and Buddhists, has been noted by several scholars (Kurien 2006; Yang and Ebaugh 2001; Warner 1993). Kurien's (2006) work confirms that Hindus within the United States have experienced tremendous pressure to adopt fundamental changes in the way their religion organizes and functions. Yang and Ebaugh (2001) attributed this change in minority religions, specifically immigrant religions, to a variety of federal and local government regulations. In the past some have provided evidence that American Protestant churches and denominations have adopted similar organizational structures in order to solve similar practical and bureaucratic problems (Takayama and Cannon 1979). The structure of church offices, support staff, and delegated responsibilities had become strikingly similar across many Judeo-Christian and Islamic organizations at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Wuthnow 2004). Others investigated congregations and suggested that the day-to-day operations of religious organizations look surprisingly similar across denominational boundaries (Biddell 1992; Harris 1998).

Such isomorphism is not isolated to religious institutions and has been widely discussed by sociological and organizational theory. DiMaggio and Powell (1983, 1991) suggest that most institutions, whether in civil society or in government, have relatively few models or organizational forms that are viably available to them. If they wish to be successful, most institutions must conform to some aspects of normative operations in their organizational forms. Beyond the classic Weberian iron cage analogy of bureaucratic homogeneity, perspectives in new institutionalism often incorporate language that suggests that institutions "adapt" to selective pressures of existing institutional structures. These claims often stem from ideas within

population ecology that suggests that a population of organizations, such as civil society or government institutions, is subject to environmentally conditioned selection pressures (Hannan and Freeman 1977). These perspectives also suggest that since organizations are caught in inertial change, adaptation is continual and therefore the most enduring or successful organizations at any one time reflect characteristics that have survived processes of selection. It is also suggested that the more enduring organizations will have relatively few differences between their operational models and modes of agency. This process ends with a tendency of "isomorphism" within many populations of various types of organizations (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). New institutionalist approaches to the state utilize organizational theory and largely treat the state as a unique type of political organization, viewing the actors within organizations to be constrained by aspects of their functions "that might result from bounded rationality and constraining scripts, templates and schemas" (Amenta 2005:103; Clemens and Cook 1999).

Issues of isomorphism across religious institutions and organizations are also relevant pertaining to the topic of faith-based service provision. The structural similarities that have been documented across traditions--including office structures, staffing, and religious programs offered including Sunday school programs and child care, small group ministries, and even elderly care (Wuthnow 2004)--will shape what services people expect from religious organizations. These expectations will lead to responses that will likely lead to similarities across the size and scope of services provided by religious organizations (Wuthnow 2004). Religious organizations will make decisions pertaining to which programs they wish to fund in relation to the larger cultural expectations and isomorphic pressures which they respond to. The market

pressures that religious organizations respond to in order to compete for adherents have always involved relations between various religious traditions and groups within civil society.

Competition and cooperation within and between different religious groups have always contributed to the workings of the market and the outcomes of market pressures that are experienced by religious organizations. The unique story of Faith-Based Initiatives, however, incorporates an additional actor into the equation, namely the state. The availability of state funds to support the activities of religious organizations within the public sphere necessarily affects their ability to win adherents and successfully participate in the market. This new role by the state affects both the competitive edge that some religious groups have in the market--such as who is able to win government grants--and the isomorphic pressures experienced by religious organizations, such as what type of services are expected by recipients. This role by the state contributes to the new forms and functions that religious organizations adopt within service provision and public life more generally. Such questions may involve asking how the state is involved in the provision of services by religious entities and the consequences of this involvement for the ways that religious groups attract and keep converts.

Religion and Social Capital

There is a solid foundation of sociological literature on the topic of religion and social capital (Ammerman 1997; Baggett 2001; Cnaan and DiIulio 2002; Greeley 1997; Patillo-McCoy 1998; Perkins, Brown, and Taylor 1996; Putnam 2000; Uslaner 1999; Wilson and Janoski 1995; Wilson and Musick 1997; Wuthnow 1999). Aspects of social capital that can be discussed in the framework of religious communities are the networks that religious groups are embedded within, the norms of volunteering and community development that religion often encourages, and the levels of social and interpersonal trust that is found within many religious communities.

Religious organizations are often characterized by enduring social ties and ideologies that encourage collective action directed at positive social change. Religious communities also provide members with reasons for "morally grounded action" (Bartkowski and Regis 2003), and often replaces the cultural values of "self-interest, instrumentalism, and impersonality--the hallmarks of the state and market sectors of society--in favor of altruism and community service" (Baggett 2001; Bartkowski and Regis 2003). Religious individuals are therefore often considered to be model citizens due to the fact that religious involvement often promotes voluntarism and social engagement beyond the confines of the specific religious group (Ammerman 1997; Greeley 1997; Patillo-McCoy 1998; Perkins, Brown, and Taylor 1996; Putnam 2000; Wilson and Janoski 1995; Wilson and Musick 1997; Wuthnow 1999).

The ways that religious social capital is discussed here will follow the work of Putnam (2000). In this way, forms of religious social capital take two general forms, bridging and bonding social capital. Bonding social capital refers to the deep ties that link people who share the same networks and groups. Putnam suggests that bonding social capital is "inward looking" and that it tends to be built upon people's "narrower selves," and is beneficial because it is "good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity" (Putnam 2000:22). Catalysts for creating and sustaining bonding social capital within religious organizations are found in actions like shared worship, as well as charitable actions and community service. Bridging capital, on the other hand, is "outward looking" and encourages disconnected networks and groups to form linkages across these divides (Putnam 2000:22). Scholars of religion have emphasized the outreach activities conducted by religious groups to provide aid to nonmenbers as well as interfaith coalitions as examples of strong bridging capital within religious communities (Bartkowski and Regis 2003).

Scholars of religion often suggest that the voluntary nature of religious membership is what builds such valuable forms of social capital (Finke and Stark 1992; Stark and Finke 2000). Religious communities in the United States are built through voluntary association and are therefore positioned to create strong bonds that sustain and coordinate action. Scholars often emphasize that because people associate with religious organizations voluntarily, such networks can also overcome issues of nonparticipation, non-contribution, or a lack of social trust (Fukuyama 1995; Lupton 1999; Taylor-Goody 2000). This fact also often comforts members of religious communities because they feel assured they trust other religious individuals and therefore form reciprocal relationships (Coleman 1990; Fukuyama 1995; Seligman 1997). Religious communities can create a "high-trust ethos," which can promote collective investment in building religious networks and conducting meaningful social action (Bartkowski and Regis 2003; Fukuyama 1995; Lupton 1999; Taylor-Goody 2000).

As discussed above, some scholars have conceptualized social capital from a more critical perspective (Bourdieu 1984; Fellmeth 1996; Messer 1998; Popielarz 1999; Portes 1998; Portes and Landolt 1996; Schulman and Andersen 1999; Zand 1996). The construction and maintenance of forms of trust can reproduce asymmetrical power relations and therefore reproduce entrenched form of social inequality. In relation to religious social capital, this view suggests that the same religious organizations which harbor strong forms of social capital may effectively determine that individuals outside of the group are undeserving of aid or trust.

Scholars have pointed out that the strong in-group biases and loyalty may reinforce such exclusive phenomena (Popielarz 1999). Religious communities are commonly delineated by factors such as race, ethnicity, and class and do no often reach across these boundaries. Other forms of exclusion may arise around other factors such as age, gender, and cultural identities that

may lead to reinforce distinctions in social class and inequality (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1992). Religious social capital is therefore simultaneously inclusive and exclusive as many religious communities will put effort into forms of gatekeeping that may exclude those who are deemed to fall outside the categories of acceptable norms and levels of trust.

Religion and Voluntarism

Related to the links between religion and social capital is the links that many scholars have drawn between religion and voluntarism in the United States. The catalysts of this link are discussed as being the deep connection between the religious individual and the group as well as the influence that religious membership may have on moral and philanthropic activity (Cnaan et al. 2002). Two general explanations have been put forward on why religious membership and voluntarism may be linked. The first explanation has been labeled the *direct-link* hypothesis and claims religious people are inherently more focused on social concerns and that volunteering and helping others are aspects of the personality characteristics of religious people. The potential for religion to encourage forms of social aid to those who are disadvantaged is, to proponents of the direct-link hypothesis, a unique aspect of religious involvement and religious beliefs. The second explanation, often labeled the *club* theory, suggests that it is not that religious people are more caring or concerned with the welfare of others but that belonging to a religious group helps people connect with the group's norms, culture, and strong networks of resource sharing and philanthropic activity. Wuthnow (1991), for one, doubts the influence of personal faith alone and instead gives attention to the potential for religious group membership to act as a motivator to partake in volunteering. Wuthnow (1994:242-243) claims that "religious organizations tell people of opportunities to serve, both within and beyond the congregation itself, and provide personal contacts, committees, phone numbers, meeting space, transportation, or whatever it may

take to help turn good intentions into action." It is through this group influence, or *club* effect, for Wuthnow (1994), which religious involvement may influence the amount of volunteering and philanthropic activity carried out by religious individuals and groups.

While the direct-link hypothesis puts the origins of voluntarism in the unique personality and moral characteristics of religious individuals, the club theory is rooted in aspects of religious social capital. Iannaccone (1994) discusses how the club theory focuses on the common costs that result from economies of scope. Iannaccone points out that religious involvement often offers two key goods, namely a catalyst for spiritual expression for members as well as a group to organize volunteering activities. These two goods, for Iannaccone, come at a lower cost if they are produced jointly rather than separately. Religious groups often create the norms of volunteering and charitable behavior that produce strong forms of localized social capital, allowing religious groups to produce other sorts of public goods at a lower social cost (Iannaccone 1994).

While much empirical data has given support to the club hypothesis, much less support has been found for the direct-link hypothesis which privileges religious personality traits. The lack of empirical support for the direct-link hypothesis, however, has not limited its use among political and public figures or even limited its perception among proponents of religion. The theoretical links between religion and volunteering are quite risky to generalize, however, due to the large amount of variation within different religious traditions and the ways they theologically give significance to philanthropic activity (Wilson and Janoski 1995). The lack of empirical data for a direct-link hypothesis is an observation that many scholars have made about the rise of faith-based service provision. Many of these critiques center on the claim that much social policy in the United States is driven by ideology rather than empirical evidence (Kennedy and Bielefeld

2006). These criticisms are often leveled at the policymakers who create social welfare policies that place emphasis on personal responsibility and strict work requirements that view many forms of state assistance as causing laziness and dependency (Kennedy and Bielefeld 2006).

Thinking about religion and social service provision

This section deals with the connection between religion and social service provision that have been highlighted by scholars since the late 1980s. This section also discusses the ways that religious organizations were involved in service provision, as well as the public perceptions of such involvement, during the time immediately preceding national welfare reform in 1996. Finally, this section ends with a discussion of the general ways that scholars have approached studying faith-based service provision in the early twenty-first century.

Religious organizations have a long history of providing social services aimed at fighting poverty and forms of social disadvantage, including child care, drug counseling, food pantries and hot meal programs, and the construction of affordable housing, to name only a few (see Ammerman 1997, 2001a, 2001b; Baggett 2001; Barkowski and Regis 1999; Chaves 2001; Dudley and Roozen 2001; Eng and Hatch 1991; Harris 2001; Harris 1995, 1996; Hogstel and Davis 1996; Humphrey 1980; Kniss and Campbell 1997; McRoberts 1999; Monsma 1996; Morrison 1991; Olsen, Reis, Murphy, and Gehm 1988; Rawlings and Schrock 1996; Wood 1999; Wuthnow 1991, 1999). These activities, however, have mostly been confined to the realm of private expenditures as before the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives in 2001 religious organizations were largely barred from seeking public funds to provide services unless they formed a separate nonreligious nonprofit organization. The shift to allowing religious organizations to seek public funds without having to form a separate nonprofit organization is indicative of many of the structural and cultural changes that immediately preceded the

implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives. Such changes include the retrenchment of the federal government from the central role of service provision as well as the emergence of Evangelical Christianity as a social and political force in the 1980s.

The retrenchment of the federal government from providing direct social services caused an interesting transformation in systems of public service provision in the United States (Baggett 2001; Cnaan et al. 1999; Dudley and Roozen 2001; Eng and Hatch 1991). This transformation witnessed a more central role for private organizations which provided social services with the support of direct and indirect public funding. Direct funding often comes in the forms of contracts and grants, while more indirect forms include vouchers, certificates, or coupons. The shift in the provision of publicly-funded programs by private entities was largely shaped by both the retrenchment of the federal government as well as changes in public opinion about state-led services. Such changes in the ways that politicians and public figures discussed social needs defined much of efforts of mostly right-wing and conservative Christian groups during the 1980s and 1990s. The groups called for an increase in the prevalence of religious groups and organizations in the provision of social services and most forms of public assistance.

Yet while the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives in 2001 is often discussed as a culmination of the structural and cultural changes that accompanied the neoliberal shift in the 1980s, the roles of religious organizations in social services may have shifted less during this implementation than what might be initially imagined. In fact, the role of the religious community in the provision of social services started its slow shift to more centralized participation across the latter half of the twentieth century. As documented in the academic literature from the 1980s, the role of the religious community in social service provision was certainly not negligible during the decades the preceded welfare reform in the 1990s.

Empirical studies within the disciplines of social work and sociology from the 1980s illustrate that local and private organizations retooled many of their strategies in response to budget cuts and retrenchment by the federal government. While some research from the time that looked at the local responses to federal budget cuts does focus more on the responses of secular organizations (Magill 1986; Nathan and Doolittle and Associates 1987; Salamon, Altschuler, and De Vita 1985), other studies emphasized the new roles adopted by religious organizations in service provision (Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988; McDonald 1984; O'Neill 1989; Salamon and Teitelbaum 1984; Wineburg and Wineburg 1986). The retooling of local systems to take on the brunt of responsibility for the social welfare of citizens was a necessary--and often desired--change as local and state governments could no longer handle the burden.

As discussed in this section, research from the time illustrates that religious congregations played an important role in the retooling efforts as they are perceived as a widely ubiquitous community institution and benefit from the utilization of volunteers and existing meeting spaces (Hodkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988; Magill 1986; McDonald 1984; Nathan and Doolittle 1987; O'Neill 1989; Salamon, Altschuler, and De Vita 1985; Salamon and Teitelbaum 1984; Wineburg and Wineburg 1986). Cnaan et al. (1999) points out that the response of local and community efforts to the changes in policy and narrative during the Reagan era were swift and transformative. The budget cuts of the 1980s caused an evolution in the infrastructure of religiously based social services, yet this evolution did not only ignite the participation of religious organizations in service provision but, better yet, it expanded the civil roles that religious entities were encouraged to fulfill.

Social work scholarship from the early 1980s similarly provides empirical evidence that religious organizations have played an increasingly larger role in social service provision and the

public sphere since the 1950s (Hodkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988; Magill 1986; McDonald 1984; Nathan and Doolittle 1987; O'Neill 1989; Salamon, Altschuler, and De Vita 1985; Salamon and Teitelbaum 1984; Wineburg and Wineburg 1986). Such research shows that even during the early days of the shifts in public and political discourse during the 1980s, religious communities were significantly involved in social and welfare service provision (Hodkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988; Magill 1986; McDonald 1984; Nathan and Doolittle 1987; O'Neill 1989; Salamon, Altschuler, and De Vita 1985; Salamon and Teitelbaum 1984; Wineburg and Wineburg 1986).

The 1981 census reports that forty-seven percent of private expenditures on social services were associated with religiously affiliated agencies and organizations (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1981:238). An early national study of the expanded roles of religiously affiliated agencies under the Reagan era retrenchment and devolution was conducted by Salamon and Teitelbaum (1984). They found that even smaller religious congregations had increased their participation and activities in the direct private provision of services by expanding efforts at helping religiously affiliated service providers/agencies and increased donations and financial support of religiously affiliated funding federations (Cnaan et al 1999:11). Beyond these changes, case studies of congregational participation in service provision often focused on specific changes and creation of new programs, such as crisis intervention, welfare advocacy, and elderly services (Doll 1984; Negstad and Arnholt 1986; Wineburg and Wineburg 1986).

In looking deeper at the involvement of congregations in service provision, the Independent Sector, an umbrella research and information organization for U.S. nonprofits, published a study carried out by the Gallup organization and led by Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch (1988). This study found that about eighty-seven percent of Christian congregations of all

denominations had one or more programs in human services and welfare, including eighty percent in family counseling and sixty-eight percent in health programs. They also found that in 1986 individuals gave about $41.4 billion to 294,000 religious congregations, and of that amount, forty-six percent, or $1.9 billion, was used by churches and synagogues for non-religious programs, including substantial donations to religiously affiliated service agencies (Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988). Additionally, they found that sixty percent of congregations reported that they provide in-kind support like food, clothing, and housing for human service programs run by outside religious and secular agencies (Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988). The follow-up study to the Independent Sector's study mentioned above was conducted in 1993 and is often cited as evidence of the newly indisputable involvement of religious congregations in service provision in the Reagan and George H.W. Bush era. This study found that in 1993, members of all religious congregations provided over 125 million hours a month in volunteer services to local nonreligious health, welfare, and educational organizations (Hodgkinson et al. 1993).

Social work scholars that documented many of the interconnections between the religious community and social service provision throughout the early 1980s also often highlighted the complexities of delineating religious from nonreligious aspects of service programs. Netting (1982a) illustrates the similarities, differences, and ambiguities between social work and clerical roles in sectarian agencies as well as outlines changes in the funding patterns of church-related agencies (1982b). Here she points out that government support for religiously affiliated service agencies had grown steadily since the 1950s to 1980 and that religious agencies were becoming increasingly prevalent in the collection of local service providers (Netting 1982b). Large sectarian agencies like Catholic Social Services, the Salvation Army, Lutheran Children and

Family Service, Jewish Family and Children's Services, and various Protestant service agencies have played important roles in service provision in virtually all major communities and have relied on government support for their efforts throughout the twentieth century (Netting 1982b).

Community level studies complemented and reinforced the findings of larger regional and national studies. In a study of public and private service agencies in Greensboro, North Carolina from 1992-1995, Wineburg, Ahmed, and Sills (1997) found that about half of the public and private agencies that utilize congregational donations and volunteers started doing so during the period 1982 to 1992, a timeframe that reflects the beginning of the Reagan era budget cuts to the end of the George H.W. Bush's Administration. This study also found that sixty-nine percent of service agencies that reported taking donations from religious sources started doing so during this same time period (Wineburg, Ahmed, and Sills 1997). Even local public health agencies started to receive donations from religious groups in the form of de facto grants from congregations that wanted to fund programs such as prenatal care for teen mothers (Wineburg 1996).

In discussing the response of the religious community to the riots in Los Angeles following the Rodney King trial in 1994, University of Southern California scholars Orr, Miller, Roof, and Melton (1994) discussed the increasingly prevalent roles that congregations were playing in responding to social need. They describe the system of religious service provision below:

> "The vastness of the social service infrastructure that has been created by the city's religious institutions rarely becomes visible...The religious social service infrastructure has become vast, because the needs of the city have been vast, and because California's publicly supported infrastructure has been cut back in the face of the state's tax revolt and of its long lasting recession." (1994:3)

Orr, Miller, Roof, and Melton (1994) go on to discuss how most of the larger congregations in Los Angeles had set up nonprofit organizations to gain access to public, corporate, and foundation financial support in order to deliver services at religious facilities. They discuss these efforts by saying:

> "Religious leaders are very clear that their use of non-profit corporations (which accept public funds) requires that their human service activities be guardedly secular both in design and execution. But most are aware that they are working in a gray area. The boards of many of these non-profit corporations are made up of clergy and persons associated with the churches in the areas served. Church sites are used to distribute services." (1994:20)

The increasing participation of religious agencies, organizations, and congregations in the design, delivery, and financing of social service programs has been said by some scholars to be linked with the uniqueness of religious institutions in general (Cnaan et al. 1999). It remains unclear whether the charitable and philanthropic aspects of religious institutions were an aspect of the original political push and shift in public discourse or whether these characteristics simply helped religious institutions cope with their new roles after the fact. Regardless, these institutions benefit from certain characteristics in their (new) roles in service provision, namely (1) a deep-set mission to help those in need; (2) a semi-organized pool of potential volunteers; (3) space and facilities to utilize for programs, service delivery, and forums or community discussions; (4) the potential for raising and distributing discretionary funds to designated causes; (5) the potential for political influence; (6) presences in neighborhoods and communities across the nation; and (7) moral clout (Cnaan et al. 1999:15).

Religious congregations and organizations have been lauded as potential service providers due to many characteristics, such as their primarily volunteer foundations, they tend to be rather small and less bureaucratic than governmental agencies and are often taken to be rather

effective in providing human and philanthropic services (Cnaan et al. 1999). This emergent philanthropy by religious groups should be qualified, however, as Wilson and Janoski (1995) found that members of Evangelical and conservative Christian groups are less likely to participate in secular and community volunteering efforts. These groups tend to focus more on internal group issues rather than the community at large (Wilson and Janoski 1995). This is an interesting find by Wilson and Janoski (1995) as it connects to the reason that religious organizations are allowed to have nonprofit status at all. The original reason that nonprofit organizations are able to have tax-free status is that it is assumed that such organizations confer benefits to society as a whole and not just those in ownership and operation of the cooperation. In relation to the tax-exempt status of religious nonprofits, Brown (1990:1634) stated that "Congress grants section 501(c) (3) status to organizations that it believes convey these significant beneficial externalities" as the Supreme Court has decided that the public benefits provided by religious organizations are a 'beneficial and stabilizing influence in community life' and encouragement of diversified views and perspectives which contributes to vigorous, pluralistic society."

In connection to the emergence of religious organizations as service providers, many scholars have emphasized the fact that people expect religious communities to be involved in aspects of community life as well as local philanthropic and humanitarian efforts. At the time of welfare reform in the 1990s, empirical data show that many Americans expected religious organizations to participate in charitable and philanthropic activities, simply by their nature as religious organizations (Ammerman 1996; Cnaan et al. 1999; Wittburg 1994). Ammerman (1996:8) found that eighty-eight percent of Christian congregational members reported that helping the needy was either "very important" or "essential" to living a Christian life and ninety-

two percent reported that service to the needy is either very important or essential to the ministry of their faith.

Similarly, Wittburg (1994) noted that Catholic orders in the United States maintained some 645 orphanages and 500 hospitals in the early 1990s. Whether this influenced shifts in public policy and legislation around religious organizations providing publicly-funded social services is not clear but scholars have long noted the importance of the cultural or ideological connection. Within social work literature, Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965) provided one of the earliest studies focused on determining the nature of participation in welfare and social service provision by religious organizations. In analyzing data from the 1950s, Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965) concluded that total welfare expenditures for the nonprofit sector (excluding government spending) averaged $1,610 million each year, with an average of $235 million (14.6%) coming from religious organizations. While future studies did not specifically replicate Wilensky and Lebeaux's questions, studies have shown that many contemporary social service programs are provided by religious organizations and that social aid and welfare services account for a large amount of clergy and lay-leaders' religious activities and duties (Salamon, Altschuler, and De Vita 1985; Salamon and Teitelbaum 1984; Wineburg and Wineburg 1986).

Similar studies in the 1990s often focused the connections between religious beliefs, charity, and philanthropic views and activities. Wuthnow (1994:242-243) noted that "religious organizations tell people of opportunities to serve, both within and beyond the congregation itself, and provide personal contacts, committees, phone numbers, meeting space, transportation, or whatever it may take to help turn good intentions into action." A biannual survey of volunteering and giving, conducted by the Gallup organization in 1993, found that religious communities are a main source of volunteers and donations within the nonprofit sector. It found

that a strong predictor of people's charitable and giving behavior relates to the nature and intensity of their spiritual commitments (Hodgkinson et al. 1994). Here, eighty-two percent of people who reported giving to nonprofit organizations also reported that they donate to churches or places of worship. Among the regular donors in the study, sixty percent had attended a religious service in the past month, thirty-seven percent had volunteered at their place of worship in the past month, and eighty-four percent of regular donors agreed that religious faith was very important in life (Hodgkinson et al. 1994). It seems for many people, charitable and philanthropic giving to others is central to their religious lives.

The link between religiosity and volunteering or charitable giving has to be qualified, as Wilson and Janoski (1995) found that conservative protestant Christians are less likely to be involved in secular volunteering than are any other religious group, including atheists and agnostics. Wilson and Janoski conclude that conservative Christians are more focused inwardly on the group rather than on larger secular society and although their religious beliefs do encourage philanthropy, most of these activities are targeted on evangelizing and proselytizing efforts rather than secular or community benefits.

Religious organizations have always played a role in charitable and welfare efforts, but this role became more central following the retrenchment of the federal government. In some ways, this shift characterizes a return to systems of service provision that were in place before the state took over in the twentieth century. Throughout the development of the large bureaucratic, state-run programs that took shape during the twentieth century and New Deal era, religious organizations continued to play the roles of charitable and philanthropic groups but were not often considered central players. These efforts were seen as secondary to the efforts of state-led public programs, which began to overshadow the traditional roles of religious

institutions in the early twentieth century. Religious institutions nonetheless continued to quietly provide local and regional charitable efforts as has been documented by studies of the significant increase in volunteer activity--and often religious volunteering--during the decades of the 1950s and 1980s (Barkowski and Regis 1999; Chaves 2001; Harris 1995, 1996; McRoberts 1999; Monsma 1996; Morrison 1991; Olsen, Reis, Murphy, and Gehm 1988; Rawlings and Schrock 1996; Wood 1999).

Faith-Based Initiatives

Supporters of Faith-Based Initiatives frequently bring up the historical role of religious organizations in providing social support. Before the large-scale and centrally administered government programs that accompanied the sweeping changes of the New Deal and later Great Society policy periods, forms of poverty relief and public support were most often provided by locally operated almshouses, which were sometimes funded by public-private partnerships and were frequently religious in both organization and service provision (Axinn and Stern 2001; Day 2003; Trattner 1999).

Any account of current service provision by religious organizations should acknowledge this long history of participation within the early and pre-modern eras before the growth of centrally administered services (Axinn and Stern 2001; Day 2003; Trattner 1999). The role of religious service provision in the early modern era is often contextualized within larger studies of the role of a large and active civil society involved in service provision efforts (Skocpol 1992). The emphasis on the role of the voluntary associations of civil society have illustrated the ways that the individualism in American culture--both religious and secular in form--have not overshadowed the strength and influence of associations within civil society on social service provision (Orloff 1993; Skocpol 1992; Walton 1991). In some ways, this gives a curvilinear or

parabolic shape to line of religious participation in decentralized social service provision. In early modern or pre-modern society, religious organizations were leading participants in localized and decentralized poverty relief and social service provision. During the rise of the modern era, a large-scale structure of centralized and bureaucratically administered system of public provision began to replace the locally focused tradition. In the latter half of the twentieth century, and accompanying the rise of neoliberalism and neoliberal approaches to government and taxes, funds and ideological support for such large-scale bureaucratically administered public programs began to decrease.

In adding a historical dimension to the relatively new phenomena of Faith-Based Initiatives, Monsma (2011) suggests that their creation and implementation exposes many Western European religious traditions and theological concepts that privilege Christian tropes and cultural strategies. These include the Roman Catholic teaching of subsidiarity (where social and political issues are handled at lower levels rather than by a central authority), the neo-Calvinist idea of 'sphere sovereignty' (in which each 'sector' of public life has its own set of responsibilities), and tradition of Christian Democracy from 19th century Europe in which Catholic social teachings and moral obligations to the community were blended with the efficiency and rationalization emphasis of neo-Calvinist thought. Monsma calls this modern blend of European religious traditions within American civil society structural pluralism, and suggests that this approach recognizes the long-standing traditions and benefits of intermediary institutions within large-scale structures like the state or religious traditions (Monsma 2011). Such a type of structural pluralism does not, according to critics, justify the use of public funds for supporting the activities of religious organizations within the public sphere (Monsma 2011).

Yet critics of state provided services--and opponents of general taxation as well--have been successful in framing support for faith-based social service provision in the anti-state and anti-taxation ideology and narratives of the 1980s and neoliberal period (Monsma 2011; Wuthnow 2004). Many of these arguments adopted the premise that religious organizations were the natural and logical providers of charity and social service and it was an error by the 20th century statist perspectives that forced the government to take over social service provision. The 'failure' of the government to provide social services efficiently and effectively in the neoliberal era was framed as a logical extension of the errors of large state ideas like the New Deal and Great Society policy periods. When the state took over, according to critics, service provision and charity became more cold, calculating, and rational, leading inevitably toward the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of government provided services (Olasky 1992). Marvin Olasky's book, *The Tragedy of American Compassion* (1992), emphasized this critical perspective of government-provided services and wished to return to a "golden age" of charity design and delivery in which religious organizations played the central role in service provision. Here, Olasky claims that state-led programs cannot trigger an individual to seek moral reform and religious salvation, which Olasky sees as being necessary for successful public assistance systems. He claims that government or secular service providers cannot solve the true causes of poverty and therefore cannot act as truly effective service providers.

Faith-based service provision also brings up interesting questions about the current and future conditions of civil society in America. Faith-based service organizations have been found to positively contribute to the "cultural norms undergirding civil society, especially by reinforcing trust" (Wuthnow 2004:xvii). The potential of faith-based services in transforming civil society is also evident in relation to social class. Civil society--and the vast myriad of

associational organizations within it--has long been treated as a beneficial phenomenon for the middle class. It is in the voluntary associations of civil society that the growing professional and middle classes emerged from in the mid and latter twentieth century (Wuthnow 2004). The resources and networks involved within and between associations lend financial and social support to members of the middle and professional classes. Such observations on the benefits of voluntary associations on the middle class are evident in some of the earliest contributions to the social sciences, including being discussed by scholars such as Tocqueville, Weber, and Durkheim. The modern provision of social service, however, is an issue that largely evades middle class attention as well as support. The prospects of faith-based service provision may have interesting consequences for the ways that civil society is able to serve the working class (Wuthnow 2004).

While the links between Faith-Based Initiatives and working class benefits from civil society have been noted, they have also been suggested as unable to give the working class a truly larger ability to engage in civic and political participation (Wuthnow 2004). Some faith-based efforts at increasing voting knowledge and participation as well as the development of social skills have been suggested to have the ability to link the working class, civil society, and democratic participation (Wuthnow 2004). Some have suggested that the ability for faith-based social service provision to cross the class boundary from the middle class (in the form of volunteers or service providers) to the working class and disadvantaged is one of the biggest benefits that Faith-Based Initiatives can offer society. Such service provision is often framed as being oriented with the 'right' heart and mind in order to provide more effective services. In actuality, however, there has been little empirical evidence that religious organizations can provide *better* services than secular counterparts surrounding issues of fighting poverty, crime,

drug abuse, food security, and homelessness (Wuthnow 2004). Religion is in a potential position to influence the structure of civil society now more than ever because rates of non-religious forms of voluntary association have been declining over the past decades (Wuthnow 2004). Empirical data reveal that many more people attend church each week than attend any other form of voluntary association and there are over ten times more religious organization buildings across the nation than there are post offices (Wuthnow 2004). This gives religious organizations a somewhat increasingly unique position within American public life and contributes to the general potential for religious entities to play influential roles within the public sphere.

In relation to civil society, faith-based programs are often framed as being a "people-based" strategy of community development as it is tied to associational organizations that are not "place-based" such as local or state governments. Such people-based strategies have been suggested to be more successful due to the benefits of (1) social capital; (2) networks and resource acquisition; and (3) a culture of self-help and betterment (Frederick 2003; Wuthnow 2004). Faith-Based Initiatives are often discussed as being a successful people-based strategy that utilizes the moral investment of strategy participants (Frederick 2003). Some have suggested that both religious and political individuals frame faith-based initiative programs as able to "more fully develop human potential" than secular or state-run social service programs because they are linked to altruism and spirituality rather than secular rationality (Frederick 2003:32). The importance and benefit of networks is found in the interrelations and interdependencies that organize focal points for organizational institutional life or relational frameworks in which organizations operate (Flora et al. 2016; Scott 1991). People-based strategies are also said to benefit from the cultural values of self-help and associational bonding, and therefore religious

civil society organizations have been suggested to be very fertile ground for network and person-based program provision as well as cultural values of self-help and betterment (Frederick 2003).

Missing from previous sociological work on Faith-Based Initiatives is the context of how Faith-Based Initiatives became institutionalized within the federal government. Previous work on Faith-Based Initiatives has largely focused on the local implementation of service programs or the growth of faith-based programs at the state level. These studies have raised very interesting questions about the ways that Faith-Based Initiatives emerged within history and how they have been incorporated into social service policy. Much of the scholarly work done on Faith-Based Initiatives has surrounded two general topics or issues. These two include (1) the legality or Constitutionality of government funds and taxes being given to religious organizations and (2) the scope and effectiveness of religiously provided services compared to either secular or government provided services. The first set of questions often involve issues of fairness, neutrality, pluralism, and the separation of church and state pertaining to taxation and funding (Gilman 2002; Wuthnow 2004). Some of these questions involve the protections for service recipients to receive publicly funded services without involving religious preference, discrimination, or religious tests (Gilman 2002). The second set of questions involves the scope and effectiveness of faith-based services compared to others. This involves issues of how much responsibility the state can enshrine in faith-based organizations in social service provision (Wuthnow 2004).

Again, previous work on Faith-Based Initiatives has largely focused on the local implementation of service programs or the growth of faith-based programs at the state level. Documenting the strategies by which Faith-Based Initiatives were institutionalized in the federal government is the focus of the historical case study that is presented in this dissertation. This

dissertation will contribute to understandings of the unique welfare or post-welfare state in America and offer a new lens for understanding privatized social service provision.

This dissertation also seeks to provide a new analysis on the relationship between the state and culture. Religion is a fundamental aspect of what most people understand as *culture*. The systems of belief and communal participation that characterized religious adherence often involve the taken-for-granted values that people understand as culture. In providing a new lens through which to understand state-society and state-culture relationships, this dissertation also seeks to fill gaps in state-focused research that have overlooked the unique position of religious institutions within civil society. The next section of this chapter provides a discussion of the common approaches that scholars have utilized when studying state-religion relations and the following chapter will embed this project within methodological approaches commonly used. But first, let us now turn to a discussion of the "separation of church and state" in the United States.

Thinking about "Church and State": Scholarly Perspectives on State-Religion Relations

Questions like the ones just raised about the new involvement of the state in the ongoing evolution of religious civil society necessarily involve looking at the ways that religion and the state have interacted in the past. Much scholarly work has been done on the intersection of the two and most approaches exhibit common characteristics. In general, scholars have taken four perspectives on the boundary and the way state and the courts have treated religion, including separatist perspectives, neutralist perspectives, accommodation perspectives, and multiple establishment perspectives (Alley 1988; Fowler and Hertzke 1995). These boundaries are

delineated by state and federal legislation as well as regulated by state and federal court systems. Each of these four approaches is discussed in detail within the following sections.

Separatism

Most scholarly work is done within the framework of separatism, which implies a strict separation between the spheres of government and religion. Strict separation means that government cannot be involved in religion in any way and vice versa. Many separatist scholars have emphasized historical individuals such as Roger Williams of colonial Rhode Island--who heavily influenced Jefferson's and Madison's thinking on this separation--and William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, for their dedication to achieving tolerance for non-mainstream religious groups (Alley 1988; Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Reichley 1985). They emphasize the roles of colonies like Pennsylvania and New York for their policies that would shape early approaches to national separation protections. Many separatist scholars focus on the fear that many colonists associated with state religion and who were skeptical of claims of religious purity and blessings by state officials.

Separatist scholars have also noted the difficulty in sustaining long-term separation and the constant battle between waves of secular and religious forms of democratic representation. In terms of the battles fought between the secular and religious factions of the public, many separatist scholars have focused on religious symbols and phenomena within public places such a parks and courthouses, as well as within public institutions such as public schools, the military, public hospitals, and social service agencies (Miller and Flowers 1987). While some separatists claim that such displays are against the opinions of the public as well as the intentions of the founders, many empirical scholars acknowledge the messiness and contextuality of the data. By this it is meant that the empirical data on support for separatist perspectives is somewhat

complicated and not always useful for giving a clear image of what the public actually thinks (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Miller and Flowers 1987).

Public attitudes on the topic of separation often vary by social contexts as well as by individual issues. Most people overwhelmingly support vague notions of 'separation,' but those same individuals also often support the existence of military chaplains and the strict regulation of non-mainstream religious groups such as the Satanic Temple or Scientology (Fowler and Hertzke 1995). At the same time, the public often reports strong feelings toward the benefit of religious organizations within their community while also having mixed feelings on churches and taxes (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Miller and Flowers 1987). For many separatist perspectives, the lack of taxation of religious organizations is the beginning and end of the separation debate. According to this perspective, religious organizations voluntarily forfeit any participation in the democratic sphere by way of not paying taxes to contribute to the public domain. Separation and freedom of religious expression go together they claim. Such approaches often claim that religious symbols and phenomena do not involve the public or democratic sphere and neither should the latter concern the former (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Miller and Flowers 1987).

Neutrality

Perspectives that have been called neutralist depart from the separatist approach in various ways. This approach has received much support in both the lower parts of the judicial system as well as the Supreme Court (Fowler and Hertzke 1995). According to most neutralist perspectives, the courts should not promote nor impede religion and should try to ignore religion as a factor in any dispute or legal case (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Weber 1990). The approach of legal neutrality was formulated by the Supreme Court in *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1971), which is often called the 'lemon' test of religious neutrality (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Miller and

Flowers 1987; Weber 1990). This test holds that "if a law has a secular purpose and a secular effect, and does not advance or inhibit religion nor result in excessive entanglement between religion and government, then it is constitutional" (Fowler and Hertzke 1995:211). The legal precedent that this case set allows any law that lends incidental support to religion--but only as a byproduct of secular intent--is acceptable and legally founded. This approach implies that the goal is for the state to be neutral in terms of religion as a factor in its treatment with individuals or organizations (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Miller and Flowers 1987; Weber 1990).

Classic neutralist proponents often emphasize the observations by Alexis de Tocqueville ([1835] 1988), who noted the distance between religion and the workings of government. In America, as opposed to many nations in Europe, the state was able to avoid the problems and contentious political fights around religion by providing neutral judges and courts to handle social resolutions (Fowler and Hertzke 1995).

Neutralist and separatist perspectives are often viewed as oppositional. This is because separatist approaches wish to recognize religion as an important factor in the way state structures respond to civil society entities. Many staunch separatist perspectives wish to make sure that religious entities receive no benefits or resources from the state and exist in completely separate spheres (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Weber 1990). Separatist critiques of neutralist perspectives underline the ways that both religious and state entities have cleverly gotten around neutralist filters in the ways that they construct and implement social policy (Miller and Flowers 1987). Religious nonprofits are one issue that has raised such a debate between radical separatists and neutralists for most of the latter twentieth century as nonprofit laws are written with secular intent and effect yet are utilized by religious nonprofits to receive substantial state support (Fowler and Hertzke 1995).

Accommodation

Some scholars have taken an approach that has been labeled as an accommodationist perspective, which "stresses the pragmatic politics of accommodation" for any disputes surrounding religion and the public sphere (Fowler and Hertzke 1995:212). This is to say that the courts--and the state in general--should accept the fact that religion plays a major part in both public and private life in America. The state, according to accommodationists, should play the role of "pragmatic reconciler" between religion and the public sphere, by recognizing traditional relations--such as tax breaks and legislative prayers--while discouraging additional or new links between the two. The prospect of state support for religious schools--including schools that were created in attempt to evade Civil Rights desegregation laws--is one issue which many accommodationists view as overstepping traditional links (Fowler and Hertzke 1995). Accommodationist perspectives also underline the role of the courts as a moderator or mediating force which can achieve compromise for the future without disrespecting past boundaries of church and state.

Multiple Establishments

The multiple establishments approach maintains that the state should sanction public assistance equally to all religious groups, for the encouragement of free exercise (Fowler and Hertzke 1995). Proponents of this approach suggest that religious groups need the state to bring free exercise into fruition within civil society and disagree with separatist claims that free exercise flourishes when religion is completely separate from the state. Many scholars look to the years after the Civil War to depict a state structure that freely supported many different forms of religious organization. Historically, President Ulysses S. Grant created the first state funded projects for religious service provision when he promoted the assimilation of Native American

populations through the educational efforts of congregations and religious organizations (Fowler and Hertzke 1995). The multiple establishment approach has often been qualified as a type of active accommodation, as most proponents of the approach encourage forms of accommodation as long as they are equally distributed to all religious groups and are for the benefit of religious free expression.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

This dissertation seeks to clarify the strategies taken by the Bush and Obama administrations in the creation and implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives. This study involves historical and theoretical questions focused on how each administration institutionalized faith-based service provision as well how this story is situated into sociological theory on state-religion relations and privatized social programs. The nature of such questions lends this dissertation to categorize the different approaches that each administration took in bolstering the involvement of faith-based organizations in the provision of social services. In moving toward answering these questions, this study analyzes the similarities and differences between the faith-based strategies adopted by each administration.

As the goal of this study is to sociologically clarify the processes by which Faith-Based Initiatives became institutionalized within the federal government, it requires a focus on the historical scope of such changes within various state structures and across time. The focus adopted here is borrowed from Skocpol's (1984) edited volume on method within historical sociology. Here, Skocpol compiles various approaches that characterize popular works of historical sociology and emphasizing the commonalities that most historical methods possess. These include: (1) asking questions about social structures and processes concretely situated in time and space; (2) addressing processes over time and taking temporal sequences seriously when accounting for outcomes; (3) addressing the "interplay of meaningful actions and structural contexts" in order to make sense of both intended and unintended consequences of action; and (4) "highlighting the particular and varying features of specific kinds of social structures and patterns of change" (1984:1).

The commonalities between the various approaches to historical sociological analyses also involve the ways that data and evidence are approached and presented. Some scholars have focused on applying general theoretical models to analyze, interpret, and explain one or more historical events and instances. Other scholars have focused on utilizing "concepts to develop meaningful interpretations of broad historical patterns" (Skocpol 1984:368). The method utilized in this study also incorporates what Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol (1985) called 'analytical induction,' an approach which elaborated the methodological ideas of early sociologist Florian Znaniecki (1934). Historical sociology can benefit from analytical induction as it necessarily draws on a series of "research questions, concepts, and causal hypotheses from a variety of existing theoretical debates" and explores the fit and consistency of theoretical ideas through historiographic case studies (Evans et al. 1985:348). The historical case study here will utilize aspects of the inductive approach as this dissertation utilizes sociological concepts to interpret and understand a specific historical event surrounding state-religion relations.

Actor-Centered Institutionalist Analyses

In any analyses of the state and state action, the importance of the individuals who act in the name of the state becomes apparent. This dissertation adopts an actor-centered approach to the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives in order to account for the influence and importance of individuals who occupy positions of state-power. Actor-centered institutionalist analyses aim to understand how individuals within institutions "make history--their own and that of others--in specific institutional contexts. Such studies pursue more detailed analysis of specific institutional arrangements and consider the scope they give for various kinds of individual and collective agent to make a difference" (Jessop 2016:9). The question of who is able to act in the name of the state builds from the notion that the state is after all a peopled

organization and can therefore be manipulated by the compliance (or resistance) of official agents within the myriad state structure (Jones 2007). The attention given to individual interests does not, however, reduce state actors to individual persons with unique personal interests and beliefs. The actor-centered institutionalist approach, instead, "focus on complex actors rather than on individuals; on actors' interests, identities, action orientations, and resources in specific actor constellations rather than in generic, context-free terms; and on different forms of interaction" (Jessop 2016:8).

Some scholars suggest that state actors--who are ultimately responsible for monitoring and managing dissent as well as exercising state authority--are very important pieces of how the state shapes consent and creates legitimacy (Evans et al. 1985; Jessop 2016; Jones 2007). Jessop (2016:20) claims that regardless of the amount of autonomy or capacity enjoyed by various state structures, "the exercise and impact of state power (or, better, state powers) are activated through changing sets of politicians and state officials located in specific parts of the state apparatus, in specific conjunctures, and reflect the prevailing balance of forces, as it obtains beyond as well as within the state." The emphasis placed on state actors underlines their roles in the ways that the authority of the state is both created and exercised. This 'actor-centered' view to understanding state action often discusses the actions of the state in relation to the interests and actions of state actors. Jessop (2016:23) describes the goals of actor-centered institutionalist analyses are to better understand:

> "...who is authorized to make decisions on behalf of the state, as its agent, and to exercise political authority that is backed, where appropriate, by physical violence? And, more intriguingly...on behalf of whom (or what) do the agents act? The answer depends on the list of institutions deemed to belong to the state. It is relatively easy to identify the state's core apparatuses as its agents; but it becomes relatively harder to do so as the list of state apparatuses is extended. At the margins, for example, do they include the trade union leaders who policed income policies in the 'national economic interest' during the stagflationary 1960s and

> 1970s in advanced capitalist societies? Do they include outsiders' interests that coproduce regulation or capture regulatory agencies ideologically, politically, or economically? Further problems arise when we study the internal stratification, parallel power networks, and external policy linkages that animate the state. Here we might refer to agents outside of the state, who contribute to policy formation and implementation."

The actor-centered approach critiques methodological individualisms, which focus analyses on individual actors and their motives and behaviors. These methodological approaches also reject functionalist and structuralist approaches that put primacy on the institutional constraints placed on actors by structural configurations (Jessop 2016). The actor-centered approach, instead, focuses on the intersection of the two, analyzing "the emergent logics and dynamics of different institutional orders or functional subsystems and on the associated asymmetrical opportunities they grant different actors in specific interactional fields, including multilevel, multisite interactions or multispatial arenas" (Jessop 2016:9). The emphasis given to the different institutional orders that influence and shape organizational action has the effect of linking the state to civil society within agent-centered institutionalist analyses.

Structured-Polity Actors and Institutional Analyses

While the general method adopted by this case study is considered an actor-centered approach, it also focuses on a specific type of social actor. In democratic systems it often becomes difficult to distinguish state and civil actors. This dissertation acknowledges this overlapping and complex relationship and instead approaches both of these types of actor as a form of "polity" actor. By adopting this type of approach, the case study presented here can better analyze the interplay between state and civil actors as well as acknowledging the often indistinguishable boundary between the state and civil society.

The approach taken here is built from the work of several scholars and approaches to analyzing the action of state actors. Amenta (2005:114) suggests that the future of state-centered institutionalist scholarship needs to connect "large-scale state structures and institutions with actors and relationships at the meso level in order to build more robust theoretical configurations of the state and state structures." Also, the links between "systemic state structures and the actors and organizations that make up the meso level will help to identify the causal role and influence of the state on social processes and outcomes, including large shifts in policy" (Amenta 2005:114). Hicks, Janoski, and Schwartz (2005) call for an extension of state-centered analyses to build upon the significant development in the state-centered study of policy domains and civil society (Burstein 1991; Hall 1995; Jacobs 2003; Janoski 1998; Keane 1987, 1988a, 1988b; Knoke et. al 1994)). These shifts "indicate that the time is right to move from differentiation of theoretical work to more synthetic theory building by bridging civil society, policy domains, voluntary associations, social movements, interest groups, and the state into more meaningful theoretical relations" (Hicks, Janoski, and Schwartz 2005:2). The case study presented in this manuscript wishes to move toward a theoretically-informed polity actor-centered analysis that can synthesize theoretical approaches to policy creation, voluntary associations, and the boundaries between the state and religious civil society.

Overall, this dissertation treats the creation of Faith-Based Initiatives as a form of intervention by the state into the realm of civil society. Evans (1985:353) suggests looking at the ways that state structures change when they undertake new interventions. The possibility for "variations, unevenness, and contradictions" in state capacities lead scholars to conclude that state interventions are not part of some unified concept of state 'capacity' or 'strength' but instead direct analyses to how various state organizations interact and intertwine to produce these

interventions. Jessop (2016:43) adds to this line of thinking that "the discursive as well as material constitution of the state-civil society boundary enables state managers to deploy that movable boundary in the exercise of state power--and may in turn provoke counterproposals or resistance from social forces."

In approaching future analyses that can understand the contexts and consequences of state interventions, Evans et al. (1985:360) suggest that future analyses should "probe the internal complexities of state structures, without going to the extreme of treating states simply as disconnected collections of competing agencies." The focus given to the complexities of aspects of the state apparatus make up a large portion of what Evans, Rueschemeyer, and Skocpol called "bringing the state back in" (Evans et al. 1985). As discussed in chapter two, the state-centered approach in sociology is concentrated on viewing the state as a semi-autonomous social entity that has the ability to reach into civil society and organize social action. Evans et al. (1985:364) also write that "careful analyses of the causes and consequences of state actions in various circumstances" will provide the "analytical tools necessary to avoid misguided attempts" at explaining state interventions. This historical case study that is presented here is guided by such warnings and seeks to better understand the ways that state and civil structures are involved in state interventions around social service provision.

A Polity Actor-Centered Case Study of Faith-Based Initiatives

This dissertation will utilize a polity actor-centered institutional approach to better understand the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives within the federal government. This dissertation treats the institutionalization of faith-based initiatives as both a shift in the relations between the state and religion as well as a shift in the ways the state approaches privatized social service provision. The changes that accompanied this shift are conceptualized as a series of

actions, yet a series that can be described as a single historical instance or event. The historical "moment," to use Abrams' (1982) term, can be thought of as the series of actions that led to the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives at the federal level. The focus given to the historical moment that faith-based initiatives became institutionalized within the state is based on the types of historical methods that characterize works such as Stinchcombe's *Theoretical Methods in Social History* (1978), Tilly's *As Sociology Meets History* (1981), and Abrams' *Historical Sociology* (1982). In discussing the importance and primary use of specific events that define moments within historical sociology, Abrams (1982:192) writes:

> "Events, the conceptualization of history as eventful, are more specifically an indispensable prism through which social structure and process may be seen. Structure and process, say class or industrialisation, are not directly observable but are inferred from the observation of events (or conditions). Events themselves are of course in turn are inferred from the observation of action. But the event is, as it were, a primary construct, full of empirical content, mediating action and structure."

Such a description of the importance of specific events for the production of historical sociology underlines their utilization as snapshots of a single moment in structure and action. This single moment--which is in reality a series of related events--helps the historical sociologist make sense of the "structure and process," that Abrams mentions (1982:192). Abrams uses the term 'structuring' to describe these processes of the "reciprocal flow of action and structure" and the ways that historically-focused sociology must create "moments or episodes" within structuring processes in order to better manage them analytically (1982:192). The focus on the historical 'moment' that faith-based initiatives became institutionalized also implies attention given to the polity actors who shape and constrain institutional action.

The story of how Faith-Based Initiatives were implemented across cabinet departments and federal agencies provide a context to gain insight into how actors and government

institutions are intertwined. To quote Peter Evans (1995:19-20), an actor-centered institutionalist approach can illuminate the intertwined nature of actors and institutions, as "on the ground, 'state structures' and 'state-society relations' become relations among state agencies and organizations, relations between these agencies and individual firms, historical patterns of ties among individuals—all things that can only be appreciated by talking to individual state managers and private executives." As Evans (1995) warns, involving the individual perspectives of state actors when analyzing aspects of state action will likely involve bias and self-interest yet also points out that these biases are important for decoding many of the actions of institutional actors.

This project will move forward on analyzing the various strategies adopted by the Bush and Obama administrations by utilizing a polity actor-centered analysis of state institutions involved in the implementation of faith-based service provision. Actor-centered institutional analyses place primacy on the ways that such actors perceive and understand the role of the institution and the position it occupies within social structure (Jessop 2016). Invoking this type of analysis will involve probing archival documents for aspects of the motivations and visions of state actors, the role of religion in society, the relationships between religion and the state, and preferred strategies and structures for social service provision in modern society. The following section discusses the data employed by this study and a discussion of the coding of archival data can be found in the next chapter.

Data Collection

This dissertation will primarily use archival documents from the George W. Bush and Barack H. Obama Presidential Libraries to conduct a historical case study of the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives within the federal government. All documents are public record and are available through the digitized libraries found online at each Presidential

Library website as well as the website for the National Archives. These primary data will be supplemented with secondary material that is gathered from newspapers and periodicals.

The available documents from the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI) and the Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (OFBNP) from 2001-2017 provide insight into the strategies, events, and public and internal communications between the various faith-based offices within the White House, cabinet departments, and federal agencies. Probing the archival data for the historical story of faith-based service provision will help to better understand the mechanisms and motivations behind the implementation of faith-based service provision and what the intended purposes of policy strategies were. The intervening actions taken by the state were an ongoing process across two Presidential administrations and part of this analysis involves clarifying what incentivized and motivated further and varied interventions across the sixteen years covered by the case study presented here.

Archival Data within Presidential Libraries

The archival documents of the OFBCI and the OFBNP were accessed through the online databases within the George W. Bush Presidential Library and the Barack H. Obama Presidential Library. Both libraries have been completely digitized and all archival documents are available to the public online through individual websites for each administration. All office communications, press releases, outreach efforts, official reports, and speeches on faith-based initiatives by partnership center directors and staff, cabinet agency heads, and both President Bush and President Obama are catalogued in the digital archives. In total, the amount of archive documents that were collected from these libraries and coded came to seven hundred and forty-four (n=744). In addition to these primary documents from the online archives, other

supplemental documents, such as interviews with agency heads and partnership centers that appeared in publications, newspaper articles and periodicals, and were collected from online sources.

Archival documents were the primary source of data, because they were descriptive of the actions and motivations of state actors as well as being frozen in time. Approaching the archival documents as "frozen" in time was beneficial due to the fact that many of the state actors involved in the implementation of faith-based service provision did not have distinct and clear memories of the actions taken by the state. The archival documents helped to remind and guide the reflections of state actors as they described their efforts and experiences with Faith-Based Initiatives. Informal discussions and conversations with office directors, deputy directors, and staff were therefore utilized as secondary data sources that helped to clarify and contextualize the archival documents.

Again, the archival documents were primary for three simple reasons, first that they provided a complete record of all the activity of each office and director, second, that office staff and influential policymakers often did not remember the specifics of various activities conducted by the offices during their tenure, and the third, and most significant reason, is that many of these office directors and deputy directors are still working either within the partnership centers or within the federal agencies that house each center, keeping these individuals from being able to be quoted directly on the work of the offices from 2001-2017. The limited ability of these officials to speak in a formal and documented sense kept conversations informal and quite focused on the broader or more general aspects of Faith-Based Initiatives. This fact led these discussions to remain focused on clarifying and contextualizing aspects of the story told by the archival documents.

Overall, seven hundred and forty-four (n=744) documents were taken from the archives of both Presidential Libraries. Documents taken from the archives of the George W. Bush Presidential Library include six executive orders, eleven official reports, three guidance documents for faith-based organizations, thirty-three fact sheets about faith-based service programs, eighty-one speeches by President Bush that mentioned faith-based programs, twenty-three newsletters that came from the OFBCI, one hundred and eight press release documents, sixteen documents which compile the regulatory changes adopted by Partnership Centers within federal agencies, and thirty-eight uncategorized documents of office activities and communications. A total of three hundred and nineteen (n=319) documents were retrieved from the George W. Bush Presidential Library. Documents taken from the Barack H. Obama Presidential Library include two executive orders, three reports from the President's Advisory Council, nine official reports, twenty-three speeches by President Obama that mentioned faith-based programs, thirty-four press release documents, six outreach material and guidance documents, three hundred and thirty blog posts about the activities of faith-based offices, and eighteen uncategorized documents of office activities and communications. A total of four hundred and twenty-five (n=425) documents were retrieved from the Barack H. Obama Presidential Library.

Informal conversations with directors and staff within the OFBCI and OFBNP and partnership centers within federal agencies were held throughout the analysis portion of the case study. These individuals were identified by reading through archival documents in which they were mentioned in some official capacity. Within the archival documents, one hundred and thirteen individuals (n=113) were identified as directors or staff within the OFBCI and OFBNP offices, the Partnership Centers within cabinet departments and federal agencies, and members of

the President's Advisory Council. Of the one hundred thirteen, contact information was obtained for twenty-eight individuals, mostly office directors, deputy-directors, program managers, and policy analysts. Contact information was obtained through official government websites, LinkedIn, a professional networking platform, and Twitter, a social media platform. In the initial contact message, potential respondents were invited to either partake in an informal phone or videoconference conversation or fill out an informal series of questions about their work on faith-based service provision.

The questions constructed for both the conversations and questionnaire dealt with general information pertaining to their service and roles within faith-based offices and partnership centers. Beyond biographical background information, other questions included: "In your opinion, what makes partnerships between government and private organizations effective regarding social assistance and welfare programs?"; "In your opinion, why should the federal government include religious organizations in the provision of social services and welfare programs?"; "In your opinion, what would the most effective partnerships between the state and religious organizations entail?"; and "In your opinion, to what extent can faith-based organizations participate in or contribute to the provision of social services?" Respondents were allowed to provide brief or elaborate responses and were instructed to answer these questions in any form they wished.

Of the twenty-eight individuals which were contacted, eleven responded to the invitation in agreeance to either an informal or more formal discussion of their efforts and experiences. The majority of these eleven individuals are still working with a partnership center within a federal agency, which barred them from being able to speak on the record or hold an official discussion about their work. This fact limited the ability for these individuals to be quoted or recorded but it

did allow for informal and "off the record" discussions about the more general aspects of faith-based service provision as well as the work of the OFBCI, OFBNP, and Partnership Centers. Conversations with state actors therefore had to remain informal due to their limited ability to speak on the record or be quoted. Discussions were semi-structured and centered around their participation in faith-based initiative offices and partnership centers. Before contacting these individuals, a list of general topics was generated rather than specific questions to guide the conversation, starting with biographical information and questions about the capacities in which they served. Topics were often re-phrased or asked in various ways in order to pinpoint responses and clarify meanings. Follow-up questions were utilized, such as "Could you explain that more in detail?" which helped to guide conversations when necessary. The goal of these discussions was ultimately to remain flexible and open-ended.

While it initially seemed lucrative to interview the members of the President's Advisory Council members across the three councils, it became more apparent during research processes that these actors were not as influential as seemed at first and that their capacity on the Council was more nominal than substantive. These individuals are all linked to very large charitable and philanthropic organizations and some are among the giants in the nonprofit sector. That likely implies that their presence on the Council was one of representing their organizations and its interests and role in the larger nonprofit sector. These individuals also served in a much more specific and limited capacity within the faith-based initiatives that the Obama administration undertook, the councils were focused on specific topics and the contributions of the members of the council--and their organizations--came in the form of official council reports submitted at the end of their one year of service. These individuals were not among the ones contacted for discussions in this dissertation, partly due to the specific nature of their contributions and partly

due to the fact that they are giants in the nonprofit sector and therefore quite hard to contact and chat with.

In addition to the primary archival documents and informal conversations with state actors, interviews published in newspapers and periodicals were also utilized as supplemental data. When these officials were interviewed by secular and parochial publications they often spoke of the intentions and goals of the White House Office and the Partnership Centers within federal agencies. These third-party interviews also proved to be quite illuminating when it came to understanding the actions of these offices and the initiatives they undertook at the time they occurred.

Overall, this dissertation utilizes archival documents taken from the George W. Bush Presidential Library and the Barack H. Obama Presidential Library. As discussed in this chapter, the documents from each library are available to the public and have been digitized to be available online. Separate websites for the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI) and the Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (OFBNP) were utilized in gathering data for the analysis which is provided in chapter four. A description of how this data was collected and coded is discussed in detail in the chapter four. The ways the data were initially approached and coded formed parts of the preliminary analyses and are therefore included in chapter four which includes the overall analysis that is provided by this dissertation.

Chapter 4 - Analysis

This chapter brings a nuanced theoretical frame to the seemingly disparate ways that proponents of Faith-Based Initiatives supported their implementation across two Presidential administrations. The Office of Faith-Based and Community Organizations (OFBCI) during the Bush administration and the Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (OFBNP) during the Obama administration took very different approaches to developing faith-based service provision. Each of these offices were tasked with overseeing the Partnership Centers that are found within cabinet departments and other federal agencies, yet each prioritized different strategies and goals for faith-based service provision.

The research question that forms the foundation of this dissertation is focused on how Faith-Based Initiatives were implemented as state strategies to further the privatization of service provision as well as engaging religious organizations in service provision systems. This question necessarily involves looking at the strategies adopted by each administration and the institutional mechanisms they utilized in pursuit of policy goals. The analysis provided in this chapter therefore uses sociological theory to make sense of the vastly different strategies of faith-based service provision that were adopted by OFBCI and the OFBNP during the Bush and Obama administrations.

This chapter identifies two general dimensions by which the strategies can be analyzed and four general categories of strategy that emerge when the dimensions are combined. By clarifying and categorizing the strategies taken by each administration, this dissertation fills a gap in sociological research focused on the emergence of Faith-Based Initiatives from 2001-2017. Before discussing the theoretical model which this chapter provides, the processes of data coding are discussed before turning to the overall comprehensive analysis.

Data coding practices and analysis are separated into discussions of the three rounds of coding and are described in detail in the following sections. All archive documents (n=744) and secondary interviews with faith-based office staff published in newspapers and periodicals (n=7) were all uploaded into Nvivo, a data-coding software, to be qualitatively coded for each round of coding. The first round involved preliminarily searching the data for any discussion of the general purposes or goals of faith-based service provision. The second round of coding allowed for groupings of data that emerged from the first round to be further sorted. The third round of coding clarified the shared aspects that each grouping of data held and helped to identify general dimensions by which the data could be grouped. After being treated by the three rounds of coding, the data was subjected to an overarching analysis which helped to generate the theoretical model which this chapter provides. First, let us turn to a discussion of the individual rounds of data coding.

First Round of Data Coding

The first round involved preliminarily searching the data for any discussion of the general purposes or goals of faith-based service provision. The data were first approached with two general questions in mind, both dealing with why Faith-Based Initiatives were seen as practical or pragmatic approach to service provision. The first question kept in mind when the data was first coded dealt with why current service provision systems should be further altered and noted any mention within the data of reasons why such changes were necessary and how these changes were to be actualized. The second question involved religion more specifically and centered on the issue of why religious organizations should be allowed to participate in publicly-funded service provision systems. This question helped to identify the basic logic of what religious organizations can offer to systems of privatized service provision.

In this first round of coding, the data became grouped into two general categories. One focused on why existing service provisions should be altered and the other focused on why religious organizations should be able to participate in service provision. The category that involved the altering of service provision systems more generally held over five hundred mentions from the data (n=567). The category that involved the reasons that religious organizations should participate in service provision had over nine hundred mentions from the data (n=914). These two general categories of data were then subjected to further treatment in the second round of coding.

Second Round of Data Coding

The second round of coding allowed for further sorting of the two groupings of data that emerged from the first round. In this round of coding, the first group of data--which noted mentions of why services were to be altered at all--was further categorized based on any discussion of changes regarding systems of state-provided or privately-provided service provision. This further categorization involved noting any language, positive or negative, that referenced the reasons that services were changed during the implementation of faith-based service provision. The second group of data--which noted any mention of why religion should be involved in publicly-funded service provision--was further categorized based on any discussion of the potential benefits that religious organizations may provide. This categorization noted any discussion of why religious organizations may provide benefits to systems of social service provision.

As mentioned above, the first group of data was further coded based on any positive or negative discussion of why existing service provision systems need to be revised. By coding the five-hundred and sixty-seven data points in this category (n=567) based on language that

mentioned the altering of existing systems of service provision, two general categories emerged. The first is characterized by language that describes faith-based service provision as a way to supplement the central role of the state in service provision. This group held three-hundred and forty-one data points (n=341). The language that characterizes this group also discusses faith-based service provision as a way of helping the state fulfill its social obligations in an era of budget cuts and decreased public spending. This category includes language that views the furthering of privatized service provision can be utilized by state actors that wish to find alternative ways for the state to meet its social responsibilities. The second category is characterized by language that describes faith-based service provision as a continuing of the retrenchment of the federal government and a further removal from the state from direct service provision. This group held two-hundred and twenty-six data points (n=226). This category describes language that is used by officials who claim that the state should continue backing off from being the central entity in social service and welfare provision and let private companies step in.

The second group of data that emerged from the first round of coding was also further coded in the second round. This group was identified based on any mention of the potential benefits that religious organizations could provide in social service provision and held nine-hundred and fourteen data points (n=914). Further coding of this second group of data illustrated that much of the language was centered around discussions of forms of social capital that are found within religious communities and networks. One of the categories that emerged from this further coding focused on forms of social capital that are associated with religious belief. Discussions of this type of social capital emphasized that religious communities offer opportunities for moral transformation that may help people make better decisions about their

lives and reduce their overall need for social assistance. This group held two-hundred and ninety data points (n=290). The other category that emerged from further coding this group of data centered around discussions of social capital that emphasize the strength and density of social networks found around religious communities. Discussions of this type of social capital emphasized the traditional alignment of philanthropic ideology and shared resources that many religious communities harbor and wished to take advantage of this group-level phenomenon. This group held six-hundred and twenty-four data points (n=624). Overall, this second group of data was further coded based on discussions of the types of social capital that religious communities harbor, specifically whether religious activity is most impactful at the level of individuals--in providing moral transformation--or at the level of the group, in which religious groups are seen as a particularly successful community organization.

The thematic codes that emerged from the data documents are depicted in two tables below. The first table, Table 1, provides the thematic codes which were used to categorize the positive and negative discussions of why service provision systems need to be revised. These themes form the basic characteristics that describe the first dimension on which the archive data are separated. This dimension is discussed further in the next section which describes the third round of coding.

Table 1. Thematic codes: Reasons to alter service provision systems.

Themes	Instances
Advance cooperation and partnerships.	n=422
Supplementing state-provided assistance.	n=361
Increasing market competition in privatized service provision.	n=233
Replacing state services.	n=191
Unique resources in private-sector the state can utilize.	n=189
Reducing state "bloat."	n=119
Assisting a disadvantaged state.	n=87
State-provided assistance is neutral or amoral.	n=64
State-provided assistance is morally inhibitive.	n=38
Hard-to-reach populations.	n=26

The table depicted below, Table 2 provides the thematic codes which were used to categorize discussions of the potential benefits that religious involvement and religious organizations can provide to systems of service provision. These themes form the basic characteristics that describe the second dimension on which the archive data are separated. This dimension is discussed further in the next section which describes the third round of coding.

Table 2. Thematic codes: Reasons to involve religious organizations in service provision.

Themes	Instances
Religious networks are "strong" or dense.	n=512
"Neighborhood presence" of religious organizations.	n=463
Cultural and historical alignment of religion and philanthropy.	n=452
Networks mobilize resources well.	n=448
Religion can help individuals "help themselves."	n=406
Religiously-provided assistance is more effective.	n=384
Religiously-provided assistance is more efficient.	n=371
Faith and religious belief shapes personality and lifestyle.	n=363
Catalyst for moral transformation.	n=228
Organizations have an intrinsic motivation to help others.	n=174
Religious people are "model" citizens.	n=41

Third Round of Coding

Moving forward from here, each group of data was also subjected to a third round of coding in order to clarify and confirm the shared characteristics of each grouping. This round helped to create two overarching dimensions on which the coded data could be topically categorized. The first dimension arose out of analyzing the data points that discussed faith-based service provision as a strategy to either supplement or replace the state in systems of public assistance. The second dimension arose of analyzing the forms of social capital that religious communities provide, namely moral transformation at the individual level or group-level resource sharing.

Each dimension is discussed individually below before they are combined to form the theoretical model which is the focus of this chapter. The first dimension--which emerged from discussions of whether faith-based service provision should be viewed as either an extension or a replacement of state-provided services--is characterized by language that describes the proper or desired role of the state in systems of faith-based service provision. This dimension is split along approaches that view the role of the state as being either more active or passive in organizing the roles and activities of private organizations as they participate in service provision. The group of data that is characterized by an active role for the state held three-hundred and eighty-one data points (n=381). The group of data that is characterized by a passive role for the state is characterized by one-hundred and eighty-six data points (n=186).

The second dimension--which emerged from discussions of the benefits that religious organizations can provide in service provision--is characterized by language that describes the proper or preferred role of religion in systems of service provision. This dimension is split along approaches that view the role of religion in service provision as being focused on either the level

of the individual or the level of groups and networks. The group of data that is characterized by the role of religion being focused on the level of individual people held four-hundred and thirteen data points (n=413). The group of data that is characterized by the role of religion in service provision being focused at the level of religious groups and networks held five-hundred and one data points (n=501). Each of these dimensions and groupings are data are described and graphically depicted in subsequent sections below.

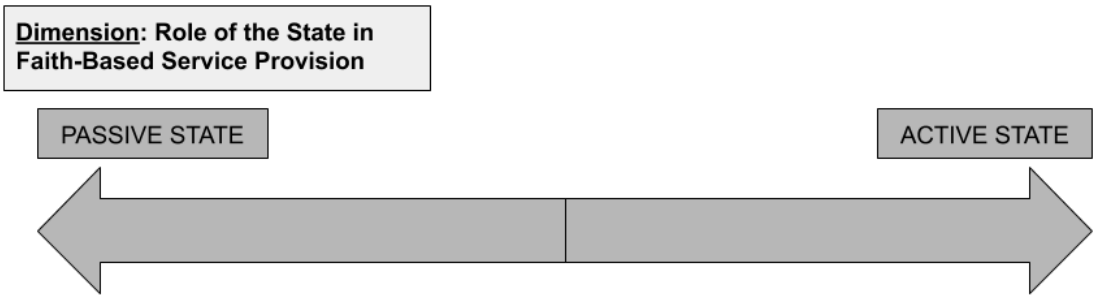
First Dimension of Data: The Role of the State in Faith-Based Service Provision

The first dimension in the data is split along the role of the state being either an active or more passive role in which the state oversees and organizes the efforts of private organizations providing social services. An active state, which is discussed in-depth below, retains a central role in organizing actions of private religious organizations yet allows these organizations to provide services themselves. A passive state provides aid to private organizations while also continuing to back-off from being the central player in service provision systems. This dimension emerged from data points that frame the purposes of altering existing service provision systems as a strategy of either supplementing or replacing the state-led model. In both of these approaches, the state is seen as a "router" of information and resources to religious organizations that may provide social services. The difference between the two approaches is found in the centrality of the state's role and its purposes in routing information and resources to private religious groups. The difference between the two approaches can also be seen in the goals of action taken by the state in terms of the intended outcomes of faith-based service provision. One approach sees the routing abilities of the state as focused on supplementing or assisting the state-led system of service provision. The other sees such abilities as a continuation of the retrenchment of the federal government and a way to bolster the capabilities of private service

providers. Both approaches, however, view the state as having the ability to help religious organizations play a larger role in publicly-funded service provision.

Theoretically, this shared support for state-action in developing faith-based service provision speaks to the desire of the state to bolster an important mediating structure in civil society, religion. The aid that the state provides religious organizations interested in participating in service provision can come in many forms, including outreach efforts, training and capacity building, and monetary funding. Outreach efforts may range from having the state play the role of host or a central role in outreach events, yet the state can also more passively help to link like-minded groups together with the intention of letting such groups plan and operate autonomously. The dual aspects of these types of aid illustrate the general aspect of this dimension, namely whether the state's role is more active or passive in organizing the work of private service providers. This dimension is characterized by a continuum that has an active role for the state on one side and a passive role on the other. Figure two presented below graphically depicts the continuum which characterizes this dimension. Each side is discussed in detail in the following sections.

Figure 2. Role of the State in Faith-Based Service Provision



Again, this dimension is characterized by how central of a role the state will take in overseeing and organizing faith-based service provision. While both sides of the dimension agree that the state should aid and bolster the role of religious organizations in public service provision, they are distinguished by how central and how active the state should be in organizing activity and linking complementary groups together. The differences between these two positions can be summarized by the different positions and rhetoric often used by President Obama and President Bush. President Bush often characterized faith-based service provision as a way for the state to bolster the benefits that private organizations provide in service provision and often mentions the state's role as one of aiding the ability of private service providers to step-in and take the central role. This position is labeled in this dissertation as being a "passive" role for the state, as it focuses on providing the guidance required to have private organizations eventually replace the state in service provision.

President Obama, on the other hand, often characterized faith-based service provision as a way for the state to utilize private service provision as a way to help the state achieve its goals and social obligations. While the approaches adopted by many officials within the Obama administration discussed the fact that the state cannot achieve these goals alone, many within the Bush administration discussed religion as an institution that is able to do what the state cannot. While there is not a direct correlation between the strategies of the Bush and Obama administration and the two sides of this continuum, most strategies that emerged from the data are clustered by administration on each side of the dimension. Many, but not all, of the strategies of the Bush administration were generally focused on continuing the retrenchment of the state and the enabling of religious organizations to step in a play a more central role. Many, but again not all, of the strategies taken by the Obama administration are more focused on the role of the state being central and one of convening and organizing the various religious groups in civil society.

The difference between the two approaches to state action have similar roots in the responses of policymakers to what James O'Connor (1973) and Fred Block (1981) called "the fiscal crisis of the capitalist state" during a period of advanced capitalism. As discussed in chapter two, the federal government has been subjected to massive budget cuts and reduction in public spending during the neoliberal era. Faith-based service provision, as a unique form of extending the privatization of service provision into the realm of religion, is often discussed by both administrations as a pragmatic response to this fiscal crisis. The Obama administration often framed faith-based service provision as a way for the state to work alongside private organizations in fulfilling social obligations and supplementing the reduced ability of the state to accomplish this alone. The Bush administration, however, often framed faith-based service

provision as a continuing and refining of the retrenchment of the federal government from public assistance. It seems that both administrations utilized faith-based service provision as a furthering of the privatization of services as a response to the fiscal crisis, but for very different reasons. Each of these approaches which make up the continuum on the first dimension are discussed in the following sections as well as providing evidence from each administration depicting the strategies that characterize each approach.

Active State

The approach to faith-based service provision that utilizes an active state can also be thought of as a "hands-on" approach. This means that the state remains a central force in organizing and building the capacities of religious organizations to provide publicly funded services. A hands-on approach by the state is characterized by centralized efforts to convene and direct the activity of religious organizations that wish to participate in service provision. This side of the dimension is described in two general ways, the first being that an active state is focused on utilizing religious organizations as a way to supplement and assist the central state in systems of service provision in the neoliberal era. The second is that an active state also plays the role of host and convener of religious organizations and also focused oversight efforts on building and strengthening interfaith dialogue and cooperation. This approach often describes the role of the state as one of actively bringing together linking like-minded groups yet retaining the position of setting group goals and directly coordinating action.

Convening Religion to Assist the State

The active side of this continuum describes strategies that view religious service provision as a pragmatic extension of state-led provision. Strategies that are characterized by this side of the continuum often invoke language that laments the fact that state-led programs are not

capable of meeting the full demands or obligations of providing public services--largely due to the ways that state-programs have been defunded or cut in recent decades. The utilization of private organizations in fulfilling the obligations of the state surrounding issues of public assistance is framed by the strategies found on this side of the continuum as a necessary and clever partnership that the state can develop. Such strategies are therefore focused on utilizing private organizations to provide assistance to the state in ways that the state would have traditionally adopted itself. Overall, this approach emphasizes that in the neoliberal era, the state requires assistance from private organizations to serve social needs and provide public assistance.

The strategies characterized by this side of the continuum also frame religious organizations as being able to assist the state in accessing "hard to reach" populations. In using President Obama's own words, "hard to reach populations" are those which are either currently underserved by state-led programs, often including rural populations, or those which may eschew public assistance if is provided by the state (OFBNP 2009a). While the main focus of this approach is looking to provide aid to groups that--for one reason or another--have been excluded from traditional state-provided programs, it also views faith-based service provision as a way to get public funds into the hands of people who may reject aid as a "hand-out" or who have distrust in the federal government.

The potential tendency of some groups to reject state-provided services and the fact they may feel more comfortable receiving assistance or support from local and familiar religious organizations is often cited as a reason that the state should let religious organizations assist in the provision of public assistance. Such strategies often referred to aspects of the bonding capital that religious communities harbor, and had an odd effect of "getting around" or mitigating the

negative effects of bonding social capital--or what Putnam calls the "dark side" of social capital (2000). This type of strategy takes advantage of the trust and in-group biases that religious communities often harbor in order to get public funds into the hands of people who need them but may reject if handed out by the state. The desire for the ability to get around some of the traditional barriers of a truly equitable distribution of public funds was supported by much of the language that President Obama used when speaking about Faith-Based Initiatives. These types of strategies were often emphasized in certain religious groups--such as the Black Protestant tradition--and often in very rural and sparsely populated areas. Faith-based service provision is often viewed by this approach as utilizing trusted and ubiquitous organizations which are found in nearly every single community no matter the size or demographic composition, regardless of the reasons why some populations may be either unwilling or unable to utilize state-led programs.

Much of the strategies that are described by this side of the continuum come from speeches, directives, and initiatives set forward by President Obama himself. It was noted during a 2010 speech by Joshua Dubois, the Executive Director of the OFBNP during the Obama administration, that President Obama started his public life working with churches, synagogues, mosques, and interfaith organizations in the south side of Chicago, therefore giving him knowledge of the influence these groups have on community health and sustainability (OFBNP 2010b). This type of language manifested many times throughout the OFBNP archives, especially around the interfaith dialogue and cooperation roundtables, events, conferences, and initiatives that were part of the faith-based strategies adopted by the Obama administration. President Obama explicitly made interfaith coordination a key part of his faith-based strategies that would assist the state in providing public services. A large part of the initiatives under the

Obama administration involved the Partnership Centers within federal agencies or involved some form of outreach and partnering with religious organizations, including health care reform, Michelle Obama's *Let's Move!* initiative, hurricane relief programs, and justice reforms just to name a few. Such widespread cooperation and engagement of religious organizations within local communities illustrates the ways that the Obama administration viewed the roles of religious organization in assisting and supplementing state-provided programs.

The approach of an active state utilizing religious organizations to fulfill its social obligations is illustrated early on in Barack Obama's term as US Senator. In 2006, then Senator Barack Obama delivered a speech at the Call to Renewal conference held by the Sojourners organization, in which Senator Obama laid out his plans of a symbiotic relationship between the state and religious institutions (Obama 2006). This speech was mentioned many times in the OFBNP archives and lays out the future president's hopes for a cooperative partnership between the state and religion over shared goals. Here, Senator Obama claimed that many religions equally share in the goals of social uplift and development that characterizes what he viewed as a truly democratic government (Obama 2006). Senator Obama lamented a lack of cooperation and teamwork between the state and religious organizations and vowed to make rebuilding this historical connection a large aspect of his continued public service (Obama 2006).

Joshua Du Bois, the Executive Director of the OFBNP and Special Assistant to President Obama, recalled discussing then-Senator Obama's speech with him as it was being written and mentioned that Senator Obama explicitly said he wanted to give a major speech about religion in America and the ways that religion and a proactive state can work together. Senator Obama wanted to discuss both his own faith and yet also focus on "the ways that all Americans live out their values in the public square" (OFBNP 2010b). In archival documents from the earliest days

of the OFBNP, Mr. Du Bois recalls Senator Obama wanting his 2006 Call to Renewal speech to be informed by all ways that religious organizations meet human needs and expressing a desire to better inform public policy by the civic work that religious organizations do (OFBNP 2010b). He mentions that a big emphasis of the goals of the OFBNP would be to look for opportunities for policy to successfully "navigate religious difference and the contours of pluralism in order to find common purpose on the most difficult issues we face as a nation" (OFBNP 2010b). In discussing the impact and the overall message that came out of Senator Obama's Call to Renewal speech, Joshua Du Bois claimed that he felt the focus of the OFBNP should be that "faith and values can be tremendous forces for good in the world and government can enable some of that good work...and seek out common ground wherever we can" (OFBNP 2010b). Overall, the general vision of the OFBNP at the time of its creation is described by Mr. Du Bois as the desire to connect with faith-based groups to focus on specific challenges that confront communities and for the state to actively partner with religious groups to strengthen the civic efforts they can provide (OFBNP 2010b).

As mentioned above, there is not a direct separation in the strategies taken by the Bush and Obama administrations and each side of the continuum that describes the state's role as either active or passive. The strategies adopted by the Bush administration and the OFBCI in viewing the role of religious organizations as supplementing or assisting the state include programs focused on the development of workforce training at the Department of Labor Partnership Center, programs that provide mentoring for the children of inmates which were co-hosted by the Partnership Centers at the Department of Health and Human Services and the Justice Department (OFBCI 2002a). These programs stand out as both very supported and funded programs as well as programs that did not seek to replace the state in service provision.

These programs involved an active role for the state in organizing goals for each initiative as well as developing the ability of private organizations to provide these services. While much of the strategies of the OFBCI and the Bush administration involve more passive roles for the state--including distributing announcements on federal grant opportunities--some programs such as the ones just mentioned did involve a central and active role for the state.

The active approach is mostly characterized by the efforts of the Obama administration, and Joshua Du Bois even recalled how at the start of the Obama administration it seemed like most of the Partnership Centers operated as little more than a source of information about funding opportunities and were not utilizing a hands-on approach to religious service provision (OFBNP 2010b). It was during the Obama administration that these Partnership Centers became more focused on outreach activities and providing active guidance on how faith-based organizations could best assist the state in public service provision. In 2010, Joshua Du Bois explicitly mentioned that President Obama wanted the OFBNP to measure success based more on the impact that faith-based partnerships have on families and communities across the nation, rather than measuring success in the funding streams going to faith-based groups (OFBNP 2010b). Here he states:

> "By serving as a convener, by sharing critical information, by building organizational capacity, by catalyzing private support, and still--where appropriate--informing organizations of grants they may apply for, we seek to be a nimble, creative and flexible supporter of faith-based organizations around the country. It's no longer about just dollars and cents. Instead, it's about impacts on individuals, families and communities" (OFBNP 2010b).

This type of language describing a shift toward the state being a "convener" of religious community organizations and providing capacity-building support perfectly illustrates the ways that the Obama administration viewed faith-based programs as a supplemental tool to aid the

state in service provision and community-building efforts. Similarly, in early 2011, Reverend Brenda Girton-Mitchell, the director of the Partnership Center at the Department of Education, expressed that the center would move forward on President Obama's ideas in the form of utilizing religious organizations as a "local-level tool of transformation," in the Department of Education's quest of educating children and rebuilding America's schools in disadvantaged communities (OFBNP 2011b). Some of the outreach initiatives created by the Obama administration--such as a H1N1 response outreach campaign, vaccine campaigns, and efforts to reduce human trafficking--utilized religious partnerships without involving the transfer of funds. These specific partnerships only involved the collaborative sharing of information and coordination of efforts to protect families, communities, and the mutual interests of religious communities and the state.

One of the more obvious forms of assistance that arose out of the archives of the Obama administration was the creation of the President's Advisory Councils within the OFBNP. Three individual councils were created over the course of the Obama administration and each council served the office for one year. These councils were tasked with advising the President and the OFBNP on how the federal government can best directly organize faith-based organizations to assist the state in carrying out specific policy or initiative goals.

Each council worked autonomously within the OFBNP and provided a detailed report to the administration on how state-religion partnerships could achieve specific goals. The first council was tasked with reforming the faith-based offices within the White House, cabinet department, and federal agencies as well as how the state could adopt a more active role in coordinating the efforts of religious organizations interested in providing services. This first report was titled, "A New Era of Partnerships," and it is largely focused on how the state can

adopt a more active role in the organizing and strengthening of partnerships between the state and religious organizations (OFBNP 2010c). The second council was tasked with finding ways that the state could utilize religious and community organizations in identifying and combating human trafficking. The report from this council discusses how the ubiquity of religious organizations can operate as a way for the state to have "eyes" in most communities and utilized the trust that religious organizations harbor in hoping that victims or informants may provide information to their local religious organization (OFBNP 2013). The third and final advisory council was tasked with informing the state on how it can strengthen the ability of religious organizations to fight economic inequality and eradicate poverty (OFBNP 2016). The report developed by the third council is steeped in language that urges the state to recognize the philanthropic and charitable goals of most religious organizations. This report discusses how the state has become unable to meet the requirements of reducing most economic inequality and instead offers religious organizations as a resourceful and successful framework of providing community-level support for disadvantaged individual and families.

The potential of religious organizations to assist the state in aspects of social services is discussed often in relation to the ubiquity of religion within American communities. In the words of the official action report from the OFNP in 2014, "most Americans have ties to at least one faith or community organization, and they frequently turn to these organizations when they need help. Faith-based and community groups are often uniquely positioned to match people with benefits, services, and protections they need" (OFBNP 2014). This often involved emphasis on interfaith cooperation and coordination and the ability of the state to utilize the strengths that religious organizations and networks provide. These goals implied a desire to strengthen or rebuild the capacity of the state to meet social obligations by partnering with religious civil

institutions. The goals were still set and managed by the state yet these strategies often viewed religious service provision as a pragmatic strategy the state could utilize to better serve the citizens and social obligations.

Passive State

In moving to the other side of the first dimension, this side of the continuum describes state strategies of faith-based service provision that viewed the role of the state as being more passive. This side of the continuum describes approaches aimed at continuing the devolution of state-provided services, increasing the overall retrenchment of the federal government, and further replacing the state by private and religious entities in systems of service provision. This side of the continuum is characterized as passive because the state wished to help religious organizations to step-in and develop the tools to eventually play a larger and more autonomous role in public assistance.

Facilitating Religion to Replace the State

The approaches found on the passive side of the continuum involve the state providing aid to religious organizations in order for them to adopt a more central role. This approach can also be thought of as a "hands-off" approach due the fact that the state was not interested in taking the role of convener or host but one of allowing religious organizations to prioritize their own efforts, set their own goals, and not have the state act as the central entity of bringing together like-minded groups or promoting interfaith dialogue.

The approach that is characterized by this side of the continuum is largely built upon George W. Bush's initial conception of what Faith-Based Initiatives should be. This approach aligned with Bush's larger vision of a smaller federal government that utilizes its resources to empower citizens and intermediary institutions to eventually take over social service efforts. This

dissertation treats such an approach as positing a more passive role for the state and one that operates as a facilitator to allow religious organizations to flourish in this responsibility. Bush exemplifies such a view in his earliest public speeches as President, including his Inaugural Address and his first budget speech delivered to congress.

In his Inaugural Address, Bush claimed that providing compassion is the work of a nation--in which he implied civil society--and not a government (Bush 2001a). He went on to say that "some needs and hurts are so deep they will only respond to a mentor's touch or a pastor's prayer. Church and charity, synagogue and mosque, lend our communities their humanity, and they will have an honored place in our plans and in our laws" (Bush 2001a). Similarly, during his first budget speech delivered to congress on February 27, 2001, Bush stated that "Government has a role, and an important role. Yet too much government crowds out initiative and hard work, private charity and the private economy" (Bush 2001c). This side of the continuum is characterized by language that views state-led programs as amoral or neutral at best and, at worst, state-programs are framed as morally inhibiting. The strategies that sit on this side of the continuum are therefore focused on replacing state-led programs with private programs that can provide "better" philanthropic and charitable services.

The first report that came out of the OFBCI early in the Bush administration claimed that religious organizations should be judged by their ability to successfully provided services and public assistance rather than by their religious natures (OFBCI 2001b). The report, titled "Leveling the Playing Field," suggested that federal funding should be made available to any organization, religious or secular, if they can best provide the necessary services (OFBCI 2001b). This report also recognized the "good works" that religious organizations provide in the privacy of their own communities and that the federal government should not overlook the success that

such community-based groups have. While such an argument also begins to describe the unique characteristics of religious organizations, which is discussed in a section below, this report also has language that describes aspects of public assistance that private entities, including religious organizations, can provide in better and more efficient ways than the state. The role of the state therefore becomes one of providing the necessary aid to allow such organizations to develop their existing strengths as sources of compassion and charitable assistance.

John Ashcroft, mentioned earlier as the author of the Charitable Choice provision and integral actor in the development of Faith-Based Initiatives during the Bush administration, is a devout member of the Assemblies of God, the largest Pentecostal denomination in the country. Ashcroft wrote a song in 2002 titled "Let the Eagle Soar" which is archived among the OFBCI documents. The lyrics of this song, which are printed below, embody the sentiment that the federal government has lost its way through trying to directly solve social ills and, coupled with Ashcroft's other public comments housed in the OFBCI archives, implies that private entities, and especially religious ones, should come to replace the state and, through moral righteousness, allow the "mighty eagle" to soar once more. The lyrics of the song are as follows:

"Let the eagle soar,
Like she's never soared before.
From rocky coast to golden shore,
Let the mighty eagle soar.
Soar with healing in her wings,
As the land beneath her sings:
'Only God, no other kings.'
Let the mighty eagle soar.
This country's far too young to die.
We've still got a lot of climbing to do,
And we, we can make it if we try.
Built by toils and struggles
God has led us through.
We've fought for freedom dear
both here and on the distant shore

Paid a price a sacrifice
A price you can't ignore
Oh, we're far too young to die
We can make it if we try
We've not yet begun to fly.
It's time to let the mighty eagle soar once more."

The lyrics to this song illustrate the desire of many individuals within the OFBCI archives and Bush administration that desired the further the retrenchment of the state in service provision and continue removing the federal government from matters of personal life and public assistance. The sentiment that private organizations, and especially religious ones, should replace the state in providing welfare and forms of public assistance has roots in views of poverty that blame individuals for their plight. In the 1980s and 1990s this type of language provided supported for the "workfare" shift that came with the end of entitlements and welfare reform bill in 1996.

Another aspect of the strategies that involved continuing the retrenchment of the federal government involved the creation of state-level partnership centers and faith-based liaison offices. Jay Hein, director of the OFBCI in the latter years of the Bush administration, was mentioned by OFBCI and Partnership Center office staff as leading the office's initiative to reach out and develop state-level offices. This strategy was described as being able to further alleviate pressure on the federal government to lead faith-based efforts and slowly continue to devolve these processes to lower levels of government and eventually to private entities completely. The initiative to create state-level faith-based offices was discussed by staff as being a rational extension of the role and activities carried out by the OFBCI and aligning with the overall goals of continuing retrenchment of the federal government.

The approaches to faith-based service provision that are supported by actors within the Bush administration and OFBCI imply that the state should bolster the work of religious organizations to step-in and take-over the central role that the state adopted throughout the twentieth century. These efforts are largely aimed at helping religious and private organizations to eventually replace the state in providing most forms of public assistance. For these reasons, this approach is treated by this dissertation as invoking a passive role for the state in developing faith-based service provision as a strategy of continued devolution and privatization.

Many of the approaches that claim religious organizations are better equipped to provide services focused on social ills are often Christian-centric in that they emphasize aspects of personal redemption and moral transformation as key to successful public assistance. These approaches often view the goals of public assistance as providing the catalyst for individuals to better themselves and their own conditions. This framing of religious teachings and religiously-motivated caregivers as a critical component for truly successful service provision necessarily involves expectations about the roles of religious belief and belonging in systems of service provision. These types of approaches to the role of religious belief and belonging are taken up in the next section and form the basis of the second dimension by which the data can be described.

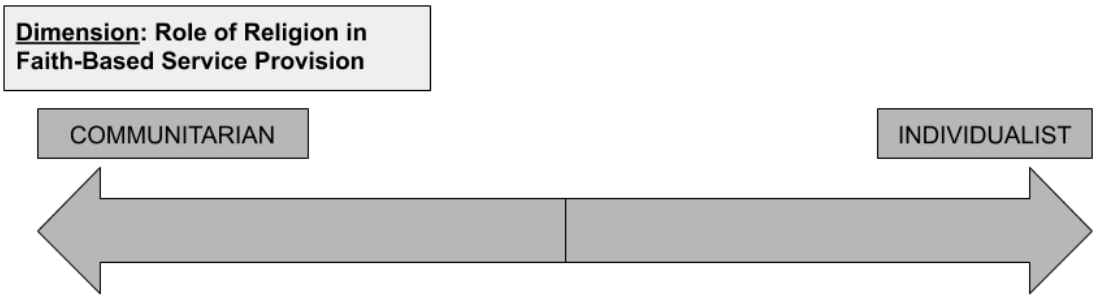
Second Dimension of Data: The Role of Religion in Faith-Based Service Provision

The second dimension that emerged from coding the data centered on why religion should be utilized in the provision of social services. This dimension is characterized by arguments that emphasize the various forms of social capital found within religious communities as among the primary reasons that religion should be utilized in systems of public assistance. Aspects of religious social capital that are illustrated by the data can be categorized into two

general forms that privilege different aspects of religious belief and belonging. The first form is one that emphasizes the potential for religious involvement to shape one's moral beliefs and therefore lead to individual moral reform. The second form emphasizes the density and embeddedness of social networks within many religious communities and the traditional alignment of philanthropic ideology and resource channels that can be found there.

These two forms of social capital found within religious communities characterize the two categories in which arguments for why religious organizations were utilized in social service programs can be placed. The form of social capital that is focused on the benefits of personal moral reform is labeled in this dimension as being individualist in nature as it places primacy on the individual in successful strategies of service provision. On the other hand, the type of social capital that stresses the density and strength of religious networks is labeled in this dimension as being communitarian as it focuses on the benefits that religious communities can offer in service provision. This dimension therefore deals with the overall role of religion in service provision and the benefits that religious belief and belonging can provide in terms of social need. This dimension is depicted below in figure three.

Figure 3. Role of Religion in Faith-Based Service Provision



Individualist

The approaches to faith-based service provision that are characterized by the individualist side of this continuum prioritize religious belief and belonging as a catalyst for moral reform within individual seeking public assistance. These strategies emphasize the potential for religious involvement to spark a "rebirth" among individuals in need of public assistance and therefore allow the individual to reduce their overall need for public assistance in the future (OFBNP 2009b; OFBNP 2010e,f; OFBNP 2011a). The linking of social need to a lack of morality or poor decision-making is critical to arguments that claim religious organizations are better suited to provide successful social services. Strategies that fall on this side of the dimension privilege religious service provision over secular or state-led programs due to an assumption that an individual is largely to blame for their own social disadvantage. The desire to "shape the citizenry" in moral ways by utilizing religious involvement can be seen in the approaches that are depicted by the individualist side of this continuum.

The linking of personal morality to social disadvantage also raises issues of inequality, poverty, and social need that discuss the opportunities for self-betterment that people are granted. The desire to help individuals make better choices and seek opportunities for self-betterment can be thought of as a way to provide an equality of opportunity for those seeking public assistance. In sociological literature, this type of approach to inequality has been discussed by Erik Olin Wright and Joel Rogers as a desire for "fair play" (2010). In their book, *American Society: How it really works* (2010), Wright and Rogers discuss the ways that most Americans approach aspects of equality, inequality and fairness. They describe popular conceptions of *unfairness* as an imbalance between what an individual deserves in life and what they actually experience. Similarly, they describe *social injustice* as an unfairness that could be remedied and *oppression* as an unwillingness to remedy a social injustice when the power to do so is available (2010). In approaching popular conceptions of unfairness, Wright and Rogers describe two general trends: *fair play* and *fair share*. Proponents of fair play claim that the existence of inequality in a system is generally acceptable a long as everyone gets the same opportunities to better their own conditions. Advocates of fair share, on the other hand, encourage mechanisms that ensure everyone receives a sufficient amount of social resources in order to keep themselves out of poverty and social need.

Approaches to faith-based service provision that fall on the individualist side of this dimension can be thought of as aligning with the notion of fair play because they emphasize providing individuals with an ability to make good choices and seek opportunity. Communitarian approaches, on the other hand, often approach faith-based service provision as a way to help individuals receive a fair share of social resources and utilize the charitable aspects of religious networks as a way to accomplish this distribution.

Communitarian

The communitarian side of this dimension is characterized by approaches to faith-based service provision that prioritize the density of religious networks over the potential for personal moral reform through religious involvement. As mentioned above, the communitarian side of this continuum is also more focused on providing forms of public assistance that can move toward an equality of condition. These approaches emphasize the charitable nature of most religious communities and the resource sharing that goes along with it. Charity, for many approaches characterized by the communitarian side, is given to individuals regardless of their own efforts to better their condition. The lack of attention given to the choices that individuals make and instead giving priority to alleviating disadvantaged conditions aligns with what Wright and Rogers claim about popular conceptions of fair share (2010). Many proponents of faith-based service provision claim that while the state may have requirements for individuals receiving assistance to take advantage of opportunities--such as in the shift to "workfare" over traditional welfare--religious communities, on the other hand may provide forms of charity and public assistance with no strings attached.

The communitarian approach is also built upon the potential for strong aspects of bridging social capital between religious groups within local communities (OFBNP 2009a; OFBNP 2010a,f; OFBNP 2011c,e,f,g). The emphasis on the strength and density of religious networks that characterizes the communitarian side of this dimension illustrate levels of bonding capital that exists within many networks that span different denominations or religious traditions (OFBNP 2010h; OFBNP 2011a,b). Somewhat inversely, the individualist approach emphasizes aspects of bonding social capital that may come with religious involvement and may provide individuals with motivation for self-betterment. Each side of the dimension utilizes aspects of

social capital that are harbored within religious communities and networks, yet each side prioritizes forms of either bridging or bonding social capital.

The communitarian approach does not place emphasis on the personal faith or religious belief of those receiving public assistance in the ways that the individualist approach does. The fact that some faith-based service strategies place faith as a more central aspect of the strategy often impacts the type of funding opportunities that organizations within each category are able to receive. As discussed by most of the officials involved in the OFBCI and OFBNP, programs that place faith in a central position are often barred from receiving direct funds from the government. Programs that do not prioritize faith in provision are able to receive direct funds and such funds often come in the forms of grants or direct contracts. Faith-centered programs are able to receive more indirect sources of funding, such as vouchers, certificates, and coupons.

The difference between these types of programs was described by one official in the Partnership Center at the Department of Health and Human Services as being analogous to the difference between salads and brownies. In this analogy, "salad" organizations are those which are able to separate the faith-centered aspects of their provision strategies from the more nonreligious aspects. Similar to a salad, these organizations are able to separate "the tomatoes from the lettuce" and operate more along a piecemeal fashion. Organizations that are termed "brownies," on the other hand, are much more unable to separate the faith-centered "ingredients" from their organizations' structures and strategies. The difference between "salads and brownies" in relation to faith-based service organizations impacts the funding opportunities these organizations are open to as well as impacting the ways that services are provided to those in need. While funding opportunities for these organizations are limited by the amount of priority they place on faith, the official at the Partnership Center at the Department of Health and Human

Services claimed that there are no limitations in the amount of outreach efforts or cooperative coordination that the state can develop with faith-based service organizations, whether or not they are salads or brownies.

Model of Faith-Based Service Provision Strategies

By categorizing the data by the two dimensions--based on the role of the state and the role of religion in faith-based service provision--and combining these two dimensions together into one table, a model of four general strategies of faith-based service provision emerges. This theoretical model illustrates the vast array of strategies adopted by the Bush and Obama administrations during the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives. The four general strategies are titled, *Guiding Grace, Achieving the Social Gospel, Sanctioning the Prosperity Gospel,* and *Contracting Charity*. It should be noted that each of these categories are Christian-centric in both their titles and in the language used by officials found within the archival documents. This is indicative of both the primary role of Christian-centric language that emphasizes religious salvation and moral betterment within both American politics and society at large. Even the ways that some officials discussed non-Christian religious groups are tinted with hints of a Christian-centric approach to religion that will be taken up again in chapter five. For now, this model will help to lay out the various strategies adopted by the OFBCI and OFBNP and the ways they can be categorized. An image of this model is provided below and the strategies that make up each category are discussed in-depth in subsequent sections.

Figure 4. Model of Faith-Based Service Provision Strategies

Model of Faith-Based Service Provision Strategies

	INDIVIDUALIST	COMMUNITARIAN
ACTIVE	*"Guiding Grace"*	*"Achieving the Social Gospel"*
PASSIVE	*"Sanctioning the Prosperity Gospel"*	*"Contracting Charity"*

Guiding Grace

The category that is labeled *Guiding Grace* sits at the intersection of strategies that utilize an active state while also focusing on the individualist aspects of religious involvement. Strategies that are included in this category view the role of the state as actively leading religious organizations in their desire to help individuals learn to help themselves. This category is labeled, *Guiding Grace*, because it focuses on having the state play an active role in helping people learn to strive for self-betterment through their involvement in religious communities. The state is therefore acting in a way to guide religious "grace" in the potential for religious belief and belonging to lead to a personal transformation within those seeking public assistance and therefore hopefully reducing their overall need for help. While this category relies on an active role for the state in guiding and organizing the goals and efforts of religious organizations in providing social services, the language found within these strategies often prioritize the choices that people make in connection to disadvantaged social conditions.

Initiatives and strategies within the Bush administration that are placed within this category often revolve around issues of prisoner reform--such as utilizing religious groups within prisons in order to reduce recidivism--and mentoring the children of prisoners to break the "cycle" of crime that such strategies often lament. Within the Obama administration, these strategies were illustrated by initiatives such as the Fatherhood Initiative that Joshua Du Bois claims was one of the central initiatives of the OFBNP (OFBNP 2009b; OFBNP 2010e,f). This initiative centered around utilizing religious organizations to teach young men to become better fathers and to play a more active role in the lives of their children. Mr. Du Bois and officials within the Partnership Center at the Department of Health and Human Services described this initiative as being intimately linked with religious teachings around the importance of a father-figure and the role of men within strategies of familial and community betterment (OFBNP 2009b; OFBNP 2010e,f). The Fatherhood Initiative of the Obama administration's OFBNP also utilized religious Christian allegories about being "my brother's keeper" and helping to build mentoring within communities that have low rates of father-involvement historically. The ways these strategies were framed within the archival documents of the OFBNP often focused on impoverished Black communities and the potential for religious organizations to "stop" the cycle of absent fathers and mentors and therefore utilizing personal transformation to reduce the overall needs for public assistance within these communities (OFBNP 2009b; OFBNP 2010e,f).

Not all of the initiatives adopted by the OFBCI and OFBNP across both the Bush and Obama administrations was easily categorized by either individualist or communitarian lines. The initiative started by the White House Offices and later led by the Partnership Center at the Department of Health and Human Services which focused on HIV testing and information sharing utilized an active role for the state in setting goals, organizing efforts, and distributing

informational guidance yet sits between both the individualist and communitarian approaches (OFBNP 2011c). Part of this initiative was focused on utilizing the density of religious networks to get information about HIV testing and preventative measures to a wide-range of populations yet another part of the initiative focused on informing individuals about how to make better choices regarding sexual health. Mentioned in the strategies adopted around this initiative is language that discusses the linking of religious involvement with sexual ethics and the potential ways that religious organizations can impact the ways people view sexual intimacy. While some of the individualist focus of this initiative is linked to religious belief, other aspects are simply focused on utilizing the ubiquity of religious organizations as a source of information sharing about personal health. This initiative therefore sits along the boundary of individualist and communitarian strategies while retaining an active role for the state in setting goals, organizing efforts, and distributing information about how religious organizations can play a central role in HIV preventative measures.

In addition to the initiatives focused on HIV reduction and prevention, other initiatives that sits at the boundary of the individualist and communitarian approaches yet still push for an active and central role for the state in organizing efforts are those focused on feeding homeless individuals while also training them in ways to hopefully find meaningful employment and reduce their need for hunger assistance (OFBNP 2011g). These types of strategies utilize both the "no strings attached" aid which was discussed above and is provided by religious organizations while also utilizing the face-to-face interaction that these organizations have with those in need to help educate them in order to take advantage of personal opportunity. These initiatives emphasized the uniqueness of religious organizations in the fact that they can offer a middle ground between giving group-level support for those seeking hunger assistance while

also potentially providing the motivational catalyst for individuals to improve their own condition. Such strategies, according to many officials, are unable to be carried out by the state or secular organizations and therefore should utilize the unique aspects of religious organizations to act as simultaneously as a source of group-level and individual-level social aid.

The strategies in this category are centered around utilizing an active role for the state and focusing on the individual-level benefits of religious involvement to encourage individuals to take part in reducing their own need for social assistance. By emphasizing the individualist aspects of religious benefits, the strategies in this category also link forms of social disadvantage to the choices people make and the opportunities that are afforded to them. The goals of these strategies often involve the state helping religious organizations to bolster the amount of bonding social capital they are able to develop and therefore strengthen the ties that individuals feel about the religious organizations they come in contact with. By encouraging the development of bonding social capital, the strategies in this category necessarily put emphasis on the experiences and expectations that individuals have about their lives and "fairness" to use Wright and Rogers' term (2010). As mentioned above, Wright and Rogers conceptualized *fair play* as an approach to inequality that emphasizes the opportunities that individuals are given and many of the *Guiding Grace* strategies are similarly focused on the ability of the state and religious organizations to guide the individual transformation that accompanies the popular conception of finding "grace" or religious rebirth.

Achieving the Social Gospel

The category that is labeled *Achieving the Social Gospel* sits at the intersection of strategies that utilize an active state while placing priority on the communitarian aspects of religious involvement. Strategies that are included in this category view the role of the state as

actively leading religious organizations in their ability to aid communal need and perform charitable acts. This category is labeled, *Achieving the Social Gospel*, because the strategies found here focus on the state playing an active and central role in the bolstering of religious service provision yet do not privilege religious belief and belonging as being a catalyst for personal moral transformation. In these strategies the state is acting to utilize the group-level strengths that religious communities exude and often cite the historical nature of religious involvement as a foundation of American civil society as a main motivating factor.

The title of this category is built upon an approach to the collective solving of social problems that aligns with the Christian ideological tenant of the social gospel. The social gospel is a social-reform movement within Christianity that emerged in the late nineteenth century and seeks to apply Christian social ethics to collectively solve social problems. Traditionally, congregations and organizations affiliated with the social gospel have given attention to the alleviation of both "structural" problems such as poverty and economic inequality, labor issues such as unionization and banning child labor, to more "moral" issues such as drug addiction and alcoholism, literacy, and education (Dorn 1967; Muller 1959; Painter 2008). The solution to both of these issues, however, are taken by many proponents of the social gospel as being rooted in collective action and the responsibility that religious groups have in actively helping one another and bettering the world Historically, proponents of the social gospel have been affiliated with theologically liberal leaders and congregations which largely focused on issues of social justice (Tichi 2009). Traditional leaders such a Josiah Strong, Washington Gladden, and Walter Rauschenbusch are associated with popularizing the movement throughout the late 1800s as a religious rationale for collective action on social issues and social problems (Muller 1959; Tichi 2009).

In terms of supplementing and assisting the state, several scholars have highlighted the emergence of social gospel themes within civil and state strategies of community betterment that can be seen from the late nineteenth century through to the twenty-first century. In the earliest days of the social gospel, advocates created settlement houses, which provided free or low-cost housing to impoverished people and families and gave them opportunities for education, health-care, among other social benefits (Dorn 1967; Muller 1959; Painter 2008). Many of these were somewhat linked to state efforts and were viewed by many state actors as being integral to the system of public assistance in America (Dorn 1967; Painter 2008). In the early twentieth century, New Deal actors such as Harry Hopkins, Will Alexander, and Mary McLeod Bethune directed the attention of social gospel proponents to African American communities which were largely excluded by state programs at that time (Painter 2008; Tichi 2009). This sentiment is again echoed in the work of Black Protestant traditions and leaders throughout the mid-twentieth century, including Martin Luther King Sr. and Jr., and the Civil Rights era.

As mentioned above, the strategies found in this category do not emphasize the potential for religious involvement to lead to personal transformation but instead focus on the traditional role of religion in charitable and philanthropic activity as well as the density and the strength of existing religious social networks in civil society. These strategies emphasize both the cultural association of religion with philanthropic activity as well as the embeddedness of religious social networks as reasons that religious organizations could play an important role in the provision of social services. The logic behind many of these state strategies involve aspects of what Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) called civic voluntarism within American politics and society. This builds upon the view that religious communities are among the foundational institutions of American civil society. Alexis de Tocqueville (1988 [1835]) noted in his observations of

American society that it seemed to him that democracy was intricately linked with the voluntary associations of civil society. This involvement or "civic voluntarism" (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995), is characterized by the dedication that most Americans' feel to institutions such as family, work, school, religion, and participatory democracy and voluntary politics of local communities. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) contend that it is not only social capital but the propensity of Americans to be intimately involved with nonpolitical institutions--such as religion--that adds to the strength of American democracy and political participation. This link between the dedicated involvement in institutions such as religion and the strength of civil institutions that thriving democracies require characterizes many of the strategies that are found in this category.

The strategies found in this category utilize an active state in organizing the efforts of the collective response to social problems that characterizes the social gospel approach. Proponents of such strategies often discuss that the role of the state should center around being a leader of the collective efforts that can utilize the strengths of religious networks in meeting social obligations. Many of these strategies, such as those focusing on inequality reduction and economic stability, claim that religious organization can provide a "back-up" or "safety-net" to individuals who suffer from forms of social disadvantage and who--for one reason or another--cannot or will not get help from the state. The initiatives that focused on the potential links between religious organizations and economic stability often framed the ability for charitable aid to be given to those who may need only temporary assistance in the case of relocation or occupational changes (OFBNP 2011g). Proponents of these types of strategies claim that many forms of social need are not linked to personal or moral choices--and are not caused by individuals not seeking personal opportunities--but are linked to temporary changes in a person's

life. Religious forms of charity can help these individuals get through a tough time in their lives even when they do not qualify for or do not wish to seek state aid.

The strategies found within the *Achieving the Social Gospel* category involve utilizing aspects of the ubiquity of religion in American communities. Such strategies built upon the strength of religious communities to assist the state in activities that may involve "hard to reach" populations, to use the words of the Obama administration, as well as providing the state a potential partner in every single American community (OFBNP 2009a). Some of these initiatives include community-focused projects such as the many healthcare focused programs that were built by both the OFBCI and OFBNP. These initiatives include informational campaigns centered around common flu and other vaccines, combatting H1N1 during the Obama administration (OFBNP 2009a), developing civic support for the Affordable Care Act (OFBNP 2010g), as well as the HIV programs discussed above. These programs focused on utilizing religious organizations as a source of information as well as a location for "pop-up" health clinics across the nation.

Other initiatives found in this category involve the President's Interfaith and Community Service Campus Challenge that ran from 2011-2017 (OFBNP 2011d,e). This initiative was led by the state and sought to "challenge" religious organizations on college and university campuses to provide as many forms of community service as they can. This competition was organized and run by the OFBNP and led outreach efforts to over 200 colleges and universities and awarded presidential recognition to the winning college or university each year. Similar to the campus challenge was the extension of First Lady Michelle Obama's *Let's Move!* initiative into religious communities that was titled *Let's Move! Faith and Communities* (OFBNP 2010d). This program encouraged religious organizations to take part in the larger *Let's Move!* initiative

which focused on increasing exercise and activity among children and reducing rates of obesity. The uniqueness of the religious extension of this program was that it focused on the time that many religious organizations spent with children in their community and how they could impact child nutrition and health outcomes. Similar to the HIV initiative and other programs focused on health care, the *Let's Move! Faith and Communities* initiative can be said to sit at the boundary of the individualist and communitarian approaches as it involves both group-level activity to encourage exercise as well as focusing on teaching children to make better choices regarding nutrition.

Another strategy that utilized the ubiquity of religion in most communities was the initiatives started by the OFBNP to encourage religious groups to partner with the state in combating human trafficking (OFBNP 2013). These strategies wished to use religious congregations and organizations as "eyes" within many impoverished and minority communities. By empowering and enabling religious communities to assist the state in these ways, the state is utilizing the embeddedness of religious social networks as well as the confidence and trust that religious harbor in able to spot and combat human trafficking.

The strategies found in the *Achieving the Social Gospel* category are centered around utilizing an active role for the state and focusing on the group-level benefits that religious organizations can provide in service provision. By emphasizing the communitarian aspects of these benefits, the strategies in this category are more focused on improving the conditions of disadvantaged people rather than focusing on the opportunities they face or the choices they make. This emphasis highlights aspects of the bridging social capital that is found within religious networks as well as the overall role that religious organizations play in local communities. By focusing on improving the conditions of those in need, these strategies also

deal with what Wright and Rogers discuss as a fair share approach to inequality (2010). As mentioned above, Wright and Rogers describe fair share approaches as centering around providing people in need with an adequate share of social resources in order to improve their condition and reduce social need. The strategies that are characterized by the *Achieving the Social Gospel* category are indicative of such group-level efforts at improving the conditions of those in need by providing them with "no strings attached" assistance.

Sanctioning the Prosperity Gospel

The category that is labeled *Sanctioning the Prosperity Gospel* sits at the intersection of strategies that desire a passive role for the state in helping religious organizations in their quest to help individuals learn to help themselves. The strategies in this category are similar to the ones in the category of *Guiding Grace* as they prioritize aspects of self-betterment and the choices and opportunities that people make. This category is different, however, in the fact that it wishes for a passive role for the state to bolster the ability of religious organizations to step-in and take the main responsibility for service provision. The role of the state for strategies in this category is to make sure that religious organizations have the monetary and informational support to take on a central role. The title is built from the Christian theological approach of the prosperity gospel, which emphasizes that material "blessings" will follow from individuals making good choices and living a moral life.

The prosperity gospel, sometimes better known as prosperity theology, wealth gospel, or the "health and wellness gospel," is a theological position that is generally focused on the idea that God rewards moral individuals with health and wealth. Such material evidence of God's favor is also often discussed as the divine-right of faithful Christians, meaning that they are entitled to it and are able to revel in its gift (Coleman 2000; Hunt 2000). This approach has been

linked to such theological positions as the idea that atonement in Jesus Christ provides salvation from sin as well as from sickness and poverty, and the ideas that the ease which health and wealth bring are intimately tied to the ability for good Christians to procreate and increase in numbers (Bowler 2013). As historian Kate Bowler has noted, the prosperity gospel has roots in "an American gospel of pragmatism, individualism, and upward mobility" (2013:11), which is illustrated by strategies that view faith-based service provision as an extension of the approaches to “workfare” programs and the desire to move away from early twentieth-century welfare programs.

Historically, the prosperity gospel began in affiliation with Pentecostalism in post-war America. Emerging out of tent revivals and Pentecostal rituals, the movement gained attention through radio and television broadcasts, and gained a more mainstream audience through the rise of “televangelism” in the 1980s (Coleman 2000; Hunt 2000). The “founder” of the prosperity gospel, if there is any individual who can be given such a title, is often claimed to be Oral Roberts, the well-known advocate of the charismatic tradition and televangelist. The current form of the prosperity gospel has largely been uncoupled from the Pentecostal or charismatic traditions, and most current charismatic or Pentecostal Christian groups are no longer associated with the prosperity gospel (Coleman 2000; Hunt 2000). The prosperity gospel is still commonly tied to the theology of revivalist and charismatic churches (Coleman 2000; Hunt 2000) and is often linked with contemporary televangelists such as Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, Benny Hinn, Pat Robertson, and Robert Tilton (Bowler 2013).

Initiatives that are characterized by this category are largely tied to the work of the OFBCI during the Bush administration. Speaking with officials within the OFBCI illustrated certain strategies that invoked a more passive role for the state, including linking like-minded

religious groups together but not structuring or organizing their efforts or goals. This type of approach was described by one official as having the state share information about what activities religious groups are involved in yet allowing these groups to work autonomously as civil institutions. An example of this was illuminated during a conversation with an OFBCI official when they said that one time they simply sent a group email out to like-minded religious groups that were in the same community and let the groups take over from there. These groups then moved forward on forging their own community-level connections but required the state to facilitate the original link. This type of strategy is different from the active approach utilized by the OFBNP as it was more focused on being the active convener--and often host--of events and initiatives that would link religious groups around common goals. This official also characterized the approaches in this category as having the state play the role of "facilitator" which can provide help when needed by religious organizations but not structuring their activity.

As mentioned above, this category is characterized by approaches that emphasize the role of religious belief in promoting personal and moral transformation within individuals who seek social assistance. The effect of privileging the role of faith has the consequence of limiting the funding opportunities that organizations can access for such programs and often involves what an official within the OFBCI termed "brownie" organizations. The organizations provide programs that center on religious faith--often utilizing indirect funding options such as vouchers, coupons, and certificates--and push for individuals to take a lead role in bettering their own social conditions. In doing so, these organizations also exhibit what Wright and Rogers (2011) described as a fair play approach to inequality and while also positing that the state should continue to back away from being a central entity in systems of service provision. One of the initiatives of the OFBCI and illustrate such an approach is the "Access to Recovery" program

started under the Bush administration that wished to have religious organizations provide a source of recovery from mental illness, alcoholism, and drug abuse (OFBCI 2002b). These programs framed religious involvement as a "tried and true" strategy for successful recovery and implied that state-led and secular organizations as not having the same success enjoyed by religious organizations. While empirical support for this assumption has not been solidly confirmed (Bartkowski and Regis 2003; Wuthnow 2004), such strategies often use anecdotal stories that support the ability for religion to uniquely lead to the personal transformation that forms of recovery require.

The strategies that are found in this category are characterized by discussions of helping people "learn to help themselves" by utilizing the power of religious transformation and moral living. Such strategies are also often characterized by language that implies that religious institutions provide *better* services than state-led or secularly provided services. This language often laments the assumption that state-led programs are ineffective at best or, at worst, morally inhibiting. State-led and secular programs are framed as ineffective due to the fact that they overlook what proponents of the prosperity gospel approach view as the key to successful service provision, namely personal moral transformation.

Contracting Charity

The category that is labeled *Contracting Charity* sits at the intersection of strategies that utilize a passive role for the state while placing priority on the communitarian aspects of religious involvement. Strategies that are included in this category view the role of the state as providing help to religious organizations in their ability to aid communal need and perform charitable acts.

The strategies in this category are characterized by the desire to utilize religion in the overall replacement of state-led services and emphasize the strength, density, and embeddedness of religious networks in reasons why they should play a central role in service provision. The desire to further privatize social service provision through the marketizing and contracting of charitable activity by the state is illustrated by the ways that officials within the OFBCI and President Bush originally conceptualized the community benefits of Faith-Based Initiatives. For these reasons, this category is titled *Contracting Charity* as it focuses on the group-level benefits that religious organizations provide--often coming in the form of charitable and philanthropic aid--yet limit the role of the state to one of passively encouraging these good works through mechanisms such as contracts or providing monetary assistance.

The use of direct funding mechanisms, including contracts, also often involves organizations which have been described as "salad" organizations by OFBCI officials as they are not centered around religious faith and can separate the "tomatoes from the lettuce" so to speak. The strategies in this category do not privilege religious belief or personal transformation but rely on the strength of religious communities in their ability to provide social services more successfully than the state. These strategies often emphasize the embeddedness of religious communities in comparison to state-led agencies and secular nonprofits that do not have the same networking connections that many religious communities exhibit.

The initial report that came out the OFBCI in 2001 to support President Bush's creation of Faith-Based Initiatives is titled, "Unlevel playing field: Barriers to participation by faith-based and community organizations in federal social service programs" and illustrates the type of strategies that are found in this category (OFBCI 2001b). Here, the OFBCI laid out President Bush's desire to allow religious organizations to participate in service provision and level the

field of competition surrounding the distribution of public funds to private entities. According to this report, religious organizations should not be barred from receiving public funds simply due to their attachment to religion and should be allowed to "prove their worth" through processes of successful service provision (OFBCI 2001b). This approach embodies many of the ways that Faith-Based Initiatives were discussed publicly in the early days of the Bush administration and when legislative efforts at implementing Faith-Based Initiatives were still in motion. While the legislative efforts eventually failed, and both administrations moved forward on Faith-Based Initiatives through unilateral executive action, characterizing religious service provision in these ways manifested many times in the archives of the OFBCI and OFBNP.

Some of the initiatives that depict the strategies included within the *Contacting Charity* category include the Compassion Capital Fund that was set up by the OFBCI during the Bush administration. This program offered direct and indirect funding opportunities for religious organizations that wished to provide "compassion" in the form of various social services, such as food pantries and summer meal plans for children, drug and alcohol counseling, mentoring programs for at-risk youth, and community service projects. This fund provided the capital that organizations need to conduct these projects but did not retain much oversight or control over the planning and execution of programs. The role of the state in this strategy was one of passively providing monetary and informational support to interested groups yet allowed these groups to self-determine in their efforts to carry out programs. While cooperative efforts between religious groups was encouraged by this program, the state left those decisions up to the organizations themselves and limited its role to one of facilitating the compassionate efforts of religious organizations.

During the early efforts at pushing for legislative change and later using executive power to implement Faith-Based Initiatives, President Bush repeatedly called for "rallying the armies of compassion," to step-in and take over the responsibility of public assistance from an ineffective state (OFBCI 2001a). Here, President Bush described the "needs" and "hurts" that could only be helped by a pastor's prayer which was mentioned above and the need for religious organizations to step in a take the lead role in public assistance (OFBCI 2001a). While many of the strategies included in this category do involve language that emphasizes religious organizations as doing what the state is ultimately unable to do, they rarely emphasize personal or moral transformation as among the solutions to social need. Instead, these approaches depict religious communities are harboring the group-level benefits of resource sharing and charitable aid that puts them in an advantaged position to successfully provide services (OFBCI 2001a). This aligns with Wright and Roger's description of a fair share approach to inequality and views religious communities as a source of social compassion that cannot be matched by state-led or secular service organizations. The approaches here also do not emphasize the choices people make or the opportunities they are given but instead focuses on the ability for religious organizations to help people in their times of need and illustrates an aspect of the "compassionate conservatism" that President Bush claimed would become a large aspect of his presidential administration.

Summary of the Model of Faith-Based Service Strategies

The theoretical model of faith-based service strategies that emerged from the analysis provided in this chapter is built upon two general dimensions. The first dimension deals with the role of the state in faith-based service provision and is characterized by either active or passive roles. An active role for the state is one that directly organizes and structures the goals and efforts of religious organizations. This approach also views the activities of these organizations

as assisting or supplementing the central role of the state in systems of service provision. A passive role for the state is one that is focused on the state being a facilitator to aid religious organizations as they step-in to take over the central role in service provision. This approach largely views the activities of religious organizations as eventually coming to replace the state-led system of service provision that developed over the early twentieth century.

The second dimension which this model was built upon deals with the role of religion in systems of social service provision. These roles emphasize aspects of social capital that are commonly found within religious communities and often prioritize either bonding or bridging social capital. One side of this dimension puts emphasis on the potential for religious belief and belonging to provide a catalyst for personal and moral transformation within individuals who seek public assistance. This approach focuses on the ways that religious involvement can "shape the citizenry" and lead to disadvantaged populations taking advantage of opportunities for self-betterment, placing emphasis on aspects of bonding social capital. The other side of this dimension puts emphasis on the historical strengths and density of religious social networks and prioritizes the group-level effects of religious involvement. This approach focuses on the links between charitable and philanthropic ideals and the religious groups that harbor such ideology. This type of emphasis on the potential for religious groups to work toward common goals and help those outside of their own religious tradition highlights a priority on forms of bridging social capital.

The overall model of strategies of faith-based service provision adopted by the Bush and Obama administrations becomes evident when these two dimensions are combined. The model depicts four general strategies of faith-based service provision that emerged from the archival data of the OFBCI and OFBNP. Each of these strategies sit at the intersection of the different

approaches to the roles of the state and the roles of religion in systems of social service provision within the neoliberal era. Beyond providing a nuanced model of how the Bush and Obama administrations conceptualized the mechanisms, goals, and unique visions that each administration held for Faith-Based Initiatives, the theoretical model provided by this dissertation fills a lacuna within sociological literature which has overlooked the ways in which Faith-Based Initiatives became institutionalized within the apparatus of the federal government.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

The main questions which guided the research and analysis conducted within this dissertation focused on what kind of statecraft strategies were at work during the institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives. Chapter four illustrated the general model which emerged from analyzing the seemingly disparate motivations, strategies of execution, and goals that state actors displayed during the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives. This chapter provides a summary of those findings, the limitations and an implication of the research conducted here, and offers some concluding thoughts on future research surrounding faith-based service provision.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this dissertation center on the general strategies that were adopted by the Bush and Obama administration in utilizing faith-based service provision as a pragmatic approach to public assistance in the neoliberal era. The analysis provided in chapter four presents a general theoretical model which clarifies and describes the ways that faith-based service provision was utilized by each administration. This model identifies four general approaches--including *Guiding Grace, Achieving the Social Gospel, Sanctioning the Prosperity Gospel,* and *Contracting Charity*--which characterize the many ways that state actors approached systems of faith-based service provision. These four general approaches emerged from the intersections of how state actors discussed and described the role of the state and the role of religion within faith-based service provision strategies.

As discussed in chapter four, the role of the state was largely discussed as being either an active or passive role. The approach which utilized an active role of for the state is characterized by views of faith-based service provision as being able to assist or supplement the state in

carrying out its responsibilities and obligations surrounding public assistance and the provision of social services. The approach which desired a passive role for the state is characterized by views of faith-based, and privatized, service provision as coming to eventually replace the state in systems of public assistance. These two sides of this dimension are differentiated by the ways they approach the role of the state. The active side wishes for the state to retain aspects of its centralized role which came to characterize most forms of public assistance and social service provision throughout the twentieth century. The passive side of this dimension wishes to continue the pattern of retrenchment and continued devolution of state programs to local and state-level governments as well as to privatized entities and organizations. This approach emphasizes faith-based service provision as a logical extension of the patterns of devolution and privatization that has come to characterize forms of public assistance and social service provision in the neoliberal era. Each of these approaches does, however, view the state as a router of information, social connections, and monetary support being granted to private organizations. These approaches differ, however, on the intended outcomes of faith-based service provision and the roles of the state in utilizing religious organizations in systems of publicly-funded service programs.

The other dimension which helped to build the general model of faith-based service provision focused on the role of religion within systems of public assistance. The approaches which characterize this dimension both focused on the potential benefits that religious belief and belonging can provide to individuals seeking forms of public assistance. One side of this dimension placed emphasis on aspects of religious involvement that prioritize faith and the potential for a moral and personal transformation within receivers of assistance. The other side of this dimension instead placed emphasis on group-level phenomena, such as the density and

strength of religious networks and communities. This side of the dimension prioritized the long history that religious organizations and communities have had in providing forms of charitable aid while also highlighting the ideological connections between religious involvement and caring for others.

Both sides of this dimension view religious organizations as an untapped resource that the state should utilize in systems of public assistance and therefore push for faith-based service provision as a state strategy within the neoliberal era. Both approaches in this dimension can also be viewed as being pro-religion--or at least not anti-religion--as they both make arguments for the involvement of religious organizations in publicly-funded assistance even though the emphasize different aspects of religious belief and belonging. The approach to faith-based service provision that is characterized by this dimension nevertheless focus on the potential benefits that religious involvement can have in solving social problems and forms of social need.

Empowering and Enabling Religious Institutions

Beyond the findings of the analysis provided in chapter four, this dissertation also provides evidence of the state enabling and empowering religious organizations to play a more important role in American civic life. This bolstering of the "good works" that religious organizations do within many local communities has the effect of making state and religious organizations more mutually reinforcing. Claiming that faith-based service provision helps to make these institutions mutually reinforcing means that each institution is not only bound to the other in new and interesting ways but that each also relies on and strengthens the legitimacy of the other. The state, as discussed in this dissertation, has become unable to meet all social obligations and responsibilities to provide public assistance in the neoliberal era. Similarly, religious institutions have been facing an inability to successfully survive in an era that has

become characterized by an increasing secularized public (Wuthnow 2004). Faith-Based Initiatives are therefore one aspect of the mutually reinforcing and supporting relationship that has emerged between the state and religious institutions. In this way both benefit from the heightened importance of religious organizations within systems of social service provision and each are often awarded more legitimacy in the public eye because of such a partnership.

Through the processes that led to the implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives, the state provided both an increase in funding going to religious organizations as well as an increase in the help provided for capacity-building and technical assistance. Through such mechanisms, the state both empowered and enabled religious organizations to play a larger role in American civic life. The removing of financial and legal barriers around the participation of religious organizations in publicly-funded programs are some of the ways that the state bolstered the work of religious organizations surrounding public assistance but the most impactful change is perhaps the outreach and coordinating of cooperative efforts between religion and the state. As discussed in chapter four, some legal barriers still exist surrounding the sharing of public funds--such as a potential inability for organizations to separate the religious and nonreligious aspects of their service design and delivery--but, as emphasized during discussions with state actors, this does not limit the ability of the state to reach out and partner with religious organizations. This type of role for state actors and institutions aligns with what Skocpol (1985:21) called the "Tocquevillian state," which characterizes the ways that state institutions can reach into civil society and organize or structure the efforts and activities of private organizations found there.

Institutionalizing "Multiple Establishments" and Protecting Religious Choice

The theoretical model provided by this dissertation also rethinks the separation of church and state by providing evidence toward some of the scholarly approaches to studying state-

religion relations. As discussed in chapter two, the *multiple establishments* approach to studying state-religion relations is built upon the idea that the state should provide assistance to all religious groups to better actualize the free exercise of religious belief and belonging (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Meacham 2006) This approach implies that religion *needs* the state to bring aspects of free exercise into being and to support aspects of religious freedom. This freedom is often characterized as the freedom for individuals to *find* religion and to better themselves through moral means (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Meacham 2006). In this way, the state mandates the protection of religious *choice* or the choice for citizens to select the organizations and belief systems that will encourage self-betterment. This is opposed to the European approach which, according to scholars, exhibits characteristics of a top-down model of religious institutions, such as the Catholic church, and often involves the state either not acknowledging or privileging religious freedom (Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Meacham 2006). The unique aspects of the American model are again discussed in the section dealing with the implications of the research conducted by this dissertation which is found below. In that section, the emergence and institutionalization of Faith-Based Initiatives is related to the unique ways in which the state has approached religion in America and also frames American faith-based service provision as a "protestantized" form of public assistance.

In characterizing the implementation of faith-based service provision as a form of a state-sponsored protection of *multiple establishments*, the discussion of a market for religion in America from chapter two reemerges as an important point. Scholars of religion have critically pointed to the lack of a permanent or state-established religion in the United States as leading to a competition between religious organizations to gain believers and adherents (Finke and Stark 1992; Fowler and Hertzke 1995; Iannacone 1994; Stark and Finke 2000). This has the interesting

effect of leading many religious organizations to adopt evangelizing strategies to gain converts or members in order to survive as an institution. Such strategies have been characterized as the "paradigm of successful church life" in America and the impacts of this paradigm are apparent within the emerging systems of faith-based service provision analyzed by this dissertation.

Wuthnow (2004) has similarly argued that such an approach to religious life in America has the negative effect of reducing religious organizations to retailers or suppliers of a spiritual "good" or commodity and must therefore advertise and market their products to gain customers. As mentioned in chapter two, this paradigm often gains an odd form of support among many proponents of Faith-Based Initiatives, who frame religious organizations as being able to *better* compete for customers than secular or state-led organizations. Such support is found within many of the strategies adopted by both the Bush and Obama administrations as they often posited that religious organizations--for one reason or another--can provide forms of public assistance that secular and state-led programs cannot. These reasons include the ability of religious organizations to access "hard-to-reach" populations as well as the ability for religious organizations to utilize the trust they hold among many disadvantaged or vulnerable populations. Such support for the further marketizing of publicly-funded social services also often involves language that frame religiously-provided services as more efficient and less expensive as they will utilize both the charitable nature of religious involvement as well as the trust that many people feel toward religious organizations.

This dissertation provides evidence of the ways that the state bolstered the roles of religion in civil society by enabling and empowering religious organizations to play a more central role in American civic life. As discussed above, the enabling and empowering religious organizations to participate in forms of public assistance and social service provision is built

upon the perceived benefits that religious belief and belonging can provide individuals seeking public help. This dissertation found evidence of both the *direct-link* and *club* effect that scholars have emphasized in forms of religious social capital (Iannacone 1994; Wuthnow 1991, 1994). The direct-link effect privileges forms of religious belief and often places emphasis on forms of bonding social capital that accompanies religious involvement. The club effect instead privileges forms of religious involvement that emphasizes the bridging social capital that religious organizations feel toward groups both inside and outside of their specific theological traditions.

Each of these approaches to religious forms of social capital claim that religious involvement is a unique form of voluntary association in American civil society and often encourage the acknowledgement of both state and civil actors to the unique resources that religious organizations and communities harbor (Iannacone 1994; Wuthnow 1991, 1994). This dissertation provides empirical evidence for some of the ways that state actors utilized these unique resources and strategies taken by the Bush and Obama administrations in bolstering faith-based service provision as a pragmatic system of public assistance in the neoliberal era.

Utilizing Religion to Access Vulnerable and "Hard-to-Reach" Populations

One of the more interesting ways that state actors discussed faith-based service provision was in relation to the ability of the state to utilize religious organizations to access vulnerable and "hard-to-reach" populations. As discussed in chapter four, state actors often described religious organizations as being able to reach populations who were either excluded from or distrust state-provided programs. The exclusion of certain populations was linked to both the regulatory restrictions placed upon forms of public assistance in the "post-welfare" era after the end of entitlements as well as the difficulties that many groups face in reaching state offices, such as populations in very sparsely populated rural areas. Faith-based service provision was framed as a

pragmatic solution to these problems, largely due to the ubiquity of religious organizations within even the smallest or geographically remote communities. Discussions of these populations also often involved the difficulties that many minority communities have in accessing traditional state-provided programs.

Empirical research has often emphasized the importance of racial, ethnic, and denominational divides in the ways that populations approach both the state and religiously-provided service programs (Dudley and Roozen 2001; Park and Smith 2000; Regnerus and Smith 1998; Regnerus, Smith, and Sikkink 1998; Tolbert, Lyson, and Irwin 1998). Denominations and religious traditions differ in the amount of community volunteering and civic engagement they encourage and these differences also often manifest around racial lines (Dudley and Roozen 2001; Park and Smith 2000; Regnerus and Smith 1998; Regnerus, Smith, and Sikkink 1998; Tolbert, Lyson, and Irwin 1998). In religious traditions that are found within many White communities, liberal traditions often support more outreach programs and often exhibit a wider and more robust resource base than do many conservative traditions (Ammerman 2001a,b; Chaves 2001; Dudley and Roozen 2001). Religious traditions within many Black communities have been identified as encouraging more community activism and philanthropic aid, even when compared to the activities of the most liberal traditions within many White communities (Cavendish 2000; Chaves and Higgins 1992; Dudley and Roozen 2001; Harris 2001). Rural spaces in particular have exemplified the links between historically Black traditions and active relief ministries which focus on disadvantaged and vulnerable populations (Dudley and Roozen 2001; Lincoln and Mamiya 1990; McRoberts 1999; Williams and Ruesink 1998).

Lincoln and Mamiya (1990) described the foundational role that the Black church has played in creating social ministries and strengthening of many social institutions within

predominantly African-American communities during the early 20th Century. Such efforts included the creation of benevolent societies, fraternal lodges, mutual aid societies, Women's groups, burial associations, and other mutual-help organizations (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990; Smith 1993; Webber 1964). Aldon Morris (1984) also noted the extensive role played by Black churches in the push for social progress during the Civil Rights era, especially within Southern states.

Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) similarly noted that most religious traditions found within Black communities are often focused on providing social services, promoting civic engagement, and promoting political participation among community members. Chang et al. (1994:93) provided an example of the good works carried out by Black churches in New Haven, Connecticut, as an illustration of the wide range of services provided to local residents by religious congregations, including "education, substance abuse, child abuse, parenting, domestic violence, job training/unemployment, adoption/foster care, homeless shelters, soup kitchens, youth programs, elderly programs, long-term illness, AIDS, food and clothing distribution, counseling, spiritual outreach, day care, recreation, social and political activism, finances, and various volunteer programs." Such programs illustrate the wide variety of services that have been historically provided by religious organizations within disadvantaged--and often traditionally excluded--communities. Both Thomas et al. (1994) and Rubin, Billingsley, and Caldwell (1994) found that Black congregations are much more likely to have family support programs than are other religious groups. Eng, Hatch, and Callan (1985), Brashears and Roberts (1996) and Ransdell and Rehling (1996) all found that health-related activities are largely institutionalized within programs offered by the Black church.

Beyond the historical role between religious communities and service provision within majority Black communities, scholars have also pointed out the roles of religious organizations within Latinx and migrant communities. Religious communities have been noted as being active in the resettlement and assimilation efforts surrounding migrants and refugees (Orr et al. 1994). Services provided in these organizations often involve English language classes, vocational training, hunger relief, and childcare programs (Orr et al. 1994). Delgado and Humm-Delgado (1982) highlighted the links between these communities and the Catholic tradition, which has a long history of providing forms of public assistance and is often the most dominant religious group within many Latinx communities.

The strategies adopted by the Bush and Obama administrations often exhibit a conscious acknowledgement of the links between religion and minority communities. The desire of the Obama administration to utilize religious organizations to get public funds into the hands of such populations illustrates a strategy by the state which builds upon the long history of trust that religious organizations hold within some of the most disadvantaged and vulnerable populations in the nation. The push for using religious organizations to access "hard-to-reach" populations is indicative of a proactive and pragmatic approach by the state to ensure that public funds are more equitably distributed as well as working around some of the traditional social and bureaucratic barriers that have bared such populations from benefiting from state-provided public assistance.

Limitations of this study

Most of the limitations of this study can be discussed in relation to either the information which is available in the archival data or in relation to the time frame in which this analysis is focused. The impact of the limitations surrounding what and how much information is contained within the archival data also deals with the ways in which the data was coded and thematically

analyzed in chapter four. Since the archival data was qualitatively and thematically coded, it runs the risk of being forced into one or another category which focused on the roles of religion and the roles of the state in faith-based service provision. The overall goal of this dissertation was to clarify and describe the general approaches and strategies of faith-based service provision across the Bush and Obama administrations. In the process of conducting this analysis, it was necessarily important to identify and describe the commonalities and differences between the approaches taken by each administration. This approach to data analysis runs the risk of conforming data points into the opinions or preconceived notions of the researcher. It was the intention of the researcher, however, to allow the data to speak for itself and to have any common themes around which the data was grouped to emerge from the data without influence by the researcher. By starting with very general questions surrounding the rise of Faith-Based Initiatives--such as how and why systems of social service provision were to be further altered and why religious organizations should be utilized in these new systems--the method and analysis provided by this dissertation sought to minimize to influence of researcher bias.

In seeking to understand why and how Faith-Based Initiatives emerged as a strategy that was shared by two otherwise very different Presidential administrations, this dissertation provides a general model that focuses on why and how the state should move to utilize religious organizations during the provision of social services and public assistance. Another limitation which emerges from such as focus is due to the fact that faith-based service provision is built upon a long history of policy developments and continues well past the cut-off year of 2017 that this dissertation focused on. In order to mitigate the effect of this limitation, this dissertation sought to frame Faith-Based Initiatives as a furthering of the cultural and structural shifts surrounding service provision in recent decades, including changes in the public and political

views of poverty and social need as well as the patterns of devolution and privatization of service provision systems in general. Faith-Based Initiatives are taken by this dissertation to be a small, yet consequential shift in the ways that policies surrounding social services have recently been constructed as well as being indicative of a new role for religious institutions within American civic life. Overall this dissertation sought to provide a robust theoretical analysis to the otherwise small shifts that the emergence and implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives from 2001 to 2017 generally represent.

Implications

An interesting implication of the research conducted by this dissertation is the fact that faith-based service provision can be viewed as a continuation of the devolution and privatization of service provision through a specifically religious lens. This religious tint to what amounts to the continuation of the neoliberal approach to service provision aligns with many of the overall characteristics of the Protestant Reformation. The rejection of a centralized system for a fragmented system of locally-based organizations allows aspects of faith-based service provision to be characterized as being "protestantized." The desire of state and civil actors to continue the deinstitutionalizing of state-provided services that characterized much of the twentieth century and the building of a grassroots or "bottom-up" approach to service provision has been characterized by scholars as being uniquely American (Wuthnow 2004). The uniqueness of the American model--when combined with faith-based service provision and a new role for religion in public assistance--comes to look very similar to the ways that Martin Luther criticized the centralized and bureaucratic model of the Catholic church. The American model for faith-based service provision that is depicted in chapter four therefore can also be described as a "protestant" model of public assistance and social service provision.

The Protestantization of Social Service Provision and the Spirit of NeoCapitalism

The desire to move away from a centralized system of service provision and instead encourage a "do-it-yourself" approach relying on local efforts and private organizations to take the responsibility for providing social aid is reminiscent of the ways Martin Luther depicted his Ninety-Five Theses. A rarely acknowledged aspect of Luther's 1517 protest centered around his view that the selling of indulgences by the Catholic church discouraged private efforts to help the poor and many forms of charitable action. Luther felt that rejecting the centralized system of social aid and the selling of salvation could encourage good works among local organizations and felt that local religious groups would do more to help their fellow Christians. The cultural and structural shifts surrounding views of poverty and systems of public assistance which have been discussed in this dissertation seem to illustrate an approach similar to Luther's.

While at risk of pushing the metaphor too far, the argument could be made that Marvin Olasky's book (1992), which was mentioned by President Bush as the main catalyst for his vision of faith-based service provision, becomes the modern day equivalent to Luther's Ninety-Five Theses in 1517. Both called for a rejection of the centralized model due to perceived corruption, ineffectiveness, and the potential for such a system to create apathy and laziness among populations which should be encouraged to develop moral righteousness and self-betterment. While this analogy may run the risk of painting neoliberal ideology onto the approach adopted by Martin Luther over five-hundred years ago, the similarities in the approaches is quite striking.

Olasky's lament that a centralized system of "salvation" leads to a lack of encouragement for volunteering and philanthropic efforts is similarly centered around the assumption that guaranteed salvation leads people to assume that helping each other is unnecessary. The new

approach, however, would push for evangelical efforts that focused on providing aid to neighbors within the community and therefore lead to successful moral betterment for all. The idea that faith-based service provision can be described as "protestantized" is also connected to the ways that both the Bush and Obama administration approached voluntary association within American civil society.

These approaches often emphasized the institutions within civil society as forming what Berger and Neuhaus called *mediating structures* (1977). Such mediating structures "sit" between individuals and the large-scale social structures of modern society, including the state. According to Berger and Neuhaus, these institutions--such as religion--are especially powerful because they are grounded in the uniquely American tradition of voluntary association (1977). Here, Berger and Neuhaus (1977) called for policymakers to give more attention to these mediating structures as *value-generating* and *value-maintaining* institutions. Berger and Neuhaus place much emphasis on religious institutions as one form of mediating structure that can convey the general health of a society. In speaking about the connections between social health and the formation of public policy, Berger and Neuhaus (1977:3) claim:

> "The proposal is that if these institutions could be more imaginatively recognized in public policy, individuals would be more 'at home' in society, and the political order would be more 'meaningful.' Without institutionally reliable processes of mediation, the political order becomes detached from the values and realities of individual life. Deprived of its moral foundation, the political order is 'delegitimated.'... Our belief is that human beings, whoever they are, understand their own needs better than anyone else--in say, 99 percent of all cases. The mediating structures under discussion here are the principle expression of the real values and the real needs of people in our society. They are, for the most part, the people-sized institutions. Public policy should recognize, respect, and where possible, empower these institutions...The paradigm of mediating structures aims at empowering poor people to do the things that the more affluent can already do."

This type of sentiment and approach to utilizing mediating structures in the development of public policy has much in common with the ways that the Bush and Obama administrations created state strategies surrounding faith-based service provision. While Berger and Neuhaus (1977) do not embody the exact same approaches to religious organizations as mediating structures that, say, Marvin Olasky or other conservative thinkers in the neoliberal era might, it is important to note the intended outcomes of public policy creation are quite similar. Many of the ways that faith-based service provision was discussed and implemented by officials within both administrations exhibits an explicit desire to have the mediating structures of American civil society do more in relation to public assistance. The enabling and empowering of religious organizations to play a more central role in publicly-funded forms of social assistance aligns quite well with the overall approach that is encouraged by Berger and Neuhaus (1977).

The disillusionment with the state-centered and state-provided systems of public assistance which characterized much of the twentieth century state is very visible in the ways that political discourse and public opinions toward public assistance shifted in the latter decades of the twentieth century. The rejection of the centralized system--which is reminiscent of the "catholic" model which Martin Luther protested against--is evident in the ways that the Bush and Obama administrations approached the development of faith-based service provision. This rejection, coupled with the increase for a locally-based system of religiously-provided system, can be characterized as a uniquely American and "protestant" model of public assistance.

The title of this section also includes the "spirit of neocapitalism" as the approach to faith-based service provision also involves what Weber called the "protestant ethic" (Weber 2009 [1904-1905]). In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber 2009 [1904-1905]), Weber links religious ideas with economic activities. Similarly, many of the shifts

surrounding welfare reform in the 1990s--including Charitable Choice and Faith-Based Initiatives--also link religious ideology and ideas surrounding economic activity. The shift to "workfare" and away from traditional and guaranteed forms of welfare is very indicative of such links. Many of the strategies of faith-based service provision adopted by the Bush and Obama administration placed emphasis on vocational training, jobs clubs, and encouraging individuals to better their own conditions through hard work. The focus given to work as a solution to laziness, apathy, and dependency also characterizes what Weber called the "protestant ethic" (Weber 2009 [1904-1905]). Faith-based service provision was often framed as a way to induce or encourage individuals to seek moral betterment through individual effort. This also aligns with what Bellah et al. (1985) discuss as the unique culture of individualism that characterizes American society. Bellah and his co-authors link this culture to the observations of Alexis de Tocqueville (1988 [1835]) and discuss the ways that this ideology manifests in American civil society.

The neoliberal approach to "workfare" over welfare can be thought of as the "spirit" of neocapitalism in ways similar to how Weber conceptualized the links between the "protestant ethic" and the development of rational capitalism in eighteenth-century America (Weber 2009 [1904-1905]). Weber discussed the protestant approach to work as seeing it as an "end unto itself," and many of the approaches to faith-based service provision adopted by the state stress that religious organizations can help individuals seeking public assistance gain such a worldview. In *Habits of the Heart* (1985), Bellah and co-authors also highlight two traditions within the public consciousness of American communities. The first is that of *Biblical tradition*, which stresses the Christian ethos of charity and philanthropy, and the second being *civic republicanism*, which emphasizes a "do-it-yourself" approach to American civic life. Both of

these traditions can easily be seen in the emergence and implementation of faith-based service provision at the turn of the twenty-first century. The simultaneous desire to help one another while also giving individuals the opportunities to help themselves is not as contradictory as it might seem and faith-based service provision is one avenue which can bring the complementary nature of these two traditions to light. While the neoliberal approach to service provision has not often been characterized by aspects of communal compassion, the strategies adopted by each administration do emphasize aspects of both biblical tradition and civic republicanism discussed by Bellah et al. (1985) and illustrate desires for a "compassionate" capitalism that was popularized by George W. Bush.

Welfare and social service provision is only one area of civic life and public policy which illuminate debates surrounding work, productivity, civic virtue, and individual and collective responsibility. The ideological and political shifts of the late 1970s and 1980s paved the way for faith-based service provision to emerge in the early twenty-first century. The reemergence of an emphasis given to work, productivity, and an individual's responsibility for their own social condition is eerily reminiscent of the protests that Martin Luther made against the centralized system of the Catholic church. The emergence of Evangelical Christianity as a powerful political and social force cannot be overlooked when discussing the cultural and structural shifts within systems of public assistance and social service provision in the late twentieth century. George W. Bush is a self-described "born again" Christian and once claimed that Jesus Christ was his favorite political philosopher (Rosin 1999). Barack Obama has similarly discussed the importance of his own faith in his efforts at community organizing and promoting social progress. Each of these men heavily influenced the ways that faith-based service provision came to fruition during their Presidential administrations and their own religious beliefs should not be

underestimated when analyzing their approach to Faith-Based Initiatives. As discussed earlier in this dissertation, the categories included in the theoretical model found within chapter four are quite Christian-centric, but this is not by random chance. The uniquely American model of public assistance--and the extension of this system into religiously-provided social services--is indicative of the strong influence that Protestant Christianity has had in the long history of American civic life.

Concluding Thoughts and Ideas for Future Research

In providing some concluding thoughts, the overall findings of this dissertation align with what other scholars have described as the "reluctant welfare state" in the United States (Jansson 1993; Wilensky and Lebeaux 1965:xii). This characterization arises out of the fact that the American state never developed the vast system of guaranteed assistance that characterizes the "welfare states" within most western democracies (Jansson 1993; Wilensky and Lebeaux 1965). Instead, the systems which developed in the United States were shaped by the ideological traditions of individualism and hard work, which often linked the solution to social problems being found in individual effort and self-betterment. Even in the earliest days of the nation, local organizations played an important role in forms of public assistance and charitable services. The large-scale structural transformations which accompanied the emergence of a centralized and bureaucratic system of state-led social services are indeed the exception to the long history of public assistance in America. Thomas Jefferson, writing in the late eighteenth century, noted the importance of localized and religiously-provided services in saying:

> "The poor, unable to support themselves, are maintained by an assessment on the tytheable persons in their parish. This assessment is levied and administered by twelve persons in each parish, called vestrymen, originally chosen by the housekeepers of the parish, but afterwards filling vacancies in their own body by their own choice. These are usually the most discreet farmers, so distributed in

> their parish, that every part of it may be under the immediate eye of some one of them. They are well acquainted with the details and economy of private life, and they find sufficient inducements to execute their charge well, in their philanthropy, in the approbation of their neighbours, and the distinction which that gives them. The poor who have neither property, friends, nor strength to labour, are boarded in the houses of good farmers, to whom a stipulated sum is annually paid. To those who are unable to help themselves a little, or have friends from whom they derive some succours, inadequate however to their full maintenance, supplementary aids are given, which enable them to live comfortably in their own houses, or in the houses of their friends. Vagabonds, without visible property or vocation, are placed in workhouses, where they are well cloathed [sic], fed, lodged, and made to labour. Nearly the same method of providing for the poor prevails throughout all our states; and from Savannah to Portsmouth you will seldom meet a beggar" (Quoted in Peterson 1977:180-181).

This quote by Thomas Jefferson clearly illustrates the uniquely American approach to a locally based system of public assistance. The emergence of faith-based service provision as an extension of the devolution and privatization of social services in the neoliberal era represents a return to the systems of the pre-twentieth century which observers such as Thomas Jefferson have described. Wuthnow (2004) has mentioned that much social science is focused on how civil society shapes public policy but highlights that cultural and structural approaches to service provision offers a unique opportunity to study how public policy can shape civil society. The shifts away from--and then back to--the long history of the localized systems of service provision which are described by observers like Thomas Jefferson offers a uniquely American storyline to the connections between cultural beliefs, the mediating structures of civil society, and the structural conditions which influence systems of public assistance. Giving attention to the intersection of public and state actions, as well as the ways that each often desire to create a symbiotic relationship between the state and civil society, can illuminate the unique conditions of American civic life and how policy can shape and influence aspects of civil society.

Overall, the return to a pre-modern approach of public assistance is indicative of the rejection of the centralized and bureaucratic model which characterized some of the state strategies in the early modern era in the United States and many western democracies in Europe. The development of the uniquely "reluctant" welfare state in American civic life has been described by this dissertation as being intimately linked the long history of ideological individualism, the emergence of Evangelical Christianity as a political and social force, and the cultural and structural shifts surrounding forms of social need and public assistance. These three phenomena are intimately linked together, are often mutually influencing, and intersected in the most interesting of ways to create the social, cultural, and political conditions which allowed Faith-Based Initiatives to emerge as a state strategy of public assistance in the neoliberal era.

Future Research

In thinking about future research that centers on faith-based service provision in the neoliberal era, a few general ideas emerge. The first involves analyzing the ways that Faith-Based Initiatives have been altered during the Trump administration. This dissertation focused on the implementation of faith-based service provision from 2001 to 2017, across the Bush and Obama administrations. The Trump administration, however, has not adopted the same approaches that each of the previous two administrations did. The White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships (OFBNP) which was created during the Obama administration did not survive the transition to the next administration. The current form of this office is actually nothing more than an initiative, titled the White House Faith and Opportunity Initiative.

While the central office no longer exists, the Partnership Centers within most cabinet departments and federal agencies have continued their work somewhat autonomously. In

conversations with Partnership Center staff at the Department of Health and Human Services, staff members claim that their work has largely remained unchanged even though there is no central office which organizes efforts and sets policy priorities inside the White House. These staff members discussed how their outreach efforts have been impacted without the central organizing efforts but their funding opportunities and more passive strategies of linking like-minded groups together remain largely unchanged. Future research could focus on the shifts within strategies adopted by officials within the Trump administration and the impacts that these changes have had on the way that faith-based service provision plays out at the level of communities.

Another interesting focal point of future research could look at the geographic dispersion of federal funds going to religious organizations to provide social services and public assistance. The focus that the Obama administration placed upon utilizing religious organizations to get public funds into vulnerable and "hard-to-reach" populations raises questions about whether or not such populations are actually winning grants and contracts to utilize federal funds and what type of geographic dispersion such funds are subjected to. The argument that some of the most remote and disadvantaged communities can benefit from religiously-provided services needs forms of empirical testing and support. This seems like a very lucrative focus for future sociological research. Empirical evidence of how faith-based service provision is distributed along such social and geographical lines, such as urban and rural divides and racial or ethnic lines, is important to gaining an understanding of the impacts that the strategies adopted by federal policymakers is affecting individuals at the level of communities.

Overall, this dissertation focused on the strategies adopted by the Bush and Obama administrations in the creation and implementation of Faith-Based Initiatives as a pragmatic

extension of social service provision and public assistance in the neoliberal era. This focus kept much of the research provided in this dissertation focused on the intentions of policymakers and not the actual outcomes of policy strategies. Yet, while this dissertation did not focus on the consequences of policy strategies--which has been given past attention by sociology and social work scholars--it does fill a gap in research that overlooked the ways that each administration built faith-based strategies, often as intended shifts in the roles of the state in bolstering the role of religious organizations in systems of social service provision and public assistance.

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OFBNP. November 2009a. OFBNP and Partnership Center at Department of Health and Human Services releases a health guide targeting hard-to-reach populations with information and resources to expanding and adjusting organizational activities. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2009/11/18/h1n1-flu-guide-community-and-faith-based-organizations-helping-organizations-across-

OFBNP. December 2009b. OFBNP and Partnership Center at Department of Justice co-hosted a Fatherhood Forum at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2009/12/22/white-house-co-sponsors-regional-fatherhood-forum-with-attorney-general-holder

OFBNP. January 2010a. Partnership Center at Department of Homeland Security launches project "Building Resilience with Diverse Communities," to assess strengths, assets, barriers and challenges to faith-based local response to disasters and disaster relief. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/01/11/building-resilience-with-diverse-communities

OFBNP. February 2010b. Speech by Joshua Du Bois, "A vision for faith-based and neighborhood partnerships." Delivered at Brookings Institution, February 18. Transcript

available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/02/18/a-vision-faith-based-and-neighborhood-partnerships

OFBNP. March 2010c. Official report of first President's Advisory Council. Report available at:https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/microsites/ofbnp-council-final-report.pdf

OFBNP. March 2010d. Announcement of participation by OFBNP in the First Lady's *Let's Move! Faith and Communities* initiative. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/03/22/white-house-gathers-input-lets-move-toolkit

OFBNP. March 2010e. OFBNP and Partnership Center at the Department of Commerce announce series of regional meetings titled Fatherhood Forums. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/03/12/white-house-and-commerce-department-co-sponsor-regional-fatherhood-forum-with-commer

OFBNP. March 2010f. OFBNP and Partnership Center at the Department of Veterans Affairs co-host Fatherhood Forum near Fort Bragg, NC. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/03/29/white-house-and-veterans-affairs-host-fatherhood-forum-military-and-veteran-fathers-

OFBNP. August 2010g. OFBNP participates in event focused on utilizing faith-based organizations to spread information about Affordable Care Act. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/08/16/sharing-what-health-reform-means-local-communities

OFBNP. December 2010h. Partnership Center at Department of Health and Human Services creates two toolkits, titled "Seasonal Influenza (Flu) Guide for Community and Faith-based Organizations and Leaders" and "Faith and Communities Fight Flu!" Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2010/12/07/faith-and-communities-help-spread-word-seasonal-flu-vaccine

OFBNP. January 2011a. Partnership Center at Department of Veterans Affairs hosts "Bridging Chaplaincy and Mental Health Care" conference to announce creation of "Families at Ease" programs. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/01/18/caring-america-s-veterans-bridging-chaplaincy-and-mental-health-care

OFBNP. February 2011b. Partnership Center at Department of Education launches series of outreach events to strengthen awareness of education as a local-level tool of transformation. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/03/11/ed-s-fbnp-office-launches-strategic-outreach-effort

OFBNP. March 2011c. Announcement of OFBNP and HHS Partnership Center coordinating Centers at Department of Education, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Veterans Affairs, to combat HIV and AIDS. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/03/14/centers-faith-based-and-neighborhood-partnerships-seek-engage-networks-supporting-st

OFBNP. March 2011d. The White House and OFBNP announce launch of the White House's Interfaith and Community Service Campus Challenge. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/03/17/white-house-launches-interfaith-and-community-service-campus-challenge

OFBNP. May 2011e. OFBNP announces series of meetings called Connecting Communities for the Common Good. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/05/11/connecting-communities-common-good

OFBNP. July 2011f. OFBNP created and released a new guide titled "Partnerships for the Common Good: A Partnership Guide for Faith-based and Neighborhood Organizations". Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/07/07/hot-press-new-partnerships-toolkit

OFBNP. October 2011g. OFBNP launches "Faith in the Future" initiative. Announcement available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/10/06/brevard-county-looks-ahead-faith-future

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OFBNP. December 2014. OFBNP Official Action Report. Report available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2014ofbnpyearofactionreport.pdf

OFBNP. October 2016. Official report of third President's Advisory Council. Report available at: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2017_advisory_council_report.pdf

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